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# LEXICAL UNITS REFLECTING ANTHROPOMORPHISM IN NASIMI'S RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL VIEWS

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# ABSTRACT

This study explores the anthropomorphic lexical units in the works of Imadaddin Nasimi, a prominent 14th-century Azerbaijani Sufi poet and a key figure in Hurufism. By analyzing specific terms such as shab, shabu-amrad, surati-Rahman, and mazhar, the research reveals how Nasimi poetically expressed the Hurufic concept of divine manifestation through human form. The study traces the origins of these lexical units to Prophet Muhammad's hadiths, particularly those deemed controversial in Sunni and Shia traditions, and their philosophical implications in Islamic theology. Furthermore, Nasimi's use of these terms is compared with the works of Fazlullah Naimi, the founder of Hurufism, and other medieval Azerbaijani Sufi poets, such as Jahanshah Haqiqi and Sheikh Ibrahim Gulshani. The findings demonstrate that Hurufism introduced anthropomorphism into Azerbaijani Sufi literature, influencing later poets and shaping religious-philosophical discourse on human-divine resemblance. This research contributes to the broader understanding of anthropomorphism in Islamic mysticism and its linguistic representation in classical Azerbaijani poetry.

## KEYWORDS

Imadaddin Nasimi, Hurufism, Anthropomorphism, Lexical Units, Sufi Poetry, Islamic Mysticism, Tasawwuf, Religious Philosophy, Prophet Muhammad's Hadiths, Fazlullah Naimi, Azerbaijani Literature, Divine Manifestation, Theological Discourse, Medieval Poetry, Human-Divine Resemblance

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# Introduction.

One of the specific features of Imadaddin Nasimi's work, a prominent representative of the 14<sup>th</sup> century Azerbaijani Tasawwuf literature, is that he used a group of words and word combinations purposefully in his separate poems to express his beliefs and ideas. When they are brought together during the research, it is possible to observe obviously the poet's thoughts. Talanted Nasimi transformed the ideas of Hurufism into poetry skillfully by using Mantiq-ut-Tayr, i.e. the language of birds, which belongs to Tasawwuf literature, and managed to present it in the most beautiful way. The conducted observations revealed a group of terms, that include the anthropomorphic (Greek.  $\alpha \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi \sigma \zeta$  human,  $\mu \rho \rho \phi \dot{\eta}$  form) terms, which are the basis of the Hurufic ideology, i.e. concerning the human appearance to Allah and describing the external manifestations (face, eyes, hands, feet are mentioned), actions (sits in heaven, sees, speaks and hears) and feelings (anger, satisfaction, laughter) of Allah. The analysis in the article is carried out in several stages under subheadings: lexical units reflecting anthropomorphism in Nasimi's poems are analysed, then, the essence of anthropomorphism is investigated in the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad that are considered to be inaccurate, which the poet was based on and cites, the presentation of anthropomorphism in Fazlullah Naimi's work "Javidan-namah" and an approach to it in Islamic philosophy, how these terms are reflected in the works of representatives of the medieval Tasawwuf literature of Azerbaijan are discussed, and at the end, the scientific results of the article are presented.

#### Anthropomorphism in Nasimi's poems

One of the specific features of Nasimi's work is that he used a group of words and word combinations purposefully in his separate poems to express his beliefs and ideas. When studying the context of development of many Hurufic terms such as *shab, shabu-amrad, shabi-qatat, huri, huri-Latif, surati-Rahman, surati-Haqq, surati-Allah, surati-Yazdan, surati-ziba, mazhar, mazhari-Zatu sifat, Haq-taala mazhari, Ilahin mazhari, mazhari-Allah, mazhari-Haq, mazhari-Khallaq, mazhari-Zati-qadim, mazhari-Yazdan, tajalli, qamat and qadd* from such lexical groups, it is revealed that Nasimi's work has an anthropomorphic concept of religio-philosophical and Hurufic views. The basis of these Hurufic terms, which seem unrelated at first glance, takes its ideological origin from the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad, which is considered inaccurate in Shia and Sunnah sources. Arabic words and word combinations "şab", "şabü-əmrəd", "şabi-qətət" among the terms listed above were quoted from that hadith. "Şab" means a young boy, "şabü-əmrəd" means a mature boy, "şabi-qətət" means a young boy with curly hair. The poet made the reader think by asking a question in the following verse:

Mustafa Həqqi bu sifətdə görüb

Şabü-əmrəd dediyi şab nədir? (Nasimi, II, 2004: 245)

Explanation: Seeing Allah in this appearance, Mustafa uses the expression "şabu əmrəd". What does "şab" mean in this expression? Mustafa is the name given to Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) by the people. It means "chosen". Nasimi referred to the hadith of the Prophet about seeing Allah in the appearance of a young boy on the night of Miraj in the abovementioned verse.

