

MESBAHI, Seyyed Shahabeddin. The modes of *insān-i Kāmil* perfection (*kamāl*): the concept of *al-insān al-kāmil* (the perfect human being) in the thoughts of Ibn 'Arabi and Kubrawī. *Transcendent Philosophy: an International Journal for Comparative Philosophy and Mysticism*, 16 (2015) pp.49-72.

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

MUSLU, Ramazan. The shortest way to God is ^{Asik}
(through) love. *Gotteserlebnis und Gotteslehre:* ⁰¹²¹²⁰
Christliche und islamische Mystik im Orient. Hrsg. ^{Hüccin:}
Martin Tamcke. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010, ⁰⁸¹³⁸²
(Göttinger Orientforschungen: Syriaca, 38), ^{Neameddin-i}
pp. 181-193. Sufi interpretations of love, with ^{140259tkzbra}
reference to Hujwiri, Najm al-Din Kubra, and Rumi.

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Hece medîni-i Kubra
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1802 NAJM AL-DİN KUBRÂ. *Trois traités de Najm
Kubrâ. Traduction [de l'arabe et du persan] et
présentation, Stéphane Ruspoli. Paris: Arfuyen, 2006.
174 pp.*

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THE HERITAGE OF SUFISM

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The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150–1500)

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2003

Sayyid 'Ali Hamadānī and Kubrawī
Hagiographical Traditions

Devin DeWeese

INTRODUCTION

The study of the Kubrawī Sufi tradition has been plagued by a number of misinterpretations and erroneous assumptions rooted, I believe, in two related tendencies: first, a habit of interpreting Kubrawī history solely on the basis of developments in western Iran in the 13th to 15th centuries, without proper attention to the religious environment of the other Iranian world of that era, Central Asia, where in fact the decisive events that shaped the Kubrawīyya unfolded; and second, a tendency to seek in Kubrawī writings and personalities signs of the Shi'ite proclivities which came to dominate religious developments in western Iran during this period. The latter tendency has proven especially persistent; beginning with the seminal article by Marijan Molé which appeared nearly thirty years ago,¹ it has become virtually axiomatic that the Kubrawīyya was in some way parallel to or preparatory for, at least from a doctrinal perspective, the transition to militant Shi'ism experienced by another Iranian Sufi order of the same era, the Ṣafavīyya.

I cannot review here the issue of apparent Shi'ite tendencies in the works of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, regarded as the founder of the Kubrawīyya, or of his successors Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥammūyī, or 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī, as explored by Molé. Rather, my goal is to focus on Amīr Sayyid 'Alī ibn Shihāb al-Dīn Hamadānī, the Kubrawī figure in whose life and works Molé claimed to find some of the clearest indications of the propensity towards Shi'ism, but whose legacy and role in Kubrawī history have been especially obscured by a lack of attention to Central Asian materials. For while there is no question that Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī and his immediate successors mark a crucial stage in the development of the Kubrawī *silsila*, the nature of the transformation during that crucial stage, marked by the schism in the Kubrawī 'Order' which I have discussed elsewhere,² has not been fully appreciated, again largely as a result of the misplaced focus on the search for Shi'ite tendencies and the neglect of Central Asian developments.

Here I intend to concentrate not on a reconstruction of events in that period or a

1. M. Molé, 'Les Kubrawīya entre sunnisme et shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire,' *Revue des études islamiques*, 29 (1961), pp. 110-124.

2. In 'The Eclipse of the Kubrawīyah in Central Asia,' *Iranian Studies*, 21 (1988) pp. 45-83; on pp. 54-61, I addressed the problems arising from the adoption by Western researchers in Kubrawī history of the perspective of later writers belonging to Shi'ified Kubrawī offshoots in Western Iran in interpreting the Khuttalānī-Nūrbakhsh affair and the Kubrawī schism.

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A Kubrawī Manual of Sufism: The *Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb* of Yahyā Bākhārī

Muhammad Isa Waley

I. INTRODUCTION

The subject of this study is the *Awrād al-aḥbāb wa Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb* which was completed in 724/1323-4 by Abū'l-Mafākhīr Yahyā Bākhārī (d. 736/1335-6). The content, and to some extent the style, of this Persian treatise on Sufi methodology show the influence of several other works. It is distinctive, however, both in the way in which those influences are blended and also in that it reflects in particular the teachings of Sayf al-Dīn Bākhārī of Bukhārā. This Shaykh, who died in 659/1261, belonged to the Kubrawī *Tarīqa* or Order and was a major figure in Central Asian Sufism. The *Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb*, the second part of Yahyā Bākhārī's treatise, has been published in an excellent edition with an introductory study by İraj Afshār.¹ This apart, it has received little attention from scholars. The main aim here is to introduce and survey the content of *Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb*, highlighting aspects which seem unusual or of especial interest.

II. THE KUBRAWĪ ORDER: ITS WRITTEN WORKS & DISCIPLINES

Before discussing Bākhārī and his work it is essential to consider briefly its spiritual and historical background. The author of *Awrād al-aḥbāb wa Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb* was the grandson, both physically and by spiritual inheritance, of Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn Bākhārī. Sayf al-Dīn was one of the direct disciples of Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Kubrā of Khwārazm, the eponymous founder of the Kubrawī Order. Among the most notable features of this Order are its discipline and methodology, and its distinctive contributions to the interpretation of the Holy Koran.

The *magnum opus* of Kubrā is an extraordinary work called *Fawā'ih al-jamāl wa fawā'ih al-jalāl*.² The *Fawā'ih* is a kind of didactic journal of the author's spiritual experiences, written to inform and warn the Sufi seeker about the states, interior events (*waqā'it*), and stations of the Path, and in particular about the luminous visual and auditory perceptions experienced by the interior organs of perception (*laṭā'if*) during the *khalwa* or retreat. Among the more striking passages in the *Fawā'ih* are those in which the Shaykh describes vividly the nature and meaning of some of his visions. The apparent intention is to offer the initiate a diagnostic key

1. *Awrād al-aḥbāb wa Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb, jild-i duvvum: Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb*, ed. İraj Afshār (Tehran 1345/1966) (Hereafter referred to in footnotes as *Fuṣūṣ*).

2. Published together with an extensive study by Fritz Meier: *Die Fawā'ih al-jamāl wa fawā'ih al-jalāl* (Wiesbaden 1957).

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ذهبیّه

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حدیث سلسله‌الذهب* از امام‌رضا نسبت داده‌اند. توضیح آنکه امام‌رضا علیه‌السلام در راه سفر به مرو، به درخواست مردم نیشابور که برای دیدار امام گردآمده بودند، حدیثی قدسی دربارهٔ ارزش توحید و شرط نیل به آن را از طریق پدرانشان علیهم‌السلام از پیامبر اکرم صلی‌الله‌علیه‌وآله‌وسلم نقل کردند که به دلیل سند آن که همهٔ آنان امامان معصوم‌اند، به سلسله‌الذهب معروف است و چون پیروان این سلسله، سند خرقهٔ سلسلهٔ خود را به امام‌رضا می‌رسانند به ذهبیه شهرت یافته‌اند (خاوری، ج ۱، ص ۱۰۰). وجوه دیگری هم برای این نام ذکر شده‌است، از جمله اینکه مشایخ این سلسله تا سالک را مثل طلا بی‌غش نکنند به او اجازة دستگیری دیگران را نمی‌دهند (← امین‌الشریعه خوبی، ج ۳، ص ۱۸۴۵) یا چون همهٔ اقطاب این سلسله امامی‌مذهب‌اند و سندشان به معصوم می‌رسد، ذهبیه نامیده شده‌اند (شیروانی، همانجا؛ نیز ← امین‌الشریعه خوبی، همانجا؛ خاوری، ج ۱، ص ۹۵-۱۰۱). همچنین گفته‌اند چون انتساب سلسلهٔ خرقهٔ آنان به رسول اکرم می‌رسد، تسلسل این سلسله به زر تشبیه می‌شود. و از این‌رو خود را سلسله‌الذهب می‌خوانند، یا به این علت که سند سلسلهٔ خود را ← که مشتمل بر هشت معصوم تا پیامبر است ← با آب طلا نوشتند، سلسله‌الذهب نامیده شده‌اند (← امین‌الشریعه خوبی، ج ۳، ص ۱۸۴۴-۱۸۴۵؛ خاوری، ج ۱، ص ۹۴).

پیروان این سلسله با آوردن اسامی دیگری در کنار ذهبیه (مانند محمدیه، علویه، رضویه، کبرویه، معروفیه و مهدیه) بر اصالت و قدمت آن تأکید می‌ورزند (امین‌الشریعه خوبی، ج ۳، ص ۹۳، ۹۵؛ خاوری، ج ۱، ص ۹۰). هر کدام از این نامها به مناسبتی بر آن نهاده شده‌است: محمدیه، برای انتساب به فقر محمدی؛ علویه، به مناسبت آنکه ذهبیه همهٔ مشایخ بزرگ و به خصوص مشایخ این سلسله را شیعه می‌دانند؛ معروفیه و رضویه، به سبب آنکه سند خرقهٔ این سلسله به معروف کرخی و از وی به امام‌رضا می‌رسد؛ کبرویه، از آن‌رو که به عقیدهٔ پیروان این سلسله، نجم‌الدین کبری قطب دوازدهم این سلسله و شیعه بوده‌است؛ و مهدیه، به این دلیل که یکی از لوازم کمال و عرفان را ارتباط با امام زمان عجل‌الله تعالی فرجه‌الشریف و درک فیض ایشان می‌دانند. گاهی هم کلمهٔ حقّه را با آن همراه می‌سازند تا از فرق ردیه متمایز شود. از زمان وحیدالاولیا*، نام احمدیه هم بر آن افزوده شد (خاوری، ج ۱، ص ۹۰-۹۱).

منسوبان به این سلسله بر آن‌اند که ذهبیه، ام‌السلاسل صوفیه و تنها سلسلهٔ شیعی دوازده امامی است و همهٔ بزرگان صوفیه تربیت‌شدگان مستقیم و غیرمستقیم این سلسله‌اند و در طول تاریخ، این تنها سلسله‌ای بوده که در آن اختلاف راه نیافته و باب ولایت در آن باز بوده‌است و سرانجام نیز یکی از ارکان

ش ۱۲ (زمستان ۱۳۸۳)؛ ناصر رفیعی محمدی، تأملی در آرای ذهبی در مورد وضع در تفسیر، در همان: عفت محمد شرقاوی، *الفکر الدینی فی مواجهة العصر: دراسة تحليلية لاتجاهات التفسیر فی العصر الحديث*، قاهره [۱۹۷۶]؛ احمد علاونه، *ذیل الاعلام*، جده ۱۴۱۸/۱۹۹۸؛ محمد ابراهیم شریف، *اتجاهات التجدید فی تفسیر القرآن الکریم فی مصر*، قاهره ۱۹۸۲/۱۴۰۲؛ رضا مؤدب، «نقد آرای ذهبی در معرفی مجمع‌البیان»، *طلوع*، ش ۱۲ (زمستان ۱۳۸۳)؛ *موسوعة اعلام العلماء و الادباء العرب والمسلمین*، بیروت: دارالجمیل، ۱۴۲۵- / ۲۰۰۴. ذیل «الذهبی، محمدبن حسین» (از شعبان محمد اسماعیل). / محمدحسین شمسانی /

ذَهَبِيَّة، سلسله‌ای شیعی از سلاسل معروفیه (منسوب به معروف کرخی)* و از پیروان عبدالله برزش‌آبادی*. این سلسله ← که مخالفانشان آنها را ذهبیّه اغتشاشیه می‌نامند ← نخست در خراسان پدید آمد و به تدریج تا شمال ایران، آذربایجان، فارس و عراق گسترش یافت (معصوم‌علیشاه، ج ۲، ص ۳۴۴؛ زرین‌کوب، ص ۲۶۴). از زمان قطب‌الدین محمد نیریزی*، شیراز مرکز این سلسله شد و امروزه در بیشتر مراکز استانهای ایران (مانند مشهد، تهران، رشت، اردبیل، تبریز، اصفهان و اهواز) پیروانی دارد (← پرویزی، ص ۱۶۵-۱۷۶).

معمولاً دربارهٔ وجه تسمیة این سلسله استناد می‌شود به خبری از قاضی نورالله شوشتری (ج ۲، ص ۱۴۴-۱۴۵) دربارهٔ بیعت نکردن سیدشهاب‌الدین عبدالله برزش‌آبادی با سیدمحمد نوریخ* به عنوان جانشین خواجه اسحاق ختلائی* و سخن ختلائی دربارهٔ بیرون‌رفتن برزش‌آبادی از بیعت وی (ذَهَبْ عَبْدِالله؛ نیز ← برزش‌آبادی*، سیدشهاب‌الدین عبدالله). براساس این خبر، شهرت یافتن طرفداران عبدالله برزش‌آبادی به ذهبیه و طرفداران سیدمحمد نوریخش به نوریخشیه به این سبب بوده‌است (← شیروانی، ص ۲۹۲؛ معصوم‌علیشاه، همانجا؛ قس شوشتری، ج ۲، ص ۱۵۶، که طرفداران برزش‌آبادی را در خراسان صوفیه نامیده‌است). البته بزرگان ذهبیه موضوع اختلاف میان سیدعبدالله برزش‌آبادی و خواجه اسحاق ختلائی را ساختگی خوانده و او را به اعتبار اینکه داماد پیر خود بوده و این سنت، میان اقطاب ذهبیه رایج بوده‌است، جانشین خواجه اسحاق ختلائی دانسته‌اند (پرویزی، ص ۱۴۱؛ خاوری، ج ۱، ص ۲۵۲). حافظ حسین کربلائی ← که با یک واسطه از تربیت‌یافتگان سیدعبدالله برزش‌آبادی است (← ابن‌کربلائی، ج ۱، مقدمهٔ سلطان‌القرائی، ص ۹) ← نیز به سخن ختلائی در طرد برزش‌آبادی اشاره نکرده‌است. بیشتر منسوبان به این سلسله، مانند مجدالاشرف در رسالهٔ *خلاصة‌الذهب* (ص ۱۰) و حکیم در *لطائف‌العرفان* (ص ۳-۴)، وجه تسمیة این سلسله را به

03 Mart 2013

03 Mart 2019

حلال: ۳۶، سفر: ۳۷، سنت: ۳۷، طهارت: ۳۷، آداب ظاهر: ۳۸، مرید: ۳۸، جنگ با نفس: ۳۷، ترک وضو: ۳۷، نفس و شیطان: ۳۷، وقت سماع: ۳۶.

نجم‌الدین کبری، احمد بن عمر (۵۴۰-۶۱۸ق)

۳۹۵. اصول العشره، تحرير حسين بن حسن كمال خوارزمي، ترجمه و شرح عبدالغفور لاری، تصحيح نجيب مايل هروي، تهران: مولى، ۱۳۸۴، چاپ دوم، ۱۱۱ص، رقی.

— رساله کوتاهی در آداب طریقت بر مذاق فرقه کبرویه است. نام‌های دیگری نیز برای این رساله گفته‌اند: رساله الطریق، رساله الطالب الحق، اقرب الطرق الی الله، طریقت تامه و رساله در طریق شطار.

• فهرست

مقدمه مصحح (کتاب‌شناسی و نسخه‌دانی، نجم کبری، رساله الاصول العشره، تراجم و شروح الاصول العشره، احوال و آثار عبدالغفور لاری، توصیف نسخه‌ها و شیوه کار مصحح، صورت عکسی نسخه‌ها): ۷، مقدمه در بیان راه‌های سه گانه شناخت: ۳۱، اصل اول: توبه: ۴۰، اصل دوم: زهد: ۴۴، اصل سوم: توکل: ۴۷، اصل چهارم: قناعت: ۵۰، اصل پنجم: عزلت: ۵۲، اصل ششم: مداومت ذکر: ۵۷، اصل هفتم: توجه الی الله تعالی: ۶۶، اصل هشتم: صبر: ۷۱، اصل نهم: مراقبه: ۷۵، اصل دهم: رضا: ۷۹، نتیجه اصول دهگانه: ۸۲.

• نمایه

راه‌ها به سوی خدای تعالی: ۳۱، نماز: ۳۱، معنی قرآن: ۳۱، خضوع و خشوع: ۳۲، اعمال ظاهری و باطنی: ۳۲، ترقی: ۳۲، ارباب معامله: ۳۳، طهارت: ۳۴، ریاضت نفس: ۳۵، تبدیل اخلاق ذمیمه: ۳۵، طریق مجاهدت: ۳۶، محبت: ۳۶، موت طبیعی: ۳۷، مفارقت روح: ۳۷، موت اضطراری: ۳۸، مردن به ارادت: ۳۸، رجوع به الله: ۴۰، توبه: ۴۰، نفس مطمئنه: ۴۰، معنی توبه: ۴۱، اقسام گناه: ۴۱، شرکت در وجود: ۴۲، احوال نائب: ۴۲، عزم: ۴۳، ذکر توبه: ۴۳، زهد: ۴۴، ترک رغبت: ۴۴، اهل دنیا: ۴۴، ترک رغبت: ۴۵، حقیقت زهد: ۴۵، مقام زهد: ۴۶، معنی زهد: ۴۶، توکل: ۴۷، اعتماد بر خدا: ۴۷، رغبت به دنیا: ۴۷، اعتراف به عجز: ۴۸، درجات توکل: ۴۸، سخن ابن عربی درباره توکل:

نجم‌الدین رازی، عبدالله بن محمد (۵۷۰-۶۵۴ق)

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— رساله‌ای عرفانی در تعریف مقامات سیر و سلوک است که از لحاظ مضمون، شبیه مرصعالعباد است.

• فهرست

مقام المعرفه: ۱۶، مقام توصیه العنوام: ۲۴، مقام النبوة: ۳۱، مقام الولاية: ۶۸، مقام الانسان: ۸۶، مقام الخلافة المختصه بالانسان: ۹۸، مقامات الانسان عند رجوعه الی ربه: ۱۰۶، مقامات النفس و معرفتها: ۱۱۲، معرفة القلب و مقاماته فی التصفیه: ۱۳۵.

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— رساله‌ای کوتاه در آداب طریقت و سیر و سلوک برای راهنمایی مریدان است.

• فهرست

مقدمه مصحح: ۱، شهادت شیخ: ۷، مشایخ شیخ: ۱۰، شاگردان شیخ: ۱۵، مقام نجم‌الدین کبری در برخی آثار: ۱۷، روش تصحیح: ۲۱، مختصر فی آداب الصوفیه و السالکین الطریق الحق: ۲۶، ادب اول در خرقة پوشیدن: ۲۷، ادب دوم در نشستن و خاستن: ۳۱، ادب سوم در رفتن به خانقاه: ۳۲، ادب چهارم در طعام خوردن: ۳۳، ادب پنجم در رفتن به دعوت‌ها: ۳۴، ادب ششم در سماع شنیدن: ۳۵، ادب هفتم در سفر کردن: ۳۷، توضیحات: ۳۹، فهرس: ۵۹.

• نمایه

تصوف: ۲۶، صفا: ۲۶، وفا: ۲۶، فنا: ۲۶، بقا: ۲۶، خرقة: ۲۷، شریعت: ۲۷، طریقت: ۲۷، حقیقت: ۲۷، زهد: ۲۷، نماز: ۲۷، آزار خلق: ۳۰، صادق: ۳۱، مخلص: ۳۱، خانقاه: ۳۲، نماز جمعه: ۳۲، طاعت: ۳۲، ارباب معرفت: ۳۳، وضو: ۳۳، سلام: ۳۳، طعام: ۳۳، اجابت: ۳۴، مهمان: ۳۴، سماع: ۳۵، یقین: ۳۵، درویشان: ۳۶، صحبت: ۳۶، طعام

فرهنگ آثار عرفان اسلامی: راه‌نمای موضوعات و مضامین، گردآوری سیدرضا باقریان موحد، با همکاری احمد

شاکر نژاد، حسین مرادی: قم: پژوهشگاه علوم و فرهنگ اسلامی، ۱۳۹۵. ISAM DN. 260931

منسوب است، اما اینکه وی از ابتدای سلوک خویش شیخی و ارشاد نجم‌الدین کبری را پذیرفته و از او ارشاد یافته باشد به نظر خالی از اشکال نمی‌رسد.

نجم‌الدین کبری اصول طریقت و تصوف را، در تبریز، از بابا فرج تبریزی فراگرفت و خرقة ارشاد را در دزفول از شیخ اسماعیل قصری گرفت. شیخ شطاح، روزبهان بقلی شیرازی، دختر خود را به همسری او درآورد (همان‌جا).

نجم‌الدین کبری، در راه عزیمت به عراق و مصر، از عمار یاسر بدلیسی (متوفی ۵۸۲ ش.) کسب طریقت کرد و به پیشنهاد وی برای نشر طریقت و ارشاد طالبان در سال ۵۸۰ ق، بعد از سفرهای طولانی، به خوارزم بازگشت. قبل از عزیمت به خوارزم، سفری نیز به مکه رفت و مدتی در حلب زندگی کرد. بنا به روایاتی، در خوارزم، بین او و امام فخر رازی (متوفی ۶۰۶ ق) ملاقاتی صورت گرفت. مریدان نجم‌الدین کبری، در خوارزم، فقط صوفیه و زهاد نبودند و در بین دولتمردان نیز معتقدانی داشته است. اهل سنت با وجود علاقه‌ای که نجم‌الدین کبری، در آثارش، به آل‌علی نشان داده و همچنین سفرش به کربلا، او را شیخ شافعی می‌دانند و شیعه بودنش را رد می‌کنند (همان‌جا).

در میان شاگردان بلاواسطه نجم‌الدین از بهاء‌الدین ولد (۶۲۸ ق)، پدر جلال‌الدین مولوی، می‌توان نام برد که او را اعظم طریقه کبرویه و بقیه بزرگان را از اکابر طریقه ارشاد و تصوف می‌دانند (صفا، ج ۲، ص ۱۰۱۳). از شاگردان دیگر نجم‌الدین کبری، می‌توان به سعدالدین حمویه اشاره کرد که آثارش جالب توجه اما خواندنشان مشکل است. سعدالدین حمویه به حکمت اعداد (علم الفبای فلسفی) و فن جدول‌سازی رمزی مشغول بود. او شیعی متعصبی بود که ارادتی شخصی به امام دوازدهم داشت. نجم‌الدین رازی، مشهور به دایه، از دیگر شاگردان

احمدبن عمر بن محمد خیوقی خوارزمی، (۵۴۰-۶۱۸ ق) مکننا به «ابوالجناب»، عارف بزرگ ایرانی و بنیان‌گذار سلسله کبرویه در قرن ششم و هفتم هجری قمری است.

در خوارزم، در شهر خیوه، به دنیا آمد و جدش از حدیث‌گویان بنام بوده است.

مؤلفان روایات متعددی درباره لقب وی آورده‌اند. بعضی برآن‌اند که به سبب زیرکی‌اش، او را «طامة الکبری» (بلای بزرگ) نامیده‌اند و به قولی دیگر، به سبب توانایی‌اش در بحث و مجادله به این لقب معروف شده است. بعضی پیروانش، به سبب تکریم، او را «آیه الکبری» نامیده‌اند که کم‌کم با حذف کلمه اول به کبری معروف شده است. به سبب تربیت بسیاری از بزرگان صوفیه، او را «شیخ ولی‌تراش» نیز گفته‌اند (اثرآفرینان، ذیل مدخل).

نجم‌الدین کبری در کودکی علوم مقدماتی را، در خوارزم، فراگرفت و برای کسب علم حدیث، علوم قرآنی و علوم باطنی به بلاد گوناگون سفر کرد. علم حدیث را در نیشابور از ابوالمعالی فراوی (متوفی ۵۸۷ ق)، در همدان از حافظ ابوالعلاء عطار (متوفی ۵۶۸ ق)، در تبریز از ابومنصور خفده (متوفی ۵۷۱ ق)، در مکه از ابومحمد الطباخ، و در اسکندریه از ابوطاهر سلفی (متوفی ۵۷۶ ق) آموخت. درباره گرایش وی به تصوف و انصرافش از کسب علوم حدیث، روایات گوناگونی در منابع آمده است. واضح است که ملاقاتش با مشایخ صوفیه سبب قطع علاقه او از علوم حدیث نشده است (همان‌جا).

نجم‌الدین کبری، در نیشابور، با شیخ عطار ملاقات کرد و تبحر او در طب، به علت توجه عطار به او بوده است (همان‌جا). عطار به سلسله نجم‌الدین کبری

حمد رضا شمس اردکانی ve dğr.; تقویم تاریخ فرهنگ و تمدن اسلام و

ایران، (جلد دوم) تهران: انتشارات امیرکبیر، ۱۳۹۱ ISAM DN. 260936

1034/1624–5 she promoted a pro-Spanish policy in accord with the royal admiral and the governor of Egypt (to which the young sultan Murad was opposed). In the early years of the unstable İbrahim's reign, she and the powerful grand vizier Kemankeş Kara Mustafa (Qara Muştafā, d. 1644) cooperated to manage affairs.

As Kösem's sons matured in their role as sultan, they attempted to curtail her power. Murad limited her control of his sisters' marriages, although he relied on her support particularly when absent from the capital; in 1044/1634 she prevented a crisis with the religious establishment and a rumoured attempt to overthrow Murad. The increasingly incompetent İbrahim threw off her influence entirely, even attempting to banish her. When his rule became unbearable, Kösem was instrumental in his dethronement in 1099/1648. With Mehmed now on the throne, she resumed her customary role as regent. In the showdown that ended her career and her life, the pro-Turhan party exploited her unpopular alliance with the janissaries and her alleged intent to unseat Mehmed. To rumours her opponents planned to assassinate her, Kösem had earlier responded, "Thanks to God, I have lived through four reigns, and I have governed myself for a long while. The world will be neither reformed nor destroyed by my death" (Mustafa Naima, *Tarih* (Istanbul 1280/1863–4), 4:395).

Although the mosque complex built by Kösem in the Üsküdar district of Istanbul is relatively modest for a queen mother, her reputation for charity was prodigious. She freed her slaves after short terms of service and provided stipends to descendants of the Prophet and dowries to orphaned girls, and every year she left the palace, disguised, to personally arrange

the release of imprisoned debtors and other criminals. However, the enormous income that funded her philanthropy was too lavish in the eyes of some and became a subject of controversy.

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LESLIE P. PEIRCE

Kubrā, Najm al-Dīn

Abū l-Jannāb Aḥmad b. ʿUmar Najm al-Dīn (b. c.540/1145, d. 618/1221), known as **Najm al-Dīn Kubrā**, founded the Kubraviyya, one of Central Asia's three major indigenous Şūfī orders and the most prominent in the region during the Mongol era. A gifted polemicist and student of the exoteric Islamic sciences, such as *ḥadīth* and *kalām*, a *maktab* (primary school) instructor nicknamed him, in his younger days, al-Ṭamma al-Kubrā—variously translated as “the major disaster,” “the overwhelming event,” “the greatest affliction,” or “the Day of Judgement,” in reference to the Qurʾānic description of the resurrection, Q.79:34—for his debating skills. Because of his erudition, Kubrā (an abbreviation of the above moniker) exhibited arrogance, spiritual stubbornness, and excessive scholasticism in the presence of Şūfī *shaykhs* (spiritual guides) in his formative years as a *murīd* (disciple). Such was his later transformation, however, that subsequent generations have revered him as a *valī turāsh* (manufacturer of saints), in recognition of his role in

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Ibn al-Arabī
Kubrawīya

BALLANFAT, Paul. Controverses sur le rôle de l'imagination: Ibn al-'Arabī et l'école Kubrawī. *Исследования Исламской философии. Ishraq: Islamic Philosophy Yearbook. Ishraq*, 2 (2011) pp.578-592. [With Russian summary on pp.701-702.]

