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“KITAB AL-HIKMAH” AND “HIKMAH” IN HAKIM TIRMIDHI’S SCIENTIFIC HERITAGE

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Аннотация: Ушбу мақола Ҳаким Термизийнинг “Китоб ал-ҳикмат” асарининг мазмун-моҳияти ва ички тузулишини ўрганишга бағишланган. Шунингдек, алломанинг “ҳикмат” сўзига берган таърифлари тизимли таҳлил қилинган.

Калит сўзлар: Хикмат, Термизий, Китаб ал-хикмат, Радтке, Фуат Сезгин, Моламтийя, Шадхилия.

Аннотация: Эта статья содержит информацию о «Китаб ал-хикма» Хаким Тирмизи и его структурах. Кроме того, различные идеи о “Хикма” (мудрость) были проанализированы.

Ключевые слова: Хикмах, Тирмизи, Китаб ал-хикма, Радтке, Фуат Сезгин, Маламтийя, Шадхилия.

Abstract: This article contains information about “Kitab al-Hikma” by Hakim Tirmidhi and its structures. In addition, various ideas about “Hikmah were analyzed.

Keywords: Hikmah, Tirmidhi, Kitab al-Hikma, Radtke, Fuat Sezgin, Malamtiyya, Shadhiliya

Introduction

Hikmah can be translated as wisdom, philosophy; rationale, underlying reason, it is a concept in Islamic philosophy and law [1]. Mulla Sadra defined hikmah as "coming to know the essence of beings as they really are" or as "a man's becoming an intellectual world corresponding to the objective world" [2, p.595–599].

Various Islamic commentaries describe hikmah as "to know the best of things by way of the best of sciences", having experience, using "justice in judging", "knowledge of the reality of things", "that which prevents ignorance," putting "things in their proper places, assigning them to their proper status", etc. According to Ibn al-Qayyim, the highest and most exclusive of the three levels of hikmah are "reserved for the Companions over the rest of the Ummah, and it is the highest level that the [Islamic] scholars can reach.

As a term of fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), Taqi Usmani describes it as meaning "the wisdom and the philosophy taken into account by the legislator while framing the [Islamic] law or the benefit intended to be drawn by [the law's] enforcement". One Dr. Dipertua calls it "the objectives and wisdom" as "prescribed by Shariah"[3].

Literature review

In this research, "A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, Arabic-English" by Wehr Hans Cowan, J. Milton, "The Challenge of Realizing Maqasid Shariah in Islamic Finance" by Asyraf Wajdi Bin Dato' Hj. Dusuki Yang Dipertua, "The Concept of Hikmah in Early Islamic Thought" by H.Yaman, "The Social and Theoretical Dimensions of Sainthood in Early Islam: Al-Tirmidhi's Gnoseology and the Foundations of Şufi Social Praxis" by A.Palmer, "The Arabic manuscript tradition a glossary of technical terms and bibliography" by Gacek Adam, "The great fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish space in Istanbul" by Marc David Baer, "Bayan al-Farq bayn al-Sadr wa-al-Qalb wa-al-Fu'ad wa-al-Lubb" by Al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi, "Al-Ḥakim at-Tirmidī: ein islamischer Theosoph des 39'

by Bernd Radtke, “The concept of Wilaya in early Sufism//Classical Persian Sufism:from its origins To Rumi” by Bernd Radtke, “The ‘Five Limbs’ of the Soul: A Manichaeian Motif in Muslim Garb?” by D.K.Crow and other sources are used efficiently.

Materials and Methods

This is qualitative research using the content analysis approach. About twenty works are used to explain the theme called “Kitab al-hikmah” and “hikmah” in Hakim Tirmidhi’s scientific heritage. Besides that, the researcher had used journals, manuscripts and articles to collect data related to the research.

Findings and Discussion

According to recent researches [5], [6], the most reliable definition for “Hikmah” was given by Hakim Tirmidhi. I think the reason may be interesting for all of you. Because His nickname was Hakim. On purpose, he chose this laqab. Hakim Tirmidhi (d. ca. 869) was a Sunni jurist (faqih) and traditionist (muhaddith) of Khorasan, but is mostly remembered as one of the great early authors of Sufism. His full name is Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Ali bin Hasan bin Bashir (in some sources it is Bishr) Al Hakim At-Termizi. He is locally known as At-Termizi or Termiz Ota ("Father of Termiz city").

The definition of Hikmah can be found almost in his all books such as “Bayan al-farq”, “Tahsil nazair al-Qur’an”, “Al-furuq va man al-taraduf”, “Kitab marifat al-asrar” and others [6].

