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Ni'matullah-i Wali  
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# THE HERITAGE OF SUFISM

VOLUME II

*The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150–1500)*

EDITED BY LEONARD LEWISOHN

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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KİTAP YAYINLANDIKTAN  
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Shāh Ni'matullāh Walī:  
Founder of the Ni'matullāhī Sufi Order

Terry Graham

The powerful Sufi master Shāh Ni'matullāh Walī (731/1330-834/1431), told the mightiest ruler of the day, Tamerlane:

*While your domain stretches  
from China to Shiraz,  
Mine is a realm  
which has no frontier.<sup>1</sup>*

Born in Aleppo in 731/1331 A.D. of an Arab father (tracing his descent through nineteen generations back to the Prophet) and a Persian mother, Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Ni'matullāh Kirmānī, better known as Shāh Ni'matullāh Walī, was introduced to Sufism at the age of five, when his dervish father, Mīr 'Abdullāh, took him to a Sufi gathering. The seeds sown at this early age gradually sprouted into a desire to find guidance at the hands of a perfect master. Aleppo was the centre of Ibn 'Arabī's school of the 'Unity of Being' (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), so that Shāh Ni'matullāh was well-placed to profit from an education that included not only the traditional sciences but an input from the theosophy of Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240 AD), who had settled in Aleppo, where his tomb is a site of visitation to this very day. For further study in the religious sciences he went on to Shiraz, notable at the time as a centre for Shāfi'ite and other Sunni juridical studies. Thereby he entered the homeland of his mother for the first time.<sup>2</sup>

However, there came a point when no amount of book-learning could satisfy the young student's yearning; so, he set out to seek his master. In the course of his wanderings, he served many masters, each providing him help which was to serve him well when he was to encounter the master who was to take him to the highest station. It was in Mecca at the age of twenty-four that he came into contact with the Yemenite master, 'Arif al-Dīn Abu Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn As'ad ibn Asī ibn Sulaymān Nazil al-Haramayn al-Yāfi'i (698/1298—768/1367), whose stature was such that he had been given the authority of mastership by no less than six masters, linking him to several chains of initiation,<sup>3</sup> including the Shādhiliyya and the Qādiriyya, in which latter chain he founded the Yāfi'iyya branch, which survives

1. Jean Aubin, *Matériaux pour la biographie de Shāh Ni'matullāh Walī Kirmānī*, (Tehran & Paris, 1983), p. 200.

2. Aubin, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 2-3, makes reference to Shāh Ni'matullāh's study in Shiraz.

3. J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford University Press 1971; rpt. 1973), p. 273.

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خوارزمی و قاضی عضدالدین ایجی بودند (سجادی، ص ۲۰۶؛ لغت‌نامه، همان‌جا؛ نفیسی، همان‌جا). او در ۲۴ سالگی، در مکه، به خدمت شیخ عبدالله یافعی (متوفی ۷۶۸ق)، صاحب‌وض‌الریاحین فی حکایات الصالحین، رسید و از مریدان وی شد و، پس از ریاضیت‌ها و طی احوال و مقامات، از وی اجازه ارشاد گرفت (زرین‌کوب، ص ۱۹۱؛ سیدین، ص ۳۳۱).

شاه نعمت‌الله ولی، برخلاف عده‌ای از عرفا، از گوشه‌گیری و عزلت احتراز جسته و، به شوق درک فیض از محضر عارفان صاحب‌دل و مرشدان کامل، رهسپار سفرهای بسیاری شده بود. هرجا از عالمی ربانی نشان می‌یافت عاشقانه به خدمتش می‌شتافت و صادقانه به کسب معرفت می‌پرداخت. شاه نعمت‌الله مدت‌ها در عراق و حجاز و مصر و ترکستان و ایران به سیاحت و ریاضت روزگار گذراند. مسافرت او به مصر و ملاقاتش با سید حسن اخلاطی، مرشد و صوفی بزرگ آن دیار، در همه منابع تأیید شده است. شاه نعمت‌الله، پس از کسب اجازه از شیخ عبدالله یافعی، در حدود ۷۶۳ق، از راه مصر به سوی ایران عزیمت کرد و از طریق آذربایجان روانه ماوراءالنهر شد. هنگام عبور از شهرهای اردبیل و سراب، با بعضی از مشایخ و بزرگان آن دیار، مانند سید صدرالدین موسی صفوی، فرزند شیخ صفی‌الدین اردبیلی، ملاقات کرد. همچنین شاه قاسم انوار را، که در آن هنگام خردسال بود، در سراب دید و استعداد ذاتی او را ستود (نفیسی، همان‌جا؛ زرین‌کوب، همان‌جا؛ آثرفرینان، همان‌جا).

سپس، شاه نعمت‌الله از آذربایجان رهسپار دیار ماوراءالنهر شد و چند سالی را در حوالی بلخ و سمرقند و شهر سبز، واقع در دو منزلی سمرقند، و کوه‌های اطراف به عبادت و ریاضت گذراند.

سید نورالدین نعمه‌الله بن عبدالله بن محمد کوه بنانی کرمانی، معروف به «شاه نعمت‌الله ولی»، صوفی و شاعر نامدار و مؤسس طریقه نعمه‌اللهیه در قرن هشتم و نهم هجری قمری است.

به گفته تذکره‌نویسان و مورخان، «نعمت‌الله» نام وی و «نورالدین» لقب اوست. وی القاب دیگری نیز دارد که به مناسبت مقام ولایت و قطبیت به او داده‌اند؛ از جمله «ولی»، «شاه» و «امیر». تخلص وی نیز «سید» و «نعمت‌الله» بوده است (آثرفرینان، ذیل مدخل؛ لغت‌نامه، ذیل «نعمت‌الله ولی»؛ زرین‌کوب، ص ۱۸۹).

پدر شاه نعمت‌الله، میرعبدالله، اهل حلب، از شهرهای مشهور شام، بود و همه اجداد وی نیز در آنجا بودند. شاه نعمت‌الله در ۷۳۰ یا ۷۳۱ق در حلب متولد شد که مجمع علمای آن روزگار بود و از او آن کودکی در دامان پدرش، که مرشد وقت و پیر نورانی بود، به تحصیل دانش پرداخت (نفیسی، ج ۱، ص ۱۸۸؛ زرین‌کوب، همان‌جا؛ صفا، ج ۴، ص ۲۲۹؛ سیدین، ص ۳۳۰). نیاکان شاه نعمت‌الله همه از علما و عرفای عهد خود بودند؛ چنان‌که حضرت محمد (ص) نوزدهمین یا بیستمین جد وی بوده و او همواره به این شرف حسب و نسب مباهات می‌کرده است (زرین‌کوب، همان‌جا؛ دایرةالمعارف فارسی، ذیل مدخل).

از همان کودکی آثار هوشمندی و فراست در ناصیه شاه نعمت‌الله هویدا بود و در مجلس درس از لحاظ قریحه و استعداد در کسب مقدمات علوم و درک معانی از هم‌درسانش ممتاز بود؛ چنان‌که در کودکی قرآن و در جوانی فصوص‌الحکم ابن عربی را از حفظ داشت.

شاه نعمت‌الله مبادی علوم را نزد شیخ رکن‌الدین شیرازی و علم بلاغت را از شیخ شمس‌الدین مکی آموخت. استادان وی، در کلام و فقه، سید جلال‌الدین

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- Ni'matullāhī Order  
- Velāyat

NİMETULLAH VELİ

Micro-Majmū'ah dar tarjamah-i shvāl-i Shāh Ni'mat Allāh  
fiche Valf Kirmānī : mushtamil bar Risālah-i 'Abd al-  
89/ Bazzāq Kirmānī ; faql' az Jāmī' mufīdī ; Risā-  
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R. 31.874

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178. ... dar gah, bayyā (om. 834 n. = 1431 m., 1A, VIII  
286; Ateş, s. 322).

— *Āfāk u anfus*

Baş : ... هر یکی در دعائم چون یکی دارنده اشیا بود

Kastamonu nr. 1763 (yap. 213 b-214 a, ist. 998 h.).

— *Maḥabbat-nāme*

Baş : ... الحمد لله الذي عين عين حبيبه

Kastamonu nr. 1763 (yap. 107 b-108 b, ist. 1000 h.).

— *Risāla dar-taṣavvuf*

Baş : ... الحمد لله الذي على صفاته الل

Kastamonu nr. 1763 (yap. 117 b-122 b, ist. 1000 h.).

— *Risāla-i fakriyya* (manzum)

Baş : ... ای که داری لباس فقر بهر هیچ داری ز حال

Kastamonu nr. 1763 (yap. 56 a-57 b, ist. 1000 h.).

— *Risāla-i mukāṣafa*

Baş : ... یا حبیبي من انت ومن هویت

Kastamonu nr. 1763 (yap. 109 b-117 b, ist. 1000 h.).

Nimetullah Veli

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20 Eylül 2014

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and associated practices, may well, however, point to the popularity of singing and music in this period of socio-economic and political – and therefore spiritual – turmoil.

This separate polemic on *ghinā'*, typified by the confrontation between Shaykh 'Alī and Bāqir Sabziwārī discussed above, unfortunately reveals less about the details, let alone the popularity, of the practice itself on the 'popular,' or any other, level, than it does about the predilections of the protagonists. Sabziwārī's disavowal of the legality of the more extreme aspects of *ghinā'*, using overtly Uṣūlī analytical tools, demonstrates that the middle-ranking clerics' ascription of *darvīsh* tendencies to members of the court-clergy alliance, in effect to challenge the latter's *'irfānī* inclinations, had touched a nerve in one such cleric. Sabziwārī's defensiveness on this matter may account for his earlier *fatwā*, cited by Mīr Lawhī in his *Salvat al-Shī'a* – and perhaps an earlier essay as well – on *ghinā'*, as well as the *fatwā* of Nā'inī, another student of Bahā'ī, also cited therein. At work in this polemic, then, is a conflict within Uṣūlism, the differentiation perhaps usefully understood by the positioning of the likes of Qummī and Shaykh 'Alī, and Sabziwārī himself, within the hierarchy of the religious community of the time.

One may observe a non-Persian connection to the latter wave of anti-Sufi, and especially anti-singing, polemic. Qummī spent his formative years outside Iran, as did Shaykh 'Alī. Neither was involved in the maelstrom of court/clergy politics which informed the careers and contributions of Bahā'ī, Majlisī, Fayḍ and Sabziwārī. In the end, these practitioners of elite 'high theosophical' *'irfānī* discourse in the later part of the seventeenth century – Uṣūlīs to the core – were as much put on the defensive by other Uṣūlīs not linked to the same political alignments, particular discussions or levels of inquiry. While these divisions do not apparently correspond to the divisions among Uṣūlīs charted by al-Samāhijī in the early eighteenth century, they reveal interesting splits within Safavid Uṣūlism in this earlier period, which merit further study.

### *The Ni'matu'llāhī Order Under Safavid Suppression and in Indian Exile*

TERRY GRAHAM

#### I. INTRODUCTION

When in the city of Tabriz in the summer of 1501 Ismā'īl Ṣafavī (d. 1524), teenage hereditary leader of the Safavid Sufi order, declared himself shāh of Iran, he established the Twelve-Imām Shī'ite sect of Islam as the state religion. Up to that time, for nearly two and a half centuries of Mongol Īlkhānīd and Timurid rule, religion had been relatively free, with the majority of Sufi orders existing within the Sunni community. However, with the advent of the Safavid dynasty, one of the world's first ideological dictatorships was founded – its most important predecessor having been Catholic Spain. Every Muslim organization was required to declare itself conformist with the state ideology. As a result, the Sufi orders had two choices: either declare themselves officially adherent to the Twelve-Imām Shī'ite sect or else quit Persian soil altogether and relocate somewhere else. The Qādiriyya and the Naqshbandiyya chose the latter course, while the Dhahabiyya, the Nūrbakhshiyya and the Ni'matu'llāhiyya opted for the former alternative.

As the tail of dogma wags the dog of the purpose for which the dogma was designed, so the Safavids' ideological zeal made them oblivious to their dervish origins, politicizing their once-mystical purpose to the point where, contrary to the Sufi principle of universal tolerance, they came to suppress any expressions which were different from their own extremist Shī'ite doctrinal position. As their grip tightened, from the time that their chief Shāh Ismā'īl seized power in 1501 they forced the existing Sufi orders to choose whether or not to accept the new Imāmite dispensation.<sup>1</sup> If the Orders were committed to Sunnism, as the Qādirīs and Naqshbandīs were, they were driven into the

<sup>1</sup> See A. Arjomand, "The Suppression of Sufism," in *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1984), pp. 112–19.

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such an auspicious epoch of prominence? The answer is probably twofold. Those members of the family who remained in Isfahān were so thoroughly identified with the court-contaminated aristocracy that when the Safavids fell in 1722, they too tumbled into obscurity. As for the Yazd branch, being less identified with the regime, their fate may have been settled in a different way, at the hands of the intolerant regime itself, a hint of which is suggested by the following historical testimony:

Under Shāh Sulaymān, who succeeded 'Abbās in 1666, a new and insistent voice entered the court, that of a doctrinaire Shī'a theologian, Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī. By the time Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn succeeded Sulaymān in 1694, Muḥammad Bāqir had prepared the ground to become the real power behind the throne. He was not only fiercely opposed to the Sunnis, but also to the Sufis as well as a whole catalog of minority groups, embracing Mazdeans (Zoroastrians), Jews and Christians, forcing all he could reach to embrace his brand of Shī'ite Islam.<sup>136</sup>

The Ni'matu'llāhiyya of Yazd may well have still been carrying both the brand of patrimonial Sufi dynasticism and potential political autonomy, making them ready targets, after the benign eras of the shāhs Šafī, 'Abbās II and Sulaymān, to be suppressed by the true ruler of the country after 1594, the rabid, crusading fundamentalist Majlisī and his band of zealots.