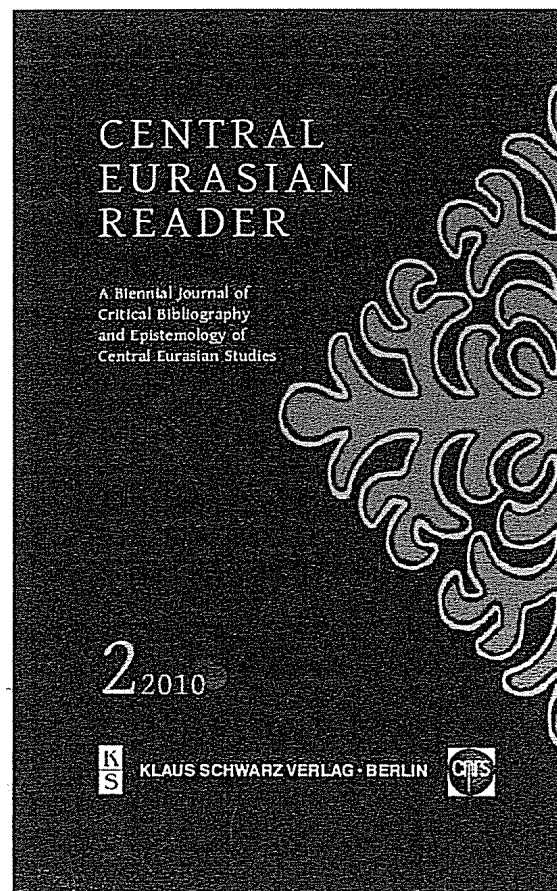
This inventory provides a first introduction to the small collection of 191 manuscripts gathered by the library of the IFEAC in Tashkent in 2000-1, most of them from the collection of Mirzohid Ashirov (no information being unfortunately available on this collector). A majority of these works pertaining to the category of *madrassa* literature, unsurprisingly the main disciplines represented are Arabic grammar, the *shari'a*, *tafsir*, *hadith*, *fiqh*, as well as correspondence, hagiography, occult sciences, rituals, Sufism, poetry, *qissa*, oral traditions, and history. Each notice provides indications as to the language of the text, its title, its author and the amount of folios. The authors must be given credit for the often difficult identification of the texts, despite the variety of their languages, and the poor preservation (or restoration) of some copies — a lot of which are deprived of their beginning and of a colophon.

Necmeddin-i Kibra (140258) The Redaction

11. KARIMOV El'ior, *Regesty kaziiskikh dokumentov i khanskikh iarlykov khivinskogo khanstva XVII-nachala XX v.* [Registers of Qazi Documents and Khans Yarliks of the Khanate of Khiva from the Seventeenth to the Early Twentieth Century], Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo Fan Akademi Nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan, 2007, 223 p.
12. KARIMOV El'ior, *Kubraviiskii vakf XVII-XIX vv.: pis'mennye istochniki po istorii sufiiskogo bratstva Kubraviia v Srednei Azii* [A Kubrawi Waqf of the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries: Written Sources for the History of the Kubrawiyya Sufi Brotherhood in Middle Asia], Tashkent: Izdatel'stvo Fan Akademii nauk Respubliki Uzbekistana (Natsional'noe obshchestvo molodykh uchenykh Uzbekistana, Gosudarstvennyi muzei-zapovednik Ichan-Kala, Frantsuzskii institut issledovaniia Tsentral'noi Azii [IFEAC]), 2008, 280 p., ill.

Edited with the support of three institutions (the Uzbek National Society of Young Scientists, the Khiva "Ichan-Kala" State Reserve Museum, the French Institute for Central Asian Studies), these two books feature unpublished documents discovered in Uzbek collections. The facsimile reproduction is excellent. While the first volume satisfies itself with codicological details and content descriptions for each item (the last seven *yarliks* are transcribed though), the second volume provides the transliteration in Arabic characters and a translation into Russian. This painstaking work has been undertaken by the author with the assistance of several young researchers in Uzbekistan. The Khivan documents cover a long period (from 1665 to 1908); providing new quantitative data, they complete the image of the administrative system as well as of the juridical organisation depicted in previously published sources. Yet, there is much to do (statistics in particular) before we have at our disposal a clear historical picture. As for the Kubrawi texts, the recent discovery of manuscripts preserved in public and private archive collections improves our knowledge of the late history of the *tariqa* — notably, the identification of three successive figures commonly named Husayn Khwarazmi. The *waqf* deeds show the socio-religious role played by Kubrawi institutions (mosques, *khanaqahs*, *mazars*) until the eighteenth century. Both *qazi* documents and *waqf* certificates shed light on the economic life of the Khanate of Khiva.

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Nezamuddin-i Kibra
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1753 ANZALI, Ata. The emergence of the Zahabiyya in
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AL-KUBRA

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(140258)

Necmeddin-i KUBRA

AL-KUBRA, Abu'l Jannab Ahmad ibn
'Umar Najm al-Din (540–617/1145–1220)

Najm al-Din al-Kubra was born in Khwarazm in Central Asia in 540/1145, and died at the hand of the Mongols during their conquest of Khwarazm in 617/1220. A renowned Sufi *shaykh*, Najm al-Din justly earned the sobriquet *Wali-tarash*, “sculptor of saints,” as many of his disciples stood out as Sufis of distinction in their own right. He was, directly or indirectly, the founder of the *tariqa* (order) that bears his name, the Kubrawiyya.

Although born in Khwarazm, Najm al-Din travelled throughout the Muslim world of his time, pursuing a vocation as a scholar of Islamic Traditions (*hadith*) and theology (*ilm al-kalam*). In Egypt, his attention was drawn to Sufism by the Persian *shaykh* Ruzbihan al-Wazzan al-Misri (d. 584/1188), a disciple of 'Abd al-Qahir Abu Najib al-Suhrawardi (d. 564/1168) and to whom the Suhrawardiyya order traces its lineage. In furtherance of his theological studies Najm al-Din ventured to Tabriz, only to find himself deepening his acquaintance with Sufism under the tutelage of one Baba Faraj Tabrizi. Still in Tabriz, he became a *murid* (Sufi novice) under two masters from whom he received the ritual *khirqah* (sign of investiture, initiation ceremony): 'Ammar ibn Yasir al-Bidlisi (d. ca. 596-7/1200) and Isma'il al-Qasri (d. 589/1183). Upon returning to Egypt, Shaykh Ruzbihan granted him spiritual authority to teach and initiate disciples. While he was no longer preoccupied with the traditional Islamic sciences, training therein led to disputational skills believed responsible for the surname “Kubra,” from the Qur'anic phrase *al-Tammam al-kubra* (79, 34), meaning “the Great Calamity.”

Najm al-Din eventually came back to his native Khwarazm, establishing a *khanaqah* (Sufi cloister and hostel) from which emerged a comparatively large number of individuals

whose later stature as prominent Sufi masters and writers brought fame to this formidable teacher. And both the teacher and his students are liable for the equally remarkable number of derivative initiatic lines: the *Firdawsiyya*, *Nuriyaa*, *Rukniyya*, *Asbrafiyya*, *Ightishashiyya*, *Hamadaniyya*, *Dhahabiyya*, and *Nurbakhshiyya* among others. From the ranks of those fashioned by Najm al-Din we find worthy of mention Sa'd al-Din Hammuya (d. 650/1253), a Persian Kubrawi master, Majd al-Din Baghdadi (d. 616/1219), master of Najm al-Din Razi (d. 618/1221), Sayf al-Din Bakharzi (d. 659/1261) of Transoxiana, and Radi al-Din 'Ali Lala of Samarqand (d. 642/1244).

Kubra penned a lengthy commentary on the Qur'an left unfinished by his death but picked up by Najm al-Din Razi and a later Kubrawi, 'Ala' al-Dawla Simnani (d. 736/1336) (oft-cited for his confident critique of IBN AL-'ARABI's formulation of *wahdat al-wujud*, “Oneness of Being” or “Unity of Existence”). One of several similar treatises is a short work entitled *al-Usul al-'ashara* (The Ten Principles) which covers Sufi norms of conduct (*adab*), incorporating eight rules previously laid down by the great Persian mystic and master of the Sufis of Baghdad, Abu'l Qasim AL-JUNAYD (d. 298/910). To Junayd's fundamental disciplinary rules Kubra adds “sleep as little as possible” and “observe moderation when breaking the fast.” This manual circulated widely beyond the Kubrawi order. But far and away Kubra's greatest work is the *Fawa'ih al-jamal wa fawatih al-jalal* (loosely, “Aromas of Beauty and Preambles of Majesty”), a didactic journal that includes details of his visions and ecstatic experiences re-told for the benefit of the *murid*. This manual of mystical psychology prepares the novice for the possible states (*ahwal*), stations (*maqamat*), and “interior events” (*waqi'a*) such as dreams or visions that may be encountered on the Sufi path. In effect, it provides the language with which

(همسو، ۲۴۳۷-۲۴۴۴؛ بدخششی، جعفر، ۲۹۱؛ شرف‌الدین، ۱۸۷۱؛ فصیح، ۱۰۵؛ دووسه، 57).

خواجه اسحاق در زمانی نامعلوم، شاید در حدود ۴۰ سالگی بر اثر طلب درونی و نیاز معنوی به خانقاه میر سید علی همدانی (د ۷۸۷ ق/ ۱۳۸۵ م) روی آورد و به او دست ارادت داد. این نکته از آنجا مشخص می‌شود که خواجه اسحاق ظاهراً تقریباً هم‌زمان یا زودتر از نورالدین جعفر بدخششی، مرید دیگر میر سید علی و صاحب خلاصه المناقب، به شیخ پیوسته بود و تاریخ پیوستن نورالدین جعفر ۷۷۳ ق/ ۱۳۷۱ م بوده است (بدخششی، جعفر، ۱۸۹ بی). به هر روی، خواجه اسحاق مدتی را به دستور پیر خویش به کار در خانقاه و خدمت به دیگر مریدان پرداخت و پس از چندی به خلوت نشست و سلوک خود را آغاز نمود. وی پس از مدتی کوتاه مراتب بلندی یافت و نزد میر سید علی از احترامی ویژه برخوردار گشت، تا آنجا که میر تربیت معنوی فرزند خود سید محمد را به او سپرد و دختر خود را به همسری او درآورد. میر سید علی آنگاه خواجه اسحاق را به خلافت و جانشینی خود برگزید و تربیت و ارشاد مریدان را پس از خود به وی سپرد (بدخششی، حیدر، ۱۲، ۱۵؛ استخری، ۳۲۴-۳۲۵؛ ریاض، ۸۳-۸۴؛ راز، ۲۸).

خواجه اسحاق در بسیاری از سفرهای میر سید علی وی را همراهی می‌کرد، از جمله آنکه در نوبت سومی که میر از ختلان به سوی مکه به راه افتاد، خواجه همراه با شمس‌الدین بدخششی، دیگر مرید محبوب همدانی، در خدمت او بود (ابن کربلایی، ۲۴۵/۲-۲۴۶). همچنین بنا بر برخی روایتها، هنگامی که تیمور پس از استقرار میر سید علی همدانی در ختلان، از بیم گرد آمدن مردم به دور او و برپا شدن قیامی جدید، میر را به نزد خود خواند، خواجه اسحاق، شاید به منظور آنکه از خشم تیمور بکاهد و خود را سپر بلای سید سازد، پیش از میر سید علی خود را به اردوی تیمور رساند و با او در مجادله‌ای لفظی درگیر شد، که سرانجام، با پرداخت جریمه‌ای معادل ۱۲۰۰ اسب قبیضاق توسط خواجه خاتمه یافت (همسو، ۲۴۴/۲-۲۴۵). این روایت به فرض درستی، از یک سو بیانگر تمکن و توانایی مالی خواجه اسحاق، و در نتیجه تأیید زمینه‌ی خانوادگی او است و از سوی دیگر، با اشاره به حضور امیر آرامشاه، پدر خواجه در دستگاه تیمور، مؤید بدبینی تیمور نسبت به خاندان او، بیم وی از تهدیدهای احتمالی این خانواده و ناخشنودی‌اش از خواجه اسحاق و موضع‌گیری او است (نک: دووسه، 59-57).

خواجه اسحاق بنا بر یک روایت بیش از ۵۰ سال، و بنا بر روایتی دیگر در حدود ۴۰ سال به تربیت سالکان پرداخت و مریدان نامداری را پرورد که از جمله آنان می‌توان به اینها اشاره کرد: میر سید عبدالله بُرُزْش‌آبادی، سید محمد نوربخش،

روسیه تزاری بر ساوراءالنهر در سده ۱۳ ق/ ۱۹ م، کولاب به امیرنشین بخارا تعلق داشت. پس از برافتادن دولت تزاری روسیه و تشکیل اتحاد جماهیر شوروی در ۱۹۲۹ م/ ۱۳۰۸ ش، این ناحیه در محدوده این جمهوری نوپدید قرار گرفت. پس از فروپاشی اتحاد جماهیر شوروی و استقلال تاجیکستان در ۱۹۹۱ م/ ۱۳۷۰ ش، دو ولایت کولاب و قرغان‌تپه در ولایت (استان) واحدی ادغام شدند که نام تاریخی ختلان بر آن نهاده شد (نک: ۵ د، تاجیکستان).

ماخذ: ابن اثیر، الکامل؛ ابن حوقل، محمد، صورة الارض، به کوشش کرامرس، لیدن، ۱۹۳۸ م؛ ابن خردادبه، عبدالله، المسالك و الممالک، لیدن، ۱۳۰۶ ق/ ۱۸۸۹ م؛ ابن رسته، احمد، الاعلاق النقیسه، لیدن، ۱۳۰۹ ق/ ۱۸۹۷ م؛ اصطخری، ابراهیم، مسالك الممالک، به کوشش دخویه، لیدن، ۱۸۷۰ م؛ بارتولد، و. و. ترکستان‌نامه، ترجمه کریم کشاورز، تهران، ۱۳۵۲ ش؛ هفو، گزیده مقالات تحقیقی، ترجمه کریم کشاورز، تهران، ۱۳۵۸ ش؛ بیهقی، ابوالفضل، تاریخ، به کوشش منوچهر دانش‌پژوه، تهران، ۱۳۸۰ ش؛ حبیبی، عبدالحی، «بامیان و شیران در لغت و تاریخ»، مجله دانشکده ادبیات و علوم انسانی، تهران، ۱۳۳۸ ش؛ حدود العالم، به کوشش منوچهر ستوده، تهران، ۱۳۴۰ ش؛ حمدالله مستوفی، نزهة القلوب، به کوشش لسترنج، لیدن، ۱۳۳۱ ق/ ۱۹۱۲ م؛ شرف‌الدین علی یزدی، ظفرنامه، به کوشش عصام‌الدین اورونبایف، تاشکند، ۱۹۷۲ م؛ طبری، تاریخ؛ گردیزی، عبدالحی، زمین‌الایخار، به کوشش عبدالحی حبیبی، تهران، ۱۳۴۷ ش؛ مقدسی، محمد، احسن التقاسیم، به کوشش دخویه، لیدن، ۱۹۰۶ م؛ منهاج سراج، طبقات ناصری، به کوشش عبدالحی حبیبی، تهران، ۱۳۶۳ ش؛ نسوی، محمد، سیرت جلال‌الدین منیکبری، ترجمه کهن، به کوشش مجتبی مینوی، تهران، ۱۳۶۵ ش؛ نیز:

Barthold, W. W., *Sochineniya*, Moscow, 1965; Gibb, H. A. R., *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia*, New York, 1970; *Iranica*; Le Strange, G., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930; Markwart, J., *Érānshahr*, Berlin, 1901; «Tajikistan», *UNEP / GRID - Arendal*, www.enr.in. grida. no /soe.cfm?country=TJ&groupID=2 (acc. Dec. 22, 2013); «Tajikistan - Topography and Drainage», *Country Studies*, www.countrystudies.us/tajikistan/14.htm (acc. Dec. 22, 2013); Watters, Th., *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, eds. T. W. R. Davids and S. W. Bushell, London, 1973.

علی کرم‌همدانی

خُتْلَانِي، خواجه اسحاق، رکن‌الدین ابواسحاق (اسحاق) بن علیشاه (آرامشاه) (م ۸۲۶ یا ۸۲۷ ق/ ۱۴۲۳ یا ۱۴۲۴ م)، از مشایخ طریقه کبرویه، خلیفه و جانشین میر سید علی همدانی.

تاریخ ولادت و نخستین رویدادهای زندگی او دانسته نیست. از آنجا که ابن کربلایی وی را در هنگام مرگ ۹۶ ساله می‌داند، زمان تولد او باید در حدود سال ۷۳۱ ق/ ۱۳۳۷ م بوده باشد (ابن کربلایی، ۲۵۰/۲). جز این، می‌دانیم که او فرزند امیرعلیشاه ختلانی، از خاندانهای حاکم ختلان بود که ظاهراً صاحب مال و جاه بسیار بودند و پیشینه مخالفت با تیمور را نیز در کارنامه خود داشتند، چنان‌که در ۷۷۳ ق/ ۱۳۷۱ م (نیم سده پیش از کشته شدن خواجه ابواسحاق) یکی از وابستگان همین خاندان به نام امیر کیخسرو ختلانی به جرم حمایت از امیرحسین صوفی، حاکم خوارزم، در مخالفت با تیمور کشته‌شد. این خاندانها در شمار امارتهای محلی بودند که تیمور نسبت به مخالفت و سرکشی آنان بیمناک بود و ظاهراً فعالیتهای آنان را به دقت زیر نظر داشت

- MURMAN
- 145 MAYER, Toby. Yogic-Šūfī homologues: the case of the "Six principles" yoga of Nāropa and the Kubrawiyya. *Islam and religious diversity. Volume III: Eastern religions*. Ed. Lloyd Ridgeon. London & New York: Routledge, 2012, (Critical Concepts in Islamic Studies), pp. 155-175. A strong affinity emerges in the very conceptual foundations of both this "six principles" yoga and Kubrawī Šūfism. Originally published in *Muslim World*, 100 (2010) pp.268-286. *Mecmeddin-i dābra* 140258

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Daghestan and the question of *jihād*. *Jihad and
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Reason and Inspiration in Islam: Theology, Philosophy and Mysticism in Muslim Thought: Essays in Honour of Hermann Landolt, ed. T. Lawson. London: I.B. Tauris/Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2005, pp. 298–339 (corrected)

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SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

22 Mayıs 2015

Necmeddin-i Kobra (140258)

Two Narratives on Najm al-Dīn Kubrā and Raḏī al-Dīn 'Alī Lālā from a Thirteenth-Century Source: Notes on a Manuscript in the Raza Library, Rampur*

The study of the Kubravī Sufi tradition – unlike that of many other Sufi traditions that began to take shape in eastern Iran and Central Asia between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries CE (for example, the Khwājagānī/Naqshbandī, Yasavī, and Khalvatī communities) – has been well-supplied not only with an abundance of written sources produced already by some of the earliest figures associated with that tradition, but with a select group of outstanding scholars engaged in the study, publication and analysis of these sources. The present contribution, offered in honour of one of those scholars, Hermann Landolt, is intended to introduce a small source, hitherto unknown, that contains interesting narratives involving two figures associated with the earliest phase of the Kubravī tradition: Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221) himself, and his disciple Raḏī al-Dīn 'Alī Lālā (d. 642/1244).

A Note on Kubravī Hagiographical Material

While the doctrinal writings of the shaykhs linked to the Kubravī tradition have been relatively well-studied, the legacy of hagiographical narratives evoked by these shaykhs remains largely unexplored. The neglect of such narratives, indeed, may stem precisely from the relative abundance of seemingly more reliable biographical data, preserved in early works of known provenance, on many members of the Sufi circle of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā {and their successors; many of these figures were mentioned already in quite early historical and biographical sources}, and the highly personal writings of Kubrā, Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī, or 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī, for instance – which not only provide self-conscious descriptions of experiences during their individual mystical endeavours, but also illuminate their relationships with masters and disciples

* This is a corrected version of the article originally published in *Reason and Inspiration in Islam: Theology, Philosophy and Mysticism in Muslim Thought: Essays in Honour of Hermann Landolt*, ed. Todd Lawson (London: I.B. Tauris/Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2005). The original page numbers are given in square brackets within the text.

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V Bābā Kamāl Jandī and the Kubravī tradition among
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Bābā Kamāl Jandī and the Kubravī Tradition among the Turks of Central Asia

The Sufi order of the Kubraviyah traces its origins to Central Asia in the early 13th century, in particular to the state centered in Khorezm ruled by the Turkic dynasty of the Khorezmshāhs; it was in the Khorezmian capital of Gurganj that the order's eponymous founder, Najm ad-Din Kubrā, gathered his disciples and imparted his particular strain of mystical doctrine, and it was there that he died, according to tradition, at the hands of the Mongol invaders in 618/1221. Although Khorezm itself was heavily Turkified by the time of Najm ad-Din Kubrā, the literary, religious, and historical legacy of Kubrā and his disciples is best known in an Iranian cultural milieu. The best-known disciples of Kubrā, such as Najm ad-Din Rāzī and Sa'd ad-Din Hammūyi, left Khorezm for more westerly regions before the Mongol conquest, with Rāzī especially well-known for his vivid description of the horrors inflicted upon Iran during the Mongol advance;¹⁾ likewise, the most enduring Kubravi lineages, stemming from Kubrā's disciple Rāzī ad-Din 'Alī Lālā, found their widest development in Iran and India, and even the Central Asian Kubravi legacy linked with the name of Kubrā's famous disciple Sayf ad-Din Bākharzi seems firmly rooted in the urban Iranian civilization of Bukhārā.²⁾

Consideration of Turkic Sufism in Central Asia has thus focused upon the Yasavi tradition named for Khoja Ahmad Yasavi, a 12th-century shaykh of the town known later as Turkistān, and rightfully known as the preeminent Sufi order among the Central Asian Turks. The links between prominent Kubravi figures, however, and the ruling circles of the Mongol, Timurid, and Uzbek states of Central Asia, as well as their activities in regions of Central Asia which underwent accelerating rates of Turkification,

¹⁾ See the translation in *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return (Mersād al-'ebād men al-mabdā' elā' l-ma'ād)*, a Sufi Compendium by Najm al-Din Rāzī known as *Dāya*, tr. Hamid Algar (Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, for Persian Heritage Series, 1982), pp. 39-40.

²⁾ For further references on the Central Asian Kubravi lineages, see this writer's "The Eclipse of the Kubraviyah in Central Asia," *Iranian Studies*, 21/1-2 (1988), pp. 54-83.

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II Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī and Kubrawī hagiographical traditions

121–158

The Legacy of Mediaeval Persian Sufism, ed. L. Lewisohn. London: Khaniqahī Nīmatullāhī Publications/School of Oriental and African Studies, 1992; reprinted as The Heritage of Sufism, vol. II, The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150–1500). Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 1999

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Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī and Kubrawī Hagiographical Traditions

INTRODUCTION

The study of the Kubrawī Sufi tradition has been plagued by a number of misinterpretations and erroneous assumptions rooted, I believe, in two related tendencies: first, a habit of interpreting Kubrawī history solely on the basis of developments in western Iran in the 13th to 15th centuries, without proper attention to the religious environment of the other Iranian world of that era, Central Asia, where in fact the decisive events that shaped the Kubrawiyya unfolded; and second, a tendency to seek in Kubrawī writings and personalities signs of the Shi'ite proclivities which came to dominate religious developments in western Iran during this period. The latter tendency has proven especially persistent; beginning with the seminal article by Marijan Molé which appeared nearly thirty years ago,¹ it has become virtually axiomatic that the Kubrawiyya was in some way parallel to or preparatory for, at least from a doctrinal perspective, the transition to militant Shi'ism experienced by another Iranian Sufi order of the same era, the Şāfiaviyya.

I cannot review here the issue of apparent Shi'ite tendencies in the works of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, regarded as the founder of the Kubrawiyya, or of his successors Najm al-Dīn Rāzi, Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥammūyī, or 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī, as explored by Molé. Rather, my goal is to focus on Amīr Sayyid 'Alī ibn Shihāb al-Dīn Hamadānī, the Kubrawī figure in whose life and works Molé claimed to find some of the clearest indications of the propensity towards Shi'ism, but whose legacy and role in Kubrawī history have been especially obscured by a lack of attention to Central Asian materials. For while there is no question that Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī and his immediate successors mark a crucial stage in the development of the Kubrawī *silsilas*, the nature of the transformation during that crucial stage, marked by the schism in the Kubrawī 'Order' which I have discussed elsewhere,² has not been fully appreciated, again largely as a result of the misplaced focus on the search for Shi'ite tendencies and the neglect of Central Asian developments.

Here I intend to concentrate not on a reconstruction of events in that period or a

1. M. Molé, 'Les Kubrawiyya entre sunnisme et shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire,' *Revue des études islamiques*, 29 (1961), pp. 110-124.

2. In 'The Eclipse of the Kubrawiyyah in Central Asia,' *Iranian Studies*, 21 (1988) pp. 45-83; on pp. 54-61, I addressed the problems arising from the adoption by Western researchers in Kubrawī history of the perspective of later writers belonging to Shi'ified Kubrawī offshoots in Western Iran in interpreting the Khuttalānī-Nūrbakhsh affair and the Kubrawī schism.

Publisher's note: The image on p. 132 of the original publication has been omitted for the purposes of this volume.

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Studies on Sufism in Central Asia

The Eclipse of the Kubravīyah in Central Asia¹

From the 12th to the 14th century three major Sufi orders took shape in Central Asia: the Yasavīyah, derived from Khoja Aḥmad Yasavī of the town known later as Turkistan; the Kubravīyah, founded by Najm al-Dīn Kubrā in Khwārazm; and the Naqshbandīyah, named after Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband of Bukhārā. Of the three, the Yasavīyah remained an almost exclusively Central Asian *ṭarīqah* with particular appeal to the Turkic population, while the Naqshbandīyah became a truly international order active throughout the Islamic world, rising to phenomenal power and prestige within Central Asia and spreading far beyond its confines, most dynamically to India and the Ottoman lands. The Kubravīyah, however, found its greatest development outside Central Asia, and indeed, by the end of the 16th century, was almost entirely displaced in its native region by the increasingly dominant Naqshbandīyah.

The decline of the Kubravīyah in Central Asia has often been overlooked in general works on Sufism in this region; 19th- and 20th-century observers have named the Kubravīyah among the important Sufi brotherhoods of Central Asia into the period of Russian control,² as if its strength had not waned since the days of [46] Najm al-Dīn Kubrā. None of them, however, offers specific evidence on particular Kubravī shaykhs, lineages, or foundations, and it appears, in fact, that the only significant legacy of the Kubravī order in contemporary Central Asia is the shrine of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā in Kunia

I The eclipse of the Kubravīyah in Central Asia
Iranian Studies 21/1-2, 1988, pp. 45-83 (corrected)

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¹ Portions of this paper are adapted from the introductory chapters of the author's doctoral dissertation, "The *Kashf al-Hudā* of Kamāl ad-Dīn Ḥusayn Khorezmī: A Fifteenth-Century Sufi Commentary on the *Qaṣīdat al-Burdah* in Khorezmian Turkic (Text Edition, Translation, and Historical Introduction)," PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1985.

This is a corrected version of the article originally published in *Iranian Studies* 21.1-2 (1988). The original page numbers are given in square brackets within the text.

² Cf. E.T. Smirnov, "Dervishizm v Turkestane," *Sbornik materialov po musul'manstvu*, t. I (St Petersburg, 1899), pp. 57-60, where the Kubravīyah is said to have declined in Khwārazm but only recently; Bartol'd, in his *Istoriia kul'turnoi zhizni Turkestana* (Leningrad, 1927), referred to the Kubravī order as widespread in Khwārazm to this day (cf. V.V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, t. II/1, pp. 251-2). The same view is affirmed by S.M. Demidov, *Sufizm v Turkmenii* (Ashkhabad: Ylym, 1978), p. 17. Among recent western works to assume a continued Kubravī presence in Khwārazm may be noted Chantal Lemerrier-Quelquejey, "Sufi Brotherhoods in the USSR: A Historical Survey," *Central Asian Survey*, 2/4 (December 1983), p. 190, and Alexandre Bennigsen and Marie Broxup, *The Islamic Threat to the Soviet State* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1983), p. 76.