Interestingly, he wrote a book called “Kitab al-Hikma”. It is also the most reliable source to clarify the word of “hikmah”. A researcher Hikmat Yaman studied “Kitab al-Hikma” as PhD work and successfully defended [4]. In the following, we are going to discuss his dissertation and give full information about “Kitab al-Hikma”. This is the first time that a transcription of al-Tirmidhi’s Kitab al-Hikma min Ilm al Ba’in has appeared in print. This text is a unicum, it is the only extant witness to the archetype and is in a manuscript at the Inebey Library in Bursa, Turkey titled Harachi Oghlu 806. There are four works by al-Tirmidhi in this



manuscript.

The three other texts besides “Kitab al-Ḥikma” are: *Sabab al-Takbir fi al-Ṣala*, *Ilm al-Awliya*, and *Ilal al-Ibadat*. Bernd Radtke has noted that “Kitab al-Ḥikma” (folios 1-19) is “undotted, of volatile script and undated”. Furthermore, he commented that he was only able to conduct a cursory study of *Ilm al-Awliya*, which is the third of the four texts that make up the full manuscript. This suggests that he was not able to study “Kitab al-Ḥikma” closely. The text of “Kitab al-Ḥikma” begins on verso of folio 1 and is completed along with a colophon on verso of folio 18. The final page of the text includes extra textual notices such as the lineage of the semi-mythical Ṣufi figure Khidr, who some Muslims believe is the wise man who conveyed special knowledge to Moses from God. Recto of folio 19 includes an alphabetical list of the *ahl al-ṣuffa* (the people of the bench). These were the poor companions of the Prophet who lived in the mosque of Madina and received charity given to the Prophet by others [4]. This may have been of interest to those who owned this manuscript because the *ahl al-ṣuffa* have been credited by some to have been the forebears of the Ṣufis. This indicates that “Kitab al-Ḥikma” was most likely circulated among Ṣufi circles. Recto of folio 1 includes a list of the four books included in the manuscript as well as several references to the great fire of Istanbul in 1660 C.E. that consumed the city and irrevocably altered its demographic layout when Muslims became the majority of the population in the aftermath and reconstruction of the city [8].

In addition to Radtke, Fuat Sezgin mentions “Kitab al-Ḥikma” in GAS, number 42, in a list of al-Tirmidhi’s works. The only additional information Sezgin provides is that the title of the work is difficult to discern from the title page. The title actually appears to read *al-Khidma min Ilm al-Baʿin* rather than *al-Ḥikma min Ilm al-Baʿin* as would seem more logical [4]. Al Juyushi mentions the manuscript in his review of al-Tirmidhi’s published and unpublished works but does not go into detail about the contents of “Kitab al-Ḥikma” other than to give it a short one paragraph gloss. Abd al-Fattah Baraka does not mention “Kitab al-Ḥikma” in his detailed study of al-Tirmidhi’s doctrine of sainthood. The absence of significant

references to “Kitab al-Ḥikma” and a lack of a detailed representation of its contents where references do exist may be due to the lack of witnesses to the text, as well as the obscurity of the handwriting and its undotted nature [9].

The single witness that we have to “Kitab al-Ḥikma” does not supply a date in the colophon. The three other works of al-Tirmidhi that are in the same manuscript do have dates and they seem to be written by the same hand. The date of the other three texts is the 25th of this is mentioned by al-Sarraj in *Kitab al-Luma* Marc David Baer [8]. “The great fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish space in Istanbul”. *International journal of Middle East studies*. 36 (2): 2004, pp. 159–160. Rabi al-Akhar, 714 A.H. This translates to the 8th of August 1314 C.E. Despite the fact that “Kitab al-Ḥikma” does not provide a date, there are several aspects of the text that help us to generally place this witness. The colophon at the end of “Kitab al-Ḥikma” is organized in the shape of an inverted triangle. This stylistic feature became commonplace in the central Arab lands around the 10th/16th -century although it is known to have been used prior to this time period as is attested by the inverted triangle colophon in *Ilm al-Awliya*, which dates from the 14th -century C.E. A second feature that helps us narrow the date for “Kitab al-Ḥikma” is the semi-dotted script [4]. This was a feature of Arab scribal culture during the Middle Islamic period when the inclusion of dots or diacritic marks was sometimes seen as a defect (ayb) or as an insult to the reader. This indicates that this witness to “Kitab al-Ḥikma” was probably penned during the Mamluk period or early Ottoman period in Greater Syria (or possibly though unlikely Egypt) during the 14th - or 15th - centuries C.E. Adam Gacek [7] presents a semi-dotted handwriting specimen from the 14th century C.E. that is similar to the style of “Kitab al-Ḥikma” found here. For “Kitab al-Ḥikma”, the hand is barely pointed, rather casually with elongated, angled with a somewhat spread or flattened character (though curvilinear), especially with descenders such as the final Nun, final Lam, final Kaf, final Sin, final Shin, etc. This, together with the form used for the initial Ha, the sweeping shaqq on even the final Kaf, the free assimilation of some letters and pointing (especially final

