

4. HISTOIRE. PÉRIODE MUSULMANE (P.M.)

4.1. HISTOIRE MÉDIÉVALE

KÄZERŪNĪ EBŪ IŠHĀQ

283. AFSAR, I. «Sanadi dar bâre-ye boq'e-ye Šeyx-e moršed Kâzeruni». *Āyandê*, 5, 1-3 (1358), pp. 137-147, dont 7 facsim.

En 1978, une partie d'un document concernant le mausolée d'Abu Ešhaq Kâzeruni (voir *E.I.*², IV, pp. 884-5), daté de 826/1423, a été acquis par l'Organisation des Documents Nationaux de l'Iran à Téhéran. L'A. propose une lecture de plusieurs points difficiles du document. C. F.

TASAVVUF

EBU IŠHĀQ KÄZERŪNĪ
IŠHĀQMYŠ

2653 KÖPRÜLÜZADE, M. Fu'ād. Abū Išhāq Kâzerūni und die Išhāqui-Derwische in Anatolien. [Translated into German with an additional note by P. Wittek.] *Islam* 19 (1931), pp. 18-26. Note by W. Caskel, pp. 284-285

Abū Išhāq Kâzerūnī ve
Anadoluda Išhākiyâ Derwiselerî

10623 AIGLE, D. Un fondateur d'ordre en milieu rural: le Cheikh Abū Išhāq de Kâzarūn. *Saints orientaux*. Sous la dir. de D. Aigle & A. Vauchez. Paris: De Boccard, 1995 (Hagiographies Médiévales Comparées, 1), pp. 181-209

Kâzerūnī
Ebu Ishaq

110705 KÄZERŪNĪ EBŪ IŠHĀQ

Micro-fiche 89/59990 - Mahmūd ibn 'Uthman, 14th cent. Firdaws al-murshidiyah ft asrār al-šamadiyah: s'irac' nāmāh-'i Šaykh Abū Išhāq Kâzarūnī / ta'rif, Mahmūd ibn 'Usmān; bi-kūshish-i Īraj Afshār. -- Tihra: Kicāb-khānah-i Dūnish, 1333 [1954] 74, 484 p.; 25 cm. -- (Dar rāh-i dūnish; 5) In Persian; romanized record. Includes index. (On the life and teachings of Abū Išhāq Ibrāhīm ibn Šahriyār-i Kâzarūnī, 963-1034, Iranian Sufi; includes an introduction (74 p.) and explanatory notes by Īraj Afshār)

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Ebu Ishaq Kazeruni

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Kazeruni Ebu Ishaq

19 NISAN 1993

Orstucun, 426

KÄZERŪNĪ EBŪ IŠHĀQ

108 EKIM 1993

KÄZERŪNĪ, Shaykh Abū Es'haq:

ARBERRY, A.J.: The biography of Shaikh Abu Ishaq al-Kâzarūnī. *Oriens*, 3, 1950, pp. 163-82.

KÖPRÜLÜZADE, M. Fu'ād: Abu Ishaq Kâzerūni und die Ishaqui-Derwische in Anatolien [Translated into German with an additional note by P. Wittek]. *Islam* 19, 1931 pp. 18-26; Note by W. Caskel pp. 284-85.

EBU IŠHĀQ EL-KÄZĒ
RŪNĪ

2493 ARBERRY, A. J. The biography of Shaikh Abū Išhāq al-Kâzarūnī. *Oriens* 3 (1950), pp. 163-182

Šeyh Ebu Ishaq
el Kazaruni'nin
Biyoğrafyası

Kâzerūnī, Ebu

Ishaq

- Kâzerūnī, Ebu Ishaq

Meler, Fritz: Die Vita des Abū Išhāq al-Kâzarūnī. Nach dem arabischen Grundwerk von Ḥaṭīb Imām Abū Bakr Muhammad b. 'Abdalkarīm. Persisch bearbeitet von Mahmūd b. 'Utmān. Hrsg. und eingeleitet. Leipzig: Brockhaus 1948. 88, 561 S. Diss. Basel 1936. (Bibliotheca islamica. 14.)

3 AGUSTOS 1992

The relative (to Christianity) speed with which the message of Muhammad and the sword of Islam altered the religio-political order of the Near East and North Africa convinced modern scholars that conversion, of the individual, spiritual type, could not have happened in this context. Muhammad's first revelation is dated to about 610; he left his hometown to establish the first Muslim community in 622, and he died in 632, never naming a successor. More king than prophet, he was more interested in the spreading of the empire than of faith. Pillage and conquest, under the tutelage of Muhammad himself, substituted suffering for faith and martyrdom. Blood and booty thirsty, the Muslim armies established a vast empire in less than twenty years. Spirituality was apparently in short supply. Hence Alfred C. Underwood's celebrated characterization, '[h]ow superficial the conversion of the Arab tribes was is seen by the widespread apostasy that followed the prophet's death: while the subsequent conversion of millions of non-Arabs was the work not of the apostles, but of generals'.³

Most scholars of medieval conversions, including James Muldoon and Karl F. Morrison, have found Nock's model of 'peripety conversions' inadequate for explaining corporate conversions of the medieval period.⁴ The problem, more than a definitional disagreement, lies also in that medievalists often find themselves with precious little in medieval chronicles and histories to illuminate the causes and conditions of conversions of entire peoples. Moreover, there are few individual accounts of a change of faith. The works of these scholars demonstrate that if narrative histories are to be read with empathy for medieval religiosity, then conversions are rarely represented by lightning events. Rather than a process of change, or an abrupt abandoning of one belief system, the conversion narrative represents, more accurately, a catalyst for change, or a metaphoric harbinger of the actual act of conversion. In other words, stunning spiritual conversions of the Pauline type,⁵ or confessional autobiographical accounts such as St Augustine's,⁶ or baptisms for that matter, do not encapsulate completed conversions. St Paul saw a vision but his conversion was only completed after it was explained to him. 'New research demonstrates that St Augustine was not only raised in a Christian milieu, but that he was probably born one himself. [...] His *Confessions* narrates changes of heart and mind of a sensitive and intellectually gifted young adult, but they do not directly explain Augustine's conversion to Christianity. So in effect his conversion in the garden at Milan can actually be seen as a reconversion, or as a series of connected

³ Alfred C. Underwood, *Conversion: Christian and Non-Christian* (London, 1925), p. 15.

⁴ On the inadequacy of these paradigms for the study of historical conversions, see Karl F. Morrison, *Understanding Conversion* (Charlottesville, 1992); *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. by James Muldoon (Gainesville, 1997); Carole M. Cusack, 'Towards a General Theory of Conversion', in *Religious Change, Conversion and Culture*, ed. by Lynette Olson (Sydney, 1996), pp. 1-21.

⁵ Morrison, *Understanding Conversion*, pp. xiii-39.

⁶ James Muldoon, 'Introduction: The Conversion of Europe,' in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, pp. 1-12.

events within his narrative'.⁷ Far from describing a 'crisis', Augustine wrote the book as an apology, defending himself against enemies who denied the orthodoxy of his teaching and the legitimacy of his title as bishop.⁸ Rather than a normative definition of an identifiable event, against which all conversions are measured, the new research focuses on the hermeneutics of conversion in the medieval period, which is protean and manifold. The task at hand is to uncover the truth of medieval conversions as opposed to unearthing instances of true conversions.

There is no thematic monograph on conversion in the corpus of medieval Islamic historiography. Modern scholars of Islam have combed through world or local histories and dynastic accounts to arrive at the 'historical truth' of the process of conversion in the conquered lands. They seem to agree that conversion to Islam was rarely forced, that the process was slow and varied, and that although the sources chronicle the execution of Zoroastrian priests and the destruction of fire-temples—in other words, of outward manifestations of the creed—social and economic considerations were more important than coercion in inducing significant numbers of conversions. Elton Daniel has further argued that it is clear from the sources that members of the Persian aristocracy—*dihqāns*, *marzubāns*, and the like—accepted Islam in order to preserve their social status and to avoid the stigma of paying certain taxes from which they had traditionally been exempted as a privileged class.⁹ Jamsheed Choksy, too, agrees with Daniel that commoners converted simply to avoid taxation by the conquerors.¹⁰ Touraj Daryaei has modified Choksy to claim that lower class Zoroastrians converted to Islam also to escape the burden of Zoroastrian ritual, priestly abuse, and a class-based society.¹¹ The social liberation theory is thwarted by evidence from the Bengal. In studying rural conversion to Islam in that region, Richard Eaton has observed that there is abundant evidence that Indian communities failed, upon Islamization, to improve their status in the social hierarchy. On the contrary, most simply carried into Muslim society the same birth-ascribed rank that they had formerly known in Hindu society. Paradoxically, and against the grain of conventional wisdom, Eaton found that large numbers of rural Muslims were not observed until as late as the end of the sixteenth century or afterward, whereas contact with Arab and Central Asian Muslims began in the late tenth century. Moreover, mass Islamization occurred under a regime, the Mughals (r. 1526-1858), that

⁷ Frederick H. Russell, 'Augustine: Conversion by the Book', in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, p. 14; see also, Nock, *Conversion*, pp. 259-63.

⁸ Russell, 'Augustine: Conversion by the Book', pp. 14-15.

⁹ Elton Daniel, 'Conversion II. Of Iranians to Islam', *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (1993), IV, 229-32.

¹⁰ Jamsheed K. Choksy, 'Zoroastrians in Muslim Iran: Selected Problems of Coexistence and Interaction during the Early Medieval Period', *Iranian Studies*, 20 (1987), 17-30.