Çün əzəldən qüdrət əli biqələt,

Üzünə nəqş eylədi sivü dü xət.

İsmi-ə'zəm cameyi-zati-sifət,

Bəllidir fi surəti-şabi-qətət (Nasimi, II, 2004: 279).

Explanation: From the very first day, Allah made a pattern of 32 lines (i.e. 32 Persian letters) on his face with his perfect, powerful hand. The ismi-əzəm prayer, which is the totality of the blessed names of Allah, was revealed in the appearance of a young boy with curly hair.

We must admit that these words are quite bold for orthodox Islam. Hurufis, including Imadaddin Nasimi, one of the nine caliphs of Fazlullah, were greatly inspired by this hadith and praised it extensively in their works. Nasimi, who was loyal to Hurufic belief with complete sincerity, was engaged in promoting the concept of human as a manifestation of Allah among the Turks through his poems. It should be stated that Nasimi accepted Hurufism when he was 25, and his ideological way of thinking can also be observed in "Javidan-namah":

Gər Həqi görmək dilərsən biqələt

Üştə gör, fi-surəti-şabi qətət.

Həqdən oldu ümməti-Əhməd vəsət,

Vəchinin lövhündədir sivü dü xət (Nasimi, II, 2004: 279)

*Fi-surati-şabi qatat* means "in the appearance of a young boy with curly hair" in Arabic. Nasimi wanted to say that if you want to see Allah, know that He is in the appearance of a young boy! By Allah's command, the people accepted the Prophet Muhammad's invitation and converted to true faith. "Vəchinin lövhündədir sivü dü xət", i.e. "Javidan-namah" written in 32 letters of the Persian alphabet is reflected in the appearance of a human.

Nasimi's point of view regarding the Prophet Muhammad's abovementioned disputed hadith can be seen in the following verse:

Kaf – Ki urdu yədi-qüdrət, dedi bir huri-Lətif:

Gəlmədi sənciləyin, gəlməyə ta ruzi-şümar (Nasimi, II, 2004: 219)

*Huri* in the word combination "huri-Latif" is a creature in human appearance living in heaven. By using the name Latif, Nasimi meant that the huri is Allah himself. *Latif* is one of the 99 blessed names (Al Asma Ul Husna) of Allah. This name has two meanings: 1) the one who knows all affairs in all details, who helps his servants in subtle ways; 2) not material, but spiritual, invisible. The poet addressed Prophet Muhammad with the language of Allah in the verse above and stated that he is the last prophet.

Ol qabü-qövseynə irən, ol surəti ziba görən,

Həm surəti-ziba mənəm, həm surəti-Yəzdanıyam (Nasimi, I, 1973: 99)

*Qabi-qövseyn* means the distance of two bows, i.e. two semicircles (maybe even closer) of the kamancheh here. The word "qab" is the place where the arrow is placed in the middle of the bow. "Qövseyn" is the length on both sides of the bow from this place. Surah Al-Najm was quoted from Ayah 9 and shows how

close the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was to Allah when he was in Miraj: (The distance between them) became two bow lengths, maybe even closer (فكَانَ قَابَ قَوْسَنُنِ أَوْ أَدْنَى). In the past, the Arab rulers used to seat the people whom they loved and respected the most at a distance of two bows. This saying also remained from there. In other words, the expression *qabi-qövseyn* in the Quran means to gain the respect and closeness of Allah. Nasimi said that he was that young, beautiful-looking huri and also in the appearance of Allah in the second verse.

Nasimi said in the following verses that the appearance of Adam is similar to the Truth, Allah, and at this time he used the phrase in Arabic: Wallahu-a'lam-bishawab (وَاللهُ أَعْلَمُ بِالصَوَرَابِ), i.e. "Allah knows the truth".

Surətin Həqdir, götür Həqdən niqab,

Həq budur, vəllahu-ə'ləm-bissəvab (Nasimi, II, 2004: 263)

Surətin Allahu rəhmanür-rəhim,

Hüsnünə cümlə məlaik, insü cin,

Səcdə qıldı, qeyri şeytanir-rəcim (Nasimi, II, 2004: 289)

Nasimi showed in the following verse that the divine secret was sent down to Adam. The owner of Tawil (interpreting the Quran and other holy texts with a different view), i.e. Fazlullah interpreted that he is the appearance of Allah:

Sirri-tənzili-ilahi dilbərin vəchindədir,

Sahibi-tə'vil edər kim, surəti-Allahdır (Nasimi, II, 2004: 142)

Addressing Adam, the poet said: O appearance of Allah-Rahman worthy of bowing, the one who does not bow low to you is the div (devil) - şeytan (Satan):

Sənsən, ey surəti-Allah ilə Rəhman, məscud,

Qılmayan səcdə sana, div ilə şeytan demişəm (Nasimi, II, 2004: 96)

The naming of the word *şeytan* (satan) by "div" (devil) which is the ugly and gigantic-looking negative character of Persian mythology is widely observed in the medieval Azerbaijani literature. The equivalent of the word *şeytan* was given by the word *div* even in the translations of the Quran. See: (Turkish translation of the Quran, 1520: 12b).