Ha with preceding Ra), and the lack of pointing for Ya and Alif Maqṣura suggest Greater Syria as an origin. The paper seems to indicate a later date than the 14th century C.E. with sometime in the 15th - or 16th -century C.E. as more likely. This is with the Gacek, his analysis was provided by Evyn Kropf, an expert codicologist at the University of Michigan whom Hikmat Yeman consulted about the date and origin of “Kitab al-Ḥikma” caveat that this assessment was done from a color scan of the manuscript and not through an examination of the actual manuscript. The note on the opening flyleaf does provide a rough terminus ante quem of 17 Dhu al-Qa‘da 1071 A.H. [ca. 14 July 1661]. Unfortunately, we do not have any substantial information concerning the transmission of the text other than the name of the patron, Khajuman Maḥmud b. Muḥammad al-Shaykhani. This is not likely the Jamal al-Din Maḥmud b. Muḥammad al-Shaykhani al-Qadiri (d. 1119/1707) mentioned by Carl Brockelmann, since this would put the manuscript date later than our terminus ad quem, dating sometime from the late 17th - or early 18th centuries C.E. In the Introduction to the Hikmat Yeman’s dissertation he provided an overview of al-Tirmidhi’s major works. “Kitab al-Ḥikma” comes under the rubric of works that discuss esoteric interpretation. Ḥikma is connected to the knowledge of metaphysical causes and how they connect to phenomena in the world. In this way ḥikma functions as a type of esotericism in which the ḥakim interprets the esoteric meanings behind various acts of worship. As “Kitab al-Ḥikma” shows us, ḥikma is much more than simple esotericism. It also relates to understanding human vices and the nuances of the soul’s passions. In this capacity the ḥakim can guide spiritual novices through the various stages of spiritual attainment [4].

Al-Tirmidhi likens the ḥakim to a guide who helps others travel safely through the wilderness because this guide understands its many dangers and knows how to avoid them. “Kitab al-Ḥikma” is the only book by al-Tirmidhi that solely addresses the knowledge-type of ḥikma (wisdom). In Kitab Bayan al-‘Ilm, al-Tirmidhi clearly distinguishes between three types of knowledge, with ḥikma being



the intermediate stage of knowledge between religious textual knowledge and

ma'rifa (gnosis), which is a higher stage of knowledge that is bestowed directly from God. The other books in the category of 'esoteric interpretation' deal with the application of ḥikma, while "Kitab al-Ḥikma" deals with the nature of ḥikma itself. This is significant because it further supports the notion that the ḥukama belong to a category that is separate from the awliya' (saints). This is a hypothesis argued in the dissertation that he finds supported by "Kitab al-Ḥikma" [10].

Most early Islamic texts that bear the name ḥikma are associated with both Shi'ism and its attendant fascination with Greek Neoplatonism. The Druze "Kitab al-Ḥikma", using the same name, immediately comes to mind as does the Rasa'il al-Ḥikma of the Ikhwan al-Ṣafa. The first of these two Isma'ili texts was produced during the 11th century C.E. in Fatimid Egypt. The second text is closer to al-Tirmidhi both temporally and geographically and reflects the developments of the vibrant cultural and intellectual milieu of 10th century C.E. Iraq. Al-Tirmidhi's "Kitab al-Ḥikma" does not exhibit the clear emanationist structure that we find in the previous two books [4]. Al-Tirmidhi's theology in "Kitab al-Ḥikma" does not present God as an abstract principle, but rather as a personal and intentional God who plans the affairs in the world and intervenes in them directly through his creative fiat. Thus, while it would seem natural to connect al-Tirmidhi's work to this later genre, we must realize that it is the product of a very different intellectual milieu. Al-Tirmidhi's "Kitab al-Ḥikma" draws its inspiration from the Ḥanafī theological movement that was active in eastern Khurasan and Transoxania where al-Tirmidhi lived and wrote. It is in this Ḥanafī/Maturidi discourse stream that we find another "ḥikma" tradition based primarily in Pythagorean notions of wisdom and influenced possibly by the Buddhist concept of non-duality [11].