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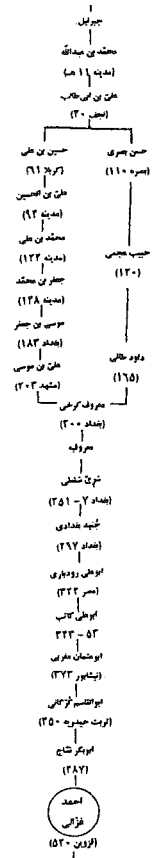
20 Eylül 2014

240 ZARGAR, Cyrus Ali. The Ten Principles: theoretical
implications of volitional death in Najm al-Din
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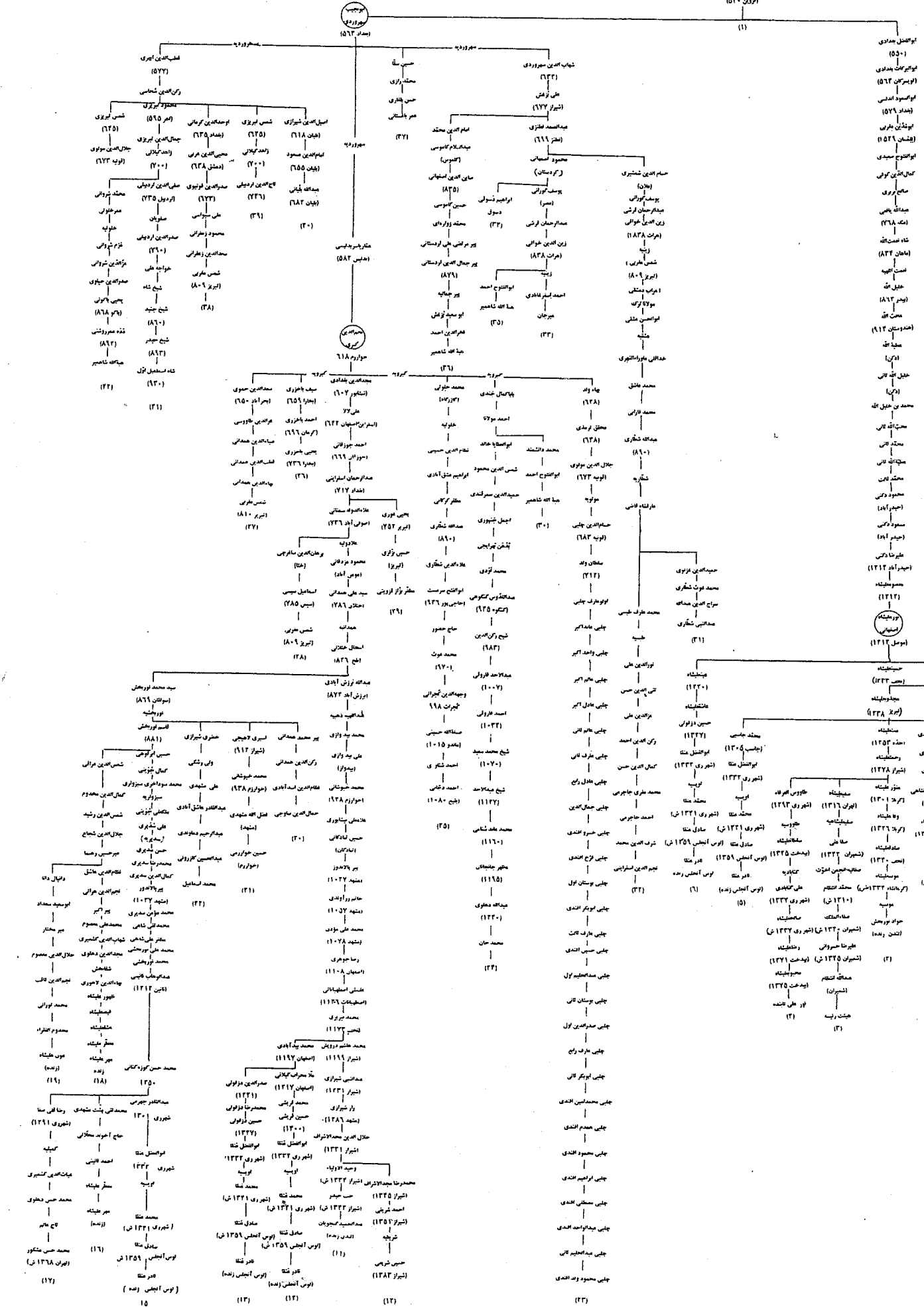
09 Silsile Seceresidir
09 itisafî posetlere konulması yararlı olur
11 - Söhne verdiiye
12 * Kibreneyye - Necmeddin-i Kübra (160258)
12 Mevleviyye
13 - Ahmed el-Gazzâli
13 Silsile

15 169891 demirbaş
16 nolu Ahmed el-Gazzâli'ye
17 art kitap içinde ek.

نسخه و فهرست که در ذیل نام نسخ صرف آمده، بعضی در این کتاب است.



MADDE KAYITLANDIĞI SONRA ÇELEN İMCELİDİ



169891 demirbaş nolu kitabın içinde ektir. (التبريد في كلمة التوحيد) adlı kitap

Christian theologian Origen (d. c. 254 C.E.). By contrast, the cosmology focused on the extraction of the particles of darkness is of the Manichaean type.

All we are told about Daysānī ethics (by Ibn Shabīb, fl. first half of the third/ninth century) is that they approved of marriage and all things useful for the body and spirit but not of slaughtering animals, because it inflicted pain on them.

Al-Maḡdisī (wrote c. 355/966) claims that the Dualists regarded Ibn Daysān, Ibn (*sic*) Shākīr, and other arch-heretics as prophets and held that prophecy would never cease. According to Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 313/925 or 323/935), the Daysānīs endorsed the use of deception and assassination in their dealings with opponents. In their description the Daysānīs have become Khurramīs of a sort. Ibn al-Nadīm associates the Daysānī sect with the Iraqi swamps, Khurāsān, and “China.”

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PATRICIA CRONE

Dhahabiyya

The **Dhahabiyya** is one of the three main Shī‘ī Ṣūfī orders in Iran (the others are the Khāksār and three autonomous branches in the Ni‘matallāhiyya line). Its

conduct; he was taken to the war by his uncles but did not participate in the fighting except by fetching arrows for others to shoot. Certain versions assert that he was present at only one of the battles, that won by the Quraysh. There are, however, various reports about Muḥammad's age at the time, none of which takes into account the fact that the battles spanned four or five years. The chronologies of pre-Islamic Mecca and the Prophet's life are thus influenced by considerations of Islamic doctrine.

Modern scholars have interpreted the second Fijār in various ways. According to some, the Quraysh did not initiate the war—it was forced on them. It was a just and noble war in defence of the Meccan sanctuary and the vestiges of the religion of Ibrāhīm; it was fought to protect the honour of the Prophet's tribe (see, e.g., Shiblī, 149, 155, 222; Guraya, 339). Other scholars explain the Fijār as part of the competition between Mecca and al-Ḥīra for control of Arabian trade routes. In any case, the various reports on the Fijār demonstrate the mechanisms of Islamic historiography rather than the details of pre-Islamic history.

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ELLA LANDAU-TASSERON

Firdawsiyya

The **Firdawsiyya** is a regional Ṣūfī brotherhood (*ṭarīqa*, lit., way) established in mediaeval India, first in Delhi and later in Bihar province. The Firdawsiyya is noted primarily for its scholarly excellence, especially in the writings of its prominent Ṣūfī masters (*shaykhs*). In the genealogies of its Ṣūfī masters, this Ṣūfī *ṭarīqa* traces its roots to the Kubrāwiyya, the Central Asian Ṣūfī *ṭarīqa* founded by Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221). Other sources suggest that the Firdawsiyya derives its name from Badr al-Dīn Firdawsī al-Samarqandī (d. c. 716/1316), a disciple of Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn al-Bākhārī (d. 658/1260), a *khalīfa* (deputy or successor) to Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, who immigrated from Samarqand to Delhi (India) and introduced the *ṭarīqa* there. Shaykh Badr al-Dīn was succeeded by two *khalīfas*, Shaykh Rukn al-Dīn (d. 724/1324) and Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Firdawsī (d. 733/1333).

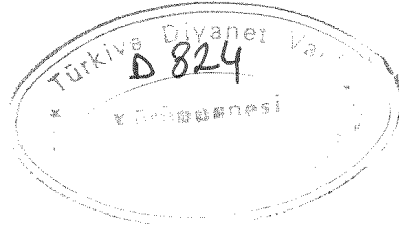
Initially, the Firdawsī *ṭarīqa* remained little known in Delhi, but it later gained popularity under one of the disciples of Najīb al-Dīn Firdawsī, Aḥmad Yaḥyā—the son of Shaykh Yaḥyā Manerī (d. 690/1291), a prominent Ṣūfī master from Maner (a small town in Bihar province)—who came to be known as Makhdūm al-Mulḥ Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Manerī (b. in Sha'bān 661/July 1263, in Maner, d. 782/1380–1). Initiated as a disciple of Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Firdawsī of Delhi, he remained under

رسالة في الطريق إلى الله

للشيخ العلامة نجم الدين الكبري - رحمه الله -

(٦١٨ هـ - ١٢٢١ م)

Necmeddin-i Kübrâ
(140258)



تحقيق

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Bir Tasavvuf Klasığı Olarak *Mirsâdü'l-ibâd*

Halil BALTACI*

Özet

Bu makalede, önemli bir Kübrevî şeyhi olan Necmüddîn Dâye er-Râzî'nin (654/1256) *Mirsâdü'l-ibâd mine'l-mebde' ile'l-meâd* adlı Farsça eserini inceledik. Ancak ondan evvel Necmeddîn Râzî'nin hayatına ve eserlerine de kısaca bir değindik. Ardından incelemede bulunduğumuz eserin yazılış sebebini bizzat müellifin ifadeleriyle izah etmeye çalıştık. Eserin çeşitli kütüphanelerdeki yazma ve baskı nüshaları ile yapılmış tercümelere hakkında bilgi verdikten sonra *Mirsâdü'l-ibâd*'in kaynaklarına da inerek; muhtevası, tasavvufî ve edebî değeri hakkında genel bir değerlendirmede bulunduk. Makaleyi, *Mirsâdü'l-ibâd*'in, kendinden sonra vücuda getirilmiş eserler üzerindeki tesirleri hakkında bilgi vererek sonuçlandırdık.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Necmeddîn Dâye Râzî, *Mirsâdü'l-ibâd*, Kübrevîlik, tarikat, tasavvuf.

Abstract

Mersâd al-ebâd As a Sufi Classic

In this article, we have studied an important Kobraî sheikh Najm al-Dîn Dâya Râzî (654/1256) and his persian work titled *Mersâd al-ebâd men al-mabda' el-l-ma'âd*. First, we have briefly examined Najm al-Dîn Râzî' life and works. Then we have tried to present the reasons for the composition of the book through the author's own sentences. After giving information about the manuscript and printed copies and the translations of the book located in various libraries around the world, we evaluated the general content of *Mersâd al-ebâd*, its literary value and its place in Sufi literature. We have concluded this article by a summary about the influences of *Mersâd al-ebâd* on the Sufi literature of the following ages.

Key words: Najm al-Dîn Dâya Râzî, *Mersâd al-ebâd*, Kobraîya, Sufi, Order, Sufism.

Giriş

Tasavvufa dair vücuda getirilmiş olan eserlerden mensur olanlar, daha ziyade Arapça kaleme alınmışken, manzum olanlar genellikle Farsça yazılmıştır. Arapça, Kur'an'ın bu dilde indirilmesi ve bir ibadet dili olarak kullanılmasının yanında, sahip olduğu yüksek ifade gücü nedeniyle -başta Farsça ve Türkçe

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FRITZ MEIER (ed.): *Die Fawā'ih al-ġamal wa-fawātiḥ al-ġalāl des Nağm ad-dīn al-Kubrā: eine Darstellung mystischer Erfahrungen im Islam aus der Zeit um 1200 n. Chr.* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, Bd. IX.) xvi, 299, 126, [iii] pp. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1957. DM. 56.

Fritz Meier has made Najm al-Din al-Kubra, his special study. This famous Sufi scholar, the founder of the Kubrawiya *ṭarīqa*, a Khurasan order which still exists in Persia up to the present day, seems to have perished in the Mongol invasion in 618/1221, but this is not quite certain, and Professor Meier adduces new evidence to show that he may have died before that time. Professor Meier's thorough and it would appear, exhaustive, study of Najm al-Din consists in part of a critical edition of the Arabic text of the *Fawā'ih al-ġamal*, a treatise on topics of interest to mystics, but mostly of a highly technical nature, and in part of a German introduction forming about two-thirds of the volume as a whole. The latter contains a well-documented biography of Najm al-Din, his career, and his entry upon the mystic path. The bulk of the German introduction, however, deals with the mystic ideas and beliefs of the *Fawā'ih al-ġamal* itself. The editor shows the importance of the *Fawā'ih* as a source for later Sufistic writers, and briefly discusses some of the more recent Persian writers on Najm al-Din, stating, however, that more contemporary literature on the Kubrawiya is still *terra incognita*. The selective index to the German portion, and the Arabic index of technical terms occurring in the *Fawā'ih* make the volume easy to consult.

R. B. SERJEANT

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NAJM al-DIN AL-KUBRĀ (Abu al-Jannāb Ahmad ibn 'Umar)

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MEIER (Fritz)

NAJM al-DIN AL-KUBRĀ (Abu al-Jannāb Ahmad ibn 'Umar) Meier Fritz

فوائج الجمال وفوائج الجلال

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y Kubrawiyye

494. NAJM ED-DIN KOBRA, *al-Sā'er al-Hā'er*, éd. critique par M. Qāsemi, Téhéran, Zovvār, 1361/1982, 75 p., (en persan).

Al-Sā'er al-Hā'er, «le voyageur stupéfait», est une traduction libre, faite par l'A. de son traité en arabe *al-Khā'if al-Hā'im min Lu'mat al-Lā'im*. Il paraît que le célèbre mystique du X^e ārazm (m. 618/1226) envisageait de faire de son traité, le manuel d'instructions pratiques accompagnant toujours les disciples surtout dans leurs pérégrinations; les dimensions réduites de l'ouvrage ainsi que le grand souci de systématisation des thèmes corroborent ce point de vue. Le traité est formé d'un ensemble de dix «devoirs» (*šarḥ*) ainsi que les «utilités» ou les «enseignements à tirer» de chacun d'eux: la pureté (avec ses 20 *fā'ida*), le silence (11 *f.*), la solitude (13 *f.*), le jeûne (22 *f.*), le *zikr* (18 *f.*), la neutralisation des pensées négatives (les différentes catégories de ces dernières), la soumission à Dieu, fréquenter les vertueux et éviter les vicieux, ne dormir que par stricte nécessité (12 *fā'ida*), boire et manger peu (7 *f.*). L'éditeur a utilisé 3 mss. (Šahīd 'Alī Pāšā 1393, Suleymāniyya 1208, Univ. de Téhéran 3654) et donne à la fin les sources et les traductions des *ḥadīth* et des citations utilisées dans le texte. On regrette de nombreux cas d'erreurs de frappe. Il faut relever une erreur dans l'introduction consacrée à la biographie de l'A. (intr. malheureusement trop sommaire quand il s'agit d'un personnage aussi marquant): le maître de l'A. et plus tard son beau-père était bien sûr Ruzbehān Wazzān al-Meṣri et non comme l'indique l'éditeur le célèbre Ruzbehān Baqlī Širāzi (p. 6). M. A. A. M.

NECMEDDIN-I KUBRA

24488 BERTELS, E. E. Chetverostishiya sheikha Nedzhmeddina Kubra. (Les quatrains de Najmeddin Kubra.) CRAS, 1924, pp. 36-39

Necmeddin-i Kübrā

18 OCAK 1993

Necmüddin el-Kübrā (F. Rāzīnin sefih)

M. S. H. Ma'sūmī

I. Fakhrüddin el-Rāzī ---

s. 364

Fakhrüddin Rāzī pošetinde.

Necmüddin-i Kübrā

makm...
"La version persane du Traité de dix principes de Najm al-Din Kobra par 'Alī ibn Shihāb al-Din Hamadānī." *Farhang-i Irān zamīn.* 6 (1958): 38-66.

16 EKİM 1998

1746 DEWEESE, D. Bābā Kamāl Jandī and the Kubrawī tradition among the Turks of Central Asia. *Der Islam*, 71 i (1994) pp. 58-94

Kubreviyye

Ordin
Ehmed
Hafiz

31 ARALIK 1993

855 MOLÉ, M. Professions de foi de deux Kubrawis: 'Alī-i Hamadānī et Muḥammad Nūrbahš. *BEO* 17 (1961-62), pp. 133-204

Kubreviyye 18 KASIM 1993
- Ali Hamedani
- Muhammed Nurbaqs

Firdevsiyye

Carbk, Kubreviyye

Zebidi, Ikd, 93;

Tibyan, III, 315-320.

16 ARALIK 1993

180939 SEYDİ ALI HEMEDANI KÜBREVIYYE 485 DeWEESE, Devin, 'Sayyid 'Alī Hamadani and Kubrawi Hagiographical Traditions'. In: L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism*. London: Khaniqahi Nimatul-lahi Publications, 1992, pp. 121-58

854 MOLÉ, M. Les Kubrawiya entre sunnisme et shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'Hégire. *REI* 29 (1961), pp. 61-142

Kubreviyye

31 ARALIK 1992

673. SHPALL, William. «A note on Najm al-Din al-Rāzi and the *Bahr al-Haqā'iq*» *Folia Orientalia*, XII (1981-84), pp. 69-80.

A partir d'un manuscrit encore non exploité du *Bahr al-Haqā'iq* de Najm al-Din Rāzi (dit N. D. Dāye, ob. 1256), l'auteur apporte plusieurs précisions utiles sur la biographie, au demeurant très mal connue, de ce grand maître soufi iranien. Les annotations autobiographiques apparaissant dans ce manuscrit permettent notamment de mieux situer N. D. Rāzi par rapport à ses maîtres, à la confluence entre la lignée kubrawie (par N. D. Kobrā lui-même, et surtout par M. D. Baḡdādi) et l'enseignement de A. H. Sohrwardi. Une contribution ponctuelle mais positive à une meilleure connaissance de l'efflorescence du soufisme en Iran au 7^e/13^e siècle. P. L.

- BAHRS L HAKA -
- KÜBREVIYYE

647. BENNIGSEN, Alexandre & WIMBUSH, S. Enders. *Mystics and Commissars. Sufism in the Soviet Union*. London, C. Hurst & Company, 1985. x-195 p. Bibliographie, glossaire, index.

Essai sur la survivance des groupes soufis et leur importance dans les républiques musulmanes d'URSS. Les AA. commencent par décrire rapidement les principales tariqa: Naqshbandiya, qāderiya, Yāsaviya, Kobraviya et autres, et leur histoire sur le territoire soviétique actuel. Depuis 1917, les autorités essaient de les opposer par tous les moyens à l'«islam officiel» reconnu par l'État. En réalité les deux sont souvent représentés par le même *ṣeyx/moṣṭfi*, ce qui explique l'inefficacité des attaques. Après avoir rassemblé diverses estimations sur le nombre des adeptes (jusqu'à 10 % dans certaines régions), et décrit rapidement l'organisation interne des ordres, les AA. évoquent les pratiques (*ẓekr*, prières surrogatoires, pèlerinages etc.) qui sont en usage, et leurs implications politiques. Le soufisme, parce qu'il est plus particulièrement persécuté, constitue un refuge des valeurs nationales et anti-communistes. Les musulmans progressistes du style de Sultan Galiev sont moins célèbres que les *ṣeyx* martyrisés, comme Najmoddin de Hotso ou Kubān Morād. Notations intéressantes sur l'influence des radios étrangères, notamment iraniennes (radio Gorgān) et l'inquiétude du régime soviétique face à un possible mouvement islamiste (pp. 107-108). Pour réduire l'influence du soufisme, il lui faudrait soutenir l'islam institutionnel, donc démentir soixante ans d'athéisme militant. L'intérêt principal du livre vient de sa documentation, presque entièrement soviétique: presse et revues spécialisées qui étudient l'islam pour mieux le combattre; on voit d'ailleurs que les arguments sont bien pauvres, l'invective contre le «fanatisme obscurantiste» principalement. En annexe, deux cartes, et description géographique détaillée des lieux du soufisme soviétique au Nord Caucase, en Āzarbāyjan, en Asie centrale et dans le Tātārestān. Bibliographie raisonnée: presque exclusivement en russe. Y. R.

- NAKSIBENDILIK
- KADIRILIK
- YESEVILIK
- KÜBREVIYYE

18 AGU 2006

1207 LOUBES, Jean-Paul. La fabrication d'une architecture vernaculaire contemporaine: le cas du quartier musulman de Xi'an. (Abstract: The making of a vernacular contemporary architecture: the case of the Muslim quarter in Xi'an; Resumen: La fabricación de una arquitectura vernacular contemporánea: el caso del barrio musulmano de Xi'an.) *Espaces et Sociétés*, 113-114 (2003) pp. 67-90; 307; 312.

Qn

1208 OMIDVARNIA, Mohammad Javad. The Kubraviyah order in China. *Amu Darya*, 4/6 (2009) pp. 258-272.

Necmeddin Kuba

Kubreviyye

31 ARALIK 1993

Zerinkub, EK, 159

Kubreviyye (R. Ali Lala)

131 ARALIK 1993

Zerinkub, EK, 103-105

SOUFISME

161

553. LEMERCIER-QUELQUEJAY, C. «Sufi Brotherhoods in the USSR: A Historical Survey», *Central Asian Survey*, 2, 4 (1983), *Special Issue: Sufism in Central Asia*, pp. 1-36.

Dans la première partie de l'article, l'A. étudie l'évolution historique et le statut actuel des deux ordres soufi principaux du Caucase du Nord, les Naqshbandi, introduits dans la région à la fin du 18^e s. et les Qadiri, introduits au milieu du 19^e s. Bien que différents dans leurs pratiques, les deux ordres ont été constamment engagés, l'un comme l'autre, dans l'opposition à l'occupation russe grâce à leur pouvoir politique réel. Ceci leur a valu de subir maintes persécutions de la part des régimes en place. En dépit de la répression, l'impact du soufisme n'a cessé de croître. Le soufisme a pénétré toutes les couches de la société et actuellement, 80% de la population musulmane en URSS est pratiquante.

L'A. explique le phénomène par le fait que le soufisme et l'institution musulmane en URSS sont solidaires, le soufisme étant en sorte l'islam «parallèle» ou «non officiel». Les ordres soufis étant, par ailleurs, gardiens des coutumes, des traditions et d'une attitude morale, leur cause religieuse se trouve assimilée à la cause de l'identité nationale.

L'A. aborde ensuite l'histoire du soufisme en Asie Centrale (Turkestan). Quatre ordres existent dans la région depuis le Moyen Age; les Naqshbandi, les Kubravi, les Yasavi et les Qadiri. Leur évolution historique a été relativement plus pacifique qu'en Caucase du Nord, cependant, les révoltes ont néanmoins eu lieu, toutes dues aux ordres soufis. La propagation du soufisme s'est avérée particulièrement active dans les régions 1^o qui s'opposaient fortement au régime russe, 2^o où l'institution musulmane était sur le déclin, 3^o de société essentiellement tribale. L'A. a le mérite de donner, en outre, la répartition géographique des ordres actuels au Caucase du Nord et en Asie Centrale.

Ce numéro spécial du C.A.S., consacré au soufisme en Asie Centrale, contient d'autres articles sur le sujet, tout aussi bien documentés à propos de l'Afghanistan, de l'Azerbaïdjan, du Tatarstan et du Turkménistan (contributions d'A.-A. Rorlich, D. Nissman, O. Roy, A. Bennigsen, M. Mirza). Ž. V.

- SOUVETLER BIRLIGI
- NAKSIBENDILIK
- KADIRIYYE
- KÜBREVIYYE
- YESEVIYYE

31

19 TEMMUZ 1993

673. SHPALL, William. «A note on Najm al-Din al-Rāzi and the *Bahr al-Haqā'iq*» *Folia Orientalia*, XII (1981-84), pp. 69-80.

A partir d'un manuscrit encore non exploité du *Bahr al-Haqā'iq* de Najm al-Din Rāzi (dit N. D. Dāye, ob. 1256), l'auteur apporte plusieurs précisions utiles sur la biographie, au demeurant très mal connue, de ce grand maître soufi iranien. Les annotations autobiographiques apparaissant dans ce manuscrit permettent notamment de mieux situer N. D. Rāzi par rapport à ses maîtres, à la confluence entre la lignée kobrawie (par N. D. Kobra lui-même, et surtout par M. D. Baḡdādī) et l'enseignement de A. H. Sohrawardi. Une contribution ponctuelle mais positive à une meilleure connaissance de l'efflorescence du soufisme en Iran au 7^e/13^e siècle. P. L.

SAMRŪ L-HAKĀ'ĪQ
KOBRAWIYYE

SCARCIA AMORETTI, B. A proposito di una possibile versione del "Trattato dei dieci principi" di Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā. *RSO* 48(1973-4), pp. 98-108.

Necmuddin el-Kubra

18 OCAK 1993

Necmuddin Kubra

21 OCAK 1993

Zerinkub-EK, 81

Necmuddin Kubra

21 OCAK 1993

Abdolkarim Zerrinkub,
Custodian of the *Tasawuf* in Iran.

Zerinkub, EK, 81-98
159

679. ZARRINKUB, 'Abd al-Hoseyn. *Donbāle-ye jostoju dar taṣawvof-e Irān*. Téhéran, Amir Kabir, 1362/1983, 412 p. [Recherches sur le soufisme en Iran. Suite.]

C'est donc la suite de la grande entreprise de l'auteur de livrer ses recherches sur le soufisme en Iran (sur le premier tome, auquel celui-ci fait suite, voir *Abst. Ir.* V, 567). Fait de grands chapitres de synthèse, le livre passe en revue successivement les critiques (une bonne manière d'aborder la réalité) faites à l'adresse de divers milieux soufis dans les textes persans, les poussées du soufisme à l'époque safavide (depuis les Sarbédār), l'école des Kobraviyye, celle d'Ibn 'Arabi, celles des Zahabiyye et des Nurbaxsiyye, les grands mouvements soufis depuis Samarquand jusqu'en Inde, le soufisme à Ispahan sous les Safavides, les implications philosophiques du soufisme iranien, enfin la continuation et le renouveau du soufisme au siècle dernier. Un bon choix bibliographique et un index des noms propres achèvent cette vaste enquête, faite avec la maîtrise qui convient aux ouvrages de grande initiation érudite. C. F.

KUBREVIYYE
IBN 'ARABI
MURSHIDIYYE
NURBAXSIYYE

Kubreviyye

Tibyān, III, 80a-87a; *Kind, Ma-rabuts*, 31; *Esma' -l- Esrār*, 31-32; *Mir'āṭ al-turuk*, 11-12; *Itḥāf*, 252-253.

922-977

464 WALEY, Muhammad Isa, 'A Kubrawi Manual of Sufism: The Fusus Al-Abad of Yahya Bakharzi'. In: L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism*. London: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1992, pp. 289-310

See also 7, 11, 102, 109, 110, 128, 131, 227, 286, 392, 405, 440, 478, 482, 483, 484, 485, 489, 490, 556, 661, 860, 1022, 1074, 1150, 1175, 1188, 1191

17 ARALIK 1993

686. DIGBY, Simon. "The Sufi Shaikh as a Source of Authority in Medieval India", in *Islam et société en Asie du sud*, études réunies par Marc Gaborieau, Paris, Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1986, pp. 57-77 (Puruṣārtha, n° 9).

KUBREVIYYE
(FIRDAUSIYYE)

Dans cet article de fond, basé sur des sources persanes, l'auteur étudie comment l'autorité des shaykh chishtis s'est progressivement établie et exercée dans les diverses régions du sous-continent indien conquises par les sultans de Delhi (1206-1526). L'auteur examine tour à tour les attributs du shaykh (savoir, rigueur des pratiques, lignage, sensibilité poétique et musicale), la croyance en ses pouvoirs miraculeux, et sa juridiction spirituelle sur un territoire déterminé (*vilāyat*). Il étudie ensuite les rapports entre ordres soufis. Alors que les relations étaient bonnes entre Chishtis de Delhi et Suhrawardis de Multan, elles sont conflictuelles entre Chishtis et Firdausis à Delhi. Enfin, l'autorité des shaykh est rattachée à l'organisation de leur *xānqāh* ("couvent"), à leurs relations avec l'entourage du souverain et les écrivains de renom, au souvenir de leurs prédécesseurs et aux réseaux d'influence constitués à partir du culte rendu à ces derniers dans les sanctuaires.

L'article est illustré de citations et d'anecdotes tirées des sources utilisées. D. M.

(ca) 66 Kubreviyye

2449 MEIER, F. Stambuler Handschriften dreier persischer Mystiker: 'Ain al-quḍāt al-Hamadāni, Naḡm ad-dīn al-Kubrā, Naḡm ad-dīn ad-Dāja. *Islam* 24 (1937), pp. 1-42

Ayn al qudat Hamadani
Necmuddin el Kubra

17 MAR/IRAN 1993

20 EKIM 1993

۲۲۰۷ شاه زیدی ، حسین . " نجم الدین کبری " . نهب آزادی ، دوره ۲ ، ش ۲۲۶
۲۶ بهمن ۱۳۶۲ : ص ۴۰۱ .
NECMEDDIN - 1
KUBRA
در باره نجم الدین کبری یکی از صوفیان قرن ششم هجری .

