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**THE INFLUENCE OF MATURIDIYYA ON
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUFISM IN
MAWARANNAHR (IX-XX CENTURIES)**

**МОТУРИДИЙЛИКНИНГ МОВАРОУННАХР
ТАСАВВУФ ИЛМИ РИВОЖИГА ТАЪСИРИ
(IX-XX АСРЛАР)**

**ВЛИЯНИЕ МАТУРИДИИ НА РАЗВИТИЕ
СУФИЗМА В МАВЕРАННАХРЕ
(IX-XX ВЕКА)**

Key words: *Muqallid, Alisher Navai, Hanafi-Maturidi principles, Naqshbandiyya, Mu'tazilites.*

Калит сўзлар: *Муқаллид, Алишер Навоий, ҳанафий-мотуридий таълимоти, Нақшбандийлик, Муътазиллийлик.*

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The Hanafi School traditions were introduced into Mawarannahr through Khorasan at the time when Abu Hanifa was still alive. In the early years of the Abbasid rule, the School was prevalent in the cities close to Mawarannahr, the region of Khorasan. The Balkh City played a significant role in disseminating the teachings of the Hanafi madhab within the eastern territories of the Caliphate [36: 41-76]. By the 9th-10th centuries, the Hanafi School took over a firm leadership in the areas of fiqh and *aqida* (creed). Some and *mutakallimun* (scholars of kalam) known as *Ashabu Abu Hanifa* emerged within the Hanafi School, the teachings of which had an enormous impact not only on fiqh, but also on the issues of *aqida*. Also, Sufism, a spiritual course in religion, was under the influence of this school.

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The earliest period of Sufism is linked with the names of such scholars as Hakim Tirmidhi, Abu Bakr Kalabadi, and Yusuf Hamadani who made clear references to the Hanafi principles in their works.

Even though there is no obvious evidence for their familiarity with the works of Abu Mansur Maturidi, the course they took is fully compatible with that of the Hanafi-Maturidi. Recent studies have revealed that the Maturidi teachings were suspended after Abu Mansur Maturidi in Mawarannahr, to be more precise, in Samarkand; but it spread in Nasaf and was revived in Samarkand by the Nasafi scholars Abulmuin Nasafi and Abulyusr Pazdavi under the Karakhanid rule in the 11th century [34: 39-44].

Najmiddin Umar Nasafi notes in *Kitab al-Qand* that most of the Hanafi scholars of Bukhara and Samarkand used to practice Sufism. For instance, Fuzayl ibn Iyaz, a well-known Sufi (d.803), was held in such high respect that even faqih Abu Hafis Kabir of Bukhara (d.832) was rebuked for his little communication with this Sufi scholar.

Hakims (polymath scholars) and *muzakkirs* (those who remind) stood out among the Sufis following the Hanafi School of Law. Hakims, such as Hakim Tirmidhi (d.932), Abu Bakr Varraq Tirmidhi, and Shaiq Balkhi (d.932), focused largely on *ilmal-batin* (the inner knowledge) in search of divine wisdom. Muzakkirs preached sermons on morality and spirituality issues among the public. A Hanafi faqih Zandavishi maintains in *Rawza* that muzakkirs were quite apt in publicizing their ideas in the local language. *Rawza* deals basically with the Sufi issues from the perspective of fiqh. Another Sufi faqih Abu Bakr Kalabadi wrote *Taarrufon* Sufism and *Ma'nani Akhbar* (meanings of hadiths) dedicated to the study of hadiths and their interpretation. Famous Sufi Ismail Mustamli (d.1043) who lived under the Karakhanids rule wrote a commentary in light of Sufism [33: 205-208].

Representatives of Sufism were on good terms with the Hanafi faqihs of Mawarannahr since most of the Sufis of this large region followed the Hanafi School concerning fiqh issues.

The Hanafi practice was prevalent within the region at the time of al-Hakim at-Tirmidhi (d.932), the most outstanding Sufi scholar of Mawarannahr. Abu Bakr al-Vaiz al-Balkhi (d.13th cent.) in *Fazail al-Balkh* stressed out that within 80 km from Balkh, all cadis and ulema, during the reign of the Abbasids, were the disciples of either Abu Hanifa or his disciples Shaibani, Abu Yusuf, and Zufar. So, Balkh played

The article analyzes the role of the Hanafiyya and Maturidiyya in the spread of Sufism in Mawarannahr, early representatives of Sufism in this area, different tariqahs which were active in the region as well as their views based on the works by themselves. The article also represents the importance of Sufism in society in today's Uzbekistan and shows its peculiarities. For centuries, the Hanafiyya was popular among the jurisprudential sects and the doctrinal issues were solved on the Maturidiyya teachings in Mawarannahr. Therefore, the Sufism of Mawarannahr was based on the principles of Imam Maturidi in doctrinal issues. Sufism played an important role in the lives of Muslims in the region. Especially during the Mongol invasion and after the 13th century, the influence of Sufi sheikhs, who emerged as the successors of the Hanafi scholars, intensified. According to the article, the Sufis of Mawarannahr followed the tariqahs of Yassaviyya, Naqshbandiyya, and Qadiriyya for centuries, but they strictly adhered to the principles of Hanafiyya in Fiqh and Maturidiyya in Aqeedah.

Ушбу мақолада Мовароуннахр диёрида тасаввуфнинг кенг ёйилишида ханафийлик ва мотуридийлик таълимотининг тутган ўрни, ўлкада фаолият олиб борган илк суфийлар, мамлакатда тарқалган турли тариқатлар ҳамда уларнинг ақидавий қарашлари уларнинг асарлари асосида таҳлил қилинган. Шунингдек, мақолада бугунги Ўзбекистонда тасаввуфнинг жамият ҳаётида тутган ўрни ва унинг ўзига хос жиҳатлари ҳам ёритиб берилган.

Қадимдан Мовароуннахрда фикҳий мазҳаблардан ханафийлик кенг тарқалган, ақидавий масалалар эса мотуридийлик таълимоти асосида кўриб чиқилган. Шунинг учун Мовароуннахр тасаввуфи ақидавий масалаларда Имом Мотуридий тамойилларига асосланган эди. Суфийлик минтақа мусулмонлари ҳаётида муҳим роль ўйнаган. Айниқса, мўғуллар босқини даврида ва XIII асрдан кейин ханафий уламоларнинг ворислари сифатида пайдо бўлган суфий шайхларнинг таъсири кучайиб борган. Мақола хулосасига кўра, Мовароуннахр суфийлари асрлар давомида яссавия, нақшбандия ҳамда қодирия йўлини тутган бўлсалар-да, фикҳда ханафийлик, ақидада мотуридийлик тамойилларига қатъий эргашганлар.