Mən bu mə'nidən aŋa surəti-Rəhman demişəm,

Sənsən, ey surətullah, eylə Rəhman-i məscud (Nasimi, I, 1973: 495)

The poet wanted to say in the second hemistich that you, who have the appearance of Allah, are Ar-Rahmaan who should be bowed.

Zahida, sən məni bəşər sanma,

Adəmi surətində **Rəhman**am (Nasimi, Iv., 1973: 495)

**Surəti-Rəhman** is quoted from the Prophet Muhammad's hadith, "Allah created Adam in the appearance of Ar-Rahmaan" (خلق الله آدم على صورة الرحمان).

**Surəti-ziba** is an izafat of Arabic and Persian words and means "beautiful face". The poet talked again about Prophet Muhammad's meeting with Allah in the appearance of a young boy on the night of Miraj in the following verse:

Ol qabü-qövseynə irən, ol surəti ziba görən,

Həm surəti-ziba mənəm, həm surəti-Yəzdanıyam" (Nəsimi, I, 1973: 99].

**Məzhər** is an Arabic word that means "to appear, to occur, to manifest". It is used as a Hurufic term to convey the idea that Adam was created in the likeness of Allah. According to the Hurufic belief, human is the manifestation of all the names of Allah, i.e. he carries the characteristics of His name and verb. Based on this, Nasimi said that he came to this conclusion from the words of Haq-taala (by explaining the Quran ayahs):

Gər inanmazsan ki, Adəm məzhəridir Tanrının

Həq-təalanın sözündən necə bürhan buldum uş (Nasimi, I, 2004: 308)

Nasimi called himself məzhər in the following verse. In fact, he meant perfect human being who purified his nafs (soul), passed the path of perfection and deserves to meet Allah. As if he repeated the conception of "ənəl-Həqq":

Məzhərəm, yoxdur şərikim, laşərik

Vahidəm, mülkümdə yoxdur müştərik (Nasimi, II, 2004: 318)

If Nasimi did not call himself məzhər here, you would thought that he was talking about Allah's characteristics such as unity, inherently one, and owner of the earth and sky. But the poet affirmed that the perfect human being also has the characteristics of Allah by stating at the beginning of the verse that he is the appearance of Allah.

Gənci-nihanın sirriyəm, həm küntu kənzin məzhəri

Həm cövhərəm, həm cövhəri, həm cövhərə kan olmuşam (Nasimi, I, 2004: 133).

The poet who said that he is the secret of the hidden treasure and the appearance of "küntu kənz", and showed that he has the soul, which is a part of Allah, the spiritual things (spiritual characteristics) and the body in which the soul lives. "Küntu kənz" (I was a hidden treasure) is quoted from the hadith attributed to Prophet Muhammad and considered inaccurate: "I was a hidden treasure. Therefore, I wanted to be known and I made the creature through which I recognized myself" (كنت كنزا مخفيًا، فأردت أن أُعْرَف، فخلقت الخلق فبه عرفوني) This expression is spoken by the Allah's language. That's why Nasimi used the expression appearance (of Allah) of "küntu kənz".

The word məzhər was used in various izafat combinations in Nasimi's language: **Haq-taala mazhari**, **Ilahin mazhari**, **Mazhari-Allah, mazhari-Haq, mazhari-Xallaq, mazhari-Zati-qadim, mazhari-Zatu Sifat, mazhari-Yazdan, kuntu kanzin mazhari**. All these are Hurifism terms and indicate the existence of a perfect human being – Adam.

Qul kəfa billaha düşdü könlümüz

Məzhəri-Allaha düşdü könlümüz (Nasimi, II, 2004: 275)

The verse above is from Nasimi's tuyugh with radif "Gəl ki, müştaq olmuşam didarına". *Qul kəfa billah* (قُلْ كَفَىٰ بِاللَّهُ) means here, "say: – The presence of Allah is sufficient". It is quoted from the 43<sup>rd</sup> Ayah of Surah Ar-Ra'd, the 96<sup>th</sup> Ayah of Surah Al-Isra and the 52<sup>nd</sup> Ayah of Surah Al-Ankabut. The poet wanted to say that we gave our hearts to Allah and Adam (or Fazlullah), who is the appearance of Allah.

Another lexical unit reflecting anthropomorphism in Nasimi's work is the word **qamət**. When saying *qamət* and *qədd*, which means "height" in Arabic, Nasimi made a figurative exaggeration – he meant the distance from the Earth to the heavens and the Throne.