As Hikmat Yeman demonstrated in Chapter 2 of the dissertation, al-Tirmidhi's understanding of the interplay between duality and non-duality is reflected in al-Maturidi's Kitab al-Tawḥid. One of the central themes in "Kitab al-Ḥikma" is walaya and the connection between the ḥakim (sage) and the wali (saint). "Kitab al-Ḥikma" sets out to identify the knowledge of the ḥakim within the larger

context of walaya. The ḥakim is one type of wali, but not the highest type. In both the *Rasa'il* of al-Junayd as well as in “*Kitab al-Ḥikma*”, the ḥakim is styled as a doctor of the soul’. Just as the medical doctor has knowledge of the various elements and how they connect to the body, so does the ḥakim have knowledge of the states of the soul and its various maladies. The ḥakim is someone who guides a novice through the treacherous path towards God. This is because the “ḥakim” knows the ‘pathways’ to and from God. This discussion of the “ḥakim” is the precursor to the idea of the Ṣufi shaykh who is a doctor of the soul for his novices. Al-Junayd juxtaposes the ḥakim to the scholar of outward knowledge (alim) but does not contrast him to the wali. Al-Tirmidhi brings both the scholar of outward knowledge and the wali (saint) into his more developed gnoseology and thereby defines the ḥakim. So, while “ḥikma” and the “ḥakim” serve to frame walaya and the wali, the whole structure of al-Tirmidhi’s gnoseology also defines the role of the ḥakim vis-a-vis both scholars of outward knowledge (ulama) and bona fide saints (awliya). Scholars who study al-Tirmidhi have interpreted him as being averse to the notion of discipleship. This is primarily based upon a letter he wrote to a correspondent from Rayy who asked him about keeping the company of a “man who you hope for increase from”. Al-Tirmidhi was responding to someone who asked him for spiritual advice concerning the keeping of company of someone who would help to increase his spiritual state. Al-Tirmidhi was negative about the proposition, advising the questioner to travel the path of ma‘rifa (gnosis), not by seeking the creator (khaliq) through a creation (makhluq), but rather to seek the creator (khaliq) through the creator himself. “*Kitab al-Ḥikma*” helps us to contextualize this answer to the questioner from Rayy because it is clear from “*Kitab al-Ḥikma*” that al-Tirmidhi considered recourse to the ḥakim as essential for the would-be aspirant who is requesting guidance while on the path that leads to God (al-ḥariq ila Allah) [4].

We can better understand the ḥakim if Hikmat Yeman contextualizes him in terms of the Malamtiyya, an important mystical movement in Khurasan during al-Tirmidhi’s lifetime. We know that al-Tirmidhi was in conversation with the major

proponents of this mystical approach. Al-Tirmidhi's concept of the ḥakim is very similar to the Malamati master whose knowledge of the soul enabled him to train and guide aspirants in the Malamati doctrine that centered on 'constant blame of the soul'. When al-Tirmidhi positions the bona fide saints (the highest form of awliya) above these ḥukama, he is saying that there is a degree higher than the Malamati sage and that the path of blame is one stage on the mystical path within his larger doctrine of walaya. Al-Tirmidhi's notion of the ḥakim (as juxtaposed to the wali) accords closely with the subsequent notion of the Ṣufi shaykh. As Sufism progressed, a distinction between the Ṣufi shaykh and the wali developed. While the novice to the Ṣufi path should ideally see his shaykh as a wali, the Ṣufi shaykh generally does not and cannot claim this rank. Of course, many Ṣufi shuyukh (pl. shaykh) have claimed the highest degrees of walaya, but theoretically speaking, this should be the exception rather than the rule. As we saw with the Shadhiliyya, the Ṣufis were more comfortable talking about ḥikma, which relates to the guidance of novices on a practical level, but doesn't entail the claim of walaya. However, it is significant to note that in al-Qushayri's characterization of the master-disciple relationship, the Ṣufi shaykh effectively becomes the wali for his immediate students with the caveat that the shaykh cannot be completely certain about his walaya, which means that others are not required to follow his authority [12].

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, as we mentioned at the beginning, Hikmah can be translated as wisdom, philosophy; rationale, underlying reason, it is a concept in Islamic philosophy and law, the best definition and explanation of hikmah was given by Hakim Tirmidhi. His hikmah does not connect with ancient Greece concept. Hakim Tirmidhi showed the word of hikmah has a deep meaning in Islam and tasawwuf.

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