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ABŪ SHAKŪR AL-SĀLIMĪ AND HIS THEOLOGICAL IDENTITY WITHIN THE SCOPE OF *AL-TAMHĪD FĪ BAYĀN AL-TAWḤĪD*[*]

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Abstract
Even though al-Imām al-Māturīdī was praised by certain scholars, such as his master Abū Naṣr al-ʿIyāḍī, and was described later as the founder of Māturīdiyyah by both his school's followers and his competitors, such as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, it is clear that his school took form based on the ideational foundations of Abū Ḥanīfah. In places like Khurāsān and Transoxiana where Māturīdiyyah spreaded most, the most prominent followers have been the Ḥanafī scholars and the school was called Ḥanafiyyah/Māturīdiyyah because of its "dual-authoritative" nature. While Ḥanafīs of Samarqand embraced a more kalāmī/dialectical methodology much like al-Imām al-Māturīdī, Ḥanafīs of Bukhārā had a more scripturalist/traditionalist attitude with some caution of rational interpretation (*taʾwīl*). No doubt that, despite his rational (grounded on *raʾy*) and interpretivist attitudes in the issues of fiqh, the fact that Abū Ḥanīfah had a more moderate and conservative attitude that is not completely contrary to that of Ahl al-ḥadīth in credal/theological issues had an effect on this. Even though he preserved his kalāmī methodology and style in congruence with his school and penned an entirely theological book named *al-Tamhīd*, Abū Shakūr al-Sālimī, a representative of Samarqand Ḥanafī/Māturīdī tradition, had some ideas and views compatible with the "conservative" Bukhārā-based Ḥanafī/Māturīdī position, probably because of perceiving Abū Ḥanīfah as the absolute authority. Nevertheless, it is possible to say that he followed and fused the ideas of both of two authorities, Abū Ḥanīfah and al-Imām al-Māturīdī, and at the same time, preserved his own authenticity.

Key Words: Abū Shakūr al-Sālimī, al-Tamhīd fī bayān al-tawḥīd, Ḥanafī/Māturīdī tradition, Abū Ḥanifah, Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī

Ebû Şekûr Es-Sâlimî Ve *Et-Temhîd Fî Beyâni't-Tevhîd* Bağlamında İtikadî Kimliği

Öz
İmam Mâtürîdî, , belli bir dönemden sonra kendi mezhebinin mensupları ve hatta Fahreddin er-Râzî gibi rakipleri tarafından Mâtürîdiyye'nin kurucusu olarak nitelense de, mezhebin, Ebû Hanîfe tarafından atılan fikrî temeller üzerinde şekillendiği açıktır. Mâtürîdiyye'nin en fazla yayılım gösterdiği Horasan ve Mâverâünnehr coğrafyasında en başta gelen temsilcileri de Hanefî fakihler olmuş, bir anlamda "çift otoriteli" yapısı sebebiyle mezhep Hanefiyye/Mâtürîdiyye olarak da anılmıştır. Semerkand Hanefîleri büyük ölçüde İmam Mâtürîdî gibi daha cedelî/kelâmî bir metot benimsemekle birlikte, Buhârâ merkezli Hanefî fakihler daha nassçı ve tevile daha temkinli yaklaşan bir tavır içinde olmuştur. Ebû Hanîfe'nin fıkıh alanındaki re'y ve yorumculuğuna nispetle itikadî alanda ehl-i hadise tamamen aykırı olmayan mutedil ve muhafazakâr denilebilecek bir yol takip etmesi şüphesiz bunda etkili olmuştur. Semerkand Hanefî/Mâtürîdî geleneğinin temsilcisi olan Ebû Şekûr es-Sâlimî, bir yandan mensubu bulunduğu çizgiye uygun olarak kelâmî usul ve üslubu korusa ve *et-Temhîd* gibi tam anlamıyla bir kelâm eseri kaleme alsa da bir yandan da Ebû Hanîfe'yi mutlak otorite görmenin etkisiyle olsa gerek "muhafazakâr" Buhârâ Hanefî/Mâtürîdî çizgisine uyumlu tespit ve görüşler ortaya koymuştur. Maamâfih onun hem Ebû Hanîfe ve İmam Mâtürîdî gibi iki otoriteyi bir arada eklektik biçimde mezc ve takip ettiği hem de zaman zaman özgünlüğe göz kırptığı söylenebilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimler: Ebû Şekûr es-Sâlimî, et-Temhîd fî beyâni't-tevhîd, Hanefî/Mâtürîdî gelenek, Ebû Hanîfe, Ebû Mansûr el-Mâtürîd

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[*] This article is a revised and enlarged edition of my Research Note ,"Yeni Bir Neşri Vesilesiyle Ebû Şekûr es-Sâlimî'nin et-Temhîd'ine Dair Notlar" in *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi* 38 (2017), pp. 245-255.