Nə rə'na sidrədir, ya Rəbb, boyun aləmdə, ey huri,

Kim anın qəddi-balası yedi iqlimə sərvərdir (Nasimi, II, 2004: 153)

Nasimi meant Allah in the appearance of huri here, which we mentioned above, and showed that his high qamət (figure) is the leader to the seven climates.

Since Adam is considered to be the appearance of Allah in Hurufism, the structure of the universe is depicted by copying it to the human body. Nasimi named the planets by organs in the human body in the following verse, and showed that Saturn is the spleen, Mars is the gall, Jupiter is the intestine, and Libra is the omphalus:

Dalaq oldu Zühəl, Mərrix həm öd,

Bağırsaq Müştəri, göbək Mizanım (Nasimi, II, 2004: 326)

#### Anthropomorphism in the Prophet Muhammad's hadiths, which are considered inaccurate

The abovementioned hadith about the Prophet seeing Allah on the night of Miraj is included in the inaccurate hadiths and in general, the Prophet's Miraj (Ascension) has always been a source of discussion in Shia and Sunni sources as to whether it was a dream or a reality. This hadith was narrated in two lines (the succession that reached the Prophet through the line of Ibn Abbas and Ubayy bin Kaab (note: this is called a "document" in the science of hadith)) and was interpreted by muhaddiths (scientist in the study of hadiths) based on these two narrations. According to Ibn Abbas, the Prophet met Allah. According to Ubayy bin Kaab, this meeting took place in a dream. One group of muhaddiths accepts that it is accurate on the condition that it happens in a dream, another group claims that it happened directly, and the third group of scientists denies it completely. The scientists who consider the dream to be accurate are the majority. Imam Ahmed, Abu Zar'a al-Razi, al-Tabarani, Abulhasan bin Bashar, Abu Ya'ala, Ibn Sadagah are those who accepted that there is no mention of a dream in the hadith and that it happened directly. Ibn Jawzi considered both narrations to be inaccurate hadith, Al-Dhahabi refuted them and al-Subki considered them as slanderous. The following scientists substantiated that it happened in a dream: According to Al- Dhahabi (Mizanul-Etidal 1/594), the dream was accurate. According to Al-Suyuti (Al-Alail-Masnua, 1/34), there is no doubt that it happened in a dream. According to Ajluni (Kashful-khafa wa muzilul-ilbas, 1/437), he agreed with Al-Suyuti. Al-Muallimi (At-Tankil 1/253) believed that it happened in a dream.

There are different versions of this hadith:

1. "I saw my Allah in the appearance of a mature boy with curly hair in a green garden" ( رَأَيْتُ رَبِّي فِي ) صُورَةِ شَابٍ أَمْرَدَ، لَهُ وَفْرَةٌ جَعْدٌ قَطَطٌ، فِي رَوْضَةٍ خَضْرَاءَ. See: (<u>21</u>).

2. "On the night of Miraj, I saw my Allah in the appearance of a young boy with curly hair who had not yet grown a beard" (رَأَيْتُ رَبّى لَيْلَة المِعراج في صورت أَمْرَدِ قَطَل) (Fezlullah Astrabadi, 2012: 45).

Nasimi's anthropomorphological views (concerning physical and spiritual characteristics of human to a non-human) were based on Prophet Muhammad's another hadith: "Allah created Adam in his own appearance. His height was sixty cubits" (لخَلَقَ اللهُ آدَمَ عَلَى صُورَتِهِ طُولُهُ سِتُونَ ذِرَاعًا). See: (https://islamqa.info/ar/answers). The Prophet's another hadith is given as an example in the book "Biography of Imam Ibn Khuzayma", dedicated to Imam Ibn Khuzaymi's book "Tawheed and Proof of the Attributes of Allah": "None of you should say to anyone, "Allah damn you!", because Allah created Adam in His own appearance" ( لا يقولن أحدكم لأحد: قبح الله ) (21). See: (21). (وجهك؛ فإن الله خلق آدم على صورته

خلق الله ) "The Prophet Muhammad's hadith "Allah created Adam in the appearance of the Ar-Rahmaan" آدم على صورة الرحمان) is one of the hadiths from this series. Which was taken literally by the Hurufis. Although, Allah gave Adam some of his abilities, verb and attributive characteristics, but human's attributes are imperfect and limited, while Allah's attributes are perfect, flawless, limitless and infinite.

#### Anthropomorphism in Fazlullah Naimi's work "Javidan-namah"

Anthropomorphism is presented as the main conception in Javidan-namah by Fazlullah Astrabadi, and to prove it, he quoted the Prophet Muhammad's hadiths (mainly two hadiths) and the Torah.

It is possible to see the Prophet Muhammad's hadith about the miraj and seeing Allah in the appearance of huri there in the first pages, and of course Nasimi based his poems on it. See: (Astrabadi, 2012: 42, 45).