¹¹ Touraj Daryaei, 'Review of Jamsheed K. Choksy, *Conflict and Cooperation: Zoroastrian Subalterns and Muslim Elites*', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 32 (2000), 158-60.

Prophet,' would terminate saintship forever. The last of the saints is the 'seal' with whom the world will come to an end.

This world of matter, however, being the locus of God's manifestation (*tajalli*) cannot come to an end at all. There shall be no time when the manifestation of *Haqq* can be said to have ceased. The present world and the world to come will meet and there is no dividing line between the two. The next world is something ever in the making. What we usually call this world and the next are mere names, for what Shabistari, following, ibn 'Arabi, calls the ever-new process of creation, an enduing cycle of annihilation and re-creation.

In the life to come, man would be without body but it would be something subtle and transparent. Our deeds and mental disposition of the present life would take concrete shape and become materialised in some tangible form. Good disposition will take the shape of light (paradise) and bad the Shape of fire (hell).

After death, the individuality of man shall vanish at last and many shall be dissolved into one. Man shall be vouhsafed the beatific vision, but it will not be something external; it will be a manifestation within himself.

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EB

Shahriyar, Kazaruni, Shaikh Abu Ishak, Ibrahim b. (963-1033)

Kazaruni, Shaikh Abu Ishak, Ibrahim b. Shahriyar, founder of a Sufi order variously known as the Murshidiyya, Ishakiyya and Kazaruniyya. He was born in Kazarun, near

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THE BIOGRAPHY OF
SHAIKH ABŪ ISHĀQ AL-KĀZARŪNĪ

by

A. J. Arberry

An excellent edition of the *Firdaus al-murshidiya fi asrār al-ṣamadiya*, a biography of the famous Ṣūfī Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Shahriyār al-Kāzarūnī (352-426/963-1033) by Maḥmūd b. ʿUthmān, was published in 1948 at Leipzig by Fritz Meier of Basle¹. The interest of this 511-page text is extremely varied. First, it is an inflated Persian translation of an Arabic original by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAlī b. Saʿd al-Khaṭīb (d. 502/1109) which has not survived; thus, although Maḥmūd b. ʿUthmān himself completed his book in 728/1327, it is based upon much older materials and therefore has the right to be considered one of our earliest full-length Ṣūfī biographies. Secondly, the hero of the narrative is a personality of much importance and significance; he was a very practical mystic, and his utterances are characterised by a refreshingly rugged common-sense. Thirdly, the volume includes quotations in prose and verse from many of the older mystics which do not appear to be recorded elsewhere. And last—but by no means least—the author has transcribed out of his original a considerable number of Abū Ishāq’s apophthegmata in the authentic Kāzarūnī dialect.

A copy of this publication, whose value is enhanced by an extensive introductory study including lists of the dialect-words, came into my hands through the good offices of my friend Professor H. Ritter, who invited me to review it for the periodical *Oriens*. I had actually completed my notice when, by one of those extraordinary coincidences which brighten the scholar’s life, I chanced upon a manuscript in Mr Chester Beatty’s library which

¹ Bibliotheca Islamica 17: „veröffentlicht unter der Lizenz Nr. 344 der Sowjetischen Militäradministration in Deutschland“. Ready for publication in 1941, the stocks of the book were destroyed in an air raid; the present edition is a photographic reprint.

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Kazaruni Ebi Ishak

farīka—which had ramifications as far as India and China, played a great role in the Ottoman empire in the 9th/15th century and in pre-Şafawid Iran—was rich and influential (protection of sailors and merchants in the Indian Ocean; political and economic role). Because of its Sunnī obedience, the order was persecuted by the Şafawid *Shāh* Ismā'īl [q.v.].

Despite having suffered dissensions between Zand pretenders at the end of the 12th/18th century, the town profited from the development of the port of *Būshahr*, which assured an outlet for its exports in the 19th century (Curzon, *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāsirī*, 247). Ouseley estimates its population at 4-5,000 inhabitants in 1811, Curzon at 2-2,500 inhabitants (1892); reports and later censuses indicate an increase (12,000 in 1913; 25,328 in ca. 1950; 36,659 in 1956; 39,902 in 1966). Apart from the Sāsānid remains and a *Kādījār* bas-relief, one may see in the region and the town numerous Islamic mausoleums and tombs of descendants of Salmān-i Fārsī (*Iklīm-i Pārs*, 108, 110; *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāsirī*, 249). The plain is adorned with the small lake of Fāmūr, full of fish, to the east of the town, and with the orange groves of *Bāgh-i Nazar* (*Fārs-Nāma-i Nāsirī*, *Iklīm-i Fārs*, 110). Apart from its mausoleums, the town has no remarkable historical remains. It is divided into four quarters (*maḥalla*); *Bāzār*, *Bālā*, *Gunbad*, *Mušallā* or *Suflā*. There is still an industry there for the shoes of canvas and leather (*gīva*) that MacGregor recommended for the Indian Army (Curzon). The present economic recession of the region is linked with the decline of the port of *Būshahr*, which has removed from *Kāzarūn* its role of principal stage on the route from *Shīrāz* and deprived it of outlets for its products.

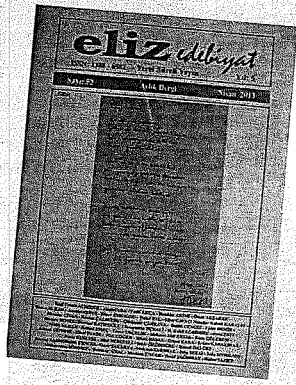
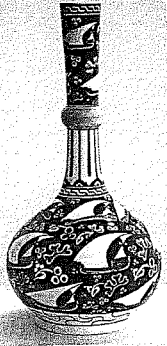
Bibliography: (1). For the Arab geographers, see: Schwarz, *Iran*, repr. New York 1969, i, 33 and index; Le Strange, 266 ff. and index; B. de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, 472 ff.; (2). *Persian sources:* Zarkub-i *Shīrāzī*, *Shīrāz-Nāma*, ed. Ismā'īl *Djavādī*, Tehran 1350/1971, 28 ff., and index; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-Nāma*, ed. Le Strange and Nicholson, 145 ff. and index; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 165 ff., trans. 125 ff.; Amīn Aḥmad, *Haft Iklīm*, ed. Calcutta 1939, i, 207 ff.; Hāfiz-i Abrū, *Djuḡhrāfiyā*, man. Ch. Adle, f. 298 (repeats Ibn al-Balkhī); Ḥādīdī Mirzā Ḥasan Fasā'ī, *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāsirī*, Tehran lith. 1313/1895-6, 246 ff.; (3). Travellers: W. Francklin, *Observations made on a Tour from Bengal to Persia...*, London 1790, 244 ff., 341 ff.; E. S. Waring, *A Tour to Sheeraz*, London 1807, 22; Morier, *Second Journey*, London 1818, 49; Ouseley, *Travels*, London 1819-23, i, 271-8; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii, 205 ff.; (4). Studies: *Rapport du Ministère de l'Intérieur sur le Fars*, Tehran 1913, 118 ff.; Mas'ūd Kayhān, *Djuḡhrāfiyā-yi muḥaṣṣal-i Irān*, Tehran 1310/1932, i, 227 ff. and index; *Farhang-i Djuḡhrāfiyā-i Irān*, Tehran 1330/1951, vii, 180 ff.; M. T. Mustawfī, *Iklīm-i Pārs*, Tehran 1343/1964, 108 ff. and index; M. Dī. Behrūzī, *Shahr-i sabz yā... shahrīstān-i Kāzīrūn*, *Shīrāz* 1346/1967; F. Meier, *Die Vita des Scheich Abū Ishāk al-Kāzarūnī* (edn. of *Firdaws al-murshidiyya*...), Leipzig 1948; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia?*, London 1969, index. (J. CALMARD)

KĀZARŪNĪ, SHAYKH ABŪ IŞHĀK IBRĀHĪM B. ŞAHRIYĀR, founder of a Şūfī order variously known as the *Murshidiyya*, *Ishākiyya* and *Kāzarūniyya*. He was born in *Kāzarūn*, near *Shīrāz* in

Fārs, in 352/963, and died there in 426/1033. He left his birthplace only once, in 388/998, to study *hadīth* and to perform the *ḥādīdī*. His initiation into the Şūfī path was at the hands either of Ibn *Khafīf* of *Shīrāz* (d. 371/981), or of one of his disciples, *Husayn Akkār*. Several features give a distinctive aspect to *Kāzarūnī*'s life and work, among them his proselytisation among the unconverted population of *Kāzarūn* and its environs: he is reputed to have converted no fewer than 24,000 Zoroastrians and Jews to Islam, thus establishing the Muslims as the majority in the area (Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā*, 244-54; Maḥmūd b. 'Uṭmān, *Firdaws al-murshidiyya fi asrār al-şamadiyya*, 416). In this endeavour, he faced and vanquished the hostility of *Khūrshīd*, the Zoroastrian governor of *Kāzarūn*. He was also concerned with extending the frontiers of Islam, and organized the annual dispatch of *ghāzis* to fight on the Byzantine frontier, an activity that earned him the title of *Shaykh-i ghāzī*. The *khānaqāh* that he established in *Kāzarūn* had an important social function, and provided regular charity for the poor and for travellers. Sixty-five similar *khānaqāhs* were established elsewhere in *Fārs* by *Kāzarūnī*'s disciples during his lifetime, and formed the nucleus for the later expansion of the order.