В этой статье проведен анализ роли ханафитского мазхаба и учения матуридизма в распространении тасаввуфа (суфизма) на территории Мавераннахра, а также анализ деятельности первых суфиев и различных тарикатов, распространенных в этом крае и их взглядов на акиду (вероучение) на основе их произведений. В статье также освещается роль тасаввуфа в жизни общества современного Узбекистана и ее особенности.

С древних времен в Мавераннахре из всех школ фикха (исламское право) наиболее распространенным был ханафитский мазхаб, а вопросы акиды рассматривались на основе учения матуридизма. Таким образом, тасаввуф Мавераннахра в вопросах вероучения основывался на принципах учения имама Матуриди. Суфизм сыграл важную роль в жизни мусульман региона. Влияние суфийских шейхов, которые в дальнейшем стали преемниками ханафитских ученых, особенно усилилось во время монгольского нашествия и после 13 века. Согласно статье, суфии Мавераннахра веками придерживались тарикатов яссави, нақшбанди и кадири, а также они строго соблюдали принципы ханафитского мазхаба в фикхе и учения матуридизма в акиде.

a key role in the dissemination of the Hanafi teachings in this region [36: 56]. Al-Hakim at-Tirmidhi was one of the Hanafi followers as well. "Al-Hakim learned the science of fiqh from of the disciples of Abu Hanifa," [37: 25] says Abulhasan Jullabi Ali al-Hujviri (d.466 AH/1073 CE or 470 AH/1077 CE) in his *Kashf al-Mahjub*. Ibn al-Arabi (560-638 AH/ 1165-1240 CE) in *al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya* states that al-Tirmidhi was Hanafi thereby upholding the information provided by al-Hujviri [45: 183-186]. The following ideas about faith in *Bayan al-Farq* by al-Hakim at-Tirmidhi can be a clear example of his relation to the Hanafi Madhab, as he says, "According to the majority of scholars and the Sharia, it is by confirming with the tongue and accepting with the heart that one accepts the existence of God [18: 44]" Though iman is like the Sun which is not defective (that is, it does not decrease), it might decrease just like the solar heat which weakens as

the temperature drops because of clouds, wind, or extremely cold weather [18: 60]. These views are fully compatible with the ideas about iman in *al-Fiqh al-Akbar* by Abu Hanifa [5: 52]. Likewise, Abu Bakr al-Varraq at-Tirmidhi (d.906-907), one of the close disciples of al-Hakim at-Tirmidhi, was mentioned in *tabaqat* (a genre of biographical literature) [30: 52-53] which can be a vital proof of the above mentioned information, which leaves no doubt that al-Hakim at-Tirmidhi was a follower of the Hanafi madhab. However, Tajuddin as-Subki (d.1370) mentioned al-Hakim at-Tirmidhi as a scholar of the Shafii School of Law [42: 449].

The scholar, as a representative of *Ahl ar-Ra'i* (people of opinion), tried to show the methodological contradictions between the two stronger trends in the region, totally different from the traditional method to which *Ahl al-Hadith* (people of the tradition of the Prophet) adhered.

Although the region held most distinguished representatives of Ahl al-Hadith, such as Imam al-Bukhari, Imam at-Tirmidhi, Imam Muslim, Imam Abu Dawud, Imam ad-Darimi, and some *muhaddiths* (hadith experts), Ahl ar-Ra'i occupied a higher position, which is due to the successful performance of the Hanafi scholars.

Al-Hakim at-Tirmidhi refers to hadiths more from the perspective of Ahl ar-Ra'i, rather than Ahl al-Hadith, as he tries to reach to the essence of hadiths as opposed to the narrators of Ahl al-Hadith who limited themselves by reporting only about a hadith. Particularly, speaking of those who only learn the chain of reporters and ignore the meaning, al-Hakim at-Tirmidhi mentions, "They memorize the chain of reporters, way of reporting, and try to analyze the narrators and find their shortcomings. In fact, they fail to give due attention to the meanings of hadiths. Many hadiths lost their true sense because of changes in their words. They did not pay attention to this, but rather got more involved in criticizing the narrators" [25: 52]. Most probably, al-Hakim at-Tirmidhi directs these critical thoughts to the representatives of Ahl al-Hadith of his time, since the Ahl al-Hadith place a key emphasis on the chain of reporters in terms of the authenticity of a hadith.

Al-Hakim at-Tirmidhi calls for not only reporting hadiths but also commenting and introducing them into social life.

Al-Hakim at-Tirmidhi provides strong refutations against some of the judgments of Mu'attilites and Mu'tazilites in *Navadir al-Usul*, as he stresses out, "Mu'attilites who are in a total state of confusion claim that Allah will never be visible both in this world and the hereafter. They refer to the verse in the Qur'an [44: 141 (6:103)] لا تدركه الأبصار (No vision can grasp Him) as validation and hold that His quality in this world remains the same in the afterworld (that is, He will remain hidden). They were told that "if anyone negates any of the qualities of Allah (*attala*), he/she deviates from tawhid. Since human beings consider Him unique and the Only with all His attributes. It turns out that when Prophet Musa (peace be upon Him) asked the Almighty Allah to show Himself, did He ask Allah to reject His attribute?! And this made them feel desperately anxious" [19: 342]. This refutation can be presented against the claims of Mu'tazilites who claim that "it is impossible to see Allah". *Aqaidan-Nasafiyya*, the most recognized source in Maturidiyya, reads that "accurate pieces of information were obtained as regards to the time when believers will face and see Allah" [12: 44]. In *Usul ad-Din*, the Maturidi

scholar of the late period Abulyusr Pazdavi, in the part dealing with "Belief Regarding Seeing Allah" writes that "Allah will not be seen in the front but rather will be seen without any boundaries and any modality" [8: 83]. Generally speaking, Hakim Tirmidhi was a leading scholar whose books (over 20), treatises, and letters (over 200) have reached our time. These works had a huge influence on the Sufis of Mawarannahr, including the members of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order. Although one can feel the influence of the Hanafi School in the works of Hakim Tirmidhi, now and then the scholar criticizes certain methods adopted by the Hanafis [15: 84-103].

