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FROM THE EDITOR

Greetings,

Welcome back to the new issue of *Ilahiyat Studies*. First and foremost, we would like to express our condolences to all those whose relatives died in the February 6 earthquake. After Covid-19, the unusual earthquake incident caused people great sorrow, forcing all of us to reconsider the balance between precaution and destiny. Secondly, Isnad Citation Style will be used in the footnotes and bibliography in our journal from 2023. Thirdly, we would like to remind you that the first issue of 2023 will be mainly on Transhumanism and Artificial Intelligence. We welcome manuscripts from authors interested in them.

This issue of *Ilahiyat Studies* features four articles. The first article, "The Barghawāṭian Mahdī and Prophet: An Evaluation of Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf's Claims", by Muhammet Cihat Oruç presents a detailed account of a mahdīst claim in Islamic history. The author argues that the scholarly community has recently become interested in Mahdism, Messianism, and Apocalyptic studies. According to studies on Mahdism in Islamic history, people claimed to be the Mahdī both in the early periods of Islam and in our modern times. Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf, who reigned as the second king of the Barghawāṭah kingdom in North Africa in the mid-eighth century, was one of these people. The author argues that Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf's Jewish ancestry, similar beliefs in different geographies at the same time, and his political position all play a role in the popularity of his claim. Based on the claims and teachings of Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf, in the Barghawāṭah sect, the prophethood of their leader was affirmed as the last prophet while accepting the prophethood of the Abrahamic figures who preceded him. It is recorded that Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf conveyed a new Qurʾān, a Berber Qurʾān, and attempted to change Islamic rituals, including prayer, fasting, dietary rules, and ʿīd days. Also, he tried to enforce his innovative religious principles

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strictly. In line with these considerations, the author concludes that Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf must be recognized as the spiritual founder and creator of the Barghawātah religion.

In the article, "The Religious Life of Afghan Migrants Before and After Migration: Protecting Their Religious Identity or Social Cohesion" Özge Zeybekoğlu Akbaş, Hasan Hüseyin Aygül, Gamze Gürbüz, and Sevda Kurtuluş present an analysis of migration as a process in which identities, cultures, beliefs, and values move from one place to another. To illustrate their case, the Evrenseki, Çolaklı, Yavrudoğan, Gündoğdu, and Taşağıl neighborhoods of Antalya were chosen as the area for research. The article considers data on four themes: the pre-migration religious life of Afghans, the post-migration religious life of Afghans, the religious socialization practices of Afghan migrants, and religious life in Türkiye as seen through the eyes of Afghan migrants. The authors examine Afghan migrants' appearance of "settlement" rather than their identities as "guests.", and conclude that Afghan migrants have strong religious identities, but the social integration and development of cohesion behavior are the more dominant aspects of the migration process.

The article, "Revisiting Shams al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's Position in the Literature of *Aḥādīth al-Aḥkām*: al-Muḥarrar" by Salih Kesgin and Esra Nur Sezgül, focuses on a fourteenth-century muḥaddith and faqīh, Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī and his work, *al-Muḥarrar*. The article attempts to examine the structure and method of the work. Some have evaluated *al-Muḥarrar* as the abridged version/*ikhtiṣār* of Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's *al-Ilmām*. However, the authors discuss the probability that *al-Muḥarrar* is an independent work. To prove this case, they invite us to the comparison of the contents of the works. The authors further evaluate the chain of transmitters (*isnād*) of ḥadīth narrations in the work and Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's contribution to the ḥadīth literature.

The final article, "Basic Principles of al-Ghazālī's Method of Exegesis" by Takyettin Karakaya, tries to analyze al-Ghazālī's *ishārī* interpretations of the Qurʾān. The author argues that although al-Ghazālī did not have any specific book dedicated to *ishārī* exegesis, his *ishārī* interpretations of verses in his different writings provide a significant amount of data for an understanding of his *ishārī* exegesis. In so doing, the author treats al-Ghazālī's understanding of the Qurʾān and elucidates the key concepts of *ẓāhir* (explicit), *bāṭin* (implicit), and *ishārah*. To illustrate the issue, he refers to al-Ghazālī's interpretations of some verses in *Mishkāt al-anwār*,

Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn, Fayṣal al-tafriqah bayna l-Islām wa-l-zandaqah, and *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān.*

As always, as the editorial team, we thank our readers, authors, and anonymous referees for their invaluable contributions. Finally, we want to express our gratitude and appreciation to Bursa Ilahiyat Foundation for its continued support.

We look forward to being with you in the next issue of *Ilahiyat Studies*.

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THE BARGHAWĀṬIAN MAHDĪ AND PROPHET: AN EVALUATION OF ṢĀLIḤ IBN ṬARĪF'S CLAIMS

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Abstract

Throughout the history of Islam, many people have emerged with the claim of being the Mahdī. One of the most remarkable of these claims is undoubtedly that of Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf, a member of the Berber Barghawāṭah tribe, in the mid-eighth century. According to sources, Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf became the leader of his tribe after the death of his father, declared himself both a prophet and a Mahdī in his time, and saw himself as a legitimate religious and earthly authority. Due to the scarcity of in-depth studies on Ibn Ṭarīf's claim in the literature, this paper introduces his character in general and discusses his claim of being the Mahdī in particular. Furthermore, his claims are evaluated using a literature review and an analytical method. In this manner, it is

hoped that the paper contributes to the literature on Mahdism and North African studies.

Key Words: Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf, Barghawāṭah, prophethood, Mahdī

Introduction

It is widely assumed that Mahdism, Messianism, and apocalyptic studies have recently piqued the scholarly community's interest. Studies on Mahdism in Islam have also received much attention in recent decades. Aside from that, particular research has focused on the far more complicated issue of historical Mahdī (the rightly guided: a messianic redeemer) claims in Islam. Numerous academic studies have mentioned the existence of many people who claimed to be the Mahdī, whether in the early periods of Islam or in our modern times. During the early periods of Islam, some people were attracted by the Mahdī movement's representatives, such as Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah (d. 81/700-1), who after his death was said to be the Mahdī, Ḥārith ibn Surayj (d. 128/746), who was one of the leaders of the revolt against the Umayyads in Khurāsān, or Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah (d. 145/762), who was descendant of Prophet Muḥammad and revolutionary leader against the ʿAbbāsids in Medina. Throughout time, additional figures claimed to be the Mahdī, such as the Maghrebo Mahdī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Tūmart (d. 574/1130); the Sudanese Mahdī, Muḥammad Aḥmad (d. 1303/1885); the Indian Mahdī, Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad (d. 1908), and the Somalian Mahdī, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ḥassān (d. 1920). To summarize, almost in every period, people emerged with the claim of being the Mahdī. Even today, it is possible to see many people saying "I am the Mahdī" or "I am the Messiah" in different regions of the world. The paper draws attention to Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf and his claim to be the Mahdī and prophet in the second/eighth century.

According to Muslim tradition, the Mahdī is the name of the religio-political leader who will appear at the end of time to bring justice to a world that is oppressed and filled with injustice. The term "Mahdī" literally refers to a person guided by God and whom God guides to the

right path.[1] It is used in the ḥadīth literature to refer to the savior who will come before the Day of Judgment (*yawm al-qiyāmah*), kill the Antichrist (*Dajjāl*) and rule with justice.[2] In addition, it was used for the Prophet Muḥammad, the first four Rightly-Guided Caliphs (*al-Khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn al-mahdiyyūn*), al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, some of the Umayyad caliphs such as Sulaymān ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 715–717), ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 717–720), some of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, and Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad in the first period of Islam.[3] In later periods, the concept of Mahdī acquired eschatological connotations in literature, indicating "a person, a ruler who will save the oppressed and the victims, make the religion of Allah dominate the earth and rule with justice, and believed to be sent and to establish a Muslim world empire at the end of days."[4] The paper attempts to evaluate whether it is possible to analyze Ibn Ṭarīf's claim of being the Mahdī within the aforementioned framework.

Barghawāṭah was a Berber confederation established and reigned by the Maṣmūdah tribe in the Tāmasnā region of Morocco's Atlantic coast from the second/eighth to the sixth/twelfth centuries.[5] Before tackling the claims of Ibn Ṭarīf as a Barghawāṭian Mahdī, it will be useful to briefly outline the history of the Barghawāṭah Emirate. It should be noted that, rather than attempting to write the detailed history of this group, the purpose of the study is to focus on Ibn Ṭarīf's claim of being the Mahdī, who ruled his tribe for a while. Therefore, investigating Barghawāṭah's origins, beliefs, practices, interpretation,

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[1] Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Manẓūr al-Anṣārī al-Ifrīqī, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1997), XV, 59.

[2] For Mahdī ḥadīths see ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1971–1972), 371-374; Abū ʿAbd Allāh Nuʿaym ibn Ḥammād al-Khuzāʿī al-Marwazī, *Kitāb al-Fitan,* ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1424/2003), 222f., 341-343; Jalāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥāwī li-l-fatāwá* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 2004), 69f.

[3] Ignaz Goldziher, *al-ʿAqīdah wa-l-sharīʿah fī l-Islām,* trans. Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsá et al. (Cairo: n.p., 1336/1946), 342; Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥá l-Islām* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍah al-Miṣriyyah, 1977), III, 236; id., *al-Mahdī wa-l-Mahdawiyyah* (Cairo: n.p., 1953), 39.

[4] D. B. MacDonald, "Mehdi," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1979), VII, 474; Abdulaziz Sachedina, "Mahdi," in *Encyclopedia of Global Religion,* ed. Mark Juergensmeyer (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2012), II, 738.

[5] Roger Le Tourneau, "Barghawāṭa," in *Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition,* ed. H. A. R. Gibb et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), I, 1043.

significance, and current situation is beyond the scope of this study. The paper intends to concentrate here solely on the prophetic-cum-Mahdist claims of the self-proclaimed Mahdī, Ibn Ṭarīf, and hopes to reach a historical understanding of this group from a different perspective. Despite the highly fragmented nature of the extant sources, achieving such an understanding of Barghawāṭah would be a significant contribution to Islamic historiography, given how little has been written about the subject. In the context of Islamic references to al-Mahdī, the article aims to present a comprehensive examination of this topic.

In this article, the historical information was obtained through a literature review in both classical Arabic sources and academic studies in various languages regarding the Barghawāṭah dynasty and Ibn Ṭarīf's claims. The information presented with a descriptive method on the subject was tried to be analyzed and interpreted from different perspectives. Undoubtedly, there have been sociological, political, psychological, or religious reasons underlying research on every Mahdī claimant. Since there is no extensive information regarding the reasons for Ibn Ṭarīf's discourse in the early Islamic sources, it would be appropriate to make evaluations via a comparative and interpretive method.

Most of the information about the Barghawāṭah Emirate is based on Andalusian geographer al-Bakrī's (d. 487/1094)[6] book *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*.[7] The narratives about Barghawāṭah in other sources are

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[6]   The Barghawāṭah's most significant narrative was written by al-Bakrī, and the literature that followed is mainly based on his work. Al-Bakrī, a man of broad knowledge, was a good poet and philologist who devoted much of his time to geography, despite the fact that he appears to have never traveled outside the Iberian Peninsula. See J. Vernet, "al-Bakrī, Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbdallāh Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Muḥammad," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. Charles C. Gillispie (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), I, 413–414; Provençal has described him as "the greatest geographer of the Muslim West, and one of the most characteristic representatives of Arab Andalusian erudition in the 5th/11th century." Evariste Lévi-Provençal, "Abū ʿUbayd Al-Bakrī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition,* ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), I, 155.

[7]   Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz ibn Muḥammad al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik,* ed. Adrian van Leeuwen and André Ferré (Tunis: al-Dār al-ʿArabiyyah li-l-Kitāb, 1992), II, 819-828. In this work, al-Bakrī has covered every country he mentions in a wide way and he has given important information about the ethnic and religious structures of the countries, the customs and traditions of their peoples, their rulers, and the great events that took place in their history. It is seen that the part of this work of al-Bakrī including Maghrib and Africa was also

generally more or less parallel to al-Bakrī's narratives.[8] Based on this, it is possible to say that al-Bakrī has given detailed information on Barghawāṭah. In fact, Ibn Ḥawqal's *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, famous work of geography has drawn as the earliest known source mentioning the Barghawāṭah. Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after 367/978)[9] was an Arab traveler, chronicler, and geographer of the fourth/tenth century who described the Barghawāṭah as a Berber tribe living along the Atlantic coast outside Muslim rule. Since Ibn Ḥawqal lived before al-Bakrī and provided the earliest knowledge regarding the Barghawāṭah tribe, al-Bakrī might have obtained some information from him. The fact that Ibn Ḥawqal's work *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* is also known as *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*[10] and the existence of a work by al-Bakrī with the same

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published under a different name. See Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, *al-Mughrib fī dhikr bilād Ifrīqiyah wa-l-Maghrib* (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, n.d.). The information given by al-Bakrī about Barghawāṭah was translated into English in a work of Norris. See Harry Thirwall Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature* (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1982), 97-104; For detailed information about the book, see also Jean-Charles Ducene, "La Description Géographique de La Palestine Dans Le Kitāb Al-Masālik Wa-l-Mamālik D'abū ʿUbayd Al-Bakarī (m. 487/1094)," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62, no.3 (2003), 181–191.

8   Adem Arıkan, "Ebû Ubeyd el-Bekrî'ye Göre Bergavâta," *Milel ve Nihal* 8 (2011), 106.

9   Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Naṣībī, known as Ibn Ḥawqal, was an Arab geographer and cartographer who sought to provide up-to-date representations of the Muslim provinces from the information he collected during his travels throughout the Muslim world. The journeys of Abū l-Qāsim Ibn Ḥawqal, who might have been a merchant, took him to North Africa, Spain, and the southern edge of the Sahara (947-51), Egypt, Armenia, and Azerbaijan (c. 955), the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, Khuzistān, and Iran (961-69), Khwārazm and Transoxania (c. 969), and Sicily (973). By about 988 CE the final version of Ibn Ḥawqal's *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* was ready. See Jean-Charles Ducène, "Ibn Ḥawqal," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE,* edited by Kate Fleet et al. Consulted online on 25 December 2022; C. V. Arendonk, "İbn Havkal," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, n.d.), V/2, 747.

10 Ramazan Şeşen, "İbn Havkal," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA),* XX, 34; Another source provides the following information: "There are three versions of his geographical work. The first is held in manuscripts in Leiden (Ar. 314) and Oxford (Bodl. 963) under the title *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* ("Roads and kingdoms"). This version was published by de Goeje in 1873 and contains no maps. It also exists in a Moroccan manuscript from the end of the nineteenth century (Rabat, ʿAllāl al-Fāsī Institute 608). An Istanbul manuscript (Topkapı Palace 3346, dated 479/1086), discovered after de Goeje's edition, revealed the existence of a second version, titled *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* ("Book of the configuration of the land"), written between 367/978 and 378/988 and dedicated to Abū l-Sarī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Faḍl al-Iṣfahānī, whose name appears in no other source. This manuscript

name (*al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*) strengthens this possibility. It is reported that Ibn Ḥawqal's work is notable as a source for many later geographers and historians, such as al-Idrīsī (d. 549/1154) in Sicily, and Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262), Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311-2), Abū l-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1331), al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), and al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) in the Middle East.[11] The study refers to Ibn Ḥawqal's *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ,* al-Bakrī's book, and contemporary books, such as *al-Anīs al-muṭrib* written by al-Fāsī (d. 741/1340), *al-Istiqṣā* written by al-Nāṣirī (d. 1315/1897) and *The Berbers in Arabic literature* written by Norris.

1. Barghawāṭah Emirate (125-451/743-1059)

Throughout Islamic history, many sects have appeared as a result of differences in perspectives shaped and influenced by political, religious, cultural, economic, and other factors. In North Africa, conquered by Muslims in the first century of Islam, different opinions, political movements, and linguistic understandings arose among Muslims. Due to these differences, many dynasties or movements, such as Almohads, Almoravids, Idrīsids, and Fāṭimids, have been established since the early eighth century.[12] One of these is the Barghawāṭah Emirate, which appeared at the beginning of the second/eighth century. Even though North Africa appeared to be an Islamic colony, the Barghawāṭah tribe, a branch of the Berbers, did not fully identify themselves with Islam until the establishment of their dynasty, providing them with power. Several attempts were made to create their own belief by modifying the orthodox Islamic model of the Barghawāṭah people.

Hence, Barghawāṭah can be described as a heterodox movement that emerged in the early the second/eighth century at Tāmasnā, near Rabāṭ in the province of al-Maghrib al-aqṣá, by the Atlantic Ocean

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contains twenty-one maps. Finally, there is an epitome of his work in manuscripts in Paris (BNF 2214) and Istanbul (Topkapı Palace 3347 and Ayasofya 2934)."

[11] Ducène, "Ibn Ḥawqal."

[12] Adnan Adıgüzel, "Bergavâta: Mağrib'te Heterodoks Bir Berberî Fırkası," *Dicle Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 12, no.1 (2010), 3. For detailed information, see Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 26-102.

coast.[13] The most interesting feature of this movement, founded by Ṭarīf, is its attempt to change the religious practices of Islam, aiming to have its own holy book and prophet. The Barghawāṭah Dynasty, which arose during the reign of Hishām ibn Marwān (d. 125/743), refers to a community that adhered to a heterodox belief system founded by one of its members, Ṭarīf ibn Mālik, who came from a place called Barbāṭ (Barbate in Spanish) in Andalusia, connected to Sezune. He studied science in the East, specialized in magic, came to Maghrib, and settled in Tāmasnā, where he spread his belief. It is also claimed that he belonged to the Banū Maʿāfir or al-Nakhaʿ tribe, one of the Qaḥṭānīs from Yemen.[14] However, there is some disagreement about his race. While some sources claim that Ṭarīf ibn Mālik was a Berber,[15] others claim that he was an Arab.[16] According to a narration related to the origins of Ṭarīf, he was a Jewish "son of Simeon, son of Jacob, son of Isaac."[17] Wenceslao Segura González also points out in an article that Ṭarīf was of Jewish origins since, according to the former, numerous ancient writers affirmed the Jewish origins of Ṭarīf. This is not surprising given that the Jewish population in the region known now as Morocco had significantly grown in the first century. It is not clear, however, whether they were descendants of the first Jews who arrived in the Maghreb or were Berbers who had adopted Judaism. It should be noted that there were also numerous Christian Berbers at the time of the arrival of the Arabs who lived near the coast, which the Byzantines then dominated.[18]

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[13] G. Deverdun, "Barghawāṭa," in *Encyclopédie Berbere* (La Calade, France: Edisut, 1991), IX, 1360-1361.

[14] Maḥmūd Shīt Khaṭṭāb, *Qādat fatḥ al-Andalus* (Damascus: Dār Manār li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 2003), I, 417; Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿArab* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2018), 418.

[15] Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqarrī al-Tilimsānī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb wa-dhikr wazīrihā Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1988), I, 229.

[16] Ḥusayn Muʾnis, *Fajr al-Andalus: dirāsah fī tārīkh al-Andalus min al-fatḥ al-Islāmī ilā qiyām al-dawlah al-Umawiyyah (711-756 M)* (Cairo: Dār al-Rashād, 2008), 65-66.

[17] Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature*, 97.

[18] Wenceslao Segura González, "Tarif ibn Mallik," *Al Qantir: monografías y documentos sobre la historia de Tarifa* 11 (2011), 45.

Zammūr[19] attributes the origins of the Barghawāṭah Emirate not to Ṣāliḥ or his son Yūnus but to Ṣāliḥ's father, Ṭarīf. Ṭarīf was freed from the North African Governor Mūsá ibn Nuṣayr during the reign of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 86-96/705-715) in some of the conquests in the Maghrib region, and his success attracted the attention of his master. Mūsá ibn Nuṣayr was convinced that the conditions were suitable for the conquest of Andalus and sent Ṭarīf to the conquest in 91/710 upon getting permission from Caliph al-Walīd.[20] Ṭarīf played a vital role in the Berber revolts and took refuge in the city of Rabāṭ during the revolts that continued until the fall of the Umayyads. After these events, the Berbers made Ṭarīf their leader. Ṭarīf, according to Zammūr, was a companion of Maysarah al-Ḥaqīr, who led a Khārijite Berber revolt in Tangiers in 123-24/740-41. When Maysarah was killed, and his companions scattered, Ṭarīf settled in the district of Tāmasnā. At that time, he was a king of the Berber tribes of Zanātah and the Zuwāghah. The Berbers made him their ruler, and he governed them.[21] It is accepted that Ṭarīf ibn Mālik died in 124/742, and his son Ṣāliḥ rose to power as his successor.[22]

After gaining power, Ṣāliḥ invited people to his faith and battled those who opposed him. He saw himself as the Mahdī who appeared at the end times to eradicate oppression from the face of the earth and fight the Dajjāl. He also claimed prophethood (*nubuwwah*) in 125/743 during the reign of Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān (r. 106-125/724-743).[23] It would not be wrong to argue that the creed of the Barghawāṭah sect consisted of a belief system and liturgical practices based on the claims and teachings of Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf. In the

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[19] Abū Ṣāliḥ Zammūr ibn Mūsá ibn Hishām al-Barghawāṭī, Ṣāḥib Ṣalātihim, was "the venerable leader in prayer" of the Barghawāṭah. Al-Bakrī's account was based a report by Zammūr on the Barghawāṭah. In fact, it is seen that al-Bakrī makes frequent references to Zammūr in his work. See Roman Loimeier, *Muslim Societies in Africa: A Historical Anthropology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 42.

[20] Khaṭṭāb, *Qādat fatḥ al-Andalus,* I, 112; İsmail Hakkı Atçeken, "Tarîf b. Mâlik," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XL, 29.

[21] Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik,* II, 819.

[22] Atçeken, "Tarîf b. Mâlik," 29.

[23] Abū l-Ḥassān ʿAlī ibn Abī Dharr al-Fāsī, *al-Anīs al-muṭrib bi-rawḍ al-qirṭās fī akhbār mulūk al-Maghrib wa-tārīkh madīnat Fās* (Rabat: Dār al-Manṣūr,1972), 130; Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Khālid al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiqṣā li-akhbār duwal al-Maghrib al-aqṣā*, ed. Jaʿfar al-Nāṣirī (al-Dār al-Bayḍāʾ, Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb, 1954-1956), II, 16.

Barghawāṭah sect, the prophethood of their leader was affirmed as the last prophet while accepting the prophethood of the Abrahamic figures that preceded him.[24] It is recorded that he conveyed a new Qurʾān, a Berber Qurʾān, consisting of eighty sūrahs to be read in prayers as opposed to the 114 sūrahs of the Muslims' Qurʾān.[25] Ṣāliḥ also claimed that he was the "Ṣāliḥ al-muʾminīn" (righteous among the faithful)[26] mentioned in the Qurʾān, and he changed some of the liturgical practices in Islam and conveyed new religious laws.[27]

Some of the laws allegedly conveyed by him can be summarized as follows: He increased the frequency of prayers to ten times, five in the daytime and five in the night; he claimed that fasting should be observed in the month of Rajab instead of Ramaḍān; that the annual ritual-sacrifice of ʿĪd al-aḍḥá should be performed on the 21st of Muḥarram instead of Dhū l-ḥijjah; that it is necessary to wash the navel and legs while performing ablution; that some of the prayers should be performed without prostration but with a particular gesture, and that three to five prostrations should be performed only in the last *rakʿah*.[28] In other words, Ṣāliḥ tried to modify Islamic rituals, including prayer, fasting, dietary rules, and ʿīd days, and also to enforce his innovative religious principles strictly. It has been argued that such alterations were probably made to adapt to local customs and that the Muslim religious principles were preserved on the whole, or the

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[24] Rene Basset, "Bergavata," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: MEB Yayınları, 1997), II, 539.

[25] To cite the names of some of these sūrahs, which he usually gives the names of prophets: Sūrat Ādam, Sūrat Nūḥ, Sūrat Mūsá, Sūrat Hārūn, Sūrat Firʿawn, Sūrat Ayyūb, Sūrat al-Jamal, Sūrat Hārūt and Mārūt, Sūrat Qārun, Sūrat Iblīs… See al-Fāsī, *al-Anīs al-muṭrib*, 131; al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiqṣā*, I, 172.

[26] Q 66:4: "*If the two of you turn in repentance to Allah (that is better for you), for the hearts of both of you have swerved from the straight path. But if you support one another against the Prophet, then surely Allah is his Protector; and after that Gabriel and all righteous believers (ṣāliḥ al-muʾminīn) and the angels are all his supporters.*"

[27] Al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiqṣā*, I, 172.

[28] Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥawqal al-Naṣībī, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (Beirut: Maktabat al-Ḥayāh, 1996), 82-83; al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik,* II, 819-828; Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿIdhārī al-Marrākushī, *Bayān al-Mughrib fī ākhbār mulūk al-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib,* ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf and Maḥmūd ibn ʿAwwād (Tunis: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2013), I, 87-88; al-Fāsī, *al-Anīs al-muṭrib*, 130-133; al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiqṣā,* I, 171; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm li-l-Malāyīn, 2002), III, 192.

changes were slight.[29] The latter claim, however, cannot be accepted as valid since the alterations included changing essential core beliefs of Islam, such as those related to the Qurʾān and prophethood, daily prayers, and other practices. Claiming to be a new prophet who is the recipient of a newly revealed Qurʾān is an apparent contradiction of indisputable fact of religion (*al-maʿlūm min al-dīn bi-l-ḍarūrah*). Hence, it necessarily means that the claimant has left the religion of Islam and committed apostasy.

Without going into detail about the strange religion that Ṭarīf's son established and the decades-long process of consolidation, it can only say that the Barghawāṭah and their religion had enough strength to survive independently for three centuries. Attempts by neighboring kingdoms, and even by the Andalusians, to destroy the Barghawāṭah Emirate were futile. Even the frightening Almoravids were defeated by Ṭarīf's descendants. The kingdom established by Ṭarīf ibn Mālik in the middle of the eighth century lasted until the arrival of the Almohads in the middle of the twelfth century.[30] The Barghawāṭah isolated themselves through their heretical religious system until the Almoravids wiped them out in the middle of the twelfth century.[31] González claims that some documents demonstrate that Ṭarīf ibn Mālik started enforcing his new religious regulations on his subjects soon after assuming the throne of his new kingdom, even if he did not intend to found a new religion. He passed only a few years after founding the kingdom of Ṭarīf, and his son Ṣāliḥ succeeded him. Ṣāliḥ carried on the beliefs that his father had started to propagate and even founded a new religion.[32] From this perspective, it should be pointed out that although the Berbers (mainly Moroccan tribes) appear to have designated Ṭarīf ibn Mālik as their leader, his son Ṣālih ibn Ṭarīf must be recognized as the spiritual founder and creator of the Barghawāṭah religion. After explaining Ṣāliḥ's claim to prophethood and his attempts to form a new religion by changing *sharīʿah* (Islamic law), the paper will focus on the effects of his claim of being the Mahdī on society.

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[29] Gustave Edmund von Grunebaum, *Classical Islam: A History, 600 A.D. to 1258 A.D.*, trans. Katherine Watson (New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction Publishers, 2005), 118.

[30] González, "Tarif ibn Mallik," 55.

[31] Hsain Ilahiane, *Historical Dictionary of the Berbers (Imazighen)* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2006), 24.

[32] González, "Tarif ibn Mallik," 55.

2. Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf and His Claim of Being the Mahdī

Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf al-Barghawāṭī was born in 110/728-29 and probably became the head of the state in 127/745.[33] He consolidated his rule in North Africa, which lasted forty-seven years until 174/793.[34] He proclaimed himself Mahdī and compiled an eighty-sūrah Qurʾān in Berber, thus launching a formidable heresy destined to plague Moroccan affairs for four centuries.[35] As a Mahdī, he distinguished himself from others regarding his knowledge and virtue and preached a new doctrine to his followers. In some sources, it is mentioned that Ṣāliḥ's fame was built, above all, on the basis of his virtue and asceticism.[36] It is rumored that his name was Ṣāliḥ in Arabic (which means righteous), "Mālik" in Syriac (which means possessor and lord), "ʿĀlim" in Persian (which means a scholar and knowledgeable), "Warbiya" in Hebrew (which means rabbi) and "Wuryàwirà" in Berber (which means "he after whom there is nothing").[37]

Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf al-Barghawāṭī was a refugee who fled from Andalus to Morocco. It is believed that he has a Jewish origin.[38] In *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fī ʿajāʾib al-amṣār,* a historical geography work belonging to the sixth/twelfth century, Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf is reported as being Jewish, a claim that was not made in earlier writings (his Jewish genealogy through the line of Simeon was mentioned). According to the aforementioned author, who appears to have lived in the mid-twelfth century, Ṣāliḥ traveled to the East and learned a great deal of magic.[39]

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[33] Ibn ʿIdhārī al-Marrākushī, *al-Bayān*, I, 87-88; Walī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn al-musammá Kitāb al-ʿIbar wa-dīwān al-mubtadaʾ wa-l-khabar fī tārīkh al-ʿArab wa-l-Barbar wa-man ʿāṣarahum min dhawī l-sulṭān al-akbar wa-huwa tārīkh waḥīd ʿaṣrih,* ed. Khalīl Shiḥādah (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1408/1988), VI, 276.

[34] Al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, III, 192.

[35] Michael Peyron, *The Berbers of Morocco: A History of Resistance* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2021), 16.

[36] Mercedes García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform: Mahdis of the Muslim West*, trans. Martin Beagles (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), 55.

[37] Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik,* II, 820; Ibn Khaldūn *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn,* VI, 276-277.

[38] Abūlqāsim Rafīq Dilāvarī, *Āʾimmah-yi talbīs* (Lahore: Maktabah-yi Taʿmīr-i Insāniyat, 1975), 190.

[39] In addition to he offers some crucial details regarding Ṣāliḥ that are absent from previous authors' accounts: "Ṣāliḥ altered a Prophetic statement. He explained the Prophet's words. May God grant him peace. 'No prophet shall come after me (*lā nabiyya baʿdī*), by making it *nabī* and he said 'My name is No and I am a prophet

From this standpoint, it seems plausible that his religious background, education, and the environment in which he grew up influenced his inclination to esoteric beliefs. These circumstances led to his self-declaration as a prophet and a Mahdī, as well as his modification of some religious practices and beliefs in Islam. Yet what caught the attention is that the studied sources tended to emphasize the prophetic aspect of his claims (which is reasonable given that he propagated new sharīʿah and produced a new scripture) rather than his character as the Mahdī. Information on his claims of being the Mahdī, on the other hand, seems to be lacking and limited in historical sources.

Ibn Ḥawqal referred to Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf as Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAbd Allāh, and he is the only person to have used this lineage *(nasab)* considering the resources at hand. According to Ibn Ḥawqal, Ṣāliḥ was of Berber descent and fluent in both their language and others. Ibn Ḥawqal also reports that Ṣāliḥ was literate, had an excellent calligraphic hand and extensive information in many fields, and was foresightful in his predictions.[40] Ibn Ḥawqal depicts the religion's reputed founder as knowing the esoteric and exoteric sciences, which he used to take advantage of the Barghawāṭah and deceive their minds[41] by claiming prophethood. Although Ibn Ḥawqal refers to Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf's prophethood claims, it is clear that he does not mention Ṣāliḥ's claim regarding the Mahdī. Unfortunately, no information about the reason for this could be found in the sources.

Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf has been accepted by Barghawāṭah culture as the Mahdī, behind whom Jesus will pray, and the person to whom the Berber Qurʾān was secretly revealed.[42] Barghawāṭah is also mentioned by Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), the famous Andalusian scholar, in his *al-Faṣl,* which is one of the classical sources on the history of Islamic sects. Ibn Ḥazm records that they are waiting for the return of Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf, who propagated a new religion to the people of Barghawāṭah in

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after him [Muḥammad] *(qāla: ismī lā wa-ana nabiyyʸᵘⁿ baʿdahū)*" See Anonymous author, *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fī ʿajāʾib al-amṣār: Waṣf Makkah wa-l-Madīnah wa-Miṣr wa-bilād al-Maghrib li-Kātib Marrākushī min al-qarn al-sādis al-hijrī*, ed. Saʿd Zaghlūl ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Dār al-Bayḍāʾ: Dār al-Nashr al-Maghribiyyah, 1985), 198; John Iskander, "Devout Heretics: The Barghawata in Maghribi Historiography," *The Journal of North African Studies* 12, no.1 (2007), 45.

[40] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ,* 82-83.
[41] Iskander, "Devout Heretics," 41.
[42] Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature*, 69.

his own time.[43] In his work, it is noticed that Ibn Ḥazm's description of the anticipation of Barghawāṭah's people for the return of Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf at the end of times is implicitly indicative of the Mahdī-status ascribed to Ṣāliḥ by his followers, as it resembles the characteristics of the "Occulted Mahdī" awaited by numerous other sects. However, it is noteworthy that Ibn Ḥazm has not directly used the term Mahdī for Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf in his work.

Before Ṣāliḥ traveled to the East, he confided his doctrines to his son Ilyās. He taught him its laws and made him knowledgeable in his religion. He told him not to disclose it until he secured his position.[44] Then, after ruling the people of Barghawāṭah for forty-seven years, Ṣāliḥ went east in the year 147 AH.[45] It is said that he promised to come back in the reign of the seventh of their rulers as being The Greater Mahdī *(al-Mahdī l-akbar)* who would fight the Antichrist *(al-Dajjāl)* and fill the earth with justice as it is now filled with injustice and oppression. He alleged that ʿĪsá (Jesus), Mary's son, would be one of his companions, prayed behind him and that he would fill the earth with an amount of justice equivalent to the injustice which prevailed upon it then. He attributed the source of his statements to Prophet Moses, the one who spoke to God (*kalīm Allāh*), to Ṣāliḥ the prophet, and Ibn ʿAbbās.[46] Ilyās succeeded to the throne after the departure of his father and professed the religion of Islam outwardly. He preferred to conceal the knowledge entrusted to him by his father to protect his beliefs.[47]

After Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf went to the East and commanded his sons to follow his religion, his heresy continued to live amongst the people of Barghawāṭah until the middle of the fifth century.[48] His son Ilyās ibn Ṣāliḥ (792-842) and then his grandson Yūnus ibn Ilyās (227–271/842–884) succeeded him as kings. It must be stated, nevertheless, that there was no significant information about Ṣāliḥ from the sources after that. Yet, it is known that Ṣāliḥ's enormous fame was particularly abused by

[43] Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Faṣl fī l-milal wa-l-ahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal*, ed. M. Ibrāhīm Naṣr and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUmayrah (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1416/1996), V, 38.

[44] Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature*, 98.

[45] Al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiqṣā*, I, 172.

[46] Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik*, II, 820; Anonymous, *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fī ʿajāʾib al-amṣār*, 198.

[47] Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature*, 98.

[48] Al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiqṣā*, I, 172.

his grandson Yūnus, who claimed to be a prophet himself.[49] He also traveled to the East like his grandfather Ṣāliḥ, where he studied astrology and other sciences and reached a significant level of understanding in arts and sciences.[50] Some people believe that his grandson, Yūnus Ibn Ilyās, may have been the driving force behind the proclamation of Ibn Ṭarīf as the Mahdī of the Berbers and the composer of the new Qurʾān – whose actual text has not survived.[51] In the Barghawāṭah, it was even believed that the prophetic ability of Banū Ṭarīf was an inherited trait that was carried down to their descendants through their lineage.[52] Despite this, it should be remembered that the history and biographies of the post-Ṣāliḥ leaders of Barghawāṭah Emirate fall outside the scope of this study. Only the following sentences quoted by al-Bakrī are significant; Zammūr related that ʿĪsá's father, ʿAbd Allāh Abū l-Anṣār, had said to him, "My little son, you are the seventh prince from the people of your household. I hope that Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf will come to you as he promised."[53]

3. The Reasons for Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf's Claim of Being Mahdī

An expectation of the savior is an essential belief in Islam and pre-Islamic religions and cultures. It is understood that the claims of Mahdism in the first period mainly emerged for political reasons. Mahdī rhetoric was developed by some people who wanted to take over political power, that is, become the caliph, or by those who rebelled against the oppressive practices of the Umayyad leaders. Cook has referred to two types of Mahdīs. The first is the idealized figure described in the ḥadīths and apocalyptic traditions, and the second is the political and historical figure, often the leader of a revolutionary group or sect.[54] Sometimes, although they did not claim

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[49] Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Kinānī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmiyyah, 2002), IV, 289.

[50] Norris, *The Berbers in Arabic Literature*, 94; García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, 55.

[51] Bruce Maddy-Weitzman, *The Berber Identity Movement and the Challenge to North African* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 26.

[52] Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik*, II, 820-21; García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, 55.

[53] Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik*, II, 822.

[54] David Cook, "Mahdi," in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, ed. Gerhard Bowering (Princeton: Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), 322.

it themselves, some people were called Mahdī regarding their enforcement of justice and equality among the people during their leadership. In contrast, some people, who are believed by some groups that they did not die but will come again to provide justice on earth in the end Times, have also become Mahdīs. It seems possible to evaluate Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf's discourse of being the Mahdī in an eschatological context since the emphasis on providing justice and fighting the Dajjāl in his Mahdī statement is in line to a great extent with the narrations in the ḥadīth texts. Probably, he aimed to gather the people of Barghawāṭah around him by claiming to be the Mahdī, basing those claims on the narrations in some ḥadīth collections circulated during his lifetime.