In conclusion, in Persia, the very course the family took to preserve itself sowed the seeds of its ultimate dissipation, for through intermarriage with the royal dynasty, and by waging war with the Ottomans, in being worldly in its association with the temporal powers-that-be – the Safavid state – the Ni'matu'llāhī clan made itself vulnerable to the ways of the world, hence falling into decline when its state connections and links to royal patronage were broken. Similarly in the Deccan, the efforts of Shāh Ni'matu'llāh's descendants to maintain by hereditary means the order as the private preserve of their own family pedigree ultimately failed, serving solely as the conduit of a spirituality which could only be revived once the transmission had passed out of the family and into the hands of those who had purely spiritual motives.

descendants of Shāh Ni'matu'llāh in the city of Kirmān but did not specify whom they were. The present Ni'matu'llāhī *qūb*, Dr Javad Nurbakhsh, himself a native of Kirmān, maintains that there are no extant descendants of the family in that city, stating that anyone with the Ni'matu'llāhī name would have taken it through association with the Sufi order or through identification with the saintly founder, whose shrine in Māhān is so close to the city. Dr Nurbakhsh reports that individuals living in the region of Iranian Baluchistan did come to him, offering credible testimony of descent from the founder, but these are the only people he can reliably say are descendants of Shāh Ni'matu'llāh still on Iranian soil (personal communication from Dr Nurbakhsh, London, UK, April 1997).

<sup>136</sup> Clive Irving, *Crossroads of Civilization: 3000 Years of Persian History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson 1979), p. 174. See also the essay by Leonard Lewisohn in this present volume, pp. 131–4.

#### Rewriting Ni'matu'llāhī History in Safavid Chronicles\*

SHOLEH A. QUINN

Sufism under the Safavids (907/1501–1135/1722) has received considerable attention from various contemporary scholars. A number of important monographs, articles and dissertations in the last several decades have all shed light on various aspects of this topic.<sup>1</sup> These studies have explored a wide range of themes, such as the decline of the Qizilbāsh during the rise of the Safavid state, the history of the Safavid Sufi order and its relationship with *ghulāt* movements and Shi'ism, the role Sufis played during the early years of Shāh Ismā'il (reg. 907/1501–930/1524), the history and sociology of Shi'ism in Iran, and general discussions of the history of Sufism under the Safavids. Many of these works employ Safavid chronicles to trace the history of the Sufi orders, but these valuable records of the past cannot be fully utilized in the absence of a historiographic perspective.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the Safavid chronicles and to discover how Safavid chroniclers wrote and rewrote the history of one of the

\*I would like to thank Dr Ann Fidler and Dr Steven Miner of Ohio University for reading earlier drafts of this. I take full responsibility, of course, for all errors and oversights.

<sup>1</sup> The following list is by no means comprehensive, but includes some of the significant studies of Sufism under the Safavids: Hamid Algar, "Some Observations on Religion in Safavid Persia," *Iranian Studies* 7 (1974), pp. 287–93; Said Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: Religion, Political Order, and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1984); Jean Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré (Études Safavides, III)," *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien*, 5 (1988): 1–130; Jean Aubin, "Études Safavides: Schah I Ismā'il et les notables de l'Iraq: Persan," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 2 (1959), p. 3781; Jean Aubin, "La politique religieuse des Safavides," in *Le Shi'ism imamate: Colloque de Strasbourg (6–9 mai 1968)*, arranged by R. Brunschvig and T. Fahd (Paris: PUF 1970), pp. 235–44; Jean Aubin, "Revolution Chiite et conservatisme: les Soufis de Lāhejān, 1500–1514 (Études Safavides, II)," *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien*, 1 (1984), p. 1–40; Kathryn Babayan, "The Waning of the Qizilbash: The Temporal and the Spiritual in Seventeenth Century Iran" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University 1993); Michel Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safavids: Shi'ism, Sāfism, and the Ḡulāt* (Freiburger Islamstudien, 3 Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner; 1972); and Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "Religion in Safavid Persia," *Iranian Studies* 7 (1974), pp. 271–86.

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# حسان انوشه، دانشنامه ادب فارسی: ادب فارسی در شبه قاره (هند، پاکستان، بنکلاش)، جلد. چهارم، تهران ۱۳۸۰. ۱۳۷۵۹۹. ISAM

رحیم نامه

رساله در سیر حضرت شاه نعمت الله ولی

بهرتپور ۱۹۰۰م - ، شاعر فارسی گوی پاکستانی. نیاکان وی از مرز شمال غربی شبه قاره به اله آباد کوچیدند و در روستای کتنی سکونت گزیدند. پس از آن برخی در جیپور و برخی دیگر در بهرتپور نشیمن گزیدند. رزی تحصیلات ابتدایی را در جیپور به پایان برد. پس از آن از محضر استادان نامی، مانند سید فضل علی، معروف به مولوی جیون علی، مولوی رشیدالدین فائز و مولوی سلیم الدین تسنیم نارنولی بهره برد. درس های عربی، فارسی، فلسفه، منطق و لغت را به خوبی فراگرفت. بیست و هشت سال در اداره فرهنگ جیپور به تدریس زبان فارسی و علوم شرقی پرداخت. در ۱۹۴۷م پس از تشکیل پاکستان، از جیپور به پاکستان مهاجرت کرد و در روستای کوتری در شمال کراچی که در کنار رود سند نهاده است سکنی گزید. پس از آن به حیدرآباد (مرکز ایالت سند) کوچید. وی به زبان و ادبیات فارسی عشق می ورزد و به دو زبان فارسی و اردو شعر گفته است. سروده هایش روان و شیوا است. مصطلحات، تلمیحات و کنایات ادبی در اشعارش دیده می شود. در اشعارش پیرو سبک عرفی و نظیری است. در شعرهای فارسی به غزل بیشتر از انواع دیگر شعر توجه دارد. اشعار و مقالات ادبی و انتقادی رزی در مجلات معروف کشورش چاپ شده است.

منابع: شاعران پارسیگوی معاصر پاکستان؛ فارسی گویان پاکستان،

۴۸۳-۴۸۷؛ گنج شایگان، ۴۶-۴۷.

رسولی

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نوشته عبدالعزیز بن شیر ملک بن محمد واعظی \* (ح ۸۳۸/

۸۶۲ق). این رساله قدیم ترین کتاب در شرح احوال شاه

نعمت الله ولی است و به علاءالدین احمد شاه بهمنی (۸۳۸-

۸۶۲ق) پیشکش شده است. تاریخ دقیق تألیف آن به درستی

دانسته نیست. اما از آن جا که کتاب به علاءالدین بهمنی پیشکش

شده و تاریخ فوت شاه نعمت الله نیز به روایت همه

تذکره نویسان ۸۳۴ق است، می توان حدس زد که تألیف کتاب

بود. در تذکره ها سروده هایی از او نقل شده است. دقیقاً دانسته نیست که آیا از رحیم گرائیلی دیوانی به جا مانده است یا نه، اما در کتابخانه دیوان هند نسخه ای از دیوان رحیم، به شماره 2728، نگه داری می شود که به گمان هرمان اته، مؤلف فهرست دست نویس های فارسی کتابخانه دیوان هند، گویا از آن رحیم گرائیلی است.

منابع: روز روشن، ۲۸۹-۲۹۰؛ ریاض العارفین، آفتاب رای، ۲۵۷/۱؛

سفینه هندی، ۹۳-۹۴؛ صفح ابراهیم، ۷۴؛ مخزن الخرائب، ۳۵۰/۲؛

Catalogue of persian Manuscripts in the Library of the

India Office ,924.

برزگر

رحیم نامه (ra.him.nā.me)، کتابی به فارسی در تاریخ دژ رهناس در پنجاب و قوم کهکرن از رحیم علی خان فرزند حفیظ الدین خان، معروف به نوکیال، نوشته در ۱۲۵۶ق. نویسنده اثر از مردم قصبه دو میلان در پرگنه رهناس بود و به قوم کهکرن پنجاب که می گفتند تبارشان به کی گهر شاهزاده کیانی می رسد، تعلق داشت. مؤلف رحیم نامه در اثر خود، ابتدا به موقع جغرافیایی ناحیه رهناس می پردازد و پس از آن نیز تاریخ دژ رهناس را از زمان ساخته شدنش به دست ساهو سلطانی تا مرگ رنجیت سنگه (- ۱۲۵۵ق) بیان می دارد. سپس، تاریخ قوم کهکرن، از دوره کیانیان تا زمان تألیف، را می آورد و دست آخر نیز به اشاره های تاریخی گوناگون می پردازد. نسخه ای دست نویس از رحیم نامه به شماره Or.1919 در موزه بریتانیایی نگه داری می شود.

منابع: پاکستان مین فارسی ادب، ۸۸/۴؛ فهرست نسخه های خطی

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K.A. NIZAMI

### 'Abd Allah Wali, Shah Ni'mat Allah Nur al-Din b. (1330/31-)

Shah Ni'mat Allah Nur al-Din b. 'Abd Allah Wali (sometimes designated additionally as Kirmani, especially in Indian sources) was born in Aleppo, in either 730/1329-30 or 731/1330-1. His father was a sayyid, claiming descent from Isma'il b. Dja'far (which may help

to account for the loyalty given the Ni'mat Allahi order by several Nizari imams of the Kasim-Sahi line) and his mother was descended from the Shabankara rulers of Fars. The stylistic superiority of Ni'mat Allah's Persian to his Arabic writings suggests that he must have been brought to a Persian-speaking environment while still a child.

In any event, he is recorded to have studied during his early youth in Shiraz with theologians such as Sayyid Djalal al-Din Khwarazmi and 'Adud al-Din al-Idji (d. 756/1355). Ni'mat Allah was initiated into Sufism by the well-known Yemeni historian and muhaddith, 'Abd Allah al-Yafi'i (d. 768/1367), whose spiritual lineage went back through three generations to Abu Madyan (d. 590/1194). Ni'mat Allah joined al-Yafi'i's circle in Mecca when he was twenty-four years of age, and stayed with him until his death. Most probably it was al-Yafi'i, who frequently described the Sufis as 'kings' in his writings, who bestowed the title of Shah on Ni'mat Allah.

After the death of his master, Ni'mat Allah embarked on a long series of travels. These brought him first to Egypt, where he spent a period of retreat in the cave on Mt. Mukattam that had been used for the same purpose by the Bektashi saint Kayghusuz Abdal. He then travelled through Syria and 'Irak to Adharbaydjan, meeting in Ardabil with the progenitor of the Safawids, Shaikh Sadr al-Din and possibly with Kasim al-Anwar (although the latter had been little more than an adolescent).

It was in Transoxiana that Ni'mat Allah first presented himself as a murshid and the propagator of a new order. Conditions there must have appeared propitious, for the Turkic nomads of the area, awaiting Islamisation,

شاهنشاهی

خان خانان در هندوستان به او بخشیده بود. بهبود در نقاشی و خوشنویسی خط نستعلیق و تذهیب و تزیین کتابت و تصویر کتابها مهارت و وقوف داشته است و از بی‌بدیلان روزگار به شمار می‌آمده است. از آثار خطی او است یک قطعه از مرقعی در کتابخانه خزینه اوقاف استانبول به قلم دودانگ متوسط که از روی خط سلطانعلی مشهدی مشق کرده و رقم دارد: «مشق فقیر بهبود».

منبع: /حوال و آثار خوشنویسان، ۱۰۲/۱، رفیعی مهرآبادی

شاه نعمت الله ولی، متخلص به سید و ملقب به نورالدین، از اکابر عرفای شیعه امامیه، عارف و صوفی معروف و مؤسس سلسله نعمت اللهیه. در سال ۷۳۰ یا ۷۳۱ ق در حلب به دنیا آمد و در ۸۴۳ ق در ماهان کرمان درگذشت. نسبش با هفده یا هجده واسطه به امام محمد باقر (ع) می‌رسد و نسب طریقی او نیز بواسطه معروف کرخی به امام رضا (ع) منتهی می‌گردد. مادرش از ایل شبانکاره فارس بود.

شاه نعمت الله دوران جوانی و اوایل عمر را بیشتر در عراق گذراند و در ۲۴ سالگی به زیارت مکه رفت و هفت سالی در آنجا مقیم گشت. مقدمات علوم را نزد شیخ رکن الدین شیرازی و علم بلاغت نزد شیخ شمس الدین مکی و کلام و اصول نزد قاضی عضدالدین، تحصیل نموده و مرصادالعباد و متن فصوص را نیز همانجا مباحثه کرد. در مکه در مجلس شیخ عبدالله یافعی تلمذ کرد و از خواص مریدان وی گردید. پس از وفات یافعی مکه را ترک نمود. چندی در سمرقند، هرات، بلخ، مرو و یزد زندگی کرد. و به ویژه در سمرقند اربعین‌ها به ریاضت پرداخت. سرانجام به کرمان آمد و در قصبه ماهان مقیم شد و ۲۵ سال آخر عمر خود را در آنجا گذراند. در بخشی از عمر خود با امیر تیمور و پسرش سلطان شاهرخ معاصر بود. شاهرخ و نیز سلاطین بهمنی دکن نسبت به او اعتقادی تمام داشتند. شاه نعمت الله، علاقه خاصی به زراعت و عمران داشته و در یزد و ماهان نزدیک خانقاه خویش باغ و عمارت می‌ساخته است.

فرقه نعمتی که به ویژه در عهد صفویه و بعد از آن در غالب ولایات ایران مدام با فرقه حیدری جنگ داشته، منسوب به او است. سلسله نعمت اللهیه از مشهورترین سلاسل عرفا و صوفیه می‌باشد و پیروان آن در ایران و هند و افغانستان و نقاط دیگر فراوان است. بعضی از اولاد وی بعدها با خاندان سلطنتی صفویه وصلت و قرابت حاصل نمودند. تربت او در ماهان کرمان، هم اکنون زیارتگاه صوفیان و مریدان و مردم عادی است. در جوار مقبره‌اش، خانقاهی است که دراویش نعمت اللهیه، اغلب در آنجا اقامت دارند. وی غیر

در ۴ جلد، ۱۳۷۲؛ لطف این تصحیح و طبع مجدد (جز رفع اغلاط و اشتباهات، و تبدیل رمزها و بعضی یادداشتها از روسی به فارسی) در این است که از آغاز تا انجام شماره صفحات آن با چاپ اصلی مسکو همخوان و یکسان است؛ تصحیح بنیاد شاهنامه فردوسی (با اشراف استاد مجتبی مینوی، ناتمام) و تصحیح دکتر جلال خالقی مطلق (نا تمام) یادکردنی‌اند. همچنین چند چاپ عکسی (فاکسیمیل) از نسخه‌های کهن شاهنامه داخل و خارج ایران انجام گرفته که به سه اثر برجسته از آن میان فهرست وار، و همچنان بدون پرداختن به ارزیابی انتقادی، اشاره می‌شود: ۱) چاپ عکسی نسخه معروف فلورانس (بنیاد دایرة المعارف اسلام، مرکز نشر نسخ خطی، دانشگاه تهران، با مقدمه استاد علی رواقی، تهران ۱۳۶۹) ۲) چاپ عکس نسخه‌ای از شاهنامه همراه و در حاشیه ظفرنامه حمدالله مستوفی که تاریخ کتابت نسخه ۸۰۵ است (تهران، با کوشش مرکز نشر دانشگاهی و انتشارات آکادمی علوم اتریش، با مقدمه دکتر نصرت الله رستگار در سال ۱۳۷۷ ش / ۱۹۹۹ م) ۳) چاپ عکسی با عنوان شاهنامه فردوسی با خمسة نظامی از روی نسخه متعلق به خاندان سعدلو که در مرکز دایرة المعارف بزرگ اسلامی محفوظ است و به همت همان مرکز با مقدمه استاد دکتر فتح الله مجتبایی (تهران ۱۳۷۹) چاپ شده است و نسخه متعلق به قرن هشتم هجری برآورده شده است. در خاتمه باید از همت و پیگیری نیم قرنه استاد ایرج افشار در جمع و تدوین کتابشناسی فردوسی به نیکی یاد کرد.