Taarruf li Madhab ahl at-Tasavvuf by Abu Bakr Muhammad Kalabadi of Bukhara (d.990/995) sheds light on the creedal statements of Sufis of Mawarannahr and other regions in order to systematize the Sufi traditions. The book encompasses controversial questions and other issues raised in Sufism during the first three centuries of Islam. The work contains 75 parts, of which 26 associate with creedal statements. *Taarruf* embodies legal, creedal, and the Sufi questions until the 10th century. Following the structure of the book, Kalabadi first details the reader on the views of most Sufis about a certain question, and then provides all convictions and opinions of others, by emphasizing his personal beliefs in due parts [24].

According to the analysis of some western scholars, in *Taarruf* Kalabadi attempts to prove that most scholars (sheikhs) of Mawarannahr were the adherents of Abu Hanifa [28: 138]. The peculiarity of the principles of Kalabadi is that he endeavors to equalize both Shafii-Ashari and Hanafi-Maturidi in the issues of creed and theology.

In Part Seven of *Taarruf*, the scholar points out that the attributes of Allah khalq, takwin and qualities are eternal without beginning. The work's part thirteen reads: "Allah is the Creator of all things, including the servants and their actions. Since the actions of servants, are considered as "the thing" (*shay'*), Allah is the Creator of them. If actions are not created (by Allah), then He would be the Creator of certain things. And this viewpoint contradicts the verse in the Qur'an, "Allah is the Creator of all things" (13:16). Their good and bad deeds are predestined by Allah's will, his immutable decree. "It is possible for Allah to create both an evil person and his evil deeds" [24]. These views are consistent with the principles of the Hanafi-Maturidi position.

In *Taarruf*, Kalabadi supports the viewpoints and principles of the Hanafi school of Law when it concerns the issues of creed, such as the attributes of

Allah, *is'titaat* (power), and *jabr* (compulsion), while he seems to be prone to uphold the position of Ahl al-Hadith in Chapter 27 dealing with iman, "Most of them (Sufis) claim that iman denotes a statement, action, and intention; and the intention is confirmation. Ja'far ibn Muhammad narrates from his grandfather, the Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) says: Iman is the confession with the tongue (testimony), the assertion of the heart and following the Sharia." They (Sufis) say that iman at the base is the confession with the tongue and assertion of the heart, and its pathway is performing the fard (obligatory) prayers.

Those who claim that "actions are not from iman" consider Islam and iman as the same, whereas others assert that iman is believing and Islam is submission. Some of them maintain that it is the attributes of iman that increase, not itself.

"Iman of all Muslims increases with the inner power and belief, while it decreases by ignoring fard prayers and doing the forbidden" [24: 88-94].

Kalabadi puts forward all the views of the Sufis and demonstrated his proneness to the viewpoint regarding iman as to whether it increases or decreases. It follows from this that Kalabadi seems to uphold the position of Ahl al-Hadith in this regard. In other words, he had the same opinion of both Shafi'i-Ash'ari and Hanafi-Maturidi tradition in terms of some creedal questions. Despite this, a famous representative of the Hanafi school of Law Khoja Muhammad Parsa in his Fasl al-Khitab makes reference to Taarruf by Kalabadi (in the issues like Allah's word (101b), Allah's attributes (100b), Tawheed (Oneness of Allah) (196b) and others. Parsa holds Kalabadi in the greatest respect and allots a part in his book calling him "Great Scholar and Scientist (211b), imam, scholar, devotee, leader of sheikhs, and sun of the Sufis (358b)" [27: 528]. Kalabadi, along with this, mentions Abulqasim ibn Ishaq ibn Muhammad Hakim Samarkandi, a like-minded scholar with the same thoughts as Imam Maturidi, in the same context as Haris al-Muhasibi, Hakim Tirmidhi, Yahya ibn Muaz ar-Razi, famous Sufi scholars who created works on the theme of Muamalat.

Yusuf Hamadani (1048-1141) who played a significant role in the development of such Sufi orders as Khajagan and Yassaviyya in Mawarannahr, is mentioned as the representative of the Maturidi School. Ahmad Yassavi, the eponym of the Yassavi Order, and Yusuf Hamadani, who brought up the Khwajagan sheikh Abdul Khaliq Ghijduvani, were key figures in the expansion of the Central Asian Sufi orders, including the Naqshbandiyya. Abdul Khaliq Ghijduvani's Risalai Sahibiya, stored at the Centre

for Oriental Studies of the Academy of Science of the Republic of Uzbekistan, holds some details about Yusuf Hamadani and it reads that "He used to follow both the good and bad in the prayer and never labeled anyone as kafir (disbeliever). He also said that both the good and evil is the God's predestination, and the torment of the grave is true, the questioning of angels Munkar and Nakeer is true, the intercession of the Prophet (PBUH) is true, Me'raj (the night ascension) is true, AsharaMubashara were promised Paradise, seeing the Face of Allah is true, prophets are superior to saints, iman is the reality, not a metaphor <...> iman does not increase or decrease" [17: 169-185]. In Rutbat al-Hayat, Hamadani's response to the question, whether iman and Islam are the same notions, is another clear-cut example of his position in creedal issues which prove that he followed the Hanafi School. He says, "the words Islam and iman are used in the same sense in the verse Yunus, "Moses said: "O my people! If ye do (really) believe in Allah, then in Him put your trust if ye submit (your will to His)". (10:84)" In a sahih (authentic) hadith, the Prophet (PBUH) says, "Iman has over 70 branches", while another hadith says, "Islam has over 70 branches". This is an absolute proof that iman means Islam, and Islam means iman" [48: 22-25]. In other words, Yusuf Hamadani instructed his disciples to adhere to the Hanafi-Maturidi traditions, which are the foundation of the Khwajagan practice.