On the other hand, he might have developed such a discourse to attain political interests, as seen in some rebel movements during the Umayyad period like al-Ḥārith ibn Surayj. Comparing similar examples in history makes it undeniably clear that political aims were mainly pursued in rebellion movements based on Mahdist or messianic claims. Regarding political perspective, it could be assumed that Ṣāliḥ's motivation was to establish the independence of Barghawāṭah from the Umayyads through an independent ideology that gave legitimacy to the Barghawāṭan state. The Barghawāṭah people, a branch of Berbers, may also have seen him as a Mahdī in the sense of the savior-hero regarding his resistance against the Arab Umayyad power and his devotion to establishing an ethnic Barghawāṭan principality.

Another noteworthy point is Ṣāliḥ's declaration that he would return as the Mahdī during the reign of the seventh king. The number seven brings to mind some of the ḥadīths that associate temporal significance with the number of the figure of the Mahdī.[55] Therefore, Ṣāliḥ's choice of number seven should not be disregarded since it might indicate that he could have been familiar with the said ḥadīths on the Mahdī. This viewpoint could also be supported by the following: as stated in the studied sources, Ṣāliḥ claimed that he would travel to the East and remain there until it was time for him to return as the Mahdī. However, nothing is known about the exact location in the East where he supposedly spent his period of occultations. This reminds us of the following narration associated with the Mahdī: "Three persons of my

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[55] Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Bayyiʾ Muḥammad al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā l-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1990), IV, 457-458.

ummah would fight with one another near your treasure. Every one of them would be a caliph's son. Then, it would not be rendered to anyone of them. After that, the black banners would appear from the East, and they would kill you at such a large scale as no people killed you. [Then he mentioned something which I could not preserve (in memory). He said:] When you see them, then pledge your allegiance to them even if you have to crawl over the snow, for that is the vicegerent of Allah, Mahdī (*khalīfat Allāh al-mahdī*)"[56] Thus, according to this narration, the black banners –which will signal the advent of Allah's guided caliph, al-Mahdī– will come from the East. In this respect, when the mentioned hadīth is considered, Ṣāliḥ's declaration that he would go to the East and return as the *al-Mahdī al-akbar* (the Greatest Mahdī) seems to be a deliberate attempt to validate his claims of being the Mahdī. Nevertheless, the title of *al-Mahdī al-akbar* remains abstruse and incomprehensible since it is pretty rare to see the mention of *al-Madhī al-aṣghar* (Lesser Mahdī) in any of the traditional apocalyptic texts. A possible explanation is that Ṣāliḥ may have replaced the phrase *khalīfat Allāh al-Mahdī* in the above hadīth with *al-Mahdī al-akbar*. If that is true, then it is certain that Ṣāliḥ was indeed well-versed in hadīth narrations and subsequently employed them to strengthen his political interests.

The Jewish origins of his father, Ṭarīf ibn Mālik, can be considered as an additional reason for Ṣāliḥ's claims. Although there are some opinions that the origin of Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf is parallel to this,[57] Ibn Khaldūn records the following in his work: "Some people cite him as a descendant of Barghawāṭah, some consider him among the Zanātah tribes, and others say he was a Jew from the sons of Simeon ben Yacoub, who grew up in Rabat and traveled to the East."[58] Due to his Jewish origins, the possibility that he was influenced by the doctrine of the Messiah, the redemptive faith of Judaism, naturally comes to mind. The idea of the Messiah, which is at the center of the development of Judaism, refers to a charismatic leader in Jewish theology who will be a God-sent descendant of King David who will save the Jews, end the

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[56] Ibn Mājah, *al-Sunan,* "Fitan" (Tribulations), 34 (No. 4084).
[57] Anonymous, *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fī ʿajāʾib al-amṣār*, 197.
[58] Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn*, VI, 280.

exile, bring peace and prosperity, and establish God's kingdom.[59] This belief in the future mission of the Messiah has always been a consolidative factor for the Jews who tried to keep this redemptive hope alive.[60] Considering this fact that several messiahs have appeared in Jewish history, such as Simon bar Kokhba (d. 135), around whom the Messianic hopes of the nation were centered, and Abū ʿĪsá al-Iṣfahānī who proclaimed himself to be a prophet and forerunner of the Messiah.[61] Given these facts, it may be assumed that Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf, who declared himself to be the Mahdī and prophet, was inspired by some such claimants before him. On the other hand, John Iskander quotes a passage from an anonymous study: "It is a topos of Muslim heresiographic literature that Jews or Jewish converts to Islam lead people astray through strange beliefs and esoteric knowledge."[62] These statements also support our hypothesis that Jewish ideas influenced Ṣāliḥ's making of some un-Islamic claims such as prophethood, a new Qurʾān, a new sharīʿah, and Mahdism.

The only conspicuous evidence in some of the studied texts that could indicate Ṣāliḥ's role as a Mahdī is the placement of the title The Riser (*al-Qāʾim*) after his name.[63] The connection of this title to the figure of Mahdī is quite significant among some sects of Islam. In Twelver Shiism, for instance, the anticipation for the return of the occulted *al-Mahdī al-muntaẓar*, who is often referred to as *al-Qāʾim*, is a core doctrine of Shīʿī faith. The same term, *al-Qāʾim,* is also significant in Ismāʿīlī Shīʿī literature and is used to refer to the Mahdī as well. Probably because of that, it is stated that Ṣāliḥ appears as possessing the character of a Shīʿī-cum-Ismāʿīlī-type Imām,[64]

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[59] S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909), 102; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Messianism and Apocalypticism in Rabbinic Texts," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, ed. Steven T. Katz (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1053.

[60] Wilson D. Wallis, *Messiahs: Christian and Pagan* (Boston: The Gorham Press, 1886), 79.

[61] Michael G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 328. For some Messianic claims see Wallis, *Messiahs*, 15-89.

[62] Iskander, "Devout Heretics," 45.

[63] Al-Fāsī, *al-Anīs al-muṭrib*, 130.

[64] The topic of Shīʿī-Ismāʿīlī Imām and Mahdī is far too extensive to be discussed here. See for more information Farhad Daftary, "Hidden Imams and Mahdis in Ismaili History," in *Ismaili and Fatimid Studies in Honor of Paul E. Walker*, ed. Bruce D. Craig (Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2010), 1-22.

accompanied with signs proving his proximity to the Prophet, and which were highly charged with apparent eschatological significance.[65]

The concept of occultation (*ghaybah*) reveals itself in the claims of Ṣāliḥ. The fact that he claimed to go to the East before his return reminds us of the Mahdī's occultation as the "hidden imām" in the various branches of Shiism. As previously stated, this is a fundamental and widely accepted doctrine in Shiism, and the ongoing hope for the Mahdī's return is a crucial component of the Shīʿī interpretation. The following statement by one of the last leaders of Barghawāṭah to his heir demonstrates that they believed that Ṣāliḥ's was their occulted Mahdī whom they continued to hope for his return: "I hope that Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf will come to you as he promised."[66] This is further supported by Ibn Ḥazm, who described the people of Barghawāṭah as a community expecting Ṣāliḥ's return. This is a crucial point in terms of Ṣāliḥ's emphasis on his Mahdism and his eschatological stance.

Additionally, Ṣāliḥ's request to perform the doctrine of concealment *(taqiyyah)* before traveling to the east demonstrates that he was aware of *taqiyyah* doctrine in Shīʿī interpretation. This view is supported by Roger Le Tourneau, who wrote that Ṣāliḥ may have been influenced by the Shīʿī Mahdī thought: "…the fact that Ṣāliḥ promised that he would return when the seventh chief of the Barghawāṭah had assumed power and declared that he was the Mahdī who would fight against the Antichrist (al-Dajjāl) at the coming of the end of the world with the help of Jesus, can be considered a sign of Shīʿī influence."[67] Similarly, Abdallah Laroui claims that Ṣāliḥ's prophethood was based on remains of an earlier form of Christianity, but it was a branch of Shīʿī doctrine.[68]

In addition to these hypotheses and interpretations, the socio-cultural and geographical situation of Ṣāliḥ's tribe, Barghawāṭah, may have also been influential in his claims about the Mahdī and prophethood. It should be remembered that many Berber communities existed in southern and central Morocco, including the Barghawāṭah peoples of Tāmasnā on the country's Atlantic coast.

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[65] García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform*, 55.
[66] Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-Masālik*, II, 822.
[67] Le Tourneau, "Barghawāṭa,"1044.
[68] Abdallah Laroui, *The History of the Maghrib: An Interpretive Essay* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 108.

There were several different types of Berber people, including pastoralists, farmers, and nomads who herded camels. Maṣmūdah, Ṣanhājah, and Zanātah were some of the names used to refer to the Berbers.[69] Presumably, these communities preferred independence rather than living under the rule of any empire, and as a result, they established minor independent dynasties depending on various rebellion movements. The Barghawāṭah people also existed as an independent community in this geography for many years. It should be considered a natural situation for them to gather around their leaders, who brought new religious principles and emerged with the claim of being a prophet and Mahdī. Muḥammad ʿInān points out that due to the ignorance and nomadic nature of the Barghawāṭah people, Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf's claims of being the Mahdī and prophet were accepted by them.[70] It should be noted that this is a different point of view regarding the reasons for Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf's claims to be the Mahdī or a prophet. As a result, it can be said that Ṭarīf's claims are influenced by various factors.

Conclusion

It has come to our attention that there are very few academic studies have been conducted on the Mahdī claims of a Berber amīr, Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf, who reigned as the second ruler of the Barghawāṭah Emirate in North Africa. This article, therefore, aims to fill in this gap by evaluating and interpreting Ṣāliḥ's claims about his mahdism, which is perceived remarkable since he also claimed prophethood and produced a new Qurʾān. It should be noted, however, that gathering sufficient information about Ṣāliḥ's claims and movement was challenging because the majority of available classical sources were repetitive and insufficient – probably leading to the lack of comprehensive studies on the issue. Despite this, it is worth noting that the analysis of Ṣāliḥ's claims of being the Mahdī in an article is quite important, given that

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[69] Brian H. Biffle, "Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf (fl. eighth century CE)," in *Dictionary of African Biography*, ed. Henry Louis Gates et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 252; Ira M. Lapidus, *Islamic Societies to the Nineteenth Century: A Global History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 370.

[70] Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān, *Dawlat al-Islām fī l-Andalus: al-ʿaṣr al-awwal* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1411/1990), II, 306.

recent years have witnessed a revived interest in Mahdism, Messianism, and apocalyptic studies. The majority of the results obtained in this context are as follows:

1. It is understood that the belief in the Mahdī, found in almost every period of Islamic history, is highly open to abuse by political forces. Throughout history, people have used this belief to gather the people around them, create power, and reach their goals. Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf, who emerged with a new religious understanding and perspective by claiming to be the Mahdī in his own time, can be considered one of these people.

2. Based on the sources, Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf, who emerged around Maghrib in the second century AH, declared himself to be the Mahdī. Since different reasons are influential in his claim, the following hypotheses can be proposed: he might have been influenced by the Jewish Messianic faith due to his Jewish ancestry; he might have been inspired by similar beliefs in different geographies simultaneously; he employed his claims for personal political interests to gather people around him and gain popularity.

3. It is clear that Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf's claim to be the Mahdī was used in an eschatological sense since the characteristics and features of the Mahdī of the End Times mentioned in Muslim ḥadīth traditions (such as bringing justice to a corrupt world and defeating the Dajjāl) have also been recorded for Ṣāliḥ in sources. In addition, the name *al-Qāʾim*, a title associated with the Shīʿī Mahdī, was also used for Ṣāliḥ.

4. We can characterize him as the Mahdī of Barghawāṭah. However, it does not appear easy to clearly define him as a Sudanese Mahdī or Somalian Mahdī, who was explicitly identified and had a widespread reputation due to being discussed in many academic studies. It should be noted that there is not much information about Ibn Ṭarīf's claim to be the Mahdī in the sources. In fact, understanding Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf's Mahdism as a form of power struggle in the form of a rebellion movement against imperial power, as in the case of the Sudanese and Somalian Mahdīs, seems difficult. Understandably, he was not a prominent figure like other

Mahdīs due to the lack of conclusive proof that he used his claim to be a prophet or the Mahdī for political purposes in the sources.

5. The Barghawāṭah community, one of the strong historic Berber confederations of tribes in Morocco, established a dynasty in the region from the beginning of the first century AH, which lasted for about four centuries until the emergence of the Almoravids. Some researchers identified the Barghawāṭah Emirate as a heterodox community that departed from the religion of Islam, most likely due to the extravagant claims of Ṣāliḥ and his sons who succeeded him.

Finally, we must emphasize again that apart from a few ritual expressions by al-Bakrī and later other authors, we possess no original documents on the Barghawāṭah community. In such circumstances, it is impossible to arrive at a definite idea. Therefore, it would be appropriate to evaluate Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṭarīf's claims of being the Mahdī and prophet with this awareness.

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THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF AFGHAN MIGRANTS BEFORE AND AFTER MIGRATION: PROTECTING THEIR RELIGIOUS IDENTITY OR SOCIAL COHESION

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Abstract

The study aims to examine the religious lives of Afghan migrants before and after migration, their religious socialization in Türkiye, the problems they face in their religious lives, and to reveal how they evaluate religious life in Türkiye. For this purpose, the Evrenseki,

Çolaklı, Yavrudoğan, Gündoğdu, and Taşağıl neighborhoods of Antalya were chosen as the area for research. The study group of sixteen men and five women was formed using the snowball sampling method on Afghan migrants living in these neighborhoods and working in agricultural activities, cold storage, greenhouse cultivation, etc. The data obtained through the in-depth interview technique was analyzed using content analysis. The MAXQDA program was used for the systematic coding of the data. As a result of the coding, the article examines the subject through four themes: the pre-migration religious life of Afghans, the post-migration religious life of Afghans, the religious socialization practices of Afghan migrants, and religious life in Türkiye as seen through the eyes of Afghan migrants. Also, it discusses whether Afghan migrants are developing behaviors to protect their religious personalities or foster social integration and cohesion. As a result, it concludes that Afghan migrants have strong religious identities but generally develop integration and cohesion behavior.

Key Words: Afghan migrants, religious life, religious socialization, integration, social cohesion

Introduction

Türkiye has recently become not only a point of transit for irregular migrants but also a country of destination for them. The average of the last ten years reveals that around 165,000 irregular migrants have been caught a year. Almost half of those defined as irregular migrants are Afghan individuals, who are the subject of this study (GİB, 2022). The determining factors in international migration movements include wars, terrorism, ethnic pressure, famine, drought, natural disasters, climate change, poverty, unemployment, discrimination, inequality, and the desire to access goods and services in developed societies and to live in a democratic environment. The factors which push and attract Afghan migrants to move seem to provide sufficient motivation for this too. Indeed, these factors can even be evaluated as vital for sustaining their lives.

The status of Afghan migrants in Türkiye differs from that of Syrians. As opposed to the status of "temporary protection" afforded to Syrians, the status of "conditional refugees" is given to Afghans.

Türkiye has created a migration status to overcome the "geographical restrictions" set out in the 1951 Geneva Convention. The status of conditional refugee is given to "individuals who requested international protection from Türkiye to take refuge in third countries, by claiming that they possess the conditions set out in the definition of refugees due to incidents which occurred outside Europe." (GİB, 2022). The migration quotas of receiving countries have steadily decreased in recent years, while the conditions for acceptance have become longer and more uncertain. This has decreased the hopes of Afghan migrants going to third countries. On the other hand, some Afghan migrants who illegally entered Türkiye have either not applied for international protection or have had their applications denied.

Although Afghan migrants (like Syrian migrants, who are also considered to be "guests") are progressing from being guests towards becoming settlers, their relationship and interaction with settled societies have become uncertain as a result of their troubled situation. Another factor supporting this appearance of settlement is that Afghan migrants have started participating in the Turkish labor market to sustain their existence and extend their stay. Afghan migrants, who can find employment as illegal workers in the construction, agriculture, and stockbreeding sectors in particular, due to their legal status, are thus able to integrate into the settled society.

On this basis, it has become crucial to examine the relationship and interactions between Afghan migrants and the Turkish community, as well as their patterns of integration and cohesion processes. This study evaluates the settlement of Afghan migrants as a subject of study over and above the emphasis made on the identities of these groups as "guests." The study sets off from the shared religious beliefs that unite the two societies to evaluate the appearance of the migrants becoming settled, as well as to be able to examine possible differences, discriminations, and/or isolations.

Afghanistan is an Islamic country, with 99% of its population being Muslim. The majority of the community are members of the Ḥanafiyyah sect. Still, apart from the Sunnīs, approximately 15 to 20 percent of the population are members of different branches of the

Shīʿah (Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, 2009). Some incidents significantly altered people's perceptions of religion and communal life. During the Soviet Union-Afghanistan war (1979-1989), the struggle against the communist regime was labeled a "jihad," which increased the authority of religious figures in Afghan society. Other effective incidents include the Taliban movement's presence and the teachings instilled in Afghan refugees at religious schools established for them in Pakistan. "Wahhabi thinking," "Pashtun tribe customs and beliefs," and "Deoband school religious beliefs and teachings" are significant factors in the Taliban's perception of religion. Ultimately, a rigid structure of shariʿa law was propped up by violence in Afghanistan (Mohammadi 2022, 55-57). On the other hand, as stated by Büyükkara (2012, 1306), "Neither the Shīʿīs, whom they refer to as 'Īrānī,' the Salafi, whom they refer to as 'Wahhābī,' nor the Islamists, whom they refer to as 'Ikhwānī' possess a reputable place in the unique mindset of the Taliban." Based on this interpretation, Ahmadi (2017, 128) states that there is a Khārijī mindset in the religious perceptions and practices of the Taliban. This perception of religion, defined as "Ḥanafī Salafism," possesses a traditional, strict, and distinct structure. Therefore, while the two communities share the same religious beliefs, there are significant differences in interaction between religion and society, or in other words, in their lifestyle and religious life.

This study focuses on the religious ways of life of Afghan migrants before and after their migration by tracking these differences and aims to convey the reasons for any possible changes together with the outcomes of such changes. The study also examines how Afghan migrants perceive their religious way of life in Türkiye, their religious socialization in Türkiye, and their challenges. It also discusses whether this story is progressing as a form of social cohesion or segregation. Thus, it attempts to understand and interpret the distance between Afghan migrants and Turkish society based on religious ways of life and practices.

1. Afghan Migration from the Perspective of Social Integration and Cohesion

Afghan migration is regarded as an imperative and irregular form of migration. Therefore, three options were developed for Afghan migrants under the international protection legislation: integration, resettlement in a third country, and "voluntary" repatriation (İçduygu and Ayaşlı 2019, 1). The presence of war and conflict in Afghanistan renders discussions of the third option pointless within the context of the "principle of non-refoulement." On the other hand, Western countries' migration policies are becoming stricter, making the second option uncertain. Under these circumstances, the only concrete and practical option for Afghan migrants is to integrate into the host community.

Theories such as assimilation, cultural amalgamation, integration, and multiculturalism provide the primary conceptual framework in studies dealing with the settlement of migrant individuals and groups in host countries, as well as their relationships and interactions with the receiving communities (see Faist 2000; Bloch 2002; Kivisto 2002; Castles and Miller 2003; Martikainen 2013). Discussions on globalization, post-modernism, and the diaspora have been added to this notional framework recently (see Martikainen 2013). The primary conceptual framework of this study is discussions on "integration." In contrast with assimilation and cultural fusion, integration possesses content such as "being similar," "cultural interaction," and "non-integration" and emphasizes difference and culture. Therefore, it includes content distinct from "multiculturalism" (see Martikainen 2013).

"Social integration" and "social cohesion" were preferred over the concept of integration within the scope of the study. This ensures that the notions complement each other rather than being used as substitutes. Social cohesion and social integration also provide a proper perspective in removing potential conflicts, isolations, exclusions, and other problems and developing solutions. Moreover, they provide a convenient conceptual framework "for examining, understanding, and defining the interaction and relationship between individuals who have obtained refugee status as a result of forced migration and the local

population at the regional level." (Özçürümez and İçduygu 2021, 17).

Integration possesses cultural, structural, and political aspects. Structural integration consists of the entry of migrant individuals and groups into various sectors, organizations, and institutions and/or their ability to generate alternative forms at these organizations (economics, education, politics, parties, religious communities, etc.). Political integration covers the legal rights granted to migrants by the state (citizenship, residency permits, dual nationality, etc.). On the other hand, cultural integration refers to the conformity of migrant communities with local values, rules, behavior, and so on, as well as the manifestation of the cultural world of the host country to migrants (see Martikainen 2013).

This study on the integration and cohesion of Afghan migrants with the host community focuses on "cultural cohesion." Religion is one of the variables to consider when cultural cohesion is questioned. The distance between the religious customs and lifestyle of the host community and migrant communities can impact their relationships, interactions, and thus their cultural cohesion. Accordingly, this study discusses the religious life of Afghan migrants before and after the migration under the heading "cultural cohesion." It also examines whether Afghan migrants have developed a behavior to protect their religious identities/character or integrated their own religious identities with those of the cultural world of the host community as a result of the cultural interaction.

2. The Related Studies in the Literature

The phenomenon of international migration, which has become a global problem, is a common denominator in many disciplines. International migration is examined under some headings, such as the causes for migration movements, the pushing and pulling factors in the migration process, the patterns of integration between migrants and the local community, the migrants' behaviors for cohesion, their problems (such as exclusion, discrimination, racism, etc.), economic activities, and political appearance. It is also addressed within legal and social rights, border security, international treaties, and cooperation.

Transnational migration movements toward Turkey have increased the number of studies in this field. However, a significant portion of these studies focuses on Syrian migrants. Examining the studies on Afghan migrants to Türkiye reveals that a large number of studies discuss the conditions and attributes of Afghan migrants' irregular journeys (Kaytaz 2016); their reasons for the irregular migration, processes of migration, reasons for choosing Türkiye, the way they appear in Türkiye and the potential outcomes of this migration for Türkiye (Ökten 2012; Koç 2017b; Cankara and Çerez 2020; Özgün 2021; Tümtaş 2022; Üstün and Vargün 2022); their lives in Türkiye, difficulties, needs, and opportunities (Yıldırım 2018; Hashemi and Ünlü 2021; Karakaya and Karakaya, 2021); their outlook in the labor market (Güler 2020a); the perceptions and attitudes of the local population (Akkaş and Aksakal 2021); their plans and expectations for the future (Koç 2017a; Doğu 2022); their representation in the media (Erol and Göktuna Yaylacı 2022; Wakili and Cangöz 2022; Şit 2022); their use of the health services (Alemi et al. 2017); their mental health (Alemi et al. 2016); the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic (Bozok and Bozok 2020); their status as victims of human trafficking (Alakuş and Uzan 2020); the necessity for readmission agreements in the fight against irregular migration, based on the circumstances endured by the Afghans (Boran 2021); Afghan migration within the context of the management of migration (Kurger, Yetgin, and Türksoy 2021); the position of unaccompanied Afghan migrant children (Bozok and Bozok 2018); the cohesion programs for Afghan children (Bozkurt et al. 2020); and the inter-cultural experiences of Afghan students (Selvitopu and Gün 2020) in Türkiye.

Numerous theoretical and empirical studies examine and discuss the social integration patterns and behavior directed at the cohesion of the migrant groups in Türkiye (Kaya 2014; Taşçı and Kara 2019; Güler 2020b; Çalışkan Sarı et al. 2021; Ok Şehitoğlu 2021; Cantekin and Taşbaş 2022). Syrians have been chosen as the subject of a significant portion of the studies on the integration, social acceptance, cohesion, etc., of refugee and asylum seeker migrant groups (Erkan 2016; Yaman 2017; Süleymanov and Sönmez 2017; Yıldırımalp, İslamoğlu, and İyem 2017; Duğan and Gürbüz 2018; Erdoğan 2018; Barın 2019; Duman 2019; Koçan and Kırlıoğlu 2020;

Yıldırım and Dinler 2021; Maqul, Güneş, and Akın 2021; Shaherhawasli and Güvençer, 2021; Taş 2021; Çevik and Buz 2022; Şallı 2022). However, studies albeit limited in number on Afghan migrants' integration, social acceptance, cohesion, etc., are also available (Yeler 2021; Coşkun and Çetin 2022; Kan and Köroğlu 2022).

Similar to this study, some studies examine the religious lives of migrants, their socialization, the changes in their levels of devoutness before and after migration, and their religious adaptation, based on the relationship among religion, migration, and cohesion (Connor 2010; Diehl and Koenig 2013; Yavuz 2013; Friberg and Sterri 2021; Khoudja 2022; Schensnovich 2022). Yet, a limited number of studies have been conducted on the Syrians in Türkiye, and their content overlaps with the scope of this study within this scope (Erkan 2016; Özcan 2019; Yakut 2019; Yaralıoğlu 2019; Yaralıoğlu and Güngör 2020).

In contrast to the previous studies, this study examines the relationship among religion, migration, and cohesion based on Afghan migrants in Türkiye. No other studies examine this relationship from the perspective of Afghan migrants, which makes this study distinctive in the academic literature. It is also the only one in which Antalya was selected as the study area.

3. The Purpose of the Study

The study aims to present information concerning the religious ways of life of Afghan migrants, who reside in rural areas, participate in the area's labor force and enter into relationships with local individuals and organizations before and after their migration. It also attempts to illustrate the changes in this regard, determine their opinions on the religious life in Türkiye, and provide a thematic analysis of the actors and practices in their religious socializations in Türkiye. Thus, it tries to determine whether the actions and behavior of Afghan migrants are geared toward preserving their religious character/identities in their home country or fostering cohesion. Under this framework, the following study issues were identified:

- How do Afghan migrants assess their religious life before migration?

- How do Afghan migrants evaluate their religious ways of life after migration? What changes have been made to the religious ways of life? How do they evaluate these changes?

- What do Afghan migrants think about the religious lifestyle in Türkiye? What are the similarities and differences with Afghanistan?

- What are the actors/agents that stand out in their religious socialization in Türkiye? What religious socialization tools/practices do they use? What kind of challenges do they face in their religious socialization?

4. Method

4.1. Study Pattern

This study employs a phenomenological study design and focuses on the experiences, lifestyles, and perceptions of a group of migrants who have encountered a phenomenon such as international migration and are endeavoring to continue their religious life within a different location, culture, and lifestyle. As a pattern of qualitative studies, phenomenological studies focus on the personal lives of individuals and groups in connection with the matter in question. The goal is to portray the meaning of the individuals and groups in relation to what they have experienced. However, "phenomenology is not only a portrayal but also an interpretational process whereby the researcher comments on the meaning of experiences which have occurred." (Manen 1990, relayed by Cresswell 2007, 59). This study attempts to comprehend the impact of migration experience from participants' subjective world on religious lives. Also, their religious life, socialization, and practices in Türkiye have been interpreted from the participants' point of view.

4.2. The Study Group

The Evrenseki, Çolaklı, Yavrudoğan, Gündoğdu, and Taşağıl neighborhoods in the Manavgat district of Antalya were selected as the study area. This location was chosen because the researchers

live there, have local connections, and have long observed it. Firstly, Afghan migrants' neighborhoods, social settings, places of employment, etc., were identified. The researchers visited these places in person to carry out their observations. The periods of the observations were kept flexible to obtain more detailed information. Thus, they found the opportunity to observe the migrant groups in the different environments in which they live. The information and impressions obtained on the subject during these observations were documented by taking notes in accordance with the study's objectives. The study, which follows a phenomenological pattern, aims to understand the social reality of the socially constructed community, so the field studies are conducted over a long time. An easily accessible area was chosen to compensate for the extended period.

The neighborhoods selected as the field of the study are located within the other regional tourism locations and on either side of the D400 highway. Accommodation facilities such as all-inclusive hotels, guest houses, holiday homes, and apart-hotels can be found in the settlements to the right of the road from Antalya to Manavgat. Tourists, local tradespeople, and those with vacation homes frequent these areas. On the other hand, the other road areas host the local population and migrants who have come to the region to work. In essence, the study field comprises this region with rural characteristics. Afghan migrants primarily concentrate on agricultural production rather than the tourism sector. Thus, Afghan migrants, who are employed in cold storage facilities, greenhouse cultivation, and other agricultural activities, were determined as the research group of this study. The snowball sampling method was selected in the study to reach individuals and groups experiencing and reflecting the phenomenon under investigation (religious life, which is changing and transforming together with the experience of migration). Interviews were held between June and August 2022 with sixteen male and five female Afghans.

4.3. Data Collection Tool

As phenomenological studies aim to obtain in-depth information and make inferences on the question, in-depth interviews are frequently preferred as the data collection method. Both in-depth

interviews were held, and field observation notes were taken in this study to collect data on how individuals perceive and experience social realities. The narratives describing the migration experiences of Afghan migrants were also used as data in the study.

4.4. The Study Group

The interviews were recorded using a recording device, transcribed, and transferred onto a computer. Each interviewee's data were coded as G1, G2, and G3… to ensure their anonymity. The content analysis technique was utilized for the analysis of the data. The content analysis aims to collect similar data within the framework of certain concepts and themes and systematically structure the data so that the reader can understand and interpret them (Yıldırım and Şimşek 2005, 227). The MAXQDA program was utilized to perform these procedures. The following steps constitute the data analysis process:

- Structuring raw data and completing incomplete statements to ensure that they can be understood;

- Transferring interviewee-organized data to the MAXQDA program;

- Coding the data (that is, the selection of words or phrases, conceptualization);

- Associating the coding and conceptualization, and theming;

Classifying the findings under themes and interpreting them.

4.5. The Limitations of the Study

As each study is conducted at a particular place/time or on a particular subject, there is always the possibility of certain limitations. One of these limitations is the failure to conduct lengthy interviews for various reasons (such as language problems, unsuitable working environments, illegal employment, and the uncertainty of their migrant status). The researcher lived in the same region, which helped establish an atmosphere of trust. The researchers set a positive interaction with the interviewee, encouraging them not to be shy or embarrassed and attempting to allay their fears. The interview questions are intended to be adaptable. And the probes were designed to ensure that the potentially ambiguous questions were adequately understood.

Nonetheless, the responses were brief (single sentences). This resulted in the study process becoming longer, and the researchers felt they had reached saturation point only after interviewing 21 individuals. The interviews were conducted in Turkish. The assistance of a translator was sought for statements that could not be understood. A significant proportion of Afghan migrants are male, which explains why there are fewer women among the participants.

5. The Findings of the Study

This section of the study primarily contains information concerning the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample group and migration narratives. Then, analysis and interpretation are based on the four identified themes. Additionally, an attempt was made to present the subject matter from an integrative perspective:

5.1. The Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Sample Group

Table 1 displays the participants' factual identities (socio-demographic and economic characteristics).

Gender	Age	Academic Status	Vocation (Country of Origin)	Vocation (Türkiye)	Marital Status	Nationality	Arrived From	Has been in Türkiye for	Has been in Antalya for	Level of Faith
Male	24	Primary School	Baker	Agricultural (greenhouse) worker	Single	Turkmen	Herat-Center	9 months	9 months	Medium
Male	22	Secondary School	Unemployed	Agricultural (greenhouse) worker	Engaged	Uzbek	Faryab-Maymanah	5 years 2 months	5 years	High
Male	18	Primary School	Farmer	Agricultural (greenhouse) worker	Single	Uzbek	Faryab-Maymanah	1 year	1 year	Medium

Gender	Age	Education	Occupation	Job	Marital Status	Ethnicity	Origin			Level
Male	29	High School	Soldier	Agricultural (greenhouse) worker	Married	Uzbek	Kunduz	1.5 years	1.5 years	High
Male	31	Illiterate	Unemployed	Agricultural (greenhouse) worker	Married	Tajik	Takhār	2 years	1.5 years	Medium
Male	21	High School	Farmer	Agricultural (greenhouse) worker	Single	Pashtun	Mazār-i Sharīf	3 years 2 months	3 years	High
Male	24	Illiterate	Farmer	Agricultural (greenhouse) supervisor	Married	Pashtun	Mazār-i Sharīf	8 years 9 months	8 years	Medium
Male	24	Primary School	Unemployed	Digger operator	Engaged	Pashtun	Mazār-i Sharīf	9 years 9 months	9 years	Medium
Female	26	University	Housewife	Housewife	Married	Uzbek	Takhār	4 years 3 months	3.5 years	High
Male	22	High School	Grocery Store Clerk	Agricultural (greenhouse) worker	Engaged	Tajik	Takhār	6 years 6 months	6 years	Medium
Male	27	Primary School	Farmer	Agricultural (greenhouse) worker	Engaged	Pashtun	Mazār-i Sharīf	3 years	1.5 years	Medium
Male	22	High School	Butcher	Agricultural (greenhouse) worker	Engaged	Tajik	Kabul	3 years 10 months	3 years	Low

Gender	Age	Education	Occupation		Marital Status	Ethnicity	Province			
Male	24	Illiterate	Unemployed	Shepherd	Single	Pashtun	Kapisa	6 years	9 months	Medium
Female	24	University	Teacher	Housewife	Married	Uzbek	Takhār	3 years	1.5 years	Medium
Male	31	University	Agricultural Engineer	Agricultural (greenhouse) worker	Married	Uzbek	Takhār	4 years 6 months	3 years	Medium
Male	23	Primary School	Unemployed	Agricultural (greenhouse) worker	Engaged	Uzbek	Takhār	4 years	2 years	Medium
Female	26	Illiterate	Housewife	Agricultural worker	Married	Tajik	Samangan	1.5 years	1.5 years	High
Male	24	High School	Machinist	Agricultural worker	Single	Pashtun	Kunduz	Seven years	5 days	Medium
Female	28	University	Teacher	Housewife	Married	Uzbek	Takhār	2 years 4 months	2 years	High
Male	28	University	Tradesman	Agricultural (greenhouse) worker	Married	Uzbek	Takhār	8 years 4 months	6 years	Medium
Female	27	Primary School	Housewife	Housewife	Married	Uzbek	Takhār	4 years	4 years	High

Table 1. The Socio-Demographic Information of the Participants

The majority of the irregular migrants are men. When financial resources and a certain level of physical strength are required for border crossing, male migrants are known to be more active. The migrants attempt to organize themselves in the receiving country and then try to bring their families. This is also the case for Afghan migrants. Sixteen participants were male, and the average age of the sample group was 25. Statistical data concerning the socio-demographic characteristics of Afghan migrants in Türkiye has not been shared yet. However, the images in the media and our observations during the scope of the field study indicate that most Afghan migrants are young males.

When the academic status of the participants is examined, it appears that four are illiterate, six are in primary school, two are in secondary school, four are high school graduates, and five have Bachelor's degrees. It is striking that three of the female participants hold Bachelor's degrees. In this regard, it is crucial to examine whether academic standing is a determining factor in women's migration. In general, the academic standing of participants appears to be low. The participants stated that they had also received an education at a Muslim theological school. Indeed, some participants stated that their only education was at a Muslim theological school.

Examining the occupational status of participants reveals differences between their occupations in their country of origin and their target country. Before migration, the male migrants worked as baker, soldier, grocery store clerk, butcher, agricultural engineer, teacher, machinist, and merchant. After migration, they worked as a greenhouse worker, shepherd, and digger operator. The employment opportunities in the areas where the migrants reside seem to be a determining factor in their occupational mobility. On the other hand, four of the female migrants are housewives. The female participants with Bachelor's degrees who worked as teachers or course tutors in their home country state that they cannot participate in working life for various reasons, including the inability to find employment, language barriers, or issues with the equivalency of their diplomas. Ten participants are married, six are engaged, and five are single. A significant proportion of the married

reported leaving their spouses and children in Afghanistan when they emigrated.

Afghanistan is home to a large number of ethnic groups. Pashtuns are the dominant ethnic group in the country. The Tajiks, Uzbeks, Khazars, Turkmens, and other ethnic groups follow them. The ethnic identities of the participants reveal that ten are Uzbek, six are Pashtun, four are Tajik, and one is Turkmen. All of the participants identified themselves as Sunnī Muslims.

Before moving to Antalya, the participants lived in various regions of Türkiye, including Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, Konya, Isparta, Van, Mersin, Adana, and Bolu. On the other hand, the duration of their stay in Antalya clarifies why Afghan immigrants should be evaluated as "settlers" rather than "guests." This is confirmed by the presence of a migrant who has lived in Türkiye for nine years and is currently employed.

5.2. The Migration Narratives of the Sample Group

For a variety of reasons, such as domestic turbulence, political uncertainty, social crisis, war, ethnic pressure, and famine, people may migrate to different countries, either individually or en masse, thus becoming a part of the mobility which exceeds borders. Their narratives encompass their experiences before, during, and after migration. Who decided to migrate? What triggered or drew them to migrate? What did they experience during their migration? When considering matters such as intermediaries, the manner of the journeys, those they left behind, adaptation, separation, and the reunification of families, it is evident that each migration story is unique.