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Abū Shakūr al-Sālimī is an early Ḥanafī/Māturīdī scholar about whom there is little information in biographical sources. His full name is al-Muhtadī Abū Shakūr Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Sayyid ibn Shuʿayb al-Sālimī al-Kashshī (al-Laythī [?]) al-Ḥanafī. Given that he met Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Aḥmad ibn Naṣr al-Ḥalwānī[1] who died in 448/1056 and that he quoted certain information[2] from the latter, al-Sālimī was probably born around 430s.[3] Nevertheless, even if hereby dating of his birth is considered accurate, the expressions and reports about meeting of two scholars in person are far from being certain.[4] Death of al-Sālimī, on the other hand, can be dated to late

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1 Shams al-aʾimmah Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Aḥmad ibn Naṣr ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥalwānī al-Bukhārī is the first-ever person entitled as "Shams al-aʾimmah" and is a Ḥanafī jurist (*faqīh*) who is considered the leader of *ahl al-raʾy* in his lifetime. Scholars such as al-Sarakhsī (d. 483/1090 [?]), Abū l-ʿUsr al-Bazdawī (d. 482/1089), Abū l-Yusr al-Bazdawī (d. 493/1100) are among his disciples; al-Samʿānī, Abū Saʿd ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr, *al-Ansāb* (ed. ʿAbd Allāh ʿUmar al-Bārūdī), I-V, Dār al-jinān, Beirut 1988, II, 248; al-Qurashī, Abū Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍiyyah fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafiyyah* (ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw), I-V, 2nd ed., Dār Hajr li-l-ṭibāʿah wa-l-nashr wa-l-tawzīʿ wa-l-iʿlān, Giza 1993, II, 429-430; al-Laknawī, Abū l-Ḥasanāt Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy ibn Muḥammad, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyyah fī tarājim al-Ḥanafiyyah* (ed. Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn Abū Firās al-Naʿsānī), Dār al-maʿrifah, Beirut n.d., pp. 95-97.

2 Al-Sālimī, al-Muhtadī Abū Shakūr Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Sayyid ibn Shuʿayb al-Kashshī, *al-Tamhīd fī bayān al-tawḥīd* (ed. Ömür Türkmen), Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları & Dār Ibn Ḥazm, Ankara & Beirut 2017, p. 344.

3 Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, "Ebû Şekûr es-Sâlimî," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, ANNEX-1, 374; id., "Ebû Şekûr es-Sâlimî ve Başlıca Kelâmî Görüşleri", *al-Tamhīd fī bayān al-tawḥīd* (ed. Ömür Türkmen), Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları & Dār Ibn Ḥazm, Ankara & Beirut 2017, p. 15.

4 There are two problems with regard to expressions that constitute the basis for the argument that al-Sālimī and al-Ḥalwānī actually came together. Firstly, in the mentioned passage, al-Sālimī makes some quotations from al-Ḥalwānī by means of his teacher Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb, and uses the phrase "*qāla raḥimahullāh* (he said – may God have mercy on him)" for his teacher in this regard. In the following phrase, he begins the sentence with the term "*wa/fa-qāla* (and he said)" with an implication that he continues citing his teacher; most probably, the indication "*qāla* (he said)" here refers to Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb and not to al-Sālimī. This expression may also be considered as an example of his style of mentioning himself as a third person, as he often does throughout the work. However, he uses the term "*samiʿtu ʿan al-Sheikh … dhakara fī amālīhi* (I heard Sheikh said as follows in the work he dictated)," thus pointing out to a quotation not through al-Ḥalwānī himself but from the text which he had written. Herein, please remember that the phrase "*wa-ḥukiya ʿan Shams al-aʾimmah … al-Ḥalwānī* (it is reported that Shams al-aʾimmah … al-Ḥalwānī [said so])" is used again in indirect speech by al-Sālimī on

5th/11th century or the first quarter of 6th/12th century; indeed, in his own words, al-Sālimī got lessons from Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥamzah al-Khaṭīb[5] a few years after 460/1068;[6] and he was contemporaneous with Abū l-Yusr al-Bazdawī (d. 493/1100) and Abū l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī (d. 508/1115).[7]

Al-Sālimī was probably from the city of Kashsh (Kishsh, Kiss) on the east of Samarqand, since the introductory sentence after basmalah in some manuscripts of his only extant work, *al-Tamhīd fī bayān al-tawḥīd*,[8] which

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the second occasion where he mentions and cites al-Ḥalwānī in the book; see al-Sālimī, *al-Tamhīd*, p. 86, line 11. Therefore, it is uncertain whether al-Sālimī met al-Ḥalwānī in person.

5 Al-Sayyid Abū Shujāʿ Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥusayn al-ʿAlawī is a Ḥanafī jurist, contemporaneous with Rukn al-Islām (Sheikh al-Islām) ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sughdī (d. 461/1068) and al-Qāḍī al-Ḥasan al-Māturīdī (d. ca. 450/1058), who is the son of granddaughter of al-Imām al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944). During their lifetime, the fatwás by these three personalities are considered final evidence throughout Transoxiana, and any contrary views are thought to disreputable; al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍiyyah*, III, 28; al-Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyyah*, p. 155.

6 Al-Sālimī, *al-Tamhīd*, p. 343.

7 Wilferd Madelung, "Abū l-Muʿīn al-Nasafī and Ashʿarī Theology," *Studies in Medieval Muslim Thought and History* (ed. Sabine Schmidtke), Ashgate Variorum, Farnham 2013, p. 319.

8 *Al-Tamhīd* by al-Sālimī is previously published in Delhi under the name *Tamhīd Abī Shakūr al-Sālimī* (lithograph; al-Maṭbaʿ al-Fārūqī, 1309/[1892]), in Ḥiṣār Fīrūzah as *al-Tamhīd* (lithograph; Maṭbaʿ al-Gharīb, 1269/[1853]), and Ṭashkent as *al-Tamhīd fī bayān al-tawḥīd* with editing and Uzbek translation by Said Murat Pirimof (Mâverâünnehir Neşriyat, 2014). Besides, catalogue searches reveal a partial publication of the book by ʿAmmār Ṣalāḥ as a part of postgraduate thesis called "al-Tamhīd fī bayān al-tawḥīd li-Abī Shakūr al-Sālimī (Qism al-ilāhiyyāt): Dirāsah wataḥqīq" (Jāmiʿat Dimashq Kulliyyat al-Sharīʿah, 2009[?]).