All the branches of the order were to show the same charitable concern for the poor that had marked *Kāzarūnī*'s life, and the distribution of soup at one *Ishāki khānaqāh*, that at *Bursa*, continued sporadically into fairly recent times (Meḥmed Shems el-Dīn, *Yādigār-i Shemsī*, 220). By the 8th/14th century, the order had spread westwards into *Anatolia* and eastwards as far as *China*. In *Anatolia*, the followers of *Kāzarūnī* were known as *Ishākis*: they had centres in *Ezzerum*, *Amasya*, *Konya* (founded 821/1418: *Abdūlbāki Gölpinarlı*, *Mevlānā'dan sonra Mevlevilik*, *Istanbul* 1953, 11) and *Bursa* (founded 884/1479: H. Adnan Erzi, *Bursa'da Ishaki dervişlerine mahsus zaviyenin vakfiyesi*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii (1942), 423). It may be presumed that, drawing upon the example of their founder, they played a great part in the conquest and Islamisation of *Anatolia*. From *Anatolia*, the *Ishākiyya* spread into *Rumelia* (there was a *tekke* at *Edirne*: see *Ewliyā Çelebi*, iii, 454) and south to *Aleppo* (W. Caskel, in *Isl.*, xix, 284 f.). The eastward expansion of the order to *India* and *China* seems to have been seaborne, and connected with the protection afforded to voyagers by *Kāzarūnī*'s *baraka*, and, after his death, by the soil from his grave. A gift of money would be vowed to the *Kāzarūn khānaqāh* as guarantee of safe passage, and the sum was then collected by agents in foreign ports: *İn Battūta*, ii, 88-92; iv, 10,3 mentions *Calicut*, *Cambay* and *Kolam* in *India*, and *Zaytun* (*Canton*). This system appears to have been formalised by 'Umar b. Abi 'l-Faraj al-Kāzarūnī (d. 704/1304). The soil from *Kāzarūnī*'s grave was reputed to be able to calm stormy waters when cast into the sea, as well as having the properties of a panacea and a talisman. The central *khānaqāh* at *Kāzarūn* was suppressed by the Şafawids at the beginning of the 10th/16th century (Mirzā Ḥasan Fasā'ī, *Fārsnāma-yi Nāsirī*, Tehran 1314/1896, 249), and the *Anatolian* branch of the order appears to have faded out in the following century, although traces of it persisted much later. Mention may also be made of a derivative of *Kāzarūnī*'s order, the *Rūzbihāniyya*, founded by *Rūzbihān Baklı* of *Shīrāz* (d. 606/1209): this was restricted to *Fārs* and did not last for much more than a century.

Bibliography: Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, *Tadh-*



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BURSA'YA HİMET EDENLER
3
Kâzerûnî (110 705)

EBU İSHAK KÂZERÛNÎ İMARETİ

Prof. Dr. Mefail HIZLI
Ankara Müftüsü

Ebuishak Camii

SAHİP OLDUĞU FİKİRLERİ İSLÂM DÜNYASINDA GENİŞ YANKI BULAN KÂZERÛNİYYE TARİKATININ DERVİŞLERİ, BU ARADA ANADOLU'YA DA GELMİŞLER VE HALKTAN VE HÜKÜMDARLARDAN BÜYÜK İLGİ GÖRMÜŞLERDİ.

İmaret, Yıldırım Bayezid tarafından Ebu İshak Kâzerûnî adına yaptırılmıştır. İran'da bulunan Kâzerûn kasabasından olup asıl adı Şehriyâr oğlu İbrahim olan Ebu İshak, buraya nispetle "Kâzerûnî" olarak şöhret bulmuştur. Sûfiyyûn tarikatı şeyhlerindedir. Âlim ve fâzıl bir zât idi. 1034'de yine bu kasabada vefat etmiş ve aynı yere defnedilmiştir. Ölümünden yaklaşık 300 yıl sonra Bursa'nın fethedildiği düşünülürse, Ebu İshak'ın Bursa'ya gelmediği ve sevenleri tarafından kendisi için bazı hayrat eserlerinin yapıldığı sonucuna varılır. Bilindiği gibi Türkiye'de birçok yerde bu zat adına türbeler yapılmıştır.

Sahip olduğu fikirleri İslâm dünyasında geniş yankı bulan Kâzerûniyye tarikatının dervişleri, bu arada Anadolu'ya da gelmişler ve halktan ve hükümdarlardan büyük ilgi görmüşlerdi. Birçok Osmanlı tarihçisinin de bahsettiği gibi, Yıldırım Bâyezid "Ebû İshak alemdârlarına mahsus bir zâviye-i âlî" tesis etmişti. Bu imaretin Yıldırım tarafından yaptırıldığı, cami girişi üzerindeki şu kitâbesinden de açıkça anlaşılmaktadır:

"(1) Kad benâ hâzihî'l-buk'atü's-şerîfetü es-Sultânü's-sa'îdü'l-a'zam Bâyezîd Hân -eskenehu'llâhu fî ferâdisi'l-cinân- ve vekafehâ 'alâ ashâbi's-şeyhi'l-kebiri's-samedâni (2) Şeyh Ebû İshak Kâzerûnî -rahmetu'llâhi 'aleyhi- fe-emera bi-tecdîdihâ Sultânü'l-berreyn ve hâkânü'l-bahreyn Sultân Meh-

med ibn Murâd Hân -halleda'llâhu mülkehû ve sultânehu- (3) ve se'a'l-'abdü'l-fakîru İbn İftihâr Mu'in el-Mürşîdî el-Kuraşî fî tecdîdihâ ve hüve min ashâbi's-şeyhi'l-kebîr ve ekâribihî fî şehri Cemâzi'levvelî seneti erba'a ve semânine ve semâni mie"

Anlamı: Bu şerefli mekânı ulu sultan Bâyezîd Han -Allah onu cennet bahçelerine yerleştirsin- yaptı ve sonra da Şeyh Ebu İshak Kâzerûnî'nin -Allah'ın rahmeti üzerine olsun- ashabına vakfetti. Daha sonra kara ve denizlerin hakanı, Murad Han oğlu Sultan Mehmed -Allah onun mülkünü ve saltanatını dâim eylesin- yenilenmesini emretti. Bu arada büyük şeyhin ashabı ve yakını olan İbn İftihâr Mu'in el-Mürşîdî el-Kuraşî 884 yılı Cemâziye'l-evvelinde yenilenmesi sırasında bizzat katkıda bulundu.

Kitabe, Ebu İshak müridleri için yaptırılan zaviyenin hangi tarihte inşa edildiğine açıklik kazandırmıyorsa da, Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in bu yapıyı Temmuz-Ağustos 1479 tarihinde tamir ederek yenilediği anlaşılmaktadır.

Bursalı İsmail Belîğ'in *Güldeste* adlı eserinde, bu imaretin Ebu İshak adına yapılmakla birlikte Bağdat şeriflerinden Seyyid Nattâ' adıyla şöhret bulan Seyyid Mehmed el-Huseynî el-Hâşimî için inşa edildiği şu cümlelerle aktarılır:

"Seyyid Nattâ' dahî vezîr İshak Paşa'nın duhterini

3 Ebu İshak Kâzerûnî İmaretî
Prof. Dr. Mefail Hızlı

6 Bursa İl Merkezinin Orhaneli'ye Nakli
Niyazi Topçu

9 Mudanya'da Yayımlanan Edebiyat dergisi: Eliz Edebiyat
Nevzat Çalığıuşu

10 Dolapçılık
Kenan Yetişen

13 Dağ Yöresinin Osmanlı Devleti için Önemi
Ömer Faruk Dinçel

16 Bursa Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Galerisi
Uğur Ozan Özen

20 Özerk Bursa Devleti'nin Kuruluşu
Raif Kaplanoğlu

31 Çini'ya Hayat Veren Sultanlar...
Metin Carav

34 Çakırlı Beldesi Efsaneleri
Ömral Hava

43 Orhangazi Ermenileri Nasıl Devlete Kafa Tutar Hale Geldi
Sinan Çuluk

48 Bir Sıçrar Çekirge
Esat Uluumay

50 "Sen Çok Yaşa Tankut Abi"
Nevzat Çalığıuşu

51 Bursa'da bir Fransız Kadın Girişimci: Madam Brotte
İsmail Yaşayanlar

57 Belgelere Göre Tarih İçinde Çalı Köyü
Turhan Hoca(Çalay)



26 Ağustos 2015

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

20 Eylül 2014

- 77 AIGLE, Denise. Sainteté et miracles. Deux saints fondateurs en Iran méridional (XIe et XI^e s.). *Oriente Moderno: Rivista d'Informazione e di Studi per la Diffusione della Conoscenza della Cultura dell'Oriente soprattutto Musulmano*, 93 i (2013) pp. 79-100. With reference to Abū Ishāq Kāzarūnī & Amīn al-Dīn Balyānī, both active in the village of Kāzarūn (Fārs).