The participants were compelled to undertake a hazardous journey and abandon their homes due to the long-standing violence in Afghanistan, the Taliban's oppression, and the prevalence of unemployment and poverty. The existence of an unsafe tremulous atmosphere seems to have removed their sense of belonging to this geographical region, which was already difficult to live in:

> I went from Van to Ankara and then to Antalya. It took me approximately 9-10 days to get here from Iran. We gave one thousand dollars to the smugglers. I came from Pakistan to Iran. It was a challenging journey for us. We encountered no

police in Iran. I waited for one night in a house at the border. I came by coach from Doğubayazıt to Ankara. We bought tickets. There are many smugglers –maybe around 20– who brought us here. We had no choice but to travel on tough roads and encountered many difficulties. What could we do? They would have killed me if I had stayed there. The Taliban came and expelled us away from our homes. We had no choice. My father told me to go. I came to Iran. I am not happy with Iranians, but I am happy with Turks. I came to Türkiye, worked, earned a living, fed myself, and even sent money to my children. Thank you. You are our brothers. We will not do any wrong to you. (G4, Male, Uzbek)

The migration narratives indicate that the experience of crossing borders led the migrants first to Pakistan and then to Iran. Both of these countries serve as transit points for migrants. Afghan migrants, unable to access adequate economic resources, migrated to Türkiye from this geographical region after being oppressed and frozen out in these countries, labeled as "unwanted guests" and factionalized. Even though their final target is not Türkiye, they mostly end up in Türkiye due to their difficulties, the high fees they pay to traffickers, or because they have been subjected to violence during their travels. Türkiye seems to serve as a "buffer zone" between the East and West for refugees, asylum seekers, and other migrant groups.

I worked in a grocery store when I was in Afghanistan. I was earning around 5000 a month in our own money. Ours is a very large family. That is approximately ten people... We recognized that the money we were earning was insufficient. It was acceptable when my brothers and sisters were young... But after a few years, it was no longer sufficient. Life was becoming increasingly challenging. We are still young. We also wanted to get married, buy our own homes, and so on. Then, I said to myself, "That will not occur here." So we had no other option. I came to Iran and worked there for two to three years. I was also able to send some money from there. We bought some land in Afghanistan and had a house built; we could not complete it. Then the value of the Iranian currency decreased too. So, I moved on to Türkiye. Thus, I

came here, now work here, and send money to my family. But life is also difficult here now because the value of the currency has also declined here. I am not considering any other countries, because going to Europe is very difficult. If we wanted to go through illegal means, they would charge us 8,000 Euros. Where will we obtain so much cash? I hope we will be able to return to our native country. (G10, Male, Tajik)

Located at the center of the Eastern Mediterranean route of migration, Türkiye frequently experiences an influx of migration from the Middle East and Central Asia. Moreover, migrants do not view Türkiye as a transit country in recent years. The participants' responses indicate that they see Türkiye not only as a transit but also as a destination country. Some migrants use Iran and Pakistan only as transit points but aim to reach Türkiye directly through their social relationships and networks. From their accounts, it appears that the decision to migrate was made by their families. Due to the high risk and expense of the journey, men attempt migration first, followed by their families:

My husband came to Türkiye first. His Turkish boss invited him. I was invited a year later, but I was pregnant, so I could not come then. We had to arrive through illegal means later. My father sent me as far as Iran. I arrived in Iran with my uncles. I had given birth four months earlier. My older brother picked me up from Iran and brought me to Türkiye. Then my husband picked me up in Van, and we flew to Ankara... (G21, Female, Uzbek)

According to the migrants' narratives, the decision to migrate is influenced by motivating or triggering factors than by factors that make the receiving country appealing (that is, the war, conflicts, endeavoring to escape oppression, and the desire to continue their existence, rather than economic expectations). Migrants who can afford the cost of migration and accept the risks of a difficult and uncertain journey intend to use the money they earn to support the families they have left behind and eventually bring their families to Türkiye. The presence of social networks and the ability of traffickers to operate without problems in this region also contribute

to the continuation of the migration movement and the migration flow.

5.3. The Religious Lives of Afghans Before Migration

The practice of a religion may vary depending on the circumstances of a given time and place. In other words, even though the essence of religion possesses the same content, the practice of religious beliefs may vary to a different extent from person to person, community to community, culture to culture, and region to region. Therefore, religious practices may also change to some extent due to a cross-border move, which profoundly impacts an individual's biography and changes their lifestyle. Participants were asked "how their religious life was before migration" to determine the direction and degree of this possible change.
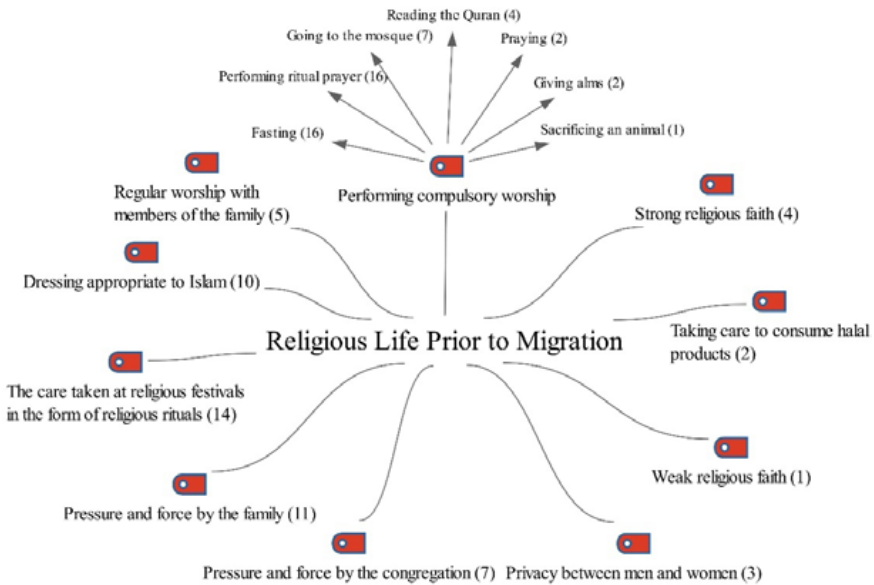
Figure 1. A Hierarchical Code and Sub-Code Model Concerning Religious Life Before Migration

The majority of respondents who claim to be devout and have a solid religious identity define this by their capacity to perform their required worship. The participants report performing their religious duties, such as "fasting," "performing the ritual prayer," and "going

to the mosque" more intensely before migration. They also performed other compulsory religious duties, such as "reading the Qurʾān," "praying," "giving alms," and "sacrificing an animal for God":

> Religion is highly significant in Afghanistan. For instance, I performed the ritual prayer five times a day there. I attended the mosque, and I fasted too. I was not working when I was there anyway. I was constantly at the mosque or the theological school. No one told me to perform the ritual prayer – I was doing it anyway. (G13, Male, Pashtun)

> I performed the ritual prayer five times a day and fasted. I would fulfill my religious duties. (G9, Female, Uzbek)

> I was attending the theological school there. I read the Qurʾān. We would give alms. For instance, we owned a vineyard and would give alms from what we made there. The tradesmen would close their shops at Friday prayer time. We would go to pray even if we were working. (G2, Male, Uzbek)

The participants also report differences in their practices during special religious days, nights, and festivals. For instance, Afghan migrants state there was greater enthusiasm for holy days, nights, and festivals in their native country. People of all ages and social strata acted in a particular way. However, after migration, they could no longer feel this enthusiasm and importance in Türkiye. They also note differences between Türkiye and Afghanistan in the rituals observed during religious festivals (such as the sacrifice of animals and distribution of meat).

> The Ramadan Feast and the Festival of the Sacrifice were more vehement there. We gave all our meat to the poor at the Festival of the Sacrifice. None of that exists here... We run out of meat on the first day of the festival. I have resided here for seven years. We never experienced anything like that in our family in Afghanistan. We usually sacrificed three or four animals in our family. Here, meat is expensive, and we are only able to consume meat a few times per month. I never had a festival here when someone gave me meat. (G18, Male, Pashtun)

> The people that attend the festivals in Afghanistan are very happy. The three days are delightful, and everyone feels very happy. Family members come and go. Here, it is no different from a normal day. In Afghanistan, the sacrificed animal is divided into three shares. Here, our neighbor has a daughter. She came to us. We sliced the meat and stored it all in the freezer. I asked myself, "How is this possible?" It is a scandal for us. (G19, Female, Uzbek)

Childhood lays the groundwork for a lifelong devotion to traditional worship and entrenched belief patterns. Thus, family members are the primary religious socialization agents for children. A child whose religious education began and developed within the family environment acquires a system of religious beliefs that becomes increasingly permanent over time. Religious worship strengthens it further, ensuring that the individual develops a religious sense of belonging. The participants who state that they possessed a strong religious identity and that they were also firmly religious provide evidence of this through their living environment, the teachings of their family members, and their way of life:

> I formerly felt strongly Muslim. But I do not exactly so here. I lived in the center of Kunduz. My father used to describe religion to us. He would tell me to perform my ritual prayers and fast. He would not force me, but they would fast and perform their ritual prayers. We were young and witnessed it from them, so we also learned it. If the parents are religious, the child will be religious as well; otherwise, the children will not perform their prayers either. My parents performed their ritual prayers five times daily, and they fasted. They would advise us to do the same too. (G18, Male, Pashtun)

In contrast to the participants who assess their lives before migration positively and report having a strong religious identity and belief, some participants describe their religious life in Afghanistan negatively. According to these participants, religious life in Afghanistan is one of the limitations, restrictions, oppression, and violence by the government, the community, and the family. This suggests that these people practiced religion more out of fear and to avoid oppression and being ostracized rather than out of a

feeling of religious belonging. These participants had no solid religious identity previously. They report a decline in their religious practice after the migration due to the lack of social pressure:

> I used to perform the ritual prayer five times daily but would sometimes miss one and do it later. I would attend the mosque and listen to the sermons of the congregation, but I would not go to their gatherings. My parents would force me to go to the mosque. This is not something that you can do by force. My father would threaten to beat me. I do not think that is right. (G3, Male, Uzbek)

> For instance, our fathers would compel us to attend ritual prayers. If you are in the shop, they hit you with a stick and beat you, forcing you to go to the mosque and pray. If you do not go, someone else tells you they did not see you at the mosque. They beat you too. That is too much. If Türkiye becomes like Afghanistan, too, it will be very difficult. (G5, Male, Tajik)

Another factor that impacts the religious lives of migrants is the relationships and interactions in religious communities. They state that the religious communities and ruling authorities in Afghanistan (primarily the Taliban) keep religious life under control and employ practices of violence, oppression, force, and punishment to ensure the performance of worship:

> Before they arrived, I was doing things how I wanted to. I was already performing my ritual prayers and fasting. No one interfered. I would go to the mosque. But after attaining power, they compelled everyone. People reacted negatively, making it more difficult to do. (G4, Male, Uzbek)

> I always used to go to the mosque. The mosques were filled to the brim. If you had not attended the mosque, your friend would have forced you to do so. Now the Taliban maintains attendance lists at the mosques and punishes those who do not attend. (G16, Male, Uzbek)

It is known that religion has written and oral doctrines and rules. Establishing a religious organization and sustaining its consistency are influenced by values as well. Religion eventually becomes an

effective mechanism for controlling and supervising communities. Religious orders and prohibitions can be used as a point of reference in constructing a community based on certain limits and restrictions –or in other words, oppression– on social life in particular. Individuals in such a situation may react by "adapting" or "assenting" to the existing situation or by "withstanding" it or "running away" from it. Afghan migrants state that religion impacted their social life, principally concerning their clothes, over and above performing their compulsory worship. Dressing according to Islamic principles is subject to strict rules and sanctions in Afghanistan. For men and women Islamic clothing constitutes covering up, wearing a veil, and concealment. Within this scope, the women state that they were required to wear long dresses and wear a *ḥijāb* or a *burqah*, and the men say they could not wear clothing such as shorts there (in Afghanistan):

> It would not matter if you were covered up before the Taliban. That was not a problem in urban areas. After the Taliban's arrival, everyone must cover themselves. They must wear the *ḥijāb*. (G8, Male, Pashtun)

> Our arms were not uncovered anyway, there. Our sleeves were long. After the Taliban, even going to the market requires a male companion. If he is not present, they will beat you. (G14, Female, Uzbek)

Other indicators of an Islamic lifestyle include privacy, the separation of men and women, and the consumption of halal products. These sensitivities can also transform with the migration process:

> I did not use to dress like this in Afghanistan. If I had dressed as I do here, no one would have said anything in Herat. 20% wear trousers. In the center, the females are also covered normally. We sit separately if there are people we do not know, but we sit together with guests if we know everyone. (G1, Male, Turkmen)

The changes in performing their compulsory worship appear at the top of the differences in religious life and practices expressed here (in Türkiye) and there (in Afghanistan). This propounds the acceptance of a new religious order that individuals have

constructed in their semantic world in line with the place to which they have migrated and the conditions they encounter there. It is also clear that Afghan migrants have a strong religious identity. This cannot be explained solely by the deterministic influence of religion on the social life of their native country. Having a traditional structure and strong family ties also strengthens their religious identity and increases their level of religiosity. Those who report living according to their religious beliefs and principles before migration also state that holy days, nights, and festivals were celebrated more intensely and specifically there (in Afghanistan).

On the other hand, they cite force and violence as negative aspects of their religious lives before migration. Numerous religious orders and restrictions inevitably became mandatory in their daily lives due to the determining influence of religion on communal life. Religion, which evolves into a mechanism of control and supervision over the community, may also provide power and authority to structures such as the Taliban. Women are affected more by this situation than others. Some participants who rate the impact of religion on social life in Afghanistan as unfavorable view the religious life in Türkiye as more favorable. Certain restrictions on clothing in Afghanistan, especially for women, seem to make Türkiye more attractive to them.

5.4. The Religious Lives of Afghans After Migration

The act of migration creates significant changes and trouble areas for individuals and locations. Different structures and systems may emerge according to the cause, scale, and process of migration from the perspective of the place left behind and the location of the migrants' final destination. The economic, social, political, and cultural consequences of migration may affect the community and individuals. Some issues may arise in the receiving country, such as the process of cohesion of the migrants, the acceptance of the migrants by the local population, the spiritual, social, and cultural values of the region where the migrants have moved, and the integration and social cohesion of the migrants with the existing population.

Like other cultural elements, religion is also one of the burdens migrants bring to their new country" (Özmen 2012, 77). At this

point, it becomes necessary to examine the extent to which migrants have been able to preserve their religious identities and religious practices. To find out the changes in their religious feelings, thoughts, lives, and practices, participants were asked, "How are your religious lives following migration?"

Feeling comfortable and liberated (7)   Missing worship as a result of working life (7)

Changes in mode of dress (8)

Fall in the performance of worship (5)

Language problems (12) ← — **Religious Way of Life Following Migration** — → Problems accessing religious mechanisms (4)

Being away from family and feeling lonely (2)

Impairment of the sensitivities with regard to halal products (3)

Changes in social life (2)   Increase in religious faith and worship (3)

Figure 2. A Hierarchical Code and Sub-Code Model Related to Religious Life Following Migration

According to the participants, the "language barrier" is the most crucial problem they face in their religious lives after migration. Insufficient knowledge of the Turkish language negatively impacts personal communication and, consequently, social lives. On the other hand, language is not merely a means of communication; it also transmits material and spiritual values, which affects religious life. The language barrier may cause additional problems, such as the inability to communicate sufficiently at religious venues, receive religious education, take advantage of religion-related services, and understand religious leaders' discourse, statements, and prayers. The participants report developing strategies to overcome these issues, such as going to sacred venues more often and spending more time with the congregations there. This effort is likely to help migrants integrate into the local population and develop an adaptation behavior.

> I was in Istanbul at first. I could not understand the sermon. I arrived during Ramadan, three years before this festival. I

> prayed there, in Istanbul, during the Ramadan Feast. That is to say, I went, prayed, and left. I did not understand the language. I sat there and did not understand what they were saying. (G6, Male, Pashtun)

> Religion was a major issue. You feel embarrassed. You do not understand the imam's words during the sermon. You cannot read the religious regulations here. We did not understand the language, so I thought to myself, "If you go to the mosque more frequently and listen more, you can learn the language faster." (G16, Male, Uzbek)

The participants cite their "inability to perform their worship" as another obstacle they faced in their religious lives after migration. Possessing the identity of a refugee or migrant may entail an insecure existence among the domestic population. Afghan migrants, who are a part of the domestic population's labor force but are employed without security, are defenseless and, therefore, subject to their employers' initiative. The participants who state this is also reflected in their religious lives report difficulty performing their worship. Some participants even had to change or quit their jobs to fulfill their religious duties:

> I left my job twice because of this. For instance, sometimes Fridays were very busy, and I had to perform my ritual prayer at work; I could not go to the mosque. But I left my job in Akseki because of that. I was told, "We have much work. If you fast, this will affect it." So I asked for my wages and left. That sort of thing cannot happen in our country. (G6, Male, Pashtun)

> There is work to do here, so I cannot go. I cannot leave here when there is work to be done. If I left and something were stolen, I would be responsible. I would have to answer for it. (G2, Male, Uzbek)

A significant number of the individuals in the sample group work in the agriculture sector, including fields, greenhouses, and cold storage facilities. Therefore, their workplaces may be some distance from town centers and, consequently, places of worship such as mosques. Some participants cite this as the reason why they have not been able to attend a mosque for a long time. Thus, "access to a

sacred venue" can be mentioned as another issue that participants face daily:

> The mosque is far from here. I have not been to a mosque for a year. (G3, Male, Uzbek)

> We do not go to the mosque anyway. We do not attend Friday prayers because the mosque is too far away. (G11, Male, Pashtun)

Some participants state that they could not perform their worship due to the conditions of the domestic population, and their motivation for this was reduced. Their interest in human matters had increased, and they behaved sinfully due to their concerns about "adapting to the current conditions." Some participants also report feeling shame and regret because of this:

> No ritual prayers or fasting are practiced here. Everything has been lost. You get up at five o'clock in the morning. Isn't it dark? And you do not know when you will finish work in the evening either. (G7, Male, Pashtun)

> I came here, and we can sometimes perform our ritual prayers three times a day, sometimes even less. I always managed to fast, though. I even managed to pray five times a day during Ramadan. But after that, the ritual prayer changes according to the circumstances. The reason is not the work either. We do not have that much work. It is simply laziness. (G11, Male, Pashtun)

Some Afghan immigrants have abandoned practices aimed at retaining their religious identities and adopted local cuisine. By distancing themselves from their religious identities, they have embraced local consumption habits and adjusted to their cultural values. Thus, they become, in a sense, a part of secular social life. This shock to their world of belief inevitably leads migrants to question their lifestyle. On the other hand, this situation of some participants is interpreted as an act of cohesion with the local community, thus legitimizing their lifestyle in a way. For instance, some participants who were highly sensitive to alcohol consumption before migration now view this as an act of cohesion:

I drink alcohol here. It would have been better if we had not formed this habit. But what can we do; it happened. (G8, Male, Pashtun)

Does a man consume raki there, in Afghanistan? Does he pour it into a glass? We do not drink from that glass. We break it. That is, no one talks to this man. A man is drinking raki from a glass here. I drink water from this glass. (Laughs) That is exactly what has happened to us here. It has been three years. We have become more relaxed, inevitably. (G12, Male, Tajik)

Some Afghan migrants attempt to preserve their religious characteristics. Some participants report fighting for existence within the local community after migration. They adhered more closely to their religious beliefs, prayed, resorted to God, and performed their other worship and rituals more frequently due to experiencing "mental and spiritual problems" and "feeling a regression in the spiritual sense." Possible causes for these issues include their longing for their home country, family, and social surroundings, loneliness, and the misfortune they had suffered during this period. This can be interpreted as the behavior of a typical community of migrants designed to preserve their identity, culture, beliefs, etc., within the local community:

I began to worship more after coming to Türkiye. I feel alone here, as I am far away from my family. So, I resort to God. I pray more and give thanks for what I have today. We are illegal immigrants here. If we are apprehended, we will be immediately deported. Praying is our only hope. (G9, Female, Uzbek)

I pray more here. You have gone through great difficulties to reach here. Some people call us foreigners when we do not speak Turkish. The statements about the Afghans upset and sadden us. That is why I have grown much closer to God. (G21, Female, Uzbek)

Clothing is another indicator of the change and transformation that also concerns the religious lives of Afghan migrants. The migrants' clothing contains traditional and cultural aspects and is a deterministic parameter of their religious identity. It has also changed after migration:

> Nothing has changed with my worship, but my dressing style has obviously changed. I used to wear long clothes there; I had to because that is what the elders and the family desired. They do not want fine attire. They do not wish your body to be visible. They want thick, long dresses. We used to wear long dresses. But I wear shorter ones here. There is no problem with that. (G14, Female, Uzbek)

> There is perpetual fear there. For instance, I cannot go out in Afghanistan in the clothes I wear here. They would look at us and scold us. But, if we wear our native attire here, the people here look at us and think we are strange. We have to adapt wherever we go. We have no choice. (G16, Male, Uzbek)

Statements of the participants reveal that Afghan migrants behave in a way that aims to preserve their religious characteristics while also attempting to adapt to the established order. Some individuals who continue their religious practices and adhere to their beliefs report changing attire styles, both because they are no longer subject to the impositions of an authoritarian regime and have fitted in with the local population. When the state restrictions in public areas and pressures from family, the religious community, and society on women in Afghanistan are considered, the situation in Türkiye can be described as a process of liberation, especially for Afgan migrant women. On the other hand, ostracizing and estrangement are understood to impact Afghan women's attire. Field observations also confirm this. It can be observed that their clothing, color choices, and even the manner they wear their headscarves are identical to those of local women. Some participants who want to "bring up their children like Turks" reveal that they altered their children's attire to fit the current conditions. The Afghan women who want to be "accepted" by the local community say they only wear their indigenous clothing among themselves during religious festivals, special days, and nights.

The participants' sense of peace and freedom after the migration is correlated with their attire and affects the other aspects of their social lives. Indeed, this is also the primary factor that prevents them from returning to Afghanistan: escaping from an authoritarian and

oppressive atmosphere to a democratic and peaceful one! Female participants, in particular, referred to the difficulties of being women in Afghanistan. The female migrants, previously excluded from public areas and treated as second-class citizens in Afghanistan, view the ability to go out independently and communicate with the other community members as a gain. On the other hand, the male migrants also share the emphasis on an atmosphere of peace and freedom:

> I am very comfortable here, thankfully. I can take my children and go to the park. We could not live there if we returned now. We have got used to living here. (G14, Female, Uzbek)

> If I returned there in this state, with tattoos on my arms, they would cut off my arms… My family was very angry when they saw the tattoos. Afghans do not get tattoos very much. Here, however, we desire to be like the Turks. If we return to Afghanistan, we will miss the relaxed atmosphere here. (G8, Male, Pashtun)

> I never spoke to girls like this in Afghanistan. But I am here in Türkiye, and I am talking to you. There, if a girl were to arrive, I would have to leave. (G12, Male, Tajik)

Afghan migrants' religious lives, feelings, and thoughts have undergone significant changes and transformations after their migration. The female migrants are more careful to preserve their religious characteristics than the male migrants. Women's experiences during and after migration have prompted them to adhere more closely to their beliefs and intensify their worship. On the other hand, the male participants have attempted to conform to the religious lives of the local population and to construct a new religious life for themselves. Male migrants can be said to have more opportunities to integrate with the existing community and develop cohesion behaviors due to their greater presence in public life.

In contrast to Afghanistan, where religion dominates the social structure and relationships, the presence of a secular social order in Türkiye has increased the visibility of migrant women in public life. The portrayal of Turkey as a more peaceful and liberated country in migrant women's statements confirms this. On the other hand, some participants view this negatively, saying that it leads to

degeneration, a departure from spiritual values, identity, and culture.

5.5. The Religious Socialization Practices of Afghan Migrants

Migration encompasses not only a location change but also the process of acquiring the cultural values, semantic world, and religious codes of the location to which the migrant moves. Integration with the local community, the development of cohesion behavior, and the generation of communication and interaction rely heavily on the practices of religious socialization. In addition, contact with religious groups and institutions can serve as a "buffer mechanism" for the individual, compensating for the compelling effects of migration. The study examined the relationship between religious socialization and cohesion, asking Afghan migrants, "What are the practices of religious socialization after migration?"
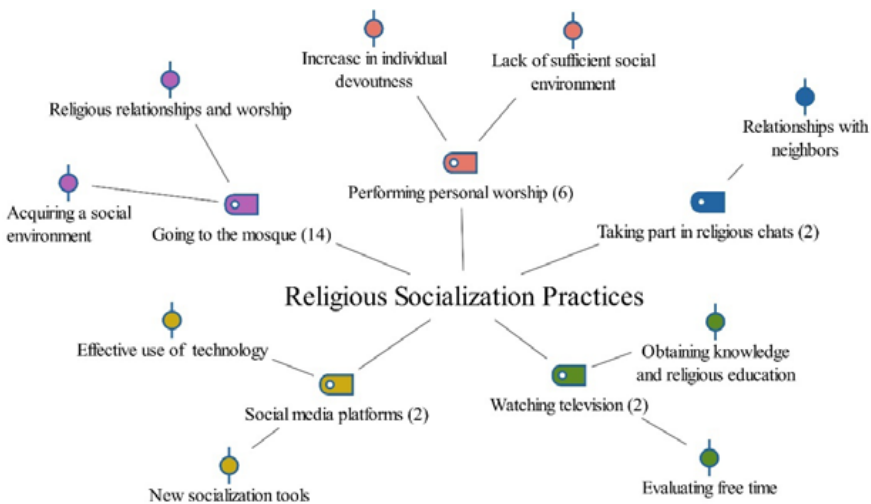
Figure 3. Code – Sub-Code Parts Model Related to Religious Socialization Practices

Afghan migrants view mosques not only as places of prayer but also as sites for their religious socialization practices. Mosques are evaluated as venues for establishing communication and interacting with the local community for Afghan migrants, who are subjected to new socialization practices. Thus, mosques are special places for the two groups to come together and gain mutual understanding. In other words, this is the practice of acquiring a social environment,

refreshing religious knowledge, preserving religious beliefs, and developing cohesion behavior. Male migrants utilize mosques more frequently than female ones, which enables male migrants to overcome their integration processes more easily and quickly. It is also clear that religious socialization facilitates acquiring the local community's language. Considering the opportunities offered by structures such as mosques to migrant individuals during their process of "transition," one can refer to this process as "structural cohesion" (Yaralıoğlu and Güngör 2020, 153).

> I do not know any associations, but I attended the mosques in previous workplaces. I joined the congregation and met its members. I examined carefully whether our religious practices differed in any way. (G3, Male, Uzbek)

> Since we are alone here, attending the mosque feels good. (G10, Male, Tajik)

> I attend the mosque to socialize. I have met lots of people older than me and my age there. I have made many friends within the congregation. Everyone is treated equally in mosques. No one is better than anyone else. No one cares whether you are Afghan, Turkish, or Kurdish. Enter and leave as you please. It is the house of God. (G20, Male, Uzbek)

Some participants have not been able to find sufficient opportunities for religious socialization after migration. Those who could not attend mosques reported worshipping at home. Language barriers, ignorance of religious institutions and organizations, and issues with access to sacred sites (mosques) have been cited as obstacles to religious socialization. From this point, one can argue that the unity of the congregation in Afghanistan has been replaced by an "individualistic" and "introverted" perception of religion in Türkiye.

> I am unable to attend the mosque, but I do pray. (G1, Male, Turkmen)

> I cannot attend the mosque at the moment, but I worship on my own. (G2, Male, Uzbek)

> I am unable to attend the mosque. I do not know any associations. My husband and I pray at home. (G17, Female, Tajik)

The restricted appearance of migrant women in the public arena also affects their (religious) socialization. However, migrant women can achieve social communication and interaction through active neighborly relationships. Afghan women can establish their own "habitus" in the local community by forming neighborly relationships with local or migrant women. Neighbors support their religious socialization and impact their integration and cohesion patterns. Afghan women state that they meet with their neighbors regularly and participate in activities such as reading the Qurʾān, holding Islamic memorial services, and engaging in religious conversations.

> The neighbor women gather in the building for religious conversations, but I cannot understand the language. That is a significant obstacle. You feel inevitably ashamed. (G9, Female, Uzbek)

> We hold memorial services with the Turkish and Afghan neighbors. It is fruitful, and it is at home. We commemorate God. (G21, Female, Uzbek)

The actors and practices involved in religious socialization have become increasingly diverse in recent years. The opportunities of the digital age, in particular, also impact the religious arena, and people can obtain their religious knowledge and practices from digital religious platforms. By transferring religious culture to the digital environment and presenting it to their liking, "individuals and groups confirm their virtual presence in the online environment, as well as their existence in the offline world" (Dereli 2019). Some participants support religious socialization by benefiting from traditional, new, and social media opportunities:

> Social media and the mosque. I watch religious videos of Turkish imams. (G7, Male, Pashtun)

> I watch television. We have some imams who are great scholars. (G15, Male, Uzbek)

The actors and practices that support the religious socialization of Afghan migrants vary according to gender. Male migrants work in the labor market, are more visible than women in the public arena, and can use prayer venues, such as mosques, more frequently, influencing their religious socialization. While performing their worship, male migrants meet the congregation at mosques, have opportunities to chat, meet their need for religious knowledge, and at the same time, contribute to their social cohesion processes (acquiring a social environment and learning the language of the local community). In contrast to male migrants, female migrants retain fewer opportunities for (religious) socialization, integration, and cohesion because their lives are more restricted and limited to their private lives (homes). Female migrants have no contact with religious institutions or groups and perform their worship at home. As a result, their piety is experienced more on a personal level. Some female participants attempt to overcome their limited public appearance through their relationships with their neighbors. They can integrate with the local community in this way while simultaneously supporting their religious socialization. In their present conditions, the participants seem to benefit from the opportunities of digital platforms and utilize media tools in their religious socialization practices. However, the effects of this type of religious socialization on integration and cohesion are unknown.

5.6. The Religious Life in Türkiye as Perceived by Afghan Migrants

The migrants, who participate in a new socialization experience with migration, attempt to adapt to the social order of the local community in this way. It can take time for them to accept and interiorize the degrees of difference between their identity, culture, beliefs, and world of values and those of the local community. Their shared religious beliefs can strengthen the processes of migrants' integration and cohesion during the transition period. On the other hand, the differences in the religious ways of life, as well as other differences, between the two countries can harm the cohesion process and lead to the migrants questioning and criticizing their own religious lives or those of the local community. Researchers asked Afghan immigrants, "What are your views on religious life in

Turkey?" to reveal the differences and understand how immigrants interpret these differences.

Perceiving the way of life as comfortable and liberated (9)

Emphasizing the consumption of products forbidden by religion (6)

Evaluating the rate of religious faith and worship as too low (17)

Feeling differences in the mode of dress (5)

Thoughts on the Religious Way of life in Turkiye

Seeing social relationships and the area of privacy differently (2)

Evaluating people as good / benevolent (3)

Finding religious education insufficient (4)

Figure 4. Hierarchical Code – Sub-Code Model Concerning the Opinions about the Religious Way of Life in Türkiye

5.3. The Migration Narratives of the Sample Group

The participants made a series of observations concerning the religious lives of the Turks. According to the participants, Turkish religious identities and sense of belonging are weak, and Turks are not religious and do not even perform their compulsory religious duties.

> People experience their religions freely here. Women who want to wear a veil do so, and those who do not wish do not wear it. Everyone experiences religion according to their own beliefs and wishes. It is acceptable if it is done in moderation, but young people are too liberated. They say, "no one interferes with anyone else," but is that desirable? If someone does not tell himself the truth, we are responsible for him too. He will be proceeding toward the flames in front of our eyes. It is our duty as brothers to tell him to stop. For instance, wouldn't you tell me to stop if I were to make myself ill here? They do not say anything here, but if society is corrupted,

how will you restore it? My father was a learned man. This is
how he used to describe the state of Islamic lands. We say
that Türkiye is our savior. If corruption is to occur, then
Türkiye is the last place that should be corrupted. Isn't that so?
(G9, Female, Uzbek)

Some participants emphasize that Türkiye is a more free country
than Afghanistan, but this freedom negatively affects aspects of
religious life. Despite their perception of the religious life in
Afghanistan as oppression and violence and the religious life in
Türkiye as peace and freedom, they criticize religiosity in Türkiye
regarding protecting religious personalities and fulfilling religious
practices. While they have no hopes for the situation in Afghanistan,
they have expectations for Türkiye, which confirms that. The
participants, in particular, criticize Türkiye for the lifestyle and
religious lives of the youth. However, their criticisms seem to be
based on the information obtained from social media rather than
their social circles, which is another issue that needs further
investigation.

The participants evaluate the religious life in Türkiye based
primarily on the country's lifestyle and consumption habits. They
take a critical stance on various issues, including the sale of
alcoholic beverages, the use of alcohol by Turks, the consumption
of products that should be forbidden, the relationships between
men and women, the invasion of privacy, and especially the attire of
young people. Such an assessment is understandable among
individuals raised in an authoritarian and oppressive social order
where regulations and restrictions are strictly and harshly enforced.

Another issue that is wrong in Türkiye is the sale of alcohol.
We are Muslims. This is wrong. (G2, Male, Uzbek)

For instance, there are numerous differences between Afghan
and Turkish youth. I observed a lot of things at my university.
Approximately 80% of the students in our class had
boyfriends or girlfriends. Consider it in this light. (G20, Male,
Uzbek)

Another expectation of the participants for their religious life in
Türkiye includes "religious education" and "religious services." After
evaluating the religious education and services in Afghanistan, some

participants claim that the situation in Türkiye is insufficient. They state that religious socialization supported primarily by the family, as well as the mosque and religious schools, is not present in Türkiye. Children do not receive religious education, and religious instruction is insufficient within the education system. Some participants even report enrolling their children in institutions that provide religious education. They believe that religious schools should also be present in Türkiye. In addition, each participant states that they are unaffiliated with any religious foundations, institutions, or organizations in Türkiye. They receive no aid and do not participate in any events of these institutions:

> The Qurʾān is not taught in the school here, but that is not the case in Afghanistan. We have lessons on the Qurʾān in the school, of course. And I am not referring to religious schools. I receive lessons on the Qurʾān every day. We also study the languages of Pashtun and Farsi. I attended the mosque early every morning until the age of 14-15. Every child in the village attends the mosque. We read the Qurʾān until 07:30 - 08:00... I look at the situation here. For me, 90% of the children here are zero. But, in Afghanistan, they attend religious school until the age of 15. My brother is 14, and he is a *ḥāfiẓ* of the Qurʾān. He is continuing to learn now. (G6, Male, Pashtun)

> I am currently teaching a little bit at home. I would send my kids to a religious school if one existed. My son attends Friday prayers with his father. We do whatever the laws of Türkiye require. I will let my daughter live as do Turkish girls... They have their own rights and regulations. It is the same in the Qurʾān as well, though. It is what God said. I will express what I believe. She is free to do it or not at her discretion. I will guide her as her mother. (G14, Female, Uzbek)

Some participants view the Turks' religious life favorably. According to the participants who describe the religious life in Türkiye as comfortable and free, a spirituality founded on freedom is more valuable than a religious way based on oppression, violence, and fear. Their statements about the Turks include that they have "pure hearts," they are "good people," and they are "benevolent," which could be seen as a result of their experiences

in Afghanistan and during their migration. Some participants embrace the lifestyle in Türkiye, evaluating the devoutness in Türkiye as individual devoutness and finding it pleasant.

> I like some of the things my Turkish friends do. For example, there is a wedding, a mosque, and a restaurant here. No one interferes in anyone else's life. For me, religion cannot be forced. People run away from that. I have seen here that fathers take their sons by the arms and lead them into the congregation... No one stares at women who do not cover their heads here. I do not look at them, nor does anyone else. In our country, if these girls were to pass by, everyone would stare. That is not the case here. What is important is to have a pure heart. I would be comfortable here if I brought my wife and children over. It is nice that people are liberated. (G4, Male, Uzbek)

> I think the Turks have a pure heart. They help any children or poor people they see here. That is not the case in Afghanistan. (G15, Male, Uzbek)

When the religious life and the degree of devoutness among Turks are evaluated from the point of view of Afghan migrants, significant differences appear. Afghan migrants view their religious characteristics and devoutness as stronger than that of the Turks. Some participants state that religious life in Türkiye functions more on an individual level and value the country's peaceful and free atmosphere. In contrast, some participants evaluate this as a lifestyle damaging religion and a degenerated or corrupted culture. They note deep-rooted differences in dress, the relationships between men and women, and perceptions of privacy. On the other hand, some participants, especially those who have lived in Türkiye for a long time, have integrated and adopted its religious life, lifestyle, and consumption habits after migration. Their beliefs and spiritual world are more flexible and adaptable.

Conclusion and Discussion

Migration encompasses not only the physical act of moving from one location to another or the movement of bodies and objects but also the process by which identities, cultures, beliefs, and values

move from one place to another. The issue is the togetherness of migrants and the host country's native population. The story emanating from this togetherness (integration, acceptance, cohesion or exclusion, alienation, and discrimination) is determined by the relationship that allows the two communities to understand each other.