منابع: به جز آنچه در متن یاد شده است، فردوسی، محمد امین ریاحی، ۱۱ به بعد؛ سرچشمه‌های فردوسی‌شناسی، محمد امین ریاحی؛ فردوسی و شاهنامه، محیط طباطبائی؛ بوسه بر خاک پی حیدر علیه السلام (بخشی در ایمان و آرمان فردوسی)، علی ابوالحسنی (منذر)، ۱۶۷ به بعد؛ در شناخت فردوسی، سید عطاءالله مہاجرانی، ج ۱، اطلاعات و حماسه سرایی در ایران، ذبیح الله صفا؛ زندگی و مرگ پهلوانان در شاهنامه، اسلامی ندوشن؛ فردوسی و شعرا، مجتبی مینوی؛ تاریخ محمدی، شیخ حسن کاشی؛ کتابشناسی فردوسی، ایرج افشار؛ مقاله تیریاغ دانش از جويا جهانبخش، مندرج در آغاز خردنامه حکیم توس؛ مقاله مذهب فردوسی، از دکتر احمد مهدی دامغانی؛ گلچرخ (شماره‌های ۸ و ۹، ص ۴)؛ مقاله تفسیر و تأویل عرفانی شاهنامه، از جويا جهانبخش، در خرد جاویدان.

شاهنشاهی، بهبود، از بردگان شاه طهماسب صفوی (۹۳۰ - ۹۸۴ ق) بود که در حرم خاص به کتابت می‌پرداخت برخی گفته‌اند از شاگردان محمد حسین تبریزی در خط بود. و بعضی گفته‌اند برده میرباقر فرزند میر علی هروی بوده است که

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ISMĀ'ILĪS AND NĪ'MATULLĀHĪS

The purpose of this article is not to explain the nature of either Ismā'ilism or of the Nī'matullāhī Sufi Order, but rather to trace a connexion between them which is historical and of necessity spiritual, and to try to arrive at an understanding, however tentative, of the structure of this relationship. Suffice it to say, as definition, that Ismā'ilism is a branch of Shī'ite Islam which differs from Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism in viewing Ismā'il ibn Ja'far rather than Mūsā ibn Ja'far as the seventh Imam; that Ismā'ilism, and particularly Nizārī Ismā'ilism (with which we are concerned here) developed a complex and rich philosophy, owing a great deal to pre-Islamic gnosticism and Neo-Platonism; that it diverges in certain aspects of practice and belief from other branches of Islam, particularly in its concept of the Imam; and that it survives today under the leadership of the Āqā Khān<sup>(1)</sup>. As for the Nī'matullāhī

(1) A great deal has been written about Nizārī Ismā'ilism, most of it of dubious value. For history, *The Order of the Assassins* by Marshall Hodgson (The Hague: Mouton, 1955) is generally reliable; for doctrine, various works of Henry Corbin are undoubtedly the best reference—see, for example, "Divine Epiphany and Spiritual Rebirth in Ismailian Gnosis" in: *Man and Transformation* (Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks 5), pp. 69-160 (New York and London 1964); *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Part II (Paris, 1964); ed. and trans. *Trilogie ismaélienne* (Tehran, Institut Franco-Iranien, 1961); and numerous articles, particularly in the *Eranos Jahrbuchs*. For a general introduction to Ismā'ilian gnosis in the context of traditional thought, see S. H. Nasr, *Ideals and Realities of Islam* (London, 1966), pp. 157-176. The innumerable works of W. Ivanow are difficult to assess; in general it might be said that on doctrine they are not always reliable, although on historical matters he is often the only writer to have concerned himself with certain obscure aspects of Ismā'ilism, so that in this respect he is literally "incomparable".

the Nī'matullāh died in 834/1431 and al-Mustanşir in<sup>(1)</sup>, this is possible, though Ivanow, the expert in the matter specifically states that Mustanşir's Sufic leanings towards the Nī'matullāhī Order. Mustanşir's "Sufi" was Shāh Qalandar, and he composed a book called *Jawānmardi*; according to Ivanow, "chivalry" is a name never met with in older Ismā'ilī texts. The use of such a title is reminiscent of Shāh Nī'matullāh himself. Mustanşir was not the first Ismā'ilī Imam to use such a name; apparently this was Qāsim Shāh, who died in 766/1364<sup>(2)</sup>, 66 years before Shāh Nī'matullāh. Ivanow himself says the title first begins to appear "about the time of the wars"<sup>(3)</sup>. When Qāsim Shāh died, Shāh Nī'matullāh would have been in his forties, so it is possible they were met. Recently there has come to light a unique manuscript, found in an Ismā'ilī library in Badakhshan by Bertels (who kindly showed it to us), of a commentary by Nī'matullāh on a qaṣīdah of the famous Ismā'ilī philosopher Nāṣir-i Khusrau<sup>(4)</sup>. It begins with the lines

The Intellect but once picks up the measuring cup  
To measure everything in the farmer's head!

Nī'matullāh comments on each line or word, giving his own interpretation (e.g. the "measuring cup" is the "contentment", the "dark ocean" is "non-existence", signifies "gnosis", etc.) The copyist, an Ismā'ilī named Shāhzādiḥ Muḥammad the son of Pīr-i Farrukh, dates his work 1337 A.H. and adds that he is copying an old and original manuscript "with much difficulty". He is rash to speculate on the basis of this manuscript.

Nī'matullāh himself had any Ismā'ilī connexions, or Nizārī Khusrau's fame and popularity spread much

now, *Ismaili Literature* (Tehran, 1963), p. 139. But in "Ismaili Literature" (unpublished manuscript, n. d.), p. 29, Ivanow says he probably dates the beginning of the 10th/16th. century."

28.

60, note 41.

the qaṣīdah itself has been published in the *Dīwān-i Nāṣir-i Khusrau* (Tehran, A.I.I.S.), pp. 133-4.



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JOHN N. PADEN

**NI'MATULLĀHĪYAH.** Beginning as a Sunnī Šūfī order in the fourteenth century in southeastern Iran, the Ni'matullāhīyah became Shī'ī in the fifteenth century. It established itself in India in the same century, returned to Iran in the eighteenth, and since the mid-1970s has spread into the West.

The Ni'matullāhīyah takes its name from Nūr al-Dīn Ni'mat Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kirmānī, better known as Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Walī, a Šūfī and prolific author born around the year 1331. At the age of twenty-four Ni'mat Allāh met his shaykh, 'Abd Allāh ibn As'ad al-Yāfi'ī (d. 1367). Yāfi'ī's main lineage goes back to Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī (d. 1126), passes through Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d. 815), and ultimately derives from 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib (d. 661). Shāh Ni'mat Allāh, a Sunnī, lived most of his life in Iran in the region of Kirman. After guiding his followers for nearly sixty years with teachings steeped in the thought of Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 1240), he died in 1430/31. His domed tomb in Mahan continues to be a pilgrimage site and is one of the marvels of Islamic art and architecture.

Soon after the passing of Shāh Ni'mat Allāh, while Iran was still under Timurid rule, his son and successor Khalīl Allāh (d. 1456) moved the base of the order to India. During the rule of the Šafavids, by which time

the order had become Shī'ī, the Ni'matullāhīyah gradually died out in Iran. It returned, however, in 1775, when the ecstatic Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh began gathering disciples. This Šūfī activity was seen as a threat by the Shī'ī establishment, and in 1797/98 Ma'sūm 'Alī and subsequently his follower Nūr 'Alī Shāh-i Iṣfahānī were killed by Shī'ī religious authorities.

Throughout the Qājār period the mutual dislike between Ni'matullāhīs and the Shī'ī authorities gradually lessened. The order flourished, but after Majdhūb 'Alī Shāh (d. 1823) it divided into a number of branches. In the early 1990s the two most significant branches were known as the Gunābādī order and the Ni'matullāhī Šūfī order. The Gunābādī order, characterized by an emphasis on *sharī'ah*-based practice, has as its current shaykh Rīzā 'Alī Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn Tābāndah, who is known internationally for his *A Muslim Commentary on the Declaration of Human Rights* (London, 1970). The Ni'matullāhī Šūfī order, otherwise known as the Khāniqāhī Ni'matullāhī, the branch of Dhū al-Riyāsatayn, or the Mu'nisiyah order, emphasizes the universal, spiritual, and ethical aspects of Sufism and Islam while still following the *sharī'ah*. Its membership has traditionally come from all strata of Iranian society, with the middle class being dominant. Since 1974 the order has expanded beyond its base in Iran into the United States, Europe, and Africa. Outside of Iran the membership of the order consists of both expatriate Iranians and converts to Islam. The shaykh of the order is Dr. Javād Nūrbakhsh, a retired psychiatrist, who lives in London; he has published numerous works on Sufism in both English and Persian and oversees the publication of a journal, *Sufi*.

Dr. Nūrbakhsh puts love ahead of intellect as the key to spiritual advancement. In addition, he emphasizes the need for devotees continuously to practice the silent remembrance (*dhikr*) of God while they are in the midst of productive activity in the world. It is also essential that devotees attune themselves to the shaykh. Traditionally this attunement, devotion to, or "passing away" (*fanā'*) in the shaykh has often been regarded as necessary for attaining the goal of Ni'matullāhī Šūfī practice, which is "passing away" in God and then "subsisting" (*baqā'*) in God.

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sionistic approach to the subject as well as for using an imagery derived from personal observation.

Many of Nīmā Yūshīdj's poems had a strong social appeal. Notable specimens reflecting this aspect of his verse included *Maḥbas* ("Prison"), *Khānwāda-yi sarbāz* ("The soldier's family"), *Āy ādamhā!* ("O you people!"), *Nākūs* ("The bell"), *Kār-i shah pā* ("The night watchman"), and *Murgh-i āmin* ("The amen bird"). Works such as these show a predilection for popular causes, and pro-leftist sympathies could be discerned among them.

Nīmā Yūshīdj left an unmistakable mark on contemporary trends in Persian poetry. The generation of poets that emerged after the forties recognised him as their leader. One of his most important contributions was his effort to provide Persian poetry with a new formal structure, and he was the first to popularise free verse, which became the major vehicle of expression for future poets.

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(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

**NI'MAT ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. KĀDĪ MUBĀRAK**, known as *Khalīl* Ṣūfī, author of a Persian-Turkish dictionary entitled *Lughat-i Ni'mat Allāh*. Born in Sofia, where as an enameller he made a reputation as an artist, he moved to Istanbul and there entered the *Naqshbandī* order. Association with the *Naqshbandī* dervishes made him more closely acquainted with literature and especially with Persian poetry. Ni'mat Allāh decided to make accessible to others the knowledge he had acquired by an ardent study of Persian literature, and thus arose his lexicographical work, which he probably compiled at the instigation and with the assistance of the famous Kemāl Paṣṣa-zāde (d. 940/1533 [q.v.]). He died in

969/1561-2 and was buried in the court of the monastery at the Edirne gate in Istanbul. His work, which survives in a considerable number of manuscripts, is divided into three parts: verbs, particles and inflection, and nouns. His sources were: 1. *Uḡnūm-i 'Adjam* (see Oxford, Bodleian, Uri, 291, no. 108); 2. *Kāsimā-yi Lutf Allāh Halīmī* (Hādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 503); 3. *Wasīla-yi maḳāsid* (Flügel, *Vienna catalogue*, i, 197); 4. *Lughāt-i Karā-Hiṣārī* (Rieu, 513a); 5. *Šihāh-i 'Adjam* (Hādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 91 and *Leiden catalogue*, i, 100). Besides making careful use of these sources, Ni'mat Allāh added much independent material, of which his dialect notes and ethnographical observations are especially valuable. This work is of considerable scientific importance and deserves greater attention than it has so far received.

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(E. BERTHELS)

**NI'MAT ALLĀH B. ḤABĪB ALLĀH HARAWĪ**, a Persian historian. His father was for 35 years in the service of the Great Mughal Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605) where he was a *khālīṣa* inspector. Ni'mat Allāh himself was for 11 years historian to *Djahāngīr* (1014-37/1605-28), then entered the service of *Khān-Djahān Lōdī* [q.v.] whom he accompanied in 1018/1609-10 on the campaign against the Deccan. Soon afterwards he became acquainted with Miyān Haybat Khān b. Salīm Khān Kākar of Sāmāna, who persuaded him to write a history of the reign of *Khān-Djahān*. Ni'mat Allāh began his work in Malkāpūr in *Dhū 'l-Hidjdja* 1020/February 1612 and finished it on 10 *Dhū 'l-Hidjdja* 1021/2 February 1613. The work is dedicated to *Khān-Djahān*, and is entitled *Ta'rikh-i Khāndjahānī* and consists of a *muḳaddima*, 7 *bābs* and a *khātima*. It deals with the history of the Afghāns, beginning with their legendary descent from the Banū Ismā'īl and treats with special fullness of the history of Bahlūl Lōdī, Shīr Shāh Sūr and Nawwāb Khān-Djahān Lōdī. The last chapters are devoted to the genealogy of the Afghān tribes and the reign of *Djahāngīr*. The *khātima* contains biographies of famous Afghān *shaykhs*. There is also an abbreviated version of the work entitled *Makhzan-i Afghānī*.