Fazlullah called the huri whom the Prophet saw in Miraj "zilqati vajhi Adam" (Astrabadi, 2012: 52). Usluer gave an example from "Ishknameh" in the work "Hurufis": "The Prophet said, "I saw my Allah in the appearance of a beardless mature boy (emred katat) on the night of Miraj". Emred katat is a young boy with only 7 maternal lines on his face. This also means that Allah showed Himself to the Prophet through 7 maternal lines (kotut-e ommiya). Therefore, these 7 maternal lines are accepted as the divine appearance (Ishknameh, cd 30277)" (Usluer, 2009: 280). Sadig Mahmammadzadeh also confirms this idea: "The Hurufis consider "amrad qatat" to be a face of ummul-kitab based on the Prophet Muhammad's hadith: 1 - head, 2 - eyebrow, 4 – eyelash, Quran was sent down as 7 letters"<sup>1</sup> (Mahammadzadeh, 1971:67).

Fazlullah turned repeatedly to this topic in his work "Javidan-namah" and provided various evidences: "The face of Allah is the attribute of Allah Almighty and the attribute of Allah Almighty is thirty-two words of Allah Almighty, the creation of Hazrat Adam is on that attribute and the appearance of Adam is the appearance of Allah Almighty in reality

رأيت ربّى في صورةفي صورة امرد قطط

This means that he said on the night of Miraj

امرد قطط و في احسن صورة و احسن تقويم<sup>2</sup> وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَائِكَةِ إِنِّى جَاعِلٌ فِيالأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً<sup>3</sup>

(Fazlullah Estrabadi, 2012: 175)

Then Fazlullah quoted from the holy book of the Jews "Torah" and proved that all these things are not abstract but real and direct: "ve be-hukm-i Tevrat (4 نريد ان نخلق الانسان بشكلنا و لباسنا و صورتنا) -ila-ahirihi ve be خلق الله تعالى آدم على صورته و على صورة الرحمان<sup>5</sup>hükm-i hadîs-i- (hüdâ'' (Astrabadi, -tebe'a'l-selam alâ meni't-) ves 2012: 176).

Fazlullah Naimi tried to justify the presence of Allah in human appearance by telling the abovementioned hadith of Prophet Muhammad in his work "Javidan-namah". He referred to "Kutub al-Sittah" for this and cited the Prophet Muhammad's another hadith as an example: "Allah created Adam in the appearance of Ar-Rahmaan" (خلق الله آدم على صورة الرحمان) (Fazlullah Astrabadi, 2012: 42). As you can see from the verses above, the phrase "surati-Rahman" used here is one of the lexical combinations that reflects Nasimi's Hurufic-anthropomorphic conception and was often used in his work. Fazlullah interpreted such a manifestation in his work "Javidani-saghir" by drawing parallels to the journey of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) to the Miraj with Adam's body: "Masjid-Haram (Kaaba – Kh. Heydarova) is the place of the land that was taken for Adam's head and forehead. The Al-Aqsa Mosque is his back and a breast" (Javidani-Saghir, cd 109-10). Ali Amiri clarified this in his work "Istivanama": "Kaaba (كعبة), which is mentioned as Masjid-Haram in the Ayah about Al-Isra, is a word derived from the word kab (كعب), which means "ankle". For this reason, "isra" is actually not the reverse of Muhammad's journey from the Kaaba, which is the position of the face, to

نَزَّلَ القُرِآن على سَبِعَة أَحْرُفِ <sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "I saw my Allah in the appearance of a young man with curly hair, and in the most beautiful form"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>"My Allah said to the angels: "I will create a caliph on the Earth"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> "We want to create human in our appearance, clothes and face"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "Allah created Adam in his own appearance and in the appearance of Ar-Rahmaan"

the Baitul-Masjid-Aqsa, which is the position of the back, but an ascent from the feet to the back and breast, and from there to the face" (Istivanama, cd 18) (Usluer, 2009:402).

Apparently, Fazlullah understood literally or thought it necessary to understand the creation of Adam in the appearance of Allah and preached it to his followers in this way.

## Anthropomorphism in Islamic philosophy

There has been a polemic between religious experts and philosophers trying to interpret these hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad in the history of Islamic philosophy: can the names and attributes of Allah be compared to the names and attributes of human, or is the Almighty Allah free from all flaws and defects and has no likeness? The first group of religious experts and philosophers were called mushabbihas (anthropomorphists) or mujassimas (corporealists), and on the contrary, the second group was called munazzah (freed). Differences of opinion also arose among the mushabbihas or mujassimas, who based the attributes of the mumkin al-wujud (creature) on the wajib-ul-wujud (Allah), and some of them likened Allah to a light. Others claimed that Allah's appearance resembled that of a young boy, others that of an old man, that he had limbs like hands and feet, and that he possessed characteristics such as weight and space occupancy. See: (Ramazanî, 2009, 37-38).