With the experience of cross-border migration, migrants who find themselves within a new location, culture, lifestyle, etc., are unavoidably forced to adapt to the order of the local community. For this reason, human movement can bring significant changes in the world of migrants who are part of the continuity of daily life. Otherwise, if migrants bring their culture, lifestyle, and so on from their home country to the receiving country as is, they will be marginalized, excluded, and isolated, which can lead to a dispute over their position.

The religious lives, identities, feelings, and thoughts of Afghan migrants have undergone a distinct transformation. This change and transformation can be evaluated in terms of integration, the development of cohesion behavior, and community acceptance and approval. The changes in the performance of compulsory worship are the most notable aspects of the religious life and practices here (in Türkiye) and there (in Afghanistan). Previously possessing a solid religious character, living according to their religious beliefs and principles, and leading an intensive worship life, some migrants said this changed upon migration. While some felt uncomfortable and regretful because of this, others have embraced this "new" lifestyle.

Some participants define Afghanistan's religious life as restrictive, prohibitive, authoritarian, oppressive, and propped up by violence. They describe the religious life in Türkiye as comfortable, peaceful, and free. While some participants evaluate it as a move away from religion and toward a degenerate lifestyle, others see it as an opportunity. Considering the restrictions and prohibitions on women's public appearance in Afghanistan and the pressure exerted by the family, congregation, and society, the situation in Turkey may be viewed as an emancipation opportunity, particularly for Afghan women. This is regarded as valuable not just in

connection with women's dress but also their ability to participate in the public sphere, establish employment relationships, and benefit from educational opportunities. On the other hand, female participants are more diligent than their male counterparts in preserving their religious characteristics. The study by Yakut (2019) that examined the thoughts of Syrian migrant students on migration, religion, and integration revealed that the female students were more attached to their religion and had a more intensive life of worship than their male counterparts.

Some individuals may feel they are losing their identity, culture, and spiritual values due to this process of change and transformation that accompanies the settlement of migrants in the receiving country. Therefore, they may embrace their religion more profoundly and pursue a more intense life of worship to preserve what they have (identity, culture, values, and so on). And they attribute significance to the process they experience (the things that have happened to them, being away from their home country, loneliness, exclusion, discrimination, being an unwanted subject, etc.). According to a study conducted by Özcan (2019) using Syrian, Iraqi, and Afghan migrants as the study group, migrants embraced religion more closely and performed practices aimed at increasing their religious motivations, such as resorting to the creator and worshipping more frequently to cope with the migration process.

The male migrants seem more involved in the public sphere (for instance, mosque attendance, employment, ability to develop social networks, etc.) than their female counterparts. That gives them more opportunities to develop patterns of integration and cohesion with the local community. According to Coşkun and Çetin (2022), Afghan males are more engaged than their female counterparts in employment, venue utilization, cultural contact, and social relations. Coşkun and Çetin provide various explanations for why women encounter more challenges in cultural integration than men. First of all, women do not participate in the social arena. They stay in their homes and rarely visit other places. They have no or insufficient means to overcome the language barrier.

It is evident that the "language barrier" is the primary challenge Afghan migrants face in their religious lives. Despite their effort to

learn the language, the participants encounter difficulties, particularly in mosques, due to their inadequate Turkish language skills. As stated by some other studies (Erkan 2016; Yıldırım and Dinler 2021; Kan and Köroğlu 2022), the language barrier is a crucial difficulty in migrants' social integration and cohesion. According to Selvitopu and Gün (2020), similar cultural attributes, language, and ethnic and religious roots positively impact the stress, cohesion, and integration with the social environment of the migrants. These similarities play an essential role in their choice to come to Türkiye and facilitate the migration. Studies (Yeler 2021) indicate that, as a result, no great social discord or conflicts have been observed, nor have circumstances such as alienation, exclusion, and labeling occurred.

Another issue that stands out in the study is insufficient access to sacred venues. Some participants state that they cannot obtain permission from their employers to attend the mosque because their workplaces are too far away or because they are illegally employed. Diehl and Koenig also found similar results in their study (2013). The study on participation in religion and piety of the Turkish Muslims and Polish Catholics who migrated to Germany revealed that the rate of participation in worship decreased after migration among both groups. Similarly, Khoudia's study (2022) discovered a decline in the religious beliefs and practices of migrants in the Netherlands.

According to gender, the actors and practices supporting the religious socialization of Afghan migrants vary. Attending the mosque for men and neighbor relations for women facilitate religious socialization. Afghan migrants are observed to have any contact with religious institutions or groups, and their religious life is generally confined to their homes. At this point, it is possible to assert that the congregational life and intense worship in Afghanistan have been replaced by an "individual" and "introverted" perception of religion in Türkiye. Digital platforms play a significant role in the religious socialization of Afghan migrants.

Afghan migrants find religious education and services in Türkiye to be insufficient. The participants mention an intensive religious

education, beginning with the family and continuing in mosques and religious schools in Afghanistan. They emphasize the insufficiency of religious education in Türkiye provided only in schools. A similar finding was also confirmed in studies that examined the religious socialization of Syrian migrants at the institutional level and focused on the structural cohesion of the migrants (Yaralıoğlu 2019; Yaralıoğlu and Güngör 2020). Both of these studies were carried out using sample groups in the province of Kilis. They disclosed that the Syrian participants received a religious education principally from their own families and in mosques and religious schools, whereas there is no comparable model for religious education in Türkiye. Moreover, they did not believe that the existing religious education was adequate. Indeed, the Syrian migrants even petitioned the associations in Kilis concerning this. On the other hand, our study reveals that Afghan migrants have no ties to any foundations, institutions, or organizations (in terms of membership, receiving support, participating in activities, etc.) and have no demands in this regard.

In evaluating the religious life in Türkiye and the level of religiosity of the Turks, some Afghan migrants consider their religious character and piety stronger than that of the Turks. The study by Friberg and Sterri (2021) measured the religious cohesion of the migrant youth in Norway and compared it to the domestic population and other migrant groups. This study also found that the migrant youth from outside Western Europe, particularly those from Muslim countries, were more religious than local and western youth. It also asserted a decline in religiosity and a continuous religious individualization process among migrant youth in Norway. However, this occurred more slowly among Muslims than among non-Muslims.

Some participants criticize the religious lifestyle in Türkiye (such as dress, the relationships between men and women, consumption habits, and the perception of privacy). On the other hand, some participants evaluate the religious life in Türkiye more favorably and embrace the Turkish lifestyle and consumption habits. The latter group of participants reports having a more flexible and adaptable world of belief and spirituality. Similar conclusions can also be

found in the literature. Kan and Köroğlu (2022) examined the cultural problems of the Afghan youth in Uşak province. They conclude that the religious life in Türkiye, from the eyes of Afghan migrants, is more comfortable and liberated and that women are most affected by the religious oppression and coercion implemented by the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. The study by Erkan (2016) focused on the cohesion, comparisons, and similarities in the religious ways of life of the Syrian migrants living in Gaziantep. It contained the participants' statements that religion is more dominant in Syria, that the traditionalist, submissive, and resigned perception of religion was in charge, and that worship and religious rituals were more intense and enthusiastic there (in Syria). Religious rituals were more intense and enthusiastic there (in Syria). This study also revealed the decline in Syrians' religiosity, worship, and the visiting of sacred venues after migration as well as the changes in dress and the relationships between men and women. These conclusions are consistent with the findings of our study too.

This study examines Afghan migrants' appearance of "settlement" rather than their identities as "guests." It concludes that the social integration and development of cohesion behavior are the more dominant aspects of this process. However, despite this pattern of integration and cohesion, it is clear that Afghan migrants continue to be in a "distraught" state due to the lack of legal and institutional mechanisms supporting the process of becoming settled. It appears that legislation and institutional support are necessary to facilitate employment and community integration of Afghan migrants.

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BASIC PRINCIPLES OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ'S METHOD OF EXEGESIS

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Abstract

The allusive (*ishārī*) method of exegesis is the name given to the process of interpreting the Qurʾān depending on the particular type of knowledge called *maʿrifah*, which is accepted to be based on spiritual experience. In the *ishārī* exegesis, the meanings of the verses of the Qurʾān are revealed to the Sufi's mind, and then, the Sufi expresses those senses through symbols and signs by employing an implicit style. Comprehensive and advanced works have been written over time in the field of *ishārī* exegesis, whose first examples were encountered in the early eras of Sufism. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) wrote works in various fields such as *fiqh* (Islamic law), theology, philosophy, and Sufism. Although he did not have any complete book in the field of *ishārī* exegesis, his vast corpus is overflowing with his *ishārī* interpretations of verses of the Qurʾān. For this reason, he is recognized as one of the most influential figures in the field of *ishārī* exegesis. This article aims to determine the basic principles on which al-Ghazālī's *ishārī*

interpretations of the Qurʾān in his various works are built in the context of the basic principles of his understanding of the Qurʾān. The article firstly gives al-Ghazālī's approach to the Qurʾān and then attempts to determine the basic principles of the method of his *ishārī* exegesis. It also analyzes some *ishārī* interpretations of al-Ghazālī in his various works to better understand these principles.

Introduction

Numerous scientific works have been published in Türkiye and abroad on al-Ghazālī, whose transformative interventions in different disciplines have shaped the course of the history of Islamic thought. Since these studies generally focus on al-Ghazālī's philosophical and Sufistic thought, al-Ghazālī's contribution to the field of *ishārī* exegesis has been relatively neglected. Among the most important reasons for this situation are that al-Ghazālī did not publish an exclusive work in this field, and his *ishārī* interpretations are scattered in his extensive and vast corpus. Nevertheless, the studies aimed at determining al-Ghazālī's understanding of the Qurʾān and especially his *ishārī* interpretations of various verses and the principles on which they are based would fill the severe gap in revealing al-Ghazālī's intellectual world with all its dimensions accurately. In light of this reality, al-Ghazālī is recognized as one of the crucial actors in this field. However, he did not publish an exclusive work on *ishārī* exegesis among his dozens of writings in various fields.[1] In many of his works, especially those analyzed in this article, al-Ghazālī extensively used the Qurʾān and provided evidence from the verses to support his ideas on various topics.[2] In

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[1] Süleyman Ateş, *İşârî Tefsir Okulu* (Istanbul: Yeni Ufuklar Neşriyat, 1998), 110; Yunus Emre Gördük, *Tarihsel ve Metodolojik Açıdan İşârî Tefsir* (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2013), 141. Additionally, Mesut Okumuş's meticulously written work on al-Ghazālī's understanding of exegesis and interpretation of the Qurʾān, which fills an essential gap in the literature, explains al-Ghazālī's understanding of *ishārī* exegesis in detail. See Mesut Okumuş, *Kur'ân'ın Çok Boyutlu Okunuşu: İmam Gazzâlî Örneği* (Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları, 2006), 170-209.

[2] Kenneth Garden criticized the method of al-Ghazālī's use of verses in his works by giving examples from *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*. Garden indicates that all 40 books

this regard, he attempted to interpret the relevant verses by applying different methods based on the circumstances.[3]

In his book, *al-Ghazālī and the Qurʾān: One Book, Many Meanings*, which is the first and only independent book published on al-Ghazālī's understanding of the Qurʾān, Martin Whittingham divides hermeneutical interpretations into two different categories based on the question of how the Qurʾān should be interpreted: "the reading in which the intention and purpose of the author of the text take precedence" and "the reading in which the text, its interpreter and the action of interpretation are at the core." Before expressing his opinion about which group al-Ghazālī belongs to, Whittingham points to a style of reading in which the interpreter and the interpretation itself are more important than the author of the text in terms of understanding the Qurʾān. Some scholars such as Farid Esack, Mohammad Arkoun, and Naṣr Ḥāmid Abū Zayd have recently accepted this approach, although it is not used much in hermeneutic approaches to the Qurʾān.[4] Whittingham argues that even if al-Ghazālī is thought to have adopted the first conception

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of the *Iḥyāʾ* begin with relevant verses and ḥadīths and that such an introduction gives the impression that al-Ghazālī will deal with the matter by the guidance of the Qurʾān and ḥadīths. Often, however, al-Ghazālī proceeds with his independent evaluation of the matter without resorting to the guidance of these scriptures. According to Garden, al-Ghazālī utilizes the authority of these scriptures, not their content. "In this case, al-Ghazālī is interested in the Qurʾān as a source of legitimacy for his project, but not as a source of inspiration for it, though he implies that [the following] exposition is a seamless extension of scripture." Kenneth Garden, "Rhetorics of Revival: al-Ghazālī and His Modern Heirs," in *The Heritage of Arabo-Islamic Learning: Studies Presented to Wadad Kadi*, ed. Maurice Pomerantz and Aram Shahin (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 364-365.

[3] Alexander D. Knysh, the author of the article titled "Sufism and the Qurʾān" in the Brill *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* and one of the most authoritative scholars in the field, notes that al-Ghazālī's vision of the Qurʾān was entirely distinctive after he has given the history of *ishārī* exegesis up to the time of al-Ghazālī. He explains al-Ghazālī's understanding of the Qurʾān and exegesis in detail through his work *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*. However, it is a deficiency that Knysh, while analyzing al-Ghazālī's interpretation of the Qurʾān, does not refer to almost any other work of al-Ghazālī except *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān* and does not mention *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* at all. Al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ* is a source that must be consulted not only for his understanding of the Qurʾān but also for all ideas of al-Ghazālī. See Alexander D. Knysh, "Sūfism and the Qurʾān," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2006), V, 148-151.

[4] Martin Whittingham, *Al-Ghazālī and the Qurʾān: One Book, Many Meanings* (Oxon: Routledge, 2007), 3-4.

mentioned above, his work supports the opposite view and that al-Ghazālī constitutes one of the prime examples of a meaning-producing interpreter. On the other hand, he also notes that whether such a sharp distinction can be established for some works of al-Ghazālī is a challenging question.[5] Within this context, Ulrika Mårtensson likens the method of al-Ghazālī's interpretation to the hermeneutic approach of the contemporary literary critic Eric Donald Hirsch Jr. Hirsch is a strong advocate of the view that the author's intention and purpose are essential in opposition to all other literary theories, especially the approach of Hans-Georg Gadamer and various other postmodern theories in this context, which seek the meaning of a text either in the subjective interpretation of the reader, in the language of the text independent from the author, or in the tradition of the reader.[6] In addition to Mårtensson and Whittingham, Muhammad Kamal draws attention to the similarity between the hermeneutical position of al-Ghazālī and the phenomenology of Edmund Husserl. Husserl attempts to comprehend human consciousness through the phenomenological approach to establish a new basis for knowledge. "He employed phenomenology as a method for reaching the 'essences' of phenomena intended by consciousness intuitively and before any presuppositions and prejudgments."[7] At this point, Kamal takes the similarity between al-Ghazālī and Husserl even further. He recognizes al-Ghazālī as the person founding phenomenology centuries before Husserl, for al-Ghazālī claimed that to understand the Qurʾān, one must be free from all presuppositions.[8]

Al-Ghazālī's inclusive approach, which analyses both explicit and implicit interpretations together, is based on his view that the aim of all kinds of interpretation activities, whether based on explicit or *ishārī*, is the correct understanding of the intention of

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[5]   *Ibid.*, 128.

[6]   Ulrika Mårtensson, "Through the Lens of Modern Hermeneutics: Authorial Intention in al-Ṭabarī's and al-Ghazālī's Interpretations of Q. 24:35," *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies* 11, no. 2 (2009), 25, 41.

[7]   Muhammad Kamal, "Al-Ghazali's Hermeneutics and Phenomenology," *Religion East & West* 4 (2004), 81.

[8]   Ibid. However, in this article, Kamal has difficulties establishing other similarities between al-Ghazālī and Husserl. Therefore, it must be expressed that the comparison Kamal makes between al-Ghazālī's hermeneutics and modern approaches is considerably weaker than that of Mårtensson and Whittingham.

God. Nonetheless, even if the text to be understood is the Qurʾān, it would not be expected that any interpreter could interpret the text in a way entirely independent of its context.

"Instead, profoundly influenced by his or her context, including social, political, and intellectual factors, the interpreter inevitably constructs or adds to meaning in the very act of interpretation, whether consciously or not."[9] That is why it is not easy to make definitive determinations, as Mårtensson or Whittingham did, about the method of a scholar like al-Ghazālī, who is regarded as an authority in various religious disciplines. The nature of the interpretation of the Qurʾān itself is not appropriate for such a distinction to be made.[10] Despite analyzing the same works to determine which of the aforementioned hermeneutical methods al-Ghazālī adopted in his interpretation of the Qurʾān, different authors have reached different conclusions. It is not because al-Ghazālī was inconsistent or because the scholars who analyzed his works were incompetent. Ahmad Dallal wrote one of the most persuasive arguments about the contradictions in al-Ghazālī's thought. According to Dallal, "the ambivalence or possible ambiguity in al-Ghazali's writings results from his systematic attempt to reconcile intertwined and sometimes conflicting epistemologies and knowledge systems."[11] Ibn Taymiyyah, quoted by Dallal,

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[9]   Whittingham, *Al-Ghazālī and the Qurʾān*, 4.

[10]   About al-Ghazālī's hermeneutic understanding, see Gerald L. Bruns, *Hermeneutics Ancient and Modern* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 124-136. Bruns' book analyzes the concept of hermeneutics in two sections under ancient and modern periods. The hermeneutical understanding of al-Ghazālī is explored in the last part of the former section under the title of "Sufiyya: The Mystical Hermeneutics of al-Ghazali." Also see Hakan Gündoğdu, "Gazali'nin Teolojik Hermenötiğine Yorumlayıcı Bir Bakış," *İslâmî Araştırmalar Dergisi Gazâlî Özel Sayısı* 13, no. 3-4 (2000), 410-419; Burhanettin Tatar, "Gazali'de Metin-Yorum İlişkisi," *İslâmî Araştırmalar Dergisi Gazâlî Özel Sayısı* 13, no. 3-4 (2000), 429-440.

[11]   Ahmad Dallal, "Ghazālī and the Perils of Interpretation," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122, no. 4 (2002), 773. In this article, Dallal analyzes Richard M. Frank's book: *Al-Ghazali and the Asharite School.* According to Frank, al-Ghazālī criticized the traditional Ashʿarī school. Although other philosophers largely influenced his theological thoughts, he attempted to conceal this fact by employing various methods in his works. See Richard M. Frank, *Al-Ghazālī and the Ashʿarite School* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994). Al-Ghazālī was also influenced by the philosophers and Ismāʿīlīs, against whom he wrote refutations and fiercely criticized their opinions. There have been significant studies in the

attributes this to his overwhelming enthusiasm for learning; otherwise, he could have used the tools he needed to appear coherent or follow a systematic process.[12]

This study aims to determine al-Ghazālī's perception of the Qurʾān and to identify the fundamental principles on which his *ishārī* interpretations of the verses in his different works are built. In this regard, the study is divided into three separate sections: al-Ghazālī's Understanding of the Qurʾān, *Ishārī* Exegesis of al-Ghazālī, and Examples of Exegesis of al-Ghazālī. It is relatively easy to determine the principles and methodology adopted by an author who has produced works in the field of *ishārī* exegesis. On the other hand, it is very challenging to reach conclusive judgments on the principles and methods of the *ishārī* interpretations of a scholar like al-Ghazālī, who has been active in different fields and has a wide range of works. This stems from his dispersed way to expresses his ideas in his works and his highly implicit style of expression in matters based on findings. Moreover, a complete elucidation of al-Ghazālī's method of *ishārī* exegesis necessitates an expenditure of time and effort far beyond what can be expected from a study of this kind. With this in mind, this text should be seen as one of the first steps in a more comprehensive research process.

1. Al-Ghazālī's Understanding of the Qurʾān

Al-Ghazālī likens the Qurʾān to an ocean, and his understanding of the Qurʾān is shaped entirely by this analogy.[13] According to him,

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academic world about the influence of these different ideas on al-Ghazālī. For instance, Richard M. Frank, Frank Griffel, and Alexander Treiger have remarkable studies concerning the strong influence of Avicenna on the metaphysical and cosmological thoughts of al-Ghazālī. See Richard M. Frank, *Creation and the Cosmic System: Al-Ghazâlî & Avicenna* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1992); Frank Griffel, *al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Alexander Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought: al-Ghazālī's Theory of Mystical Cognition and Its Avicennian Foundations* (London: Routledge, 2012). Furthermore, the works of Khalil Andani and Farouk Mitha can also be cited as examples of studies on the influence of Ismāʿīlī thought on al-Ghazālī. See Khalil Andani, "The Merits of the Bāṭiniyya: Al-Ghazālī's Appropriation of Ismaʿīlī Cosmology," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 29, no: 2 (2018), 181-229; Farouk Mitha, *Al-Ghazālī and the Ismailis: A Debate on Reason and Authority in Medieval Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris in association with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2001).

[12]   Dallal, "Ghazālī and the Perils of Interpretation," 787.

just as the ocean contains many precious metals, the Qurʾān is equipped with unique aspects that will lead people to bliss in both realms. Hence, al-Ghazālī urges people to dive into the depths of this ocean instead of idling on the shore and emphasizes that depriving oneself of these precious minerals is a preference that deserves condemnation. Based on this opinion of his, it would be possible to frame al-Ghazālī's method of addressing the Qurʾān through three principles:

(a) Just as the oceans harbor precious jewels in their depths, the Qurʾān, like these jewels, contains a wide variety of valuable topics. (b) Just as the oceans harbor precious jewels in their depths, the Qurʾān, like these jewels, contains various valuable subjects. Just as the jewels vary in value, the subjects addressed in the Qurʾān also have various degrees. (c) As rivers and creeks eventually merge into the sea, all disciplines ultimately come together in the Qurʾān.

Al-Ghazālī systematizes his understanding of the Qurʾān based on these three themes in his work *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*.[14]

1.1. Main Topics Involved in the Qurʾān

Al-Ghazālī categorized the subjects in the Qurʾān according to his point of view. Accordingly, the Qurʾān deals with nine main issues.[15] Thus, every verse contained in the Qurʾān falls within the

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[13]   Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*, ed. Muhammad Rashīd Riḍā (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-ʿUlūm, 1990), 21-22.

[14]   *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*, one of al-Ghazālī's late works, has been accused by Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Jābirī of employing the chemical and religious concepts of Hermeticism and analyzing the Qurʾān from a Hermetic perspective. See Muḥammad ʿĀbid al-Jābirī, *Takwīn al-ʿAql al-ʿArabī* (Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥdah al-ʿArabīyah, 2009), 288. Dücane Cündioğlu responds to such allegations by stating that the primary purpose of such analogies is to demonstrate the significance of the verses in question. However, the opponents of al-Ghazālī interpret them from their intended context by using their literal meaning rather than metaphorical senses. See Dücane Cündioğlu, *Keşf-i Kadim: İmam Gazâlî'ye Dâir* (Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2013), 72.

[15]   Al-Ghazālī, in the second and third chapters of *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*, mentions the essential subjects contained in the Qurʾān, and despite stating at the end of the third chapter that there are ten essential subjects, he lists only nine of them. See al-Ghazālī, *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*, 34. In both Turkish (See *Kur'an'ın Cevherleri,* trans. Ömer Türker [Istanbul: Hayy Kitap, 2014]*,* 40) and English (See *The Jewels of the Qurʾān*, trans. Muhammad Abul Quasem [Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1977], 33) translations of the book, this figure is quoted verbatim without providing any explanation. Martin Whittingham, likewise, lists only nine

scope of one of these topics. The first five of these topics constitute the antecedents and essential core topics:[16] Information about the essence, attributes, and deeds of Allah, to whom the divine invitation is addressed, the description of "the straight path" (*al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*) to be followed in the process of acceptance of the invitation and the introduction of the point where the invitation has achieved its purpose, i.e., the conditions of the afterlife. The other four topics addressed by the Qurʾān are the complementary issues that follow these fundamental topics:[17] Introducing the status of the friends of God (*awliyāʾ Allāh*) who have appropriately responded to the divine invitation and the favors that God has bestowed upon them, the explanation of the punishment of those who did not respond to this divine invitation and turned away, i.e., the enemies of God, identifying the methodology to be adopted to expose the wrongdoings of the infidels and to fight against them and finally, the explanation of the rulings and limits, which means the construction of the main stops on the path that leads to Allah and the acquisition of the appropriate equipment for this purpose.

While classifying the topics in the Qurʾān, al-Ghazālī indicated their degrees of importance and tried to make this rating effective and permanent in people's minds by likening each issue to one of the precious substances.[18] This identification between the issues contained in the Qurʾān and the related precious substances originates from al-Ghazālī's analogy of the Qurʾān to the ocean. The ocean contains a great variety of substances, and the value of each of these substances differs from the others. Some of these substances are rare and priceless. Others are abundant and thus less valuable than rare minerals. The value of these substances is often not appreciated in the first instance. Nevertheless, these substances are not only important but also have many benefits. In this regard, the meaning of the invocation of God's essence is the red ruby, the invocation of God's attributes is the blue ruby, the invocation of God's deeds is the yellow ruby (*topaz*), the invocation of the

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subjects, although he states that there are ten. See Whittingham, *Al-Ghazālī and the Qurʾān*, 71.

[16] Al-Ghazālī, *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*, 25-30.

[17] *Ibid.*, 31-34.

[18] *Ibid.*, 23-34.

afterlife is the green emerald, the invocation of the straight path is shining pearl, the invocation of the conditions of the friends of God is amber, the invocation of the conditions of the enemies of God is incense, the invocation of the fight against infidels is the most potent antidote. Finally, the substance of the invocation of rulings and limits is musk.

	Subject Matter Mentioned	Substance
1	the essence of God	red ruby
2	attributes of God	blue ruby
3	deeds of God	yellow ruby (topaz)
4	afterlife	green emerald
5	the straight path	shining pearl
6	conditions of friends of God	amber
7	conditions of enemies of God	incense
8	fight against infidels	strongest antidote
9	rulings and limits	musk

Table 1. The List of the Subjects Addressed by the Qurʾān and the List of Substances to which the Subjects are Likened

1.2. Differences in Degrees between the Verses of the Qurʾān

Al-Ghazālī argues that there are differences among the verses of the Qurʾān in terms of superiority just as the materials in the ocean have various degrees in their values. He attempted to justify this view with ḥadīths such as "*Āyat al-kursī* is the superior of the verses of the Qurʾān,"[19] "Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ is equivalent to one-third of the Qurʾān"[20] and "Sūrat al-Fātiḥah is the highest ranked verse of the Qurʾān."[21] In the light of the relevant narrations, al-Ghazālī tended to explain the statements mentioned in the ḥadīths about the superiority of sūrahs and verses by establishing a connection

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[19] Al-Ghazālī, *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*, 73.
[20] *Ibid*., 77.
[21] *Ibid*., 80.

between their content and the subjects contained in the Qurʾān.[22] The essential purpose of the disciplines of the Qurʾān is to know the essence and attributes of God. Al-Ghazālī underlines that *Āyat al-kursī* does not contain any other subject besides the mention of the essence, attributes, and deeds of God. Thus, this is why *Āyat al-kursī*, he believes, is described as "the superior of the verses of Qurʾān."[23]

1.3. Qurʾān as the Source of All Disciplines

Al-Ghazālī classifies religious disciplines based on the Qurʾān by using the ocean analogy. Accordingly, al-Ghazālī, who perceives the Qurʾān as the source of all disciplines, expresses that the Qurʾān is the ultimate unification point of all fields, in the same manner as all rivers and streams flow into the ocean and then merge there. In this respect, al-Ghazālī employs the oyster analogy by adding a new one to his metaphors when classifying the religious disciplines. In this context, al-Ghazālī first categorizes the fields into mother of pearl (shell) and pearl (essence) disciplines and then divides them into sections within themselves and states that there are also disciplines beyond these disciplines. Furthermore, in addition to saying that his primary purpose was to point out the religious fields, he also remarks that since the reformation both in this world and in the afterlife does not depend on the other disciplines, there was no need to explain these disciplines in detail.[24]

Al-Ghazālī categorizes and analyzes the sciences he calls "mother of pearl (shell) disciplines" under five headings:[25] a) The discipline of explicit exegesis; b) The discipline of recitation (*al-qirāʾāt*); c) The discipline of syntax (*al-naḥw*); d) The discipline of dictionary; e) The discipline of articulation points (*al-makhārij*). Similarly, "pearl (essence) disciplines" are generally classified into two categories:[26] The lower-level pearl disciplines and upper-level pearl disciplines. The lower-level pearl disciplines are divided into three

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[22] From this point of view, al-Ghazālī explains in detail the superiority of Āyat al-kursī, Sūrat al-Fātiḥah, Sūrat Yā-sīn, and Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ. See al-Ghazālī, *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*, 62-81.

[23] *Ibid.*, 75-76.

[24] *Ibid.*, 35-43.

[25] *Ibid.*, 35-38.

[26] *Ibid.*, 38-43.

categories: a) the knowledge of the parables of the Qurʾān, i.e., the stories of the prophets, the disbelievers, and the enemies of God, b) the discipline of discussion and struggle against the infidels and c) the discipline of rulings and ḥadīths.[27] Likewise, the upper-level pearl disciplines are also divided into three categories: a) the discipline of gnosis (*maʿrifat Allāh*), b) the discipline of the afterlife, and c) the discipline of the straight path. Al-Ghazālī also stated that there are disciplines such as astronomy, medicine, anatomy, anatomy, and the discipline of the human soul in addition to these sciences. However, he excluded these disciplines from the category since the subject he dealt with was religious disciplines. Al-Ghazālī claims that the Qurʾān contains the principles of all disciplines, including these other sciences, which had existed in the past but have been forgotten in the present and are likely to arise in the future but are not yet known. According to al-Ghazālī, all these sciences fall within the scope of the deeds of God.[28]

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[27] Al-Ghazālī explains the low ratio of these two disciplines to the path to God and the goal to be achieved despite the need for these disciplines as follows: "The relevance of the scholars of *fiqh* (to the path to God and the goal to be achieved) is like the relevance of the construction of the inns and the public utilities on the road to Mecca to the pilgrimage. The relevance of the theologians to this goal is like the relevance of the guardians of the pilgrimage route to the pilgrims. If they supplement their art with overcoming the desires of the human soul (*nafs*) and following the path that leads to God by turning away from the world and towards Allah, their relevance to others will be like the relevance of the sun to the moon. However, their rank is truly low if they are content with their arts." Al-Ghazālī, *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*, 41.

[28] Al-Ghazālī, *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*, 45.
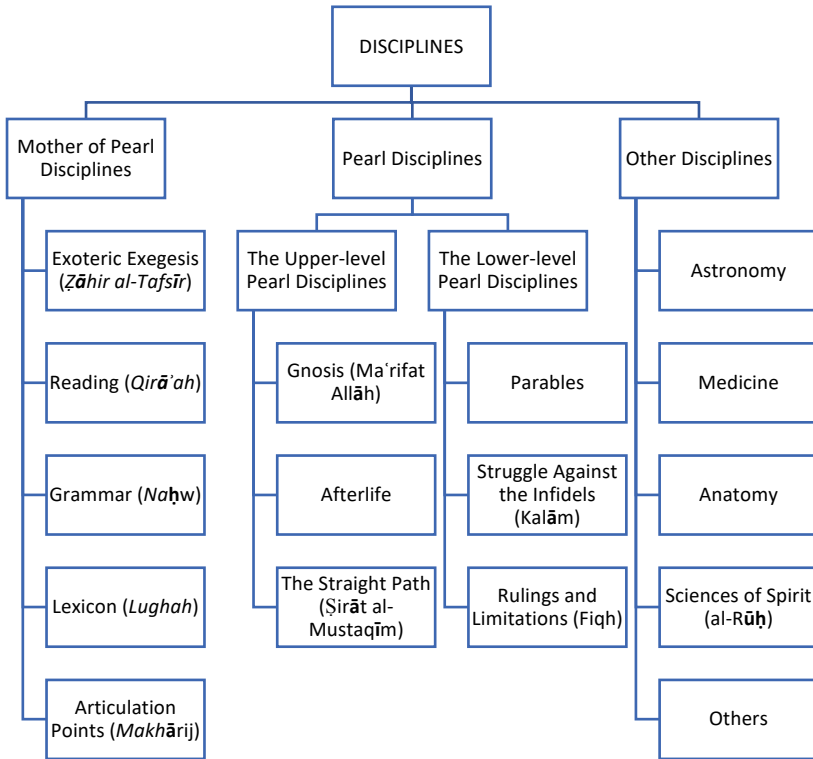
Table 2. Al-Ghazālī's Classification of Disciplines Based on the Qurʾān

2. Allusive (*Ishārī*) Method of Exegesis in al-Ghazālī

2.1. Basic Concepts

Before going into the details of al-Ghazālī's method of *ishārī* exegesis, it would be appropriate for a more accurate understanding of the issue to focus on *ishārī* (allusive) method of interpretation and the key concepts of *ẓāhir* (explicit), *bāṭin* (implicit), and *ishārah* (sign). In terms of word meanings, *ẓāhir* means to be explicit, evident, clear, and obvious,[29] whereas *bāṭin* means to be hidden, to know, to be acquainted with the inner side of something and the secrets of a particular person.[30] *Ishārah* means to point to an

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[29]   Muḥammad ibn Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), IV, 37 (art. "ẓ-h-r").
[30]   *Ibid.*, XIII, 52-55 (art. "b-ṭ-n").

object, to express and implicitly imply a meaning.[31] What is meant by the expression of the clarity (*ẓāhir*) of the verse is the meaning understood from the wording of the words that make up the expression in terms of Arabic language and grammatical structure. On the other hand, the implicitness (*bāṭin*) of the verse refers to the hidden, deep, and essential sense behind the literal meaning of the words formed in the intellect in the first place. Following this, *ishārī* exegesis constitutes the name of the activity of revealing and interpreting the hidden meanings of the verses in the light of the knowledge that Sufis have acquired through spiritual experiences such as inspiration, appearance, and manifestation, which they call *maʿrifah*. The meanings of the verses of the Qurʾān are revealed to the Sufi's mind, and then, the Sufi expresses those senses using symbols and signs by employing an implicit style. The meanings to which the verses point are revealed to the Sufi's mind, and the Sufi attempts to express these meanings through symbols and signs by employing an implicit style.[32] Various verses, ḥadīths, and the words of the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad are cited as evidence to support the assertion that the Qurʾān has a structure that is suitable for explanation and *ishārī* interpretations in many aspects.[33]

According to specialists in this field, the most crucial point in the activity of *ishārī* exegesis is that the implicit interpretation of a verse by no means contradicts the explicit meaning of the verse. Because according to these scholars, the primary purpose of *ishārī* exegesis is not to eliminate the explicit meaning but to complement it. Furthermore, *ishārī* interpretation, as one of the many possible meanings of the verse, is the personal and subjective interpretation

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[31] *Ibid.*, IV, 437 (art "sh-w-r").

[32] For different descriptions for *ishārī* exegesis see for instance: Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm al-Zurqānī, *Manāhil al-ʿirfān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2001), II, 78; Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *al-Tafsīr wa-l-mufassirūn* (Cairo: Maktabat Wahbah, 1976), II, 352. For evaluations on the definition of *ishārī* exegesis, see Ateş, *İşârî Tefsir Okulu*, 19-21; Gördük, *Tarihsel ve Metodolojik Açıdan İşârî Tefsir*, 38-42; Muhsin Demirci, *Tefsir Tarihi* (Istanbul: İFAV Yayınları, 2016), 210-213; İsmail Cerrahoğlu, *Tefsir Tarihi* (Ankara: Fecr Yayınevi, 1996), II, 9-14; Muhammed Çelik, "İşarî Tefsirin Sınırları ve Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır'da İşârî Tefsîr," *Dicle Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* IV, no. 2 (2002), 3-4.

[33] For the verses, ḥadīths, and reports of the Companions that are cited as evidence for the legitimacy of *ishārī* exegesis, see Ateş, *İşârî Tefsir Okulu*, 27-38; Gördük, *Tarihsel ve Metodolojik Açıdan İşârî Tefsir*, 70-128.

of the meaning apart from its explicit meaning. However, it can only be understood through signs revealed to the mind of the Sufi because of its implicitness in terms of wording, in a personal and subjective way that binds only the interpreter. Since a verse can reveal itself with different expansions according to the level of wisdom possessed by the scholar, the meaning revealed to the mind can only be binding for the owner of that mind. In this respect, what is essential in terms of the Qurʾān is the explicit meaning, and the *sharīʿah* constitutes binding force only based on these explicit meanings, that is, the meanings that everyone can easily perceive.

On the other hand, it must be kept in mind that the attempt to derive original meanings from the explicit meaning of a verse through the etymological features of words, polysemy, grammatical structures, and other linguistic means and logical inferences and the generation of new meanings through manifestation and inspiration are entirely two different activities, both in terms of their methods and objectives. Ultimately, the former activity indicates an effort to concentrate on explicit meanings and make explicit inferences. On the other hand, the latter reveals the hidden meanings of verses only through divine favors and signs, with no scholarly or intellectual prejudice whatsoever.