**Bibliography:** H. Ethé, in *GIPh*, ii, 362-3; Rieu, *Catalogue*, 210a, 212a, 903b; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, v, 67-115. The shorter version is translated by B. Dorn, *History of the Afghans: translated from the Persian of Neamat Ullah*, in *Orient. Transl. Fund*, London 1829-36. See also Storey, i, 393-5, 1302; Storey-Bregel, ii, 1209-14.

(E. BERTHELS)

**NI'MAT-ALLĀHIYYA**, a Persian Ṣūfī order that soon after its inception in the 8th/14th century transferred its loyalties to Shī'ī Islam. The Ni'mat-Allāhiyya first took root in south-eastern Persia where it continued to prosper until the time of Shāh 'Abbās. For the next two centuries it survived only in the Decani branch that had been established in the 9th/15th century. Reintroduced into Persia with considerable vigour in the early 13th/late 18th century, the Ni'mat-Allāhiyya became the most widespread Ṣūfī order in the country, a position it has retained until recent times.

1. The founder and the development of his order.

The eponym of the order, Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Nūr



*Also published by Simorgh Sufi Society*  
**The Teachings of a Sufi Master**  
by Dr. Seyed Mostafa Azmayesh

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on the Occasion of the  
First International Symposium on  
**Shah Nematollah Vali**

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# منهاج الحق واليقين

في تفضيل عليّ أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام  
على سائر الأنبياء والمرسلين عليهم السلام  
ما خلا محمد صلى الله عليه وآله خاتم النبيين

تأليف

ولي بن نعمة الله الحسيني الرضوي الحائري  
من أعلام القرن العاشر الهجري

تحقيق

مشتاق صالح المظفر

Turasuna, c. 23, sy. 91-92, 1428 Hum, ss. 253-414

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Alimullah Veli



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New York - 1991, s. 144-161.

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# The Nimatullāhī

JAVAD NURBAKHSH

Dergi / Kaap  
Kütüphane Mevcuttu

**T**HE NIMATULLĀHĪ ORDER,<sup>1</sup> one of the most well-known Sufi orders, has many followers in the United States, Europe, and especially Persia at the present time. As the name suggests, the order was founded by Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Walī, a renowned master of the Ma'rūfiyyah Order, which is known as the mother of the orders (*umm al-salāsil*). This is due to the fact that almost all the orders of Sufism were started by Ma'ruf Karkhī, after whom the Ma'rūfiyyah Order is named. It must, however, be remembered that nearly all the orders consider 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, the son-in-law of the Prophet, as the first master of the spiritual path.

## Masters of the Nimatullāhī Order

The spiritual chain of the Nimatullāhī Order from 'Alī up to Shāh Ni'mat Allāh is as follows:

1. 'Alī ibn 'Abī Tālib (d. 41/661)
2. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (21/642-110/728)
3. Ḥabīb al-'Ajamī (d. 119/737)
4. Dā'ūd al-Tā'ī (d. 165/781)
5. Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/815-16)
6. Sarī al-Saqatī (d. 253/867)
7. Abu'l-Qāsim al-Junayd (d. 298/910)
8. Abū 'Alī Rūdbārī (d. 322/934)
9. Abū 'Alī al-Kātib (d. after 340/951)
10. Abū 'Uthmān al-Maghribī (d. 373/984)
11. Abu'l-Qāsim al-Gurgānī (d. 469/1076)
12. Abū Bakr al-Nassāj al-Tūsī (d. 487/1094)
13. Aḥmad Ghazzālī (d. 520/1126)
14. Abu'l-Faḍl al-Baghdādī (d. 550/1155)
15. Abu'l-Barakāt (d. 570/1174)

16. Abu'l-Su'ūd al-Andalusī (d. 579/1183)
17. Abū Madyan (d. 590/1194)
18. Abu'l-Futūḥ al-Sa'īdī
19. Najm al-Dīn Kamāl al-Kūfī
20. Abū Bakr Ṣālih al-Barbarī
21. 'Abd Allāh al-Yāfi'ī (d. 768/1367)
22. Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Walī (731/1331-834/1431)

## The Life and Works of Shāh Ni'mat Allāh

Nūr al-Dīn Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Walī, the *qutb* (pole) of those who realize Oneness, the best of those perfected, was one of the greatest Sufi masters and most renowned mystics of the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> His teachings spread to all the followers of the Spiritual Path (*ṭarīqat*) of Islam. In truth, it can be stated that he was the reviver of the Spiritual Path of Muḥammadan Poverty (*faqr-i Muḥammadī*) throughout all the Muslim lands, especially Persia and the subcontinent. Moreover, it was the order bearing his name that was able, in the twelfth/eighteenth century, to revive the *ṭarīqat* in Iran and to quench the thirst of those who were searching for mystical truth.

Shāh Ni'mat Allāh was born on 14 Rabī' al-awwal 731/1331, in Aleppo in present-day Syria. His father, Mīr 'Abd Allāh, was one of the great Sufi masters of his time. His mother was of the royal lineage of Fars, in southern Persia. It is said that during his childhood Shāh Ni'mat Allāh memorized the whole of the Quran and had a great capacity for comprehending spiritual truths and expressing mystical meanings. He writes:

Know for certain that the knowledge  
in which they instructed my heart  
Wasn't taught anywhere.

What the shaykh of the forty-day retreat  
never realized at the age of thirty  
Was revealed to me at the age of three.

Although in his youth he studied both theosophy (*ḥikmat-i ilāhī*) and scholastic theology (*kalām*), he was discontent with the lack of application that he discovered in those who pursue these disciplines, and so he set out in search of a perfect master and an enlightened guide. He encountered many of the great spiritual teachers of his day, until at last he found his own master in Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Yāfi'ī. Shaykh Yāfi'ī, whom Shāh Ni'mat Allāh considered to be the chief among the saints of the world, was endowed not only with esoteric perfection but also with such a great

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Ni'metullah - Vela

5564 - شاه نعمة الله ولي بن مير عبد الله شاه ، نور الدين

الشاعر الصوفي الحلبي الكرمانلي البلخي المتوفى 1431/834

( أنظر : كحالة معجم المؤلفين 111/13 ؛ مرآت العلوم فهرس

مكتبة خلدون 235/3 )

من تصانيفه :

1 - أشعار شاه نعمة الله ولي - في الأدب (ف)

متحف مولانا رقم 10/2594 ورقة 185-286 ؛ رقم

5/2617 ورقة 60-89 ؛

2 - إصطلاحات صوفيان - في التصوف (ف)

قونية يوسف آغا رقم 9864 ورقة 95-96 ؛

3 - آفاق وأنفس ( منظوم ) (ف)

متحف مولانا رقم 11/4925 ورقة 39 فقط ؛ قسطنطيني رقم

1763 ورقة 213-214 ، 998 هـ

4 - إنتخاب مثنوى وغزل - في الأدب (ف)

نورعثمانيه رقم 4904 ورقة 57-63 ، 940 هـ

5 - ترجمة لوامع القلوب (ت)

عثمان أركين رقم 1155 ورقة 36 ؛ مخطوطات البلدييه رقم

3/122 ورقة 29-30 ؛

6 - ديوان شاه نعمة الله ولي - في الأدب (ف)

علي محمد ترلان رقم 1/132 ورقة 66 ، 1277 هـ

7 - رسالة في الوخدة ( الأحدية ) (ف)

قونية يوسف آغا رقم 9864 ورقة 78-79 ؛

8 - رسالة في مقامات السلوك (ف)

قونية يوسف آغا رقم 9864 ورقة واحدة ؛

9 - رسالة في إنسان الكامل (ف)

قونية يوسف آغا رقم 9864 ورقة 87-89 ؛

10 - رسالة في تفسير قوله تعالى : " الله نور السموات

والأرض ... " (ف)

قونية يوسف آغا رقم 9864 ورقة 88-89 ؛

11 - رسالة في التوكل (ف)

آياصوفيا مجموعة رقم 35/4792 ؛

12 - رسالة في التصوف (ف)

قسطنطيني رقم 1763 ورقة 56-57 ، 1000 هـ

13 - رسالة الفقريّة - في التصوف ( منظوم ) (ف)

قسطنطيني رقم 1763 ورقة 56-57 ، 1000 هـ

14 - رسالة المكاشفة - في التصوف (ف)

قسطنطيني رقم 1763 ورقة 109-117 ، 1000 هـ

15 - رسالة الحورانية - في التصوف (ف)

بلدييه يكي باغشلي رقم 9/538 ورقة 64-67 ؛

16 - كشف الأسرار - في التصوف (ف)

شهيد علي رقم 1385 ، 868 هـ قونية يوسف آغا رقم

5/9864 ورقة 157 ، 1072 هـ TDK رقم 3/490/1

ورقة 40-59 ؛

17 - محبّت نامہ - في التصوف (ف)

آياصوفيا رقم 34/4792 ؛ قسطنطيني رقم 1763 ورقة

108-107 ، 1000 هـ

## SHĀH NĪ'MATULLĀH WALĪ

## Founder of the Ni'matullāhī Sufi Order

Terry Graham

The powerful Sufi master Shāh Ni'matullāh Walī (731/1330-834/1431), told the mightiest ruler of the day, Tamerlane:

*While your domain stretches  
from China to Shiraz,  
Mine is a realm  
which has no frontier.<sup>1</sup>*

Born in Aleppo in 731/1331 A.D. of an Arab father (tracing his descent through nineteen generations back to the Prophet) and a Persian mother, Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Ni'matullāh Kirmānī, better known as Shāh Ni'matullāh Walī, was introduced to Sufism at the age of five, when his dervish father, Mīr 'Abdullāh, took him to a Sufi gathering. The seeds sown at this early age gradually sprouted into a desire to find guidance at the hands of a perfect master. Aleppo was the centre of Ibn 'Arabī's school of the 'Unity of Being' (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), so that Shāh Ni'matullāh was well-placed to profit from an education that included not only the traditional sciences but an input from the theosophy of Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240 AD), who had settled in Aleppo, where his tomb is a site of visitation to this very day. For further study in the religious sciences he went on to Shiraz, notable at the time as a centre for Shāfi'ite and other Sunni juridical studies. Thereby he entered the homeland of his mother for the first time.<sup>2</sup>

However, there came a point when no amount of book-learning could satisfy the young student's yearning; so, he set out to seek his master. In the course of his wanderings, he served many masters, each providing him help which was to serve him well when he was to encounter the master who was to take him to the highest station. It was in Mecca at the age of twenty-four that he came into contact with the Yemenite master, 'Ārif al-Dīn Abu Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn As'ad ibn Asī ibn Sulaymān Nazil al-Ḥaramayn al-Yāfi'i (698/1298—768/1367), whose stature was such that he had been given the authority of mastership by no less than six masters, linking him to several chains of initiation,<sup>3</sup> including the Shādhiliyya and the Qādiriyya, in which latter chain he founded the Yāfi'iyya branch, which survives

Edited by Leonard Lewisohn  
The Legacy of Mediaeval Persian  
Sufism, London, 1992, s. 173-190.  
DN: 24 276.  
Dergi / Kitap  
Kütüphane Mevleviye

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1. Jean Aubin, *Matériaux pour la biographie de Shāh Ni'matullāh Walī Kirmānī*, (Tehran & Paris, 1983), p. 200.

2. Aubin, *op.cit.*, pp.4 2-3, makes reference to Shāh Ni'matullāh's study in Shiraz.

3. J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford University Press 1971; rpt. 1973), p. 273.

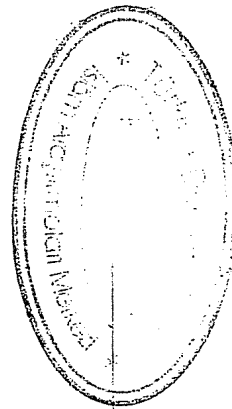
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DAR-I

سلسله نعمه اللهی:

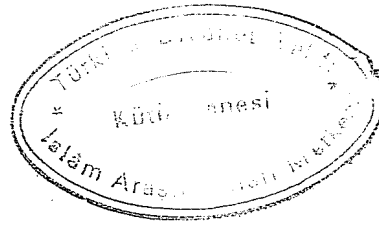
پیشوای این سلسله از صوفیان، شاه نعمت الله ولی کرمانی (۷۳۰-۸۲۷ هـ ق) بود وی از صوفیان بزرگ عهد تیموری بود و پدرش میرعبدالله. این خاندان نسب خویش را به امام محمد باقر علیه السلام می‌رساندند در قصبه کوه بنان کرمان زاده شد، مقدمات علوم رانزد شیخ رکن الدین شیرازی فراگرفت، علوم بلاغت را از شیخ شمس الدین مکی و حکمت را از سید جلال خوارزمی و اصول فقه را از قاضی عضدالدین ایجی آموخت. چند سفر به مکه و مدینه مشرف گشت و به تصفیه و تزکیه باطن پرداخت، خرقة از دست شیخ عبدالله یافعی پوشید و در سمرقند و هرات و یزد بسر برد و در آخرین دوره حیات در قصبه ماهان کرمان اقامت کرد و به تربیت و ارشاد مریدان پرداخت، در سفرش به هرات از سوی شاهرخ میرزای تیموری تعظیم و اکرام گردید. ارزش عرفان و تصوف شاه نعمت الله بیش از جنبه شعر و شاعری اوست، بهترین اثر این صوفی بزرگ دیوان اشعارش می‌باشد. درباره شیخ خویش گوید:

شیخ ما کامل و مکمل بود قطب وقت و امام عادل بود  
گاه ارشاد چون سخن گفتی دُرّ توحید را نکوستی  
یافعی بود و نام عبدالله رهبر رهروان این درگاه  
گورگاه او در قصبه ماهان کرمان است. شاه خلیل الله پسر و جانشین نعمت الله به دکن مهاجرت کرد و به نشر دعوت پرداخت. از سوی شاه خلیل، نایب وی میرشمس الدین شاه خلیل در کرمان ادامه طریقت داد. با آنکه شاه خلیل الله از کرمان مهاجرت کرده بود میرشمس الدین قدرت و نفوذ وی را تا حدی حفظ کرد. از اعقاب شاه خلیل الله گروهی از دکن به ایران آمدند و در ناحیه تفت سکونت کردند و نفوذ روحانی خود را توسعه دادند.