Likening Allah to creatures or, conversely, creatures to Allah are called tashbih in Islam. "This idea emerged first among the hadith supporters known as "Hashviyye" and later spread among the Shia and Sunni sects" (Eraslan, 2022, 142). Although the lexical and terminological meanings are generally different from each other in the Ahl al-Sunnah thought, the ideas of tashbih (anthropomorphism) and tajseem (corporealism) and the formations of Mushabbiha and Mujassima have been evaluated together in the context of anthropomorphism (Eraslan, 2022, 142). "Rather than indicating an independent sect, the term Mujassima, which describes those who accept concepts based on tajseem within various groups, has been used as a synonym for the term "Mushabbiha" in some historical sources of theology and sects" (Abdullatif, 2019, 81). Eraslan showed that one aspect of the anthropomorphic appearance of Allah in Islamic thought is the Karramiyya sect, which is identified with Mujassima (Eraslan, 2022, 147). However, Yakub bin Abdullatif stated that the seventh sect of the Islam is Mushabbiha. Some of the Mushabbiha are Mushabbiha-i ghulat-i Shia, some are Mushabbiha-i Hashwiyya, some are Mushabbiha-i Karramiyya (Abdullatif, 2019, 97). According to Amidi, "Mushabbiha is the seventh of the eight main sects in Islam. Others are Mutazilah, Khawarij, Shia, Murji, Najjariyya, Jabriya and Najiyya" (Âmidî, Ebkârü'l-efkâr, V, 39). The history of its creation with the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AH/8<sup>th</sup> century AD during the period of 4 caliphs (Khulafa-e-Rashideen) who came to power after the death of the Prophet Muhammad.

According to Sunni authors Baghdadi and Fakhraddin al-Razi, the belief in tashbih was first created by Shia theologians such as Bayan ibn Saman, Hisham ibn Hakam and Hisham ibn Salim al-Jawaliqi.

According to Shia and Mutazilah authors, its foundation was laid by the interpreter Muqatil ibn Suleyman (d. 150/767), who gave the first complete interpretation of the Quran. In order to interpret the Quran, Muqatil used the Torah, which depicts Allah as a human being. "The anthropomorphic understanding of Allah, which was widespread in the pre-Islamic religions and cultures of the conquered regions, especially Judaism, was included in Islamic thought through the Ghulat-i Shia and opposite movements. The understanding, which argues that the understanding of tashbih is of external origin, takes the issue further and claims that, besides tashbih, the understanding of tanzih is also nourished and influenced by non-religious elements. Accordingly, it has been stated that there are Mushabbiha and Munazziha sects in Judaism, similar to Islamic thought. In this regard, the Jewish faith and culture, which lived side by side with Muslim societies, influenced Islamic thought in the context of the construction of the concept of Allah" (Eraslan, 2022, 142). Indeed, Fazlullah Naimi cited the Torah while interpreting his anthropomorphic views in "Javidan-namah". See: (Estrabadi, 2012: 176).

It should be noted that one of the ideological directions of Abu Mansur al-Ijli, the founder of al-Mansuriyya sect, who is always mentioned as the author of the expression "anal-haq" in Nasimi's poems, was to liken the appearance of Allah to human. See: (Chagatay & Chubukchu, 1976, 151).

After the interpreter Muqatil ibn Suleyman, Husheys ibn Asram learnt the tashbih beliefs and participated in the establishment of the Mushabbiha movement. Mushabbiha was later represented by religious and Sufi sects such as Karramiyya, Salimiyya and Hulmaniyya, and groups that overstepped some limits of Shia also got their start from this sect. It seems that this influence did not bypass the trend of Hurufism.

# Anthropomorphism in medieval Tasawwuf literature of Azerbaijan

We carried out a small study on whether the anthropomorphic terms we observed in Nasimi's work were used in the works of other representatives of medieval Azerbaijani tasawwuf literature. The lexical units *shab*, *shabu-amrad*, *shabi-qatat*, *huri-Latif*, *surati-Rahman*, *surati-Haqq*, *surati-Allah*, *surati-Yazdan*, *surati-ziba*, *mazhar*, *mazhari-Zatu sifat*, *Haq-təaala mazhari*, *Ilahın mazhari*, *Mazhari-Allah*, *mazhari-Haq*, *mazhari-Xallaq*, *mazhari-Zati-qadim*, *mazhari-Zatu Sifat*, *mazhari-Yazdan*, *kuntu kanzin mazhari*, *tajalli*, *qamat and qadd* were searched in the works by Gazi Burhanaddin (14<sup>th</sup> century), Jahanshah Haqiqi (15<sup>th</sup> century), Dada Omar Rovshani (15<sup>th</sup> century), Sheikh Ibrahim Gulshani (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century), Kishvari (15<sup>th</sup> century), Shah Ismail Khatai (16<sup>th</sup> century) and Muhammad Fuzuli (16<sup>th</sup> century) during the research.