The latest publication of the book is carried out by Turkish Religious Foundation Centre for Islamic Studies within the scope of the Project of Early Classical Period that seeks to introduce Ḥanafī/Māturīdī works until late 6th/12th century to the academia. The work is edited and prepared within the frame of PhD thesis titled "Muhammed b. Abdüseyyid b. Şuayb el-Kişşî'nin 'Kitâbü't-Temhîd fî Beyâni't-Tevhîd' Adlı Eserinin Tahkik Tahric ve Tahlili" by the late Ömür Türkmen in 2002; it was reviewed and redacted by late Bekir Topaloğlu and late Muhammed Aruçi, and a preface by Yusuf Şevki Yavuz on life and essential theological views of author Abū Shakūr al-Sālimī (pp. 13-32) was added to this edition.

This is a critical edition based on comparison of copies; besides, the edition is worth appreciation thanks to efforts for maturation and correction of the text via necessary interventions in the stages of preparation and redaction. Moreover, the edition is a

indicates about the author that "al-Muhtadī Abū Shakūr al-Sālimī, who is Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Sayyid ibn Shuʿayb al-Kashshī said" – these inscriptions must have been eventually added by copyists – and notes on some manuscripts' title page, and modern literature which are probably based on such notes and mentions, dubs him al-Kashshī. Nevertheless, probably taking into account the indication "al-Laythī"[9] in the preface of a manuscript it was asserted that this attribution (*nisbah*) was erroneously recorded as "al-Kashshī" by Kātib Chalabī (d. 1067/1657),[10] and thus the attribution al-Kashshī might actually be wrong.[11] In our opinion, however, it is not appropriate to completely falsify the attribution al-Kashshī, grounding on "al-Laythī" expression in only certain copies. Indeed, al-Kashshī attribution is used in many copies; moreover, since he tells he was a pupil of Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb in Samarqand (p. 343, line 16) and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḥalwānī, whom he quotes (p. 86, line 11; p. 344, line 4-7), passed away in Kashsh,[12] al-Sālimī almost certainly belongs to cultural catchment area of Samarqand. In the light of such data, it is not improbable for him to bear the attribution of al-Kashshī. On the other hand, his self-mention as "*qāla l-Muhtadī Abū Shakūr al-Sālimī*" in the introductions and various chapters of the work may be interpreted in such manner that his famous attribution was "al-Sālimī" with reference to his

significant contribution to the literature, since preface by Yavuz – together with thesis by Türkmen – is the first-ever material to provide neat and orderly information about al-Sālimī and his theological views. The edition comprises an index at the end, including Qurʾānic verses, ḥadīths, proper nouns, and concepts so as to ensure ease of use. In conclusion, Centre for Islamic Studies realised this edition in collaboration with Dār Ibn Ḥazm in Beirut; therefore, unlike other editions, the work has become more accessible among the interested persons at international level.

9 Al-Sālimī, *al-Tamhīd fī bayān al-tawḥīd*, MS Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Reîsülküttâb, no. 525, 1b.

10 See Kātib Chalabī, Ḥājī Khalīfah Muṣṭafá ibn ʿAbd Allāh, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn* (ed. M. Şerefettin Yaltkaya & Kilisli Rıfat Bilge), I-II, Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara 1941-1943, I, 484.

11 Yavuz, "Ebû Şekûr es-Sâlimî," p. 374; id., "Ebû Şekûr es-Sâlimî ve Başlıca Kelâmî Görüşleri," p. 15. Likewise, grounding on the record "al-Laythī" in the manuscript he found – and thought was the only copy of the work – in a private library in Acre, ʿAbd Allāh Mukhliṣ, who has written an introductory article on *al-Tamhīd* of al-Sālimī, claims that the ascription by Kātib Chalabī are incorrect; ʿAbd Allāh Mukhliṣ, "Kitāb al-tamhīd fī bayān al-tawḥīd," *Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī*, 1-2/22 (1947), p. 66, 68.

12 Al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, II, 248; al-Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir al-muḍiyyah*, II, 430; al-Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyyah*, pp. 95-96.

tribe.[13] The cognomen (*laqab*) "al-Muhtadī" might have been given for he eventually converted to Islam, or he never left the path of salvation, or even in the sense that he always worked in search of truth. Nevertheless, the names of his father and grandfather indicate that his cognomen is unlikely to have been established because of his eventual convert to Islam; indeed, other options seem more probable. In addition to *al-Tamhīd*, Kātib Chalabī ascribes another work, which is not extant, called *Kitāb al-miʿrāj* to al-Sālimī; according to Kātib Chalabī, al-Sālimī wrote this work under influence of a narrative between Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786-809) and Ibrāhīm ibn Adham (d. 161/778 [?]) that indicates the latter was a practitioner of abstinence (*zuhd*) and a man of saintly miracles.[14] Reportedly, al-Sālimī was impressed by the foregoing narrative and put the mentioned work to paper through a principally Sufi perspective; besides, he mentions in *al-Tamhīd* how he had a dream of Prophet Muḥammad and even reveals a ḥadīth which he obtained from the Prophet in his dream (p. 300, line 1-5). Therefore, al-Sālimī should have had a Sufi tendency, to say the least.