میرعبدالباقی یزدی نواده محب الله بن شاه خلیل الله در زمان سلطنت شاه اسماعیل به مقام صدارت منصوب گردید. دریافت این مقام به توصیه و درخواست امیریار احمد اصفهانی ملقب به نجم ثانی بوده است. نجم ثانی در لشکرکشی ماوراءالنهر کشته شد (۹۱۸ هـ ق) و منصب امیر الامرای که به نجم، متعلق بود به میرعبدالباقی داده شد و مقام صدارت به میر سید شریف شیرازی انتقال یافت. (۲۲) میرعبدالباقی یا میرزاده عبدالباقی حسینی که شیخ نعمت اللهی محسوب می‌شد، بدین گونه در سلسله امرای عصر درآمد و هرچند خود وی در جنگ چالدران مقتول گردید (۹۲۰ هـ ق)، خاندان نعمت اللهی ارتباط خود را با دودمان صفوی حفظ کرد. پس از میرعبدالباقی فرزند او شاه نعمت الله ثانی (وفات ۹۵۰ هـ ق) حکومت یزد یافت و چون با خاندان صفویه وصلت داشت نفوذ بیش از حد بدست آورد و مریدان فراوانی بر او گرد آمدند نعمت الله ثانی به میر میران یزدی مشهور است. مریدان شاه نعمت الله ماضی مشهور به شاه نعمت الله ولی، پیر مریدانه سلوک کرده و اقتباس انوار سعادت می‌نمودند و او مورد تربیت و اشفاق شاهانه و صاحب سیور غالات محلی بود. و حاصل املاک و ادارات مسلمیات آن سلسله قریب به پنج هزار تومان می‌شد و به یمن عاطفت و الطاف شاهنشاهی در دارالعباده یزد برمسند عظمت و اقبال تکیه کرده روزگار به عشرت و کامرانی می‌گذرانید و از اولاد امجاد شاه نعمت الله و شاه خلیل الله هر دو به شرف مصاهرت این دودمان (صفوی) سربلندی یافتند. (۲۳)

وی دختر خود را به اشارت شاه طهماسب به عقد شاهزاده اسماعیل میرزا - شاه اسماعیل دوم - درآورد و یک پسر وی که نعمت الله ثالث خوانده می‌شد خانش بیگم دختر شاه طهماسب رابه حباله خویش درآورد ولیکن در مبادی جلوس حضرت اعلی شاهي ظلّ اللهی (شاه عباس اول) ارتکاب بعضی امور نالایق خصوصاً موافقت بیکتاش خان افشار که دم از عصیان و طغیان می‌زد و دیگر



## اثری تازه درباره‌ی شاه نعمت‌الله ولی

عبدالمحمد آیتی

تحقیق در احوال و نقد آثار و افکار شاه نعمت‌الله ولی، حمید فرزاد، ۷۲۴ ص، انتشارات سروش، ۱۳۷۴.

کتابی است محققانه و ارج‌مند به خامه‌ی آقای دکتر فرزاد عضو پیوسته‌ی فرهنگستان زبان و ادب فارسی. شاه نعمت‌الله ولی، از آن رو که سرسلسله‌ی صوفیه‌ی نعمت‌اللهی است و امروز هم بسیاری از خانقاه‌ها خود را بدو منسوب می‌دارند، از شناخته‌ترین عرفا و متصوفه‌ی ایران است. به خصوص، قصیده‌ی او با ردیف «می‌بینم»، که در آن از حوادث آینده خبر داده، بر سر زبان‌هاست و بعدها به منظورها یا مناسبت‌هایی ابیاتی بر آن اضافه شده که شخصیت سید را برای عوام بس شگفت‌انگیز ساخته و بر شمار معتقدان و زائران مرقده او درافزوده است.

کتاب را چهار بخش است: بخش نخست شرح زندگی اوست از ولادت تا وفات؛ بخش دوم درباره‌ی معاصران اوست؛ بخش سوم معرفی آثار وی را در بر می‌گیرد؛ و بخش چهارم، که بخش پایانی است، از صورت و سیرت و آثار و افکار سید سخن می‌گوید.

محقق ارج‌مند، پیش از شروع، در اصل کتاب، دو مقدمه آورده: یکی در احوال و آثار شاه نعمت‌الله که خود مقاله‌ی کاملی است و آنچه در آن به ایجاز آمده در کتاب به تفصیل بیان شده است. دیگری در بیان وضع سیاسی و اجتماعی ایران خاصه کرمان در عهد شاه ولی.

در آغاز مقدمه‌ی نخست می‌خوانیم که «وسعت مشرب و جنبه‌ی مثبت و عملی تعالیم عرفانی شاه ولی... به اصول مکتب جدید اصالت عمل یا پراگماتیسم مشابعت دارد». در این جا اندک مسامحه‌ای رفته یا تعبیر جدیدی از مکتب اصالت عمل عرضه شده است. زیرا اگر اصالت عمل بر این اصل مبتنی است که حقیقت هر قضیه باید از تطابق با نتایج تجربی و فواید عملی که از آن به دست می‌آید تشخیص داده شود، پس جنبه‌ی ما بعدالطبیعی فکر از اعتبار می‌افتد. چنان که پیروان این مذهب قائل‌اند، حقیقت با پیشرفت اختراعات عوض

می‌شود (دائرة المعارف فارسی). استاد فرزاد از وسعت مشرب و جنبه‌ی مثبت و عملی تعالیم عرفانی شاه ولی مفهوم اصالت عمل را استنباط کرده است و می‌گوید که همین شیوه‌ی پسندیده رمز توفیق او در کار تعلیم و هدایت مرشدان و جلب قلوب هواخواهان فراوان از اطراف و اکناف بوده است.

مطالب این فصل بیش‌تر بدان ناظر است که اوضاع آشفته‌ی مردم ایران در آن برهه از زمان بیان می‌شود که چگونه «امرای محلی و عمال ایشان در اطراف و اکناف کشور ایران به جان و مال و ناموس مردم بی‌پناه افتادند و با ارتکاب اعمال زشت و ننگین خود» (ص ۲) جان مردم را به لب آوردند و دیری نکشید که خون‌خوار دیگری به نام تیمور کشتار و تاراج از سر گرفت. استاد فرزاد «رواج و روتق و شیوع عقاید عرفا و ظهور عارفان بزرگی چون شاه ولی در چنین عصری» را «تا حدی نتیجه‌ی طبیعی و اثر وضعی حوادث مزبور» (ص ۱۱) می‌داند. البته، در این جا می‌توان تعلیقه‌ای افزود که پیش از شاه ولی هم همین خانقاه‌ها روتق و رواج داشت و نشر افکار وحدت وجودی تا آن جا پیش رفته بود که یکی از همین صوفیه به سرباز خشم‌ناک و سفاک تار هنگامی که قصد کشتن او را داشت بگوید که بیهوده مکوش خود را پوشیده داری تو را در همین کلاه تتری و با همین سیل آویزان و چانه و ریش ترکمانی ات می‌شناسم. شمشیر خود فرود آر که سال‌هاست سرم ضربت بازو و ساعد تو را انتظار می‌کشد. یا پس از چند روز، که از سوراخ راه آب بیرون می‌خزد و شهر ویران و سوخته و پشته‌های کشتگان را می‌بیند، به دوستش که می‌خواهد اقلاً زبان به اعتراض بگشاید، خطاب می‌کند که خاموش! باد بی‌نیازی پروردگار می‌وزد.

پس از این دو مقدمه، بخش اول کتاب در «زندگی شاه ولی از ولادت تا وفات» آغاز می‌شود.

خوش‌بختانه شاه ولی، بر عکس فردوسی و سعدی که اهل خانقاه هم نبوده‌اند، نمی‌خواسته از مستوران زیر قباب غیرت باشد و زندگی خود را از جزئی و کلی در مطاوی اشعارش آورده است.

نعمت‌الله نور دین دارد طلب <sup>نقی</sup> نور دین از نعمت‌الله می‌طلب

دیگر محقق گرفتار این گردنه‌ها و گریه‌ها نمی‌شود که ابوالقاسم حسن بن شرف‌شاه فردوسی است یا چیز دیگر یا مصلح بن مشرف الدین یا مشرف بن مصلح الدین سعدی است.

در شعر، گاه «نعمت‌الله» تخلص می‌کند و گاه «سید» و گاه هر دو، شاه هم از القاب اوست.

D. 1553  
Tehran, s. 105-109.  
(1374/1996) Vol: I/s. 4, نامه فرهنگستان

1996  
EKM 170

# Mapping the Sacred 1

## The Ni<sup>c</sup>matullāhī Order

Ian Richard Netton, Sufi Ritual:  
The Parallel Universe, Surrey 2000,  
Sayfa- 64-102, ISAM 90874  
237.7  
NET.S

### 2.1 Origins

And hold fast,  
All together, by the Rope  
Which God (stretches out  
For you), and be not divided  
Among yourselves;  
And remember with gratitude  
God's favour on you  
[ni<sup>c</sup>mat Allāh];  
For ye were enemies  
And He joined your hearts  
In love, so that by His Grace  
Ye became brethren;  
And ye were on the brink  
Of the Pit of Fire,  
And He saved you from it.  
Thus doth God make  
His signs clear to you:  
That Ye may be guided.

(Qur<sup>ān</sup> 3:103)<sup>1</sup>

The founder of the Ni<sup>c</sup>matullāhī Order, Nūr al-Dīn Shāh Ni<sup>c</sup>matullāh Walī, was born in Aleppo on the 14th of Rabī<sup>c</sup> al-Awwal 731 A.H. (A.D. 1331).<sup>2</sup> His father was Arab and his mother was Persian.<sup>3</sup> The reasons why his family had moved to Syria are unknown 'but all the early accounts of Shāh's life report his birth in Aleppo'.<sup>4</sup>

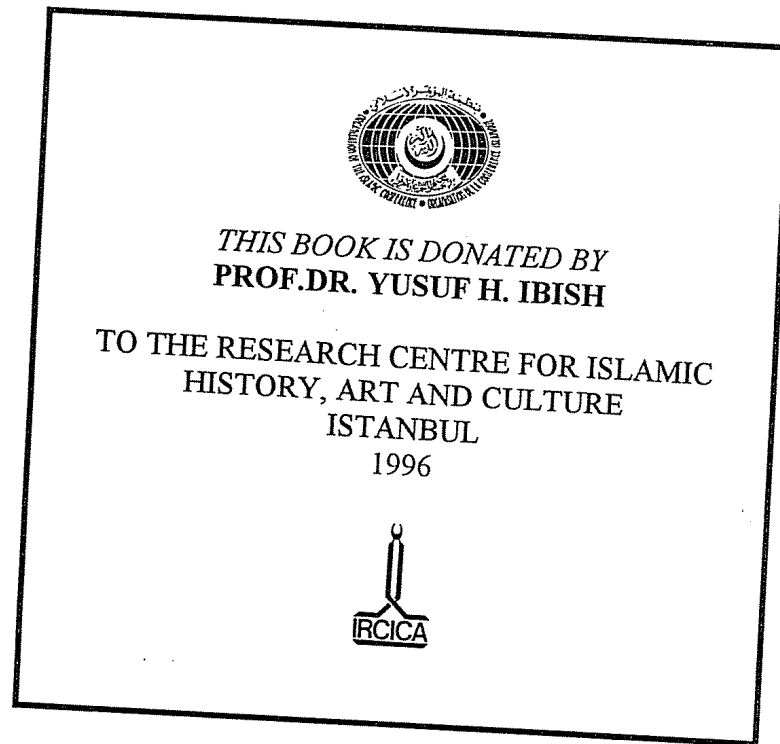


# Kings of Love

The Poetry and History  
of the  
Ni'matullāhī Sufi Order

by  
Nasrollah Pourjavady  
and  
Peter Lamborn Wilson

Preface by  
Seyyed Hossein Nasr



IRCICA, 29982



Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy  
Director: Seyyed Hossein Nasr  
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SHAH NI'MATULLAH WALI KERMANI

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avec une introduction

Par

Jean AUBIN

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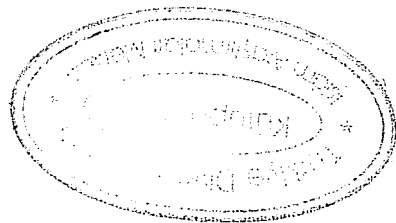
itself makes no sense: the Muslim *qāḍīs* either kept a *dīvān* or they did not. If there was good reason to keep a *dīvān* for, say, a few years or even a few months, then the reason must stand for all time. And since, as we have seen, there was, indeed, a convincing reason to keep a *dīvān*,<sup>119</sup> we are compelled to conclude that in reality the institution was maintained systematically.

Furthermore, the evidence of the sources—which represent a variety of genres covering many periods—excludes the possibility of any sudden transformation in the history of the *dīvān*. In other words, the diachronic development of this institution—allowing for minor modifications along the way—represented an unwavering continuity from the second/eighth century to the beginning of the fourteenth/twentieth.<sup>120</sup> There is no suggestion that the Ottomans introduced any changes to the institution, save perhaps for providing a crucial public space for storing the documents. None of the sultanic decrees—*marāsīm*, *firmāns*, or *qānūns*—prescribing a variety of modifications in the existing administrative, legal and economic structures had, to the best of my knowledge, to do with the *qāḍī's* *dīvān*. Thus the evidence of continuity is supported by the marked absence of evidence in favour of change.

It bears repetition here that the absence of the *dīvāns* themselves is in no way evidence of their non-existence. Although far from being exhaustive, the evidence leads to the conclusion that the *qāḍī's* *dīvān* had not only been a formal institution that was maintained systematically throughout, but that since the early phases in the history of Islam it had been as significant a manifestation of the judicial system as the function of the *qāḍī* himself.

<sup>119</sup> See section III, above.

<sup>120</sup> And in certain areas, down to the present.



## An introduction to the history of modern Persian Sufism,<sup>1</sup> Part I: The Ni'matullāhī order: persecution, revival and schism

LEONARD LEWISOHN

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### I. Introduction

Following the political upheavals of 1978, the history and development of Shiite religious thought in modern-day Persia has been the subject of detailed scholarly studies, but the modern development of Sufism—the mystical tradition that lies at the heart of traditional Persian culture, literature and philosophy, which is, from the cultural and literary point of view at least, the most fascinating aspect of the Perso-Islamic religious tradition—remains almost completely uncharted. In contrast to the classical and medieval periods of Persian Sufism which have undergone much scholarly investigation in recent years,<sup>2</sup> the study of the modern period of Iranian *taṣawwuf*, though far better known and documented, has been seriously neglected by scholars.