1. Although Gazi Burhanaddin (1344-1398) was an obvious representative of tasawwuf literature, no signs of anthropomorphism were found in his works. Since he died in the period when Hurufism was just emerging, it can be concluded that it was Hurufism that brought anthropomorphism to Azerbaijani tasawwuf literature. Because it is possible to observe obviously this basic conception of Hurufism in the works of poets who lived in later times.

2. One of them is the poet-ruler Jahanshah Haqiqi (1405-1467), who lived and created in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Haqiqi, who was strongly influenced by Hurufism and mainly by Nasimi, widely used the anthropomorphic terms *surəti-Rəhman, məzhəri-İlah* in his poems:

Zahida, gəl səcdə qıl şol surəti-Rəhmanə sən,

Səcdeyi-Həqqi sana çün əhli-təqva görsədir (Haqiqi, 2006, 37)

Təcəlla qıldı cəmalında Vahibi-surət,

Bu mə'nidən sana məzhəri-İlah dedim (Haqiqi, 2006, 74)

Although Haqiqi did not use the combinations *şabü-əmrəd, şabi-qətət* in his poems, he pointed to the Prophet Muhammad's hadith about seeing Allah in the Miraj and called Allah *huri-Rizvan*.

Vüsalın həsrəti-narı məni yaxdı fərağında,

Nə mahiyyətsən, ey can kim, cəmalın huri-Rizvandır.

Həqiqi çün səni gördü münəzzəh oldu aləmdən,

Gözündə surəti-Rəhman, dilində zikri-Sübhandır (Haqiqi, 2006, 28)

3. Sufi poet Sheikh Dada Omar Rovshan (-1487) lived and created in Tabriz for more than 25 years and created his own Rovshaniya sect. He was a student of Seyid Yahya Shirvani, who founded the "Khalvatiya" Sufi sect, which operated in the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries. As a result of our research, no signs of anthropomorphism were found in Rovshani's work.

4. Sheikh Ibrahim Gulshani (1426-1534), who was Rovshani's student, also found his own Gulshaniyya sect. However, unlike his teacher, the influence of the Hurufism can be obviously felt in his work. Terms with anthropomorphic meanings such as *məzhər*, *vəchullah*, *surəti-Rəhman*, *sufat*, *surət* are seen in Gulshani's poems. Human is Allah's *məzhər* (appearance) in his works. He called those who do not consider the human appearance to be the manifestation of Allah a div (devil) and şeytan (satan):

Ey camalun eşqə məzhər, surətün mir'ati-Zat,

Vəchün imiş hikmətullahi-qüdrət içün sifat (Gulshani, 2006, 47)

Görübən yüzüni Həqdən qaçub inkar edənə

Sögübən div ilə şeytan dedilər, gerçəkmiş (Gulshani, 2006, 153)

The poet showed that agahs of the Quran were written on human's face. As in Nasimi's work, Sheikh Ibrahim Gulshani also called the newly growing hairs on the young boy's face a line, creating an associative analogy with the agahs of the Quran, and mentioned the name of *reyhani*, one of the types of calligraphy:

Bitəli gülşəni-hüsnündə bənəfşə kimi xət,

Xətünə vərd ilə **reyhan** dedilər, gerçəkmiş (Gulshani, 2006, 153)

Such an interpretation is a very familiar theme for Nasimi's work. Azade Musayeva, stating that Gulshani benefited from Nasimi in terms of form, content, and ideas, gives a visual comparison of verses. See: (Gulshani, 2006, 20). The combination of *surəti-Rəhman* was used a lot in Sheikh Ibrahim Gulshani's work. It turns out that the poet was inspired by the Prophet Muhammad's hadith "Allah created Adam in the appearance of Ar-Rahmaan" (خلق الله آدم على صورة الرحمان):

Soraram adəm isən surəti-Rəhmana gəz,

Ğeybə inkar edübən, şahidə inkar nədür? (Gulshani, 2006, 99)

5. No lexical unit reflecting anthropomorphism was found in Kishvari's work, one of the prominent representatives of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Azerbaijani poetry.