Kazaruni
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ABŪ ESHĀQ EBRĀHĪM B. ŠAHRĪĀR KĀZARŪNĪ, Sufi and eponymous founder of the Kāzarūnīya/Eshāqīya *selsela*. Abū Eshāq was born in 352/963 in Kāzarūn, the environs of which were still only thinly islamized as late as the mid-4th/10th century. Though the future shaikh's parents were converted to Islam, his paternal grandfather remained a Zoroastrian and was opposed to the young boy's tutelage in Koranic studies. Abū Eshāq persisted, becoming proficient in the traditional sciences and increasingly drawn toward the pursuit of *taṣawwuf*. His father at first doubted that Abū Eshāq could maintain the rigorous discipline of the Sufis but was gradually persuaded to let him

E. I. C. (S. B.)
S. 274 - 275, 1983,
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continue ('*Aṭṭār, Taḍkerat al-awlīā'*, Lahore, 1295/1878, p. 423). The exact moment of his entrance into the company of dervishes is debated; though both Hāreṭ Moḥāsebī and Abū 'Omar are said to have influenced Abū Eshāq, in all likelihood it was Abū 'Alī Ḥosayn b. Moḥammad Fīrūzābādī Akkār, a disciple of the famed 'Abdallāh b. Kaḥfīf, who became his *moršed* (Jāmī, *Nafahāt* [Bombay], p. 141). One source suggests that Abū Eshāq was dramatically converted to the Sufi way of life by a single, overpowering glance from Abū 'Alī (Yamanī, *Latā'ef*, pp. 87-88).

Once initiated into Sufi meditation and asceticism, Abū Eshāq surpassed his mentors in the adulation and fame he received, not only during his lifetime but also after his death in 426/1033. His encounters with other saints and tersely phrased insights are repeatedly cited in medieval *taḍkeras* (e.g., 'Aṭṭār, Yamanī, Jāmī, and Sarvar). Many of the anecdotes about him concern his proselytizing activity among the Zoroastrians and Jews of his native region: 'Aṭṭār (p. 427) gives the total of his converts to Islam as 24,000, though one may doubt that the ranks of his disciples swelled to 100,000 as Sarvar has reported (p. 879). The *kānaqāh* at Kāzarūn was the center of Abū Eshāq's activity; from there he directed his disciples to establish other *kānaqāhs*, perhaps totalling as many as sixty-five, throughout Fārs.

Legends about the saint are almost inseparable from the facts. Popularized accounts in secondary sources consist of extracts, often embellished, from the two principal biographies of Abū Eshāq, *Ferdaws al-moršedīya* by Maḥmūd b. 'Oṭmān and *Marṣad al-aḥrār* by Moḥammad Kāzarūnī. Both *taḍkeras* are late, being inflated 8th/14th century Persian translations of a no longer extant 5th/11th century Arabic original by Abū Bakr Kaḥfīb (Arberry, pp. 163-64). In nearly all accounts the saint is portrayed as a fully orthodox, charismatically aggressive Muslim. He was both typical and atypical of the great shaikhs of his age. Like many Sufis, he eschewed the company of kings, upholding charity and indigence as twin virtues incumbent on true Sufis (Jāmī, *Nafahāt*, p. 141). On the other hand, he was a strict vegetarian, reportedly refusing to eat meat even in the company of fellow Muslims on the pilgrimage to Mecca ('*Aṭṭār, Taḍkerat al-awlīā'*, p. 424).

It seems likely that from an early date magical properties were associated with the tomb of Abū Eshāq. 'Aṭṭār suggests that during his lifetime the saint had augured the beneficial effect of visiting his tomb, and immediately after his death appeared in a dream to assure his devotees that all who came to pay their respects to him would obtain their wishes (pp. 427, 432-33). His *kānaqāh*, till its destruction during the Safavid period, remained a major exemplar of institutional Sufism. Ebn Baṭṭūṭa mentioned incidents of voyagers from as far away as India and China seeking *baraka* (blessing) from the saint's tomb for safe passage and then paying sums of money to *kānaqāh* representatives at their journey's conclusion (Ebn Baṭṭūṭa, tr. Gibb, p. 97). In time, even a handful of soil from Abū Eshāq's grave was said to possess the same miraculous

prophylactic power as a visit to the tomb complex at Kāzarūn.

In the islamization of Anatolia the Kāzarūnīya *selsela* undoubtedly played a significant role that can be charted with reference to its centers at Erzerum, Amasya, Konya, and Bursa (Meḥmed Fo'ād, *passim*; Algar, in *El'* IV, p. 851). However, in south and southeast Asia the order never penetrated beyond the enclaves of mercantile Muslims residing in the coastal cities, though as late as the 10th/16th century it is included among the fourteen *selselas* which were alleged to have had distinctive Indian branches (Abu'l-Faḏl, *Ā'in-e Akbarī*, tr. II, p. 204).

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been practical and in the service of either state law or political opposition. There has been a corresponding lack of interest in the theological, philosophical, and cultural messages that were embedded in the traditional modes of discourse. These remain, however appropriately valued, in the university systems of modern Muslim states, and it is there that the task seems likely to be attempted of reinterpreting their message for the needs of the 21st century.

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(NORMAN CALDER)

FERDAWS AL-MORŠEDIYA FĪ ASRĀR AL-ŠAMĀDIYA, a major hagiography of Abū Eshāq Kāzarūnī (b. 352/963, d. 426/1033; q.v.), a famous Sufi and founder of a *selsela* variously referred to as Kāzarūnīya, Eshāqīya, or Moršediya. The original Arabic text, by Abū Bakr Moḥammad b. 'Abd-al-Karīm b. 'Alī b. Sa'd al-Kaṭīb (d. 502/1109), the third *kalīfa* of the order, is no longer extant, but evidence of direct textual borrowings from it can be found in the *Taḍkerat al-awlīā'* of 'Attār (Meier, p. 3). Although *Ferdaws al-moršediya* almost certainly follows the structure of

the Arabic original, it was compiled at a much later date (728/1328) and contains additional material and interpolations. The name of the translator, Maḥmūd b. 'Oṭmān, does not appear in the text itself but his authorship is attested in the two extant copies of an abridgment of the book entitled *Anwār al-moršediya fī asrār al-šamādiya*, which he himself compiled.

Fritz Meier prepared an edition of the *Ferdaws al-moršediya* based on the manuscripts Aya Sofya 3254 and Konya 1513 (see Gölpınarlı, pp. 193-94; Köprülüžāde). The first printing (Istanbul, 1943) was destroyed during World War II and reissued in 1948 with an informative introduction (pp. 1-86). A subsequent edition by İraj Afšār was based on Meier but also included an edition of the abridgment, *Anwār al-moršediya fī asrār al-šamādiya*; Persian translations of Meier's preface and an article by A. J. Arberry; and other essays (Afšār, 1980; 'Aqīlī). A manuscript of *Ferdaws al-moršediya* was reportedly included as part of an important illustrated Sufi miscellany copied in 821/1418 for the famous Timurid prince Ebrāhīm Solṭān b. Šāhroḡ (q.v.). At one time in the 'Abd-al-Ḥosayn Bayāt collection, this manuscript may have been donated to the Madrasa-ye Šamšāmīya in Arāk (see Golčīn-e Ma'ānī, pp. 63-64), but its present location is not known. The manuscript of another translation of the Arabic text, *Marsād al-aḥrār elā siyār al-moršed al-abrār*, was in the private library of A. Chester Beatty (Storey I/2, p. 1343; described by Arberry), but its current whereabouts are also unknown.

Ferdaws al-moršediya belongs to an important category of hagiography which focuses on a single charismatic life (see HAGIOGRAPHIC LITERATURE). It shares many structural similarities with other important works in the same genre, including *Šīrat-e Ebn al-Kaṭīf* (see EBN KAṬĪF) and *Asrār al-tawḥīd* (q.v.). The value of these works, not only for the history of the formation of the Sufi orders, but also for a better understanding of daily life and urban and rural structures, is gradually becoming apparent to social historians (Aigle, 1995). Furthermore, *Ferdaws al-moršediya* contains several conversion stories and anecdotes about Muslim-Zoroastrian relations in 11th century Fārs, describing the local history of the Kāzarūn region in the context of the triangular relationship between the central Buyid administration in Shiraz, the still considerable and influential local Zoroastrian community in Kāzarūn, and the emerging power of the mostly rural Muslim population under the shaikh's shrewd and patient leadership. The work is also an invaluable source of information on regional dialects and geography.

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- Kazeruni

17 OKAK 2001

دائرة المعارف بزرگ اسلامی

جلد پنجم تهران ۱۳۷۲

۱۷۱ ابوسعحاق کازرونی

همو، وی به حضور ابن عمید راه یافت، اما ابن عمید ابتدا روی خوش به او نشان نداد، تا آنکه روزی سخن وی را شنید و ارج فضل و دانش او را شناخت (قس: یاقوت، ۲۰۵/۱). برخی چون صفدی (همانجا) و یاقوت (۲۰۴/۱) کتابی با عنوان شرح العجری به او نسبت داده‌اند که تا سده ۸ ق در دست مردم بوده است، اما امروز خبری از آن نداریم. از اشعار او نیز جز آن ۵ بیتی که تعالی (همانجا) و دیگر منابع به تقلید از او نقل کرده‌اند، چیزی در دست نیست.

ابوریحان بیرونی در الجواهر (ص ۱۶۲) از مردی به نام ابوسعحاق فارسی نام می‌برد که به محل معادن زبرجد اشاره کرده است، اما اینکه این ابوسعحاق، همان شخصیت مورد نظر ما باشد، دانسته نیست.