2.2. Basic Principles

Al-Ghazālī's adoption of the approach that existence has two different dimensions, explicit and implicit, naturally necessitated him to adopt the opinion that the disciplines, in general, and the Qurʾān, in particular, have both an explicit and an implicit structure. His adoption of such an approach is the basis for accepting the Qurʾān as an interpretable text and for understanding the *ishārī* exegesis method that he has put into practice in this direction.

The first aspect that forms the basis for al-Ghazālī's understanding of *ishārī* exegesis is his division of existence, and in a narrower sense, the world, into two as explicit and implicit. He asserts that what exists in the implicit world also has a reflection in the explicit world.[34] Al-Ghazālī, who has determined the foundation of his

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[34] Al-Ghazālī says that different names are used for the spiritual realm, such as mental, divine, immaterial, and angelic, and for the physical realm, such as sensible, lower, worldly, and tangible. These differences in nomenclature result from looking at the same entity from different perspectives. In fact, there is no

thought in this direction, asserts that the representations and reflections in the implicit (*mutashābih*) verses have their corresponding equivalents in the physical world and also have meanings for the sublime realm. According to him, all the representations used in this context have a close relationship with the spiritual human souls that signify the level of knowledge acquisition by humans. Al-Ghazālī argues that all acceptable disciplines are divided into two categories, just like the realms: explicit and implicit.

Regarding the Qur'ān as the source of all disciplines, al-Ghazālī concludes that the verses of the Qur'ān also have explicit and implicit aspects as a natural result of this. Contemplating the verses of the Qur'ān, which resembles a vast ocean, and interpreting their meanings, according to al-Ghazālī, are indispensable for comprehending what the Qur'ān means on the condition that such activities comply with certain conditions, such as not contradicting with the explicit meaning of the verse. This way, the Qur'ān is a text that is too rich and inclusive to be limited only by its explicit meanings and the interpretations produced by the early scholars within the framework of these meanings. Nevertheless, al-Ghazālī felt obliged to remind this situation, which he was well aware of thanks to his knowledge and experience. al-Ghazālī takes a position between the groups who reject any implicit meaning in the Qur'ān and the Bāṭiniyyah, who says that all the verses in the Qur'ān consist of implicit meanings and its explicit statements should be ignored. He argues that the Qur'ān has both literal (exoteric) and implicit (esoteric) meanings, and none of these can be excluded. From his point of view, both of these interpretations are significant and should be known to perceive God's intention in the verses of the Qur'ān. Therefore, al-Ghazālī wants the reader of the Qur'ān to know that this type of esoteric interpretation is part of the tradition of tafsīr. As emphasized by some circles occasionally, he warns them not to rely solely on the narrations about the meaning of the verses and accept them unquestioningly.[35]

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difference between them in terms of their meaning. See al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, ed. Abū l-ʿAlā ʿAfīfī (Cairo: al-Dār al-Qawmiyyah, 1964), 65.

[35] Caner Dağlı, "Metaphor, Symbol, and Parable in the Qur'an," in *The Routledge Companion to the Qur'an*, ed. George Archer, Maria M. Dakake and Daniel A. Madigan (New York: Routledge, 2021), 198.

Based on the considerations mentioned above, it would not be erroneous to say that al-Ghazālī's method of *ishārī* exegesis is built on three basic principles:

(a) The separation of existence in the form of explicit and the implicit, (b) Explicit-implicit structure of disciplines and the Qurʾān in connection with the previous item, (c) The Qurʾān has an interpretable structure as a natural outcome of the first two items.

Therefore, to understand the basic principles of al-Ghazālī's *ishārī* exegesis, the nature of representation and the levels of the luminous human souls, the distinction between the explicit and the implicit in the disciplines, and the interpretability of the verses of the Qurʾān need to be explained in detail.[36]

2.2.1. Representation (*Tamthīl*)

Representation, literally "to resemble, to liken" in the dictionary, means "to explain an idea in the language of symbols by providing examples" in eloquence."[37] In rhetoric, the concept of metaphor is mainly used for the likening of two different things to each other. This concept is divided into two as "likening one thing to another in such an obvious way that it does not need any interpretation" and "likening one thing to another thing by employing some kind of interpretation."[38] ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078-79) refers to the first of these types of metaphor as original and genuine metaphor and the second as representation and deems representation as a branch of the original metaphor.[39]

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[36] Muhammad Kamal has based al-Ghazālī's understanding of Qurʾānic hermeneutics on four foundations: (1) to understand the Qurʾān, it is first necessary to move away from and get rid of all presuppositions and norms and to cleanse and purify the mind from such prejudices, (2) the explicit and implicit meanings of revelation constitute an integrity, (3) understanding the content of the text is possible through manifestation and inspiration, (4) the reader needs to establish an emotional connection with the text. When these three principles identified in this article are read in conjunction with the first part of the article, namely al-Ghazālī's understanding of the Qurʾān, these three principles conform to the findings of Kamal. However, because the article by Kamal was not devoted explicitly to al-Ghazālī's method of interpreting the Qurʾān, he barely touched on this topic. See Kamal, "Al-Ghazali's hermeneutics and phenomenology," 80.

[37] İsmail Durmuş, "Temsil," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XL, 434.

[38] ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, *Asrār al-balāgha*, ed. by Helmut Ritter (Istanbul: Maṭbaʿat Wizārat al-Maʿārif, 1954), 81.

[39] Ibid., 89.

Considering these definitions, al-Ghazālī suggests that the nature of the representation must first be known to understand the representations used in the verses. Having stated that everything in the spiritual realm has a corresponding counterpart in the physical realm, al-Ghazālī argues that the essence and truth of everything in this realm in the form of a representation also exist in the spiritual realm. Since representations resemble their originals, it is possible to understand the originals in the sublime world to some extent through their examples present in this physical world. Since counting such similarities would mean counting every single entity in the world, al-Ghazālī endeavors to explain the nature of representation by using some of his unique examples.[40] Al-Ghazālī cites angels as the first example of representations and notes that the counterparts of these spiritual beings in the physical realm are the sun, moon, and stars.[41] According to him, one instance that introduces us to the methods of exemplification is the discipline of dream interpretation. Stating that various objects seen in dreams have different meanings, al-Ghazālī argues, for example, that the sun in a dream refers to sovereignty and the moon to the vizier. al-Ghazālī concludes that what is seen in dreams represents objects, phenomena, and other similar situations in real life and claims that dream interpretations are informative about the very nature of representation.[42]

Among the spiritual beings, al-Ghazālī mentions beings such as angels, whose representations in this world are the sun, moon, and stars. Also, other beings have different representations when their characteristics other than light are considered. Al-Ghazālī claims that many religious concepts, mostly mentioned in the Qurʾān, such as *Ṭūr, Wādī, al-Wādī l-muqaddas, Lawḥ, Jazwah, Qabas,* and *Qalam* represent a spiritual being. His examples are as follows:[43] *Ṭūr* means the source from which the waters of knowledge flow into the valleys of the mortal hearts. *Wādī* is the example of the hearts to which the breezes of *mukāshafah* from the *Ṭūr* flow. These hearts, represented as valleys, can transfer the waters of wisdom and the breezes of *mukāshafah* received from the *Ṭūr* from one source to the other. *Al-*

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[40] Al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, 65-72.
[41] *Ibid.*, 67.
[42] *Ibid.*, 69.
[43] *Ibid.*, 69-70.

Wādī l-aymān exemplifies the most blessed and supreme hearts which belong to prophets. All other valleys receive their water from this valley. *Al-Sirāj al-munīr* is the soul of Prophet Muḥammad. *Al-Wādī l-muqaddas* illustrates the first range in the ascent of the Prophets from the blur of the realm of sensation and imagination to the sacred realm.

In the verse 12 of Sūrat Ṭā-Hā, it is narrated that the Prophet Moses encountered the Divine Light and was granted the prophetic office in *al-Wādī Ṭuwān*.[44] Al-Ghazālī argues that the explicitness of the phrase mentioned above, "take off your sandals (*fa-khlaʿ naʿlayka*)" is rejected by the Bāṭiniyyah and treated by them only in its esoteric sense, and thus, accuses the Bāṭiniyyah of being ignorant of the equilibrium between the two worlds.[45] According to al-Ghazālī, taking off the shoes, with its explicit meaning, is used as a representation of throwing off both worlds. "Prophet Moses perceived the command to take off his sandals as throwing off both realms at once. He obeyed the divine command by taking off his sandals literally and throwing off both realms implicitly."[46]

On the other hand, some authors have drawn attention to the similarity between the view on representations expressed by al-Ghazālī, who harshly criticized the interpretation theory of the Bāṭiniyyah, and the analogical symbol-symbolized (*mathal-mamthūl*) theory, which constituted the basis for almost all of the interpretations of the Ismāʿīlīs, Bāṭiniyyah, and the Ḥurūfīs:

> Al-Ghazālī, in this epistle [*Mishkāt al-anwār*], just like the Ismāʿīlīs, divides the world into two as spiritual (divine-immaterial-sublime-spiritual) and physical (lower-material-sensible) and argues that everything in the physical world is

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[44]   "*Has the story of Moses reached you? When he saw a fire, he said to his family, 'Wait here, for I have spotted a fire. Perhaps I can bring you a torch from it or find some guidance at the fire.' But when he approached it, he was called, 'O Moses! It is truly I. I am your Lord! So, take off your sandals, for you are in the sacred valley of Ṭuwā. I have chosen you (as my prophet), so listen to what is revealed.*" (Q 20:9-13). The verse in question is cited together with the preceding and succeeding verses for a better understanding.

[45]   Al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, 73.

[46]   *Ibid.*, 73.

simply a symbol and reflection of the true essences in the spiritual realm.[47]

The author of the above argument ignores the statements made by al-Ghazālī in *Fayṣal al-tafriqah* regarding such interpretations applied to this and other similar verses. This approach causes al-Ghazālī's view on the matter to be incompletely understood. To reach a correct opinion on the subject, one must be familiar with the methodology to be followed in interpreting a *mutashābih* wording in the words of God and the prophets, as mentioned by al-Ghazālī in *Fayṣal al-tafriqah*. According to al-Ghazālī, the *mutashābih* wordings are found either in matters related to the doctrine of ʿaqīdah (faith in God, the Prophet, and the afterlife) or in matters that fall outside of it and are called "the branches/substantive issues." In faith-related (*ʿaqīdah*) matters, interpretation requires conclusive evidence. Any interpretation based on a strong assumption (*al-ẓann al-ghālib*) other than conclusive evidence is either refuted and declared heretical or deemed a condemnable innovation (*bidʿah*), depending on the extent of the damage it inflicts. Nevertheless, in matters unrelated to faith, if there is no conclusive evidence, a strong assumption can be valid instead of "the conclusive evidence" (*al-burhān*) of the fundamental issues of the ʿaqīdah. Within this context, al-Ghazālī indicates that the Sufis have interpreted the statements in the parable of Abraham in Sūrat al-Anʿām.[48] The concepts of "the scepter" and "the sandal" in the commands addressed to Moses in Sūrat Ṭā-Hā as "take off your sandals" and "put down what is in your right hand," and that such considerations were not based on conclusive evidence, but instead on supposed implications. He accordingly emphasizes that these interpretations can be applied as a substitute for the conclusive evidence in the fundamental issues of the ʿaqīdah and argues that Sufis should not be deemed infidels or reformists (*ahl al-bidʿah*) in the wake of these interpretations.[49] Nonetheless, al-Ghazālī still errs on the side of caution. The harm possibly incurred by interpretation based on a

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[47] Mustafa Öztürk, *Tefsirde Bâtınilik ve Bâtıni Te'vil Geleneği* (Istanbul: Düşün Yayıncılık, 2011), 226.

[48] See Q 6:75-79.

[49] Al-Ghazālī, *Fayṣal al-tafriqah bayna l-Islām wa-l-zandaqah,* ed. Maḥmūd Bījū (Damascus: Dār al-Bayrūtī, 1993), 55.

strong assumption in matters unrelated to the *ʿaqīdah* should be kept in mind. If such an interpretation leads to apparent confusion in the minds of the ordinary people, its expositors will be regarded as heretics (*ahl al-bidʿah*).[50]

2.2.2. Luminous Human Souls (*al-Arwāḥ al-basbariyyah al-nūrāniyyah*)

In general, al-Ghazālī states that to understand all representations, the degrees of knowledge that humans possess must be known, and he refers to these degrees as the "luminous human souls." Al-Ghazālī states that all of them are entirely made of light and divides these souls, through which the beings become visible, into five categories:[51]

1) The sensual soul (*al-rūḥ al-ḥissī*) receives what the senses transmit.

2) The imaginary soul (*al-rūḥ al-khayālī*) records what the senses transmit and stores the data to present to the intellectual soul in a higher rank.

3) The mental soul (*al-rūḥ al-ʿaqlī*) perceives and cognizes the essential and universal knowledge and is unique to human beings and not present in children and animals.

4) The intellectual soul (*al-rūḥ al-fikrī*), through which the intellectual disciplines are received and through which valuable knowledge is attained by making interpretations and compositions between them.

5) The divine prophetic soul (*al-rūḥ al-qudsī al-nabawī*) is a spirit unique to the Prophet and some of the saints.

2.2.3. The Distinction between Explicit and Implicit in Disciplines

Al-Ghazālī argues that the disciplines have explicit and implicit aspects, but those who cannot comprehend this tacit dimension in the fields reject such a duality.[52] Al-Ghazālī, who demonstrates the existence of some issues as a ground for the existence of this dual structure, lists these issues, which he characterizes as subtle and profound, as follows:[53]

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[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, 66-69.

[52] Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (Cairo: Sharikat al-Quds, 2012), I, 168.

[53] *Ibid.*, 169-175.

a) Profound and subtle matters such as the soul (*al-rūḥ*) that only the elites (*khawāṣṣ*) can comprehend and the ordinary people cannot perceive.[54]

b) Comprehensible matters such as fate (*qadar*) which the Prophet and the Companions of the Prophet abstained from talking about because it would harm many people if it were made public.[55]

c) Matters that are immediately understandable when explained clearly and do not harm anyone to be explained, but for which signs, metaphors, and similes are used to make them more effective for those who listen to them. The aim is to ensure that such topics are fully embedded in the listeners' minds. Accordingly, it is not intellectually possible to comprehend the explicit meaning of the verse: "*If We ever will something to exist, all We say is: 'Be!' And it is!*" (Q 16:40). "Be" cannot be addressed as something non-existent. Because something that "does not exist" cannot understand this address and command and thus cannot respond. If this thing "exists," one cannot say "be" to something that already exists because it has already happened. Hence, al-Ghazālī notes that the allegory is employed in the verse to describe the infinity of God's power and thus to create a more profound influence on the human mind.[56]

According to al-Ghazālī, the expressions used in the following verse, such as water, valley, and earth, are allegories intended to have particular meanings: "*Allah sends down rain from the sky, causing the valleys to flow, each according to its capacity. The currents then carry along rising foam, similar to the slag produced from metal that people melt in the fire for ornaments or tools. This is how Allah compares truth to falsehood. The worthless residue is then cast away, but what benefits people remains on the earth. This is how Allah sets forth parables.*" (Q 13:17). Here "water" means the Qurʾān, and "valleys" means the hearts of people. Just as valleys get their share of rain, some hearts receive more from the Qurʾān, and some very little. Some even do not have any share from the Qurʾān at all. The meaning of "foam" is disbelief and discord. Even if this foam rises to the surface of the water, it is temporary and fades away very quickly. What is stable and lasting is the right way to benefit people.

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[54]   *Ibid.*, 170.
[55]   *Ibid.*, 171.
[56]   *Ibid.*

d) Matters that cannot be understood unless the necessary inquiry is made and the details are obtained. One reaches the details of a subject that one has learned in summary and general terms through inquiry, enjoyment, and evidence. Thus, "the knowledge in summary" (*al-ʿilm al-ijmālī*) at the shell level and "the knowledge in detail" (*al-ʿilm al- tafṣīlī*) at the core level of a subject are distinguished from each other. Al-Ghazālī refers to the first as explicit and the second as implicit. He explains it with the following examples: "There is a difference between the way a person sees a distant object or an object in the dark and the way he sees it when it is illuminated or when he is close to it. Despite this difference, the second sight is not something other than the first, but perhaps a more sophisticated version."[57] According to al-Ghazālī, religious disciplines are similar to this. "The knowledge that has matured into a state of enjoyment is like the *bāṭin* (essence) compared to the knowledge acquired without inquiry and enjoyment."[58]

e) Matters that are the expression of "the language of the state" (*lisān al-ḥāl*) of things through "the language of words and phrases" (*lisān al-qāl*), and where the narrow-minded fail to understand this subtlety and get caught up in the explicit meaning and consider the explicit meaning of the speech as truth. Al-Ghazālī argues that words here use metaphors and allusions in expressing the states of things so that those who look at only the explicit meaning fail to understand what these allusions mean. "*Then Allah turned towards the heaven when it was still like smoke, saying to it and the earth, 'Submit, willingly or unwillingly.' They both responded, 'We submit willingly.*'" (Q 41:11). According to al-Ghazālī, to understand the above verse, foolish people attribute to the heavens and the earth life, intelligence, and the ability to understand what is addressed. Furthermore, they believe that the heavens and the earth can hear the address and that they respond to it with letters and sounds. The wise person, on the other hand, is aware that the sky and the earth are obligated to execute this command and that this is simply a regular expression of language.[59] The same situation also applies to the verse: "*There is not a single thing that does not glorify His praises.*" According to al-

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[57]   *Ibid.*, 173.
[58]   *Ibid.*
[59]   *Ibid.*

Ghazālī, the ignorant person attributes sounds and letters to non-living things and thinks that they do this glorification like human beings. In contrast, the wise person is well aware that this glorification is not with the tongue but with the state and that in this way, everything praises God and testifies to the unity of Him. Hence, the continuation of the verse, "*But you simply cannot comprehend their glorification,*" indicates that the narrow-minded cannot understand the nature of this glorification. Even the believers close to God and the learned scholars are incapable of fully grasping its essence.[60]

2.2.4. Justifications for the Interpretability of the Qurʾān

Al-Ghazālī regards the effort to reflect upon the verses of the Qurʾān and develop interpretations of their meanings by presenting evidence from verses, ḥadīths, and the sayings of the Companions of the Prophet as crucial for achieving the true meanings. In this regard, al-Ghazālī points out that some Exoteric Ecole scholars have concluded that it is prohibited to ponder on the Qurʾān and interpret its meanings. They cite, as a piece of evidence, the ḥadīth from Ibn ʿAbbās that claims, "Whoever interprets the Qurʾān according to his intellect, may he/she be prepared for his place in Hell."[61] Moreover, "on this basis, the *ẓāhirī* commentators objected to some Sufi commentators interpreting certain words in the Qurʾān contrary to what was reported from Ibn ʿAbbās and other commentators and considered it blasphemy."[62] Al-Ghazālī opposes the view of the exegetes of Exoteric Ecole since this would imply that the only way to understand the Qurʾān is to memorize the earlier exegesis of the Qurʾān. In his opinion, the effort to interpret the Qurʾān does not fall within the scope of the prohibited act specified in the ḥadīth.[63] According to al-Ghazālī, who argues that interpreting verses in such a way as to support one's views, ideas, and causes would fall into the category of exegesis by reasoning, this practice constitutes an arbitrary interpretation of verses to create a basis for one's thoughts.

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[60] *Ibid.,* 174.

[61] *Ibid.,* 479. For a study on the various narrations attributed to the Prophet regarding the exegesis of the Qurʾān by means of reasoning see Kadir Gürler, "Kurʾânʾın Reʾy ile Tefsirini Yasaklayan Rivâyetlere Eleştirel Bir Yaklaşım," *Gazi Üniversitesi Çorum İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 3, no. 5 (2004), 17-46.

[62] Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn,* I, 479.

[63] *Ibid.,* 482-483.

This interpretation includes a void (*fāsid*) reasoning that is not based on authentic jurisprudence (*ijtihād*). Al-Ghazālī gives against them the example of the verse that reads, "*Go to Pharaoh, for he has truly transgressed all bounds.*" (Q 20:24). He points out that the "Pharaoh" here refers to the ego (*nafs*). However, the verse refers to a historical incident between Prophet Moses and Pharaoh.

Furthermore, al-Ghazālī also argues that sometimes the verses are interpreted in this way with good intentions. However, regardless of whether such an interpretation is based on malicious or benevolent intentions, it still constitutes the exegesis by reasoning, reported by the ḥadīth in question. Because "the reasoning applied in the exegesis of this ḥadīth refers to the void reasoning, which is not based on authentic jurisprudence and which is in favor of the ego."[64]

Al-Ghazālī demonstrates that the ḥadīth above does not condemn the activity of reflecting upon the Qurʾān, studying it in depth, or interpreting and drawing conclusions from it, as the exegetes of Exoteric Ecole claim, on the following grounds:[65]

a) Al-Ghazālī states that many ḥadīths, sayings, and writings of the Companions of the Prophet demonstrate that the meanings of the Qurʾān are comprehensive. Thus the Qurʾān can be interpreted in a broad sense. In this respect, al-Ghazālī notes the sayings of the Companions of the Prophet, such as "If I had wished, I would have written seventy camel-loads of books from the exegesis of the Sūrat al-Fātiḥah alone,"[66] as cited from ʿAlī, and "Let those who desire the knowledge of the past and the future study the Qurʾān"[67] as quoted by ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿūd. In addition, the following ḥadīths demonstrate that the meanings of the Qurʾān are comprehensive and, therefore, can be interpreted in a broader sense:[68] "The Qurʾān has an explicit, an implicit meaning, and a *ḥadd* (boundary) and a *maṭlaʿ* (place of witnessing its truth)" and "Read the Qurʾān and investigate its subtle meanings."[69]

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[64]   *Ibid.*, 482.

[65]   *Ibid.*, 479-482.

[66]   *Ibid.*, 479.

[67]   *Ibid*.

[68]   *Ibid.*, 479-480

[69]   There are different versions of the ḥadīth narrated from Ibn Masʿūd. In the version of the commentary of Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), the phrase "of each verse" is used instead of "of the Qurʾān."

b) According to al-Ghazālī, all disciplines are included in the deeds and attributes of God. There is a reference to all fields in the Qurʾān, and it is impossible to understand them through an explicit exoteric interpretation. Therefore, it would only be possible to penetrate the Qurʾān in a deep and encompassing manner by interpreting the subtle meanings of the Qurʾān. The Qurʾān touches upon many issues, especially those on which people have disputes, in one way or another, and contains references and indications regarding such issues and their solutions. Such subtleties can only be grasped through an in-depth study of the Qurʾān.[70]

c) According to al-Ghazālī, the Qurʾān, in addition to the issues on which people have disputes, also touches upon theoretical and rational matters that researchers, theoreticians, and intellectuals have been unable to resolve, and it contains references and signs regarding the solutions of such problematic issues. The exoteric exegesis would not be sufficient to understand and notice these signs and references. Such subtleties can only be grasped by those who can study the Qurʾān thoroughly and comprehend its truth.[71]

d) "*So, We made Solomon understand it (the judgment that contains the solution of the matter), and to each one (David and Solomon) We gave Wisdom and Knowledge.*" (Q 21:79) Concerning the above verse, al-Ghazālī drew attention to the significance and the superiority before God in comprehending the subtle aspects of events. He emphasized that although God granted judgment and knowledge to both David and Solomon, the intelligence that God solely gave to Solomon was only called *fahm* (the ability to

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Furthermore, this ḥadīth was included in the works of ḥadīth scholars such as Abū Yaʿlá al-Mawṣilī (d. 307/919), Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham (d. 807/1405), and Jalāl al-Dīn al- Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) with different statements. See Dilaver Selvi, "'Her Âyetin Bir Zâhiri Bir Bâtını Vardır' Hadisindeki Zâhir ve Bâtın Kavramları Üzerine Değerlendirmeler," *Dinbilimleri Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi* 11, no. 2 (2011), 13. The ḥadīth above has been cited as evidence for the idea that the Qurʾān is open to a multidimensional interpretation by both pre-Ghazālī Sufis such as Sahl ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) and Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996) and post-Ghazālī Sufis such as Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān al-Baqlī (d. 606/1209) and Niẓām al-Dīn al-Nīsābūrī (d. 730/1329). See Kristin Zahra Sands, *Ṣūfī Commentaries on the Qurʾān in Classical Islam* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 8-12.

[70] Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, I, 479.

[71] *Ibid.*, 479.

understand and perceive) and that God prioritized intelligence over judgment and knowledge.[72]

e) Al-Ghazālī opposes the claim of Exoteric Ecole, saying if the Qurʾān had no other meaning apart from the reported apparent exegesis of the Qurʾān, and if the view that people should only be content with this reported knowledge were adopted, no opinion about the interpretation of the verses of the Qurʾān not heard from the Prophet would be regarded as accurate. "Whereas some of the verses of the Qurʾān have been heard from the Prophet and some have not."[73] After the era of the Prophet, some Companions and followers of the Companions interpreted the verses from their perspectives, which had not been heard from the Prophet. As a result, different interpretations of the same verses emerged. Since it is impossible for them to have listened to all of these different interpretations from the Prophet, they interpreted the verses according to their perspective and understanding. This indicates that each exegete attempted to interpret the Qurʾān according to his endeavors and abilities.[74]

f) Al-Ghazālī interpreted the expression "search out" in the verse "*those among them who can search out the news would have known it (the truth)*." (Q 4:83) as "to deduce judgments and meanings, to derive new meanings other than what has been heard." He argued that this verse constitutes evidence against the fallacy that "exegesis through reasoning means to understand the Qurʾān in a way other than the narration of what is heard."[75]

g) Al-Ghazālī also addresses the issue of the interpretability of the Qurʾān through the fact that a word in the Qurʾān has multiple meanings. The terms *al-ṣalāh* (praying, prayer), *al-ummah* (nation), and *al-ḥamīm* (close, hat) can be given as examples of polysemous words. Accordingly, these words are used in different verses of the Qurʾān with very different meanings. Al-Ghazālī uses the term "ambiguous" for the polysemy, which the methodists of Islamic jurisprudence express with the term "the collective wording" (*al-*

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[72] *Ibid.*, 481.
[73] *Ibid.*
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] *Ibid.*, 482.

ishtirāk al-lafẓī) and by the methodists of exegesis with *wujūh*.[76] Within this context, al-Ghazālī points out that words such as *al-shayʾ* (thing), *al-qarīn* (abdomen), *al-ummah*, and *al-rūḥ* (soul) and letters such as *bi-hī* have a polysemous structure by citing examples of their varying uses in verses and ḥadīths.[77] It is crucial in understanding such expressions to know where and in what context the word is used. By doing so, the intention of the relevant verse of the Qurʾān will become comprehensible. Therefore, the research in question is a work of interpretation, and it is inevitable for those engaged in exegesis, let alone being forbidden. What is prohibited is, on the contrary, trying to give the same meaning to such polysemous words in every verse they are used:

> For instance, someone will understand from the word "ummah" the popular meaning of "those who follow a prophet," and his mind will incline to that meaning alone, and he will interpret it in that manner. When he sees the same word somewhere else, he will deduce the same meaning and will not search for other meanings that have been reported in this regard. It is what has been condemned. Comprehending the mysteries of the Qurʾān, on the other hand, is never blamed.[78]

3. Examples of Allusive Method of Exegesis in al-Ghazālī

For a better understanding of the basic principles of al-Ghazālī's allusive (*ishārī*) method of exegesis, his *ishārī* interpretations in his different works need to be examined. One of al-Ghazālī's most distinctive features is that he attempts to consolidate his theory using examples and analogies after almost every theoretical topic dealt with in his works. In the following chapter, examples of al-Ghazālī's *ishārī* exegesis in his various works will be discussed to clarify further his method of *ishārī* interpretation.

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[76] The field of *wujūh* is a sub-discipline of Qurʾān-based disciplines that deals with polysemous words. The first known work in this field is the *Kitāb al-Wujūh wa-l-naẓāʾir* written by Abū l-Ḥasan Muqātil ibn Sulaymān al-Balkhī (d. 150/767). Subsequently, many works were written on this subject. See Şahin Güven, *Kur'ân'ın Anlaşılması ve Yorumlanmasında Çokanlamlılık Sorunu* (Istanbul: Denge Yayınları, 2005), 190.

[77] Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, I, 484-485.

[78] *Ibid.*, 486.

Within this context, this chapter will present the *ishārī* interpretations of al-Ghazālī regarding the 35th and 40th verses of Sūrat al-Nūr, the 75th to 79th verses of Sūrat al-Anʿām, and Sūrat al-Fātiḥah. In *Mishkāt al-anwār*, most of which is devoted to the explanation of the 35th verse of Sūrat al-Nūr, al-Ghazālī provides an *ishārī* interpretation of this verse as well as the 40th verse of Sūrat al-Nūr and the 75th to 79th verses of Sūrat al-Anʿām. Al-Ghazālī felt obliged to explain in his book above to prevent these intensive ishārī interpretations from giving the reader an impression contrary to his insistence on prioritizing the explicit meanings in his exegesis of the Qurʾān:

> Beware! Do not think that these examples given about the parables are a license from me to remove the apparent meanings of the verses and to cancel those meanings as though, for instance, I asserted that Moses had not had two sandals and not heard a word from God saying, "*Take off your sandals.*" [Q 20:12] God forbid! I exonerate Allah. Rejecting the existing secrets is the opinion of the Ḥashawiyyah sect, and denying the explicit meanings of the verses is the opinion of the Bāṭiniyyah, who looks entirely at one of the two realms through their google eyes. Both were grossly ignorant of the equilibrium between the two realms and failed to understand from which angle they needed to look. In this case, the one who only looks at the explicit meaning is Ḥashawiyyah, and the one who only looks at the implicit meaning is Bāṭiniyyah. While the one who joins the two together is the perfect human being (…), I argue, on the contrary, that Moses understood from the command "Take off your shoes" to throw off the two realms and obeyed the command explicitly by taking off his sandals, and implicitly by throwing off the two realms. It is the crossing over (*iʿtibār*) from one to the other, from explicit to the implicit meaning."[79]

Before moving on to examples of *ishārī* exegesis, it would be worth mentioning briefly the similarity between al-Ghazālī's method of transition from the explicit to the implicit, which he calls (*iʿtibār*/crossing over) and the method utilized by the Bāṭiniyyah in

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[79]   Al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, 73.

the exegesis. Mustafa Öztürk argues that al-Ghazālī's method of crossing over, which he defines as a means of transition from the explicit to the implicit and which corresponds to syllogism and deduction in the jargon of Islamic jurisprudent and theologians, is similar to the Bāṭiniyyah analogy of the symbol-symbolized. Öztürk considers this method as a syllogism independent from the linguistic presumption. He argues that this method, employed by al-Ghazālī in particular and by all Sufis in general, is nothing but the expression of the same method in different words and terms with the transfer of the verbal form of verses and ḥadīths from explicit to implicit based on the of the Ismāʿīlīs' analogy of the symbol-symbolized.[80]

3.1. Exegesis of the 35th Verse of Sūrat al-Nūr

Al-Ghazālī composed a separate work titled *Mishkāt al-anwār* to interpret this verse.[81] In his exegesis of the verse, al-Ghazālī first explained the true nature of the concept of the light (*nūr*) mentioned in the verse and then explained the representations utilized in the verse.

3.1.1. True Nature of the Concept of Light

According to al-Ghazālī, the expression in the verse is not used metaphorically but literally because God consists of divine light. al-Ghazālī states that attributing the name "divine light" to beings other than God is metaphorical and that the true divine light is God. Following this point, al-Ghazālī attempts to explain different uses of "light" to arrive at the concept of "light" in reference to God. According to him, the concept of light has different meanings for ordinary people, the elite, and high-level scholars (*khawāṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ*). Therefore, there are various meanings of light.

According to the understanding of ordinary people, light refers to being visible (*ẓuhūr*). Things like the sun, moon, and lamps are both visible (*ẓāhir*) and, at the same time, indicate other things by

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[80] Öztürk, *Tefsirde Bâtınilik ve Bâtıni Te'vil Geleneği*, 230.

[81] "*Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth. His light is like a niche in which there is a lamp. The lamp is in a crystal, and the crystal is like a shining star, lit from the oil of a blessed olive tree, located neither to the east nor the west, whose oil would almost glow, even without being touched by fire. Light upon light! Allah guides whoever He wills to His light. And Allah sets forth parables for humanity. For Allah has perfect knowledge of all things.*" Q 24:35.

illuminating them (*muẓhir*). Therefore, what ordinary people understand from the light are visible things that make others visible, such as those mentioned above. It is the material light.[82]

However, the existence of this material light alone is insufficient for perceiving light. This light needs to be seen. In other words, an observer is necessary to observe the light. The eye is this observer. If there is no eye, that is, no device to see this light, the reality of the light will not be comprehended. No matter how much the surrounding environment is illuminated by sunlight, it makes no sense to a blind person. Thus, despite the existence of light, the truth of light will not be revealed to the blind. Hence, "the seeing soul [i.e., the eye] is superior [to the material/seen light] because the perceiver and perception are actualized through it."[83] The eye is also called light because the light has to be perceived. Hence, the eye is more worthy of the name light than the material light. According to al-Ghazālī, this is the position of the elite in making sense of light.[84]

Humans are endowed with another eye that is different from this eye. The eye of the heart is sometimes called the mind, soul, or human soul. It is in a higher position than the eye on the head, which has many deficiencies and limitations. "The eye sees others but not itself. It cannot see what is too far away from it and what is too close to it. Also, it cannot see what is behind the curtain. It sees the apparent, not the subtle. It sees some of the things but not all of them. It sees finite but not infinite things, and what it sees is only a multitude of illusions. For example, it sees the big as small, the far as near, the stationary as moving, and the moving as still."[85] On the other hand, The eye of the heart, which al-Ghazālī prefers to call "mind," has none of these deficiencies. "The mind can perceive both itself and others, as well as its attributes. For the mind, the near and the far are the same. In addition to being able to conceive of the physical world it is in, the intellect is also able to conceive of the ninth heaven, the holy throne (*al-ʿarsh*), beyond the veils of the heavens, the supreme chamber of top-ranking angels (*al-malaʾ al-aʿlā*), and the highest sublime realm. No truth can be veiled for the

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[82]   al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, 41-42.
[83]   *Ibid.*, 42.
[84]   *Ibid., 43*
[85]   *Ibid.*

mind. The mind dives into the depths of things, that is, their secrets, and can comprehend their truth and essence. All beings are the field of action of the mind. The mind can perceive all beings, make conceptions about them, and arrive at definite and accurate judgments about them. The mind is endowed with the ability to comprehend all knowledge. Furthermore, the mind can perceive that the stars and the sun are many times bigger than the earth, that the child is growing, that the shadow is moving, and that the stars travel a great distance at any moment."[86] In other words, the mind is free from all eye illusions.

Despite these deficiencies in the eye and these perfections in mind, al-Ghazālī finds it strange that both are called light. According to al-Ghazālī, "the eye is light compared to things other than the mind. However, it is darkness compared to the mind."[87] Consequently, al-Ghazālī deems the eye more worthy of the title 'light' than the material light. Similarly, he also deems the mind more deserving of the title 'light' than the eye. Moreover, according to al-Ghazālī, "there are so many differences between the two that it is only the mind that is worthy of the title of 'light.'"[88]

At this point, al-Ghazālī establishes a connection between the Qurʾān and the mind in the context of the concept of light and refers to the Qurʾān as light. Al-Ghazālī argues that God refers to the Qurʾān as a light based on the verses: "*So believe in Allah and His Messenger and the Light*" (Q 64:8) and "*O humanity! There has come to you conclusive evidence from your Lord, and We have sent down to you a brilliant light.*" (Q 4:174). The Qurʾān is for the mind what sunlight is for the physical eye. "The example of the Qurʾān is the light of the sun, and the example of the mind is the light of the eye."[89] The Qurʾān acts as a stimulant for the mind and enables the potential power of the mind to be activated (actual).