Al-Tamhīd fī bayān al-tawḥīd by al-Sālimī touches upon almost all divinity (*al-ilāhiyyāt*), prophethood (*al-nubuwwāt*), and eschatology and related matters (*al-samʿiyyāt*) in a classical Kalām work; accordingly, the work comprises chapters on reason and related problems; senses and sensible realm of existence; existence and the unity of Allah; divine attributes; name and named (*al-ism wa-l-musammá*); questions on prophethood and prophethood of Muḥammad; relationship between knowledge and belief as well as problems about faith; pillars of faith; sharīʿah and religion; caliphate and emirate; Ahl al-sunnah and ahl al-bidʿah, and other religions. The first chapter on reason (*al-ʿaql*) touches upon the informative role and competence of reason, its part in making the person religiously obliged, as well as superiority among obliged beings with reason, status of children, problems of good and evil (*al-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ*). Thus, al-Sālimī tries to give a comprehensive account about reason, incorporating all aspects of the issue; on the other hand, he points out to a partially genuine style of writing and disposition. In one chapter, he defines concepts of name (*al-ism*), attribute (*al-ṣifah*), eulogy (*al-naʿt*), eternity-eternal (*al-qidam-al-qadīm*), form (*al-ṣūrah*), appearance (*al-hayʿah*), created being (*al-muḥdath*), substance (*al-jawhar*), body (*al-jism*), and word/speaking (*al-kalām*), indicating that he will explain some issues in the eventual chapters (p. 89 ff.). Therefore, he has a systematic approach of preparing theoretical infrastructure for the themes he will later dwell upon. The first two chapters "Chapter on Reason (*Bāb al-ʿaql*)" and "Chapter on the Sensible and the Known (*Bāb al-*

[13] Ömür Türkmen, *Muhammed b. Abdüseyyid b. Şuayb el-Kişşî'nin 'Kitâbü't-Temhîd fî Beyâni't-Tevhîd' Adlı Eserinin Tahkik Tahric ve Tahlili* (PhD diss., Harran Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü), Şanlıurfa 2002, p. 1.

[14] Kātib Chalabī, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, II, 1460.

maḥsūs wa-l-maʿlūm)" treats the content of reason, physical structure of universe, and possibility of knowledge, with reference to philosophers and materialists; accordingly, al-Sālimī must be in the know of rational/philosophical disciplines to some extent in addition to Kalām; besides, such knowledge has influenced his style and terminology in such manner to push him to allocate special place to concepts such as whereness (*ayniyyah*) and quiddity (*māhiyyah*) (p. 109, 111).[15]

A significant characteristic of *al-Tamhīd* is the information provided by al-Sālimī with regard to where his sect (*madhhab*) was common at the time, by means of indicating that "Ahl al-sunnah wa-l-jamāʿah," with which he means Ḥanafī/Māturīdī groups, is "common among jurists in the East and land of China [realm of Qarakhānids], Khurāsān, and Transoxiana, in Ghaznavid and Turkish lands" (p. 337, line 10-11). Strikingly enough, it is also the first-ever Ḥanafī/Māturīdī text that explicitly talks about Ashʿariyyah.[16] In this regard, *al-Tamhīd* provides remarkable data as to the background, process, and content of the relationship between Ashʿariyyah and Māturīdiyyah. Besides, it is the first-ever text to consider Ashʿariyyah outside the restricted framework of Ahl al-sunnah wa-l-jamāʿah and to position Ashʿarī school as a clear rival or "other." Apparently, this approach has made its mark on certain subsequent Ḥanafī/Māturīdī authors.[17] Al-Sālimī tells about a debate between him and an Ashʿarī, and takes the discussion to a different context, indicating against the criticisms of this man the Ashʿarī views which al-Sālimī considers erroneous and wrong with regard to faith (p. 126, line 1 ff.); such behaviour shows that in those days, the disintegration of Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī schools became concentric and almost identical with disintegration of Ashʿarī and Māturīdī schools; indeed, al-Sālimī is an example of Ḥanafīs who tried to construct and reinforce their own theological and sectarian identity upon criticism of Ashʿariyyah.[18] Such attitude of al-Sālimī reaches to the extent that he declares the views of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935-36) and Ashʿarīs about attributes of action (*al-ṣifāt al-fiʿliyyah*) and the attribute of creation (*takwīn*) as

15 Ulrich Rudolph, "Abū Shakūr al-Sālimī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*, Leiden 2009, fas. 3, pp. 32-33.

16 Rudolph, "Abū Shakūr al-Sālimī", p. 33; id., "Das Entstehen der Māturīdīya," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 147 (1997), p. 399; Mehmet Kalaycı, *Tarihsel Süreçte Eşarilik-Maturidilik İlişkisi*, Ankara Okulu Yayınları, Ankara 2013, p. 287.

17 For example, see al-Bazdawī, Abū l-Yusr Ṣadr al-Islām Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn, *Uṣūl al-dīn* (ed. Hans Peter Linss, annot. Aḥmad Ḥijāzī al-Saqqā), al-Maktabah al-Azhariyyah li-l-turāth, Cairo 2003, pp. 252-253.