495. NAJM ED-DIN KOBRA, *Adab al-Sufiyye*, éd. critique par M. Qāsemi, Téhéran, Zovvār, 1363/1984, 80 p.

«Les règles de conduite des Sufi» est un traité du même type qu'*al-Sā'ir al-Hā'ir*; ces deux traités paraissent être les seuls écrits en persan de l'A., et vu le dépouillement du style et la simplicité pratique des thèmes abordés, semblent avoir été destinés aux disciples débutants ne connaissant pas l'arabe. Ce texte avait déjà été édité, avec quelques variantes, par S. de Beaucueil dans le *BIFAO* (tome LIX, 1960, pp. 203 sq.; trad. française, pp. 215-224). S. de B. l'attribue au célèbre X^eājah 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī (m. 481/1087), se fiant à l'indication du seul manuscrit qu'il avait utilisé (Ṣahid 'Alī Pāšā 1393). Or les cinq autres mss. utilisés par M. Qāsemi l'attribuent à Najm ed-Din Kobrā (pp. 4-6). L'ouvrage comprend sept chapitres appelés *ādāb*: 1. Les règles pour revêtir la *xerqe*; 2. ... s'asseoir et se lever; 3. ... pénétrer dans le *xāneqāh*; 4. ... prendre les repas; 5. ... se rendre aux invitations; 6. ... l'audition du *samā'*; 7. ... voyager. L'ouvrage constitue un élément utile pour l'étude des rapports entre le sufisme et les mouvements de la *fotovat* à cette époque, vu la similitude des thèmes du texte avec ceux des *Fotovat-Nāme*. L'introduction est plus substantielle et mieux documentée que celle de l'ouvrage de la notice précédente, quoiqu'en l'absence d'une bibliographie, les références restent imprécises. A la p. 10, note 1, l'éditeur corrige l'erreur qu'il avait commise dans l'introd. d'*al-Sā'ir al-Hā'ir*, concernant un des maîtres de l'A. (erreur signalée dans la notice précédente).
M. A. A. M.

Necmeddin-i Kubra
۱۹ - فواتح الجمال

لنجم الدین الکبری

نشره: سویسری مارتر، ۱۹۱۳ م

13 MALIK 1995

Necmeddin-i Kubra

21 OCAK 1993

Tarāik 4, 334-336

86-932416
Kubrā, Najm al-Dīn.
Adab al-Sūfiyyah / Najm al-Dīn Kubrā; bih intām-i Mas'ūd Qāsimī. — Chāp-i 1. — [Tehran]: Kitāb-furūsh-i Zavvār, 1363 [1984 or 1985]. 80 p., [5] p. of plates: facsim.; 22 cm. In Persian; romanized record. Includes index. 175,00IR (pbk.) (On the customs and traditions of Sufism)

710 MOLE, M. La version persane du Traité de dix principes de Najm al-Din Kobrā, par 'Alī b. Shihāb al-Din Hamadāni. *Farhang-e Irān Zamin* 6 (1958), pp. 38-51

NECMEDDIN

(KUBRA), Abul-Cennāb (Ebn Cenal) Ahmed b. Omer b. Muh er-Razi (v. 618/1221)

Necmuddin Kobra'nin 10 Prenip
Kitabinin farsca tercümesi
Şev. Ali b. Şihābeddin Hamadāni

- Adabü'l-Muridin
- Necmeddin-i KUBRA

11133 MEIER, F. "Ein knigge fuer suhs." *Riv. degli Studi O.* 32, no. 2 (1957) 485-524. Translation of the *Adab al-muridin* of Najm al-Din-i Kubrā of Khwarizm who was killed by the Mongols in 1221. The Persian text is a brief treatise on mysticism.

664. NAJM ED-DIN KOBRA, *al-Uṣūl al-'Ašara*, trad. persane et comment. de 'Abd al-Qāfur Lāri, éd. N. M. Heravi, Téhéran, Mowlā, 1363/1984, 111 p.

Le *Traité des Dix Fondements* fut édité pour la première fois par M. Molé, avec la traduction persane de Seyyed 'Alī Hamadāni, grand maître kobrāvi, disciple de 'Alā ad-Dowle Semnāni (voir *Farhang-e Irān Zamin*, vol. VI, pp. 54sq.). Le texte, sa traduction par Hamadāni (*Dah Qā'ede*) plus un commentaire persan de Kamāl ed-Dīn Hoṣeyn X^eārazmi (IX/XV^e s.) fut réédité par A. Šarīf Moḥseni en 1362/1983 à Téhéran, sous le titre de *Aqrab*

al-Turuq ilā Allāh. N. M. Heravi présente ici une édition quelque peu différente puisque basée sur deux nouveaux manuscrits, ainsi que le texte d'une traduction et un commentaire en persan de Raẓiyy ed-Dīn 'Abd al-Qāfur Lāri (Bibliothèque de l'Institut Indien de Londres, n° 670, et *Maḡles* de Téhéran, n° 4868; sur 'Abd al-Qāfur Lāri, disciple de 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmi, voir Vā'ez Kāsefi, *Rašahāt 'Ayn al-Hayāt*, éd. A. A. Mo'iniān, Téhéran, 1356/1977, I/286; deux de ses ouvrages ont été édités: *Havāsi-ye Nafahāt al-Ons* de Jāmi, éd. Bašir Heravi, Kabūl, 1343/1965, et *Šarḥ al-Durra al-Fākira* de Jāmi, éd. N. Heer et A. Musavi Bahbahāni, Téhéran, 1358/1980).

Il s'agit d'un traité important de Najm-e Kobrā, plusieurs fois commentés par divers maîtres mystiques, et traduit en persan ou en turc. Dix observances essentielles de la voie sufi y sont définies dans un ordre où l'on peut déceler une certaine progression spirituelle: la contrition (*tawba*), l'ascèse (*zuhd*), l'abandon complet à Dieu (*tawakkul*), le contentement (*qinā'a*), l'isolement (*'uzla*), le *dhikr* permanent (*mudāwamat al-dhikr*), la concentration (*tawajjuh*), la patience (*ṣabr*), la méditation contemplative (*murāqaba*), la complaisance en Dieu (*riḍā*). Le commentaire de Lāri peut être considéré comme appartenant à la tradition naqšbandi; il serait donc intéressant d'étudier à travers ce texte, les interpénétrations des deux écoles naqšbandi et kobrāvi.
M. A. A. M.

۲۲۰۶ نیکوهمت ، ا . " اقبال آشتیانی و آثار او " . شایسته سال ۲۲ ، ش ۱۴۶
(۱۸ بهمن ۱۳۶۲) : ص ۴۰۳۰۱ . ش ۱۲۷ (۲۵ بهمن ۱۳۶۲) : ص ۲۰۱ .
NECMEDDIN - 1
KUBRA



تصوف و ادبیات تصوف

ترجمه سیروس ایزدی

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Demirbaş No:	19429
Tasnif No:	891.5 BERT



مؤسسه انتشارات امیرکبیر
تهران، ۲۵۳۶
۱۹۷۷

رباعیات شیخ نجم‌الدین کبری

شیخ نجم‌الدین کبری^۱ یکی از درخشانترین چهره‌ها در میان صوفیان سده‌های دوازدهم و سیزدهم میلادی است. او شاگرد سه استاد برجسته و آموزگار یک سلسله کامل از اندیشمندان و شاعران بزرگ، و کانونی بود که از آن رشته‌هایی به سوی همه گوشه و کنار جهان اسلام سرچشمه می‌گرفت و در این زمینه، یادآور سلف خود در سده‌های دهم و یازدهم میلادی، شیخ ابوسعید میهنه‌یی است. احمد^۲ ابن عمر ابوالجناح نجم‌الدین الکبری الخیوکی الخوارزمی ملقب به الطامة الکبری (بدبختی بزرگ) یعنی عبارتی که از قرآن (سوره ۷۹، آیه ۳۴) گرفته شده و نیز ملقب به شیخ ولی تراش در سال ۴۰ هجری ۱۱۴۰-۱۱۴۵ میلادی^۳ در خوارزم در شهر خیوک^۴ دید. به جهان گشود در آغاز جوانی به

۱. اطلاعات مربوط به او را بنگرید: ۱) سفینه‌الاولیاء (نسخه خطی موزه آسیایی، ش ۵۸۱ <C 521>، ورق ۱۰۶ الف؛ ۲) خزینة الاسفیا، ج ۲، ص ۲۵۸؛ ۳) جامی، نفعات الانس، ص ۴۸۰؛ ۴) تاریخ گزیده، ص ۷۸۹؛ ۵) هفت اقلیم، (نسخه خطی موزه آسیایی، ش ۶۰۳ <C 605>، ورق ۴۶۲)؛ ۶) مجالس العشاق، ص ۸۴؛ ۷) دیباج العارفین، ص ۱۴۳؛ ۸) آتشکده، ص ۳۰۳؛ ۹) طرایق الحقایق، ص ۴۹ و ۱۴۹؛ ۱۰) مجالس المؤمنین، ص ۱۳۶؛ ۱۱) *Tabakat-i Nasiri* (۱۲) Massignon, *La Passion*, No 391؛ ۱۲) Brockelmann, *GAL Bd I*, S. 440؛ ۱۳) حاجی خلیفه، ج ۱، ص ۳۳۹؛ ج ۲، ص ۲۲۴؛ ۱۴) *Pertsch, Berlin*, 14, 27؛ ۱۵) *Rieu, Catalogue*, 839a؛ ۱۶) *Sprenger, Catalogue* آمده اما این اشاره درست نیست، زیرا که در آنجا اشاره به *Sprenger, Catalogue* است؛ ۱۷) *Brown, Catalogue*، pp. 323, 420؛ ۱۸) *Blechet, Catalogue*, p. 125؛ ۱۹) *Blechet, Catalogue*، ص ۲۱۵، ۲۲۳، ۲۴۷، ۲۷۰؛ ۲۰) *Blechet, Catalogue*، ص ۲۲؛ ۲۱) *Blechet, Catalogue*، ص ۱۳۵-۱۳۶.

۲. در مجالس المؤمنین، این نام شیخ محمد است، اما دیگر زندگینامه‌نویسان آن را تأیید نمی‌کنند.

۳. مجالس المؤمنین، ورق ۱۳۷ الف. ۴. بنگرید: باقوت، معجم، ج ۲، ص ۵۱۲.

خرد نخستین است. در اینجا در زیر این پوشش، خانقاه و ماوای درویشان جای دارد که شرح آن در فصل بیستم هفت درویشان (بیت ۴۰۶) می‌آید. سنایی آرزو می‌کند که راه در همین جا به پایان رسد، اما پیر با خشم او را پیشتر می‌برد. فصل بیست و یکم هفت سالکان طریقت (بیت ۴۰۵). در برابر آنها دیار کسانی است که در جستجوی دانش‌اند و پیر در آنجا سنایی را ترک می‌کند، اما راه در اینجا پایان نمی‌گیرد.

فصل بیست و دوم هفت ادب‌ها معرفت است (بیت ۴۰۷) که جایگاه معرفت ناب است و سرانجام،

فصل بیست و سوم هفت اهل رضا و توحید (بیت ۴۰۸)، هدف نهایی یعنی توحید است. یکی از باشندگان این دیار، راهی را که به سوی خود پیامبر می‌رسد، به سنایی می‌نماید و سخن‌پردازی او بسیار گسترده و جامع است و منظومه با آن به پایان می‌رسد. بدین‌سان این منظومه یکسره همانند کمدی الهی دانته است و حتی برخی شرح‌های آن به روشنی یادآور دانته‌اند. گمان نمی‌رود کوتاه شده این متن بتواند تجسم کاملاً روشنی درباره این اثر برجسته به دست دهد، اما وظیفه نگارنده تنها آن بود که نگاه خاورشناسان را به آثار سنایی، که چنین ناروا به دست فراموشی سپرده شده است، بگرداند.

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Klaus Schwarz

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SONRA GELİR DOKÜMAN

EIN MATNAWĪ VON ŠARĪFĪ
ÜBER DIE SCHEICHE DER KUBRAWĪYA-HUSAINĪYA
IM 16. JAHRHUNDERT

von

Florian SCHWARZ, Bochum

Die Kubrawīya gehört zu den wenig beachteten Bruderschaften in der Geschichte der mittelasiatischen Khanate. Erst Devin DeWeese brachte in zwei bahnbrechenden Aufsätzen wieder ins Gedächtnis¹, daß die Kubrawīya in ihrer mittelasiatischen Heimat nicht nur in einer Pilgertradition an den Gräbern von Nağmaddīn Kubrā in Köne-Urgenc im turkmenischen Teil von Xorazm sowie von Sayfaddīn Bāxarzī vor den Toren von Buchara weiterlebte; gleichzeitig versuchte er allerdings, den Niedergang der Kubrawīya im 16. Jahrhundert zu dokumentieren². Nach und nach werden nun mehr Quellen zur jüngeren mittelasiatischen Geschichte dieser *silsila* bekannt. Auch mit diesem Aufsatz ist vor allem ein Beitrag zur Quellenkenntnis, nicht eine Studie zur Geschichte der mittelasiatischen Kubrawīya im 16. Jahrhundert beabsichtigt. Es fügt sich glücklich, daß ein zweiter Text desselben Kreises in diesem Sammelband aufgenommen ist. Vielleicht gibt dies einen Anstoß, sich neben den „populären“ mittelasiatischen Bruderschaften, der Naqšbandīya und Yasawīya, auch verstärkt den Gemeinschaften in deren Schatten zuzuwenden.

In diesem Beitrag wird das *Matnawī dar asāmī-yi pīrān* des mittelasiatischen Kubrawī-Scheichs Šaraf- (oder Šarīf-) addīn Husayn – mit dem Dichternamen (*taxalluṣ*) Šarīfī – vorgestellt. Es beinhaltet die *silsila* der nach seinem Vater, Kamāladdīn Husayn Xwārazmī, benannten Kubrawīya-Husayniya und die Namen einer Reihe von mittelasiatischen *xalīfas* des Kamāladdīn Husayn. Textgrundlage ist die Version des *Matnawī* in der Göttinger Sammelhandschrift Ms.pers.44, fols.54b-66a³.

Hochburg und Gravitationspunkt der mittelasiatischen Kubrawīya war auch im 16. Jahrhundert noch Xwārazm, die Heimat von Nağmaddīn Kubrā. Von hier aus strahlte sie in die Gebiete am kaspischen Meer und in die südlichen zentraleurasischen Steppen

¹ Devin DeWeese, "Bābā Kamāl Jandī and the Kubrawī tradition among the Turks of Central Asia", in: *Der Islam* 71 (1994), S.58-94.

² Die Pilgertradition zu Nağmaddīns Grab ist nach wie vor lebendig.

³ Ich danke der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen für die Genehmigung, die Handschrift zu benutzen und dieses *Matnawī* daraus in Faksimile zu reproduzieren. Anke von Kügelgen danke ich für die kritische Durchsicht des Manuskripts.

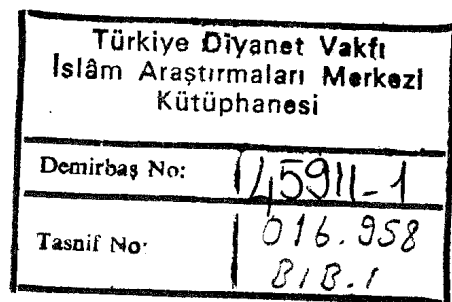


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Sufî orders: **Kubraviyya**

(a) *Monographs*

Afshâr İ., *Sargudhasht-i Sayf al-Din Bâkharzi ba-inzimâm-i shamma-I az maqâmât va afkâr-i â*

on the Ten Wheels but not of the *Sutra of the Original Vow*. Kṣitigarbha is most frequently honored as one of the grouping of "eight great bodhisattvas" whose maṇḍalas are important in the Esoteric (i.e., Vajrayāna) tradition.

History in Japan. The first unquestioned evidence of the enshrining of an image of Jizō in Japan and the conducting of an offering service in his temple dates from the year 850. From the ninth century onward, ceremonies of offerings called Jizōkō were widely observed to avert illness and to rescue beings from the hells. Jizō also became honored throughout the country as a protector of children as well as a provider of various blessings sought by the common people. Jizō's festival (Jizōbon), on the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month, usually centers on prayers for the safety of children.

In Japan, many carved stone images of Jizō can still be found at roadsides or in the wild. (Some scholars say that these images gradually replaced an indigenous tradition of erecting stone phallic symbols by the roadside.) In this form, Jizō is the subject of many children's songs and folk songs from ancient times. Today, as in the past, when people mourn victims of war or traffic accidents, or pray for children or for the *mizunoko* (the souls of children who died before birth, usually by miscarriage and abortion), they still often dedicate a small Jizō image at a temple.

Iconography. Although Kṣitigarbha appears in the princely garb of a bodhisattva in the Esoteric tradition and in all traditions in China, in Japan he usually appears with the shaved head and monk's robes of a *śrāvaka*, or Hinayāna monk, a devotee of the first of the "three vehicles" that, in Mahāyāna thought, comprehend the three soteriological paths recognized by the tradition. He usually carries a pearl and a staff. In the Japanese Shingon (Vajrayāna) tradition he appears in both the Taizōkai (Womb Realm Maṇḍala) and the Kongōkai (Diamond Realm Maṇḍala). Another highly developed tradition in Japan is the depiction of "six Jizōs," each with different attributes according to the path of rebirth in which he appears.

[See also Celestial Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.]

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(Kyoto, 1969), which includes a history of texts; Hayami Tasuku's *Jizō shinkō* (Tokyo, 1975), a well-researched, popular book with a good bibliography; and *Jizō shinkō*, edited by Sakurai Tokutarō (Tokyo, 1983), which includes essays on all aspects of the topic by a number of scholars.

MIRIAM LEVERING

KUAN-YIN. See Avalokiteśvara.

KUBRĀ, NAJM AL-DĪN (AH 540–618/1145–1221 CE), properly Abū al-Jannāb Aḥmad ibn 'Umar; Iranian Ṣūfi. Known to posterity as the "great scourge" (*al-ṭāmmah al-kubrā*), in reference to his sharp debating skills—hence his name Kubrā—Najm al-Dīn was born in the city of Khorezm (Khiva). He began Ṣūfi discipline by traveling to Egypt and then to Anatolia. His first master was Rūzbihān al-Wazzān (d. 1188), an Iranian resident in Egypt. The latter in turn had been a follower of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī (d. 1168), a founder of the Suhrawardīyah order (*ṭarīqah*; pl., *ṭuruq*) and author of *Ādāb al-murīdīn*, a widely read guide for Ṣūfi novices. Two other teachers of Najm al-Dīn were also students of Suhrawardī: 'Ammār ibn Yāsir al-Bidlīsī (d. 1200?) and Ismā'īl al-Qaṣrī (d. 1193). Najm al-Dīn returned to Khorezm and established a Ṣūfi lodge (*khān-agāh*) where numerous novices received training. Collectively, these students established a Ṣūfi line known to posterity as the Kubrawīyah, from which several orders emerged in later generations. Although these orders were of brief duration, their founders were to have a lasting influence among both Sunnīs and Shī'ah through disciples who carried Kubrā's teachings to Anatolia, Central Asia, and India. Najm al-Dīn himself died at the hands of the Mongols in the dreadful sack of Khorezm in 1221.

Kubrā's numerous works are primarily in Arabic; one notable exception is a guidebook for Ṣūfi novices in Persian (*Ṣifāt al-ādāb*) that marked an important stage in the development of Persian literature in the Ṣūfi vein. Of particular significance are his nine-volume Arabic commentary on the Qur'ān and, probably the most impressive of his works, the *Fawā'ih al-jamāl wa-fawātih al-jalāl*, which contains Kubrā's Ṣūfi psychology and descriptions of the mystical states that a novice may attain. These may briefly be described here. To Kubrā, the human being was a microcosm, incorporating all that exists in the macrocosm, except for the special qualities, the divine names, of God himself. With the exception of the quality *al-rahmān al-rahīm* ("the Merciful the Compassionate"), the qualities of God may be obtained through a process of spiritual ascent if the Ṣūfi follows

أن استشهادوا جميعاً على باب البلد ، بعد أن قاتلوا معه ، وجاهدوا في سبيل الله ، حتى أكرمهم الله معه بالشهادة . له تفسير القرآن ، في اثني عشر مجلداً ، و « عين الحياة » مخطوط ، جزء منه في تفسير الفاتحة^(١) .

ابن أبي الرضى [٧٩١ هـ - ...]
[١٣٨٩ م - ...]

أحمد بن عمر بن محمد بن أبي الرضى ، أبو الخير ، شهاب الدين : قاض ، عالم بالقراءات ، مفسر ، من فقهاء الشافعية ، من أهل حماه (بسورية) . تعلم بها وبدمشق . ولي قضاء العسكر بحلب . ثم ولي قضاءها استقلالاً ، فحمدت سيرته ، ثار على الملك الظاهر برقوق ، وأنكر سلطنته ، فطلبه ، فاختفى مدة حج في أثائها ، ثم عاد إلى حلب مستخفياً . وقامت فتنة بليغا الناصري في حلب سنة ٧٩١ هـ ، فخرجت عن طاعة الملك الظاهر ، وتولى ابن أبي الرضى قضاءها للمرة الثالثة ، فلم يلبث أن ثار على نائب حماه كمشبغا الحموي وقاتله ، فظفر به كمشبغا وأخذه معه فأعدمه في خان شيخون - بين

(١) الوافي ٧ : ٢٦٣ والعبر ٥ : ٧٣ والشذرات ٥ : ٧٩ وطبقات السبكي ٥ : ١١ وطبقات الداودي ١ : ٥٧ وهدية العارفين ١ : ٩٠ وكشف الظنون ٤٥٩ و ١١٨١ ومعجم المؤلفين ٢ : ٣٤ .

بله . من أهل بغداد ، وبها نشأ وتعلم . قال ابن النجار : « برع في الفقه ، وتكلم في مسائل الخلاف ، وكان حسن المناظرة ، جريئاً في الجدل ، ويعظ الناس على الخير » . من تصانيفه « الشمول في أسباب النزول »^(١) .

الكُبْرِي [٥٤٥ - ٦١٨ هـ]
[١١٤٥ - ١٢٢١ م]

أحمد بن عمر بن محمد بن عبد الله ، نجم الدين ، أبو الجناح الكبري الخيوقى : محدث ، مفسر ، صوفي ، من فقهاء الشافعية ، كان شيخ خوارزم في وقته . ولد في خيوق - من قرى خوارزم - ، ورحل في طلب العلم فسمع بالقاهرة والاسكندرية وأصبهان وهمدان ونيسابور ، وحديث بخوارزم ، وكتب عنه عامّة الرّحالة من أهل الحديث وغيرهم . قال ابن هلاله : كان من كبار مشايخ الصوفية ، انتهت إليه المشيخة بناحية خوارزم وما يليها ، وكثر أتباعه ، وانتشر مريدوه في تلك النواحي . وقال ابن نقطة : « هو شافعي المذهب إمام في السنّة » . ولما وصل التتار على باب خوارزم خرج فيمن خرج لقتالهم مع جماعة من مريديه ، وكانوا نحو الثمانين ، فقاتلوا إلى

(١) الوافي ٧ : ٢٥٩ والشذرات ٤ : ٢٠٧ وذيل طبقات الحنابلة ١ : ٣٠١ .

s. 172-173

2 - الأصول العشرة = الطرق الواصلة إلى الله بعدد

أنفاس الخلائق - في التصوف

راغب باشا رقم 2/660 ورقة 217-219 ؛ رقم
6/1272/1453 ورقة 286-289 ؛ عزيز محمود هدائي
رقم 7/354 ورقة 32-34 ؛ رقم 11/335 ورقة 22 ؛
سليم آغا رقم 3/900 ورقة 76-79 ؛ ولي الدين أفندي
بمجموعة رقم 7/1810 ؛ دو كوملي بابا رقم 223 ؛
عموجه زاده رقم 8/451 ورقة 21-22 ؛ عثمان أركين
رقم 269 ورقة 3 ؛ فيض الله أفندي بمجموعة رقم
3/2135 ؛ طبع في بغداد 1968 ؛

3 - ترجمة عين الحياة في تفسير القرآن (ت)

بايزيد رقم 3822 ورقة 45 ؛ مراديه رقم 172 ورقة
233 ؛ ديانت رقم 33 ورقة 457 ، 847 هـ رقم
3/124 ورقة 431 ، 840 هـ لم يعلم المترجم ؛

4 - تفسير نجم الدين الكبرى

فاتح رقم 231-232 جزء 1-2 ؛ رقم 233 جزء 2
؛ قليج علي باشا رقم 92 ؛

5 - رسالة في سلوك الطريقة - في التصوف

بايزيد رقم 5/3311 ورقة 309-320 ، 982 هـ لاله
لي رقم 2/2450 ؛ محمد رشاد رقم 11/1063 ورقة
65-71 ؛ آياصوفيا رقم 3340 ورقة 239-259 ،
991 هـ عثمان أركين رقم 2/219 ورقة 62-65 ؛
أمانت خزينه سي رقم 9/1772 ورقة 63-70 ، 961
هـ باليكسر رقم 2/278 ورقة 51-53 ؛

6 - رسالة في سر الحدس - في التصوف

ولي الدين أفندي رقم 11/1814 ؛ رقم 11/1814 ؛

7 - رسالة في التصوف

أسعد أفندي رقم 8/3543 ، رقم 4/1475 ؛ أحمد
ثالث رقم 212/1541 ورقة 523-524 في الهامش
998 هـ عموجه زاده رقم 6/241 ورقة 90 فقط ؛
باليكسر رقم 7/83 ورقة 94-95 ؛

8 - رسالة في بيان الشريعة والطريقة والحقيقة والمعرفة

...
0524 - أحمد بن عمر بن محمود نجم الدين أبو

الجناب الرازي الخوارزمي الخيوفي الصوفي الفقيه
المحدث المفسر المعروف بنجم الدين الكبرى وبطامة
الكبرى المتوفى شهيدا سنة 1221/618

(أنظر : كشف الظنون ، 459 ، 876 ، 1181 ؛
هدية العارفين 90/1 ؛ معجم المؤلفين 34/2)

من تصانيفه :

1 - آداب المريدين - في التصوف (ف)

آياصوفيا رقم 27/4792 ورقة 743-746 ، 816
هـ ؛ وحيد باشا رقم 7/1455 ورقة 48-60 ، 753
هـ ولي الدين أفندي رقم 1796 ورقة 129-132 ،
838 هـ مراد ملا رقم 2/1827 ورقة 213-215 ؛
شهيد علي باشا رقم 2800 ورقة 118-125 ، 722 ؛
حميديه رقم 1447 ورقة 213-215 ؛

زکات؛ ۶) در خمس، خمس مالیاتی است بر درآمدها و سودهای حاصله از تجارت و غنائم جنگی و جز اینها و یکی از مواردی که خمس به آنها تعلق می‌گیرد معادن طلا و گنجی است که در آن طلا بوده باشد (← خمس؛ ۷) در معاملات، یکی از انواع معاملات و خرید و فروش معامله‌ای است به نام «بیع صرف»، در این گونه معاملات طلا یا نقره مبادله و معامله می‌شود، بنابر فتوای فقهاء امامیه فروش طلا به طلا اعم از مسکوک یا غیر مسکوک بیع صرف است و دارای شرایطی است که در صورت عدم رعایت آنها این معامله باطل می‌گردد. این شرایط عبارتند از: قبض در مجلس عقد و پیش از جدا شدن خریدار و فروشنده، از این رو فقط گفتگو درباره خرید و فروش سبب انعقاد عقد صرف نمی‌گردد، بلکه هنگامی عقد مستحکم و الزام آور می‌شود که خریدار طلا را از فروشنده قبض و دریافت کند و قیمت را بدو بپردازد، و در غیر این صورت عقد باطل است (← بیع؛ ۸) در لفظه: لفظه یعنی یافتن چیزی در اماکن عمومی، اگر شیئی یافته شده طلا باشد، یابنده ملزم است مردم را از یافتن آن در مدت معینی آگاه کند، و هر یک از فرضهای مسأله در نحوه مالکیت آن شیئی حکم معینی دارد (← لفظه؛ ۹) در تولد کودک یکی از مستحباتی که شرع مقدس اسلام بر انجام آن تأکید فراوانی نموده، آن است که هفت روز پس از تولد کودک موی سر او را تراشیده و هم وزن آن طلا (در صورت امکان مالی) به فقیران صدقه بدهند؛ ۱۰) در دیات، یکی از بحثهای مهمی که در آن طلا موضوع بسیاری از احکام شرعی است، همانا بحث دیات است که در این مورد غالباً میزان پرداخت دینه جنایات غیر عمدی بر جان و اعضای بدن مجنی علیه طلا است (← دیات)؛ ۱۱) طلا در سکه‌ها و احکام متعلق به آنها (← درهم و دینار).