مأخذ: ابویحان توحیدی، علی بن محمد، اخلاق الوزیرین، به کوشش محمد بن تابت طنجه، دمشق، ۱۳۸۵ ق/ ۱۹۶۵ م؛ ابوریحان بیرونی، الجواهر فی معرفة الجواهر، حیدرآباد دکن، ۱۳۵۵ ق؛ تعالی، عبدالملک بن محمد، نیمه الدهر، به کوشش محمد محی‌الدین عبدالحمید، بیروت، ۱۳۷۷ ق؛ سیوطی، بقیة الوعاة، به کوشش محمد ابوالفضل ابراهیم، قاهره، ۱۳۸۴ ق/ ۱۹۶۴ م؛ صفدی، خلیل بن ابی‌بکر، الوافی بالوفیات، به کوشش س. ددرینگ، بیروت، ۱۳۹۲ ق/ ۱۹۷۲ م؛ قفطی، علی بن یوسف، انباه الرواة، به کوشش محمد ابوالفضل ابراهیم، قاهره، ۱۳۶۹ ق/ ۱۹۵۰ م؛ یاقوت، ادبا.

سبین محقق

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ابوسعحاق کازرونی، ابراهیم بن شهریار بن زادان فرخ بن خورشید، معروف به شیخ مرشد (۳۵۲-۴۲۶ ق/ ۹۶۳-۱۰۳۵ م)، عارف، شاعر، مفسر، محدث و مؤسس سلسله کازرونیه (یا اسحاقیه). ابوسعحاق در نورد کازرون متولد شد (محمود بن عثمان، ۵۸؛ جامی، ۲۵۴). پدر و مادر وی از زرتشتیانی بودند که پیش از ولادت او اسلام آورده بودند، اما نیای وی زادان فرخ در کیش زرتشتی وفات یافت (محمود بن عثمان، ۱۱؛ نیز نک: عطار، ۷۶۳؛ زرکوب، ۱۴۵). خانواده ابوسعحاق بسیار تنگدست بودند و از او می‌خواستند که برای تأمین معاش، پیشه‌ای بیاموزد، اما چون اشتیاق او به فرا گرفتن قرآن بسیار بود، عاقبت پدر و مادر و جدش پذیرفتند که او سحرگهان پیش از رفتن به کار، به درس قرآن رود (محمود بن عثمان، ۱۴؛ عطار، همانجا).

ابراهیم پس از تحصیل مقدمات علوم و مصاحبت با برخی از مشایخ فارس (نک: محمود بن عثمان، ۱۴، ۴۲-۴۸، ۶۰-۶۲) بر آن شد که طریقت یکی از سه شیخ پرآوازه آن عصر را برگزیند و عاقبت از میان حارث محاسبی، ابن خفیف (ه م م) و ابوعمرو بن علی به طریقت ابن خفیف روی آورد (همو، ۱۷-۱۸؛ عطار، ۷۶۴) و احتمالاً پس از ۳۷۱ ق (سال وفات ابن خفیف) از حسین آکار، مرید ابن خفیف، خرقة گرفت (محمود بن عثمان، ۱۹-۲۵؛ قس: مایر، «بیست-بیست و یک»). وی پیش از آنکه به شیراز نزد حسین آکار رود، خود در کازرون شهرت و اعتباری یافته بود و چنانکه از مندرجات فردوس المرشدیه (محمود بن عثمان، ۲۰) برمی‌آید، سفر او به شیراز نیز در واقع به خواهش مریدانش بوده است. احتمالاً همین آوازه و اعتبار او در میان مردم کازرون موجب بیم و هراس بزرگان زرتشتی کازرون شده بود.

احمد ثالث در استانبول است، عنوان اختلاف الفقهاء را دارد (ترکی، ۵۶/۱؛ ورهوه، GAL,S,I/670; 160). تحقیق بخش معاملات این کتاب موضوع پایان نامه زکریا عبدالرزاق مصری بوده و در ۱۴۰۵ ق در مکه به چاپ رسیده است.

مأخذ: ابن اثیر، الكامل؛ ابن جوزی، عبدالرحمن بن علی، صفة الصفوة، به کوشش محمود فاخوری، بیروت، ۱۴۰۶ ق/ ۱۹۸۶ م؛ همو، المنتظم، حیدرآباد دکن، ۱۳۵۹ ق؛ ابن جوزی، یوسف بن قزواغلی، مرآة الزمان، حیدرآباد دکن، ۱۳۷۰ ق/ ۱۹۵۱ م؛ ابن خلکان، وفیات؛ ابن دمیاط، احمد بن ابی‌بکر، المستفاد من ذیل تاریخ بغداد، به کوشش قیصر ابوفرح، بیروت، ۱۳۹۹ ق/ ۱۹۷۸ م؛ ابن عساکر، علی بن حسن، تبیین کذب المفتری، دمشق، ۱۳۲۷ ق؛ ابوسعحاق شیرازی، ابراهیم بن علی، طبقات الفقهاء، به کوشش خلیل میس، بیروت، دارالقلم؛ استوی، عبدالرحیم بن حسن، طبقات الشافعیة، به کوشش عبدالله جبوری، بغداد، ۱۳۹۱ ق/ ۱۹۷۱ م؛ بنداری اصفهانی، فتح بن علی، زبدة التواریخ، قاهره، ۱۹۷۴ م؛ ترکی، عبدالحمید، مقدمه و تعلیقات بر شرح اللمع ابوسعحاق شیرازی، بیروت، ۱۴۰۸ ق/ ۱۹۸۸ م؛ جمدی، عمر بن علی، طبقات فقهاء الیمن، به کوشش فؤاد سید، قاهره، ۱۹۵۷ م؛ حاجی خلیفه، کشف ذهبی، محمد بن احمد، سیر اعلام النبلاء، به کوشش شعیب ارنؤوط و محمد نعیم عرقسوسی، بیروت، ۱۴۰۵ ق/ ۱۹۸۴ م؛ سبکی، عبدالوهاب بن علی، طبقات الشافعیة الکبری، قاهره، ۱۳۲۴ ق؛ سخاوی، محمد بن عبدالرحمن، الضوء اللامع، قاهره، ۱۳۵۵ ق؛ سمعانی، عبدالکریم بن محمد، الانساب، حیدرآباد دکن، ۱۳۹۹ ق/ ۱۹۷۹ م؛ صریغینی، ابراهیم بن محمد، تاریخ نساپور (منتخب السیاق عبدالغافر فارسی)، به کوشش محمد کاظم محمودی، قم، ۱۴۰۳ ق؛ عمادالدین کاتب، محمد، خریدة القصر (قسم شعرای ایران)، نسخه عکسی موجود در کتابخانه مرکز الفهرس التمهیدی للمخطوطات المصورة، قاهره، ۱۹۴۸ م؛ قفطی، علی ابن یوسف، انباه الرواة، قاهره، ۱۳۷۱ ق/ ۱۹۵۲ م؛ کسائی، نورالله، مدارس نظامیه و تأثیرات علمی واجتماعی آن، تهران، ۱۳۶۳ ش؛ مقدسی، محمد بن احمد، احسن التقاسیم، لیدن، ۱۹۰۶ م؛ نووی، یحیی بن شرف، تهذیب الاسماء واللفات، قاهره، اداره الطباعة المنیریة؛ هندو شاه بن سنجر نخجوانی، تجارب السلف، به کوشش عباس اقبال، تهران، ۱۳۵۷ ش؛ هیتو، محمد حسن، الامام الشیرازی حیاة و آراؤه الاصولیة، بیروت، ۱۴۰۰ ق/ ۱۹۸۰ م؛ یاقوت، ادبا؛ همو، بلدان؛ نیز:

Ahlwardt; De Slane; GAL; GAL,S; Pertsch; Voorhoeve.

نورالله کسائی

ابوسعحاق صابی، نک: صابی.

ابوسعحاق فارسی، ابراهیم بن علی (سده ۴ ق/ ۱۰ م)، لغوی و نحوی. مجموعه اطلاعات ما درباره او، منحصر به چند سطر است که ابویحان توحیدی (ص ۳۵۲) و تعالی (۱۵۰/۴) نقل کرده‌اند. از آن پس، همه منابع، چون یاقوت (۲۰۴/۱-۲۰۵)، قفطی (۱۷۱/۱)، صفدی (۵۸/۶)، سیوطی (۴۲۰/۱) و دیگران، همان روایات را تکرار کرده‌اند. بنابراین روایات، وی از شاگردان ابوعلی فارسی بوده و از سیرافنی نیز کسب علم کرده است. او در زمان سامانیان، به بخارا درآمد و مورد احترام بسیار واقع شد. چنانکه بزرگان شهر فرزندان خویش را به شاگردی نزد او می‌فرستادند. ظاهراً کار او نزد امیران سامانی بالا گرفت، چنانکه با زبینی و اصلاح همه نامه‌های دیوان رسائل را برعهده او گذاشتند. وی تا پایان عمر بر همین کار بود.

ابویحان (همانجا) می‌افزاید که ابوسعحاق در شعر و نثر و عروض و صنعت معما دستی تمام داشته، چندانکه با متنبی به معارضه برمی‌خاسته و کتابهایی نیز تألیف و املا و شرح کرده است. به گفته

this. Taken together, these factors explain why it was that Abū Iṣhāq was a popular poet (Abū Iṣhāq, 13). Nevertheless, despite his intellectual and artistic limitations, and his moderate talent and inspiration, his poetry has certain innovative and original features which should not be overlooked: the expression of certain human states of mind and susceptibilities, the use of some striking imagery and the portrayal of facial expressions (Abbās, 136–139).

Abū Iṣhāq's poetry apparently had numerous admirers, many of whom learnt his poems by heart (Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, 418; Abū al-Ḥajjāj, 1/13; Ibn Sa'īd, 2/133). A manuscript of Abū Iṣhāq's *Dīwān*, dating back to the 7th/13th century, was edited by García Gómez, with an introduction, and explanatory notes. It was published for the first time in Madrid and Granada in 1944; then it was edited and published by Muḥammad Riḍwān al-Dāya who also added a further introduction and explanatory notes (Beirut, 1396/1976).