18 Kalaycı, *Tarihsel Süreçte Eşarilik-Maturidilik İlişkisi*, p. 30, 162.

unbelief (p. 122, line 15 ff.; p. 124, line 2; p. 137, line 1-9).[19] Besides, his falsification of anti-Kalām Ḥanafī jurists whom he calls "sheiks of Bukhārā (*mashāyikh Bukhārā*)" (p. 140, line 14) or "literalists (*aṣḥāb al-ẓawāhir*)" (p. 339, line 8) is a sign of emphasis on disintegration of his path in terms of sect/disposition and on identity construction. In this respect, the classification of sects and related information in the last chapter of *al-Tamhīd* are particularly important in terms of the tradition of heresiography (*firaq/maqālāt*). Apparently, the work of al-Sālimī is the first example of Eastern Ḥanafī heresiography that classifies religious groups with the formula 6 x 12 (6 main sects x 12 subgroups + group of salvation [*al-firqah al-nājiyah*] = 73) on the basis of 73 mentioned in the ḥadīth on number of sects and that establishes all 6 main sects, basing himself on a saying attributed to Abū Ḥanifah (p. 344, line 19 ff.). Besides, information provided by al-Sālimī on subgroups shows that he did not content himself merely by talking about Ashʿariyyah, but that he also made use of related Ashʿarī sources.[20]

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19 Throughout *al-Tamhīd*, only on two occasions al-Sālimī uses the term "Ahl al-sunnah wa-l-jamāʿah" so as to include Ashʿariyyah in an implicit manner without mentioning their proper name; these are about two problems on which there is an agreement between Ashʿarī and Ḥanafī/Māturīdī schools (p. 52, line 5; p. 69, line 6); however, on many other occasions, he explains different views of Muʿtazilah, Karrāmiyyah, and Jabriyyah sects, as well as of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī or Ashʿariyyah, before indicating the opinion of his own madhhab with the phrase "Ahl al-sunnah wa-l-jamāʿah says that …" (for example, see p. 59, line 19 ff.; p. 60, line 18 ff.; p. 91, line 9-10; p. 136, line 14-15; p. 170, line 3-4; p. 290, line 16-17) or even points out to fallacy of Ashʿarī view (p. 51, line 7; p. 59, line 13; p. 140, line 14 ff.). Besides, he does not mention al-Imām al-Ashʿarī and Ashʿariyyah in name while counting the persons and groups within Ahl al-sunnah which he also calls as "the overwhelming majority (*ahl al-sawād al-aʿẓam*)," including the Companions and the Successors (*Tābiʿūn*), (p. 335, line 3 ff.). With reference to Abū Ḥanīfah, al-Sālimī defines Ahl al-sunnah as "persons who are between the views of absolute predestination (*jabr*) and free will (*qadar*), anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*) and depriving God of essential attributes (*taʿṭīl*), undue devotion to first two Caliphs at the expense of ʿAlī (*naṣb*) and undue devotion to ʿAlī and abhorrence of three preceding Caliphs (*rafḍ*)" (p. 344, line 18 ff.); his definition initially seems to include Ashʿarīs; nevertheless, he considers and evaluates Ashʿariyyah, for example with regard to "obligation beyond capacity (*taklīf mā lā yuṭāq*)," in the same position with Jabriyyah (p. 290, line 16-17). Likewise, he introduces the view that "salvation (*saʿādah*) and misery (*shaqāwah*) are prescribed in pre-eternity and unchangeable," which is adopted by Ashʿariyyah, as a heretical approach (*bidʿah*) under the title of Jabriyyah (p. 356, line 1). Therefore, he apparently refrains from incorporating Ashʿarīs among Ahl al-sunnah.

20 Kadir Gömbeyaz, *İslam Literatüründe İtikâdî Fırka Tasnifleri* (PhD diss., Uludağ Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü), Bursa 2015, p. 127-128, 155-156; id., "Doğu Hanefî Fırak Geleneğinin Ebû Hanîfe ile İrtibatlandırılmasının İmkânı," *Devirleri*

Unlike Bukhārā-based Ḥanafī jurists, Abū Shakūr al-Sālimī adopted the method of Kalām and he was a follower of al-Imām al-Māturīdī in this regard. Accordingly, Bayāḍīzādah (d. 1098/1687) accurately mentions al-Sālimī as a theologian (*mutakallim*) or verifier (*muḥaqqiq*) among imāms of Māturīdī school;[21] nevertheless, al-Sālimī never makes any direct reference to al-Imām al-Māturīdī in *al-Tamhīd*. Only once in his work he apparently includes al-Imām al-Māturīdī among the names he means with the term "sheikhs of Samarqand" (p. 141, line 10); indeed, al-Sālimī's definition about expressions he calls "ambiguous attributes (*al-ṣifāt al-mutashābihah*)" (p. 106, line 7) matches up with the definition by al-Imām al-Māturīdī.[22] Al-Sālimī, however, principally grounds his arguments on views of Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150/767) as well as Ḥanafī scholars such as Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805) above all. This is probably because in his lifetime, al-Imām al-Māturīdī was yet to be recognised as a sect leader and because al-Sālimī considered Abū Ḥanīfah as the founding authority of his path; besides, he might have chosen a more scripture-based/traditionalist approach than al-Māturīdī, refraining from rational interpretation of scriptures despite occasional counterexamples.[23] This attitude of al-Sālimī can also be observed in his inclusion of many ḥadīths and narratives in the book, compared to a given standard Kalām work. On the other hand, partial influence of al-Imām al-Māturīdī on al-Sālimī is apparent through the

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Aydınlatan Meş'ale İmâm-ı A'zam - Ulusal Sempozyum Tebliğler Kitabı (ed. Ahmet Kartal & Hilmi Özden), Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi, Eskişehir 2015, p. 506-507.

21 Bayāḍīzādah, Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan ibn Sinān al-Dīn, *Ishārāt al-marām min ibārāt al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān fī uṣūl al-dīn* (ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī), Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyyah, Beirut 2007, p. 74.

22 Al-Māturīdī, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd, *Taʾwīlāt al-Qurʾān* (ed. Ahmet Vanlıoğlu), I-XVIII, Mizan Yayınevi, Istanbul 2005, II, 243.