Yusuf Hamadani's disciple Ahmad Yassavi, in his Devani Hikmat (Collection of Wisdom), discusses the Sufi questions along with creedal issues; in Wisdom 18, he says:

*When lying weak and facing the angels
What will I do when asked, "Who is your Lord?"*

*When I am taken to the grave and after seven steps
What will I do when I face the ones who question me?*

In Wisdom 83:
*When my soul is taken by the Angel of Death with the command
All my friends and relatives grieve for me,*

*When the seven steps have been taken,
Munkar-Nakeer will come in to question.*

*When Munkar-Nakeer asks the questions,
They beat with a fiery whip,*

*When my body burns in the fire,
It gets tortured in the narrow grave.*

In al-Fiqh al-Akbar, Abu Hanifa says that “it is the reality that two angels so-called Munkar and Nakeer will question the dead in the grave. It is the reality that the souls get back to the body and they face the torture, and it squeezes some sinner Muslims” [6: 20-29].

Wisdom 30 narrates the figurative dispute between Paradise and Hell. The Hell says, “I am superior as I hold Pharaoh, Haman, tyrants, hypocrites, the prayerless, and the dishonest.” However, Paradise argues back and says, “I am superior as I have Yusuf (PBUH) and other prophets, believers, scholars, and zakirs (those who praise Allah)”. But when Paradise says,

“I am superior as I have a possibility of seeing the Face,

And to show His face there is Rahman named Rahim!”

The Hell regrets and says,

The Hell remained silent and made apologies to Paradise.

And all that Khoja Ahmad has learned is granted by Allah [10: 208].

In this regard, Abu Hanifa says, “Allah will be seen in the hereafter. All believers will see Allah without our specifying how and without any distance between them and Him [6: 26]. *Al-Aqida at-Tahaviya* by Abu Ja’far at-Tahavi, an outstanding representative of the Hanafi School of Law, reads that the people of Paradise will see Allah without their vision being all-encompassing and without a manner of being” ... “We do not comment on the event of seeing Allah in Paradise though we firmly believe the reality of it” [7: 33] It is well-known that Mutazilites, Jahmis, and other sects held different positions claiming that it is impossible to see Allah.

Wisdom 22-25 reads:

If anyone considers himself/herself a part of the Ummah and follows the Prophet,

In the day of Judgment, Muhammad (pbuh) will not ignore him/her.

Muhammad (pbuh) is very patient in times of hunger and poverty,

And He is the kindest to the disobedient and sinful.

The Ahl al-Sunna and some religious groups disagree on the matter of the intercession of the Prophet (pbuh). In this regard, Tahavi writes, “It is true that our Prophet (pbuh) will intercede for the sinful ummah” [7: 33].

Abu Hanifa says, “The greatest man after the prophets and messengers is Abu Bakr Siddiq (r.a.) then Umar ibn al-Khattab (r.a.), then Uthman ibn Affan (r.a.) and then Ali ibn Abu Talib (r.a.). They have led a truthful life and passed away this way [6: 25]. Furthermore, Abu Ja’far Tahavi, Imam Maturidi, Abu Hanifa Nasafi, Ali ibn Uthman Ushi (d.1173) dwelled on this theme when dealing with creedal issues. Ahmad Yassavi in Devani Hikmat specifically dedicates Wisdoms 58, 59, 60, 61 to bestowing lavish praise on these companions.

The impact of the Hanafi-Maturidi traditions is felt in the Naqshbandiyya after Yusuf Hamadani. And a famous sheikh Khoja Muhammad Parsa, who (1345-1419) put theoretical principles of the Sufi path in order, asserts that the teachings of the Maturidiyya were very important in the Naqshbandiyya. Ya’qub Charkhi and Parsa, two great followers of Bahouddin Naqshband, were the most dedicated to knowledge and made a huge contribution to the development of the Naqshbandi Order. The main source of the Naqshbandi Order is Parsa’s *Fasl al-Khitab* which deals with the solutions to certain questions related to the teachings of Imam Maturidi and it includes over 500 creedal issues, Sharia rules, Sufi path, and religious groups and is of great encyclopedic significance today.

In *Fasl al-Khitab*, Parsa discusses the contrary viewpoints of Abu Hanifa, Abul Hasan Asha’ari, and Mutazilites in the chapter about the “Faith of the Follower”; and then he says that “iman of a muqallid (follower) is sound.” “Iman is a true confession of the Oneness and other attributes of Allah. A true confession is the desired degree. Undoubtedly, a knowing person is superior to a muqallid. As long as a muqallid is in the right path, he is considered a Mumin (believer)” [27: 90-91]. According to the Maturidi concept, a person is still a Mumin even he/she recites the Kalima Shahada (testification) by imitation. Their iman is regarded true for its zahir (exterior) and their qalb (inner state) is entrusted to Allah.

In *Fasl al-Khitab*, Parsa devotes a part of the book to Imam Maturidi and Hakim Samarkandi.

Sheikh Abu Mansur al-Maturidi and Sheikh Abulqasim (Samarkandi)

Sheikh Abu Mansur Muhammad in Muhammad ibn Makhmud al-Maturidi as-Samarkandi was a leader of religious learning and Ahl al-Sunnah Wal-Jamaa. Sheikh Abu Mansur (r.a.) died in 335 AH and was buried in the Chokardiza cemetery, which is visited most. At this period, other scholars lived and functioned, such as Abul-Qasim Ishaq ibn Muhammad ibn Ismail ibn Ibrahim ibn Zaid al-Hakim as-Samarkandi (r.a.)

and others. Sheikh Abul-Kasim remained in close friendship with Sheikh Abu Mansur until the end of their lives. (The text further provides information about Sheikh Abulqasim Samarkandi) [27: 127].

The abovementioned text can be proof of Parsa's respect towards Imam Maturidi and Hakim Samarkandi. Also, Parsa in *Fasl al-Khitab* follows the Maturidi principles concerning the issues like iman, attributes of Allah, forcing a person to deeds he/she is unable to endure, Allah's predestination, and decree, prophethood, and others.

In addition, Parsa wrote another book *Etiqadat* on creedal questions and considered them from the Hanafi-Maturidi perspective. This work is housed at the Centre for Oriental Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan under the library call number №3844/3. (Abstracts from *Etiqadat*) "If one group blemishes Abu Bakr (r.a.) and Umar (r.a.) and claims that they are the supporters of Ali (r.a.), they are the liars. They are surely the supporters of Satan and Ali (r.a.) is tired of them." (38a) This statement has to do with Shias since the scholar emphasizes that it is utterly important to befriend the Khulafa-e-Rashideen or the rightly guided successors.