منابع: کتابهای صلاة، طهارت، زکات، خمس، معاملات، نکاح و دیات در مجموعه‌های فقهی: السرائر، قواعد الاحکام، شرایع الاسلام، اللعنة الدمشقیة، جامع المقاصد، مفتاح الکرامه، جواهر الکلام، العروة الوثقی، منهاج الصالحین.
محمد رضا انصاری

۴) در آیه ۹۱ سوره آل عمران خداوند ملاک و معیار رستگاری را ایمان به خدا و قیامت دانسته است از این رو کافران در روز قیامت هیچ راه نجاتی نخواهند داشت و توبه آنها پذیرفته نمی‌شود، گرچه دنیایی از طلا نیز تقدیم کنند: إِنَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا وَمَاتُوا وَهُمْ كُفَّارًا فَلَنْ يُمْسِلُوا مِنْ آخِرِهِمْ مِلًّا الْأَرْضِ ذَهَبًا وَلَوْ افْتَدَىٰ بِهِ أُولَئِكَ لَهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ وَمَا لَهُمْ مِنْ نَاصِرِينَ.

ذهب در قفه امامیه، این موضوع در بسیاری از ابواب فقه امامیه مورد بحث قرار گرفته که عبارتند از:

۱) پوشیدن طلا و حکم شرعی آن، به اجماع و اتفاق تمامی مسلمانان یکی از ممنوعات و محرّمات بر مردان مسلمان پوشیدن طلا است. این حرمت و ممنوعیت شامل مطلق طلاجاتی است که بر آن پوشیدن صدق کند؛ اعم از آن که لباس باشد یا انگشتری. این پوشیدن در برخی موارد حکم مضاعف داشته و علاوه بر حرمت ذاتی، پوشیدن طلا سبب بطلان برخی عبادات نیز می‌گردد؛ همچون نماز و در حال احرام حج.

۲) ظروف طلا، استفاده از ظروف طلایی در خوردن و آشامیدن یکی از محرّمات شرعیه است. این ممنوعیت و حرمت متوجه خود ظرف طلا است و به آنچه درون ظرف است سرایت نمی‌کند و سبب حرمت خود مواد خوراکی یا نوشیدنی درون ظرف نمی‌گردد؛ ۱) حرمت ظروف طلایی تنها در استفاده از آنها برای نوشیدن و خوردن است، اما تهیه و خرید و فروش یا ساختن یا اجرت گرفتن برای ساختن یا استفاده‌های تزئینی از آن بی‌مانع و حلال می‌باشد؛ ۲) حرمت، ویژه و سائلی است که به آنها ظرف گفته شود و در آن خوراکی یا نوشیدنی قرار گیرد، اما سائلی از طلا همچون شمشیر - خنجر - دسته شمشیر - ساعت و جز اینها از حکم حرمت به دور است؛ ۳) در وضوء، حرمت استفاده از ظروف طلایی اختصاص به خوردن و نوشیدن ندارد بلکه بر گرفتن آب از ظرف طلایی برای وضوء نیز حرام و باطل کننده وضوء است، مگر آن که از ظرف طلایی آب به درون کف دست ریخته شود و سپس اعضای بدن با آن شسته شود؛ ۴) در نماز، لباس نمازگزار باید شرائطی همچون پاک بودن، غصبی نبودن و جز اینها را دارا باشد و یکی از شرایط صحت نماز آن است که لباس نمازگزار مرد از طلا نبوده باشد و یا آنکه با طلا تزئین نشده باشد، بنابراین اجماع فقهای امامیه هر آنچه که به او پوشیدن گفته شود و از طلا باشد سبب باطل شدن نماز است، البته این حکم اختصاص به مردان دارد و شامل زنان نمی‌شود؛ ۵) در زکات، حکم وجوب پرداخت مالیات زکات اختصاص به اجناس معینی دارد که یکی از آنها طلا است که در شرایط معینی و ویژگیهای خاص زکات به طلا تعلق می‌گیرد (←

✓ **ذهبیته**، فرقه‌ای از صوفیه و پیروان عبدالله برزش آبادی مشهدی، از صوفیان به نام سده نهم هجری که پیروان آن شیعی مذهب هستند و نخست در خراسان پدید آمدند و سپس در آذربایجان، فارس، تهران و خوزستان گسترش یافتند. این سلسه، به دلیل انتساب به امام علی مرتضی (ع)، امام رضا (ع)، امام مهدی (ع)، نجم‌الدین کبری و میرزا احمد عبدالحق مرتضوی، به نامهای «ذهبیته مرتضویه»، رضویه، مهدیه، کبرویه و احدیه شهرت یافته و به طور خلاصه «ذهبیته» نامیده می‌شود و مخالفان این فرقه آنان را

آشنا شد و نخستین تعلیمات را در این راه از والدین خود گرفت و سپس در خلوتخانه شیخ ابوبکر کتانی که شیخ احمد جوربانی در آنجا به ارشاد و تعلیم مشغول بود، حاضر می‌شد و در آنجا با درویشی به نام پور حسن آشنا گشت. پورحسن که مرید و نماینده جوربانی بود، از طریقت شیخ و از شرایط ذکر و خلوت وی سخن می‌گفت، و اندک اندک اشتیاق و ارادت به جوربانی را در دل اسفراینی پدید آورد. اسفراینی نخستین تعلیم ذکر را از پورحسن گرفت و سپس چون داعیه ارادت به جوربانی در او قوت گرفت، یک چند به خدمت شیخ قیام کرد و قواعد طریقت را از او به طور کامل آموخت (اسفراینی، کاشف...، ۲۰، ۲۱، «فی کیفیت...» (۱۴۸).

شیخ احمد جوربانی (د ۹۶۹ق) خود از مشایخ طریقت کبرویه بود و سلسله خرقة او - با یک واسطه، یا به قولی با دو واسطه - به شیخ نجم‌الدین کبری (د ۶۱۸ق) می‌پیوندد (علاءالدوله، همان، ۳۱۳، ۳۱۵، نیز «مکتوبات»، ۳۴۹).

اسفراینی پس از مرگ پدر و مادر به نیت زیارت شیخ عبدالله، یکی دیگر از مشایخ کبروی، راهی ولایت نسا شد (اسفراینی، کاشف، ۲۱، ۲۲). شیخ عبدالله خود ابتدا مرید رشیدالدین طوسی بود، سپس به اشارت او مرید رضی‌الدین علی لالا شد و از او خرقة تبرک دریافت (همان، ۲۳-۲۵). چنانکه ملاحظه می‌شود اسفراینی از دو تن از مریدان شیخ علی لالا تعلیم گرفته، و مبادی طریقت را آموخته بود. وی در اوایل کار و در اوقاتی که در زادگاه خود زندگی می‌کرد، در مراتب و مقامات سلوک به جایی رسیده بود که دوستان و مصاحبان از او خواسته بودند تا کتابی در آداب صوفیه بنویسد، ولی این امر هنگامی تحقق یافت که وی به قصد سفر حج از خراسان به عراق آمد و در ۶۷۵/۱۲۷۷م در بغداد اقامت گزید و چنانکه خود گفته است کتاب «فی کیفیت التسلیک و الاجلاس فی الخلوة» را تألیف کرد (نک: ص ۱۱۱-۱۱۲).

از این پس، گذشته از سفری به مکه (پیش از ۶۸۶ق) و سپس مدتی اقامت در مدینه، و ارشاد و تعلیم در خانقاه‌های آن شهر، بیشتر اوقات را در بغداد که اقامتگاه دائمی او بود، می‌گذراند و به تجدید سازمان و اداره مراکز صوفیه اقدام می‌کرد. در سالهای پیش از ۶۸۹ق در محلی به نام ریاط سکینه نیز به تدریس اشتغال داشت و در همین ایام با جمال‌الدین دستجردانی که عهده‌دار امور موقوفات عراق بود، مصاحبت داشت و در ۶۸۹ق در شونیزیه علاءالدوله سمنانی از او در قواعد سلوک تعلیم گرفت (لندلت، 15-16). خبر دیگری حاکی از آن است که علاءالدوله از ۶۸۷ق به صحبت اسفراینی پیوسته بود و در ۶۸۹ق از او اجازه ارشاد و دستگیری کسب کرد (ابن کربلایی، ۲۸۶/۲).

علاءالدوله سمنانی خود گوید که از دیرباز عزم دیدار اسفراینی را داشته است، اما ارغون خان از عزیمت وی به بغداد مانعت می‌کرد و او را به سلطانی که خیمه‌گاه تابستانی و عمارت الجایتو بود، فرستاد. سمنانی لاجرم مکتوبی به شیخ نوشت و توسط اخی شرف‌الدین به بغداد

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قدرت‌الله روشنی زعفرانلو

اسفراینی، ابراهیم، نک: ابواسحاق اسفراینی.

اسفراینی، ابومحمد نورالدین عبدالرحمان بن محمد بن محمد کسرقی (۴ شوال ۶۳۹- ۷۱۷ق/۷ آوریل ۱۲۴۲-۱۳۱۷م)، از مشایخ طریقت کبرویه و مؤسس شعبه نوریه اسفراینیه.

مهم‌ترین منبع آگاهی درباره اسفراینی گفته‌های علاءالدوله سمنانی خلیفه اوست. بنابر گفته او، اسفراینی در خانقاه شیخ ابوبکر کتانی در روستای کسرقی از توابع شهر اسفراین ولادت یافت، و از همین روی احتمالاً پدرش نیز از صوفیه بوده است (نک: لندلت، 6؛ نیز نک: علاءالدوله، «تذکره...»، ۳۱۶). وی از کودکی با آداب و اعمال خانقاهی

احباب آمده که از «اعیان تاشکند» بود و برای فراگیری دانش به بخارا رفته بود. وی طبعی نیکو داشته است. این بیت از او است: «تا نویسد وقف بر آیات روی مصحفش - در دوات غنچه دارد سرنی بسیار گل».

منابع: تاریخ نظم و نثر، ۶۳۵/۱؛ فهرست نسخه‌های خطی فارسی انستیتیوی آثار خطی تاجیکستان، ۳۸/۲، ۴۴؛ مذکور احباب، ۲۶۵.

رشنوزاده

نجم‌الدین شاهین‌باد (naj.mod.din.-e.šā.hin.bād)، روستای

پیش از نواحی شغنان در بدخشان ۱۹۵۲م -

نویسنده تاجیکستانی. در ۱۹۷۵م دوره دانشکده زبان و ادبیات را در دانشگاه دولتی تاجیکستان به پایان برد. وی چندی معلم دبیرستان، مشاور سازمان جوانان افغانستان و خبرنگار روزنامه بدخشان بود. در ۱۹۹۳م به عضویت اتحادیه نویسندگان تاجیکستان درآمد. آثار وی داستان‌های کوتاه و نمایشنامه‌های هجوی است. از آثارش: شاخ گرگ (۱۹۹۳م)؛ هیکل کمپیر (۱۹۹۲م).

ملاحمد

نجم‌الدین کبری (naj.mod.din.-e.kob.rā)، نجم‌الدین ابوالجنا

احمد بن عمر خیوقی خوارزمی، ۵۴۰ - ۶۱۸ق، صوفی و شاعر ایرانی. در زندگینامه‌ها وی را به لقب‌های گوناگون خوانده‌اند، مانند «طامة الکبری» که گویا به دلیل چیرگی و توانایی او در بحث، استدلال و سخن‌رانی و جذب مخالفان بود و همچنین «شیخ ولی تراش» که حکایت از بسیاری پیروان و جانشینان او می‌کند. وی در جوانی همانند بسیاری از بزرگان تصوف میل به آموختن دانش‌های دینی، به‌ویژه حدیث، داشت. از این روی، به قصد شنیدن حدیث سفرهای بسیار کرد. او در سفر خود در هر شهر استادانی یافت و از آن‌ها حدیث شنید. در نیشابور از ابوالمعالی فراوی (- ۵۸۷ق)، در همدان از حافظ ابوالعلای عطار (- ۵۶۹ق)، در اصفهان از ابوالمکارم لبان (- ۵۹۷ق) و ابوجعفر صیدلانی (- ۵۶۸ق)، در تبریز از ابومنصور خفده (- ۵۷۱ق)، در مکه از ابومحمد الطباخ و در اسکندریه از ابوطاهر سلفی (- ۵۷۶ق) حدیث شنید. وی رساله فشریه را نزد ابوالفضل محمدبن سلیمان یوسف همدانی و نیز مصابح السنه را نزد ابوجعفر خفده فراگرفت. اما بخش مهم‌تر آموزش‌های او در این سفرها چیز

دیگری بود. او در هر شهر به دیدار بزرگان صوفی می‌رفت، با آنان دیدار و گفت‌وگو می‌کرد و رسائل آنان را می‌خواند و از آنان آموزش‌های صوفیانه می‌گرفت. دوگانگی آموزش‌های صوفیانه و دانش‌های متداول دینی، مانند حدیث، ماجرای درونی برای او پدید آورد که وی به ناچار بایستی یکی از این راه‌ها را برمی‌گزید. او در سفر خود در تبریز نزد باباقرج تبریزی، در دزفول نزد شیخ اسماعیل قصری - که گویا از هم او که از مریدان شیخ ابونجیب سهروردی بود و نیز از شیخ عمار یاسر بدلیسی و شیخ روزبهان کازرونی مصری خرقة گرفت - شتافت و شاگردی آنان را نیز کرد. سرانجام با دختر روزبهان کازرونی در مصر ازدواج کرد و در حدود ۵۸۰ق به خوارزم بازگشت و به ارشاد غارفان آغاز کرد. گفته‌اند در مجالس وی مردم از هر طبقه و شغل شرکت می‌کردند و رابطه او و مجلس او با دربار خوارزم‌شاهیان کمابیش گرم و دوستانه بود. هرچند جامع التواریخ به کشته شدن او در حمله مغول به خوارزم اشاره می‌کند، اما جویینی در تاریخ جهان‌گشا که پنجاه سال پیش از آن تألیف شده، به این مسئله اشاره‌ای ندارد. از سویی، هر چند تواریخ گفته‌اند که جسد وی را در میان کشتگان خوارزم نیافته‌اند، اما ابن بطوطه در سفرنامه خود اشاره به آرامگاه وی در خارج از خوارزم می‌کند که شیخ سیف‌الدین بن عصبه آن را به صورت خانقاهی اداره می‌کرده است. جانشینان او را دوازده تن برشمرده‌اند که پرآوازه‌ترین آنان عبارتند از مجدالدین بغدادی خوارزمی، سعدالدین حموی، باباکمال خجندی، رضی‌الدین علی لالا، سیف‌الدین باخرزی، نجم‌الدین رازی، جمال‌الدین گیلی و بهاء‌الدین ولد پدر مولوی بلخی. ظهور شیخ نجم‌الدین کبری در خراسان و فرارود بمثابة تجدید حیثیت و نیرو برای صوفیان بود. پیروان او در زمان خوارزم‌شاهیان و ایلخانان از فرارود و خراسان تا شام و آسیای صغیر به ترویج طریقه کبرویه پرداختند و در نزد عامه مردم، گوی سبقت را از فقها و متکلمان ربودند. سلسله‌ای که از پس نجم‌الدین کبری سربرآورد، در تاریخ تصوف بسیار مهم بود. بنابراین، آثار شیخ نجم‌الدین و خلیفگان و پیروانش نیز اثر مهمی در تاریخ ادبیات صوفیانه فارسی به‌یادگار گذاشتند. نجم‌الدین کبری رسائل فارسی و عربی چندی از خود به یادگار گذاشت که برخی از آن‌ها از این قرارند: ۱- آداب الصوفیه / اصطلاحات صوفیه / خرقة به فارسی در هفت باب درباره پوشیدن خرقة، نشست و برخاست، خوردن طعام، دعوت، سماع و مانند آن‌ها (نسخه کتابخانه

Kubra, Shaikh Abu 'L-Djannab (1145-?)

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B.M. WEISCHER

Kubra, Shaikh Abu 'L-Djannab (1145-?)

Kubra, Shaikh Abu 'L-Djannab Ahmad B. 'Umar Nadjm Al-Din, was the eponymous founder of the Kubrawi Sufi order, one of the major orders of the Mongol period in Central Asia and Khurasan, from which stem numerous derivative initiated lines. The sobriquet of Kubra is an abbreviation of the Kur'anic expression *al-tammam al-kubra*, 'the major disaster', a nick-name Nadjm al-Din earned through his formidable talent in polemic and disputation.

Born in Khwarazm in 540/1145, he began his career as a scholar of hadith and kalam, travelling extensively in the cultivation of these disciplines. His interest in Sufism was awakened in Egypt, where he became a murid of Shaikh Ruzbihan al-Wazzan al-Misri, an initiate of the Suhrawardi order.

After a number of years in Egypt, he went to Tabriz to pursue his studies of kalam, but

came instead under the influence of a certain Baba Faradj Tabrizi, who persuaded him definitively to abandon his concern with the external religious sciences and to devote himself fully to the Sufi path. He then spent some time in the company of two other preceptors, 'Ammar b. Yasir al-Bidlisi and Isma'il al-Kasri, from both of whom he received the ritual *khirka*, before returning to Shaikh Ruzbihan in Egypt.

By then, Ruzbihan evidently regarded Kubra as fully mature, for in about 540/1145 he sent him back to Khwarazm with full authority to train and initiate disciples. Kubra swiftly gathered a large following, including a remarkable number of individuals who attained prominence in their own right as gnostics and writers on Sufism; he is, in fact, frequently designated as *wali-turash*, the 'manufacturer of saints'. Among his foremost disciples were Madjd al-Din Baghdadi (d. 616/1219), Nadjm al-Din Daya Razi (d. 654/1256), Sa'd al-Din Hamuya (d. 650/1252), Baba Kamal Djandi, Sayf al-Din Bakharzi (d. 658/1260) and Radi al-Din 'Ali Lala (d. 642/644).

Kubra died during the Mongol conquest of Khwarazm in 617/1220, According to the traditional accounts, he refused an invitation by the Mongols to leave the city before they proceeded with their massacre of the inhabitants, and died at the head of a band of followers while engaged in hand-to-hand combat. He is reputed to have been buried at the site of his *khanakah* outside the city, and his tomb, located in what subsequently became known as Kohne-Urgenj, became a centre of pious visitation, retaining this function even under Soviet rule.

Kubra left behind a number of brief but important works dominated by a concern with

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Neuaddin-i Akabra

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SUFI

Muhammad Isa Waley

Najmo'd-Din Rāzi and the Kobrāwiya Order

by Muhammad Isa Waley

The first part of this article on the Kobrāwiya Order was devoted to its founder, Shaikh Najmo'd-Din Kobrā (ca. 1145 A.D. – 618/1221). Distinctive features of his teachings were outlined, and illustrative passages cited from his writings. This second part examines the work and teachings of Najmo'd-Din Rāzi and some other Kobrāwis who made important contributions to the methodology and exposition of Sufism.

Majdo'd-Din Baghdadi and His Followers

One of the outstanding successors of Najmo'd-Din Kobrā was Majdo'd-Din Baghdādi, who hailed not from Baghdad but from a village in Khorāsān called Baghdādak. Little is known of his life, which in the account by Jāmi is overshadowed by the circumstances of his death in 616/1219 (Jāmi 1957, pp. 424-428). According to Jāmi, Majdo'd-Din was drowned in the River Oxus by the Mongols as foretold by Kobrā, whom Majdo'd-Din had disobeyed. Whether or not that is correct, Majdo'd-Din was one of Kobrā's authorized representatives, responsible for the formation of many disciples. From his treatise *Tohfāt al-barāra* we know that Majdo'd-Din, like his teacher, was engaged in the interpretation of the colors and images occurring in gnostic visions and dreams.

One of Majdo'd-Din Baghdādi's disciples was Najmo'd-Din Dāya, to be discussed below; it is noteworthy

that although Baghdādi died before Kobrā, Dāya never mentions the latter in his writings, apparently regarding Baghdādi as his only master. Another probable follower of Majdo'd-Din was Farido'd-Din 'Aṭṭār of Nishapur (d. ca. 1230), one of the greatest Persian Sufi writers. In his *Manteq al-tayr* ('Conference of the Birds') and other major poems, 'Aṭṭār explores with profound perceptiveness and feeling the awesome perils and the majestic epiphanies of Divine Beauty involved in the initiate's quest for the Transcendent Self. In one part or another of his didactic poem *Asrār-nāma*, 'the Book of Secrets', 'Aṭṭār sets out some principles for the spiritual life. Not only do these visibly parallel the Kobrāwiya Order's 'rules of Jonayd' discussed in the first part of the present article; four of them are identical (see 'Aṭṭār 1985, pp. 15-21).

'Sultan of the Scholars': Baha'o'd-Din Walad

It is probable, but not certain, that Bahā'o'd-Din Walad of Balkh was another of Najmo'd-Din Kobrā's immediate disciples.¹ Best known as the father of the great Mawlāna Jalālo'd-Din Rumi, he is a significant Sufi master in his own right whose work would repay further study. Bahā'o'd-Din was born in 1145 in the ancient city of Balkh, now in northern Afghanistan. His learning in the exoteric sciences of religion earned him the title *Sultāno'l-'olamā* ('Sultan

of the Scholars') and some prestige at the court of the Khwārazmshāh, ruler of the region. Either court intrigues or the threat of the Mongols, or both, impelled Bahā'o'd-Din to migrate westwards with his family. After traveling through the central Islamic lands he taught at *madrasas* in various parts of Asia Minor. He finally settled in Konya, where he died in 1231, to be succeeded – first as professor, later as Sufi master – by his son Jalālo'd-Din.

Renowned as a preacher, Bahā'o'd-Din Walad was a strong personality who possessed eloquence and also a vivid spiritual imagination. Fortunately, a large compilation of his discourses (*Ma'āref*) has survived (Bahā'o'd-Din Walad 1973). They reveal a great deal concerning the author's personality, his teachings, his interpretation of the Koran and *Ḥadīth*, and his deep influence on the thought and style of Jalālo'd-Din Rumi. They show Bahā'o'd-Din to have possessed some of that ecstatic tendency which is often said (although this is a generalization) to characterize the Sufism of Khorāsān in contrast to the more 'sober' Sufism of Iraq. The language is plain and direct, the message for the most part straightforward, although sometimes opaque. Many chapters of the *Ma'āref* open with a Koranic verse or phrase, or a Tradition, which provides the theme for exposition. Bahā'o'd-Din Walad often alludes to his own meditations, inspirations and visions; the following passages may be cited by way of il-

Nāji, Ibrāhīm

being accused of involvement in a plot to assassinate 'Abd al-Karīm Qāsim. After the coup of 1963 he returned to Iraq where he joined the diplomatic service and was nominated for the Iraqi embassies in Spain and later in Iran and Tunis. Nāji ended his career at the Foreign Ministry in Baghdad as the head of the section responsible for Arab countries and the Gulf. He was recently elected as the President of the Iraqi Association of Writers. His poetry, written both in conventional form and in *shi'r ḥurr* (free verse), deals with universal humanistic topics as well as national themes. Among his poetry collections is *al-Fajr ātin yā 'Irāq* (1962). As a scholar Nāji rescued from oblivion al-Zahāwī's *al-Nazaghāt aw al-shakk wa-al-yaqīn*, publishing it in his book *al-Zahāwī wa-dīwānuhu al-mafqūd* (Cairo, 1963). He has also produced a book on contemporary Yemeni poets (1966) and edited several texts from the classical Arabic and Islamic heritage.

Further reading

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R. SNIR

Nāji, Ibrāhīm (1898–1953)

Egyptian Romantic poet. Born in Cairo in relatively comfortable circumstances, Nāji graduated in 1923 from the School of Medicine. He worked as a doctor until his death, but at the same time managed to sustain his consuming interest in literature. To this extent his career bears similarities to that of his contemporary and mentor Abū Shādī.

Nāji gained recognition for his poetry through the *Apollo Group* of which he became vice-president, and through the pages of *Apollo* itself. Although acquainted with English, French and German literature, the major foreign influence on his work was that of nineteenth-century French Romantic poetry. He produced three collections of verse: *Warā' al-ghamām* (1934), *Layālī al-Qāhira* (1944) and a posthumous volume, *al-Ṭā'ir al-jarīh*, which appeared in 1957. The second of these, *Layālī al-Qāhira*, shows clear signs of being derived from *Les Nuits* by Alfred de Musset. His complete *Dīwān* was published in Cairo in 1961.

The particular contribution for which Nāji is remembered is his amatory poetry, which

had not been a particularly successful part of the work of either *Mutrān* or the *Dīwān Group* poets. He created an intriguing and successful fusion between the age-old tradition of highly sensual Arabic love poetry, and something that is closer to the spiritual, more ethereal love poetry of the European Romantic style. His work alternates between short love lyrics not unlike the classical *qit'a*, which usually reproduce a specific moment or experience of amorous pleasure, and longer, more complex poems of pessimistic endurance in an overall context of previous loves or unrequited passion. One of the most attractive features of Nāji's work is the extent to which he adapts old motifs to contemporary situations. His best-known poems, such as 'al-'Awda', 'al-Firāq', 'Waqfa 'alā dār' and 'al-Aṭlāl', are nothing less than the infusing of classical themes with the spirit of Western Romanticism, usually with a fine sense of creative irony and self-deprecating humour. This ability to play creatively with the tradition was enjoyed by very few Arab poets between the neo-classical period and the 'new poetry' of the 1950s.

Further reading

Badawi, M.M., *A Critical Introduction to Modern Arabic Poetry*, Cambridge (1975), 129–37.
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R.C. OSTLE

Najm, Aḥmad Fu'ād see Nigm, Aḥmad Fu'ād

- Necmeddin Kubra

Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (540–618/1145 or 6–1220 or 1)

Najm al-dīn al-Kubrā Aḥmad ibn 'Umar al-Khīwaqī al-Khwārazmī, Ṣūfī writer who was born in Khiva and died there during the Mongol invasion. Originally a scholar of *ḥadīth*, he travelled in the western Islamic lands and underwent a conversion to Sufism. His most important teacher was 'Ammār al-Bidlīsī. After returning to his homeland, he pursued a very active teaching career as a Ṣūfī *shaykh*. He is taken to be the founder of the Kubrawiyya Ṣūfī order. Kubrā (the title reflects his argumentative skill) has left us works on Sufism in both Arabic and Persian. His most important works in Arabic are: his Koranic commentary, the 'Ayn al-ḥayāt,

Buharî meclisine devam etti. İstanbul'a gelip Kara Davud Efendiden medrese öğrenimi gördü. müftî Sadi Efendiden mülâzım oldu. Sultan Süleyman'ın şehzâdeliğinde Defterdar Sinan Beyin hocası oldu, Sinan Bey İznik sancakbeyi olunca birlikte İznik'e gitti. İstanbul'da vefat etti. Şehzâdenin Yenipazar'da yaptırdığı medreseye müderris olarak atandı. Hacca gitti. Dönüşünde Eyüp'te Cezerî Kasım Paşa Medresesinde müderrislik yaptı. Zîcile ve Yıldızbilimle de uğraştığı için Necmî mahlasını aldı. Şiirlerine örnekler tezkirelerdedir.

Kay.: BT, 1997, s. 289-290; K.Atlansoy, *Bursa Şairleri*, s.284; HHTŞ s.139; GRİVDN s.512; KÂ 6/4568; MŞ, 1971 s. 132a-133a; SO 4/541; TDEA 6/556; TGDEİS s.331; TN 2/1034(4232); TŞ/HÇ 2/983-994. ♣ M. CUNBUR

NECMÎ (16.yy.): Divan şairi. Canik'te doğdu, Çelebi lakabıyla tanındı. II. Bayezid devri şairlerinden olup sipahilik yaptı. Astronomi ve usturlab ilminde ustaydı. Şiirlerine örnekler tezkirelerdedir.

Kay.: KÂ 6/4568; KATK s.168; TDEA 6/556; TGDEİS s.331; TN 2/1034-1035(4234); TŞ/HÇ 2/982-983; TŞ/L s.330. ♣ M.CUNBUR

NECMÎ (16.yy.): Divan şairi. Yavuz Sultan Selim devri şairlerinden olup *Necmî-i Rûmî* sanyıyla tanındı. Latîfî'ye göre yıldız bilim ve remille meşgul olan lâtifeyi seven bir şairdi. Bir kaç gazelini Sultan Selim'e sundu. Şiirine örnek *Latîfî Tezkiresi*'ndedir.