23 Even though al-Sālimī, on the one hand, says that no meaning can be ascribed to ambiguous attributes which are presented in scripture (*thabata simāʿan*) (p. 106, line 6-8), he eventually interprets in various manners the ḥadīth which tells "Allah created Adam in His own form (*ṣūrah*)." This fact seems to imply that according to him the scripture (*al-naṣṣ*), which cannot be interpreted, is restricted to Qurʾānic verses. However, he also indicates "rational interpretation (*taʾwīl*) is possible against the danger of likening God to man (*tashbīh*), albeit not necessary" (p. 142, line 5-10) so as to constitute a basis for his approach of applying *taʾwīl* on aforesaid ḥadīth. In other words, he becomes obliged to carry out interpretation on some occasions even though he is principally against it. Indeed, in his own words, the Anthropomorphists/Likeners (*Mushabbihah*) attribute some organs to Allah, grounding on literal meaning of Qurʾānic verses; for al-Sālimī, however, this is clear blasphemy.

following examples: Like al-Māturīdī, al-Sālimī deals with and criticises the views of materialist philosophers (pp. 75-79) and uses the evidence put forth by al-Māturīdī based on aggregation of contrasts as to demonstration of the existence of God (*ithbāt al-Wājib*) (p. 77, line 4-7).[24] Besides, al-Sālimī deals in an insistent and comprehensive manner with the problem of attributes of action that are only shortly treated by Abū Ḥanīfah but comprehensively tackled by al-Imām al-Māturīdī for the first time among theologians, particularly within the context of "creation (*takwīn*)."[25] Moreover, al-Sālimī allows for classification of types of knowledge (p. 95, line 2-6) – an issue overlooked by al-Māturīdī – and develops the system of the latter, even though it is unclear whether he had such an intention.[26] In addition to the foregoing,

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24 cf. al-Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* (ed. Bekir Topaloğlu & Muhammed Aruçi), İSAM Yayınları, Ankara 2003, p. 26. Coexistence/aggregation of adverse attributes is used for proving the existence of God also before al-Māturīdī. For example, according to al-Naẓẓām (d. 231/845), the basic elements, such as water and earth or fire and water, could not have come together due to their own nature – just like coexistence of heat and cold in human body – since they are opposite; indeed, they should be opposites and separate given their nature. Therefore, it should be the Creator who brings them together, creates them in such manner and compels them to this situation that is actually contrary to their nature. A being, which is subject to compulsion, is weak. Such weakness and surrender to a compelling will shows that it is created and that its creator is dissimilar to such being. If the creator resembled the being, they should have been identical in terms of being created; al-Khayyāṭ, Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Muḥammad, *al-Intiṣār wa-l-radd ʿalá Ibn al-Rāwandī al-mulḥid* (ed. Albert Naṣrī Nādir), al-Maṭbaʿah al-Cāthūlīkiyyah, Beirut 1957, p. 40. Al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), who is a disciple of al-Naẓẓām, also accepts the coexistence of opposite natures in beings, such as heat and cold in universe and memory and oblivion in man, and indeed, uses it as a fundamental element for demonstration of the existence of God; see al-Jāḥiẓ, Abū ʿUthmān ʿAmr ibn Baḥr ibn Maḥbūb al-Kinānī, *Kitāb al-dalāʾil wa-l-iʿtibār ʿalá l-khalq wa-l-tadbīr*, Dār al-nadwah al-Islāmiyyah & Maktabat al-kulliyyāt al-Azhariyyah, Beirut & Cairo 1988, p. 12, 54. Nevertheless, he rather insists on the argument that the mode of coexistence of such opposites points out to a conscious regulation and determination.

25 Al-Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, pp. 73-82.

26 Al-Sālimī describes inspiration (*al-ilhām*) as "secret revelation (*waḥy khafī*)," thus, he seems to include it among sources of knowledge and differ from al-Māturīdī's classification of sources of knowledge, namely, senses, reports, and reflection and reasoning, which is accepted by almost entire Ḥanafī/Māturīdī tradition (p. 69, line 11-14; p. 151, line 13 ff.). However, al-Sālimī considers it peculiar to prophets and angels; therefore, inspiration is a source of knowledge peculiar exclusively to certain persons and beings. Indeed, Rukn al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (d. 701/1301), who lived two centuries after al-Sālimī, also calls inspiration as "secret revelation" but restricts the concept to the revelation sent to prophet; see al-Samarqandī, Abū

Abū Ḥanīfah points out to only one type, which "coexists with action," of human capacity to act (*istiṭāʿah*),[27] while al-Māturīdī puts forth a dual classification, which is followed by al-Sālimī. Al-Sālimī differs from al-Māturīdī in terms of disposition but not content, by dividing the power present prior to action, called "availability of circumstances and healthiness of tools/organs (*salāmat al-asbāb wa-ṣiḥḥat al-ālāt*)"[28] by al-Māturīdī, in two subsets. According to al-Sālimī, the first part of such power consists of "capacity of assets (*istiṭāʿat al-amwāl*)," which includes the possibilities owned by a person outside himself, such as food, mount etc. The second part is healthy organs, called "capacity of action (*istiṭāʿat al-afāl*)," which enable acting as al-Māturīdī points out. Apart from the foregoing two, there is "power of mood (*istiṭāʿat al-aḥwāl*)" granted by Allah to His subjects directly at the moment of commitment of an act; such power cannot exist before or after the act and is peculiar to moment of action (p. 283, line 15 ff.).