In a book about iman, it reads: "One should not be suspicious of iman, as being doubtful of iman is regarded as kufr (disbelief)". In other words, according to Maturudiyya, it is not acceptable to state, "I am a Mumin inshaa Allah (God willing)" as an exception, as opposed to the position of the Ashariyya, but rather one should confess that "I am a true Mumin". In this case, Parsa points out to this contradictory viewpoint, "Action is committed by people, and guidance is from Allah. Iman is the blessing of Allah, and confession and testification is the action of a person. The Qur'an is the word of Allah and is not created, but rather a person's reading is created." (39b) Along with these questions, *Etiqadat* sheds light on the deeds of servants, the torture in the grave, Munkar-Nakeer (the questioning of two angels), intercession of the Prophet (PBUH), Mi'raj (night ascension), seeing Allah in the Paradise and the likes [35: 35b-56b] Another key work of Parsa is *Sharh al-Fiqh al-Akbar*.

Another ruler of Naqshband, Yaqub Charkhi authored a book entitled *Tafsiri Charkhi* in which creedal questions are discussed based on the Maturudi principles and teachings. Charkhi views Imam Maturudi as "Leader of Nation", "Pious leader of Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jamaa" and quotes both from the verses *Infitar*, *Shams*, and *Tabsirat al-Adilla* by Abulmuin an-Nasafi (d.1114). As for the final word "Ameen" in the verse *Fatiha*, he shows his proneness to the Hanafi

position by noting, "According to the narration of the people of Kufa, "Ameen" is not from the Qur'an. That is the reason why it is omitted in it" [46: 10] So, by the people of Kufa, we infer the Hanafis. As opposed to the Mutazilites, he argues that it is true to see the face of Allah and provides the following verse, "Some faces, that Day, will beam (in brightness and beauty); Looking towards their Lord" (75:22-23).

Makhdumi A'zam (1463-1542) played a vital role in the development of the teachings of the Naqshbandi School within the region. Makhdumi A'zam was a disciple of Muhammad Qadi, a disciple of Khoja Ahrar. Over 30 works by the scholar are famous among the public. Tashkent Islamic University holds nearly 15 of his manuscripts. The scholar's mausoleum near Samarkand is always crowded with visitors. In *Vujudiya*, Makhdumi A'zam says, "Bear in mind that according to Sharia, the actions of a servant, such as consuming alcohol, adultery, and gossiping are sins. This occurs when a servant is unable to resist temptation. However, if he/she repents for those sins, Allah forgives" [31: 206a-206b]. Miracles (mu'jiza) are performed by prophets, while minor miracles (karamat) are performed by saints (awliya). Whoever being doubtful of a miracle rejects it, becomes kafir (disbeliever). Similarly, it is not allowed to be suspicious of the miracles of saints [31: 208a-209b]. Both prophets and saints alike can intercede for others in the hereafter. And owing to the intercession, Allah forgives the sinners and lets them enter Paradise [31: 218a-219b]. Makhdumi A'zam attempts to justify verbal dhikr. In particular, he writes the following in *Risalai Baburiya*, "Allah says He likes the voice asking for forgiveness." Voice is a verbal dhikr [23: 137].

The further development of Sufism in Mawarannahr is closely related to the order of Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiya in many respects.

As it is known, the famous representative of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiya is Ahmad Sirkhindi (1564-1624) who is known as a supporter of the Hanafiyya. He was objurgated by the members of other sects because he put the tenets of the Hanafiyya over the tenets of other groups. The principles of the Maturudi School are given priority in the books of Musakhan Dakhbedi, a famous representative of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya. The role of mysticism and their followers declined in the period of the dynasty of the Manghits. The spiritual way of Islam, Mujaddidiya began to develop in Central Asia, the roots of which are related to the tenets of the Khojagon-Naqshbandiyya. This development is linked with Muhammad Musankhoja ibn Isakhoja Dakhbedi

(seventh generation of Makhdumi A'zam), who lived in the 18th century and is known as an outstanding figure of the Order in Central Asia. In 1756, Musakhan and his followers migrated from India to Samarkand. In this way, the center of Naqshbandiyya was relocated to Samarkand. The works of Musakhan encompassed entire Central Asia, East Turkistan, Khorasan, and India and he contributed to the theoretical development of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya; he purified it from many superstitions and reorganized the principles of the Order based on the Qur'an and Sunnah. Despite the formation of the spiritual way of the Naqshbandiyya in Mawarannahr, its center was relocated to the land of India, and it was Musakhan Dakhbedi who brought the Order back to his homeland and developed further [47]. In *ad-Durr al-Maknuni*, which is kept at the Center for Oriental Manuscripts under the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, under call number 542/2, the scholar considers the issue of Tawheed (monotheism) in greater detail amongst his other ten texts. He says that Tawheed is confessing the God as the One, asserting this with heart, and pronouncing it with tongue. He did not add the Sufi practice to iman. It can be said that his works on creedal issues are based on the Maturidi principles.

Another representative of Naqshbandiyya is Sufi Allahyar who was born in the Kattakurghan principality in 1634 (or 1644) and died in the village of Minglar in 1724 (or 1721). He is one of the brightest representatives of literature of Turkic mysticism, an outstanding figure of the Naqshbandiyya, and a Sufi poet. He was appointed the Customs Administrator by Abdul-Aziz Khan, and after he resigned, because of his mystic and poetic character, he became a disciple to Sheikh Navruz, who taught him for 12 years after which he managed to attain the degree of Sheikh. He makes references to his severity in his poems and edifications to his son. Sufi Allahyar composed his poems in Turkic and Persian and devoted to the people whose knowledge of Islam was becoming less, those who were facing depravity and meanness, those who were losing their basic knowledge in religion, and those who were spiritually hungry. The largest work of Sufi Allahyar is *Maslakul-Muttaqiyn* which covers 12 thousand couplets and 135 different chapters. The main reason for writing this poem was the weakening of religious knowledge in the lifestyle of people, deviation from religion, spurious Sheikhs, and their false prophecy which led to immorality. This poem of Sufi Allahyar was in Persian and became very famous. His followers asked to write a similar poem in Turkic and he shortened the chapters, wrote in a

style of verse, and named *Sabatul-Ajiziyn*. This poem is the sample of philosophical-didactic literature that holds the principles of creed, Sharia, and Sunnah. Sufi Allahyar was the mystic who played a vital role in exhorting the ways and beliefs of a famous religious scholar Abu Hanifa. In his works, he describes the laws of Islam, requirements of mysticism, and perfection. That's why he is regarded as one of the leading representatives and promoters of the traditions of the Hanafi-Maturudi Schools of Thought. He proved the falsehood of the Ravshaniists who entered Mawarannahr from Afghanistan in his books *Sabatul-Ajiziyn* in Turkic, and *Maslakul-Muttaqiyn* in Persian. People accepted the poems of Sufi Allahyar, because of their simple words and sense. This may be illustrated by the community gatherings devoted to the poetry of Sufi Allahyar.