Kay.: TDEA 6/556; TGDEİS s.331; TN 2/1035 (4235,4236); TŞ/L s. 331; ZE (NOSK 3723), s.116. ♣ M.CUNBUR.

NECMÎ (18.yy.): Divan şairi. Asıl adı Ali b.Ahmed'dir. MK. Yz. A 1842'de kayıtlı olup içinde 3 mesnevi, 1 kaside, 13 na't, 6 mersiye, 1 mevlid, 6 terki-i bend, 1 terci-beend bulunan şiir mecmuası Girit'te istinsah edildiğine göre adı geçen adada yaşadığı tahmin edilebilir.

Kay.: *Millî Kütüphane Yazmalar Kataloğu* 6/285. ♣ M. CUNBUR

NECMÎ (?-1889): Asker şair. İstanbul'da doğdu. Asıl adı Ömer Necmî Efendidir. İhtiyat bin-

başlıktan emekli oldu. Bir süre Alaşehir'de kaldı. İstanbul'da vefat etti. Hırka-i Şerif civarına defnedildi. **Eserleri:** *Divan* (yazması, MK Yz. A 1919'da olup içinde 255 şiir vardır; İst.1867'de basıldı), *Elfiye, Tuhfe-i Vahdet*, fâilâtün fâilâtün fâilun veznile yazılmış tasavvufî bir mesnevidir.

Kay.: İMZKEKF s.533; OM 2/468; TDEA 6/556; TN 2/1034(4233). ♣ M. CUNBUR

NECMİDDİN Kübrâ (1145-?): Mutasavvıf-yazar. Harezm'in eski medeniyet merkezi olan Hive yakınındaki Sayat köyünde doğdu. Asıl adı Ahmed b. Umar Ebulcenab Necmiddin el-Kübra el-Hivekî el-Harezmî'dir. Zamanında ilim âleminde Şeyh Necmiddin Kübra Hazretleri ile yarışacak bir âlim yoktu. Bu nedenle ona *Kübra* adı verildi. Bu konuda Ali Şir Nevâî, *Nesayimu'l-Muhabbet* eserinde şöyle yazmıştır; *Alarğa Kübra andin lakab boldiki, ... her kim bilekim münazara ve mübahese kalsalar ermiş. -ul kişige ğalib bohurlar ermiş*". Şeyh hazretlerinin ikinci mübarek adı "Şeyh-i Veliyterâş", yani "Veliler yetiştiren şeyh"dir. Şeyh Hazretlerinden ders alan Şeyh Mecididdin Bağdadî, Şeyh Sa'diddin Hamevî, Baba Kemal Cendî, Feriduddin Attar, Şeyh Raziddin Ali Lale, Şeyh Seyfiddin Baharzî, Şeyh Necmiddin Razî, Şeyh Cemaliddin Geylî, Şeyh Celaliddin Rumî ve Mevlana Bahaüddin Veled vb. âlimler İslâm âleminin ünlü âlimleri oldu. Alim, şeyh Rozbihan el-Vazzah, İmam Ebu Nasr Hafza, İsmail Kasrî gibi hocalardan ders aldı. Kısa zamanda başarısı görüldü ve büyük âlimlerin ilgisini çekti. İsmail Kasrî'nin sofluk okulunu, hırka-i teberruk ile bitirdi. Tasavvuf ilmini derin bir şekilde öğrendi. Talebelik yıllarından sonra Harezm'e döndü ve orada Kübraviye (Zehhabiye) tarikatını kurdu. İnsanları saadet yoluna, Allah rızası için güzel ahlâklı olmaya, geçici heveslerden, fesatlıktan, kibirlikten uzak durmaya çağırırdı. Kendi de bu konularda örnek oldu. 1221'de Harezm Moğol istilâsına uğrayınca, ona Ürgenç'ten gitmesini söylediler. Ama vatansever âlim bunu kabul etmeyerek 76 yaşında olmasına rağmen, düşmanla sa-

A PROPOSITO DI UNA POSSIBILE VERSIONE DEL « TRATTATO
DEI DIECI PRINCIPI » DI NAĞM AL-DĪN AL-KUBRÀ

Nella collezione di mss. Ismā'il Sā'ib conservata presso la Facoltà di Lettere dell'Università di Ankara, alla miscellanea n. 3282 della lista dattiloscritta dei medesimi corrisponde per i ff. 36 v-38 r una *Risāla* senza titolo attribuita a Nağm al-dīn al-Kubrā. Questa tratta dei « dieci principi » della via da seguire per giungere a Dio, ma si discosta, a partire dall'incipit¹, dalle indicazioni reperibili sulla *Risāla* nota come *al-uşūl al-'aşara*². Il testo, che sembra relativamente recente, porta come data un enigma³ che il copista Sa'id ibn Muḥammad glossa in persiano con la frase *ahl-i kamāl bāyad ke ḥall mikonad in ta'rīḥ-rā*, dando un qualche appiglio di verosimiglianza all'ipotesi che il trattato in questione risalga al ramo persiano della *kubrawiyya*. L'interesse di segnalarlo sta però nei risultati di un riscontro operato con la versione persiana del « Trattato dei dieci principi » trascritta da 'Alī Hamaḍānī, di cui il Molé⁴ ci ha lasciato un'edizione basata su copie troppo moderne per poter cercare di proporre una datazione che renda significativo il rapporto cronologico della nostra *Risāla* con quella persiana. Infatti, prescindendo da una disamina critica dei testi, saremmo ten-

¹ *Bismī'llāh al-rahmān al-rahīm al-ḥamdu li'llāh awwalan wa āḥiran wa ṣal-wat 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad bāṭinan wa zāḥiran.*

² Per cui cf. anche *Kašf al-zunūn*, I, pp. 339-340, che da come incipit: *al-ḥamdu li'llāh alladī sarra wuḡūha 'arā'isi'l-qadam*. D'altra parte tale *Risāla* non risulta citata nella pur ricca raccolta di mss. istanbulini delle opere di Kubrā, per cui v. F. MEIER, *Stanbuler Handschriften dreier persischer Mystiker: 'Ain al-qudat al-Hamaḍānī, Nağm ad-dīn al-Kubrā, Nağm ad-dīn ad-Dajā*, in *Der Islam*, 24, 1937, pp. 9-30. Alla nostra *Risāla* il Meier dedica un breve accenno in *Die Fawā'ih al-Ġamāl wa Fawā'ih al-Ġalāl des Nağm ad-dīn al-Kubrā*, Wiesbaden 1957, p. 93, mentre l'E.I., sub voce *Nadjm al-dīn*, ad essa concede un certo spazio inserendola tra le opere certe del Maestro.

³ Di nessun aiuto ci è stato per esempio A. Grohman, *Arabische Chronologie*, Leiden-Köln 1966, a meno che la glossa stessa non rappresenti il crittogramma della data.

⁴ v. M. MOLE, *La version persane du Traité des dix principes de Najm al-dīn Kubrā*, in *Farhang-e Īrān-zamīn*, Tehran 1958, pp. 38-66.

Hamadân-i Kibrā *Avec mes hommages très
respectueux.*
M. Kholi

**La version persane du Traité de dix principes
de Najm al-Din Kobrā**

par

'Ali b. Shihâb al-Din Hamadâni

M. MOLE, Tehrân

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Najmo'd-Din Kobrā and the Kobrā-wiya Order

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X-Kubrā-wiya
-Najmo'd-Din-i Kobra

by Muhammad Isa Waley

I: Introduction

One of the most turbulent periods in the history of the Moslem world was compensated for by a phenomenal expansion and flowering of Sufism. During the later 12th and the 13th centuries A.D. (550-700 A.H.) there occurred the cataclysmic Mongol invasion, the destruction of the Baghdad Caliphate, and innumerable concomitant disasters. Yet Moslem saints and scholars flourished to an extent rarely seen since the early days of the Community of Islam, and many major Sufi Orders were founded or revived: these include – to name but a few – the Qāderiya, Refā'iyah, Sohrawardiya, Shādheliya and Mawlawiya, as well as the Kobrā-wiya *Tariqa* (Order) which is the subject of the present essay.

The Kobrā-wiya derives its name from Najmo'd-Din Kobrā (d. 618/1221), founder of the order. From its beginnings in the Central Asian region of Khiva (then known as Khwārazm) to the south of the Aral Sea – where it survives to this day – it spread, with its offshoots, to Iran, Afghanistan, India, and even to China. During its long history the Kobrā-wiya produced several masters of great eminence who in addition to the training of disciples also left for posterity a body of writings, many of which are as yet unpublished. These contain some highly interesting and innovative

elaborations of Sufi methodology and doctrine. The contribution of Kobrā and certain of his successors in what has come to be known as the Central Asian school of Sufism to the phenomenology and analysis of spiritual vision and gnosis merits the attention of all who are interested in visionary experience and its place in spirituality.

II: Najmo'd-Din Kobrā: His Life and Spiritual Masters

Abo'l-Jannāb Najmo'd-Din ebn 'Omar al-Kobrā, founder of the Kobrā-wiya, was born in Khwārazm around 1145 A.D. Najmo'd-Din's intellectual powers became evident at an early age. Whilst still a student, he acquired the nickname *Kobrā* (literally meaning, 'the greatest'), an abbreviated form of the Koranic phrase *at-tāmmato'l-kobrā*, 'the Greatest Calamity' (LXXIX, 34). This appellation apparently alluded to the formidable talents which made Najmo'd-Din the downfall of those who contended with him in disputation. Having received the normal formation in the Islamic religious sciences, Kobrā left Khwārazm to pursue his studies in other lands, as was the wont of many medieval scholars. His chief interest at that time was in the science of *Ḥadīth*, which he studied for several years in Iran and Egypt.

At some time between 1177 and 1180, however, an interest in esoteric matters was kindled in Najmo'd-Din.

He was initiated into the Sohrawardiya Order in Egypt by a shaikh named Ruzbehān al-Wazzān al-Meşri. According to one account, this followed – or coincided with – a vision of the Prophet. At all events, we know from Najmo'd-Din's own writings that he had undergone at least one striking spiritual experience in his childhood (Meier 1963, para. 107). Nonetheless, he continued for some time to pursue the study of Prophetic Tradition. The turning-point in Kobrā's life may have been his encounter in Tabriz with a certain Bābā Faraj Tabrizi, whose bearing greatly impressed him and who urged him to forsake the pursuit of exoteric knowledge in favour of the Sufi Path.

Najmo'd-Din's first Sufi master was Esmā'il al-Qaşri (d. 589/1193), at Dezfūl in southwestern Iran. But after he had spent only a short while there, Esmā'il advised him to go to 'Ammār ebn Yāser Bedlesi (d. 582/1186). This shaikh was a disciple of Abo'n-Najib Sohrawardi and his treatise entitled *Bahjat at-tā'ifa* is extant in manuscript. Kobrā underwent spiritual retreats (*khalwa*) with both Qaşri and Bedlesi, and his writings include accounts of some experiences with them. Next, Kobrā returned to Egypt on the orders of 'Ammār; here Ruzbehān Meşri continued Najmo'd-Din's training, until he pronounced him qualified to initiate and instruct disciples of his own. During this period Najmo'd-Din married

THE KOBRAWIYA ORDER

Part III: Kobrawis of Iran and India

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by Muhammad Isa Waley

The first two parts of this article examined the teachings of several masters of the Kobrawiya Sufi Order. Special attention was given to the work of two Najmo'd-Dins ('Stars of the Faith'): Najmo'd-Din Kobra and Najmo'd-Din Razi. The aim of this third and final part is to offer an overview of the work of four more outstanding Kobrawi masters, and of the later history of the Kobrawi Order and some of its offshoots.

'Alā'o'd-Dawla Semnāni: Life, Work, Doctrine

Reference has already been made to 'Alā'o'd-Dawla Semnāni as the disciple of Nuro'd-Din Esfarāyeni (Waley 1989-90, pp. 23-24). But Semnāni is himself one of the foremost figures in the history of the Kobrawiya and indeed in Persian Sufism. Born in 659/1261 at Semnān, some distance to the east of Tehran, he served Arghun, the Mongol Ilkhān of Iran, for twelve years. A personal spiritual crisis, and discussions with Buddhist priests of the court of Arghun, led 'Alā'o'd-Dawla to an interest in mysticism. According to his own account, he learned through spiritual visions that Buddhists were unable to attain the ultimate goal because they lacked the essential doctrinal frame-

work of unity, namely the theology of Islam.' In 685/1286, having finally extricated himself from the court, Semnāni went to seek guidance from Sufis; thereafter he devoted himself to the Way. In Nuro'd-Din Esfarāyeni he found a master who was expert in the interpretation of visions. After receiving investiture as shaikh from Nuro'd-Din in 689/1290, 'Alā'o'd-Dawla established near Semnān a *khānaqāh* named *Ṣufi-ābād-e Khodādād* ('God-given Sufi Center'); here many followers gathered about him until his death in 736/1336.

'Alā'o'd-Dawla left behind a sizeable body of prose writings and a *Diwān* or collection of lyric poems (Semnāni 1985 and Thackston 1988). *Chehel majles* comprises forty discourses on various aspects of Sufism (Semnāni 1979 and Cordt 1977); the teachings are leavened with anecdotes concerning the spiritual lives of 'Alā'o'd-Dawla and his predecessors. The same applies to his lengthy treatise, *al-'Orwa le-ahle'l-khalwa wa'l-jalwa*, of which versions exist in Persian and in Arabic (Semnāni 1983-4).

Semnāni's *ta'wil*, or commentary, is highly esoteric, but his strict standpoint concerning Divine Transcendence calls for mention. In 686/1282, whilst attempting to escape from

Arghun, Semnāni took exception to certain assertions of his companion, one Hājji Ḥasan Amoli; he judged the man to be a *kāfer*, and almost succeeded in having him put to death. Semnāni also criticized aspects of Ebno'l-'Arabi's monistic theory of *waḥdato'l-wojud*, stressing both the distinction between Creator and created and the various levels of Divine Self-Manifestation. The critique of *ash-Shaykho'l-akbar* by Shaykh Aḥmad Serhendi, who three centuries after Semnāni posited the alternative of *waḥdato'sh-shohud* ('oneness of perception'), in some respects parallels that of 'Alā'o'd-Dawla (Landolt 1985, pp. 774-777). Yet the extent and significance of Semnāni's strictures should not be exaggerated: in *Chehel majles* he quotes the dictum of Sa'do'd-Din Ḥammuya, a fellow Kobrawi (see below), that Ebno'l-'Arabi was "a boundless ocean".

Semnāni, The Holy Koran and 'The Prophets of Your Being'

The most important part of Semnāni's literary and doctrinal legacy is contained in his esoteric commentary (*ta'wil*) upon the Holy Koran (Habil 1987, p. 33 and Waley 1989-90, p. 22). His achievement consists not only in having completed the commentary begun (as 'Ayno'l-

757. DE WEESE, Devin. "The Eclipse of the Kubravīyah in Central Asia". *Iranian Studies* 21, 1-2 (1988) pp. 45-83.

Par cet article d'un grand intérêt pour tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'histoire du soufisme en Asie centrale, l'auteur s'est proposé de traiter un aspect méconnu de l'histoire de la Kubraviya: l'histoire de son ascension et de son déclin en Asie centrale du xv^e au xvii^e siècle. Cette étude est une adaptation des premiers chapitres de la thèse de doctorat de l'auteur, soutenue à l'université d'Indiana en 1985: *The Kashf al-Hudā of Kamāl ad-Dīn Husayn Khorezmī: A Fifteenth-Century Sufi Commentary on the Qasidat al-Burdah in Khorezmian Turkic*, Text Edition, Translation and Historical Introduction. Dans son article il suit le plan suivant: - 1. The early Kubraviya in Central Asia: the lines of Bākharzī and Jandī; - 2. The Hamadānī lineage: return to Central Asia and the Kubravī Schism; - 3. The Fifteenth Century: Central Asia Successors of Barzishābādī; - 4. The Career of Husayn Khwarazmī; - 5. Reasons for the Kubravī Decline: some tentative considerations. Dans sa première partie, il décrit les activités des deux disciples de Najm al-Dīn Kubrā restés en Asie centrale alors que les autres avaient fui vers l'ouest devant l'invasion mongole. Le premier, Sayf al-Dīn Bāxarzī (m. 659/1261) établit une branche de la Kubraviya à Boukara et est l'ancêtre spirituel de l'ordre Firdousiya aux Indes. La tombe de ce mystique est restée un important lieu de pèlerinage pour les soufis, toutes confréries confondues. Le deuxième, Bābā Kāmil Jandī (m. 672/1273), réfugié au Turkestan, a eu une influence sur les nomades turcs des steppes situées au-delà du Sir Darya. Ces deux lignées kubravies sont étudiées par l'auteur. Le dernier représentant de la branche de Bābā Kāmil Jandī est Husayn X^āarazmī (xv^e s.) dont l'œuvre principale a été le sujet de sa thèse de doctorat. Notons que le texte de Husayn X^āarazmī nous fait découvrir, ainsi que le précise Devin De Weese, la présence de la Kubraviya dans le monde turc à l'orée du xv^e siècle.

La seconde partie de cet article concerne la personne de 'Alī Hamadānī (m. 786/1385), une des plus prestigieuses figures du soufisme en Asie centrale et en Inde, auquel est attribuée la renaissance de la Kubraviya en Asie centrale et, avec quelques réserves, l'islamisation du Cachemire. Son principal disciple fut X^āāja Ishāq Xuttalānī à la suite duquel l'histoire de la Kubraviya connut un grand schisme. Les deux principaux disciples de ce dernier sont restés célèbres pour avoir donné leurs noms aux deux grandes branches rivales de la Kubraviya: la Zahabiya constituée par Sayyed 'Abdullāh Barzishābādī et la Nūrbaxšīya constituée par Sayyed Muḥammad Nūrbaxš. L'auteur signale que le conflit qui a opposé les deux élèves de X^āāja Ishāq Xuttalānī a toujours été analysé à travers une perspective iranienne — il cite les travaux de R. Gramlich, M. Molé, H. Algar, S. A. Arjomand — alors que le cœur de cet événement se trouvait en Asie centrale. D. De Weese apporte ainsi de nouveaux éclaircissements, et dénonçant les interprétations pro-Nūrbaxš, montre que la version zahabie qu'il a étudiée est plus apte à nous faire comprendre les sources de la scission.

Dans sa troisième partie, l'A. fait état des informations nouvelles qu'il a découvertes sur les successeurs de 'Abdullāh Barzishābādī en Asie centrale, le principal étant Šayx Rašīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Šayx 'Alī Bīdāvāzī dont l'élève, Hājji Muḥammad Xabušanī fut une autre grande figure de la Kubraviya. Comme il l'écrit: "from him stem the most important Iranian Zahabi lineage and the two known Central Asian successions lines" (p. 67). Son successeur direct est Husayn X^āarazmī. C'est à ce šayx que D. De Weese consacre sa quatrième partie en signalant que c'est avec lui que la Kubraviya commence sa dernière phase de gloire en Asie centrale et qu'elle retourne dans sa patrie d'origine, le X^āarazm. Ayant longtemps résidé à Samarkande, Husayn X^āarazmī rencontra de nombreux šayx appartenant à la Naqshbandiya et à la Yasaviya parmi lesquels le prestigieux 'Ubaydullāh Ahrār (m. 895/1490) et Avlād-e Badr Aṭā'ī. Cette phase de l'histoire des confréries mystiques en Asie centrale est fondamentale pour comprendre les développements futurs et l'ascension de la Naqshbandiya qui éclipsera tous les autres ordres. Citons l'auteur qui a bien montré l'enjeu qui se préparait:

be paid by the Mongols—in Persia until the reign of Ghāzān, who abolished it (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Geschichte Gūzān-Īlān's*, ed. Jahn, 300). The sources consequently sometimes use the term *kūbūr-i māwāshī* for the animal-levy, in order to distinguish it from the poll-tax.

Bibliography: H. F. Schurmann, *Mongolian tributary practices of the thirteenth century*, in *HJAS*, xiv (1956), 304-89; J. M. Smith, Jr., *Mongol and nomadic taxation*, in *HJAS*, xxx (1970), 46-85; I. P. Petrushevsky, *Zemledie i agrarnie otnosheniya v Irane XIII-XIV vv.*, Moscow-Leningrad 1960, 360-9; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 387-91; and see for this tax in Persia, *KHARĀDĪ*, 2. Persia.

(D. O. MORGAN)

KUBILAY, Mongol Great Khān (1260-94), the brother and successor of Möngke [q.v.], was born in 1215. In 1251 Möngke entrusted him with the administration of Northern China, and he took part in the subsequent war which his brother launched against the Sung rulers of the South. The conquest of the Sung was finally completed only during his own reign (1279), when the whole of China was again united under one ruler for the first time since the tenth century. Already in 1260 he had transferred the capital of the Empire from Karakorum [q.v.] to Peking, in Mongol Khān-Ballgh [q.v.], i.e. "Khān's Town", and in 1271 he proclaimed the foundation of the Yüan Dynasty, the twentieth of the Chinese Official Dynasties. His right to the Khānate was at first disputed by his younger brother Arīgh Böke, who perhaps had the stronger claim and who finally surrendered only in 1264; the struggle was then taken up by Kaydu [q.v.], who remained a thorn in Kubilay's side during the whole of his long reign. Nor was Kubilay more successful in his campaigns against the Japanese and the Indo-Chinese or in an attempt to gain a foothold on the island of Java. In China he encouraged the propagation of Tibetan Buddhism, but, like most of the Great Khāns, was favourably disposed to Islam and the Muslims; only for a time (during the years 1282-9), as a result of the events connected with the assassination of the minister Aḥmad, did the Muslims fall into disfavour with him. He was described by a European observer, who had travelled widely within his territories, the Venetian Marco Polo, as "the most puissant of men, in subjects, lands, and treasures, that there is on earth or ever was, from the time of our first father Adam to this day".

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 350-580, tr. J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1971, 241-315; Waṣṣāf, ed. Bombay, 16-23; R. Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, 352-90; P. Ratchnevsky, *Rašid ad-Dīn über die Mohammedanerverfolgungen in China unter Qubilai*, in *Rashīd al-Dīn commemoration volume (1318-1968)*, ed. J. A. Boyle and K. Jahn, Wiesbaden 1970, 163-80. (W. BARTHOLD - [J. A. BOYLE])

KUBRĀ, SHAYKH ABU 'L-DJĪANNĀB AḤMAD B. 'UMAR NAḌĪM AL-DĪN, eponymous founder of the Kubrawī Ṣūfī order, one of the major orders of the Mongol period in Central Asia and Khurāsān, from which stem numerous derivative initiatic lines. The sobriquet of Kubrā is an abbreviation of the Kurānic expression *al-fāmmat al-kubrā*, "the major disaster", a nickname Naḏīm al-Dīn earned through his formidable talent in polemic and disputation.

Born in Khārazm in 540/1145, he began his career as a scholar of *ḥadīth* and *kalām*, travelling

extensively in the cultivation of these disciplines. His interest in Ṣūfism was awakened in Egypt, where he became a *murīd* of Shaykh Rūzbihān al-Wazzān al-Miṣrī, an initiate of the Suhrawardī order. After a number of years in Egypt, he went to Tabriz to pursue his studies of *kalām*, but came instead under the influence of a certain Bābā Farādī Tabrizī, who persuaded him definitively to abandon his concern with the external religious sciences and to devote himself fully to the Ṣūfī path. He then spent some time in the company of two other preceptors, 'Ammār b. Yāsir al-Bidlisī and Jamāl al-Kāshī, from both of whom he received the ritual *khirqa*, before returning to Shaykh Rūzbihān in Egypt. By then, Rūzbihān evidently regarded Kubrā as fully mature, for in about 540/1145 he sent him back to Khārazm with full authority to train and initiate disciples. Kubrā swiftly gathered a large following, including a remarkable number of individuals who attained prominence in their own right as gnostics and writers on Ṣūfism; he is, in fact, frequently designated as *walī-turāsh*, the "manufacturer of saints". Among his foremost disciples were Maḏīd al-Dīn Baghdādī (d. 616/1219), Naḏīm al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī (d. 654/1256; author of the celebrated Ṣūfī compendium *Mirṣād al-ḡibād*, ed. Amīn Riyāḥī, Tehran 1352/1972; Eng. tr. Hamīd Algar, *The path of God's bondsmen from origin to return*, forthcoming), Sa'īd al-Dīn Ḥamūya (d. 650/1252), Bābā Kamāl Dījandī, Sayf al-Dīn Bākhārī (d. 658/1260; cf. Sa'īd Nafīsī, *Sayf al-Dīn Bākhārī*, in *Madjalla-y Dānish-kada-i Adabiyāt*, ii/4 [Tir 1334/October 1955], 1-15, and Irādī Afshār, *Sargudhaḥ-i Sayf al-Dīn Bākhārī*, Tehran 1341/1962), and Raḏī al-Dīn 'Alī Lālā (d. 642/1244). Kubrā died during the Mongol conquest of Khārazm in 617/1220; according to the traditional accounts, he refused an invitation by the Mongols to leave the city before they proceeded with their massacre of the inhabitants, and died at the head of a band of followers while engaged in hand-to-hand combat. He is reputed to have been buried at the site of his *khānakāh* outside the city, and his tomb, located in what subsequently became known as Köhne-Urgenj [see GURGANĪ], became a centre of pious visitation, retaining this function even under Soviet rule (cf. G. P. Snesarev, *Reliāz domusul'manskikh verovaniĭ i obryadov u Uzbekov Khoresma*, Moscow 1969, 269, 433).

Kubrā left behind a number of brief but important works dominated by a concern with the analysis of the visionary experience. He discussed in them, for example, the various significances of dreams and visions; the degrees of luminous epiphany that are manifested to the mystic; the different classes of concept and image (*khawāṭir*) that engage his attention; and the nature and interrelations of man's "subtle centres" (*laḡā'if*). Most important of Kubrā's treatises are *Fawā'ih al-dīāmāl wa-fawā'ih al-dīālāl* (edited with an exhaustive introduction on the life and work of Kubrā by F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1957), *al-Uṣūl al-'ashara* and *Risālat al-khā'if al-hā'im min lawmat al-lā'im* (edited, together with other lesser treatises, by M. Molé under the title of *Trattés mineurs*, in *Annales Islamologiques* (Cairo), iv [1963], 1-78). In addition to these short works on the path, Kubrā also embarked on a Ṣūfī commentary on the Qur'ān that he was unable to complete but was continued after his death first by his *murīd* Naḏīm al-Dīn Rāzī and then by another Kubrawī, 'Alī al-Dīn Simnānī (cf. H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, Paris 1972, iii, 175-6, 276 n. 90, and Süleyman Ateş, *İşaref tefsir okulu*, Ankara 1974, 139-60).

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Stambuler Handschriften dreier persischer Mystiker: 'Ain al-quḍāt al-Hamadānī, Naḡm ad-dīn al-Kubrā, Naḡm ad-dīn ad-Dāja.

Von Fritz Meier.

Der vorliegenden Arbeit liegen zugrunde eine Reihe von Handschriftenaufnahmen H. RITTER's, um deren Nachprüfung und Ausarbeitung er mich bat. Sie soll versuchen, für das Studium der islamischen Mystik auf einem Teilgebiet das notwendige bibliographische Material zusammentragen zu helfen. Eine vollständige Erfassung aller Stambuler Handschriften der drei Mystiker war noch nicht möglich; es kann jeden Augenblick eine neue auftauchen.¹⁾

I.

Abū'l-ma'ālī 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Majāniḡ²⁾,
'Ain al-quḍāt al-Hamadānī (st. 525).

Über sein Leben s. MOH. b. ABDELJALIL im Vorwort zu seiner Ausgabe der *Šakwā J. A.* 216, 1930, 4, ferner BERTHELS *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS, cl. des Humanités* 1929, 695—706, MASSIGNON *Recueil* 98, dann *Buḥāne* BODL. PERS.³⁾ 366 Nr. 58 und 115, *Maḡzanu 'l-ġarā'ib* ebd. 395, 1523, CARULLAH 1016 *Fawā'id* 1a (aus Ġāmī); Šahrazūri, *Nuzhat al-arwāh* YENI CAMI 908, 194a nennt ihn Schüler 'Umar-i Ḥajjām's. Andere Quellen s. Cat. BANKIPORE 16 p. 7.⁴⁾ Ġāmī benutzte ihn als Quelle (IVANOW, *JASB* 18, 1922, 397). Proben aus seinen Werken liegen vor in den anonymen Blütenlesen BERL. PERS. 672 II b 5 c. JACKSON-YOHANNAN: *Cat. Persian Manuscripts ... presented to the Metropolitan Museum*

¹⁾ Ich möchte hier Herrn Dr. MARTIN SCHEDE, dem Direktor des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abt. Istanbul, für die gütige Erlaubnis, während meines Aufenthaltes in Stambul im Institut wohnen zu dürfen, und für seine stete Zuvorkommenheit gegenüber allen meinen Ansuchen meinen ergebensten Dank aussprechen.