As for influence of Abū Ḥanīfah on al-Sālimī, the latter often grounds his arguments on approaches he ascribes to Abū Ḥanīfah; moreover, in line with deductions by Abū Ḥanīfah, al-Sālimī thinks the faith consists of two pillars, namely, inner conviction (*taṣdīq*) and affirmation/confession (*iqrār*) (p. 203, line 15-16; p. 227, line 8-9),[29] anyone who refuses punishment of the grave for unbelievers will fall into blasphemy (p. 255, line 13-16),[30] faith does not increase or decrease, and it is necessary to deal with and study on Kalām (p. 214, line 7-11, p. 339, line 10 ff.).[31] For sure, the abovementioned examples do not mean complete and unconditional obedience or compliance with Abū Ḥanīfah. Even though al-Sālimī follows Abū Ḥanīfah and claims that the reason can know the creator by means of looking and contemplating the data in universe (p. 55, line 17 ff.), reason can know the existence and unity of creator via rational deduction (p. 60, line 10), a person who can distinguish

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Muḥammad Rukn al-Dīn ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *al-ʿAqīdah al-Rukniyyah fī sharḥ lā ilāha illallāh Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh* (ed. Mustafa Sinanoğlu), İSAM Yayınları, Istanbul 2008, p. 45.

27 Abū Ḥanīfah, al-Imām al-Aʿẓam al-Nuʿmān ibn Thābit, *al-Waṣiyyah* (ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī), along with Turkish translation by Mustafa Öz, in *İmâm-ı Azamın Beş Eseri*, Kalem Yayıncılık, Istanbul 1981, p. 74 (Arabic text).

28 Al-Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, p. 410 ff.

29 cf. Abū Ḥanīfah, *al-ʿĀlim wa-l-mutaʿallim* (ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī), along with Turkish translation by Mustafa Öz, in *İmâm-ı Azamın Beş Eseri*, Kalem Yayıncılık, Istanbul 1981, p. 15 (Arabic text).

30 cf. Bayāḍīzādah, *al-Uṣūl al-munīfah li-l-Imām Abī Ḥanīfah* (ed. and Turkish translation İlyas Çelebi), Marmara Üniversitesi İlâhiyat Fakültesi Vakfı Yayınları, Istanbul 2006, p. 129 (Arabic text).

31 cf. Abū Ḥanīfah, *al-Waṣiyyah*, p. 72 (Arabic text); id. *al-ʿĀlim wa-l-mutaʿallim*, pp. 11-12 (Arabic text).

beings shall be responsible if he abandons contemplation since he is rational and cannot be excused (p. 59, line 6-7), he quotes Abū Ḥanīfah's view that "nobody can be excused for not knowing his creator (nobody can put forth such an excuse because of his ignorance)" and indicates the mentioned argument does not mean the reason directly necessitates faith, but it lays stress on necessity of contemplation and deduction (p. 61, line 11-12). One will be responsible for abandoning such contemplation; nevertheless, we cannot conclude on his disbelief, since reason is deprived of determining the limits of faith. In this regard, al-Sālimī refers to Qurʾānic verse, "*And never would We punish until We sent a messenger*" (Q 17:15) and states that faith is not a necessity for persons who are yet to be subject to divine notification (p. 58, line 6; p. 61, line 1-2); therefore, he differs from the famous argument of Abū Ḥanīfah and partially tends towards Ashʿarī approach. Indeed, he seems on the same page with Ḥanafī/Māturīdī scholars such as Abū l-Yusr al-Bazdawī who discusses the view of Abū Ḥanīfah in a similar manner, as well as al-Sarakhsī (d. 483/1090 [?]) and Qāḍīkhān (d. 592/1196).[32] Pursuant to hereby approach that opposes both Abū Ḥanīfah and al-Māturīdī, al-Sālimī claims that any person, who is not subject to invitation of prophet or was not informed about it (*ahl al-*

[32] For example, see al-Bazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, pp. 214-217. Māturīdī tradition has often had dispute about whether anyone, who can reason, is obliged/accountable (*mukallaf*) even though he is not addressed by prophet's notification, in other words, whether reason necessitates faith. In parallel with Abū Ḥanīfah, al-Imām al-Māturīdī and Samarqand-based scholars, as well as Iraqi Ḥanafīs claim that the access by reason to fundamental knowledge brings along earthly and religious responsibility; see al-Ṣābūnī, Abū Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd, *al-Kifāyah fī l-hidāyah* (ed. Muḥammad Aruçi), İSAM Yayınları & Dār Ibn Ḥazm, Istanbul & Beirut 2014, p. 52; al-Bābartī, Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad, *Sharḥ Waṣiyyat al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfah* (ed. Muḥammad al-ʿĀyidī & Ḥamzah al-Bakrī), Dār al-fatḥ li-l-dirāsāt wa-l-nashr, Amman 2009, pp. 54-55; Bayāḍīzādah, *Ishārāt al-marām*, p. 81; id., *al-Uṣūl al-munīfah*, p. 41 (Arabic text); al-Qārṣī, Dāwūd ibn Muḥammad, *Sharḥ al-Qaṣīdah al-nūniyyah*, Maṭbaʿa-i Sharikat-i Ṣaḥāfiyyah, Dār al-Khilāfat al-ʿAliyyah 1318, p. 54. On the other hand, according to majority of Māturīdīs, access by man to such fundamental knowledge is not sufficient for responsibility. Reasonable knowledge, produced by a person, merely shows that those who adopt the truth and are subject to the good are worth appraisal, while those who adopt the wrong and adhere to evil are worthy of obloquy; however, this is not sufficient for responsibility. Therefore, responsibility occurs only upon command by Allah; see Ibn al-Humām, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, *Kitāb al-musāyarah*, along with Kamāl ibn Abī Sharīf's *al-Musāmarah bi-sharḥ al-Musāyarah* and al-Qāsim ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Quṭlūbughā's *Ḥāshiyah ʿalá l-Musāmarah*, al-Maṭbaʿah al-kubrá al-Amīriyyah, Bulāq 1317 → Çağrı Yayınları, Istanbul 1979, pp. 151-153; Bayāḍīzādah, *Ishārāt al-marām*, p. 59 ff.; al-Qārṣī, *Sharḥ al-Qaṣīdah al-nūniyyah*, pp. 53-54.