As it was mentioned above, the scholar was born in the period when Naqshbandiyya weakened in Mawarannahr and moved to India. The reason for this collapse was instability in the political-social life of people, anxiety among people, the intervention of the Sufi sheikhs into politics, and ignorance over spirituality. At this period, certain false sects, under the mask of mystics, provoked wrong ideas aimed at spiritual collapse. In the book *Sabatul-Ajiziyn*, he discusses the issues related to creed, real mysticism, beautiful behavior, and spiritual perfection; as well as he explains the principles of *Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jamaa* in the form of a verse. So, only the conclusions have been brought into the verses instead of giving improvements. The author himself reminds this in his poems:

*"I proved the words of the creed
And named it Sabatul-Ajizin"* [40: 12].

That is, I put only tenets of Islam in this poem, and named as *Sabatul-Ajiziyn* (Firmness of the Helpless). In the poem, the demand for knowledge of creed and faith is explained as follows:

*Whoever lacks knowledge on creed is like
a partner of the Satan
Whatever he does ever for a thousand years
is useless* [40: 8].

This verse means that one who does not know the creed of Islam follows Satan, and even though he worships for thousands of years, it will not benefit him.

The issues of creed and faith are elucidated by Sufi Allahyar in the principles of the Maturudi School:
Paradise and hell are separate

By the belief of the Mutazilites, Paradise and Hell are not created yet.

Underneath, we demonstrate the controversial issues written by Sufi Allahyar between the Asharis and Maturudis:

Or:

*Whatever comes from God trust it
And confess it with your tongue
It's the Iman in the way of being Muslim
And who doesn't know it, will regret*

*Know that Iman does not decrease
It is the same and does not increase (74 p.)*

In these verses, he says that iman (belief) does not increase or decrease, following the principles of the Maturudi School of Thought. There are minor differences between the two schools in Ahl al-Sunnah wal-Jamaa. The Asharis hold that iman is the utterance by the tongue, affirmation by heart, and acting in conformity with the instructions of the Sharia. From this point of view, they claim that iman increases and decreases.

In the other verse:

*Iman and Islam are the same in meaning
And it must be obvious for all (79 b.).*

In accordance with the Maturudi belief, iman and Islam are the same. However, according to the Ash'ari thought, both are different in understanding.

Therefore, the issues as to whether iman is created or not were also explained from the position of the Maturidi School:

*Also the mature scholars said
Guidance and success is from God*

*God's character is not created
And a person never calls it created [40: 15].*

Some scholars assume that guidance to the right way and tawfeeq (success) is from Allah; these both are from Allah and people cannot acquire themselves. Therefore, the action of Allah can't be created [42: 39]. So, it can be maintained that these opposing viewpoints of the Maturidis and Asharis come from these contradictory definitions to iman. Hence, the Maturidis declare that iman is not a creation, whereas the Asharis believe it to be a creation.

There are also different views between the two as regards to *takween* (coming into existence), the attribute of Allah. In this regard, *al-Aqaid an-Nasafi* most respected book of the Maturidis reads:

التَّكْوِينُ صِفَةٌ لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى أَرْزِيئَةٌ

“Takween is Allah's eternal attribute” [32: 68].

In the view of the Asharis *takween* is *haadis* (created later) and they attempt to prove this by stating: if *takween* was *azal* (eternal without beginning), then the existence of *mukawwan* (brought to existence) would be related to it. And if the existence of *mukawwan* was related to the *azal* it would be obligatory to say that *mukawwan* also existed in the *azal*. Because, the notion, which holds that *takween* existed and *mukawwan* didn't, is similar to the idea that a blow existed, but the beaten thing didn't. And this is impossible. That's why the Asharis argue that we should take *takween* as *haadis*.

In response to the Asharis, Maturudis insist by stating that “if the attributes of Allah regarding actions were *haadis*, Allah would eternally be free from these attributes, and then would get these attributes. This means that a change occurred in Allah, which is impossible whatsoever. That's why *takween* is eternal without beginning and we should accept it as *mukawwan*. The Maturidis added *takween*, the eighth attribute of Allah's to others, such as power, will, knowledge, existing, hearing, sight, and speaking. Imam Rabbani Ahmad Sirhindi in his message 294 says that Allah holds eight true attributes [9: 199].

In the book *Sabatul-Ajziyyn*, this controversial issue is explained as follows:

*He has eight attributes
which are not Him or cannot be other than Him
They are existence, knowledge, power, sight
and hearing
Will, speaking, takween, my son [40: 9].*

The meaning of this verse corresponds with the text that come in one of the famous books of the Maturudi *Bad'ul-Amali* (the author Ali ibn Uthman Sirajiddin al-Ushi, 1173):

وَلَا غَيْرًا سِوَاهُ ذَا انْفِصَالِ صِفَاتُ اللَّهِ لَيْسَتْ عَيْنَ ذَاتٍ

His attributes are not Him nor other than Him [38: 38].

Despite its significance in the literature of Turkic nations, *Sabatul-Ajziyyn* comprises three thousand verses that support the principles of the Maturidis. In this book, Sufi Allahyar presents to the reader the issues of creed, faith in Islam in a clear simple way [39: 57].

In his book *Maslakul-Muttaqiyn* written in Tajik-Persian, in full conformity with the Hanafi position, Sufi Allahyar also presents his views on iman, attributes of Allah, prophecies of saints, torments in the grave, questioning of two angels (Munkar and Nakeer), the intercession, the destiny of young babies died in their early age.