²⁾ Majāniḡ in Ādarbaigān, s. PAUL SCHWARZ: *Iran im Mittelalter* VIII, 2, 1023.

³⁾ Die ausführlichen Titel der im folgenden abgekürzten Hds. Kataloge s. in den Listen bei BROCKELMANN *GAL Suppl.* 1, 5ff. und K. V. ZETTERSTĒEN: *Die Arab. Pers. u. Türk. Hdss. der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala*, 1930 XVff.

⁴⁾ Eine Probe aus 'Ain al-quḍāt's Werken findet sich in der Anthologie BANKIPORE SUPPL. 1, p. 256.

~~Naḡmeddin-i Daj~~
— Naḡmeddin-i Kubra

LES KUBRAWIYA ENTRE SUNNISME ET SHIISME AUX HUITIÈME ET NEUVIÈME SIÈCLES DE L'HÉGIRE

« *bar râfiđi ʿigûna zi Banî Quhâfa lâf-am ?*
bar khârijî ʿigûna gham-i Bû Turâb gôyam ? »
« Devant le shiite, comment exalterais-je les Banû
Quhâfa ?
Devant le Khârijî, comment exposerais-je la douleur
d'Abû Turâb ? »

Divân-i Shams-i Tabrîz, lith. de
Lucknow, p. 535.

I

Les deux siècles qui séparent l'invasion mongole de la Perse de la conquête safavide constituent une époque cruciale dans l'histoire de ce pays. Sans doute, la conquête mongole ne brise pas l'unité de civilisation des pays islamiques (1); la structure même de la religion musulmane, notamment l'obligation canonique du *hajj*, constituent ici des liens trop forts pour que des barrières politiques ou même ethniques soient vraiment efficaces. Mais la soumission à un pouvoir non islamique au point de départ crée chez les musulmans des États ilkhanides des problèmes nouveaux qui ne sont pas les mêmes que ceux qui se posent, à la même époque, aux habitants des pays restés soumis à un pouvoir plus islamique.

Comme tant de fois dans l'histoire, un mouvement général de « retour à l'islam » se dessine. Des auteurs plus compétents en ont décrit les différentes manifestations dans le domaine économique, social et politique : je pense

(1) Ainsi Fritz Meier, dans *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam* 222 s.

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The Spiritual Journey in Kubrawī Sufism

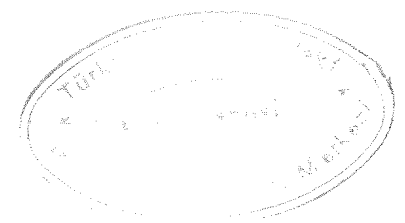
Leonard Lewisohn

Necmeddin-i Kubra
(11486)

Kubrawiyye

MADDE YATIMLANDI
SIRA ARI EN DOKTR

16 EYLÜL 2008



Coda: Central to Hermann Landolt's numerous studies of Islamic theosophy have been the writings of Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Isfarāyīnī, 'Alā' al-Dawla al-Simnānī and 'Azīz-i Nasafī, three Kubrawī Sufi masters' whose inspiration pervades many of his scholarly dissertations. A pivotal term of the vocabulary and doctrine of the Persian Kubrawī Sufis is the concept of *sulūk* (wayfaring, spiritual conduct). By examining the permutations of this technical term in the lexicon of early classical Persian Sufism as well as in the writings of the later Kubrawī Sufis ('Azīz-i Nasafī in particular), this essay attempts to chart the course of the 'spiritual journey' in Islamic mysticism. It is hoped that the general overview of the meaning of this term given below will shed some light on the spiritual methods of *taṣawwuf* and, at the same time, provide some insight into the philosophical approach of *ḥikma* at the heart of Professor Landolt's researches into the Kubrawī mystics.

I. *Sulūk* in Classical Persian Sufism

After the science of divine unity (*'ilm-i tawḥīd*) and the religious law, there is no science nobler than that of spiritual wayfaring (*'ilm-i sulūk*), and after education and pedagogy, there is no art more eminent than that of asceticism (*fann-i riyāḍāt*). In truth, just as the art of asceticism is a stimulating tonic by which lost stragglers in the Vale of Error are conveyed to the waystation of Certitude, so the science of spiritual wayfaring is a cardinal principle through which those benighted on the way of Ignorance reach their goal of Faith.

Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Nakhshabī²

Sulūk is the Islamic term for the archetypal motif of the 'journey' that mystics of different religious traditions have used to describe the steps which must be taken to leave illusory selfhood behind and realise Union with the divine.³ Connotations of the term in Islamic literature include: 'progression', 'method', 'behaviour', 'comportment',⁴ 'demeanour', 'wayfaring', 'conduct' and 'manners'.⁵ Derived from the Arabic trilateral root S-L-K, *sulūk* means 'to travel' or 'to follow a road', depending on the context. However, in the particular lexicon of Muslim mysticism, *sulūk* denotes 'methodical progress on the "via mystica" or *ṭarīqa*, the process of ascension and advancement – psychical, ethical and spiritual – which the Sufi 'wayfarer' (*sālik*) experiences in his pursuit (*ṭalab*) of God. It is, as Victor Danner defined it, the method of 'progression on the Path towards divine Reality' being 'the opposite of *tanazzul* and the same as *taraqqī*'.⁶

Constituting the principal 'course of practice' on the Sufi Path, *sulūk* involves an integral method of spiritual progress based on spiritual struggle (*mujāhada*) and inner intuitive 'unveiling' (*kashf*), combining what in Christian mystical theology are known as the *via purgativa* and the *via illuminativa* into a broad-based mystical highway. Thus, the term *sulūk* designates – as J. S. Trimmingham aptly put it – 'the scala perfectionis of the orders'.⁷ *Sulūk* is the not merely proper 'wayfaring', but 'spiritual correctness' (as is conveyed by the modern Persian expression *ḥusn-i sulūk*, 'good behaviour' or 'becoming conduct') as well, the 'travelling manners' appropriate spiritual attitude and proper ethical comportment which should be possessed by any road-wise Sufi 'wayfarer' (*sālik*) who wishes to traverse the stations of the Way. Such a 'wayfarer', comments the great Akbarian master 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī, is 'one who is travelling towards God, being midway between the novice (*al-murīd*) and one who has attained the end of the Path (*al-muntahī*)'.⁸

The later Sufi conception of *sulūk* especially as the term featured amongst the Kubrawiyya from the late thirteenth century onwards is more or less identical in connotation to the term *al-ṭarīq* (Way), which is referred to throughout the Qur'an,⁹ as Su'ād Ḥakīm points out. The eminent Kubrawī Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 654/1256), for instance, introduced the term in precisely this sense in the exordium of his *Mirṣād al-'ibād* where he emphasises that his work is devoted to 'expounding the modes of proper conduct on the Sufi Path (*bayān-i sulūk-i rāh-i ṭarīqat*)'.¹⁰ In Aristotelian terms, one might say that while the Sufi Path (*ṭarīq*) is the *substance* of the archetypal Journey of the Muslim mystic, *sulūk* incarnates the *form*, the very process of travelling, of wayfaring upon it.¹¹

In many Sufi works *sulūk* is contrasted, on the one hand, to 'attraction' (*jadhbā*) and to 'spiritual travel' (*sayr*) on the other. Sometimes paired as two different polar opposites to *sulūk*, and sometimes coupled to the term for the sake of rhetorical effect, the term takes on some interesting nuances.¹² Also contrasted with *sulūk* in Sufi terminology are terms such as *sayr* (visionary voyage) and *ṭayr* (spiritual flight), denoting higher degrees or levels of the same spiritual journey. The pair

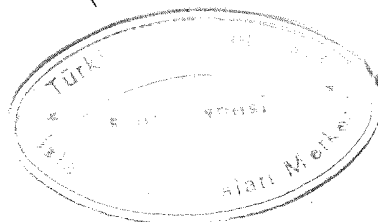
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22

The Sciences of Intuition and the Riches of Inspiration: Najm al-Dīn Kubrā in Jāmī's *Nafahāt al-uns*

Elizabeth Ross Alexandrin

16 EYLÜL 2008
MADDE YATIRILAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN



Najm al-Dīn-i Kubrā

This paper is an examination of textual composition in 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jāmī's (d. 897/1492) medieval Persian Sufi hagiography, *Nafahāt al-uns min ḥaḍarat al-quds*. Drawn from historical, doctrinal and oral sources, Sufi hagiography reveals much about the codification and creation of texts in medieval Islamic societies. Hagiography often shares the stylistic features and format of religious history, oral traditions and biographical accounts.

In a similar manner, the Sufi *silsila* also reflects the verbal and non-verbal elements of religious instruction within the context of the traditional religious sciences as well as the master-disciple relationship. As an encapsulation of multiple transmissions of exoteric and esoteric religious knowledge from various shaykhs, the Sufi *silsila* details the composite and the sphere of the individual's knowledge and authority to instruct and train others. In order to discern the composite of the Central Asian Sufi, Najm al-Dīn Kubrā's (539-c.617/1145-1221) religious education, this paper will first examine the standard forms of textual transmission in medieval Islamic societies, as established primarily during the second to third/eighth to ninth centuries as well as the life and training of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā. The second part of the paper will concern itself with Najm al-Dīn Kubrā's initial mystical experiences as a student of the religious sciences and his later abilities as a perfected Sufi master.

The Modes of Transmission

The Qur'an has four aspects: *tafsīr*, which the scholars know, and 'arabiyya, which the Arabs know, and *halāl wa-ḥarām*, the knowledge of which is indispensable to the people, and *ta'wīl*, which only God knows.¹

As both the sciences of Arabic grammar and Qur'anic exegesis developed in their second/eighth-century social and political contexts, treatises on asceticism (*zuhd*) and scholastic theology (*kalām*) began to be transmitted and recorded.² The early mystical commentaries (*tafsīr*), attributed to the likes of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 109/728), Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya (d. ca.99/718), and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), quoted and interpreted verses from the Qur'an.³ The method that the early scholars undertook in order to craft a specific doctrinal focus for their commentaries did not differ greatly from their more 'popular' counterparts – the preacher (*wā'iz*) and the Qur'anic storyteller (*qaṣṣ*).⁴ The substance of the oral sermon and the written treatise relied on the Qur'an and propounded the implications of its often unclear and ambiguous verses. From this vantage point, the learned scholar and the local preacher alike, in their respective social and religious roles, instructed the *umma* in matters of the applicability of the Qur'an and of the religious laws and meanings it embodied.⁵

There was, in fact, a great deal of fluidity between the oral and written transmission of texts in the context of religious instruction. In reference to the early uses of the Qur'an and its levels of interpretation, there was another category of specialists amongst the emerging, yet overlapping, groups of religious scholars, ascetics and local preachers. The Qur'an reciters (*qurrā'* or *mudhakkirūn*), however, occupied a much more ambiguous role in relation to the authority to transmit legitimate interpretations (*ta'wīl*) of the Qur'an. Though the *mudhakkirūn* were active in sustaining and spreading the word of the Qur'an as one of the daily practices of the Muslim community, other individuals concerned with textual interpretation and its modes of transmission came to consider the Qur'an reciter's role in the following way: 'whosoever recites the Qur'an without knowing its *ta'wīl*, is illiterate in it.'⁶

The example of the *mudhakkirūn* in the early development of the Islamic religious sciences also relates back to the above-mentioned nature of oral and written texts and the adaptation of these texts in the process of religious instruction and attaining a higher degree of knowledge.⁷ In more specific terms, in order to lay the foundations for this discussion of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā's religious biography from Jāmī's *Nafahāt al-uns* (compiled 882/1478), the differing forms of instruction constantly refer back to written documents (i.e. the Qur'an or the *ḥadīths*).⁸ Through first reflecting upon a perceived hierarchy in the methods of transmitting religious knowledge during the early years of Islam, we may then examine and elucidate similar processes in Najm al-Dīn Kubrā's scholastic and Sufi training. This approach will allow us to discuss how Kubrā's mystical experiences under the guidance of his Sufi shaykhs serve to clarify, comment upon and encapsulate the knowledge he acquired through his scholastic education. As well, it will provide us with the opportunity to examine one particular example of the transition, as Ernst has recently discussed, 'from oral teaching to written text in Sufism'.⁹

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DAS TRAKTAT DES QUTBADDĪN AHMAD B. °IMĀDĪ YAZDĪ
ÜBER DIE REGELN DES MYSTISCHEN WEGES
DER HAMADĀNĪYA-DAHABĪYA

von

Oleg F. AKIMUŠKIN, St. Petersburg

Vorliegendes Traktat über die Maximen und moralischen Pflichten des Adepten der Hamadānīya-Dahabīya, das in einem klaren und gleichzeitig sparsamen Persisch verfaßt ist, stellt trotz seines geringen Umfangs von nur fünf handgeschriebenen Seiten zumindest in drei Aspekten ein interessantes und außergewöhnliches Werk im weiten literarischen und philosophischen Erbe der Kubrawīya dar.¹ Erstens enthält diese Schrift die Namens-Kette der geistigen Ahnen (*silsila*) des geeinten, rein mittelasiatischen (nicht iranischen!) Zweiges der *ṭarīqa* der Kubrawīya-Hamadānīya-Dahabīya von Ma°rūf al-Karxī (st. 200/818) über Nağmaddīn Kubrā (getötet 618/1221), °Alī b. Šihābaddīn Hamadānī (714-786/1314-1385), Xwāğa Ishāq Xuttalānī (hingerichtet im Ramađān 827/August 1424) und Amīr °Abdallāh Barzišābādī (789-872/1387-1468) bis hin zu Hāğğī Muḥammad b. Xwāğa Ġalāladdīn Yūsuf Xabūšānī (st. 937 oder 938/1530-32), dem dritten Nachfolger des °Abdallāh Barzišābādī in der Linie der Hamadānīya-Dahabīya. Zweitens werden in diesem Werk in summarischer Form acht grundlegende Verhaltensregeln (*ādāb*) des mystischen Pfades dieser Linie der Kubrawīya dargelegt, welche der Autor Qutbaddīn Aḥmad b. °Imādī Yazdī als *ṭarīqa-i Hamadānīya* bezeichnet (fol. 82a). Drittens entstand dieses Traktat auf die "eindringlichen und wiederholten Bitten" von Muḥammad Kāmraṅ, dem zeitweiligen Herrscher über verschiedene Regionen Afghanistans und Nordindiens (928-960/1522-53) und zweiten Sohn von Zahīraddīn Bābur (st. 937/1530), des Begründers der Dynastie der Großmoguln in Indien.²

¹ Die Abschrift des Traktates befindet sich in einem Handschriftensammelband in der Sammlung der Sankt Petersburger Filiale des Instituts für Orientalistik der Russischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (fortan: SPFIVRAN) unter der Inv.-Nr. B2296, fols. 82a-84a. Die Handschrift gelangte in die Sammlung als Teil der Kollektion von V.A. Žukovskiy im Jahre 1919 unter der Nr. 21. Siehe *Persidskie i tadžikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii ANSSSR*, Teil I, Nr. 1745; Teil II, S. 137 (die Folioangaben im ersten Teil sind falsch: statt 82a-95b muß es heißen 82a-84a).
² Sein älterer Bruder Muḥammad Humāyūn wurde 913/1508 geboren. Muḥammad Kāmraṅ wurde bereits als Kind in den Jahren 928/1522 und 932/1525 von seinem Vater zum Herrscher über Kandahar und Kabul ernannt. Als Humāyūn nach dem Tode von Bābur (26.12.1530) auf den Thron kam (29.12.1530), bestätigte er Kāmraṅ-Mīrzā das Recht, Afghanistan zu regieren. Augenscheinlich hat er sich schon 950/1543, noch vor Humāyūns Flucht in den Iran zu Šāh Ṭahmāsp I. (930-984/1524-76), zum unabhängigen Herrscher erklärt und begonnen, Münzen mit seinem Namen in Kabul und Kandahar prägen zu lassen. Nach seiner Rückkehr aus Indien brachte Humāyūn seinem Bruder Kāmraṅ eine vollständige Niederlage bei.

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أستاذ الدراسات الإسلامية
بجامعة بازل من بلاد سويسرا

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مطبعة فرانتر شتاينر ويسبادن (المانيا)
1957

Frankfurt
Steiner

rédacteur de la version persane, Amir Sayyed Ali b. Shihab al-Din Hamadani¹, appartient à la tariqa kobrawi. Son isnad initiatique remonte à Kobra par les intermédiaires suivants: Mahmud Mazdaqani - 'Ala' al-Dawla Semnani - Anvar 'Abd al - Rahman Isfaraini - Ahmad Juzqani - 'Ali Lala². C'est un écrivain prolifi-

(1) Il existe au moins deux biographies de 'Ali Hamadani. La première, *Khulasat al-manaqib*, fut composée à Khottalan immédiatement après la mort du mystique, Ni le ms. de Berlin, ni celui d'Oxford ne donnent le nom de l'auteur; c'est en se basant sur les *Majales al-muminin* du Nur al-lah Shushtari que Storey, *Persian Literature* 1.947, l'identifie comme Nur al-din Ja'far Badakhshi. Le manuscrit de l'Académie de la RSS d'Uzbekistan à Tashkent (nr 2312, ff. 304b-358d) semble en revanche contenir ce nom. L'indication est confirmée par l'auteur de la seconde biographie qui se réfère à plusieurs reprises à ce que (Mawlana) Nur al-Din Ja'far Badakhshi dit dans sa *Khulasat al-manaqib*. Cette seconde biographie, composée au Cachemire, est contenue dans le ms. India office, Ethé 1850. Loin d'être un ouvrage du maître, il fut composé longtemps après sa mort. Son auteur ne l'a pas connu personnellement, il rapporte seulement ce que ses disciples racontent sur lui. L'intervalle est au moins de deux générations. Le manuscrit des *Masturat* est récent, très fautif, et il y manque un feuillet. Le fabuleux prévaut nettement et le contenu mystique est plutôt maigre.

— (Note de correction. Le véritable titre de l'ouvrage est مناقب الجواهر. Son auteur, Haidar-e Badakhshi, disciple du Sayyed 'Abd Allah Barzeshabadi, le composa du vivant de ce dernier. Ces indications se trouvent dans la manuscrit de l'écrit appartenant au *khanqah* dhahabi de Téhéran. Dans le ms. de l'India Office le premier feuillet est visiblement tombé et le début de l'introduction fut remplacé par un récit emprunté à une histoire du Cachemire. Le manuscrit du *khanqah* est ancien, mais incomplet de sa fin et non daté; il a été copié également dans l'Inde.)

(2) *Khulasat al-manaqib*, ms. Berlin 92a ms. Oxford 10 a.



La version persane du Traité de dix principes

de Najm al-Din Kobra

par

'Ali b. Shihâb al-Din Hamadâni

M. MOLE, Tehrân

Le petit traité que nous publions ici est un des écrits du mysticisme iranien les plus répandus; ainsi qu'en témoignent les manuscrits - très nombreux -, sa diffusion ne se limite pas à la *tariqa* kobrawi (dhahabiya); il a été copié, lu et médité par les adhérents de tous les grands ordres iraniens.

Son auteur, Najm al-din Kobra, eut une influence déterminante sur les destinées ultérieures du soufisme¹; des mystiques aussi importants que Najm al-Din Razi, Sa'd al-Din Hamuya (maître de 'Aziz-e Nasafi), Majd al-Din Baghdadi et Baha' al-Din Walad, le père de Mawlana Jalal al-Din, furent de ses disciples. Le

(1) Sur Najm al-Din Kobra v. notamment Fritz Meier, *Stambuler Handschriften dreier persischer Mystiker: Ain al qudat al-Hamadani, Nagm ad-din al-Kubra, Nagm ad-din ad-Daja*. *Der Islam* 24.1935.1-30; id., *Die Fawa'ih al-gamal wa lawatih al-galal des Nagm al-din al-kubra*. Introduction; id. *Ein Knigge-für Sufi's*, *Rivista degli Studi orientali* 22.1937.485-524.



لَتَحْمِلُنَّ
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PROFESSIONS DE FOI DE DEUX KUBRAWIS:
'ALI-I HAMADĀNĪ ET MUHAMMAD NŪRBAHŞ

PAR

MARIJAN MOLÉ

En poursuivant nos recherches sur l'ordre kubrawi à l'époque mongole et timouride (1), et notamment sur le cheminement des idées shiites parmi ses adeptes, nous publions ici trois professions de foi de deux kubrawis séparés par deux générations et dont le second a reçu sa formation des disciples du premier. Les deux mystiques sont des *sayyid*, et le fait favorise l'exaltation de la personnalité de 'Alī. Le premier, 'Alī b. Šihāb al-Dīn Hamadānī est encore, ostensiblement, sunnite en *šari'a*, ce qui ne l'empêche pas de professer en *ṭarīqa* des idées shiites extrémistes. Le second, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Aḥsā'i (Lahsā'i, Lahsawī), surnommé Nūrbahş, est fils d'un Arabe de Bahrain établi en Ḥurāsān et d'une princesse turque. L'origine de son père explique sans doute le fait que Nūrbahş part des positions shiites pour concevoir une sorte de synthèse qui lui permettrait de rétablir l'unité islamique. Après avoir voué un culte exceptionnel à 'Alī-i Hamadānī, le «second 'Alī», Işhāq-i Ḥuttalānī trouvera son héros en son disciple Nūrbahş qu'il proclamera Mahdī. Une secte sera née, ainsi, mais qui ne survivra pas, en Iran, à l'établissement de l'orthodoxie shiite sous les Safavides dont elle aura préparé le terrain.

Nous étudions cette évolution ailleurs (2) et nous contentons ici de donner quelques indications sur les textes publiés et les manuscrits qui ont servi à préparer leur édition.

I

Le premier des textes publiés, la (*Risāla*) *al-i'tiqādīya* est en arabe. C'est un texte très court qui n'aborde que les grands problèmes, l'existence de Dieu, Ses attributs, la nature de la

(1) La présente publication forme le numéro 5 de mes *Kubrawīyāt*. Les numéros précédents :

I.— La version persane du *Traité de dix principes de Najm al-Dīn Kobra*, *Farhang-i Irān zamān* 6, 1937, 38-66; II.— *La Risāla-i futuwvatīya de 'Alī-i Hamadānī*, *Šarkiyāt mecmu'asī* 4, 31-72; III.— *Quelques documents relatifs à l'histoire ancienne de l'ordre kubrawī*, à paraître ultérieurement; IV.— *Un traité de*

'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī sur 'Alī ben Abī Ṭālib, *BEO* XVI, 61-99.

(2) *Les Kubrawīya entre sunnisme et shiisme aux 9ème et 10ème siècles de l'hégire*, *Revue des études islamiques* 29, 1961, 61-142 — Sur Hamadānī, v. maintenant J. K. TEUFEL, *Eine Lebensbeschreibung des Scheichs 'Alī-i Hamadānī*. Leiden 1962

The Return to "The One" in the Philosophy of Najm Al-Dīn Al-Kubrā

David Martin

Edited by

Parviz Morewedge

Neoplatonism and Islamic Thought

New York 1992, s. 211-246.

DN:40020.

Introduction

Plotinus and Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā are separated in history by some nine centuries. Plotinus in Egypt and Rome was solidly in the Platonic tradition, almost single-handedly launching Neoplatonism. Najm al-Dīn in Egypt, Azarbaijan, and Khwārazm was solidly in the tradition of Sufism. That even in its early stages Sufism was influenced by the Christian anchorites and ascetics of Syria and the Gnostics of Egypt cannot be denied. Through Stephen bar Sudhāilī (also called Hierotheus) and his pupil Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, the Syrian Christians had a definite Neoplatonic strain.¹ How much Gnosticism or its remains in Egypt was influenced by Neoplatonism at the time of Dhū'l-Nūn (d. 245-860), the first great Egyptian Sufi that we may recognize as a force in the transformation of Sufism from an ascetic discipline to a devotional one, is not certain. Yet some scholars (Nicholson, Arberry) perceive Dhū'l-Nūn as an important carrier of the alchemical tradition which certainly had Neoplatonic strains.² Another potent source of Neoplatonism is *The Theology of Aristotle*, a late Greek summary of Plotinus' *Enneads*.

15 MAYIS 1996

Mukâvemet-i Şikenende Târih-i Tahavvulât-i İctimâi-yi İrân, çev. Ahmed Tedeyyun, 3. bs. Tahran 1380 (2001), s. 443.

² Nâsir İrânî, "Tirâjedî-yi 28 Mordâd", *Neşr-i Dâniş*, yıl: 16, Yaz 1378/1999, sayı: 2, s. 32.

³ John Foran, age, s. 443.

⁴ Bu tür gözaltı ve tutuklamalarla ilgili ayrıntılı bilgi için bkz. John Foran, age, s. 443.

⁵ Şems Lengerûdî, *Târih-i Tahlîli-yi Şi'r-i Nov*, Tahran 1377, c. II, s. 7.

⁶ Aynı eser, c. II, s. 8-10.

⁷ Aynı eser, c. II, s. 8.

⁸ Aynı eser, c. II, s. 9.

⁹ Aynı eser, c. II, s. 18-19.

¹⁰ Aynı eser, c. III, s. 2; Muhammed Ca'fer Yâhakkî, *Çun Sebû-yi Teşne*, Tahran 1995, s. 115.

¹¹ Muhammed Rızâ Şeffî Kedkenî, "Edebiyyât-i İrân ez Rûzgâr-i Câmî tâ be-İmrûz", *Târih-i Edebiyyât-i İrân*, Tahran 1380, s. 473.

¹² Örneğin Hasan Mîr Âbidîni, İrân öykü ve roman yazarlığını başından sonuna dek ayrıntılı olarak ele aldığı önemli eseri *Sad Sâl-i Dâstân-Nivîsi-yi İrân*'da (*İrân Öykü ve Romanının Yüz Yılı*) Musaddik'in devrilişini takip eden onluğunu ele alırken "şikest" (yenilgi) tabirini kullanır (Hasan-i Mîr Âbidîni, *İrân Öykü ve Romanının Yüz Yılı*, c. I, çev. Derya Örs, Ankara 2002, s. 225).

¹³ Şems Lengerûdî, age, c. III, s. 2.

¹⁴ "Mehdî Ehavân Sâlis", *Zemistân*, *Zemistân*, 12. bs. Tahran 1371/1992, s. 97-99.

¹⁵ Ahmed Şamlu, "Şebâne", *Mecmûa-i Âsâr Defter-i Yekom: Şi'râh*, Tahran 1380/2001, s. 446.

¹⁶ Hûşeng İbtihâc Sâye, "Sergožešt", *Râhî ve Âhî* (Seçme Şiirler), Tahran 1378/1999, s. 125.

¹⁷ Nusret Rahmânî, "Tiryâk", *Âvâzi der Fercâm* (Toplu Şiirler), Tahran 1374/1995, s. 40.

¹⁸ Mehdi Ehavân Sâlis, "Ketîbe", *Ez İn Evistâ*, 9. basım, Tahran 1370 (1991), s. 9-13.

¹⁹ Ahmed Şamlu, "Be-To Begüyem", *Mecmûa-i Âsâr Defter-i Yekom: Şi'râh*, Tahran 1380/2001, s. 227.

²⁰ Aynı eser, s. 207.

²¹ Nusret Rahmânî, "Rûy-i Divâr", *Gozîne-i Eş'âr*, Tahran 1370/1991, s. 88.

²² Ahmed Şamlu, "Surûd-i Merdî ki Tenhâ be-Râh mi Reved", *Hevâ-yi Tâze*, 8. bs. Tahran 1372/1994, s. 317.

²³ Ahmed Şamlu, "Mersiye", *Bâg-i Âyine*, 7. bs. Tahran 1371/1992, s. 130.