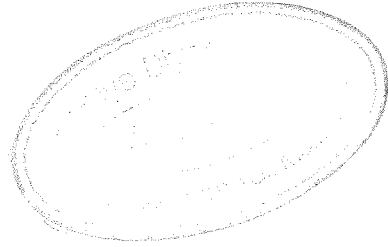
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DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC LITERATURE
TR. HASSAN LAHOUTI

Abū Iṣhāq Kāzarūnī, Ibrāhīm b. Shahriyār b. Zādān Farrukh b. Khurshīd known as *shaykh-i murshid* (the Guiding Master) (352–426/963–1035), born in Nuward in Kāzarūn, was a gnostic ('arif), poet, commentator on the Qur'ān and traditionist and also the founding shaykh of the Kāzarūniyya or Iṣhāqiyya Sufi *sil-sila* (Maḥmūd, 58; Jāmī, 260). His parents were originally Zoroastrians who had converted to Islam before his birth, but his grandfather, Zādān Farrukh, died a Zoroastrian (Maḥmūd, 11; see also 'Aṭṭār, 763; Zarkūb, 145). His family was very poor and expected him to learn a profession in order to earn a living, but his thirst for learning the Qur'ān was so great that his parents and his grandfather allowed him to go to



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Ian N. Wood

Christianizing peoples and

Converting individuals,

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MADDE YAFINLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

14 MAYIS 2003

The Conversion Stories of Shaykh Abū Ishāq Kāzarūnī (963 1033)

NEGUIN YAVARI

The academic study of conversion has come full circle from the early twentieth century, when normative paradigms of spiritual conversion were outlined by William James and Arthur Darby Nock. Influenced by James's psychology of religion approach,¹ conversion was defined as an individual action of the will, the turning of a soul. Nock saw it as 'the reorientation of the soul of an individual, his deliberate turning from indifference or from an earlier form of piety to another, a turning which implies a consciousness that a great change is involved, that the old was wrong and the new is right'.² His concern was with conversion from paganism to Christianity, away from primitive religion, toward a higher truth. His model was that of St Paul, who chose Christianity because of spiritual conviction and moral decision. More importantly, the conversion happened in one decisive and self-conscious moment. Paul experienced a change of heart, a turning of the soul, and that altered the course of his life.

¹ James asserts, 'To be converted, to be regenerated, to receive grace, to gain an assurance, are so many phrases which denote the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self hitherto divided, and consciously wrong, inferior and unhappy, becomes unified and consciously right, superior and happy, in consequence of its firmer hold upon religious realities. This at least is what conversion signifies in general terms, whether or not we believe that a direct divine operation is needed to bring such a moral change about'. William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902; repr. New York, 1997), p. 160.

² A. D. Nock, *Conversion* (Oxford, 1933), p. 7.

باشد. شیخ احمد و ملامصدرا و ملامحسن، اگرچه ظاهر بعضی کلمات ایشان بالتقطع خلاف مذهب مسلمین یا شیعه است، ولیکن توقف در تکفیر ایشان اولی است و احتیاط را نباید ترک نمود (قصص العلماء، اسلامیه، ص ۵۴۷). جای دیگر می نویسد: «در مذهب ملامصدرا خلاف است پس جمعی از فقها او را کافر می دانند و در چند مسأله برخلاف ظواهر حقه شرعیّه سخن رانده است: یکی وحدت وجود... مسئله دیگر که محل لغزش ملامصدراست آن است که او در شرح اصول کافی و تفسیر سوره بقره و در اسفار قائل به انقطاع عذاب شده و خلود در جهنم را منکر است و ضرورت اسلام بر خلاف آن است و دیگر آنکه در کتاب اسفار در بیان مراتب عشق نوشته است که تعشق و محبت به آمارده... فی الحقیقه تعشق به خداست... مسئله دیگر در معاد است اگر چه در شواهد الربوبیّه گفته است که معاد هر جسم عنصری است لیکن به حسب ظاهر عباراتش از بدن عنصری چیزی بر گزار نکرده است... الحاصل ظاهر کلماتش خوب نیست ولیکن حکم به کفر او با این که مدتی است گذشته، و با اجمال کلام مشکل است پس تأمل کرده و مرا در این مقام توقف است (همان، ۳-۳۳۱).

او لطیفه ای نقل کرده بدین مضمون که ملامصدرا میرداماد را در خواب دید و از او سؤال کرد که مردم مرا تکفیر کردند و شما را تکفیر نمودند، با اینکه مذهب من از مذهب شما خارج نیست. میرداماد در جواب گفت سبب آن است که من مطالب حکمت را چنان نوشته ام که علما از فهم آن عاجزند و غیراهل حکمت کسی آنها را نمی تواند فهمید و تو مطالب حکمت را مبتذل کردی و به نحوی بیان کردی که اگر ملامکتی کتابهای ترا ببیند مطالب آن را می فهمد و لذا ترا تکفیر کردند و مرا تکفیر نمودند. رحمها الله تعالی فی الجنان مع رسوله المختار و اهل بیته الاطهار (قصص العلماء، ۵-۳۳۴).

البته این که بیان ملامصدرا روان تر و روشن تر از میرداماد است شکی نیست، اما چنان نیست که ملامکتی بفهمد مگر اینکه بگویم ملامکتی هم می فهمد که گفته ملامصدرا در موارد ذکر شده مطابق ظاهر شرع نیست، و فهمیده نفهمیده تکفیرش می نماید. ملامصدرا خود نوشته است: «و حرام علی اکثر الناس ان یشرعوا فی کسب هذه العلوم الغامضه، لان اهلیة ادراکها فی غایة الندرة و نهایة الشدود» (اسفار، ج ۳، ص ۴۴۶). از شیخ محمدحسین اصفهانی متوفی ۱۲۹۶ ه. ق نقل است که «اگر بدانم کسی اسرار اسفار را می داند به سوی او سفر می کنم».

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ذیل کتاب

«تحفة المرشدين من حکایات الصالحين»

در ذکر شیخ ابی اسحاق ابراهیم بن شهریار کازرونی

تألیف جلال الدین محمد بن عبادی کازرونی

به تصحیح و مقدمه عارف نوشاهی، معین نظامی

پیشگفتار

دانشمند مستشرق فریتس مایر (Fritz Meier) ظاهراً نخستین کسی است که در تحقیقات خود درباره سلسله مرشدیه از تحفة المرشدين من حکایات الصالحين استفاده کرده است. او در هنگام تصحیح و تحقیق فردوس المرشدیه فی اسرار الصمدیه، تألیف محمود بن عثمان، نسخه ایاصوفیا از تحفة المرشدين (- دنباله مقاله) را در دست داشته و در ضمن بررسی منابع مربوط به شیخ ابواسحاق کازرونی (۴۲۶-۳۵۲ ق) درباره آن چنین اظهار نظر کرده است:

«سومین مأخذ مستقل درباره شیخ ذیلی است که به وسیله جلال الدین محمد بن عبادی کازرونی بر ترجمه فارسی روض الّیّاحین اثر یافعی به نام تحفة المرشدين من حکایات الصالحين

cekti. Bu yolda bir telgrafın her an gelmesi ihtimaline binaen bankada uzun geceler bir memur bekletildi.

“Konferansın zabıtnamesini tanzim eden Hariciye Nazırı Shishkin kararların oybirliği ile alındığını yazmıştı. Bu kararların memleketi felâkete sürükleyeceğinden, tarih huzurunda bu yolda bir maceraya iştirak mesuliyetini kabul edemeyeceğimi bildirdim. Bu yolda bir kayıt ilâvesi hakkında İmparatorun müsaade alınmasını rica ettim.

“Shishkin bir mektupla İmparatora müracaat etti. İmparator da : ‘Mâliye Nâzırı Witte’nin kanaatine göre diğer büyük devletlerle anlaşmadan Boğazı işgale teşebbüs etmek vaziyeti hazıra dolayısıyla memleket için felâketi mucip olur’ cümlesinin dercine müsaade etti ve kendisi de ‘ekseriyetin kararlarına iştirak ediyorum’ tarzında bir derkenar ilâve ederek zabıtnameyi imza etti.

“İmparatorun itimadını haiz en yakınlarından bazı kimseleri ve bunlar arasında bilhassa Gran Dük Wladimir Alexandroviç ile Sen Sinod Müddeiumumisi Pobiedonostzev’i endişelerime iştirake çalıştım.

“Bunların tesiri ile mi, yoksa kâinatı idare eden ve Allah ismiyle yâd ettiğimiz o muazzam kudretin iradesiyle mi, İmparator fikrini değiştirdi, İstanbul’a avdet eden Nelidov’a ittihaz olunan karardan sarfınazar edildiğini bildirdi.”

İstanbul’un Ruslar üzerinde icra ettiği câzibe, siyasî havanın tebeddülü ile nüks eden marazî bir haleti ruhiye olduğundan süktünet devrinin uzun müddet devamı beklenemezdi.