fatrah), can attain salvation in afterlife in case he does not clearly display any unbelief or denial, even if he does not believe in Allah (p. 60-61). In this respect, al-Sālimī is in coherence with Bukhārā-based Ḥanafīs and certain Māturīdīs, even though he essentially follows the path of Samarqand-based Ḥanafī approach.[33]

Until recently, al-Sālimī was not considered as a significant part of Māturīdī school in modern literature; however, *al-Tamhīd* has apparently had notable influence in Eastern Muslim world, particularly in India and Southeast Asia, thanks to its inclusion in madrasah curricula.[34] This influence is explicitly observable in the fact that *at-Tibyān fī ma'rifat al-adyān* by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī of Aceh (d. 1068/1658) substantially grounds on *al-Tamhīd*; so much so that the quarter of his work consists of translation of information in the final chapter of *al-Tamhīd*.[35] *Al-Tamhīd* has not become such common or entered madrasah curricula in Ottoman Empire; nevertheless, there are a notable amount of manuscript copies in libraries around Turkey. Besides, references by ʿAlī al-Qārī (d. 1014/1606) and Bayāḍīzādah to al-Sālimī and his work reveal that Ottoman scholars were not completely unaware or indifferent to *al-Tamhīd*.[36]

Apparently, references by al-Sālimī to Abū Ḥanīfah give the impression that he recognises the absolute authority of the latter in terms of *madhhab*; moreover, he deliberately refrains from mentioning the name of al-Māturīdī. Nevertheless, al-Sālimī does put forth some views and arguments different from those of Abū Ḥanīfah with regard to certain issues. For example, asserting that ambiguous scriptures (*nuṣūṣ*) cannot be rationally interpreted, he agrees with Abū Ḥanīfah in his anti-interpretation approach through refraining from ascription of certain meanings on these expressions. However, unlike Abū Ḥanīfah, al-Sālimī argues that even the term "attribute" cannot be used for

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33 Ibn al-Humām states that according to Abū Ḥanīfah, al-Māturīdī, and their followers, *ahl al-fatrah* can attain eternal salvation provided that they believe in God, while, in the eyes of Ḥanafīs of Bukhārā, just as al-Sālimī, *ahl al-fatrah* cannot go to hell; Ibn al-Humām, *Kitāb al-musāyarah*, pp. 165-166. Dāwūd al-Qārṣī points the second argument as the common view among Ḥanafīs; al-Qārṣī, *Sharḥ al-Qaṣīdah al-nūniyyah*, pp. 122-123.

34 Philipp Bruckmayr, "The Spread and Persistence of Māturīdi Kalām and Underlying Dynamics," *Iran and the Caucasus*, 13/1 (2009), p. 71, 72.

35 İsmail Hakkı Göksoy, "Nûreddin er-Rânîrî," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, XXXIII, 256; Bruckmayr, "The Spread and Persistence of Māturīdi Kalām," p. 76.

36 ʿAlī al-Qārī, Abū l-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Sulṭān Muḥammad, *Minaḥ al-rawḍ al-azhar fī sharḥ al-Fiqh al-akbar*, along with Wahbī Sulaymān Ghāwijī's *al-Taʿlīq al-muyassar ʿalá Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-akbar*, Dār al-bashāʾir al-Islāmiyyah, Beirut 1998, p. 211; id., *Shamm al-ʿawāriḍ fī dhamm al-Rawāfiḍ* (ed. Majīd Khalaf), Markaz al-Furqān li-l-dirāsāt al-Islāmiyyah, Cairo 2004, p. 35; Bayāḍīzādah, *Ishārāt al-marām*, p. 74.

ambiguous expressions (*al-mutashābih*; p. 139, line 19).[37] In the final analysis, it is possible to say that al-Sālimī was nourished by two springs, namely, Abū Ḥanīfah and – partially – al-Māturīdī, and that he occasionally disagreed both in order to put forth his genuine approach. Al-Sālimī allocated for some Sufi tendencies in his work; besides, he considered his own madhhab as the true representative of Ahl al-sunnah, by establishing exact frontiers between his madhhab and Ashʿariyyah and displaying sharp opposition against them. This attitude enables us to describe al-Sālimī as an early example of Transoxiana-based Ḥanafī/Māturīdī scholars, a type of personality which will eventually become more apparent in the examples of Burhān al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d. 687/1289), Abū l-Barakāt al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310), and Rukn al-Dīn al-Samarqandī. Al-Sālimī also stands out as a user of philosophical terminology and author of specific titles on philosophical problems unlike general – at least early – Māturīdī tradition; finally, he is the first-ever author who explicitly mentions Ashʿariyyah in Māturīdī tradition.

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[37] According to Abū Ḥanīfah, attributes of Allah indicated by Himself in Qurʾān, such as *yad*, *wajh*, *nafs* are "His unconditional attributes/attributes whose conditions are unknowable (*ṣifāt bi-lā kayf*);" Abū Ḥanīfah, *al-Fiqh al-akbar* (ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī), along with Turkish translation by Mustafa Öz, in *İmâm-ı Azamın Beş Eseri*, Kalem Yayıncılık, Istanbul 1981, p. 59 (Arabic text).

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