Taking the ideas expressed by al-Ghazālī in his classification of the concept of light as 'material light-eye-mind' into account, one cannot infer that the light of the Qurʾān was considered superior to the light of the mind by al-Ghazālī. Since the truth of the visible

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[86]   *Ibid.*, 44-47.
[87]   *Ibid.*, 46.
[88]   *Ibid.*, 48.
[89]   *Ibid.*, 49.

light, such as the light of the sun, moon, and lamp, is perceived through the observing soul, i.e., the eye, al-Ghazālī deems the eye to be superior. Therefore, without the mind (the eye in the analogy), the Qurʾān (the sun in the analogy) alone will fail to reveal the truth. In the dichotomy of "the light of the eye and the light of the sun," both (the mind and the Qurʾān) are needed here, just as both are required for the truth. However, the mind is always one step ahead. Therefore, al-Ghazālī did not mean to say that the Qurʾān is more worthy of the title of light compared to the eye of the mind, as Mesut Okumuş states, but instead, he said the exact opposite. Okumuş arrives at this conclusion based on al-Ghazālī's statement that the sun is more worthy of the title of light than the physical eye. Nevertheless, al-Ghazālī repeatedly emphasized in several places that the physical eye deserves the title of light more than the sun.[90]

After this point, al-Ghazālī defines the higher light. "The thing that sees itself and others is more worthy of the title of light. Therefore, if something sees itself and others and simultaneously enables others to see, it is more worthy of the title of light than something that has no impact on others."[91] Al-Ghazālī deemed it appropriate to refer to the light that has such an effect as *al-sirāj al-munīr*, which means the lamp that radiates light. The light in question is the light contained in the divine-prophetic soul. This divine-prophetic soul is found in prophets and some of the saints. Noting that through the light of this soul, knowledge is spread to all creatures, al-Ghazālī suggests through this explanation that the true intention behind the referring to the Prophet as *al-sirāj al-munīr* in the 46th verse of Sūrat al-Aḥzāb[92] is also understood.[93]

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[90] "The scholar (al-Ghazālī) defines another higher level at this point with a new analogy. According to him, just as the sun deserves the title of light more than the physical eye, the Qurʾān deserves the title of light more than the eye of the mind. Just as the title of light is more appropriate for the sun, the title of light is more appropriate for the Qurʾan. Because the Qurʾān resembles the sun and the mind resembles the eye." Mesut Okumuş, *Kur'ân'ın Çok Boyutlu Okunuşu: İmam Gazzâlî Örneği* (Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları, 2006), 195.

[91] Al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, 51.

[92] "*O Prophet! We have sent you as a witness a deliverer of good news, a warner, a caller to the Way of Allah by His command, and a beacon of light.*" Q 33:45-46.

[93] Al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, 52.

Up to this point, al-Ghazālī names four different things as the light: a. luminous substances, b. the eye, the instrument of the observer soul, c. the mind, which is not infected with any deficiency in perception, d. the divine-prophetic soul, which is contained in prophets and some saints and enables others to see the truth through them.

Al-Ghazālī classifies the realms as material and sublime and asserts that each has its lights. The lights that have been listed up to this point are the lights that belong to the lower realm, that is, the material realm.[94] From this point on, al-Ghazālī moves on to the sublime lights. The divine prophetic souls are the interface between the lower and the upper realms, or in other words, the means of transmitting the light of the upper realm to the lower realm. The divine-prophetic souls receive their light from the sublime lights, and since they are *al-sirāj al-munīr*, they radiate this light to all other creatures. Al-Ghazālī states that it is appropriate to denote this activity of receiving light (*nūr)* as receiving fire *(nār).*[95] As discussed in detail in the following chapters, al-Ghazālī analogizes this divine-prophetic soul to the olive oil mentioned in the verse, which emits light almost without being touched by fire. When fire touches it, it becomes "*nūr ʿalā nūr* (the light upon light)."

These sublime souls, from which the lower souls receive fire, are angels. Thus, al-Ghazālī makes the transition to the sublime lights. There is a hierarchical order among the sublime lights, namely the angels. All angels have a certain rank. "In the sublime lights, from which the lower lights transfer light, there is an order in which the lights of the lower rank receive light from the higher ranks."[96] According to al-Ghazālī, this hierarchical order among the sublime lights has been revealed to those who understand the truth with their hearts. Al-Ghazālī cites the verse "*The angels respond, 'There is not one of us without an assigned station of worship'*" (Q 37:164) as

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[94] Al-Ghazālī suggests that both realms may have different names as follows: "The material realm compared to the angelic realm is like the shell compared to the essence, the shape and mold compared to the soul, the darkness compared to the light, and the low compared to the high. Therefore, while the angelic realm is called 'the sublime, spiritual, and heavenly realm,' the material realm is called 'the lower, physical, and dark realm.'" Al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, 50.

[95] *Ibid.*, 52.

[96] *Ibid.*, 53.

evidence for this graded structure of spiritual souls. Each soul receives its light from the light in the higher rank. However, this receiving activity has to end at a certain point. Stating that this sequence cannot go on endlessly, al-Ghazālī argues that it has a primary source: "When you realize that there is a hierarchy within the lights, you also need to know that this hierarchy cannot go on and on forever. It must reach a primary source and end there. He is the Light itself. No light can come from any other source than Him. All lights receive light only from Him in order."[97]

Al-Ghazālī gradually explains the lower lights, starting with the material luminous substances. After mentioning the superiority of the light in the higher rank each time until he reaches the sublime lights, he makes a comparison with the light in the lower level. He asks a specific question with a clear answer: "Which of these is worthier of the title of light?" At this point, he finally asks the following question: "Is the title of Light more worthy and more appropriate for the one who receives its light from others, or for the one who has light in Himself and radiates light to others?"[98] Since the ultimate origin of the light of sublime souls is the source of light Himself, and since all beings that are called by the name "light" receive their light from Him in a hierarchical order, He is the only One who is truly worthy of the title "light." The title of light can only be given metaphorically to all other beings because the one who borrows something from another cannot be regarded as the owner of that thing. Thus, in a literal sense, the Light is the One who bestows that light on others and ensures the continuity of existence of that light in them. Al-Ghazālī endeavors to explain this metaphorical nomenclature with the metaphor of the enslaved person and the ruler: "In the essence of the name light and in being worthy of this title, there is no such thing as a partner to Him, except the nomenclature by that name. This is like a ruler granting property to his slave by grace and then calling him the owner. When this reality dawns on that enslaved person, he knows his master owns both him and his property. No ownership exists in that property by any partner other than the master."[99]

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[97] *Ibid.*, 54.
[98] *Ibid.*
[99] *Ibid.*

Having asserted that God literally consists of light and that those other than Him can only be metaphorically called light, al-Ghazālī then proceeds to clarify the concept of light based on the relationship between existence and non-existence. He likens existence to light, the opposite of darkness, by stating that "there is no darkness more severe than utter non-existence."[100] Al-Ghazālī, who divides existence into two by arguing that a thing either exists on its own or exists with something else, states that the second type of existence cannot be defined as existence in its true sense; it would only be a borrowed existence, and thus the true existence can only be existence without the need for another, and that the only one that exists is God and that the rest is not an actual existence. Consequently, "God is the only real Entity as He is the only true Light."[101] Within this context, al-Ghazālī addresses beings other than God as two-dimensional. Everything has an aspect facing itself and an aspect facing God. Entities do not exist in terms of their aspect, and they are just non-existence (*ʿadam*), yet they can only exist through the aspect that faces God. "Everything other than God is in a state of absolute non-existence. However, from the standpoint that God has endowed them with a body, they are perceived as existing."[102]

After having detailed the concept of light, al-Ghazālī summarizes what he has explained up to this point as follows to help the readers make up their minds:

You are probably eager to know about the transmission of the light of God to the sublime realm and the material realm, and even that God is the Light of the heavens and the earth. Once you know that God is the only true light and that there is no other light but Him, and that He is *kull al-anwār* (the Light of all lights) and *al-nūr al-kullī* (the Infinite light), it is not appropriate for this to be kept a secret from you. Because the light consists of the thing through which things can come into existence. Its higher level is the one that exists by itself, for itself, and from itself. In addition, true light has no light beyond itself from which it can borrow and to which it can appeal for help. This light is in Him and by itself and not from

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[100] *Ibid.*, 55.
[101] *Ibid.*
[102] *Ibid.*, 56.

anything else. Then you realize that only God, i.e., the "First light," is qualified with this attribute. Then you realize that the heavens and the earth are filled with two layers of light that pertain to eyesight and foresight, that is, the senses and the mind. The light that appeals to the eye is the stars, the sun, and the moon that you see in the heavens, and the light that you see in the earth is the glow that is spread over the things on the earth. In any case, and especially in the spring, the various colors of animals, minerals, and the various classes of beings are revealed through this glow. Without these glows, colors would not appear or even come into existence. (…) As for the spiritual-intellectual lights, the angelic ores in the highest realm (*al-ʿālam al-aʿlā*) and animal and human lives in the lowest realm (*al-ʿālam al-asfal*) are full of these lights. Just as the order of the higher realm becomes visible through the heavenly-angelic light, the order of the lower realm, the earth, becomes visible through the servile human light.

When you understand this, you will also know that the entire universe is full of light that appeals to the eye and light that appeals to the mind. You will also perceive that the lower levels receive light from the ones at the higher levels, just like the light emanates from the lamp. The lamp is the divine-prophetic soul. The divine-prophetic souls transfer light from the sublime souls in the same way that the lamp transfers luminosity from the light, and those in the lower levels transfer light from each other. Their order is by the rank of their positions. Then, all of them ascend to *Nūr al-anwār*, that is, to God, who is the source and origin of all lights. He is one and in no way has a partner. Other lights are all borrowed from Him. Only His light is the true one. All light consists of Him. In fact, for others, light exists only metaphorically. Therefore, there is no light other than His light. The other lights are not original, but they are lights from the angle that faces Him. Every soul holder is oriented towards Him and has turned his face towards Him. As the verse stipulates: "*To Allah belong the east and the west, so wherever you turn you are facing towards Allah. Surely Allah is All-Encompassing, All-Knowing.*" [Q 2:115][103]

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[103] *Ibid.*, 59-60.

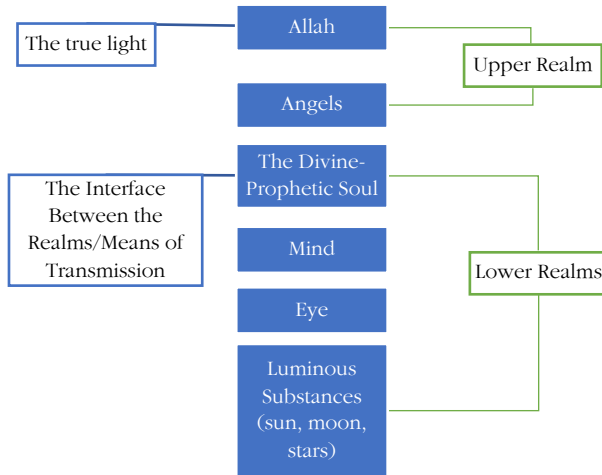|		
The true light	Allah	
		Upper Realm
	Angels	
The Interface Between the Realms/Means of Transmission	The Divine-Prophetic Soul	
	Mind	Lower Realms
	Eye	
	Luminous Substances (sun, moon, stars)	

Table 3. Al-Ghazālī's Hierarchy of Lights

As can be understood from the explanations provided, al-Ghazālī interpreted the first part of the verse al-Nūr, "*Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth,*" in its literal sense. He endeavored to explain in detail that God is the light in the strictest sense of the word and that God is the only light in a real sense and that the term of light for lights of other beings who have been endowed with light is only used in a metaphorical sense. In trying to clarify this, al-Ghazālī defined the heavenly and earthly lights, explained the hierarchical relationship between them, and stated that God had granted the other beings their lights and thus their existence. For this reason, God is the source of light and the light itself. Nonetheless, al-Ghazālī assumes that some readers may not have grasped the narrative, saying, "Maybe your understanding can not reach its peak."[104] So, he uses the concept of "intensity of revelation" to explain that God is the light of heaven and earth. The explanations from this point onwards constitute an answer to the question, "If God is the light of the heavens and the earth, why cannot the nature of this light be understood, and why cannot we perceive this light?" What al-Ghazālī explains from this point onwards is based on the premise that God is true light, which he

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[104] *Ibid.*, 62.

has already described in detail. Here, al-Ghazālī further materializes his theory and introduces it to his readers.

When a visible light, such as sunlight, shines and its light casts on an object, and through this light, the object becomes visible, and its colors are revealed, people say that they see the colors, not the light and that they do not see anything else along with what they see. In al-Ghazālī's words, the human being says, "I did not see anything else besides the greenness."[105] People acknowledge that "light is something beyond colors and can just be perceived in conjunction with colors" only after the visible light disappears, for example, when the sun goes down, or the lamp is turned off, and the colors become invisible."[106] According to al-Ghazālī, if humans cannot see the light despite its apparent nature, this results from the excess and severity of that light. The light is so dense that it has become invisible. "Sometimes the intensity of the revelation is the reason for its secrecy. When something exceeds its limit, it is reversed."[107]

Al-Ghazālī argues that this property of the visible light also applies to the light of God and that the fact that the light of God (and therefore God Himself, since He is the light Himself) accompanies every being is an obstacle to seeing His light. "God is hidden from His creatures because of the intensity of revelation of His light and veiled from the eyes of His creatures because of the luminosity of His light."[108] Since God has granted every being a part of His being, His light accompanies everything. However, the people who possess foresight can only fully realize this state of accompaniment. In fact, "they see God with everything they look at."[109] Al-Ghazālī asserts that the faithful subjects of God and the wise scholars can only see this light. The first part of the 53rd verse of Sūrat Fuṣṣilat, "*Is it not enough that your Lord is a Witness over all things?*" points to the position of the faithful subjects who can observe. The second part, "*We will show them Our signs on all the horizons as well as within themselves,*" points to the position of the rational scholars who can deduce. According to al-Ghazālī, those

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[105] *Ibid.*
[106] *Ibid.*
[107] *Ibid.*
[108] *Ibid.*
[109] *Ibid.*, 63.

other than the ones mentioned above are only those who are screened and blinded from seeing this reality. Al-Ghazālī has previously made this categorization based on people who have realized that God is the only being. According to him, some people have reached this position through "intellectual knowledge" while others have achieved it "arbitrarily."[110] Shortly and precisely, "in the same manner, as everything becomes visible to the eye through the visible light, so with God, everything becomes visible to the mind. As the light is with all things and everything is revealed through it, Allah is inseparable with all things and is the One that reveals everything."[111]

After drawing a similarity between the visible light and the divine light in terms of their invisibility due to their intensity, al-Ghazālī declares the significant difference between them: The visible light disappears, but the divine light never disappears. "As for the divine light, through which everything becomes visible, its disappearance is unimaginable, and its change is impossible. It is always together with all things"[112] because the disappearance of the divine light would mean the end of existence. "If one could imagine its absence, both the heavens and the earth would be demolished."[113]

3.1.2. Meaning of the Representations in the Verse

Al-Ghazālī argues that the representation in the verse al-Nūr is used to explain luminous human souls. It is necessary to comprehend the representations in this verse to understand them fully. Detailed explanations about the levels of human knowledge, to which al-Gahazali referred as the luminous human souls, have been provided in previous chapters to understand the nature of representation and all the representations used in verses and hadiths in general, and the ones in Sūrat al-Nūr in particular. In this regard, al-Ghazālī explains the meanings of the expressions *mishkāt, zujājah, miṣbāḥ, zayt,* and *shajarah* used in the verse as follows:[114]

a) *Mishkāt* (Cavity) represents the sensual soul in the physical realm. Al-Ghazālī claims that there is also a similarity between the two in terms of their form because the lights of the sensual soul emanate

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[110]   *Ibid.*, 57.

[111]   *Ibid.*, 63.

[112]   *Ibid.*

[113]   *Ibid.*

[114]   *Ibid.*, 79-81.

from holes in the body, such as the ears, nose, and eyes. The structure of the *mishkāt* is also like a hole, a cavity, and the lamp is placed inside it, from which it emits its glow.

b) *Zujājah* (Glassware) represents the imaginary soul in the physical realm. Glass has a transparency that protects the lamp inside against unfavorable conditions outside so that it does not extinguish but also does not prevent the light of the lamp from emanating outside. In the same way, the imaginary soul protects the mental soul so that the mental knowledge is recorded and that this knowledge is not lost and can ultimately emit its light. If this glass is too thick and lacks sufficient transparency for various reasons, it prevents the lamp's light from fully radiating out. In the same way, if the imaginary soul is adorned with spiritual training and recorded, it becomes parallel to the intellectual meanings and does not interfere with their light.

c) *Miṣbāḥ* (Lamp) represents the mental soul in the physical world. The representation of the mental soul by the lamp is similar to the likening of the prophets to lamps that emit light (*al-sirāj al-munīr*). Just as the lamp is the source of light, the divine and heavenly knowledge can be perceived through the mental soul, and in the same way, the prophets spread the light of wisdom to all other creatures.[115]

d) *Shajarah* (Olive Tree) represents the intellectual soul in the physical world. A significant similarity exists between the tree having branches (and each branch divides into branches within itself) and the access of the intellectual soul to new knowledge through different compositions from the rational sciences and then comparing this new knowledge with its old knowledge and arriving at different pieces of knowledge. The answer to the question, "Why is the olive tree rather than any other tree?" lies in the oil produced by this tree. According to al-Ghazālī, olive oil has a privilege over other oils in terms of its quality arising from the scarcity of smoke and the abundance of light. The olive tree is called a blessed tree because it is fertile and produces many fruits. The reason for the expression "*lā sharq wa-lā gharb*" is that the ideas of the pure mind are not comparable with the aspects and connections such as proximity and distance.

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[115] *Ibid.*, 52.

e) *Zayt* (Oil) represents the divine-prophetic soul in the physical realm. According to al-Ghazālī, intellectual souls are divided into several parts. While some need external influence, instruction, advice, and help to acquire knowledge, others are in such a pure state that they come to their senses without any external help. Oils are like this. While some oils require the presence of a solid external igniter to catch on fire, the oil of the olive tree is so pure and radiant that it would almost catch on fire even if it were not touched by fire. This divine-prophetic soul, devoted to some of the saints and all the prophets, is such a pure light that it would almost shine without taking a share from the light at the higher rank. "Among the saints, there are those whose light shines almost without the help of the prophets, and among the prophets, there are those whose light shines almost without needing the help of the angels."[116]

According to al-Ghazālī, these lights have a sequential order. "The first thing that comes into play is the senses. They are like a preparatory stage for the imagination because something that belongs to the imagination can only come into being after the senses. The mental and intellectual ones get materialized after those two. Therefore, it is appropriate that the glassware is like a place for the lamp, and the cavity is like a place for the glassware. Thus, the lamp is in the glassware, and the glassware is in the cavity."[117] The expression '*nūr 'alá nūr* (the light upon light)' is intended to describe the superposition of all these lights.

Representations in the Verse of al-Nūr	Luminous Human Souls
Mishkāt (cavity)	the sensual soul (*al-rūḥ al-ḥissī*)
Zujājah (glassware)	the Imaginary soul (*al-rūḥ al-khayālī*)
Miṣbāḥ (lamp)	the Mental soul (*al-rūḥ al-'aqlī*)
Shajarah (Olive Tree)	the intellectual soul (*al-rūḥ al-fikrī*)
Zayt (oil)	the divine prophetic soul (*al-rūḥ al-qudsī al-nabawī*)

Table 4. Representations in the Verse of al-Nūr and Their Correspondences in the Luminous Human Souls

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[116] *Ibid.*, 81.
[117] *Ibid.*

The 35th verse of Sūrat al-Nūr has been subject to various interpretations since the early periods of Sufism. Many Sufis, notably Sahl al-Tustarī, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/908), and al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. 320/932), attributed different *ishārī* meanings to the concept of light in the context of this verse in a way that profoundly influenced subsequent Sufis.[118] As Salih Çift points out, al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, in particular, made extensive use of the concept of light as one of the basic concepts on which he built his Sufistic understanding.[119] Notwithstanding the lack of exclusive studies on this subject, al-Ghazālī likely used this earlier scholarship. Furthermore, it has been noted that al-Ghazālī was heavily influenced by the work of Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037), *al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt*, in his interpretation of the verse of al-Nūr.[120] Nevertheless, al-Ghazālī did not simply adopt the interpretations of Ibn Sīnā as they were but instead made significant modifications to them and introduced his unique point of view. For example, Ibn Sīnā considers the verse's five representations (cavity, glassware, lamp, olive tree, oil) elements of the mind that only humans can possess. On the other hand, al-Ghazālī argues that the concepts to which the representations of the cavity and the glassware correspond are the sensual soul and the imaginary soul, which are also present in animals.[121] Moreover, it is claimed that there are similarities between the concept of light of al-Ghazālī and the writings of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ.[122] Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ often uses the concept of emanation/flow (*fayḍ*) because it is one of the cornerstones of their philosophy. It finds its meaning in their epistles: "generosity and virtue radiate/flow from God, as light and splendor radiate/flow from the sun," meaning "radiate, flow, overflow." This idea appears in the introduction to *Mishkāt al-anwār*[123] and elsewhere, for example, in

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[118] Salih Çift, "İlk Dönem Tasavvuf Düşüncesinde Nûr Kavramı," *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 13, no: 1 (2004), 140-150.

[119] Ibid., 147.

[120] Sands, *Sufi Commentaries on the Qurʾan in Classical Islâm*, 126; Whittingham, *Al-Ghazālī and the Qurʾān*, 101.

[121] Sands, *Sufi Commentaries on the Qurʾan in Classical Islâm*, 126.

[122] Whittingham, *Al-Ghazālī and the Qurʾān*, 116.

[123] "All praise is only to God, who emanates (flows) light, opens the eyes, uncovers the secrets and eliminates the veils." al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, 39.

the section where angels are mentioned,[124] which leads to such an idea.[125]

3.2. Exegesis of the 40ᵗʰ Verse of Sūrat al-Nūr

Al-Ghazālī's explanation of the examples in this verse[126] continues his explanation of verse 35 of Sūrat al-Nūr. Al-Ghazālī did not directly quote this verse in his work but used part of it to continue his sentence. He expressed that the examples mentioned in the 35ᵗʰ verse of Sūrat al-Nūr apply only to the hearts of the believers or the saints and prophets and not to the hearts of the infidels. Then, he clarified that the light mentioned in the verse leads people to righteousness and that turning away from righteousness is *ẓulmah* (darkness). However, darkness cannot lead people anywhere, either right or wrong. On the contrary, the darkness helps to misguide the infidels by reversing their minds and perceptions. After this point, al-Ghazālī expresses the statements of the verse as a continuation of his sentence by saying that "infidels are like a man in the middle of a dark sea."[127]

Al-Ghazālī demonstrates the meaning of the representations of the vast sea (*baḥr lujjī*), the first wave (*mawj*), the second wave (*fawqihī mawj*) and the cloud (*saḥāb*) in the verse through an *ishārī* method:[128]

1. The vast sea represents this world with its destructive hazards, degrading preoccupations, and blinding turbidity.

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[124] "In the realm of angels, there are honorable and sublime ores made of light. These are called 'angels.' The lights emanate from them to the luminous human souls." al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, 67.

[125] Whittingham, *Al-Ghazālī and the Qurʾān*, 116.

[126] "*Or their (infidels') deeds are like the darkness in a deep sea, covered by waves upon waves, topped by dark clouds. Darkness upon darkness! If one stretches out their hand, they can hardly see it. And whoever Allah does not bless with light will have no light!*" Q 24:40.

[127] The statement of al-Ghazālī is as follows:
هذا المثال إنما يتضح لقلوب المؤمنين أو لقلوب الأنبياء والأولياء لا لقلوب الكفار: فإن النور يراد للهداية. فالمصروف عن طريق الهدى باطل وظلمة، بل أشد من الظلمة: لأن الظلمة لا تهدي إلى الباطل كما لا تهدي إلى الحق. وعقول الكفار انتكست، وكذلك سائر إدراكاتهم وتعاونت على الإضلال في حقهم. فمثالهم كرجل في (بَحرٍ لُّجِّيٍّ يَغْشَاهُ مَوجٌ مِّن فَوقِهِ مَوجٌ مِّن فَوقِهِ سَحَابٌ ظُلُمَاتٌ بَعضَها فَوقَ بَعضٍ).
Al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, 82. In the above statement, the part where the verse is quoted has been bolded and accentuated (adding vowel points) by us. However, al-Ghazālī did not mention it in his work in a separate and accentuated form.

[128] Al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, 82-83.

2. The first wave represents the lust that leads to instinctual desires, preoccupation with sensual pleasures, and the provision of worldly needs. According to al-Ghazālī, those caught in this wave "eat and live just as animals live. Their ultimate destination is fire. Surely, this wave will be dark. Because desiring something makes a person blind and deaf."[129]

3. The second wave represents the seven malicious deeds: Wrath, hostility, enmity, hatred, jealousy, boasting, and pride with having many possessions.

4. The cloud is the evil beliefs, false assumptions, and perverted imaginations that stand like a curtain between the infidels and faith, knowledge of the truth, and enlightenment by the light of the Qurʾān and mind. The feature of the cloud is that it blocks the light of the sun.

When all these types of darkness (the vast sea, the waves, the clouds) are combined, the expression "layers and layers of darkness" is an appropriate description. This darkness is so intense and powerful that it obscures distant and nearby objects. The expression "If one stretches out their hand, they can hardly see it" describes this situation. This darkness prevents the infidels from comprehending and being aware of the astonishing conditions of the Prophet, which they could have understood even with a little thinking and pondering, even though they had occurred right in front of them. Eventually, since God is the source of all lights, the first light, "There is no light for those to whom God has not bestowed light."[130]

3.3. Exegesis of Verses 75 to 79 of Sūrat al-Anʿām

Al-Ghazālī provided an *ishārī* exegesis of these verses, in which the story of Prophet Abraham is mentioned[131] both in *Mishkāt al-*

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[129] *Ibid.*, 82.
[130] *Ibid.*, 83.
[131] "*We also showed Abraham the wonders of the heavens and the earth, so that he would be sure in faith. When the night grew dark upon him, he saw a star and said, 'This is my Lord!' But when it set, he said, 'I do not love things that set.' Then when he saw the moon rising, he said, 'This one is my Lord!' But when it disappeared, he said, 'If my Lord does not guide me, I will certainly be one of the misguided people.' Then when he saw the sun shining, he said, 'This must be my Lord—it is the greatest!' But again, when it set, he declared, 'O my people! I totally*

anwār[132] and *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*[133], which are partially different from each other. In his work *Fayṣal al-tafriqah bayna l-Islām wa-l-zandaqah*[134], he presents his interpretations of the verses in the works mentioned above as the interpretations of the Sufis who interpreted implicit expressions based on a prevailing assumption and not based on conclusive evidence. While in *Iḥyāʾ*, al-Ghazālī identifies the stars, the moon, and the sun in the verses as the light veils that the traveler must overcome on the way to reaching the ultimate union (*wuṣlah*), in *Mishkāt al-anwār*, he regards them as a representation of the angels, which are the luminous sublime entities. Nevertheless, the basic idea in both interpretations is that the verses in question describe the circumstances to arrive at the truth.

3.3.1. Exegesis of the Verses in *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*

Al-Ghazālī mentions four classes of arrogant people and their factions in the *Kitāb dhamm al-ghurūr* section of the *Iḥyāʾ* and counts the Sufis in the third place among them. When talking about the deluded factions within this class, he mentions the faction that continues on the path and gets closer to Allah without paying attention to the brightness and offerings on the way during the journey. However, this faction assumes that this point is the place of ultimate union and gets confused by stopping at this point. At this point, al-Ghazālī states that God has seventy thousand veils of light and that the traveler errs by believing that he has reached the right place of the union when he ascends only to one of these veils and then proceeds to the interpretation of the relevant verses.[135] Al-Ghazālī grounded this interpretation on the ḥadīth purported by the Prophet, "God has seventy thousand veils of light." Al-Ghazālī devoted the third and final chapter of *Mishkāt al-anwār* to explain a different version of the same ḥadīth: "Verily for Allah, there are seventy veils made of light and darkness. If He were to open those curtains, the brightness of His face would burn everything that

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reject whatever you associate with Allah in worship. I have turned my face towards the One Who originated the heavens and the earth—being upright—and I am not one of the polytheists'." Q 6:75-79.

[132] Al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, 67-68.
[133] Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, III, 628-629.
[134] Al-Ghazālī, *Fayṣal al-tafriqah*, 53-55.
[135] Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, III, 628-629.

perceives it."[136] Nevertheless, al-Ghazālī does not mention these verses in the last chapter of *Mishkāt al-anwār*, which he devotes to explaining this ḥadīth. Furthermore, the veils mentioned in the context of this verse are only veils of light, whereas the veils mentioned in the ḥadīth are veils made of light and darkness.

According to al-Ghazālī, the stars, the moon, and the sun, about which Abraham said, "This is my Lord," are not the shiny objects in the sky. "For Abraham had also seen them in his childhood and knew that they were not gods. At the same time, these objects are not the only ones that shine in the sky. Even an ignorant Bedouin knows that the stars are not gods, but would Abraham, with his lofty position and dignity, have accepted any star as his God?"[137] According to al-Ghazālī, each of these objects is one of the veils of Allah's light on the path of the traveler. Unless these are overcome, the ultimate union cannot be achieved. These veils vary in size, and the smallest of them are called *el-kawkab* (the star), the largest is called *al-shams* (the sun), and the others in between are called *al-qamar* (the moon). Al-Ghazālī argues that the names of stars, moon, and sun are given to them only metaphorically.

In this way, the sublime realm of the heavens was continuously revealed to Abraham. That is why God has decreed the following: "*We also showed Abraham the wonders of the heavens and the earth so that he would be sure in faith.*" (Q 6:75). Abraham "continued to ascend, moving from one to another. In each dimension, he thought he had reached his destination where the ultimate union with God would take place. Then, when he saw a larger dimension ahead, he immediately proceeded to it, thinking that he would arrive at the destination where he would meet God. Then, when he saw another curtain further ahead, he went to that curtain. Furthermore, finally, when he reached the last curtain, which was the closest, he thought he had reached his destination, thinking that this dimension was the bigger. Then, when he realized this was also lacking in perfection, he said: '*I do not love things that set… I have turned my face towards the One who originated the*

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[136] Al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, 84.
[137] Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, III, 628.

heavens and the earth, being upright, and I am not one of the polytheists' [Q 6:76, 79]."[138]

Al-Ghazālī believes that the first veil to deceive one is his/her own person (*dhāt*) between himself/herself and his Lord. It is the heart's secret, a light among the lights of God, *al-amr al-Rabbānī* (the order of God), and the revelation of the complete truth. When the light of God is revealed in the heart, the veil over the heart is lifted, and as a result, when the traveler looks at his heart, he is astonished by the influence of those sparkles and begins to declare, "I am one with Allah" (*ana l-Ḥaqq*). According to al-Ghazālī, this is the point where the traveler's feet stumble, and unless the traveler is further enlightened, the traveler gets stuck here and perishes. Al-Ghazālī sees it as the point where a small star from the divine lights is revealed and argues that the one who is deceived here will not be able to reach the sun or even the moon. "This is where the traveler is deceived. Because here, the thing that shines and the place where it shines are confused. This is like the person who sees a color reflected in a mirror and thinks it is the color of the mirror itself, and the colors of the thing that is poured into the glass and the color of the glass are confused. In this regard, the poet says: The glass has become thinner, the wine has become thinner, they have begun to resemble each other, and things have become confused. It is as if there is wine but no glass, or glass but no wine."[139]

Al-Ghazālī criticizes the understanding of unification and integration and states that a tiny star deceives those in this state at the beginning of the path. He further equates this delusion with the delusion Christians fall into due to ascribing the deity to Jesus. Al-Ghazālī states that Christians looked at Jesus from this perspective and were surprised to see the divine light shining in him. Al-Ghazālī compares these people to those who see the star in a mirror or water. They stretched their hands to the water or the mirror to reach the star. However, since this was not possible, they were deluded.[140]

3.3.2. Exegesis of the Verses in *Mishkāt al-anwār*

Al-Ghazālī explains the nature of representation in his work *Mishkāt al-anwār* by stating that understanding the meanings of

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[138] *Ibid.*, 628.
[139] *Ibid.*, 629.
[140] *Ibid.*

concepts such as a cavity, lamp, glassware, olive tree, oil, and light that appear in the 35th verse of Sūrat al-Nūr requires first understanding the essence of representation. Al-Ghazālī states that there is a relationship between the sublime world and the physical world and that everything that happens in this realm has a counterpart/example in the sublime sphere, and he explains some of these counterparts.

al-Ghazālī states that the sun, moon, and stars are the counterparts of the physical world's luminous, honorable, and sublime angels. The light that human souls possess also emanates (*fayaḍān*) from the angels. Therefore, these beings are also called *arbāb* (competent beings). God is the *Rabb al-arbāb* in this regard.[141] Indicating that there are ranks among the perfection of these beings made of light, al-Ghazālī proceeds to explain the essence of the representational expressions in the above verses. He exegetes these verses by employing an *ishārī* method.[142] As in the 40th verse of Sūrat al-Nūr, al-Ghazālī does not directly quote the verse but combines the verses and passages from the verses with his sentences. Moreover, al-Ghazālī does not use the name Abraham in his interpretation of the verses but begins his commentary with "the one who is on the way" and interprets the parable of Abraham through this person.

The stages in these verses, which narrate Abraham's method for demonstrating how wrong his people's beliefs were and proving God's existence and unity through deduction based on observation, are considered by Al-Ghazālī to be the stages a traveler goes through to reach God and the heavenly states he encounters. Here, the traveler travels towards the sublime realm and gradually meets the luminosity of spiritual beings, namely angels, at different ranks. The traveler, who first ascends to the spiritual being at the level of the stars (*kawākib*), observes that the entire sublime realm is under its dominion and the glow of its light. Under the influence of the sublimity of this light, he says, "This is my Lord!" to what he observes. However, when the traveler continues his journey and reaches the next stage, he discovers that this stage is superior and higher than the previous one. The rank of this *al-qamar* (moon) is

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[141] Al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, 67.
[142] *Ibid.*, 67-68.

above the level of the *kawākib* (stars), and the intensity of its radiance is so great that the previous stage has sunk into the pit and disappeared. Thinking that he has reached the end under the influence of the luminosity of this new spiritual being, the traveler now proclaims, "This is my Lord!" to this spiritual being. However, when he continues his journey, the traveler encounters a new spiritual being whose analogy is the sun. When he realizes that the luminosity of this spiritual being is greater and more sublime, he exclaims to it, "This is my Lord! This is the greater." However, he observes that this level is also in a relationship with another level and finally realizes that the relationship with what is imperfect also becomes imperfect and perishable. Hence, in his ultimate conclusion, the traveler says, "*I have turned my face towards the One Who has originated the heavens and the earth*." (Q 6:79). By recognizing that God is exempt from any relationship, the traveler attains a complete certainty that Allah is free from all that is created and bound by any relationship.

3.3.3. Exegesis of the Verses in *Fayṣal al-tafriqah*

In *Fayṣal al-tafriqah*, al-Ghazālī lists the pieces of evidence cited by the Sufis for the reason why the statements in the verses above need to be interpreted as follows:[143]

    a. A Prophet like Abraham is too lofty to believe these objects are gods.

    b. Abraham did not need to see these objects set (*ufūl*) to realize that they were not gods. Would he have believed these objects were gods if they had not sunk? Does not these objects' finite and limited nature indicate that they cannot be gods?

    c. How could the first thing Abraham saw be a star? The sun is more luminous than a star, and the sun is seen first.

    d. After God first says, "*We also showed Abraham the wonders of the heavens and the earth so that he would be sure in faith*." (Q 6:75). Then it is narrated that Abraham kept saying to the stars, moon, and sun, "This is my God." How can it be acceptable that after Abraham

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[143] Al-Ghazālī, *Fayṣal al-tafriqah*, 53-54.

was clearly shown the heavenly realm, he was under the delusion that these objects were gods?

After noting that these arguments are based on assumption and not on any conclusive evidence, al-Ghazālī lists the opinions developed against the statements of the Sufis. Against the statement, "He is too great (a Messenger) to be an idolater," it was said: Abraham was still a small boy when this incident occurred. It is natural for a would-be prophet to have similar thoughts as a child and abandon them shortly afterward. According to Abraham, the indication of the act of setting might be a more obvious cosmological sign of God's existence than the sign of reckoning and materialization. To begin with, regarding his vision of the stars, he is said to have been trapped in a cave as a child and only been able to come out at night. About the Qurʾānic words, "*We also showed Abraham the wonders of the heavens and the earth so that he would be sure in faith,*" (Q 6:75) it is possible for God to mention the situation at the end initially and the situation at the beginning subsequently."[144]

The Sufis have interpreted the expressions of "the staff" (ʿaṣā) and "the sandals" mentioned in the verses of "*take off your sandals*" (Q 20:12) and "*put down what is in your right hand*" (Q 20:69) in this manner. Al-Ghazālī indicates that such considerations of Sufis were not based on conclusive evidence but rather on supposed implications. These assumptions are considered evidence by those who do not know the true nature and requirements of evidence. Then, he emphasizes that those who interpret the verses in this manner should not be deemed infidels or reformists (ahl al-bidʿah). He contends that the "presumption" (ẓann) can be used in matters unrelated to ʿaqīdah as a substitute for the "conclusive evidence" (burhān) in the fundamental ʿaqīdah issues.[145]

3.3.4. Exegesis of Sūrat al-Fātiḥah

Al-Ghazālī's exegesis of Sūrat al-Fātiḥah in his work *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān* is exoteric. However, his interpretation of the ḥadīth "Sūrat al-Fātiḥah is the key to Jannah"[146] has an esoteric context.

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[144] *Ibid.*, 54-55.
[145] *Ibid.*, 55.
[146] al-Ghazālī, *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān*, 71.