Birinci Cihan Harbinde Rusya için mağlûbiyet belirlediği ve memleket dahilinde Çarlık idaresi aleyhinde ayaklanmalar başladığı bir devirde umumî karargâhta, hariciye nezareti mümessilinin de iştirâkile inikat eden konferansta, fiilen başkumandanlık vazifesini ifa eden Genel Kurmay Başkanı General Alexiev, harbin neticesinin batı cephesinde taayyün edeceğinden bahisle Kafkas ordularının bu cepheye aktarılmasının yerinde olacağını ileri sürerek, bunu temin için gayet müsait şartlar teklifiyle Türkleri bir münferit sulhun akdine ikna etmek tavsiyesinde bulduktan sonra ‘Bu tavsiyemin ezeli emelimizden sarfı nazar ettiğimiz mânasına alınmamasını hasseten rica ederim. Umumî sulhu müteakip, istediğimiz zaman herhangi bir vesileyle Türkiye ile bir hâdise çıkarmak ve kolayca hedefimize ulaşmak mümkün olur’ sözlerini ilâve etmesi Rusların marazî haleti ruhiyeleri hakkındaki teşhisi teyit eder³.

³ Gaston Gaillard, The Turks and Europe. London 1921.

ABÜ İSHÂK KÂZRÜNÎ ve ANADOLU’DA İSHÂKÎ DERVİŞLERİ

Prof. Dr. FUAD KÖPRÜLÜ

Almanca’ya Çeviren : P. WITTEK

Türkçe aslı bulunmadığından, Almanca’dan Türkçe’ye Çeviren :

CEMAL KÖPRÜLÜ

Der Islâm dergisi (C. XIII., Nu. 91, not-2, Taeschner-Wittek, *Candarlızâde Vezir Âilesi*), H. Hüsâmeddîn’in zikrettiği *Vakıf-Nâme* vesilesiyle Şeyh Abü İshâk Kâzrûnî’den bahsetmektedir. Hüsâmeddîn, A. İ. K.’nin Bursa’nın Saray Süffileri’nden olduğunu, Murad I. ile Yıldırım zamanlarında vezirlerle âlimleri ve umûmiyetle her zümre mensuplarından birçoklarını etrâfına topladığını, vezir Candarlı ‘Ali Paşa’nın da onun adına tekke inşâ ettirdiğini ve tekkeyi büyük hayrât te’sisleriyle techiz ettiğini söylemektedir (*Tü TEM*, XVI., 372). Hüsâmeddîn ayrıca, “Şehzâde Bâyezid Bey’in fuçalâ-i meşâyihten Abü İshâk Kâzrûnî denmekle meşhur Mevlânâ Şeyh Şemseddîn Mü’eyyed Çelebî’ye izhâr-i meyl ve mahabbet ettiğini (Bk., *Amasya Tarihi*, c. III., s. 144) iddiâ etmektedir. Bu iddiâyaya göre, Yıldırım’ın Bursa’da inşâ ettirdiği Abü İshâk-hâne’nin —ki *Şük-rü’llâh* (SEİF basımı), *MOG*, II., 98 20; *Âşık Paşazâde* (Giese basımı), s. 59, 193; *Nişancı Mehmed Paşa* (İst., 1279), s. 133 ve ‘Âli, *Kühûl’-Ahbâr* (İst., 1277-85, c. V., s. 107) ’da da zikredilmektedir — A. İ. Kâzrûnî müridleri için te’sis edilmiş olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Hâlbuki yukarıdaki kaynaklar A. İ. Kâzrûnî’nin adından hiç bahsetmezler; diğer taraftan Nişancı Mehmed, “Abü İshâk ‘alem-dârlarına mahsus bir zâviye-i ‘âlî’ den bahsetmekte ve bu arada, “‘alemdâr” kelimesinden, İshâkî tarikatine âit sancağı taşıyanın kasedilmiş olacağını söylediğine göre, “zâviye” Abü İshâk Dervişleri için kurulmuş oluyor; fakat ‘Âli de aynı şekilde ifâdede bulunmaktadır¹.

¹ İst. Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, İst., 2369/94, Hâlis Efendi (Nu. 3736) ve

Kageruni

مفتاح الأبواب في تفسير فاتحة الكتاب
لجمال الدين محمد بن جمال الدين
الكازروني (٧٥٧ : ٨٤٣ هـ)

تحقيق

د/ صالح عبد الرحمن الفايز

٧٦٩ إلى ٨٢٧

جامعة الأزهر
كلية أصول الدين والدعوة بالزقازيق

المجلة العلمية

كلية أصول الدين والدعوة

مجلة علمية محكمة

رئيس مجلس الإدارة
الأستاذ الدكتور

محمد محمود أحمد هاشم

عميد كلية أصول الدين والدعوة بالزقازيق

رئيس التحرير

الأستاذ الدكتور

مصطفى إبراهيم مصطفى الدميري

وكيل كلية أصول الدين والدعوة بالزقازيق

العدد السابع عشر

تاريخ النشر: ٢٠٠٤ / ٢٠٠٥ رقم الإيداع: ٦٣٢٥٠ / ٢٠٠٥

Kahire



4 MAYIS 2010

4. HISTOIRE PÉRIODE MUSULMANE

4.1. HISTOIRE MÉDIÉVALE

D. Aigle, J. Calmard, J.-P. Digard, C.-H. de Fouchécour, F. Grenet, R. Gyselen, P. Lory, R. Matthee, J. Paul, Y. Ragheb, M. Szuppe, E. de la Vaissière, Ž. Vesel

285. AIGLE, Denise. «Le rayonnement d'une grande famille du sud de l'Iran et sa contribution à la transmission du savoir shâfi'ite aux XIV^e-XV^e siècles», in: Jacqueline Sublet & Nicole Cottart éd., *Cahiers d'Onomastique Arabe 1988-1992*. Paris, CNRS Editions, 1993, pp. 105-161

L'A. utilise le *Daw' al-lâmi' fî a'yân al-qarn al-tâsi'*, de l'Égyptien al-Sakhâwî (830-902/1427), pour étudier le parcours biographique de cinq générations d'une lignée de sayyids shâfi'ites, originaires d'une bourgade du Fars, Īj. Les notices biographiques de près de quarante personnages permettent de dessiner l'arbre généalogique de cette famille de savants et de reconstituer son parcours intellectuel et spirituel ainsi que son rôle politique et social. A côté de savants shâfi'ites d'orthodoxie stricte, la famille des Ījis comportait une branche d'orientation mystique, et plusieurs adeptes de l'alchimie. La qualité de savants en sciences religieuses des Ījis est attestée par les enseignements qu'ils dispensaient, à Shiraz et Īj, mais aussi à La Mecque, Alep, Damas. Plusieurs personnages de la famille sont restés célèbres pour leur piété et pour leurs charismes, et leur autorité était reconnue par des souverains de pays éloignés de l'Iran. Par leurs voyages et leur reconnaissance dans l'ensemble de l'empire musulman, les Ījis manifestent bien l'unité culturelle des hommes de savoir religieux dans le *Dâr al-islâm* à l'époque timouride. Leur ouverture à des enseignements d'autres écoles juridiques, de même que leurs liens avec le soufisme, sont significatifs du shâfi'isme à cette période. Cette étude montre l'apport essentiel des sources arabes pour l'histoire sociale et religieuse de l'Iran médiéval. En annexe à l'article figurent les notices individuelles des personnages, une liste des ouvrages étudiés et composés par les Ījis ainsi que les tableaux généalogiques de la famille. P.L.

286. AIGLE, Denise. «Un fondateur d'ordre en milieu rural. Le Shaykh Abū Ishâq de Kâzarûn», in: Denise Aigle éd., *Saints orientaux*. Paris, De Boccard, 1995, pp. 181-209, tabl. généalogique, bibliogr. (Hagiographies Médiévales Comparées, 1)

Le sheykh Abū Ishâq Ibrâhîm b. Shahriyâr Kâzarûnî (963-1033) est connu pour avoir fondé un ordre protecteur des marchands qui s'étendit au XIV^e s. jusqu'en Anatolie, en Inde et en Chine. Le récit de sa Vie en arabe est perdu mais sa traduction persane, *Firdaws al-murshidiya fî asrâr al-samadiya*, datée de 1328, est une des plus anciennes biographies en persan sur un saint personnage à nous être parvenue. Dans cette étude, D.A. tire de ce matériau hagiographique, complété par les données des géographes arabes et des chroniqueurs, le portrait d'un sheykh rural qui se consacre pendant quelque cinquante ans à convertir les zoroastriens à l'islam, à construire des édifices religieux et à soutenir le *jihâd* contre les Byzantins. Le sheykh Abū Ishâq est originaire de Kâzarûn, alors partiellement islamisée (son grand-père paternel était zoroastrien). Son hagiographe rapporte son zèle religieux précoce, soutenu par des signes qui l'auraient présenté comme l'héritier spirituel du célèbre saint homme de Shiraz connu sous le nom de Shaykh Kabîr, dont il aurait reçu la *khirqâ*. Cet article témoigne

de l'intérêt d'utiliser, avec les précautions méthodologiques qui s'imposent face à une littérature à vocation édifiante, les ressources de l'hagiographie pour retracer l'histoire religieuse et sociale d'une petite ville comme Kâzarûn, dont on ne trouve que peu de mentions dans les sources historiographiques. Bien que soumis aux lois du genre, puisque les anecdotes sont sélectionnées en fonction du portrait que l'hagiographe veut tracer de son maître, le *Firdaws* donne une image de l'atmosphère qui pouvait régner, au X^e siècle, dans une petite bourgade du sud de l'Iran. P.L.

287. ARJOMAND, Saïd Amir. «'Abd Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa' and the "Abbasid Revolution"». *Iranian Studies* 27, 1-4 (1994) [1995] pp. 9-36.