6. Anthropomorphism terms such as *surəti-Rəhman, nuri-Rəhman, vəchullah, küntü kənz, məzhər, surəti-vəch* are observed in Shah Ismail Khatai's (1487-1524) work, the founder of the Safavid State, who lived and created it in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and is known for his poems written in Azerbaijani Turkic. The influence of Hurufism and Nasimi is clearly felt in the poet's work. Shah Ismail Khatai said that the world is fascinated by the human appearance manifested by Allah:

Sana bu künfəkan valeh bolubdur,

Ki, hüsnin surəti-Rəhmandır, ey dust (Khatai, 2005, 41)

The poet referred to the words spoken by Allah in honor of Adam in the following verse. *Kərrəmna* (کرّمنا) means "we have made him honorable and respectable" in Arabic here. This expression is quoted from Ayah 70 of Surah Al-Isra of the Quran: "We made Adam honorable and respectable" (وَلَقَدْ كَرَّ مُنَا بَنِي آدَمَ). The following verse is a nazira written to Nasimi's ghazal with radif "gör" ("see"):

Adəmin şə'nində kərrəmna dedi nitqi-İlah,

Əhli-mə'nasan, həqiqət sümmə vəchüllahi gör (Khatai, 2005, 56)

*Vəchullah* means "appearance of Allah", i.e. Adam here. Interpretation: If you understand the meaning, see the truth, then "Allah's appearance"! This ghazal by Khatai is entirely devoted to Hurufism. Even Fazlullah is mentioned in the last verse here.

Khatai corcerned the term *məzhər* to the appearance of human in which the light of Allah is reflected, and likened the eyebrows to the mihrab (a niche in the wall of a mosque that indicates the qibla) of the house of Allah, i.e. the mosque, and the figure to the minbar (the pulpit which the sermon is delivered):

Ey cəmalındır sənin Allah nurin məzhəri,

Uştə beytüllah qaşın mehrabi, qəddin minbəri (Khatai, 2005, 198)

Shah Ismail Khatai stated that the Ayah "Kuntu Kanz" was sent down because of the beautiful qualities of human. Allah said "be" to his creature and it is:

"Küntü kənz"in ayəti vəsfində olmuşdur nüzul,

Varlığına kün fəkan iqrar edən pərvərdigar (Khatai, 2005, 211)

7. No signs of anthropomorphism were observed in the works by the great poet Muhammad Fuzuli who lived in the  $16^{th}$  century.

## Conclusions

The lexical units such as shab, shabu-amrad, shabi-gatat, huri-Latif, surati-Rahman, surati-Hagq, surati-Allah, surati-Yazdan, surati-ziba, mazhar, mazhari-Zatu sifat, Haq-taala mazhari, Ilahin mazhari, Mazhari-Allah, mazhari-Haq, mazhari-Xallaq, mazhari-Zati-qadim, mazhari-Zatu Sifat, mazhari-Yazdan, tajalli, qamat and qadd, which we involved in the research, reveal the religious and philosophical way of thinking that reflects the signs of tashbih or anthropomorphism in Nasimi's work. The terms shab, shabuamrad, shabi-qatat, surati-Rahman among them were quoted from two hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad, which are considered inaccurate by Shia and Sunni theologians: "I saw my Allah in the appearance of a mature boy with curly hair " ( ( أَيْتُ رَبِّي فِي صُورَةِ شَابَ أَمْرَدَ، لَهُ وَفْرَةٌ جَعْدٌ قَطَلٌ، فِي رَوْضَةٍ خَضْرَاءَ ) and "Allah created Adam in the appearance of Ar-Rahmaan" (خلق الله آدم على صورة الرحمان). One group of muhaddiths accepts that it is accurate on the condition that it happens in a dream, another group claims that it happened directly, and the third group of scientists denies it completely. The muhaddiths who consider the dream to be accurate are the majority. These hadiths constitute the ideological basis of Hurufism (Adam is the appearance of Allah). It is no coincidence that Fazlullah Naimi turned to this topic many times, discussing the hadiths mentioned in the first pages of "Javidan-namah" and even quoted from the Torah confirming anthropomorphism. Anthropomorphism is reflected in the terms tashbih and tajseem in Islamic philosophy. Supporters of this belief created the mushabiha (Anthropotheism) and Mujassima (the sect that considers Allah as a body or materialises the attributes of Allah) sects.

Expanding the research, in order to observe signs of anthropomorphism in the works of representatives of medieval Azerbaijani tasawwuf literature, the abovementioned Hurufic terms were investigated in the works by Gazi Burhanaddin (14<sup>th</sup> century), Jahanshah Haqiqi (15<sup>th</sup> century), Dada Omar Rovshani (15<sup>th</sup> century), Sheikh Ibrahim Gulshani (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries), Kishvari (15<sup>th</sup> century), Shah Ismail Khatai (16<sup>th</sup> century) and Muhammad Fuzuli (16<sup>th</sup> century). The poet-ruler Jahanshah Haqiqi (1405-1467), Sheikh Ibrahim Gulshani (1426-1534), Shah Ismail Khatai (1487-1524) among them used lexical units reflecting anthropomorphism under the influence of obvious Hurufism and directly Nasimi. As a result of the research, it became obvious that the anthropomorphism was brought to the Azerbaijani tasawwuf literature exactly by Hurufism. Because it is possible to observe obviously this basic conception of Hurufism in the works of some poets who lived in later times.

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