Looking at the origins of most orders in Mawarannahr, it is clear that the Maturudi School had a great influence on them. The sheikhs of the Yassaviya and Khojagan led their activities based on the Hanafi-Maturudi teachings. The Sufi ideas started to expand within Mawarannahr which made a huge impact on the literary and scientific works by the scholars and saints like Yaqub Charkhi, Khoja Muhammad Parsa, Sufi Allahyar, and Babarakhim Mashrab. Though Babarakhim Mashrab writes in *Mabdai Noor*:

*Don't ask this from Shafii
As Maliki also has no knowledge on it
Hanbali doesn't know this
Hazrat Nu'man cannot comment on it
The people of Sharia,
Don't know the people of the batin (hidden)*

[14: 116].

Another line reads, "Take a look at Abu Hanifa who wept for forty years just for an apple" [14: 212] and honors Abu Hanifa by pointing out a famous story.

Great Sufi poet Alisher Navai, in *Nasaimul Muhabbat*, devoted to the lives of the Sufis and saints, mentions Maturidi as an awliya (saint).

Sheikh Abu Mansur Maturudi (May Allah sanctify his soul) was one of the most intelligent scholars of his time. He was called "the Great Sultan" by other scholars. It said that he held the knowledge of known and hidden. There is a story about his mystic abilities. One day he was sitting in the yard of his own house with Tafseer in his hands, two drunken men came along to his house. One of them entered and began to swear and disturbing his peace, while the other was standing behind the door. Being furious about this, Sheikh took a strong stick and stroke the man on his head. The man lost his consciousness and dropped. Sheikh caught him by his leg and pulled him into a hole. The other man was waiting for his companion for a long time in the street then he also entered the house and asked about his friend who had entered there earlier. He started using foul language to which Sheikh answered: "no man came in here only a dog which behaved badly and so that I killed it with a stick and threw it into that hole" pointing to the place where the hole was. The man ran there and found a dead dog lying down. Then he became sober and repented in front of Sheikh, and stepped onto the righteous path. The grave of Sheikh is located in Samarkand, Chakardiza cemetery. The king of the country ordered to build a beautiful mosque near his grave.

Alisher Navai manifests himself as a supporter of the Maturidi School in his *Siraj al-Muslimin* in

which he skillfully throws light on creedal issues through poetry.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE CONDITIONS OF FAITH [2: 131-139]

*All that Allah made obligatorily
Goes into force after having faith.
It is the confession of the tongue
And the assertion of the heart.
If you want to reach Him
You have to believe in six things.*

ALLAH'S EIGHT ATTRIBUTES ARE ALSO OF CREED

*Believe in these eight attributes
Which I am going to elucidate for you.*

*Allah has eight attributes
Which are not Him nor other than Him
He is existing, knowing, and powerful,
The willing, all-hearing, and all-seeing.*

*He is the Speaker, which is true of Him,
And the Creator of the actions of His slaves*

*He does not have an equal or a minister,
Nor has He an assistant, or a partner.*

*He is not a gem, visible, and has no place of abode,
He has no sides, nor is present in time.*

*Nothing is like Him,
As is said of Him, "Laisa kamislih."*

*His speech is pre-eternal, I said,
The world is a creation, understand this.*

SOME ISSUES WHICH ARE OF CREED
*And you should know that several things
Which are of creed shall be accepted as real*

*Torment in the grave will be for disbelievers
And for some who disobeyed the commands*

*Two angels will question people,
Seeing Allah is true as well.*

*The Bridge of Siraat and the Scales (Mezaan),
And the Hell and Paradise of Allah are the reality.*

*The intercession of the Prophets is the reality
And Muhammad is the absolute leader of all.*

*Prophets were granted the miracles
(mu'jizah),
While the saints have miracles (karamah) too.*

*A person will be questioned of all his deeds,
according to creed,
As long as that person enjoys the good and forbids
the evil*

*It is disbelief to confirm a fortuneteller,
Since good and bad are from Allah.*

The abovementioned issues of the creed are elucidated from the perspective of the Hanafi-Maturidi traditions.

Another Sufi order Kubrawiya also arose in Central Asia. This order deals with creedal issues in full agreement with Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jamaa. The Hanafi-Maturidi traditions can be noticed in the works of Najmiddin Kubra, such as in Fawayih al-Jamal, in the part about the signs of saints it speaks about the miracles of saints; the part Risala ilal Haim sheds light on the issues of predestination and decree, chapter Usuli Ashara is dedicated to repentance [29].

During the rule of the Soviet regime, Sufism functioned in secrecy in Central Asia. Some Sufis prepared literature and distributed it only among the close ones. One of such scholars famous among Naqshbandiyya followers is Narzullah Khan Eshan Gharibi (1908-1986) wrote a poetic commentary to Qasidai Amali by Sirajaddin Ali ibn Uthman Ushi Hanafi supporting the teachings of Maturudiyya. For instance:

*(Muqallid's (follower, imitator) iman is of importance) – وإيمان المقلد ذو اعتبار
(like the sharp end of a sword or knife) – بأنواع
الدلائل كالنصال*

It provides the following commentary:

*Muqallid's iman is true
As the righteous scholars speak of this*

*If he gives the testimony in heart,
Allah will accept that with grace [16: 36].*

Another Line:

*مرید الخیر والشر القبیح - He wishes both the good
and evil*

*ولكن ليس يرضى بالخال – However He never agrees
with the evil*

Allah wills the good and evil

Listen to this statement

God is happy with our actions

But He never agrees with the evil [16: 14].

Allah is the creator of both good and evil deeds. And all the good deeds happen by His commandments, love, and consent (will), however, sins happen by His knowledge and destiny, but not by His orders, love, and consent [4: 40-41]. In this regard, the conception of Mutazila "All the good deeds are from Allah, and all the bad deeds are caused by a man alone" is disproved. The Asharis believe all deeds happen by the consent and love of Allah [3: 10].

In another line:

*صفات الذات والأفعال طرا – (His attributes are all
complete)*

قديمات مصونات الزوال – (they are eternal without end)

The God is the Creator and the Bringer of death

Provides sustenance of the creation

They are from the attributes of action

Which are not Him nor other than Him

Attributes of Allah never fade

They are all eternal without ending [16: 15].

The Asharis believe that the attributes of action are not eternal.