The following two-part essay<sup>3</sup> aims to analyse and understand the modern period of Sufism in Iran, focusing on the socio-political context of various dervish orders and their mystical traditions (*ṭarā'iq*), and providing an overview of the place of organized *taṣawwuf* and the major orders during the last 200 years. It is hoped that this study will serve to illuminate the relation and relevance of the practices and institutions of Sufism in modern Persia to the speculative and intellectual traditions of philosophical gnosticism (*irfān*) and theosophical learning (*ḥikmat*), awakening the interest of students in the important figures in Sufism who have flourished in Persia during this modern period. Islamic spirituality in general, and Sufi spirituality in particular, as the following pages amply demonstrate, is a vibrant living tradition,<sup>4</sup> having direct bearing on the present and future development of Persian society and culture. As Seyyed Hossein Nasr has pointed out: 'One can hardly understand the

<sup>1</sup> This article grew out of a study in preparing the article on *taṣawwuf* in nineteenth- to twentieth-century Persia for the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (2nd ed.). I would not have been able to complete the article without the kind assistance of Professor 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ganjavīyān, Master of the Dhahabiyya order, various shaykhs of the Ni'matullāhiyya living in Europe, especially its *quth*, Dr Javad Nūrbakhsh and other affiliates of Munawwar 'Alī Shāhī branch. My thanks extend to Mīhdī Tafrīshī for his bibliographical assistance and to Mustafā Shafā'ī in providing me information on recent developments in twentieth-century Persian Sufism. I am extremely indebted to Mr Muḥammad Ridā Jūzī and to Dr Shāhram Pāzūkī, both lecturers at the University of Tehran, for their many illuminating comments and criticisms on earlier versions of this article, and for updating me regarding recent developments among the Gunābādiyya. I am deeply grateful to Dr Muḥammad Isā Waley of the British Library and Mr Terry Graham for considerable assistance in editing the final version. Publication details for Persian sources are given in the bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> See Leonard Lewisohn (ed.), *The legacy of mediaeval Persian Sufism* (London: SOAS Centre for Near and Middle Eastern Studies and Khaniqah Nimatullahi Publications [KNP] 1993); idem, (ed.), *Classical Persian Sufism: from its origins to Rumi* (London: KNP, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> Part I deals with the revival and survival of the various branches of the Ni'matullāhī order throughout the turbulent political upheavals of nineteenth and twentieth century Iran; part II examines the role of the Dhahabiyya, the second most important Sufi order in Persia, in Iranian *taṣawwuf*, while analysing Dhahabi-Ni'matullāhī relations as well as the numbers and geographical distribution of Persian Sufis over the last two centuries, concluding with an overview of the key characteristics of Iranian *taṣawwuf* in modern times.

<sup>4</sup> cf. S. H. Nasr's discussion of 'Sufism and spirituality in Persia', in idem (ed.), *Islamic spirituality II* (New York: Crossroad, 1991), 216–21.

20 APRIL 1991

Nasrollah Pourjavady and Peter  
Lamborn Wilson

Kings of Love  
The Poetry and History of the  
Ni'matullāhī Sufi Order.

Tehran-1978, s.13-36.

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## I The Life of Shāh Ni'matullāh Walī

### *Initiation*

Nūr al-Dīn Ni'matullāh Walī, a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad in the 19th generation through Muḥammad Bāqir, the fifth Shi'ite Imām, was born in Aleppo in 731/1331.<sup>1</sup> At the age of five, he was taken by his father, who was a dervish, to a majlis or meeting of the Sufis. The father, Mīr 'Abdullāh, spoke about the battle of Uḥud, in which the Prophet, fighting in hand to hand combat, suffered a blow which broke five of his teeth. The hermit saint, Uways al-Qaranī, who was miles away in his retreat in Yemen, realized what had happened and at once broke all his teeth.

The child wondered why Uways had done such a thing, since God had given him no command concerning it; but he said nothing during the majlis. That night however he dreamt of Uways, who told him, 'In love of your ancestor (Muḥammad) I broke the thirty teeth of avarice for this world and the next.'<sup>2</sup>

At first this story may seem odd, even bizarre, but it has an important meaning – in order to understand it, something must be said about Uways. He lived in the desert near the village of Qaran, and although he lived at the same time as Muḥammad he 'was prevented from seeing him chiefly because of his high sense of duty to his own mother and also owing to the fact that he was subject to states of ecstasy which periodically overmastered him. He is said to have received instruction in a mysterious way from the spirit of Muḥammad.'<sup>3</sup> The Prophet once told his followers, referring symbolically to Uways, 'Lo, the breath of the Merciful comes to me from the quarter of al-Yaman.' Uways died during the civil wars fighting for 'Alī in the battle of Ṣiffin; for this the Shi'ites consider him one of their own, and in Persian art Uways is represented as the prototype of the dervishes, wearing the

Kubrāwī order to Badakhshān (present-day Tājikistān) and Kashmīr. However, the center of his career as a Sufi master was in Khuttalān (present-day Kulāb, Tājikistān),<sup>102</sup> and his disciples were recruited primarily from the eastern reaches of Khurāsān and Transoxania. He died in 786/1385, and is variously reputed to have been buried in Khuttalān and Srīnagar.<sup>103</sup> A descendant of the Prophet through Fāṭima and 'Alī, he designated himself as the "second 'Alī." Although the branch of the Kubrāwī order that he introduced to Kashmīr remains purely Sunnī to the present day, it is not surprising that descendants of Hamadānī adhered to various trends within Shī'ism. Ishāq al-Khuttalānī, who succeeded 'Alī Hamadānī as the head of the order, was murdered by emissaries of the Tīmūrid ruler Shāhrūkh in about 826/1423. Before dying, he appointed as his successor Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh. The majority of Khuttalānī's followers accepted Nūrbakhsh, but a minority gave their loyalty to 'Abd Allāh Barzishabādī instead. This schism gave rise to two separate derivatives of the Kubrāwiyya, each with its own name, but having in common an adoption of Shī'ism. One was the Nūrbakhshiyya, which survived in Persia into the Ṣafawid period; the other came to acquire, at a date and in a fashion unknown, the designation of Dhahabiyya, and has survived down to the present in Iran, where its chief center is Shīrāz.<sup>101</sup>

The latter history of the Kubrāwiyya in its Central Asian homeland is not well known. It is probable that it was almost universally displaced, even in Khwārazm, by the Naqshbandiyya from the early ninth/fifteenth century onwards. The small town of Saktari near Bukhārā remained, however, an active center of the Kubrāwiyya until at least the early eleventh/seventeenth century.<sup>105</sup> At some point, the Kubrāwiyya seems to have spread eastwards from Central Asia into the Muslim regions of China. Finally, there are traces of the Kubrāwiyya in Turkey—a Kubrāwī shaykh by the name of Muṣṭafā

<sup>102</sup> D. DeWeese, "Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī and Kubrāwī Hagiographical Traditions," in: L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism*, London and New York, 1992, p. 124.

<sup>103</sup> J. Teufel, *Eine Lebensbeschreibung des Scheich 'Alī-i Hamadānī*, Leiden, 1962.

<sup>104</sup> R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, Wiesbaden, 1965, vol. 1, pp. 14–26.

<sup>105</sup> For a list of works produced by the shaykhs of Saktari, see A. A. Semenov, *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR*, Tashkent 1955, vol. 3, pp. 327–8.

Dede is recorded to have fought in the ranks of the army that conquered Constantinople, but no lasting implantation of the order appears to have taken place either in Turkey or in the Arab lands. Only a nominal existence of the Kubrāwiyya persisted in the western Islamic world as one of the multiple secondary affiliations claimed by Naqshbandīs of the Mujaddidī-Khālīdī line.

*Sufism in a Shī'ī Context: The Ni'matullāhiyya*

The Ni'matullāhī Sufi order first took root in south-eastern Persia, where it continued to prosper until the time of the Ṣafawid ruler Shāh 'Abbās (978/1571–1038/1629). For the next two centuries, it survived only in the Indian Subcontinent (Deccan), and was reintroduced into Persia with considerable vigor in the early thirteenth/late eighteenth century. From that time on, the Ni'matullāhiyya became the most widespread Sufi order in the country.

The founder of the order Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Walī was born in Aleppo ca. 730/1330. His father was a descendant of the Prophet via the seventh Shī'ī/Ismā'īlī imām Ismā'īl b. Ja'far. His mother was of Persian descent. During his early youth Ni'mat Allāh studied in Shīrāz. Among his teachers was one of the greatest theologians of the age 'Aḍūd al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 756/1355). Ni'mat Allāh was initiated into Sufism by the famous Yemenī historian and Sufi 'Abd Allāh al-Yāfi'ī (d. 768/1367), who, in turn, derived his spiritual genealogy from the great Maghribī saint and the spiritual forefather of the Shādhiliyya order Abū Madyan Shu'ayb (d. 590/1197). Ni'mat Allāh joined al-Yāfi'ī's circle in Mecca at the age of twenty-four and stayed with this master until his death, whereupon Ni'mat Allāh embarked on a long series of journeys. After spending some time in retreat in the cave on Mount Muqattam in Egypt,<sup>106</sup> he traveled through Syria and Iraq to Azerbaijān. En route, he met many distinguished Sufi masters, including the eponymous founder of the Ṣafawid order, shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn. It was in Transoxania that Ni'mat Allāh first presented himself as an independent Sufi teacher. His success, which found its most dramatic expression in the establishment of several Ni'matullāhī lodges in various locations throughout Central Asia, attracted the hostile attention of the all-powerful Tīmūr, who

<sup>106</sup> T. Graham, "Shāh Ni'matullāh," p. 174.

Alexander Knysh

Islamic mysticism: a short history, Leiden - 1999,

s. 239–244.

DN: 79501.pdf

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«Nimetullah-ı Veli»

جلد هفتم

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\* Nimetullah Jeli

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(ط) شيخو : المخطوطات العريسة ١٧٤ ،

١٧٥

نعمة الله النخبواني ( ٩٢٠ - ٠٠٠ )  
( ١٥١٤ - ٠٠٠ )

نعمة الله بن محمود النخبواني (١) ،  
ويعرف بعنوان الاقشيري . صوفي ،  
مفسر ، من أهل آقشهر بولاية قرمان .  
رحل الى الاناضول ، وتوفي بأقشهر .  
من تأليفه : الفوائح الالهية والمفاتيح الغيبية  
الموضحة للكام القرآنية والحكم الفرقانية  
في التفسير ، وهداية الاخوان في التصوف .

(خ) فهرس المؤلفين بالظاهرية

(ط) حاجي خليفة : كشف الظنون ١٨٩ ،  
١٢٩٢ ، ٢٠٢٨ ، الزركلي : الأعلام ٩ :  
١٢ ، البغدادي : هدية العارفين ٢ : ٤٩٧

نعمة نؤفل ( ١٢٢٧ - ١٣٠٤ )  
( ١٨٨٧ - ١٨١٢ )

نعمة الله نؤفل . فاضل عارف بالعربية  
والتركية . ولد في طرابلس الشام ،  
وخدم في قنصلي المانيا واميركا . من

(١) نسبة الى نخبوان من بلاد القفقاس .

آثاره : صناجة الطرب في تقدمات العرب .  
(ط) توتل : المنجد ٥٤٣ .

نعمة الله الولي ( ٧٣٠ - ٨٣٢ )  
( ١٣٣٠ - ١٤٢٩ )

نعمة الله الولي ( نور الدين ) صوفي  
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(خ) آغا بزرك : أعلام الشيعة عن حسين  
علي محفوظ

نعوم شقير ( ١٢٨١ (٢) - ١٣٤٠ )  
( ١٨٦٤ - ١٩٢٢ )

نعوم بن بشارة نقولا شقير . مؤرخ  
ناثر ، ناظم . ولد في الشويفات بלבنا ،  
وتعلم بالجامعة الأميركية في بيروت ، ورحل  
الى مصر ، وعين في حكومة السودان ،  
فكان امين سر في الجيش السوداني ،  
وطاف شبه جزيرة سيناء ، وتوفي بالقاهرة  
من آثاره : تاريخ السودان القديم  
والحديث وجغرافيته ، تاريخ سيناء ، امثال  
العوام في مصر والسودان والشام ، وكتاب  
في الشباب والواجب .

(خ) فهرس المؤلفين بالظاهرية

(ط) زخورة : مرآة العصور ٢ : ٣٣٧ -

(٢) وفي الأعلام للزركلي : ١٢٨٠ هـ .



sionistic approach to the subject as well as for using an imagery derived from personal observation.

Many of Nimā Yūshīdj's poems had a strong social appeal. Notable specimens reflecting this aspect of his verse included *Maḥbas* ("Prison"), *Khānwāda-yi sarbāz* ("The soldier's family"), *Āy ādamhā!* ("O you people!"), *Nākūs* ("The bell"), *Kār-i shab pā* ("The night watchman"), and *Murgh-i āmin* ("The amen bird"). Works such as these show a predilection for popular causes, and pro-leftist sympathies could be discerned among them.

Nimā Yūshīdj left an unmistakable mark on contemporary trends in Persian poetry. The generation of poets that emerged after the forties recognised him as their leader. One of his most important contributions was his effort to provide Persian poetry with a new formal structure, and he was the first to popularise free verse, which became the major vehicle of expression for future poets.