First of all, al-Ghazālī interprets each verse of the sūrah one by one and establishes a connection between these verses and the themes covered by the Qurʾān.[147] According to al-Ghazālī, Sūrat al-Fātiḥah addresses the themes of the essence, attributes, and deeds of God and the afterlife, the straight way, and the blessings of God upon the friends and the wrath of God upon the enemies. All these themes are covered throughout the Qurʾān. Apart from these, two other Qurʾānic themes are not mentioned in the Sūrat al-Fātiḥah: the fight against infidels and jurisprudence. Al-Ghazālī claims that these two themes, which constitute the source of theology and jurisprudence, are not covered in Sūrat al-Fātiḥah as they are at the bottom of the list in terms of significance compared to the other themes.

After exegeting the verses of al-Fātiḥah one by one from an exoteric point of view, al-Ghazālī claims that the eight verses of al-Fātiḥah are the keys to the eight gates of Paradise, based on the ḥadīth that "Sūrat al-Fātiḥah is the key to Jannah." Each verse corresponds to the key of a gate of paradise. In a sense, al-Ghazālī suggests that those who do not perceive the relationship between these two concepts should dismiss their minds' exoteric vision of paradise. If this explicit image is eliminated from the mind, it will become clear that each verse of the Sūrat al-Fātiḥah will open a gate to the garden of wisdom. The term "paradise" represents the paradise of knowledge. Al-Ghazālī argues that the tranquillity, relief, and bliss that the wise person experiences in the paradise of knowledge is no less than the relief obtained by entering paradise and satisfying the needs of eating, drinking, and sexual desire. In fact, the two cannot even be equal. "On the contrary, it cannot be denied that among the gnostics there may be one whose desire for opening the door of gnosis in order to behold the kingdom of the heavens and the earth the glory of their Creator and Disposer is more intense than his desire for women, food and clothing."[148] For al-Ghazālī, it is unreasonable to expect desires such as food, clothing, and women to prevail over the wise man whom the angels accompany in Paradise that does not find any pleasure in actions such as eating, drinking, marrying, and dressing. At this point, al-

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[147] *Ibid.*, 64-70.
[148] *Ibid.*, 71-72.

Ghazālī states that those who crave a paradise consisting only of the pleasure of eating, drinking, and mating, rather than the paradise that the wise believers wish to attain, commit a gross error, ignorance, and foolishness. According to al- Ghazālī, a person's worth is determined by his/her efforts. Craving for something less when there is something more demonstrates his/her folly. After the gates of the heaven of knowledge are open to the wise man, he would no longer be attracted by heaven for fools, for his place is *ʿIlliyyūn* (the highest rank in Jannah).[149]

After using these definitive statements, al-Ghazālī, as if wishing to conclude the subject with a softer ending, states that even if the gardens of knowledge may not be called paradise, they deserve at least to be the instruments through which paradise can be achieved. That is, they constitute the key to paradise. That is why it is reported in the Sūrat al-Fātiḥah that there is a key to all the gates of Jannah.[150] Al-Ghazālī had declared the Bāṭiniyyah as heretics for their belief that happiness and punishment in the afterlife consist of intangible pleasures and tortures by subjecting the explicit statements in the Qurʾān about heaven and hell to the interpretation. However, he was criticized for his depiction of heaven due to its similarity with the interpretations of the Bāṭiniyyah.[151] Furthermore, on account of his views of this kind, al-Ghazālī was alleged by the Bāṭiniyyah to have made esoteric interpretations just like themselves: "Accordingly, [Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*] Ibn al-Walīd (d. 612/1215), in his refutation of *Faḍāʾiḥ al-Bāṭiniyyah*, listed esoteric interpretations made by al-Ghazālī's in his several works, one by one, and demonstrated the fact that he, just like them, engaged in esoteric interpretations."[152]

Conclusion

This study aims to identify the methodology that al-Ghazālī employed in the *ishārī* interpretation of the verses of the Qurʾān. In this regard, determining the method of research that al-Ghazālī followed in the field of *ishārī* exegesis is relatively challenging

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[149] *Ibid.*, 72.
[150] *Ibid.*
[151] Öztürk, *Tefsirde Bâtınilik ve Bâtıni Teʾvil Geleneği,* 370-375.
[152] *Ibid.*, 374.

compared to the authors who had independent exegetical works. Since al-Ghazālī did not write a separate book of exegesis, it necessitates the examination of his various works to identify the methodology he adopted. Within the scope of this study, it has been attempted to determine the method adopted by al-Ghazālī in his *ishārī* exegesis by analyzing his different works.

To identify al-Ghazālī's understanding of *ishārī* exegesis, firstly, his perspective on the Qurʾān should be learned. Al-Ghazālī, like many Sufis, compares the Qurʾān to an ocean and bases his understanding of the Qurʾān on this analogy. Just as the ocean contains many precious minerals, the Qurʾān is endowed with unique features that will lead the human being to prosperity in both realms. Hence, al-Ghazālī urges people to dive into the depths of this ocean instead of idling on the shore and emphasizes that depriving oneself of these precious minerals is a preference that deserves condemnation. Furthermore, just as the jewels in the ocean vary in value, the subjects addressed in the Qurʾān also have various degrees. Al-Ghazālī not only introduced these valuable substances in the Qurʾān but also attempted to explain the means of reaching them in detail. Al-Ghazālī states that Qurʾān is the source of all disciplines, just as the way all rivers and creeks eventually merge into the sea.

After the general outlines of al-Ghazālī's perception of the Qurʾān are identified, the basic principles of his *ishārī* exegesis method can be determined. The *ishārī* exegesis style of al-Ghazālī is directly related to his conception of the realm. Accordingly, it is essential to know al-Ghazālī's conception of the realm to comprehend his method of *ishārī* exegesis. Al-Ghazālī classifies the realm as explicit and implicit and assigns different names to these two realms. A relationship exists between the implicit realm, also referred to as the divine, sublime or spiritual realms, and the explicit realm, also referred to as the lower, material, and sensible realm. Everything in the implicit realm has its corresponding equivalent in the physical world. The beings that exist in the sublime realm can be known only to the extent that God has revealed them to us, and we can only comprehend the nature of these beings through analogies. Al-Ghazālī argues that this division, which applies to the realms, also applies to all acceptable disciplines. Since the Qurʾān is

the source of all fields, intrinsically, the verses of the Qurʾān also have explicit and implicit aspects. God has used analogies, especially in the *mutashābih* verses, to enable us to comprehend them with our imperfect and defective minds in this physical world while explaining the circumstances related to the sublime realm.

Moreover, learning how human spirits obtain knowledge to comprehend the representations is essential. Through these luminous human souls we possess, we seek to grasp the representations of the sublime realm in this physical world. The nature of these representations/metaphors in the verses can only be comprehended by reflecting on the verses of the Qurʾān and endeavoring to comprehend what they imply. Hence, it would be inevitable to bring different interpretations of the verses. Each person attempts to interpret and understand these verses to the extent of his/her knowledge, capability, and skills. The explicit interpretation is not always enough to understand these subtleties contained in the verses. Therefore, through implicit interpretations of the verses, it becomes possible to switch from the shell to the core, and the deep and genuine meaning of the verses can be perceived. However, what al-Ghazālī emphasized insistently and should not be forgotten is that knowing explicit exegesis is a prerequisite for comprehending the secrets of the Qurʾān and the truth of the verses. Moreover, the implicit meaning never supersedes the explicit interpretation but only serves a complementary role in understanding the true sense.

Al-Ghazālī suggests that the nature of the representation must first be known to understand the representations used in the verses. Having stated that everything in the spiritual realm has a corresponding counterpart in the physical realm, al-Ghazālī argues that the essence and truth of everything in this realm in the form of a representation also exist in the spiritual realm. Since representations resemble their originals, it is possible to understand the originals in the sublime realm to some extent through their examples present in this physical realm. Al-Ghazālī states that to understand representations employed in the verses, the degrees of knowledge humans possess must be known. He refers to these degrees as the "luminous human souls." These souls, which al-Ghazālī classifies into five and states that each of them is entirely

made of light, are as follows: The sensual soul (*al-rūḥ al-ḥissī*), which is the soul that receives what the senses transmit, the imaginary soul (*al-rūḥ al-khayālī*), which is the soul that records what the senses transmit to it and stores the data transmitted in order to present it to the intellectual soul in a higher rank, the mental soul (*al-rūḥ al-ʿaqlī*), which perceives and cognizes the essential and universal knowledge and is unique to human beings and is not present in children and animals, the intellectual soul (*al-rūḥ al-fikrī*), through which the intellectual disciplines are received and through which valuable knowledge is attained by making interpretations and compositions between them and finally the divine prophetic soul (*al-rūḥ al-qudsī al-nabawī*), a spirit unique to the Prophet and some of the saints.

Al-Ghazālī argues that the disciplines have explicit and implicit aspects, but those who cannot comprehend this tacit dimension in the fields reject such a duality. Al-Ghazālī, who demonstrates the existence of some issues as a ground for the existence of this dual structure, lists these issues, which he characterizes as subtle and profound, as follows: matters such as the soul and attributes of God that only the elites (*al-khawāṣṣ*) can comprehend and the ordinary people cannot perceive, comprehensible matters such as fate, which the Prophet and the companions of the Prophet abstained from talking about because it would harm many people if it was made public, matters that are immediately comprehensible when explained clearly and do not harm anyone to be explained, but for which signs, metaphors and similes are used in order to make them more effective for those who listen to them and for which al-Ghazālī cited the characteristics mentioned in some verses and ḥadīths as examples, and finally the matters where the language of the state of things is expressed through the language of words and phrases and where words make use of allusions to describe the conditions of things.

Al-Ghazālī claims that the verses of the Qurʾān can be interpreted in different manners. In this respect, it is permissible for each individual to deduce meanings from the Qurʾān according to his/her intelligence, capability, and perception. Al-Ghazālī considers the effort to interpret the Qurʾān as essential for attaining true meanings. In this context, he states that explicit interpretation is

insufficient in understanding the teachings of the Qurʾān and must be surpassed to understand the secrets of the verses. An opinion has been established that the interpretation of the Qurʾān is forbidden primarily based on the ḥadīth, "whoever exegetes the Qurʾān through his intellect, may he/she be prepared for his place in Hell." Contrary to the claim of Exoteric Ecole, al-Ghazālī asserts that the ḥadīth in question does not condemn the reflection on the Qurʾān, the in-depth analysis of the Qurʾān, and the endeavor to interpret it and deduce judgments from it. In this context, al-Ghazālī first introduces much evidence concerning the interpretability of the Qurʾān and then explains which activities can constitute the scope of the act of interpreting the Qurʾān with one's intellect mentioned in the ḥadīth in question.

According to al-Ghazālī, all disciplines are included in the deeds and attributes of God. There is a reference to all fields in the Qurʾān, and it is impossible to understand them through an explicit exoteric interpretation. So, it would only be possible to understand all this by analyzing the Qurʾān in depth and detail and interpreting its subtle meanings. The Qurʾān touches upon many issues, especially those on which people have disputes, in one way or another, and contains references and indications regarding such issues and their solutions. Such subtleties can only be grasped through an in-depth study of the Qurʾān. According to al-Ghazālī, if the Qurʾān had no other meaning apart from the reported apparent exegesis of the Qurʾān, as the scholars of Exoteric Ecole claim, and if the view that people should only be content with this reported knowledge were adopted, then no opinion about the exegesis of the verses of the Qurʾān that had not been heard from the Prophet himself would be regarded as accurate. However, this has not happened, and after the era of the Prophet, some companions and followers of the Prophet interpreted the verses from their perspectives, which had not been heard from the Prophet. As a result, different interpretations of the same verses emerged. Since it is impossible for them to have listened to all these different interpretations from the Prophet, they interpreted the verses according to their perspective and understanding. This indicates that each exegete attempted to interpret the Qurʾān according to his endeavors and abilities.

The Qurʾān is interpretable, and this endeavor to interpret the Qurʾān is not included in the scope of the condemned practice mentioned in the ḥadīth, "whoever exegetes the Qurʾān through his intellect, may he/she be prepared for his place in the Hell." Al-Ghazālī clarifies which practices would fall into the category of exegesis by reasoning, reported by this ḥadīth. Whoever argues that interpreting verses in such a way as to support one's views, ideas, and causes would fall into the category of exegesis by reasoning. This practice constitutes an arbitrary interpretation of verses to create a basis for one's opinions. This interpretation includes void reasoning that is not based on authentic jurisprudence. As an example of such interpreters, al-Ghazālī cites those who claim that the term "Pharaoh" refers to the ego (*nafs*) in the verse "*Go to Pharaoh, for he has truly transgressed all bounds.*" However, the verse refers to a historical incident between Prophet Moses and Pharaoh. Furthermore, al-Ghazālī also argues that sometimes the verses are interpreted in this way with good intentions. However, regardless of whether such an interpretation is based on malicious or benevolent intentions, it still constitutes the exegesis by reasoning, reported by the ḥadīth in question. The ambiguous and bizarre wordings and usages such as *ikhtiṣār* (abbreviation), *iʿjāz* (miraculous), *ḥadhf* (subtraction), *iḍmār* (confidential), *taqdīm* (antecedent), and *taʾkhīr* (adjourning) are abundant in the Qurʾān. Their true meanings can only be learned through the reports and narrations that have been heard from the Prophet. Al-Ghazālī states that interpreting the Qurʾān solely with the knowledge of Arabic without acquiring competence in these matters falls within the scope of exegesis by reasoning, as mentioned in the ḥadīth. This competence can only be obtained through a discipline learned through the transfer of knowledge and hearing (*simāʿ*).

Although al-Ghazālī stipulates explicit exegetical knowledge as a condition to understand the meanings of the verses, he states that this knowledge is not enough to learn the truths and mysteries of the Qurʾān. Al-Ghazālī emphasizes that understanding certain verses particularly difficult to comprehend can only be possible by diving into the vast and profound depths of the field of *mukāshafah* (manifestation of the knowledge by Allah). He cites in this regard the following verses as examples of verses challenging to

understand: "*Nor was it you O Prophet who threw a handful of sand at the disbelievers, but it was Allah Who did so*" (Q 8:17) and "*Fight them so that Allah may punish them at your hands.*" (Q 9:14). Al-Ghazālī states that even if all the oceans turned into ink and all the trees turned into pens, it would still be impossible to fully apprehend the true meanings of such verses since the mysteries of the divine words are infinite. The pens and ink would be exhausted much before the secrets of the divine words are exhausted. Nonetheless, anyone can understand the secrets of the Qurʾān in proportion to his/her level of knowledge, purity of heart, ability to contemplate the Qurʾān and efforts.

Although al-Ghazālī did not have any specific book dedicated to *ishārī* exegesis, his *ishārī* interpretations of verses in his different writings offer a considerable amount of data for the comprehension of his *ishārī* exegesis. In this study, al-Ghazālī's interpretations of the 35th and 40th verses of Sūrat al-Nūr, the 75th to 79th verses of Sūrat al-Anʿām, and Sūrat al-Fātiḥah are cited as examples of his *ishārī* interpretations. In *Mishkāt al-anwār*, most of which is devoted to the explanation of the 35th verse of Sūrat al-Nūr, al-Ghazālī provides an *ishārī* interpretation of this verse as well as the 40th verse of Sūrat al-Nūr and the 75th to 79th verses of Sūrat al-Anʿām. Al-Ghazālī's interpretation of the 40th verse of Sūrat al-Nūr in *Mishkāt al-anwār*, constitutes a continuation of his explanation of the 35th verse of Sūrat al-Nūr. Al-Ghazālī presents the *ishārī* exegesis of the 75th to 79th verses of Sūrat al-Anʿām, which narrate the parable of Prophet Abraham, in three different works that are partially different from each other: *Mishkāt al-anwār, Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn,* and *Fayṣal al-tafriqah bayna l-Islām wa-l-zandaqah.* Al-Ghazālī's interpretation of the Sūrat al-Fātiḥah in *Jawāhir al-Qurʾān* is exoteric, but his interpretation of the ḥadīth "Sūrat al-Fātiḥah is the key to Jannah" has an esoteric context.

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REVISITING SHAMS AL-DĪN IBN ʿABD AL-HĀDĪ'S POSITION IN THE LITERATURE OF *AḤĀDĪTH AL-AḤKĀM*: AL-MUḤARRAR

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Abstract

This study examines Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's work *al-Muḥarrar* in the context of its place in the literature of *aḥādīth al-aḥkām/*ḥadīths of legal status. The first part of the study provides information about the life of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, a member of the famous Qudāmah family, followed by his scholarly personality and works. The second part presents an in-depth, critical analysis and comprehensive evaluations of *al-Muḥarrar*. In this context, an underresearched issue is that the work is an abbreviated version of Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's *al-Ilmām*. The relative merit of this claim is examined and the probability that *al-Muḥarrar* is an independent work is evaluated. In this evaluation, the

contents of both works are juxtaposed in a table revealing fundamental differences between them. Other significant contributions of this paper are that it reveals the key aspects of the work and illustrates how it contributes to the ḥadīth literature by showing specific samples from the work. The paper concludes that in such a seminal work that includes *aḥādīth al-aḥkām*, it seems to be crystally clear that the author used his ḥadīth narration method in the book and that the same order of the *fiqh* books of the era was followed to maximize the impact of the work.

Key Words: Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, *al-Ilmām*, *al-aḥkām*, legal ḥadīth

Introduction

> Ḥadīth and *fiqh/tafaqquh* are perfect when
> they are together, but they are incomplete when
> they are separated from each other.[1]

While one of the main purposes of the science of ḥadīth is to determine the authenticity of the ḥadīth narrations attributed to the Prophet, another purpose is to reveal the context, purpose, and judgment used to determine the soundness of ḥadīths. There is an existential relationship between the concepts of "ḥadīth" and "*aḥkām*" with the concept of ḥadīth conveying the words, actions, approvals, and personal characteristics of the Prophet. The notion of *aḥkām*, in contrast, has a usage that expresses solutions to problems encountered in all areas of life based on the information transmitted from the Prophet. Therefore, it is not possible to even conceive of a set of decrees that are not based on the ḥadīths/Sunnah of the Prophet.

Given this concept, in attempting to examine the literature of *aḥādīth al-aḥkām*/ḥadīths of legal status from a historical and chronological standpoint, we discovered Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth* which was written with comprehensive content and in a different manner from the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* literature of its own era in the eighth century. However, academic studies on *al-*

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[1]   Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khallād al-Rāmhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayna l-rāwī wa-l-wāʿī* (Beirut: n.p., 1391 AH), 161.

Muḥarrar[2] emphasize that *al-Muḥarrar* is the abbreviated version of Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's *al-Ilmām fī aḥādīth al-aḥkām*. Contrary to what is expressed in some studies,[3] we argue that the work in question is not the abbreviated version of a particular book. Rather, it can be considered an independent work when its content and the introduction are examined. To advance this hypothesis, we first examine the scholarly personality of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, and then investigate the structural characteristics of *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*.

1. Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī as a Scholar

His complete name is Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī, also known as Ibn

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[2]   Among academic studies such as MA and PhD theses, articles, and translations written on Ibn ʿAbd al Hādī and *al-Muḥarrar*, the following works can be listed:

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Khālid al-Ramḥ, "Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī wa-juhūduhū fī khidmātihī l-sunnah al-nabawiyyah" (master's thesis, Kuwait: Jāmiʿat al-Kuwayt Kulliyyat al-Dirāsāt al-ʿUlyā, 1998).

Sayyid ʿAjamī Muḥammad Maḥmūd, "Manhaj al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī fī l-ḥukm ʿalā l-aḥādīth wa-l-asānīd min khilāl kitābihī *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*" (master's thesis, Fayyūm: Jāmiʿat al-Fayyūm, 2016).

Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Qarnī, *al-Sharḥ al-muyassar li-kitāb al-Muḥarrar li-l-Imām Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī* (Riyadh: al-Nāshir al-Mutamayyiz li-l-Ṭibāʿah wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 2016).

Nur Kholis bin Kurdian, "Studi Komparasi Antara Bāb Nawāqiḍ al-Wuḍūʾ di Kitab al-Muḥarrar fī al-Ḥadīth Dengan Bab Nawāqiḍ al-Wuḍūʾ di Kitab Bulūghul Marām min Adillat al-Aḥkām," *Al-Majaalis: Jurnal Dirasat Islamiyah* 6/1 (2018), 37-83.

ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Khuḍayr, *Sharḥ al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth* (not printed but possible to access this sharḥ via: https://shamela.ws/index.php/book/6366).

Ismāʿīl Masʿūdī, "Manhaj al-Imām Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī fī kitābihī l-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth" (master's thesis, al-Wādī: Jāmiʿat al-Shahīd Ḥammah Lakhḍar Maʿhad al-ʿUlūm al-Islāmiyyah, 2019).

Rıdvan Kalaç, "Kudâme Ailesi ve Hadis" (PhD Diss., Van: Van Yüzüncü Yıl University, 2019).

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ahkâm Hadisleri*, trans. Hanifi Akın (Istanbul: Çelik Yayınevi, 2019).

ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Saʿūd Āl Musāʿid, *Aḥādīth kitāb al-buyūʿ min kitāb al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth li-l-Imām Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī: Dirāsah fiqhiyyah* (Mecca: Dār Ṭayyibah al-Khaḍrāʾ, 2020).

Zehra Akbulut, "Tabakâtu Ulemâî'l-Hadis İsimli Eseri Çerçevesinde İbn Abdulhâdî'nin Ricâl Tenkidi ve Literüründeki Yeri" (master's thesis, Eskişehir: Eskişehir Osmangazi University, 2021).

Havva Akyurt, "İbn Abdilhâdî'nin Hayatı ve Hadis Literatürüne Katkısı" (master's thesis, Konya: Necmettin Erbakan University, 2022).

[3]   For this claim see: Akyurt, "İbn Abdilhâdî'nin Hayatı ve Hadis Literatürüne Katkısı," 44-46.

Qudāmah al-Maqdisī. He belonged to the famous Qudāmah family, known for their knowledge and *zuhd*.[4] Although there is some disagreement about his date of birth, the commonly accepted view is that he was born in the Şāliḥiyyah district of Damascus in 705/1305-1306.[5] He was married to ʿĀʾishah bint Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, one of Ibn Ḥajar's (d. 852/1449) female teachers and left his son ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad (d. 803/1400-1401) as his successor.[6]

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī received his Islamic law *(fiqh)* education from Muḥammad ibn Muslim (d. 726/1325-1326) and Ismāʿīl ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥarrānī (d. 729/1328-1329), two great Ḥanbalī scholars of the period. He received his knowledge of Qurʾānic recitation *(qirāʾah)* from Ibn Bashān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (d. 743/1342) and his knowledge of Arabic grammar *(naḥw)* from Abū l-ʿAbbas al-Andarshī (d. 750/1349).[7] He learned theology from sheikh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728/1328), and ḥadīth transmitters *(rijāl)* and flaw *(ʿilal)* sciences from muḥaddith Ḥāfiẓ al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341-2). He said to his teacher, "al-Mizzī is my sheikh from whom I benefit greatly in this science."[8] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī was also a disciple of al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348). Given this situation, al-Dhahabī stated: "Every time we got together, I took advantage of him." His statement has been interpreted as meaning that al-Dhahabī's gain is greater.[9]

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī was also interested in the ḥadīth transmitters *(rijāl)* and flaws *(ʿilal)* sciences, as well as areas such as ḥadīth, reciting the Qurʾān *(qirāʾah)*, Islamic law *(fiqh)*, Qurʾānic commentary *(tafsīr)*, and history, and he achieved a position in these areas that the great teachers could not reach.[10] He became more prominent as a

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[4] For detailed information see Rıdvan Kalaç, "Kudâme Ailesi ve Hadis" (PhD diss., Van: Van Yüzüncü Yıl University, 2019).

[5] ʿĀdil ibn Muḥammad al-Hadbā and Muḥammad ibn Muṣṭafá ʿAllūsh, introduction to *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth,* by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, 3rd ed. (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2008), 12; Ferhat Koca, "Şemseddin İbn Abdülhâdî," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XIX, 273; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ṭabaqāt ʿulamāʾ al-ḥadīth*, 2nd ed. Akram Būshī (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1996), I, 22.

[6] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ṭabaqāt ʿulamāʾ al-ḥadīth*, I, 31.

[7] Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, ed. H. Ritter et al. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1381/1962), II, 159.

[8] Al-Hadbā and ʿAllūsh, introduction to *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth,* 12-13.

[9] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ṭabaqāt ʿulamāʾ al-ḥadīth*, I, 27.

[10] Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyyah, 1374 AH), IX, 1508.

competent scholar of ḥadīth *(ḥāfiẓ)* in terms of dominating the ḥadīth transmitters *(rijāl)* names, the chains of narration (ṭarīq) of the ḥadīths and ḥadīth transmitter criticism (known as *al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl,* 'impugning and approving') and being able to see the flaws *(ʿilals)* of the ḥadīths. He taught in important madrasahs of his era, such as Ḍiyāʾiyyah, Sabābiyyah, and Ṣadriyyah,[11] and died in 744/1343 due to tuberculosis when he was only thirty-nine years old. He was buried in the foothills of Qasioun Mountain.[12]

Ibn Kathīr also said that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī achieved a position that the great scholars could not reach, that he was a man who adhered to the Qurʾān and the Sunnah with a good understanding and explanation.[13] His disciple al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1362) said that if he had met Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, he would have consulted him on literary and Arabic issues. However, Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī was forgotten because he died at a young age, although al-Ṣafadī stated that if he had lived longer, he would have reached a surprising point in science. Al-Mizzī, who was his teacher, indicated the depth of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's knowledge by stating that he benefited from him in every encounter.[14] Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1348) praised Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, saying that in science he is like a sea filled with water.[15]

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī was a prolific scholar who reached the pinnacle of the science of ḥadīth, Islamic law *(fiqh)*, theology *(kalām)*, Qurʾānic recitation *(qirāʾah)*, Arabic grammar *(naḥw)* and many other areas.[16] Unfortunately, only a few of his works have survived, although he wrote so many works in his short life. Some of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's printed works are as follows:

     1. *Tanqīḥ al-taḥqīq fī aḥādīth al-taʿlīq*[17]

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[11] Abū l-Fidāʾ ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ibn Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah* (Beirut: Maktabat al-Maʿārif, 1990), XIV, 210; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ṭabaqāt ʿulamāʾ al-ḥadīth*, I, 29.

[12] Al-Hadbā and ʿAllūsh, introduction to *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, 15.

[13] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah*, XIV, 210.

[14] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Kanānī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāminah fī aʿyān al-miʾah al-thāminah* (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyyah, 1993), III, 332; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ṭabaqāt ʿulamāʾ al-ḥadīth*, I, 24.

[15] Al-Hadbā and ʿAllūsh, introduction to *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, 15.

[16] Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāẓ* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1983), 525.

[17] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Tanqīḥ al-taḥqīq fī aḥādīth al-taʿlīq*, ed. Āmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī (Abu Dhabi: Maktabat al-ʿAyn al-Jāmiʿah, 1409/1989).

2. Risālah laṭīfah fī aḥādīth mutafarriqah al-ḍaʿīfah[18]
3. Qawāʿid uṣūl al-fiqh[19]
4. al-Ṣārim al-munkī fī l-radd ʿalá l-Subkī[20]
5. al-ʿUqūd al-durriyyah min manāqib Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyyah[21]
6. Ṭabaqāt ʿulamāʾ al-ḥadīth[22]
7. Faḍāʾil al-Shām[23]
8. al-Radd ʿalá Abī Bakr al-Khaṭīb fī masʾalat al-jahr bi-l-basmalah[24]
9. al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth.[25]

Some of the other works of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī mentioned in the sources are as follows:

Aḥādīth al-jamʿ bayna l-ṣalātayn fī l-ḥaḍar, Aḥādīth ḥayāt al-anbiyāʾ fī qubūrihim, al-Aḥkām al-kubrá, al-Iʿlām fī dhikr mashāyikh al-aʾimmah al-aʿlām, al-Tafsīr al-musnad, al-Radd ʿalá Ibn Diḥyah, al-Radd ʿalá Ibn Ṭāhir, al-Radd ʿalá Kiyā al-Harrāsī, Sharḥ Alfiyyat Ibn

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[18] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Risālah laṭīfah fī aḥādīth mutafarriqah al-ḍaʿīfah*, ed. Muḥammad ʿĪd al-ʿAbbāsī (Damascus: n.p., 1400/1980); id., *Risālah laṭīfah fī aḥādīth mutafarriqah al-ḍaʿīfah*, ed. Muḥammad ʿĪd al-ʿAbbāsī (Beirut: n.p., 1404/1983). Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Risālah laṭīfah fī aḥādīth mutafarriqah al-ḍaʿīfah*, ed. Muḥammad ʿĪd al-ʿAbbāsī (Riyadh: n.p., 1408/1987).

[19] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Qawāʿid uṣūl al-fiqh,* ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī (Damascus: n.p., n.d.). (In a journal with two treatises on *fiqh* and *tafsīr*)

[20] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Ṣārim al-munkī fī l-radd ʿalá l-Subkī* (Cairo: n.p., 1318/1900). Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Ṣārim al-munkī fī l-radd ʿalá l-Subkī* (Riyadh: n.p., 1983). Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Ṣārim al-munkī fī l-radd ʿalá l-Subkī* (Beirut: n.p., 1985).

[21] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-ʿUqūd al-durriyyah min manāqib Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyyah*, ed. M. Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo: n.p., 1356/1938). Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-ʿUqūd al-durriyyah min manāqib Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyyah,* ed. M. Hāmid al-Fiqī (Beirut: n.p., 1406/1986). Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-ʿUqūd al-durriyyah min manāqib Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyyah,* ed. Ḥusayn Ismāʿīl al-Jamāl (Riyadh: n.p., 1414/1994).

[22] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Ṭabaqāt ʿulamāʾ al-ḥadīth*, ed. Akram al-Būshī - Ibrāhīm al-Zaybaq (Beirut: n.p., 1409/1989).

[23] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Faḍāʾil al-Shām,* ed. Marwān al-ʿAṭiyyah, *MMLAUR.*, XLIX (1416/1995).

[24] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Radd ʿalá Abī Bakr al-Khaṭīb fī masʾalat al-jahr bi-l-basmalah* (MS Damascus: Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyyah, no. 55).

[25] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, ed. Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marʿashlī, Muḥammad Salīm Ibrāhīm Samārah and Jamāl Ḥamdī al-Dhahabī (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah, 1405/1985).

Mālik, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-ʿilal ʿalá tartīb kutub al-fiqh*, *al-ʿUmdah fī l-ḥuffāẓ*, *Faḍāʾil al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī*.[26]

2. Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's Method in *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*

2.1. The Nature of *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*

To understand a work, it is necessary to comprehend the world in which it was written. *Al-Muḥarrar* was written in the Mamluk period. During the lifetime of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī (1305-1343), Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (d. 741/1341) was the ruler of the Mamluks for the longest time and in three different periods (693-694/1293-1294, 698-709/1299-1309, 709-741/1310-1341).[27] Thanks to the peaceful environment created by the Mamluks, many scholars preferred to live within the borders of the Mamluks, especially in cities such as Cairo and Damascus.[28] This caused the cities in question, in which Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī grew up, to become science centers. From this perspective, it is not surprising that developments in the science of ḥadīth increased in this period. Examining the background of this situation, we come across a society that has just got rid of the crisis. This crisis is nothing but the Mongolian crisis – a catastrophe by which scientific activities were all affected.[29] This crises lead to an increase in societies' commitment to religion. Thus, in the eyes of the Muslim people, the Qurʾān and the Sunnah are two main sources that must be connected more closely, as evidenced by the increasing number of studies in the science of ḥadīth as equally high as in the increase of this commitment.[30] Also, the ḥadīth studies in this period increased especially in the commentary *(sharḥ)* and super-commentary *(ḥāshiyah)* categories.[31] In accordance with the prevalence of this genre, there is a process in which the earlier studies were based on.[32] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's work *al-Muḥarrar* was claimed to be a product of

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[26] al-Hadbā and ʿAllūsh, introduction to *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, 15; Koca, "İbn Abdülhâdî," 273-4.

[27] İsmail Yiğit, "Memlükler," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XXIX, 93.

[28] Ferhat Gökçe, "Memlüklüler Dönemi Hadis Literatürü Üzerine Bazı Değerlendirmeler," *İslam Tetkikleri Dergisi* 11, no. 2 (2021), 454.

[29] See Yiğit, "Memlükler," 90-97.

[30] Nagihan Emiroğlu, "Memlüklerde Hadis ve Ulema," *İslam Tetkikleri Dergisi* 10, no. 1 (2020), 370.

[31] Gökçe, "Memlüklüler Dönemi Hadis Literatürü Üzerine Bazı Değerlendirmeler," 442.

[32] Ibid., 444.

this movement and evaluated as an abbreviated study based on Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's *al-Ilmām*.[33] At the same time, we can argue that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī could not avoid the popular literary genre of the period by writing such a work as a result of the determination that legal studies were common in the Mamluk period.[34]

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, in his book *al-Muḥarrar* narrated ḥadīths from Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's *al-Musnad*, al-Bukhārī and Muslim's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*s; the *Sunan*s of Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Mājah, and al-Nasāʾī; al-Tirmidhī's *al-Jamiʿ*; Ibn Khuzaymah's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. In addition to this, he stated that he also benefited from books such as Ibn Ḥibbān's *al-Anwāʿ wa-l-taqāsīm*, al-Ḥākim's *al-Mustadrak*, and al-Bayhaqī's *al-Sunan al-kubrá*.[35] The degree of authenticity of the ḥadīths has become one of the key issues identified in the work. In this work, in which 'impugning and approving' (*al-jarḥ wa-l-taʿdīl*) expressions are also included, Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī states that he followed the order used by the scholars of Islamic jurisprudence (*fuqahāʾ*) to facilitate the identification of themes.[36]

al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth has seven editions with manuscript copies in India, Medinah, and Riyadh.[37] Since Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī did not give a

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[33]   See Koca, "İbn Abdülhâdî," 274; Akyurt, "İbn Abdilhâdî'nin Hayatı ve Hadis Literatürüne Katkısı," 44.

[34]   Gökçe, "Memlûklüler Dönemi Hadis Literatürü Üzerine Bazı Değerlendirmeler," 459.

[35]   Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, ed. Māhir Yāsīn al-Faḥl (Riyadh: Madār al-Qabs li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 2017), 50.

[36]   *Ibid.*, 31.

[37]   These are: Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth fī bayān al-aḥkām al-sharʿiyyah* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1986).
Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, 2 vols, ed. Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marʿashlī (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah, 2000) (This edition consists of thirty books and contains 1304 ḥadīths, which, compared to the original edition, it seems that twenty ḥadīths are not included in the work. Furthermore, The Book of Ḥijr is not included in the work. Considering the edition that we are studying, which is two volumes, it seems that the factor that makes the work voluminous is the editor's (*muḥaqqiq*) role. In our comparisons, there was no difference between the editions of the transmission of ḥadīths, other than what was mentioned decisively above);
Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth* (Saudi Arabia: Wizārat al-Shuʾūn al-Islāmiyyah wa-l-Awqāf wa-l-Daʿwah wa-l-Irshād, 2001) (In our study, this edition was based on),
Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, 3 vols (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2004).
Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth* (Riyadh: Dār Aṭlas al-Khaḍrāʾ, 2008).
Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, edition ʿĀdil al-Hadbā and Muḥammad ibn Muṣṭafá ʿAllūsh (Saudi Arabia: Dār al-ʿAṭāʾ, 2001) (In this edition, The Book of

specific name to his book, stating in the introduction of his work that his work has "an abbreviated structure,"[38] the name of the work is mentioned in various ways in different sources such as *al-Muḥarrar fī l-aḥkām* in Ibn Rajab's (d. 795/1393) *al-Dhayl alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,*[39] *al-Muḥarrar fī l-aḥkām* as a useful abbreviation *(mukhtaṣar)* in the work of Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimashqī's (d. 842/1438) *al-Radd al-wāfir,*[40] *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth* as the summary of *al-Ilmām* in Ibn Ḥajar's (d. 852/1449) *al-Durar al-kāminah,*[41] and *al-Muḥarrar fī ikhtiṣār al-Ilmām* in al-Suyūṭī's (d. 911/1505) *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāẓ.*[42] It is mentioned as *al-Muḥarrar fī sharḥ al-Ilmām min aḥādīth al-kalām* in *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* of Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī (d. 1920).[43]

2.2. Chapter *(Bāb)* Titles of *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī included thirty one books *(kitāb)* in his work. When the chapter *(bāb)* titles of these books are examined, it is easy to see that they do not reflect the views of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, but only point to the subject.

As Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī stated, considering the number of chapters *(bāb)* of every book, one can notice that the work deals with the related subjects concisely. Here, it is noteworthy to mention that book titles such as Comprehensive Book *(al-Jāmiʿ)*, and *Medicine (al-Ṭibb)* which are not directly related to judgment *(aḥkām)*, have found a place in the work. When the narrations are examined, it becomes clear

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Ḥijr is not included. When we compare, after The Book of Ṭalāq, instead of the book of Rijʿah, Īlāʾ, and Ẓihār the book of Faith appears. It contains the same number of 1324 ḥadīths as the edition based on the work. In this edition, it is stated that a full edition of the work was made for the first time. Both editions were printed in the same year and in the same country, but the publishing houses appear to be different and contain different books from the edition we used);

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, edition by Māhir Yāsīn al-Faḥl (Riyadh: li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 2017).