Even the Qadiri Sufi Order in Ferghana Valley were the adherents of the Hanafi-Maturidi tradition though most representatives of this Order in other regions are principally Shafis and Asharis. The Order was prevalent within the province under the Khanate of Kokand. The sheikhs of the Qadiri Sufi Order were due attention by the Khans. During the 19th-20th centuries, owing to the fact that the Order had a great influence on the literary life of Ferghana, a range of eminent poets, such as Qari Khukandi (1828-1906), Muhammad Siddiq Rushdi, Hazini (1867-1923), Furkat, Khani (1884-1967) and others, emerged in the region [1: 130]. Qari Khukandi reckons Abdulqadir Ghilani, Ghavs al-A'zam as his spiritual master [41: 21-23].

You cannot pass this world with your will,

*You need a Friend of God to lead and
guide you,*

O my friend, do not love this world,

You need a master who shunned this world.

A range of others lines by Qari clearly demonstrate that he was followed the Qadiri Sufi Order:

I follow Abdulqadir Ghilani, a master,

And on this path I am like a hermit.

Furqat writes:

*The Sheikh of the Qadariyya is my master,
You have reached the station of Fana in
Namangan, help us...*

*Abdulqadir Ghilani can help Furqati who
got lost in the road of life,*

*So help us, as we do not have any spiritual
master to follow.*

Hazini's Divan reads:

*I follow Qadariyya, my leader and spiritual
master,*

*I should make it a rule to remember Allah
in the mornings [21: 82].*

Hazini also points out to his adherence to the madhab of Imam A'zam:

*I was not able to find a teacher who can
give the lessons of love,*

*Every time I ask about it, they say: "You
need Nu'man in Kufa" [22: 31].*

Regardless of how different the Sufi orders in Mawerannahr are, the abovementioned thoughts show that they practiced the Hanafi-Maturidi school of thought in terms of creed.

In the second half of the 18th century, an enlightened Naqshbandi Sufi Azimkhoja Eshan occupied a distinctive place in the city of Kokand with his bright and Sufi outlook. Although he was known to adhere to the Naqshbandi Sufi Order, he had an overwhelming influence upon the poets of Ferghana [20: 3-40]. His literary legacy, over 4000 lines, embodies genres like ghazals, mukhammas, musaddas, murabba, and mustahzad by which he makes frequent references to his practice, the Hanafi madhab, and Naqshbandi Order. For instance, the poet writes the following lines in divan *Murad al-Ashiqin*, in a ghazal with *Qulmiz radif*:

*We are the adherents of the Madhab of Abu
Hanifa, and Naqshbandi Order,*

*And benefitted a lot from the people of the
Sharia.*

He also mentions in naat musaddas:

*The Prophet promised to intercede for us,
We are following the secret path, the
Naqshbandi Order [13: 65-66].*

Azimkhoja Eshan sheds light on the issues of creed, namely the qualities of Allah, on the basis of the Hanafi-Maturidi principles.

It cannot be simply said that the Naqshbandi followers in the entire world are the adherents of the Hanafi madhab and that they practice the Maturidi traditions. For example, the founder of the Khalidiyya branch of the Naqshbandi Order, Khalid Naqshbandi (1779-1826) is believed to be practicing the Shafii madhab in accordance with some sources which contain his *nisbah* (attribution), such as Abulbaha Ziyauddin Khalid ibn Ahmad ibn Husain ash-Shahrazuri as-Salafi ash-Shafii an-Naqshbandi al-Mujaddidi. However, the later period Hanafi scholar Ibn al-Abidin is considered as his disciple.

Khalid Naqshbandi's works on the creed prove that he was most prone to the Ashari school of thought. In his *Al-Iqd al-Javhari fi-l-farq Bayna Qudrat al-Abdya Kasbihi inda al-Maturidi va-l-Ashari*, speaking highly about Ashari, he says, "his works on aqida (creed) are full of solid evidence and irrefutable proofs, and questions are studied and commented profoundly. For he used to enter into disputes with most of his contemporaries, the Mu'tazila and heretics, while Imam Maturidi did not have a need to deal with such heretic people and get obsessed in the issues of creed [26: 36].

He notes the following in relation to his belief, "owing to the reason I preferred to follow the way of the Salaf al-Salihin (the pious predecessors), the Sahabah (the righteous companions of the Prophet (pbuh) and the *Tabi'un* (successors), it was hard on me to study the issues of creed, which they stopped us from dealing with deeply. However, I opted to follow Imam Ashari and the later period scholars of two madhabs because of the perplexities of most questions of creed, a principal religious issue" [26: 37]. The work also sets focus on the common aspects about which the Hanafis generally agree with the Mutazilites, such as the case of a burden that a soul is not forced to bear beyond its capacity and so on [26: 40]. So, it is vital proof of the fact that all the Naqshbandis are not the adherents of the Hanafi madhab. The Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya gained quick popularity among scholars and its centers could be found within the entire Ottoman Empire. The Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya reached Indonesia (1840), Malaysia, Ceylon, Mozambique through Hijaz, and the Caucasus through Turkey. The Order used to be the conceptual foundation for the Muridism movement in the Caucasus [11: 187-188].

Today, Sufism of Uzbekistan is more imitative than scholastic. As the religious traditions started to revive since the time of Reconstruction, illegal Sufi orders began to emerge and became more active as of the

year 2000. During this period, a number of so-called eshans, sheikhs, and hadhrats appeared and started to gather their followers. However, owing to the fact the religious knowledge of local eshans was very low, “educated” sufis were influenced by the representatives of the Sufi Orders in Turkey. The Turkish literature was translated in great numbers into the Uzbek language and even some Sufis became murids (disciples) of Turkish sheikhs. There were attempts to launch the sections of the Turkish Naqshbandi groups in Uzbekistan.

All in all, Hanafi madhab was prevalent in Mawarannahr, creedal issues related to it were considered on the basis of the Maturidi principles. That’s why the Sufism of the region was based on the Maturidi position in terms of creedal issues. Sufism played a key role in the lives of people. Especially, in the period of the Mughal invasion, and after the 13th century, the importance of the faqihs of Mawarannahr went down while the influence of Sufis extended, who emerged as the successors of the Hanafi scholars. Generally speaking, the Sufis of Mawarannahr practiced the Hanafi principles in fiqh, Maturidi teachings in creed, and followed Yassavi or Naqshbandi in terms of the Sufi order (tariqah).

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