**Bibliography:** Nimā Yūshīdj, *Madjmu'a-yi āthār*, i, ed. Sīrūs Ṭāhbāz, Tehran 1364/1985-6; idem, *Nāmāhā*, ed. Ṭāhbāz, Tehran 1368/1989-90; idem, *Arzish-i aḥsāsāt dar zindigī-yi hunarpīshagān*, ed. Abu 'l-Kāsim Djannatī 'Aṭā'i, Tehran 1334/1956; idem, *Nimā*, *zindigānī wa āthār-i ū*, ed. 'Aṭā'i, Tehran 1334/1955; Muḥammad Diyā' Ḥashtrūdī (ed.), *Muntakhabāt-i āthār az nawīsandigān wa shu'arā-yi mu'āṣirīn*, Tehran 1342/1923-4; *Nukhustīn kungra-yi nawīsandigān-i Irān*, Tehran 1326/1947-8; *Arīsh*, ii (= special issue on Nimā Yūshīdj) (Tehran Dī Māh 1340/December 1961-January 1962); Muḥammad Riḍā Lāhūtī (ed.), *Yādmān-i Nimā Yūshīdj*, Tehran 1368/1989-90; Munibur Rahman, *Post-revolution Persian verse*, Aligarh 1955; idem, *Nimā Yūshij: founder of the modernist school of Persian poetry*, in *Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies*, iv (Aligarh 1960); F. Machalski, *La littérature de l'Iran contemporain*, ii, Wrocław-Warszawa-Krakow 1967; J. Rypka et alii, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; H. Pārsā, *Ātish-i mukaddas-i Nimā rā furūzān nigāh dārim*, in *Payām-i nuwīn*, iii/3 (1339/1960); Yahyā Āryānpūr, *Az Šabā tā Nimā*, ii, Tehran 1350/1971; Bahman Shāriḥ, *Nimā wa shi'r-i Fārsī*, Tehran 1350/1971; *Djalil Dūstkhāh, Nimā Yūshīdj kist wa harfash ēst*, in *Rāhnāmā-yi kitāb*, iv/10 (1340/1961-2); *Yad Allāh Ru'ya'i*, *Siwumūn sāl-i dargudhasht-i Nimā Yūshīdj*, in *Rāhnāmā-yi kitāb*, iv/10 (1340/1961-2); 'Abd al-'Alī Dastghayb, *Nimā Yūshīdj (naḳd wa barrasī)*, Tehran 1356/1977; idem, *Nimā Yūshīdj*, in *Payām-i nuwīn*, iii/6 (1339/1960); Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, *An anthology of modern Persian poetry*, Boulder, Colo. 1978; Ḥamīd Zarrīnkūb, *Čashmandāz-i shi'r-i naw-i Fārsī*, Tehran 1358/1979-80; L. P. Alishan, *Ten poems by Nima Yushij*, in *Literature East and West*, xx (1976), Austin, Texas 1980; Amīr Ḥasan 'Abidī, *Irān kā bunyād gudhār-i shi'r-i naw*, in *Hindustānī Fārsī adab*, Delhi 1984; Anwar Khāmāyī, *Čahār čihra*, Tehran 1368/1990.

(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

**NI'MAT ALLĀH B. AḤMAD** B. KĀDĪ MUBĀRAK, known as *Khalīl* Sūfī, author of a Persian-Turkish dictionary entitled *Lughat-i Ni'mat Allāh*. Born in Sofia, where as an enameller he made a reputation as an artist, he moved to Istanbul and there entered the *Naqshbandī* order. Association with the *Naqshbandī* dervishes made him more closely acquainted with literature and especially with Persian poetry. Ni'mat Allāh decided to make accessible to others the knowledge he had acquired by an ardent study of Persian literature, and thus arose his lexicographical work, which he probably compiled at the instigation and with the assistance of the famous Kemāl Pasha-zāde (d. 940/1533 [q.v.]). He died in

969/1561-2 and was buried in the court of the monastery at the Edirne gate in Istanbul. His work, which survives in a considerable number of manuscripts, is divided into three parts: verbs, particles and inflection, and nouns. His sources were: 1. *Uknūm-i 'Adjam* (see Oxford, Bodleian, Uri, 291, no. 108); 2. *Kāsima-yi Lutf Allāh Ḥalīmī* (Hādījī Khalīfa, iv, 503); 3. *Wasīla-yi maḳāsid* (Flügel, *Vienna catalogue*, i, 197); 4. *Lughāt-i Karā-Ḥisārī* (Rieu, 513a); 5. *Shāh-i 'Adjam* (Hādījī Khalīfa, vi, 91 and *Leiden catalogue*, i, 100). Besides making careful use of these sources, Ni'mat Allāh added much independent material, of which his dialect notes and ethnographical observations are especially valuable. This work is of considerable scientific importance and deserves greater attention than it has so far received.

**Bibliography:** O. Blau, *Über Ni'matullah's persisch-türkisches Wörterbuch*, in *ZDMG*, xxx (1877), 484; Rieu, *Catalogue*, 514b; Hādījī Khalīfa, vi, 362. The dictionary was partly used by Golius for the Persian part of Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton*. The best mss. are Dorn, *St. Petersburg catalogue*, no. 431 (p. 426) and Fleischer, *Dresden catalogue*, no. 182. (E. BERTHELS)

**NI'MAT ALLĀH B. ḤABĪB ALLĀH HARAWĪ**, a Persian historian. His father was for 35 years in the service of the Great Mughal Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605) where he was a *khālīṣa* inspector. Ni'mat Allāh himself was for 11 years historian to *Djahāngīr* (1014-37/1605-28), then entered the service of *Khān-Djahān Lōdī* [q.v.] whom he accompanied in 1018/1609-10 on the campaign against the Deccan. Soon afterwards he became acquainted with Miyān Haybat *Khān* b. Salīm *Khān* Kākar of Sāmāna, who persuaded him to write a history of the reign of *Khān-Djahān*. Ni'mat Allāh began his work in Malkāpūr in *Dhū 'l-Hijjdja* 1020/February 1612 and finished it on 10 *Dhū 'l-Hijjdja* 1021/2 February 1613. The work is dedicated to *Khān-Djahān*, and is entitled *Ta'rikh-i Khāndjahānī* and consists of a *mukaddima*, 7 *bābs* and a *khātima*. It deals with the history of the Afghāns, beginning with their legendary descent from the Banū Ismā'īl and treats with special fullness of the history of Bahlūl Lōdī, Shīr Shāh Sūr and Nawwāb *Khān-Djahān Lōdī*. The last chapters are devoted to the genealogy of the Afghān tribes and the reign of *Djahāngīr*. The *khātima* contains biographies of famous Afghān *shaykhs*. There is also an abbreviated version of the work entitled *Makhzan-i Afghānī*.

**Bibliography:** H. Ethé, in *GIPH*, ii, 362-3; Rieu, *Catalogue*, 210a, 212a, 903b; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, v, 67-115. The shorter version is translated by B. Dorn, *History of the Afghans: translated from the Persian of Neamet Ullah*, in *Orient. Transl. Fund*, London 1829-36. See also Storey, i, 393-5, 1302; Storey-Bregel, ii, 1209-14.

(E. BERTHELS)

**NI'MAT-ALLĀHIYYA**, a Persian Sūfī order that soon after its inception in the 8th/14th century transferred its loyalties to Shī'ī Islam. The Ni'mat-Allāhiyya first took root in south-eastern Persia where it continued to prosper until the time of Shāh 'Abbās. For the next two centuries it survived only in the Deccani branch that had been established in the 9th/15th century. Reintroduced into Persia with considerable vigour in the early 13th/late 18th century, the Ni'mat-Allāhiyya became the most widespread Sūfī order in the country, a position it has retained until recent times.

1. The founder and the development of his order.

The eponym of the order, Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Nūr

edilen eser *Tārīḫ-i Ḥān-Cihānī* adını taşımakta olup, bir *muḥaddima*, 7 *bāb* ve bir *ḥātima*'den müteşekkildir. Efganlıların tarihini ele alan bu eser, onların efsânenin Banî İsrâ'î'le çıkardığı menşe'lerinden başlayıp, bilhassa Bahlül Lodî, Şîr-Şāh Sūr ve Navvāb Ḥān-Cihān Lodî tarihini, teferruâtli bir şekilde, anlatmaktadır. Son bölümler efgan kabilelerinin şeceresine ve Cihāngîr devrine hasredilmiştir. *Ḥātima*'de meşhûr efgan şeyhlerinin hâl tercümeleri bulunmaktadır. Eserin *Maḥzan-i afgānī* adlı bir de muhtasar şekli vardır.

*Bibliyografya*: H. Ethé (GIPH., II, 362 v.d.); Rieu, *Catalogue*, s. 210<sup>a</sup>, 212<sup>a</sup>, 903<sup>b</sup>; H. Elliot, *History of India*, V, 67—115. Muhtasar nüsha B. Dorn tarafından tercüme edilmiştir: *History of the Afgans: translated from the Persian of Neamet Ullah* (Orient. Transl. Fund, London, 1829—1836). (E. BERTHELS.)

**NİMETULLAH VELÎ. NİMAT ALLĀH VALÎ**, Amîr Nûr al-Dîn Nîmat Allāh (1329?—1431), İranlı mutasavvıf. Mîr 'Abd Allāh'ın oğlu ve beşinci şîi imâmı Bâkîr'in ahfâdından olup, Nîmat-Allāhî tarikatının kurucusudur ve İran'da, kerâmet sâhibi büyük bir velî sıfatı ile, husûsî bir saygı görmektedir. Nîmat Allāh Valî Haleb'de 730/731 (1329/1330) yıllarında doğmuş, gençlik çağını Irak'ta geçirmiş ve 24 yaşında Mekke'ye giderek, orada meşhûr Şayḥ 'Abd Allāh Yâfi'î [bk. mad. YÂFİ'Î]'nin talebesi ve halifesi olmuştur. Hocasının ölümünden sonra, Semerkand'da yerleşmiş, Herat ve Yezd'i ziyaret etmiş, nihâyet Kirman'dan 8 fersah mesâfede bulunan Mâhân'a giderek, ömrünün son 25 senesini orada geçirmiş ve 22 receb 834 (5 nisan 1431)'te ölmüştür. Türbesi hâlâ mübârek bir mahal olarak ziyaret edilmektedir. Nîmat Allāh sağlığında bütün hükümdarların, bilhassa Şāhruh'un büyük teveccüh ve itibârını kazanmıştır. Torunları Hindistan'a göçmüşler ve Dekken'de 'Alâ' al-Dîn Aḥmed Şāh Bahmanî (1435—1457) tarafından yüksek mansıplara tâyin olunmuşlardır. Nîmat Allāh tasavvuf sâhasında çok eser vermiş bir nazariyâtçı idi. Sûfî akidesi ile âlâkalı muhtelif mes'eleler üzerinde, 500'den fazla risâle kendisine isnâd edilmektedir. Bunlardan tahminen yüz kadarı zamanımıza intikal etmiş olup, bunların Nîmat Allāh'a âit olduğu tesbit edilebilmektedir. Umûmiyetle çok kısa olan bu risâlelerde, İbn al-'Arabî, Fahr al-Dîn 'Irâkî v.b. gibi, sûfilîğin büyük üstadlarının eserlerindeki güç parçalar tetkik ve izah edilmektedir. Büyük *Dîvân*'ı daha da değerli olup, hakikî mânada bir çok şiir ihtivâ etmekte ve derin bir samîmiyet taşımaktadır.

*Bibliyografya*: H. Ethé (GIPH., II, 299, 301); Rieu, *Catalogue*, s. 43<sup>a</sup>, 634<sup>b</sup>, 641<sup>b</sup>, 774<sup>b</sup>, 829<sup>a</sup>, 831<sup>b</sup>, 869<sup>b</sup>; E. G. Browne, *History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion* (Cambridge, 1920), s. 463 v.d.; *Dîvân* (taş. basm., Tahran, 1276). Şun' Allāh Nîmat-Allāhî, *Savānîḥ al-ayyām fî muşāḥadât al-a'vām mavsūm bi-silsilat al-'arîfîn* (Bombay, 1307=1890); *Ḥabîb al-sigar*, III, 3, 143 (ölüm tarihi 25 receb olarak gösterilir) ve Davlatşāh (nşr. Browne, s. 333—340) ölüm tarihini 827 senesi olarak gösterir. (E. BERTHELS.)

**NİMRÜD.** [Bk. NEMRÜD.]

**NİMRÜD.** [Bk. NİMRÜD.]

**NİMRÜD.** NİMRÜD, şimâlî Mezopotamya'da, eski Âsûr bölgesinde, Âsurluların Kalḥu ismini verdikleri şehrin harâbelerinin bulunduğu yere bugün verilen ad. Burası Diele'nin şark sâhilinde, Musul'un 35 km. cenûbundaki ovanın ortasında (36°5' şimâl arzı ve 43°20' şark tûlü, Greenw.), höyük şeklinde bir harâbe yeri olup, Büyük Zâb ırmağının Diele'ye döküldüğü mevkie yakın bir yerde teşekkül eden üçgenin ucunda bulunmaktadır. İki nehrin arasında kalan bu sâha, askerî bakımdan mühim olduğu kadar, tabiatı da büyük bir şehrin kurulmasına çok elverişlidir. Eski çivi yazılı metinlerde, Nimrûd şehrinin te'sisi hakkında, her hangi bir bilgiye rastlanmaz (R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, London, 1957). Buna mukabil *Tevrat*'ta Kalḥu (İbrânicede Kalah) 'nın kuruluşu Namrûd'a atfolunur (*Tekvin*, X, 11—12). İbrânî rivâyetlerine göre, Namrûd, Mezopotamya'da bir çok şehirler te'sis etmiş idi. Bunlardan biri Kalah („büyük şehir“) idi. Mâmafih bu cümlemin, başka bir okunuş şekline göre, fâilî değişebilmektedir; bu takdirde Kalah'ı Namrûd değil, Âsurluların millî tanrısı Aşşur'un te'sis etmiş olduğu mânası çıkarılabilir. Böyle olsa dahi *Tevrat*'ın Kalḥu'yu Mezopotamya'nın en eski şehirleri arasında gösterdiği bir hakîkattir.

Nimrûd hakkındaki rivâyet şimâlî Mezopotamya'da, âsurlu hristiyan ve yahudi bilgileri arasında muahhar zamanlara kadar yaşamıştır; fakat bu rivâyet, XIX. asrın ortasından itibaren, tamâmen unutulmuştur. Yunan müellifleri, bir şehir olarak, Nimrûd'dan bahsetmezler; onlarda sâdece bölgenin adı Καλαχηνή veya Καλαχηνή zikredilir (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl. der klass. Altertumswissensch.*, X, 1530). Bugünkü Nimrûd'un eski Kalḥu olduğunu ilk olarak isbat eden Rawlinson (Felix Jones'e göre, 1853: *Notes on the topography of Nineveh*, JRAS, 1855, XV; bir de *Selection*

Diğer kopyayı alırdı.  
R.K.