L'auteur analyse ici la révolution abbasside en termes de «révolution intégrative», partant de la constatation que les Iraniens qui ont participé à la révolution n'ont agi ni en tant que groupe ethnique, ni par nationalisme, mais plutôt comme des *mawâlîs* militants qui demandaient à être intégrés dans la communauté politique. Il distingue, d'une part, la masse des sujets iraniens, rejoints par un nombre croissant de *dihqâns* et qui, après la mort d'Abū Muslim, formèrent la base des mouvements politico-religieux, et d'autre part, les élites administratives, les secrétaires (*kuttâb*) qui avaient joué un rôle croissant dans l'administration omeyyade. L'auteur retrace la carrière de plusieurs de ces élites qui, sans être converties à l'islam, collaborèrent pleinement avec les Arabes.

La plus grande partie de l'article concerne la vie, la carrière et l'oeuvre d'Ibn al-Muqaffa' que l'auteur étudie dans le contexte de la révolution abbasside. Ibn al-Muqaffa', de son vrai nom Dadhoye (ou Dadheb), était issu d'une famille de notables du Fars. Il était au service de l'administration fiscale de Hajjâj. Son fils Ruzbeh naquit à Jûr en 720; il fut éduqué dans l'art de la chancellerie et servit également les Omeyyades. La carrière d'Ibn al-Muqaffa', qui fait le pont entre les périodes omeyyade et abbasside, est bien représentative du rôle essentiel joué par les *kuttâb*, à la fois intermédiaires entre Arabes et Iraniens et transmetteurs de la culture persane à l'islam. Cependant, beaucoup de secrétaires furent accusés de *zandaqa*, au nombre desquels figurent Ibn al-Muqaffa' et plusieurs de ses amis qui gravitaient dans l'entourage du calife. Il fut reproché à Ibn al-Muqaffa' de provoquer les musulmans sur l'inimitabilité du Coran: un ouvrage religieux, dont nous ne possédons que quelques fragments et qui est une sorte de parodie du Coran, lui est attribué. Cet article, intéressant et fouillé, met bien en lumière l'importance stratégique des régions du sud de l'Iran (Fars et Kirman) pour les gouverneurs arabes, ainsi que la complexité des relations entre les élites iraniennes et le pouvoir islamique. D.A.

288. BERADZE, Grigori G. «Zur Erforschung von Lokalgeschichten des mittelalterlichen Iran», in: Bert G. Fragner, Christa Fragner & Gherardo Gnoli eds., *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies: Held in Bamberg, 30th September to 4th October 1991, by the Societas Iranologica Europae*. Roma, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1995, pp. 97-102 (Serie Orientale Roma, 73)

[A la recherche des histoires locales de l'Iran médiéval]

L'auteur propose un projet de création de bases de données sur la toponymie dans les dictionnaires biographiques de l'Iran médiéval, sans toutefois évaluer le travail nécessaire et les résultats escomptés. J.P.

289. BLANKINSHIP, Khalid Yahya. *The End of the Jihâd State: the Reign of Hishâm Ibn 'Abd al-Malik and the Collapse of the Umayyads*. Albany NY, State University of New York Press, 1994, xii-399 p., cartes, annexes, glossaire, notes, bibliogr., index (SUNY Series in Medieval Middle East History)

Les livres publiés sur les premiers siècles de l'islam ne sont pas très nombreux et nous ne pouvons que nous réjouir de la présente parution. L'auteur s'appuie dans cet ouvrage sur la lecture d'un grand nombre de sources «islamiques», mais il exploite également les sour-

Kazaruni, Abu Ishak

MADDE KAZARUNİ DİKTAN
SONKA SÖZLÜKÜNE EKLENMİŞTİR

23 EKİM 2002

...
Kazerooni
0055 - إبراهيم بن شهريار أبو إسحاق ، شيخ

مرشد الكازروني ، الصوفي المعروف بالكازروني

المتوفى 1035/426

(أنظر : البغدادي ذيل كشف الظنون 187/2)

من تصانيفه :

1 - ترجمة مناقب الشيخ أبو إسحاق الكلزروني =

ترجمة فردوس المرشدية في آثار الصمدية (ت)

أسعد أفندي رقم 2429 ؛ المترجم هو محمد شرقي

بن أحمد ؛

2 - فردوس المرشدية في آثار الصمدية - في

التصوف (ف)

آياصوفيا رقم 3254 ؛ متحف مولانا رقم 1509

ورقة 179 ؛ نشر في طهران 1979 ؛

...

312. EBN 'EBĀDĪ KĀZERŪNĪ, Jalāl al-Dīn Moḥammad. « Deyl-e ketāb-e *Toḥfat al-moršedīn men ḥekāyāt al-šāleḥīn* dar dekr-e šeyḥ Abī Ešḥāq Ebrāhīm ebn Šahriyār Kāzerūnī ». Be tašḥīḥ va moqaddame-ye 'Āref Nowšāhī va Mo'in Nezāmī. *Ma'āref*, XX, 1 (1382/2003), pp. 97-139.

Kāzerūnī

Le texte publié ici est très représentatif des propos du fondateur de la grande *ṭarīqa* de la *muršīdiyya*, retenus par la tradition. L'introduction des deux auteurs à ce texte qu'ils éditent est une bonne récapitulation des textes connus concernant ce fondateur, maître Abū Ešḥāq Ebrāhīm de Kāzerūn (352/963-426/1034). Aux pp. 105-111, on lira l'introduction arabe de la *Toḥfat*, par laquelle son auteur situe bien et sobrement son travail et ses sources. Le texte persan du *Deyl*, ajout au texte traduit, est aux pp. 111-135 de l'article. Pp. 111-124, ce sont dix-neuf récits concernant le Sheikh, ses visiteurs, ses réflexions, ses réponses. Les pp. 124-135 sont comme un condensé de son enseignement (*vašīyat*): conseils pour s'instruire, pratiquer la piété, tout spécialement se dévouer aux pauvres, servir les frères et les visiteurs; viennent enfin prières et exemples édifiants donnés par le maître. On sait le rayonnement considérable qu'eut la *muršīdiyya*, depuis Kāzerūn et sur tout le continent, de la Turquie à l'Inde, comme l'a rappelé Hamid Algār dans son article de l'*EI*² (vol. IV, 1978, pp. 884-85). Sur les sources qui nous restent de l'enseignement du maître fondateur de la *muršīdiyya*, l'introduction des auteurs à leur article livre un panorama très utile. Pour en rester au *Deyl*, disons que les auteurs notent que, si, au 5^e/11^e s., les pèlerins en visite au mausolée (*boq'a*) de Kāzerūn comprenaient les récits édifiants qui l'on faisait en arabe, il n'en était plus de même à partir du 8^e/14^e s. Le travail de traduction à destination de l'auditoire commença alors, un vrai travail recourant aux sources arabes encore disponibles à cette époque. C'est ainsi que deux auteurs à peu près contemporains, Jalāl al-Dīn Kāzerūnī et Maḥmūd b. 'Otmān usèrent de sources communes pour traduire, mais aussi pour compléter leur traduction du *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* de Yafī'ī (ob. 768/1366). C'est ainsi encore que parurent la *Toḥfat al-moršedīn* de Jalāl al-Dīn et le *Ferdows al-moršediyye fī asrār al-šamadiyye* (publié en 1948 par Fritz Meier). Sensiblement contemporains furent aussi les *Anvār al-moršediyye* (édité par İraj Afšār en 1357/1978). Ils s'appuyaient sur le texte arabe de Yafī'ī, déjà nommé, mais utilisaient aussi d'autres sources, en particulier deux livres en arabe dont Jalāl al-Dīn Kāzerūnī dit s'être servi, perdus depuis. Il s'agit de la *Taḍkirat al-mašāyih* de Abū Šujā' al-Muqārīḏī al-Šīrāzī (ob. 509/1115) et de la *Sīrat al-muršīdiyya* de Abū Bakr Muḥammad (...) b. Sa'd. Ce dernier fut le troisième successeur du fondateur de la *muršīdiyya*, entre 458/1065 et 502/1108. Le premier, Muqārīḏī, connu personnellement Abū Ešḥāq Ebrāhīm Kāzerūnī. L'intérêt de la 'suite', le *Deyl*, traduit par Jalāl al-Dīn en complément à sa traduction du livre arabe de Yafī'ī (le *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn*), la *Toḥfat*, est d'avoir sauvegardé un texte certainement très ancien et pris à une source sûre. Il reste à souhaiter que les deux auteurs de l'article complètent leurs références dans la grande tradition érudite montrée par Brockelmann, auquel ils se réfèrent.

C.F.

19 5 OCAK 2007

MADDE İHTİRAZINDA
SONRA GELEN BOKURMAN

تصنيف ودراسة

الدكتور

محمد أبو المجد غلق البيسونج

ببليوجرافيا الرسائل العلمية
في الجامعات المصرية منذ إنشائها
حتى نهاية القرن العشرين

الادب العربي والبلاغة والنقد الادبي

17-NISAN 2009

MADE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKUMAN

٢٧٠- البحث البلاغي في حاشية الكازورني / فتحى جلال أحمد / د - ج . الأزهر ،
ك . اللغة العربية بأسيوط .
Kazoruni

٢	ماجستير	د	دكتوراه	ج	جامعة
ك	كلية	ق	قسم	ش	شعبة
١	إشراف	س	ميلادية	هـ	هجرية

١- القاهرة ت

الطبعة الأولى

١٤٢٢ هـ - ٢٠٠١ م