[38] See Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, 31.

[39] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah* (Mecca: Maktabat al-ʿUbaykān, 2005), V, 118.

[40] Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimashqī, *al-Radd al-wāfir*, 2nd ed. (n.p.: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1991), 63.

[41] Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāminah*, III, 332.

[42] Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāẓ* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1983), 525.

[43] Ismāʿīl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Tārīkh al-ʿArabī, 1951), II, 151.

that they should not be considered separately from the period in which the author lived. Although the work is devoted to ḥadīths of legal status (*aḥādīth al-aḥkām*), it is a fruit of the social-political environment of the period in which the book was written.

Regarding the events in 617 A.H., Ibn al-Athīr said, "Islam and Muslims have been affected by calamities that the ummah has not suffered before. One is the emergence of Tatars while the other is that of the Franks."[44] He shed light on the confusion of the time. In 700 A.H., the Tatars wanted to seize Damascus and enter Egypt, and they caused the people there to leave their country. Ibn Taymiyyah, who was also the teacher of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, continued to teach in mosques and advised people not to escape. People fleeing from persecution came to Damascus, and it is recorded that the price of many things rose in Damascus during this period. When the situation in Damascus worsened, the Tatars started to return because of the weakness of the soldiers and the scarcity of their numbers.[45] In 705 A.H., when Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī was born, the Tatars ambushed Aleppo soldiers and killed most of them, and it is recorded that Aleppo was mourned for this reason.[46]

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī lived in a very active and lively environment in terms of politics. This activity may have made him feel the need to produce a work on ḥadīths of legal status *(aḥādīth al-aḥkām)* with the aim of speaking and addressing the times. Having considered this context, the existence of books on fighting for the cause of Allah *(jihād)*, belief *(īmān)*, judgments *(qaḍāʾ)* and witnesses *(shahādah)* in the work becomes more meaningful.

As stated previously, the death of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī from tuberculosis shows that he witnessed the pandemic of his time. Since there is no information on the course of the pandemic and the writing date of *al-Muḥarrar* is unknown, it is difficult to make a definite statement about the reason why the medical book was included in a work containing ḥadīths of legal status *(aḥādīth al-aḥkām)*. However, when we look at the content of the ḥadīths in the book, there is no chapter on the transmission of tuberculosis/fever, etc. in the book, but

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[44]   ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Athīr al-Shaybānī, *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1987), X, 399.

[45]   Ibn Kathīr*, al-Bidāyah*, XIX, 14, 16.

[46]   *Ibid*, 35.

the benefits of honey and black cumin, the evil eye, the prayers to be read on the aching area.[47] This suggests that the medical book was not written in parallel with the pandemic of the period.

2.3. Sources of *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*

According to the author Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, who himself used the sources from which the ḥadīths in *al-Muḥarrar* were transmitted, the ḥadīths in the work were selected from the books of famous reliable scholars on ḥadīth *(muḥaddith*s*)*. In this context, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's (d. 241/855) *al-Musnad*, al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim's (d. 261/875) *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*s, Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/889) and Ibn Mājah's (d. 273/887) *al-Sunan*s, Abū ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī's (d. 279/892) *al-Jāmiʿ*, al-Nasāʾī's (d. 303/915) *al-Sunan*, Abū Bakr ibn Khuzaymah's (d. 311/924) *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Abū Ḥātim Ibn Ḥibbān's (d. 354/965) *Kitāb al-anwāʿ wa-l-taqāsīm*, al-Ḥākim Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Naysābūrī's (d. 405/1014) *al-Mustadrak* and al-Bayhaqī's (d. 458/1066) *al-Sunan al-kubrá* were used as sources.[48] Moreover, the author benefited from al-Shāfiʿī's (d. 204/820) *al-Umm*,[49] al-Dāraquṭnī's (d. 385/995) *al-Sunan*,[50] al-Ṭaḥāwī's *Sharḥ Maʿānī l-āthār*,[51] al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's (d. 463/1071) *Tārīkh Baghdād*,[52] Ibn Ḥazm's (d. 456/1064) *al-Muḥallá*,[53] Ibn ʿAdī's (d. 365/976) *al-Kāmil fī l-ḍuʿafāʾ*.[54]

When the abovementioned sources of the work are examined, one important point draws our attention. It is claimed that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's *al-Muḥarrar*, the main focus of this paper, is an abbreviated version of Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's (d. 702/1302) *al-Ilmām bi-aḥādīth al-aḥkām*. Scholars who lived in the periods after *al-Muḥarrar* mentioned this work as a summary or abbreviation while Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī did not make any reference to *al-Ilmām* while describing his own sources. This situation suggests that the quality of *al-Muḥarrar* should be re-evaluated. In this context, critical questions arise about what features a work should have qualify it as an abbreviation (*mukhtaṣar*) and what constitutes a concise work.

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[47] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, 441-442.
[48] *Ibid.,* 31.
[49] *Ibid.,* 156.
[50] *Ibid.,* 157.
[51] *Ibid.,* 160.
[52] *Ibid.,* 161.
[53] *Ibid.,* 177.
[54] *Ibid.,* 178.

The word *ikhtiṣār* literally means the abbreviation of the road, that is, the shortening of the road, the distance being close.[55] Additionally, the word *ikhtiṣār* has a technical meaning. According to Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, to say "I have summarized a book" means to reduce its words and make them sententious. This usage is an example of the meaning in its technical term. According to experts in Islamic jurisprudence *(fuqahā²)*, it is the transformation of many into few and the expression of much with few words. As maintained by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Abū Sulaymān, the traditional meaning of *ikhtiṣār* is the summary of a book or an item from the book. However, it does not always mean this. Writing a book on an important subject by avoiding detailed information without relying on a specific book is also considered an *ikhtiṣār*. Just as al-Qudūrī's (d. 428/1037) *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* is an example of this. This example shows that the word *ikhtiṣār* in the title of a book does not always indicate that it is the summary of another work. In fact, the ḥadīth works that give brief information about a subject were called *ikhtiṣār*.[56]

When the forms of *ikhtiṣār* are analyzed, some sentences, names, book titles, and repetitions are not cited. The reasons for the *ikhtiṣār* can be expressed as follows: removing the unnecessary parts for the students, expressing the closed points clearly and concisely, making it easier to memorize, understanding and remembering the issues of that science, eliminating the repetitions or reducing the volume of the book etc.[57] However, *mukhtaṣar* works are also expected to be based on the specific book and stick to the arrangement of the original book, generally in the introductions of the concise book *(mukhtaṣar)* the method to be followed is explained. The introductions may also contain additional information, and sometimes criticism directed at the abridged work.[58]

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[55] Muḥammad ibn Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr al-Anṣārī, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.), IX, 341-342.

[56] Mehmet Efendioğlu, "Muhtasar," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA),* XXI, 60.

[57] See ʿAlī ibn Saʿīd ibn Muḥammad al-ʿUmarī, "al-Ikhtiṣār fī l-tafsīr: Dirāsah naẓariyyah" (master's thesis, Riyadh: Jāmiʿat al-Malik al-Suʿūd, 1436 AH), 43-46, 54-59.

[58] Tunahan Erdoğan, "Hadis Usûlü Literatüründe Yerleşik Bir Kabulün Tenkidi: Bir İhtisâr Örneği Olarak İbn Hacer'in *Nuhbetü'l-Fiker*'i," *Turkish Academic Research Review* 1, no. 1 (2016), 53-55.

[58] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, 31.

Given the assertions that *al-Muḥarrar* is the abridged *(mukhtaṣar)* of a certain book, it is thought-provoking that the source of this opinion cannot be identified. As previously stated, Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī used the expression that his work is a concise book *(mukhtaṣar)*.[59] Based on this, it is presumably determined that *al-Muḥarrar* is an abbreviation *(mukhtaṣar)* of a work. In fact, Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd also stated in his Muqaddimah that "his work was an abbreviation *(mukhtaṣar)* in the science of ḥadīth."[60] However, in this study, we believe that this work of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī should be evaluated as an independent work in terms of the method it follows and the number of books and ḥadīths it contains.[61]

ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Ḥasan al-Turkī, who investigates *al-Muḥarrar,* has made this point clear. Al-Turkī states that "the work is an abbreviation *(mukhtaṣar)* and the meaning and purpose of the term abbreviation *(mukhtaṣar)* is that the work is not long."[62] He claims that he did not abridge a work of an imām before him. Ibn Ḥajar states in *al-Durar* that the work is the abbreviated version of *al-Ilmām*, but he believes that this is an opinion because, according to al-Turkī, the actual work should be broader and more comprehensive than the abbreviated work. In this context, al-Turkī accepts that most of the ḥadīths found in *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth* are also included in *al-Ilmām* and demonstrates the reasons why the work is considered a *mukhtaṣar* of *al-Ilmām*:[63]

- Very few of the ḥadīths contained in *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth* are not included in *al-Ilmām*.
- Although some ḥadīths in *al-Ilmām* are conveyed in concise form, full texts are given in *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*.
- Some of the ḥadīths were quoted by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī in his work in the same chapters *(bābs)* as *al-Ilmām*.
- Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī explained the authenticity of the ḥadīth and gave the views of the scholars in *al-Ilmām*.

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[59]　*Ibid.*, 31.

[60]　Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, *al-Ilmām bi-aḥādīth al-aḥkām*, ed. Muḥammad Khallūf al-ʿAbd Allāh (Damascus: Dār al-Nawādir, n.d.), 5.

[61]　Additionally Rıdvan Kalaç points out this issue in his Phd dissertation called "Qudāmah Family and Ḥadīth." See Kalaç, *Kudâme Ailesi ve Hadis*, 144.

[62]　ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥasan al-Turkī, introduction to *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth* by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī (n.p.: n.d.), 7.

[63]　Al-Hadbā and ʿAllūsh, introduction to *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, 7-9.

- In his preface (*muqaddimah*), Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī did not explain that he had written the book from *al-Ilmām*.

Following this explanation, al-Turkī states that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī originally took *al-Ilmām* and shaped *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth* in the center of this work, claiming that the work was not an abbreviation, but that *al-Ilmām* was the inspirer in the classification of the book.[64]

As we have noted the general characteristics of the abbreviated works, we believe that it may be suitable for *al-Muḥarrar* to define *mukhtaṣar*, as "dealing with an important issue without going into details and without being specific to a particular book." After considering the issues mentioned among the reasons for *ikhtiṣār*, it would be inconsistent to say that "*al-Muḥarrar* was written because *al-Ilmām* was so long" considering the volume of the work. At the same time, *al-Muḥarrar* does not have exactly the same order as *al-Ilmām*, as will be seen later, and the fact that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī did not refer to *al-Ilmām* either in his introduction or in his work indicates that *al-Muḥarrar* is a work that does not have abbreviation features in the context of a particular source.

However, it can be seen that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī wrote a supercommentary (*ḥāshiyah*) to *al-Ilmām*. This situation can be evaluated as follows: Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī saw *al-Ilmām* and laid the groundwork for *al-Muḥarrar* to be assessed as *al-Ilmām*'s abbreviation (*mukhtaṣar*).

To concretize our evaluation, first, we will focus on which topics/books are abbreviated and whether the number of books in both works is the same. In this context, considering the number of books in *al-Ilmām*, the number of books and chapters in *al-Muḥarrar* can be expressed in the following table according to their order in the work.[65]

	al-Ilmām	al-Muḥarrar	al-Ilmām	al-Muḥarrar

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[64] Al-Turkī, introduction to *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, 9.

[65] "***" indicates the joint books of *al-Ilmām* and *al-Muḥarrar*. There is also a different determination of the total number of ḥadīths in *al-Ilmām* and *al-Muḥarrar*, probably due to the difference in printing. See Akyurt, "İbn Abdilhâdî'nin Hayatı ve Hadis Literatürüne Katkısı," 46.

Ordinal Number	Book Name		Number of Chapters *(Bābs)* / Number of Ḥadīths	
1	Purification (al-Ṭahārah)	* Purification (al-Ṭahārah)	13/127	15/152
2	Prayers (al-Ṣalāh)	* Prayers (al-Ṣalāh)	18/347	19/354
3	Obligatory Charity Tax (Zakāh)	Funerals (al-Janāʾiz)	6/44	7/62
4	Fasting (al-Ṣiyām)	* Obligatory Charity Tax (Zakāh)	7 /51	8/46
5	Pilgrimage (al-Ḥajj)	* Fasting (al-Ṣiyām)	12/154	6/50
6	Fighting for the Cause of Allah (al-Jihād)	* Pilgrimage (al-Ḥajj)	2 /38	9/91
7	Sales and Trade (al-Buyūʿ)	Hunting (al-Ṣayd wa-l-dhabāʾiḥ)	8/75	-/12
8	Mortgaging (al-Rahn)	Food (al-Aṭʿimah)	27/115	-/10
9	Laws of Inheritance (al-Farāʾiḍ)	Vows (al-Nudhūr)	-/8	-/10
10	Wedlock, Marriage (al-Nikāḥ)	* Fighting for the Cause of Allah and Military Expeditions (al-Jihād wa-l-Siyar)	4/43	2/57
11	Bridal Gift (al-Ṣadāq)	* Sales and Trade (al-Buyūʿ)	16/99	8/66
12	Injurious Actions (al-Jirāḥ)	Legal Disability (al-Ḥajr)	9/74	3/23
13	Military Expeditions (al-Siyar)	Usurpation and Pre-emption (al-Ghaṣb wa-l-shufʿah)	5/76	7/41
14	Comprehensive Book (al-Jāmiʿ)	* Laws of Inheritance (al-Farāʾiḍ wa-l-walāʾ)	2/41	-/4
15	-	Emancipation (al-ʿItq)	-	3/16

16	-	* Wedlock, Marriage (al-Nikāḥ)	-	2/33
17	-	* Bridal Gift (al-Ṣadāq)	-	4/36
18	-	Divorce (al-Ṭalāq)	-	1/13
19	-	Divorce (al-Rajʿat wa-l-īlāʾ wa-l-ẓihār)	-	-/4
20	-	Faith (al-Īmān)	-	-/5
21	-	Invoking Curses (al-Liʿān)	-	2/7
22	-	Period of Waiting (al-ʿIddah)	-	-/8
23	-	Suckling (al-Raḍāʿ)	-	-/8
24	-	Cost of Living (al-Nafaqāt wa-l-ḥaḍānah)	-	-/5
25	-	Crimes (al-Jināyāt)	-	-/11
26	-	Blood Money (al-Diyāt)	-	4/23
27	-	Limits and Punishments Set by Allah (al-Ḥudūd)	-	5/34
28	-	Judgments (al-Qaḍāʾ)	-	2/21
29	-	Testimony (al-Shahādāt)	-	-/8
30	-	* Comprehensive Book (al-Jāmiʿ)	-	-/87
31	-	Medicine (al-Ṭibb)	-	-/20
Total	**14**	**31**	**129/1291**	**107/1324**

Looking at *al-Ilmām* based on the table, a work consisting of 14 books, 129 *bāb*s, and 11 chapters in total, it is seen that the number of books in the volume is less than *al-Muḥarrar*, which consists of 31

books and 107 *bābs*. Although *al-Muḥarrar* has a common structure with *al-Ilmām* in 11 books, books on mortgaging *(al-rahn)*, laws of inheritance *(al-farāʾiḍ)* and injurious actions *(al-jirāḥ)* are not included in *al-Muḥarrar*. Furthermore, the number of ḥadīths of *al-Muḥarrar*, which is 1324, is more than that of *al-Ilmām*.

Although it is stated that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's work is an abridged *(mukhtaṣar)* work with some additional notes and interpretations,[66] it can be said on the basis of this general comparison that *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth* is an independent work in terms of both additional books and the number of ḥadīths it contains compared to *al-Ilmām* or an abridged *(mukhtaṣar)* work with richer content than the original.

In this context, based on the example given in the introduction *(muqaddimah)*, it is possible to comparatively reveal that *al-Muḥarrar* has a rich and different structure from the other samples of *aḥādīth al-aḥkām*/ḥadīths of legal status literature. This situation can be seen by comparing three examples of *aḥādīth al-aḥkām* literature by quoting in full ablution *(ghusl)*: *al-Muntaqá*, *Bulūgh al-marām*, and *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*.

Abū l-Walīd al-Bājī's (d. 474/1081) *al-Muntaqá*	Abū Dāwūd's narration from ʿĀʾishah bint Abī Bakr: "Rasūl Allāh slept when he was ritually impure *(junub)* and did not touch the water." [67] (No explanation is given in the work after the Ḥadīth narration.)
Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's (d. 852/1449) *Bulūgh al-marām*	The same ḥadīth is from ʿĀʾishah bint Abī Bakr was quoted as: "Rasūl Allāh slept without touching the water while he was ritually impure *(junub)*" After the narration of the ḥadīth, it was stated that this narration was afflicted *(maʿlūl)*.[68]
	Abū Isḥāq al-Sabīʿī (d. 127/745) → al-Aswad (d. 75/694) → ʿĀʾishah bint Abī Bakr → Muḥammad (pbuh):

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66   Al-Turkī, introduction to *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, 8.
67   Ibid., 10.
68   Ibid., 10.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's (d. 909/1503-1504) *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*	"Rasūl Allāh slept without touching the water while he was *junub*" This ḥadīth narrated by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Mājah, al-Nasāʾī, and al-Tirmidhī. "They are of the opinion that this statement/judgment is Abū Isḥāq's mistake *(ghalaṭ)*." Yazīd ibn Hārūn (d. 206/821) has said: "This ḥadīth is delusion *(wahm)*." While Aḥmad said that it was not sound *(ṣaḥīḥ)*, al-Bayhaqī and others accepted the ḥadīth as sound *(ṣaḥīḥ)*. Aḥmad narrated ḥadīth by Shurayk→ Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān → Kurayb ibn Muslim → ʿĀʾishah bint Abī Bakr : "The Prophet would be ritually impure *(junub)*, and then he would sleep, and then he would wake up, and then he would sleep, and he wouldn't touch the water." Its chain of transmitters *(isnād)* is not strong *(qawī)*.[69]

These quotations show that *al-Muḥarrar* has rich content and explanations compared to other examples of literature. At this stage, another question comes to minds: what does Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī mean in his introduction *(muqaddimah)*, when he says his work is an abbreviation *(mukhtaṣar)*? We believe that the answer to this question will become clearer in the following pages where the method of the work is discussed in detail.

3. The Method of *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*

In this section, the method followed by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī in the transmission of narrations will be discussed in terms of chains of narration *(isnād)* and text *(matn)*.

3.1. Explanations of *Isnād* in *al-Muḥarrar*

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī mostly narrates the ḥadīth text by citing only the first narrator one of the Companions. His subsequent evaluations focused on the chain of transmitters *(isnād)*.

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[69] Ibid., 10-11.

In *al-Muḥarrar,* the narration of the chain of transmitters *(isnāds)* takes place in two ways. The most common type of narration is the transmission of *isnād*s only with the first narrator, the Companion, such as Abū Hurayrah (d. 58/678) and Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī (d. 74/693-4).[70] The second type of narration is the transmission of the ḥadīth with the Followers *(tābiʿūn)* and other narrators. When an explanation about the narrator is requested, the *isnād*s in which the Followers and other narrators are mentioned are generally expressed.

For example, in a narration transmitted by al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) from Abū Salamah (d. 94/712-3) from Abū Hurayrah, it is stated by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī that Abū Hurayrah added a statement *(idrāj)* to the ḥadīth text because he was the owner of a garden.[71]

In another example, after the ḥadīth narrated by Simāk ibn Ḥarb (d. 123/741) → ʿIkrimah (d. 105/723) → Ibn ʿAbbās (d. 68/687-8) it is stated that Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal warned about Simāk because there is no one else who narrated this ḥadīth but him. After this statement, it is also expressed that Muslim found Simāk reliable *(thiqah)*, and al-Bukhārī found ʿIkrimah reliable *(thiqah)*.[72]

After the narration of the ḥadīth text, Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī first expresses the source of the ḥadīth *(takhrīj)*. For example, he states that a ḥadīth text narrated by Hishām ibn Ḥassān (d. 146/764) → Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn (d. 110/729) → Abū Hurayrah → The Prophet (pbuh) is narrated by Muslim[73] but also notes that another narration reported from Anas ibn Mālik (d. 93/711-2) is a ḥadīth that both al-Bukhārī and Muslim agreed upon *(muttafaq ʿalayh)*[74] and states that only al-Bukhārī conveys the chains of narration *(isnād)* from Ibn ʿAbbās → The Prophet (pbuh).[75]

The source of the ḥadīth (*takhrīj*) is mostly stated after the transmission of the ḥadīth text. However, in some narrations, the transmission of the ḥadīth begins with the person from whom it was transmitted. For example, in the following narration Muslim → al-Nasāʾī → Ibn Ḥibbān → ʿAlī ibn Mushir (d. 189/805) → Aʿmash (d. 148/765) →Abū Razīn and Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān (d. 101/719-20) →

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[70] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, 33.
[71] *Ibid.*, 276.
[72] *Ibid.*, 36.
[73] *Ibid.*, 37.
[74] *Ibid.*, 39.
[75] *Ibid.*, 40.

Abū Hurayrah from The Prophet (pbuh), the source of the ḥadīth he narrated from was stated at the beginning. Likewise, al-Tirmidhī → Sawwār ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnbarī (d. 285/898) → al-Muʿtamir ibn Sulaymān (d. 187/803) → Ayyūb (d. 131/749) → Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn → Abū Hurayrah → The Prophet (pbuh) and in some ḥadīths where Abū Dāwūd is also taken as a reference, the source of the ḥadīth *(takhrīj)* is mentioned at the beginning of the *isnād*.[76]

One of the evaluations on the chain of transmitters *(isnāds)* is about the authenticity of the ḥadīth, which is one of the important features of the work. An example is the evaluation of the ḥadīth narrated by the following chain of transmitters *(isnād)*, Abū Dāwūd → Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal → ʿAbd al-Razzāq (d. 211/826-7) → Maʿmar (d. 153/770) → Ayyūb → Nāfiʿ (d. 117/735) → Ibn ʿUmar (d. 73/693) from the Prophet. It is explained that the chain of transmitters *(isnād)* of the ḥadīth he narrated from the Prophet is authentic *(saḥīḥ)* and all of his narrators are trustworthy/reliable *(thiqah)* imāms.[77] Al-Tirmidhī calls the ḥadīth narrated by Anas ibn Mālik from the Prophet authentic *(saḥīḥ)*. Al-Nasāʾī, in contrast, states that this ḥadīth is imperfect and conforms to the conditions of al-Ḥākim, al-Bukhārī, and Muslim. Abū Dāwūd comments that "this ḥadīth is unacceptable *(munkar)*, and there is a delusion in the text."[78] For another ḥadīth transmitted by al-Ḥasan (d 110/728) → Samurah ibn Jundab (d. 60/680) → The Prophet (pbuh), it is explained that according to al-Tirmidhī this ḥadīth is fair *(ḥasan)*; however, some others narrated the same ḥadīth with the *isnād* by Qatādah (d. 117/735) → al-Ḥasan → The Prophet (pbuh), and it is said that this *isnād* is loose *(mursal)*.[79]

Throughout the work, following the chain of transmitters *(isnād)*, evaluations of the authenticity of the ḥadīth are included. However, it should be noted that some of the narrations were conveyed without giving place to the assessment of authenticity.[80] This type of narration, on the other hand, takes place very rarely in work.

The focus of the work seems to be on the chain of transmitters *(isnād)*. In this context, explanations appear about some of the

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[76]   *Ibid.*, 37-38.
[77]   *Ibid.*, 44.
[78]   *Ibid.*, 65-66.
[79]   *Ibid.*, 72.
[80]   *Ibid.*, 41, 47, 48.

narrators (*rāwī*). For example, the ḥadīth narrated by Jaʿfar ibn Sulaymān → Abū ʿImrān al-Jawnī → Anas ibn Mālik → The Prophet (pbuh), Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr states that this ḥadīth is quoted only from Jaʿfar ibn Sulaymān but he is not reliable because he made many mistakes due to the weakness of his memory. However, Ibn Maʿīn (d. 233/848) and others saw Jaʿfar as reliable (*thiqah*). Ibn ʿAdī says it is reported that Jaʿfar's ḥadīth must be accepted.[81]

In the ḥadīth narrated by Fitr → Abū Farwah → ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Laylá (d. 83/702), the narrators who are not well known in the *isnād* are also explained. Here, the name of Abū Farwah is identified as Muslim ibn Sālim al-Juhanī.[82]

Assessments of narrators occupy a wide place in the work. The ḥadīth of Thawbān (d. 54/674) can be given as an example. According to al-Ḥakim, this ḥadīth complies with Muslim's conditions. Narrators of this ḥadīth are cited as Thawr ibn Yazīd (d. 153/770) → Rāshid ibn Saʿd (d. 113/731-32) → Thawbān → The Prophet (pbuh). Imām Aḥmad said, "It was not possible for Rāshid to hear the ḥadīth from Thawbān because he had died before." Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī gives the following statements: "Rāshid, along with Muʿāwiyah, witnessed Ṣiffīn. Thawbān died in 54 AH and Rāshid died in 108 AH. Ibn Maʿīn, Abū Ḥātim (d. 277/890), al-ʿIjlī (d. 261/875) and al-Nasāʾī found him reliable *(thiqah)*. But Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) found him weak by opposing them."[83] Although it is possible to expand these examples, in line with the capacity of our work we prefer to be satisfied with this exemplification.[84]

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī included, stopped *(mawqūf)* narrations as well as elevated *(marfūʿ)* narrations in his work. As examples, we can point to the ḥadīth "The Prophet (pbuh) performs an ablution one by one."[85] which is narrated by Ibn ʿAbbās and the ḥadīth "The Messenger of Allah (pbuh) used to comb his beard by his fingers."[86] which is narrated by ʿĀmir ibn Shaqīq ibn Jamrah (d. 121/738-39) → Abū Wāʾil (d. 82/701) → ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān (d. 35/656).

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[81]   *Ibid.*, 43.
[82]   *Ibid.*, 45.
[83]   *Ibid.*, 56.
[84]   *Ibid.*, 59, 64, 70.
[85]   *Ibid.*, 48.
[86]   *Ibid.*

However, in his explanations, the author draws attention to the phenomenon of elevation (*rafʿ*). To illustrate, the narration transmitted by Sinān ibn Rabīʿah → Shahr ibn Ḥawshab (d. 100/718) → Abū Umāmah (d. 86/705) was narrated from the Messenger of Allah (pbuh) as elevated *(marfūʿ)* by Abū Umāmah. The narration is, in fact, Abū Umāmah's stopped *(mawqūf)* according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī.[87]

In another ḥadīth narrated by Shurayḥ ibn Hāniʾ (d. 80/699) "I went to ʿĀʾishah to ask about the wipe *(masḥ)* for the feet." it is stated by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī that Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071) said: "The narrators differed in the attribution of this ḥadīth. Some said that this ḥadīth was ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib's stopped *(mawqūf)*." [88]

To abbreviate the chain of transmission *(isnād)*, sometimes the Companion was referred to with phrases such as 'from him' *(wa ʿanhu),* 'also from him' *(wa-lahū ayḍan)* and 'in his narration' *(wa-fī riwāyah lahū)* based on the previous narration.[89] Additionally, these expressions were used in the appearence of a ḥadīth (*takhrīj*) in various books.[90]

Some ḥadīths were narrated only by the Companion and were left without any explanation after the text of the ḥadīth.[91] At the same time, some ḥadīths with the same sources were transmitted one after another in the work and their sources were expressed at the end. For example, in the first fifty-four ḥadīths reported in *Kitāb al-Jāmiʿ*, explanations of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī were not included in the book but after the fifty-fourth ḥadīth of the book, there is an explanation that "al-Bukhārī narrated these ḥadīths." Then, the ḥadīths whose source was Muslim were transmitted one after another, and it was finally stated by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī that "Muslim narrated these ḥadīths."[92]

3.2. Explanations of *Matn* in *al-Muḥarrar*

Al-Muḥarrar appears as a work written by focusing on the chain of transmitters *(isnād)* and leaving explanations for the text in the background.

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[87] *Ibid.*, 49.
[88] *Ibid.*, 55.
[89] *Ibid.*, 47.
[90] *Ibid.*, 85-86.
[91] *Ibid.*, 441.
[92] *Ibid.*, 438.

This situation is also related to Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's historical conditions, which shape his mind in the Ḥanbalī tradition. Given that the Ḥanbalīs care about adhering to the appearance of the texts,[93] it becomes clear why *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth* does not prefer to provide explanations on the meaning *(fiqh)* of the ḥadīth.

Accordingly, the theme of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's work is to convey the full text of the ḥadīth, but sometimes the concise version of the long ḥadīth is conveyed.[94] However, this is rare. One of the main features of the work is that the ḥadīth is not divided and mentioned in different chapters *(bābs)*. It is not possible to find a narration with the expression "the same with the ... (*mithluhū*)" anywhere in the book.

Looking at the explanations of the text, we can determine that the meaning of some words mentioned in the ḥadīth text is explained in the work. For example, in the narration from Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān (d. 36/656) that "If the Messenger of Allah (pbuh) woke up at night, he would clean his mouth with tooth-stick *(miswāk)*", it is explained that the verb (يشوص) means to rub and wash.[95] On ḥadīth narrated from ʿĀʾishah, "Ten things are from nature: …reducing water," it is stated as transmitted from Wakīʿ that "reducing water" means purification *(istinjāʾ)*.[96] In the following ḥadīth narrated by Thawbān, "The Prophet sent a squadron *(sariyyah)* and cold hit them. When they came to the Prophet, he ordered them to wipe their turbans *(al-ʿaṣāʾib)*. After this matn, Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī explains that the words *(al-ʿaṣāʾib)* are *ʿimāmah*/turban.[97]

The author points out the different wordings of the ḥadīths in his work. For example, on tooth-stick *(siwāk)* the following is narrated by Abū Mūsá (d. 42/662):

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[93] For detailed information on the ḥadīth approach of the Ḥanbalī school, see Nimrod Hurvitz, *The Formation of Hanbalism: Piety Into Power* (London: Routledge, 2002); Jon Hoover, "Ḥanbalī Theology", in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, ed. Sabine Schmidtke (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2016), 625-646; Saud Al Sarhan, "The Responsa of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and the Formation of Ḥanbalism," *Islamic Law and Society,* 22, no. 1-2 (2015), 1-44.

[94] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth*, 40.

[95] *Ibid.*, 42.

[96] *Ibid.*

[97] *Ibid.*, 55-56.

I came to the Prophet and saw him carrying a *siwāk* in his hand
and cleansing his teeth, saying, 'U' U', as if he was retching while
the *siwāk* was in his mouth.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī states that this is the narration of al-Bukhārī, and
the narration in Muslim is quoted as follows:[98]

I came to the Prophet once and noticed the tip of tooth-stick
(miswāk) on his tongue.

As another example, narrated in *al-Muḥarrar* from Abū Hurayrah,
the Prophet said:

When anyone amongst you wakes up from sleep, he must not
put his hand in the utensil until he has washed it three times, for
he does not know where his hand was during the night.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī states that this is the narration of Muslim, and he
adds al-Bukhārī's version:[99]

Whoever wakes up from his sleep should wash his hands before
putting them in the water for ablution, because nobody knows
where his hands were during sleep.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī expresses the additions in the ḥadīth text. For
example, he states that in his narration Abū Dāwūd made an addition
(*ziyādah*) by this sentence: "if you perform ablution, rinse your
mouth/do *maḍmaḍah*."[100]

We can point to another example from *al-Muḥarrar* narrated by
ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644):

There is no Muslim who performs ablution and does it well, then
says, *Ashhadu an lā ilāha illallāh, wa-ashhadu anna
Muḥammadan ʿabduhū wa-rasūluhū* (I bear witness that none
has the right to be worshipped but Allah, and I bear witness that
Muḥammad is His slave and Messenger), (except that) eight
gates of Paradise will be opened for him, and he will enter
through whichever one he wants.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī states that al-Tirmidhī's version of this ḥadīth has
the following additions: "O Allah! Make me among the repentant and
make me among those who purify themselves."[101]

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[98]   *Ibid.*, 42.
[99]   *Ibid.*, 47.
[100]   *Ibid.*, 48.
[101]   *Ibid.*, 53.

Our last example is a ḥadīth that is narrated by Hishām ibn ʿUrwah (d. 146/763) → his father (d. 94/713) → ʿĀʾishah in *al-Muḥallá* as follows:

> Fāṭimah bint Abī Ḥubaysh came to the Prophet (pbuh) and said, "O Messenger, I am a woman with menstruation. I can never be cleaned. Shall I pray?" He said, "No, it is a vein, not menstruation. Abandon the prayer while you are menstruating. Wash your blood when you're done. Then establish prayer."

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī states that al-Bukhārī narrated this ḥadīth with this addition: "Then take ablution for every prayer until this situation comes." and Muslim left Ḥammād ibn Zayd's (d. 179/795) ḥadīth because there was one letter more in his ḥadīth.[102]

Conclusion

Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī was a distinguished scholar in that he assigned sections to *aḥādīth al-aḥkām/*ḥadīths of legal status, such as medicine/*ṭibb* and science/ *ʿilm* in his book. In this way, the breadth of the scope of the concept of legal status *(aḥkām)* in the mind of a scholar is revealed and this situation becomes more meaningful when the period in which the scholar lived is considered.

Our research has revealed that it is necessary to re-examine and reconsider classical works. In this context, although it is impossible for our time to share a definitive statement, having considered the diversity of the books al-Muḥarrar contains and the methodology it follows in the explanation of the sanad and matn of the hadith narration, we reach the conclusion that it has the characteristics of a concise and independent work without being tied to a specific book.

However, the author's description of his work as an abbreviated work opened the door for the assessments that *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth* was a *mukhtaṣar/*abridgement of a specific book. In addition, Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, makes the nameless statement in his introduction that he chooses the ḥadīth from the books of 'some famous imams'. Based on this, it has been inferred that Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd was among these people, which Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī did not decisively say.[103] Another factor that contributes to interpretations of the work's structure is the fact that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī did not name his work. In this context, some authors have

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[102] *Ibid.,* 58-59.
[103] See Masʿūdī, "Manhaj al-Imām ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī," 32.

evaluated the work in question as a *mukhtaṣar*/abridgement and some have stated that the work has the character of commentary. Some have also used general expressions such as "*al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth fī l-aḥkām*" or "a useful abridgement/*mukhtaṣar*." [104] The alliance point here is that the work was referred to as *al-Muḥarrar*, which raises the possibility that the name *al-Muḥarrar* was given by the author.

Given this context, we can focus on two possibilities about the nature of the work. The first possibility is that this work was written as the abridged version/*ikhtiṣār* of *al-Ilmām*, but beyond the specialized work, a more comprehensive and qualified work was produced. Another possibility is that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī did not shorten *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth* from *al-Ilmām*, which is supported by the comparison of the contents of the works. Considering the second possibility, it is important to understand the notion of "abridgement/*mukhtaṣar*" in the introduction of the work. The characteristics of *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth* can be briefly expressed as follows: the vast majority of the chain of transmitters *(isnād)* includes a Companion; the inclusion *(takhrīj)*, authenticity *(ṣiḥḥah)*, evaluations of the narrators *(rāwī)* of ḥadīth and the meanings of the strange *(gharīb)* words are expressed concisely; sometimes in the *isnād*, the Companion and the source of the ḥadīth are abbreviated, such as "it was transmitted from him again."

The work, revealing the authenticity of the ḥadīth and specifying its sources, shows the trend of that period. The explanations in the work are significant in terms of the source and authenticity of the ḥadīths. Unlike other books containing *aḥādīth al-aḥkām*/ḥadīths of legal status, *al-Muḥarrar fī l-ḥadīth* also includes the flaw *(ʿilal)* of ḥadīths. Additionally, it points to the importance of relying on solid sources when living in a complex period. Thus, Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī emphasized that the ḥadīths he received in his work were solid and that their sources were not unknown.

As the work focuses on the chain of transmitters *(isnād)*, there was no further statement on the legal dimensions of ḥadīth narrations. Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's *fiqh* is understood by and from the narrations in the work. However it should also be admitted that sometimes the relevance of the ḥadīths to the books in which the narrations are listed

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[104] Ibid., 30, 32.

under their title is questionable. For example, we could not understand the relationship between the letter sent by The Prophet (pbuh) to Heraclius and the book of purification *(ṭahārah)* which the narration is listed.

As a result, in the context of the *aḥādīth al-aḥkām/*ḥadīths of legal status literature, Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's *al-Muḥarrar* is a valuable work that has a great contribution to the field, in terms of both being concise and revealing the authenticity of the ḥadīth with its sources.

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Michot, Yahya M. *Ibn Sīnā: Lettre au Vizir Abū Saʿd: Editio princeps d'après le manuscrit de Bursa, traduction de l'arabe, introduction, notes et lexique.* Beirut: al-Burāq, 2000.

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