خانقاه نعمت اللهی

جلد چهارم

# رسائل حضرت سید نور الدین

شاه نعمت الله ولی کرمانی قدس سره

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Emirbaş No:	18826
Asnif No:	297-7 KIR. R

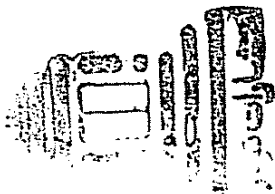
بکوش :

دکتر جواد نوربخش کرمانی

از انتشارات خانقاه نعمت اللهی تهران

حق چاپ محفوظ

دی ماه ۱۳۴۳



شرکت سهامی چاپخانه فردوسی



وزارت فرهنگ و هنر

✓ Mine Allah Veli

روابط معنوی شاه نعمت الله ولی

با

سلاطین ایران و هنر



26 KASIM 1993

تألیف

دکتر حمید فرزام

استاد دانشکده ادبیات و علوم انسانی اصفهان

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Demirbaş No:	19874
Tasnif No:	297.7 FER.R

از انتشارات  
انجمن کتابخانه‌های عمومی اصفهان  
وابسته به اداره کل فرهنگ و هنر اصفهان

Isfahan 1972

تحقیق در احوال و نقد آثار و افکار

# شاه نعمت الله

(۷۳۱-۸۳۴ هـ.ق)

تألیف

دکتر حمید فرزام

استاد دانشگاه اصفهان

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı  
İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi  
Kütüphanesi

Danirbay No:

44721

Tasvif No

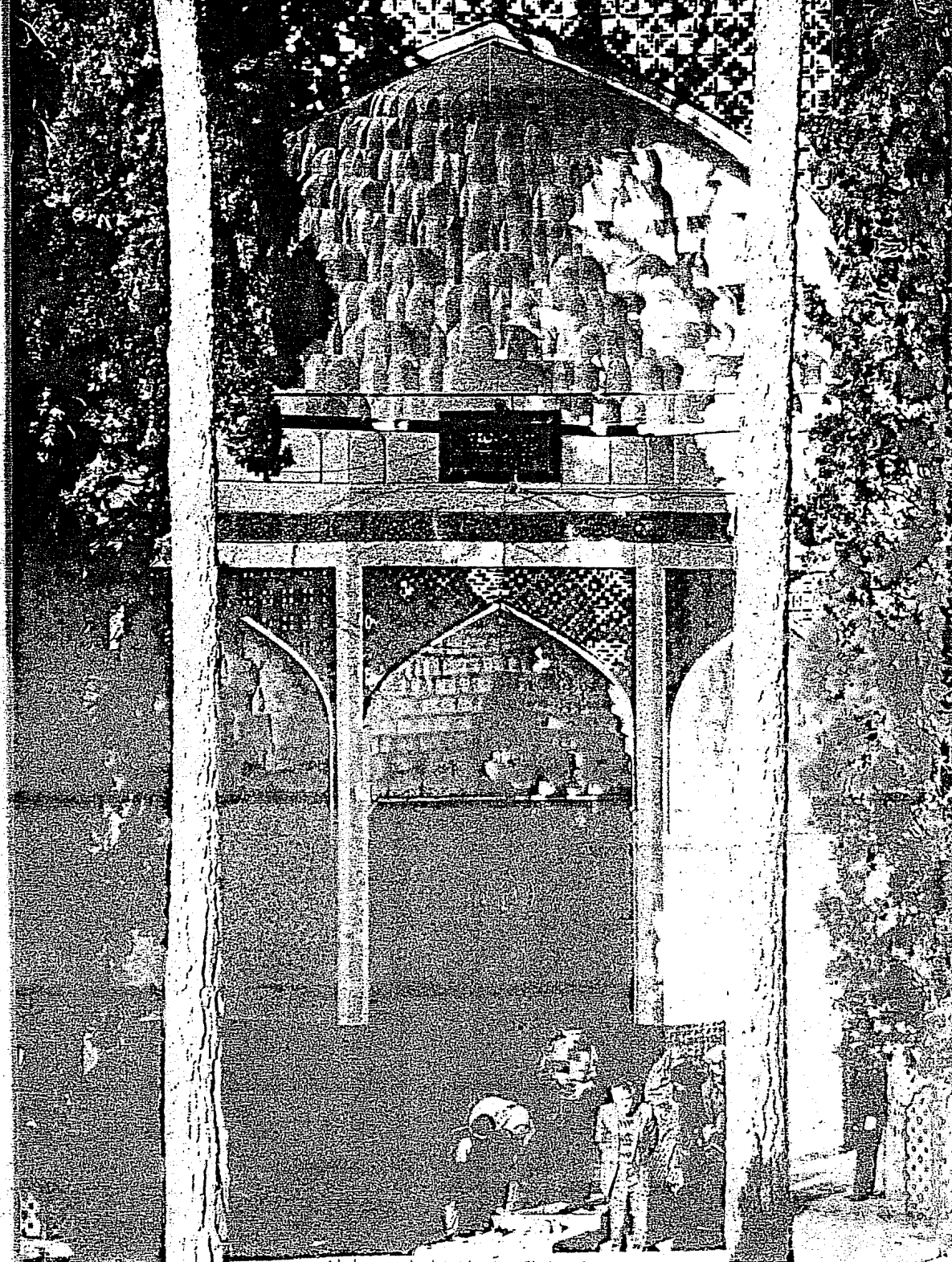
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سروش

تهران ۱۳۷۴

26 SUBAT 1997



Nimatullahi  
Velt  
1114. GRAHAM, Terry. "Shah Ni'matullah Wali: founder of the Ni'matullahi sufi order", in: Leonard Lewisohn ed., *The legacy of mediaeval Persian sufism*. London, Khaniqah Nimatullahi Publications; London, Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies SOAS, 1992, pp. 173-190.

Synthèse ramassée des principaux événements connus de la vie du grand maître soufi (sunnite) que fut Shâh Ne'matollâh (m. 1431 A.D.), et notamment de ses démêlés avec la cour de Tamerlan. L'exposé est complété par quelques remarques sur son enseignement, très marqué par la pensée d'Ibn 'Arabî.  
P.L.

**Abstracta Iranica (Suppl. Studia Iranica),  
c. 15-16, 1992-1993, Tehran 1997. p. 275.**

A. G. ARABIK 1997

422. AUBIN, Jean. "De Kûhbanân à Bidar: la famille Ni'matullahi". *Studia Iranica* 20, 2 (1991) pp. 233-262.

Cet article retrace l'histoire et les activités du célèbre mystique, Shâh Ne'matollâh Vali Kermânî (m. 834/1431), et de ses descendants, jusqu'à l'arrivée au pouvoir du Safavide Shâh Esmâ'il I<sup>er</sup> au début du 16<sup>e</sup> s. L'A. démontre par quelles voies les Ne'matollâhis s'insèrent parmi les élites de la région et construisent leur puissance économique; avec le temps, le centre de leurs activités se déplacera à la ville de Yazd. La fondation d'une *khânegâh* à Taft marque une étape majeure dans le développement de la *tariqa*, active de la Turquie au Khorassan — sauf à Hérat, qui est le terrain d'action de Qâsem al-Anvâr. L'analyse pertinente des relations politiques et religieuses de l'époque dans lesquelles s'insèrent les affaires des deux mystiques, occupe les pp. 242-245. Les Ne'matollâhis comptent parmi leurs disciples le souverain du Deccan, Ahmad I<sup>er</sup> le Bahmanide. Encore du vivant de Shâh Ne'matollâh, un de ses petits-fils émigre au Deccan où il tient une place prépondérante auprès du Bahmanide, suivi, plus tard par son père et deux de ses frères; la branche deccanite des Ne'matollâhi est désormais florissante (son histoire est suivie jusqu'à la fin du 15<sup>e</sup> s.). La branche yazdite traverse une période de relatif effacement; elle doit faire face à l'administration timouride qui attaque les privilèges fiscaux de la *tariqa*; l'A. tire le maximum de renseignements des données fragmentaires relatives aux démarches des Ne'matollâhis auprès de la cour timouride pour sauvegarder leurs privilèges. Cependant, on assiste à un retour en force de la puissance des Ne'matollâhis de Yazd dans la seconde moitié du 15<sup>e</sup> s. et au début du 16<sup>e</sup> s., où la famille est considérée comme une des plus grandes familles notables de la région. Elle obtient pour ses membres des alliances royales avec des Qarâ Qoyunlu et des postes élevés sous les premiers Safavides. Des tableaux généalogiques complètent l'article. Cette étude non seulement éclaire l'histoire familiale d'une lignée qui réussit à maintenir sa puissance tout au long du 16<sup>e</sup> s. (elle s'allie également avec la maison royale safavide), mais aussi rend compte de l'étroite imbrication des facteurs politiques, économiques et religieux dans l'histoire sociale de l'époque.

M.S.

**Abstracta Iranica (Suppl. Studia Iranica),**  
c. 15-16, 1992-1993, Tehran 1997. p. 37

515. LEWISOHN, Leonard. « An introduction to the history of modern Persian Sufism, Part I: The Ni'matullâhî order: persecution, revival and schism », *BSOAS*, 61, 3, (1998), pp. 437-464, bibliographie.  
– « An introduction to the history of modern Persian Sufism, Part II: A socio-cultural profile of Sufism, from the Dhahabî revival to the present day », *BSOAS*, 62, 1, (1999), pp. 36-59, bibliographie.

Sans renouveler entièrement le sujet, déjà bien servi par R. Gramlich (*Schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*), H. Algar, N. Pourjavady & P. L. Wilson..., l'auteur propose une synthèse intelligente et bien documentée sur l'histoire du soufisme en Iran depuis la chute des Safavides. Sa grande originalité est d'aller jusqu'à la République islamique, montrant les persécutions dont les soufis ont été victimes depuis la Révolution.

Y.R.



11 MART 2008

تابنده، نور علی (۱۳۰۶ - )

۵۶۳۶- «حضرت سید نورالدین

شاه نعمت الله ولی». عرفان ایران

(مجموعه مقالات) (شماره ۵۴۶۷)، ص ۵-۲۰.

کد پارسا: ۷۴/۶۲۶۹۷۱، ۱۰۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱۱

زندگی نامه شاه نعمت الله ولی

۱ پژوهشی در زمینه شاخصه‌های فکری صوفیه و ارتباط آن با جریان‌ات صدر اسلام با تأکید بر افکار شاه نعمت الله ولی است. بر اساس این نوشتار مسئله تعیین جانشین در عرفان و تصوف رکن اساسی است، یعنی هیچ کس بدون اینکه از طرف پیر قبلی مجاز باشد خود به مرحله ارشاد نمی‌رسد و حتی تربیت هر سالک هم موکول به این است که دست ارادت به پیر بدهد. این توالی اجازه مشایخ و مربیان را در تصوف

سلسله نامیده‌اند که تمام سلسله‌های این فرقه نسب خود را به علی (ع) می‌رسانند. نویسنده پس از گزارشی اجمالی از اوضاع سیاسی - اجتماعی پس از رحلت رسول اکرم (ص)، خلافت را وظیفه علی (ع) می‌داند و برداشت عمومی شیعه را از اینکه خلافت را حق امام می‌دانند، رد می‌کند. وی معتقد است شاه نعمت الله ولی شیعه بود، و اگر در جایی از 'رافضیه' بیزاری جست، اقتضای زمان بوده است. در آن زمان دشمنان خلفا را رافضی می‌گفته‌اند که شاه نعمت الله چنین نبوده و دشمنی با خلفا از ارکان مذهب شیعه نیست.

286. PÄZŪKĪ, Šahrām (gerdāvarī va tadvīn). *Majmū'e maqālāt darbāre-ye Šāh Seyyed Ne'matollāh Valī*. Tehrān, Entešārāt-e ḥaqīqat, 1383/2004, 275 p. [Recueil d'articles sur Šāh Seyyed Ne'matollāh Valī]

Le présent ouvrage réunit une sélection d'articles présentés lors de deux colloques internationaux célébrant la personnalité scientifique et mystique de Šāh Seyyed Nūreddīn Ne'matollāh Valī (731-834 h.q.).

Le premier a eu lieu les 11 et 12 octobre 2002 à l'Université de San José aux Etats-Unis et le second les 11 et 12 octobre 2003 à l'Université de Leiden aux Pays-Bas. Šāh Ne'matollāh Valī, éminente personnalité du mysticisme islamique, est l'auteur de profondes innovations dans ce domaine et a fondé en Iran la lignée des « Ne'matollāhī ».

Le présent recueil est la version persane du texte anglais, publié également sous la direction de Šahrām Pāzūkī : *Celebrating A Sufi Master: a Collection of Works on the Occasion of the Second International Symposium on Shah Nematollah Vali*, New York, Simorgh Sufi Society, 2004. La préface du livre présente les conditions de la tenue des deux colloques et de l'édition de l'ouvrage ; le premier article, « *Ḥaḍrat-e Seyyed Nūreddīn Šāh Ne'matollāh Valī* » est la biographie par Ḥāj Nūr 'Alī Tābande de Seyyed Nūreddīn Šāh Ne'matollāh Valī, présentant sa lignée et son passé ainsi que le problème de la *velāyat* dans le chiisme. Le second, du même auteur, « *Yādī az ḥaḍrat-e Seyyed Nūreddīn Šāh Ne'matollāh Valī* », traite de la vie mystique de Šāh Ne'matollāh Valī, de son charisme spirituel, et donne aussi des explications sur les méditations mystiques et le soufisme ainsi que des commentaires sur des problèmes comme le *samā'* (la danse mystique) et la musique et les opinions de Šāh Ne'matollāh Valī à ce sujet. Ces deux articles sont en fait les interventions inaugurales des deux colloques susmentionnés. Les autres articles de ce recueil traitent de divers sujets dont les plus importants sont : Seyyed Moṣṭafā Āzmāyeš, « L'ampleur de la méthode philosophique et la modération de la doctrine de Šāh Ne'matollāh Valī » ; Naṣrollāh Pūrjavādī, « La poésie mystique pure et la poésie lyrique et subtile '*rendāne*' chez Šāh Ne'matollāh Valī » ; Yanis Eshuts, « Le *rend* et le *rendī* dans l'œuvre de Šāh Ne'matollāh Valī » ; Šahrām Pāzūkī, « L'innovateur de la confrérie Ne'matollāhī à l'époque moderne : Ḥaḍrat-e Solṭān 'Alīšāh Gonābādī » ; Mohammad Ebrahim Bastani Parizi, « L'administration du sanctuaire de Shāh Vali » ; Mehrdād Qayyūmī Bīdhendī, « Le complexe du mausolée de Šāh Ne'matollāh Valī : une analyse de l'évolution morphologique » ; Mahmud Ürel Qelich, « Šāh Ne'matollāh Valī dans la littérature turque et l'apparition de Šāh Ne'matollāh Valī parmi les *Qalandar(s)* ottomans » ; Johanne G. Terhār, « *Naqšbandiyye* et chiisme ».

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