NECMUDDİN-İ RÂZİ: HAYATI VE ESERLERİ

Derya Örs*

Özet: 7./13. yüzyılın büyük mutasavvıf yazarlarından birisi olan Necmuddîn-i Râzî, Moğol istilâsından kaçarak Anadolu topraklarına sığınmış ve klâsik Fars edebiyatının önemli eserlerinden birisi sayılan *Mirsâdu'l-İbâd* adlı tasavvufî kitabını Sivas'ta kaleme alarak Selçuklu sultanı Alâuddîn Keykubâd'a ithaf etmiştir. Bu makalede Necmuddîn-i Râzî'nin yaşadığı dönemin sosyal ve siyasal özellikleri üzerinde durulmuş, yazarın hayat hikâyesi ve eserleri ayrıntılı bir şekilde incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Necmuddîn-i Râzî, İrân, tasavvuf, Mirsâdu'l-İbâd.

Najm al-din Razi: His Life and Works

Summary: Najm al-din Razi who is one of the greatest Sufi writers of 13th century of Iran, escaping from Mongol invasion came to Anatolia and wrote his famous mystic book "*Mirsâd al-İbâd*" at Sivas and presented it to the Saljuqid king Alâ al-dîn Kaykubâd. In this article the author investigates the social and political events of the period that Najm al-din Razi lived and deals with his life and works in detail.

Keywords: Najm al-din Razi, Iran, sufism. Mirsâd al-İbâd.

19 SUBAT 1991

A Kubrawī Manual of Sufism:

The *Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb* of Yaḥyā Bākharzī

Muhammad Isa Waley

I. INTRODUCTION

The subject of this study is the *Awrād al-aḥbāb wa Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb* which was completed in 724/1323-4 by Abū'l-Mafākhīr Yaḥyā Bākharzī (d. 736/1335-6). The content, and to some extent the style, of this Persian treatise on Sufī methodology show the influence of several other works. It is distinctive, however, both in the way in which those influences are blended and also in that it reflects in particular the teachings of Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī of Bukhārā. This Shaykh, who died in 659/1261, belonged to the Kubrawī *Ṭariqa* or Order and was a major figure in Central Asian Sufism. The *Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb*, the second part of Yaḥyā Bākharzī's treatise, has been published in an excellent edition with an introductory study by Īraj Afshār.¹ This apart, it has received little attention from scholars. The main aim here is to introduce and survey the content of *Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb*, highlighting aspects which seem unusual or of especial interest.

II. THE KUBRAWĪ ORDER: ITS WRITTEN WORKS & DISCIPLINES

Before discussing Bākharzī and his work it is essential to consider briefly its spiritual and historical background. The author of *Awrād al-aḥbāb wa Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb* was the grandson, both physically and by spiritual inheritance, of Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī. Sayf al-Dīn was one of the direct disciples of Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Kubrā of Khwārazm, the eponymous founder of the Kubrawī Order. Among the most notable features of this Order are its discipline and methodology, and its distinctive contributions to the interpretation of the Holy Koran.

The *magnum opus* of Kubrā is an extraordinary work called *Fawā'ih al-jamāl wa fawātiḥ al-jalāl*.² The *Fawā'ih* is a kind of didactic journal of the author's spiritual experiences, written to inform and warn the Sufi seeker about the states, interior events (*waqā' i'*), and stations of the Path, and in particular about the luminous visual and auditory perceptions experienced by the interior organs of perception (*laṭā'if*) during the *khalwa* or retreat. Among the more striking passages in the *Fawā'ih* are those in which the Shaykh describes vividly the nature and meaning of some of his visions. The apparent intention is to offer the initiate a diagnostic key

1. *Awrād al-aḥbāb wa Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb, jild-i duwwum: Fuṣūṣ al-ādāb*, ed. Īraj Afshār (Tehran 1345/1966) (Hear after referred to in footnotes as *Fuṣūṣ*).

2. Published together with an extensive study by Fritz Meier: *Die Fawā'ih al-ḡamāl wa fawātiḥ al-jalāl* (Wiesbaden 1957).

Edited by Leonard Lewisohn
The Legacy of Mediaeval Persian
Sufism, London, 1992, s. 289-310.

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Mehmed's. The first, titled *Isharāt al-bishāra*, describes the whirling dance.¹ The second, three pages long, instructs the reader in the ways of the Spiritual Path.² Both would be early Mevlevī examples of their genre.

The Mevlevī texts composed during the first two centuries of the Order's widest diffusion evidence a continuity of certain values and a wide range of play in their scope. A high value placed on verbal skill, writing and recording survived throughout the history of composition in the Order, although dynamics of orality and literacy may partly account for variations in volume of literary production and generic articulation. Further research could specify these dynamics more satisfactorily.

The forms of *mesnevī*, verse-narrative in rhyming couplets; the more often extempore lyric *gazel*; and prose biography based on oral account, developed throughout the period. Perhaps their status eased innovation of new genres and linguistic transposition which could be subsumed under their rubrics. The narrative and lyric verse forms served increasingly diverse purposes of commentary, often in the form of selections from the *Mesnevī* accompanied by Turkish commentary; and prose, that of autobiography. Treatises only began to be written at the end of this period, and Arabic, Persian, or Turkish, verse or prose, were employed in this form.

Tolerance for diverse tastes in the spiritual life retained its value as a high priority. Sober *Veled* and ecstatic *Ârif* remained as textual images of the limits of play. The legacy of mediæval Persian Sufism, as received by the Mevlevī texts, encouraged inclusion, rather than exclusion, of differences in sensibility. Contributions to the spread of the Rumi's teachings were portrayed favorably throughout the period.

Edited by Leonard Lewisohn
 The Legacy of Mediaeval Persian
 Sufism, London, 1992, s. 121-158.
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 Dergi / Kısap
 Gölpınarlı Meryem

1. Sakīb translated this Arabic and Persian work into Turkish, in a form Gölpınarlı speculated was much revised, and provided a commentary on pp. 68-75 of his *Sefine* (1983: 123, 384).

2. The Konya Museum MS. is titled *Tarīqat al-ma'ârifin al-Sultân-i Dîn quddâsa sirrah al-Mawlâ*; Gölpınarlı found the title a corruption of the more probable "*Tarīqat al-'arīfin li-Sultân-i Divânî*." From his summary, it does not seem that Mehmed emphasized a Mevlevī path in particular, but the spiritual path in general (1983:190).

Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī and Kubrawī Hagiographical Traditions

Devin DeWeese

INTRODUCTION

The study of the Kubrawī Sufi tradition has been plagued by a number of misinterpretations and erroneous assumptions rooted, I believe, in two related tendencies: first, a habit of interpreting Kubrawī history solely on the basis of developments in western Iran in the 13th to 15th centuries, without proper attention to the religious environment of the other Iranian world of that era, Central Asia, where in fact the decisive events that shaped the Kubrawiyya unfolded; and second, a tendency to seek in Kubrawī writings and personalities signs of the Shi'ite proclivities which came to dominate religious developments in western Iran during this period. The latter tendency has proven especially persistent; beginning with the seminal article by Marijan Molé which appeared nearly thirty years ago,¹ it has become virtually axiomatic that the Kubrawiyya was in some way parallel to or preparatory for, at least from a doctrinal perspective, the transition to militant Shi'ism experienced by another Iranian Sufi order of the same era, the Şafaviyya.

I cannot review here the issue of apparent Shi'ite tendencies in the works of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, regarded as the founder of the Kubrawiyya, or of his successors Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥammūyi, or 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī, as explored by Molé. Rather, my goal is to focus on Amīr Sayyid 'Alī ibn Shihāb al-Dīn Hamadānī, the Kubrawī figure in whose life and works Molé claimed to find some of the clearest indications of the propensity towards Shi'ism, but whose legacy and role in Kubrawī history have been especially obscured by a lack of attention to Central Asian materials. For while there is no question that Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī and his immediate successors mark a crucial stage in the development of the Kubrawī *silsilas*, the nature of the transformation during that crucial stage, marked by the schism in the Kubrawī 'Order' which I have discussed elsewhere,² has not been fully appreciated, again largely as a result of the misplaced focus on the search for Shi'ite tendencies and the neglect of Central Asian developments.

Here I intend to concentrate not on a reconstruction of events in that period or a

1. M. Molé, 'Les Kubrawiyya entre sunnisme et shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire,' *Revue des études islamiques*, 29 (1961), pp. 110-124.

2. In 'The Eclipse of the Kubrawiyyah in Central Asia,' *Iranian Studies*, 21 (1988) pp. 45-83; on pp. 54-61, I addressed the problems arising from the adoption by Western researchers in Kubrawī history of the perspective of later writers belonging to Shi'ified Kubrawī offshoots in Western Iran in interpreting the Khutalānī-Nūrbakhsh affair and the Kubrawī schism.

Najmo'd-Din Kobra and the Kobra-wiya Order

12 MAYIS 1992

-Kubrawiye

-Hecmeddin-i Kobra

by Muhammad Isa Waley

I: Introduction

One of the most turbulent periods in the history of the Moslem world was compensated for by a phenomenal expansion and flowering of Sufism. During the later 12th and the 13th centuries A.D. (550-700 A.H.) there occurred the cataclysmic Mongol invasion, the destruction of the Baghdad Caliphate, and innumerable concomitant disasters. Yet Moslem saints and scholars flourished to an extent rarely seen since the early days of the Community of Islam, and many major Sufi Orders were founded or revived: these include – to name but a few – the Qaderiya, Refaiyah, Sohrawardiya, Shadheliya and Mawlawiya, as well as the Kobra-wiya *Tariqa* (Order) which is the subject of the present essay.

The Kobra-wiya derives its name from Najmo'd-Din Kobra (d. 618/1221), founder of the order. From its beginnings in the Central Asian region of Khiva (then known as Khwarazm) to the south of the Aral Sea – where it survives to this day – it spread, with its offshoots, to Iran, Afghanistan, India, and even to China. During its long history the Kobra-wiya produced several masters of great eminence who in addition to the training of disciples also left for posterity a body of writings, many of which are as yet unpublished. These contain some highly interesting and innovative

elaborations of Sufi methodology and doctrine. The contribution of Kobra and certain of his successors in what has come to be known as the Central Asian school of Sufism to the phenomenology and analysis of spiritual vision and gnosis merits the attention of all who are interested in visionary experience and its place in spirituality.

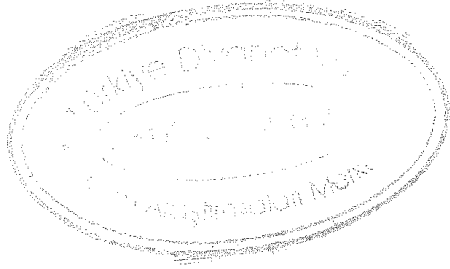
II: Najmo'd-Din Kobra: His Life and Spiritual Masters

Abo'l-Jannab Najmo'd-Din ebn 'Omar al-Kobra, founder of the Kobra-wiya, was born in Khwarazm around 1145 A.D. Najmo'd-Din's intellectual powers became evident at an early age. Whilst still a student, he acquired the nickname *Kobra* (literally meaning, 'the greatest'), an abbreviated form of the Koranic phrase *af-tammato'l-kobra*, 'the Greatest Calamity' (LXXIX, 34). This appellation apparently alluded to the formidable talents which made Najmo'd-Din the downfall of those who contended with him in disputation. Having received the normal formation in the Islamic religious sciences, Kobra left Khwarazm to pursue his studies in other lands, as was the wont of many medieval scholars. His chief interest at that time was in the science of *Hadith*, which he studied for several years in Iran and Egypt.

At some time between 1177 and 1180, however, an interest in esoteric matters was kindled in Najmo'd-Din.

He was initiated into the Sohrawardiya Order in Egypt by a shaiikh named Ruzbehān al-Wazzān al-Meşri. According to one account, this followed – or coincided with – a vision of the Prophet. At all events, we know from Najmo'd-Din's own writings that he had undergone at least one striking spiritual experience in his childhood (Meier 1963, para. 107). Nonetheless, he continued for some time to pursue the study of Prophetic Tradition. The turning-point in Kobra's life may have been his encounter in Tabriz with a certain Bābā Faraj Tabrizi, whose bearing greatly impressed him and who urged him to forsake the pursuit of exoteric knowledge in favour of the Sufi Path.

Najmo'd-Din's first Sufi master was Esmā'il al-Qaşri (d. 589/1193), at Dezfūl in southwestern Iran. But after he had spent only a short while there, Esmā'il advised him to go to 'Ammār ebn Yāser Bedlesi (d. 582/1186). This shaiikh was a disciple of Abo'n-Najib Sohrawardi and his treatise entitled *Bahjat af-tā'ifa* is extant in manuscript. Kobra underwent spiritual retreats (*khalwa*) with both Qaşri and Bedlesi, and his writings include accounts of some experiences with them. Next, Kobra returned to Egypt on the orders of 'Ammār; here Ruzbehān Meşri continued Najmo'd-Din's training, until he pronounced him qualified to initiate and instruct disciples of his own. During this period Najmo'd-Din married



Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi

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KUBREVİ TARİKATININ TÜRKMENİSTAN'DAKİ ETKİSİ*

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Durmuş TAÇLILIOĞLU**

I-GİRİŞ

a) Yöntem Ve Veri Toplama

Türkmenistan'da tarikat ve dinselleşme olgusu üzerinde günümüzde çok şey söylenmesine rağmen bu konuda saha araştırması yok denecek kadar azdır. Kubrevî tarikatı üzerine yapılan bu incelemenin amacı, genelde toplumsal değişim perspektifinden bu tarikatın Türkmenistan'da yaşayan insanlara etkisini incelemektir. Türkmenistan dışında müritleri olan bu tarikatın uluslararası bağlantısı konusunda elimizde pek bilgi bulunmamaktadır. Araştırmanın yöntemi "katılarak gözlem, kaynak kişiler, video kamera ve literatür taraması" şeklindedir. Tanımlayıcı, betimleyici ve durum saptayıcı nitelikte olan bu çalışma tarikatın ve dinin etkisi teolojik düzeyde değil toplumsal bir olgu olarak ele alınıp incelenmiştir.

Toplumsal yapının bir ögesi olarak din ve tarikat olgusu, toplumdaki genel değişimden bağımsız değildir. Toplumsal yapıda meydana gelen değişim süreci içinde bunların değerler ve davranış biçimlerinde de değişim kaçınılmaz olacaktır. Her sosyal yapı, bu yapıyı meydana getiren sosyal müesseselerin, insan ilintilerinin ve bunların karşılıklı münasebetlerinden doğan sosyal değerlerin birbirini karşılıklı olarak etkiledikleri bir bütündür ve bu bütün her zaman aynı olmayan bir hız ve tempoyla değişir. Bugün Türkmenistan'da İslami yeniden canlanış veya gelenekselleşme olarak adlandırılan olgu, bu önemli değişimin kendini ifade ediş biçimidir. Dinin değişen toplumsal yapıya uyum sağlama sürecidir. Bu süreçte din farklılaşma ve muhafazakar bir düşünce olarak önem kazanmaktadır.

Kubrevî tarikatı ile ilgili çalışma yapmak araştırmacıya yabancı olan bir konu değildir. Araştırmacının doktora konusu Rufa-i tarikatıdır. Kubrevî tarikatının kurucusu Necmettin Kubra'nın mezarının Türkmenistan topraklarında olması, araştırmacının da üç yıl Türkmenistan'da bulunması bu konu üzerinde inceleme yapmasında etkili olmuştur.

b) Sosyo-Kültürel Çerçeve

* Bu çalışma yazarın 1995-98 yılları arasında Türkmenistan'da sahası ile ilgili yaptığı araştırmalara dayalıdır.

** C.Ü. İlahiyat Fakültesi Öğretim Üyesi.

Najmo'd-Din Rāzi and the Kobrāwiya Order

by Muhammad Isa Waley

The first part of this article on the Kobrāwiya Order was devoted to its founder, Shaikh Najmo'd-Din Kobrā (ca. 1145 A.D. - 618/1221). Distinctive features of his teachings were outlined, and illustrative passages cited from his writings. This second part examines the work and teachings of Najmo'd-Din Rāzi and some other Kobrāwis who made important contributions to the methodology and exposition of Sufism.

Majdo'd-Din Baghdadi and His Followers

One of the outstanding successors of Najmo'd-Din Kobrā was Majdo'd-Din Baghdādi, who hailed not from Baghdad but from a village in Khorāsān called Baghdādak. Little is known of his life, which in the account by Jāmi is overshadowed by the circumstances of his death in 616/1219 (Jāmi 1957, pp. 424-428). According to Jāmi, Majdo'd-Din was drowned in the River Oxus by the Mongols as foretold by Kobrā, whom Majdo'd-Din had disobeyed. Whether or not that is correct, Majdo'd-Din was one of Kobrā's authorized representatives, responsible for the formation of many disciples. From his treatise *Toḥfat al-barāra* we know that Majdo'd-Din, like his teacher, was engaged in the interpretation of the colors and images occurring in gnostic visions and dreams.

One of Majdo'd-Din Baghdādi's disciples was Najmo'd-Din Dāya, to be discussed below; it is noteworthy

that although Baghdādi died before Kobrā, Dāya never mentions the latter in his writings, apparently regarding Baghdādi as his only master. Another probable follower of Majdo'd-Din was Farido'd-Din 'Aḥḥār of Nishapur (d. ca. 1230), one of the greatest Persian Sufi writers. In his *Manṭeq al-ṭayr* ('Conference of the Birds') and other major poems, 'Aḥḥār explores with profound perceptiveness and feeling the awesome perils and the majestic epiphanies of Divine Beauty involved in the initiate's quest for the Transcendent Self. In one part or another of his didactic poem *Asrār-nāma*, 'the Book of Secrets', 'Aḥḥār sets out some principles for the spiritual life. Not only do these visibly parallel the Kobrāwiya Order's 'rules of Jonayd' discussed in the first part of the present article; four of them are identical (see 'Aḥḥār 1985, pp. 15-21).

'Sultan of the Scholars': Baha'o'd-Din Walad

It is probable, but not certain, that Bahā'o'd-Din Walad of Balkh was another of Najmo'd-Din Kobrā's immediate disciples.¹ Best known as the father of the great Mawlāna Jalālo'd-Din Rumi, he is a significant Sufi master in his own right whose work would repay further study. Bahā'o'd-Din was born in 1145 in the ancient city of Balkh, now in northern Afghanistan. His learning in the exoteric sciences of religion earned him the title *Sulṭāno'l-blamā* ('Sultan

of the Scholars') and some prestige at the court of the Khwārazmshāh, ruler of the region. Either court intrigues or the threat of the Mongols, or both, impelled Bahā'o'd-Din to migrate westwards with his family. After traveling through the central Islamic lands he taught at *madrasas* in various parts of Asia Minor. He finally settled in Konya, where he died in 1231, to be succeeded - first as professor, later as Sufi master - by his son Jalālo'd-Din.

Renowned as a preacher, Bahā'o'd-Din Walad was a strong personality who possessed eloquence and also a vivid spiritual imagination. Fortunately, a large compilation of his discourses (*Ma'āref*) has survived (Bahā'o'd-Din Walad 1973). They reveal a great deal concerning the author's personality, his teachings, his interpretation of the Koran and *Ḥadīth*, and his deep influence on the thought and style of Jalālo'd-Din Rumi. They show Bahā'o'd-Din to have possessed some of that ecstatic tendency which is often said (although this is a generalization) to characterize the Sufism of Khorāsān in contrast to the more 'sober' Sufism of Iraq. The language is plain and direct, the message for the most part straightforward, although sometimes opaque. Many chapters of the *Ma'āref* open with a Koranic verse or phrase, or a Tradition, which provides the theme for exposition. Bahā'o'd-Din Walad often alludes to his own meditations, inspirations and visions; the following passages may be cited by way of il-

T.C.
DOKUZ EYLÜL ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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2009

Bābā Kamāl Jandi and the Kubravi Tradition among the Turks of Central Asia

Devin DeWeese (Indiana University)

The Sufi order of the Kubraviyah traces its origins to Central Asia in the early 13th century, in particular to the state centered in Khorezm ruled by the Turkic dynasty of the Khorezmshāhs; it was in the Khorezmian capital of Gurganj that the order's eponymous founder, Najm ad-Din Kubrā, gathered his disciples and imparted his particular strain of mystical doctrine, and it was there that he died, according to tradition, at the hands of the Mongol invaders in 618/1221. Although Khorezm itself was heavily Turkified by the time of Najm ad-Din Kubrā, the literary, religious, and historical legacy of Kubrā and his disciples is best known in an Iranian cultural milieu. The best-known disciples of Kubrā, such as Najm ad-Din Rāzi and Sa'd ad-Din Ḥammūyī, left Khorezm for more westerly regions before the Mongol conquest, with Rāzi especially well-known for his vivid description of the horrors inflicted upon Iran during the Mongol advance;¹⁾ likewise, the most enduring Kubravi lineages, stemming from Kubrā's disciple Rāzi ad-Din 'Alī Lālā, found their widest development in Iran and India, and even the Central Asian Kubravi legacy linked with the name of Kubrā's famous disciple Sayf ad-Din Bākharzi seems firmly rooted in the urban Iranian civilization of Bukhārā.²⁾

Consideration of Turkic Sufism in Central Asia has thus focused upon the Yasavi tradition named for Khoja Aḥmad Yasavi, a 12th-century shaykh of the town known later as Turkistān, and rightfully known as the preeminent Sufi order among the Central Asian Turks. The links between prominent Kubravi figures, however, and the ruling circles of the Mongol, Timurid, and Uzbek states of Central Asia, as well as their activities in regions of Central Asia which underwent accelerating rates of Turkification,

¹⁾ See the translation in *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return (Mer-sād al-'ebād men al-mabdā' elā'l-ma'ād)*, a Sufi Compendium by Najm al-Din Rāzi known as *Dāya*, tr. Hamid Algar (Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, for Persian Heritage Series, 1982), pp. 39-40.

²⁾ For further references on the Central Asian Kubravi lineages, see this writer's "The Eclipse of the Kubraviyah in Central Asia," *Iranian Studies*, 21/1-2 (1988), pp. 54-83.

ensured that the Kubravi tradition as well would leave its mark in the cultural heritage of the Central Asian Turks. The 14th-century traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭah reported the performance of prayers in Arabic, Persian, and Turkic at the *khānqāh* of Bākharzi's grandson,³⁾ while the 16th-century Kubravi shaykh Kamāl ad-Din Ḥusayn Khorezmi (d. 958/1551) counted many Turks among his disciples, several of whom were active among the Turkmens near Khorezm, and he himself wrote Turkic verse and corresponded with leading figures among the new Uzbek rulers of Mawarannahr.⁴⁾

Kubravi ties to the Turkic population of Central Asia go back much further, however, to the ranks of the founder's immediate disciples. Among the figures traditionally listed in Kubravi *silsilahs* (chains of initiatic transmission) and in general hagiographical compendia as disciples of Najm ad-Din Kubrā is one shaykh who has remained virtually unknown to students of the Kubraviyah in the Iranian world, but who stands at the head of an important Kubravi lineage which seems to have remained active in Khorezm and in the steppe region north of the lower Syr Darya for two centuries after the Mongol conquest. This figure, known in hagiographical sources as "Bābā Kamāl Jandi," has been the most obscure and neglected of Kubrā's disciples, one whose name is cited (often incorrectly) but whose origin and legacy are left without comment;⁵⁾ a study of his identity and of what little can be known of his life offers a glimpse of the Kubravi order's continued

³⁾ *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭah* (Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1379/1960), p. 368; cf. *Voyages d'Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, ed. and tr. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1854; repr. Éditions Anthropos Paris, 1969), vol. 3, p. 27.

⁴⁾ On this Ḥusayn Khorezmi see most recently "Eclipse," pp. 69-76.

⁵⁾ Cf. Algar, *Mersād*, intro., p. 3ff., and his article on Kubrā in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (*Et*, V, pp. 300-301); the most reliable general account of Kubrā's disciples to date, in Fritz Meier's introduction to his edition of one of Kubrā's works (*Die Fawā'ih al-Ġamal wa-Fawā'ih al-Ġalāl des Naḥm ad-Din al-Kubrā: eine Darstellung mystischer Erfahrungen im Islam aus der Zeit um 1200 n. Chr.* [Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1957], p. 43), does no more than refer to Jāmi on Bābā Kamāl, but at least notes that his *nisbah* is properly "Jandi," rather than "Janadi," "Jundi," or "Khujandi" as often assumed. Bābā Kamāl Jandi is mentioned without comment in Ḥusayn Karbalā'ī's *Rawzāt al-jinān wa-jannāt al-janān* from the latter 16th century (ed. Ja'far Sulṭān al-Qurrā'ī [Tehran, 1349/1970], II, p. 328; cf. pp. 600-601, where among Kubrā's disciples identified in the editor's notes, Bābā Kamāl alone is ignored). See also the largely uncritical survey of Kubrā's life and legacy by Manūchīhr Muḥsinī, *Tahqiq dar aḥwāl wa-āthār-i Najm ad-Din Kubrā Uvaysi* [sic!] (Tehran, 1346/1967), pp. 94-95 on Bābā Kamāl (citing only Jāmi). A Turkish translator of several of Kubrā's work puts a question mark after the name of "Baba Kemāl Cendi," evidently uncertain of this figure's identity or at least of his *nisbah* (Mustafa Kara, ed., *Tasavvufî Hayat; Necmüddin Kübra* [Istanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1980], p. 16).



Author: DEWEESE, DEVIN A.
Title: THE "KASHF AL-HUDA" OF KAMAL AD-DIN HUSAYN KHOREZMI: A
FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SUFI COMMENTARY ON THE "QASIDAT AL-BURDAH" IN
KHOREZMIAN TURKIC (TEXT EDITION, TRANSLATION, AND HISTORICAL
INTRODUCTION) (CENTRAL ASIA, KUBRAVIYAH, CHAGHATAY, ISLAM, AL-BUSIRI)
School: INDIANA UNIVERSITY (0093) Degree: PHD Date: 1985 pp: 607
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Subject: HISTORY, ASIA, AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA (0332); LITERATURE, MIDDLE
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Abstract: The Kashf al-Huda or "Unveiling of Guidance" is an important (though up to now unstudied) example of medieval Central Asian Turkic religious literature. It was written as a commentary on the famous Arabic poem in praise of the Prophet Muhammad, the Qasidat al-Burdah, composed by the Egyptian poet al-Busiri in the late 13th century; the Turkic commentary was dedicated to Abu'l-Khayr Khan, the ruler of the nomadic Uzbek confederation of the Dasht-i Qipchaq in the mid-15th century, on the occasion of his conquest of the urban center of Khorezm in 1430. The author, Kamal ad-Din Husayn Khorezmi, was a leading Sufi of Khorezm, belonging to the Kubravi order, and the Kashf al-Huda reflects his mystical interpretation of the Burdah, intended for the edification of the Uzbek khan and his court. The language of the work differs little from the standard Chaghatay Turkic literary language of 15th- and 16th-century Central Asia, but the text displays certain archaic features preserved in the local literary tradition of Khorezm.

The dissertation provides a full edition of the text in transcription, from the single known manuscript of the Kashf al-Huda, preserved in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin (Orientab- teilung, Ms. Or. Oct. 1688); an English translation is also included. Introductory sections situate the work and its author in their historical and cultural environment, with special attention to obscure issues in the development of the Kubravi order, in the history of Khorezm in the 15th century, and in the life of Husayn Khorezmi. Extensive use is made in the introductory sections of unpublished manuscript sources on the political and religious history of medieval Central Asia.

— Necmüddin Kübrâ Ahmed b. Ömer

ÜÇ MÜFESSİR BİR TEFSİR

Dr. SÜLEYMAN ATEŞ

1- *Necmu'd-din Kübrâ, Ebu'l-cennâb Ahmed ibn'Ömer ibn Muhammed al-Hivakî (540-618/1145-1221)*

Zahid, takva sahibi, zâhir ve bâtın ilimlere vâkif bir bilgindi. Henüz küçük yaşında medresede akranından üstün olduğundan kendisine "aṭ-Ṭâmmetu'l-Kubrâ" unvanı verilmiş, sonradan aṭ-Ṭâmmme kaldırılmış, al-Kubrâ kalmıştır. Çok yer dolaşan Necmu'd-din Kubrâ, birçok kimselerden feyz almıştır. Mekke'de Muhammed ibn Mübarek'ten, İskenderiye'de Ebu Tahir Selefi ve Ebu'd-Diyya Bedru'd-din 'Abdullah al-Haddâdî'den, İsfahan'da Ebu'l-Mekârim Ahmed ibn Muhammed al-Labbân ve Ebu Sa'îd Halil ibn Bedr ar-Râzî'den, Neysabur'da Ebu'l-Ma'âlî al-Fârâvî'den ve daha birçok kimselerden hadis dinlemiş, büyük bir hadisçi, usul ve furu'u kendinde toplayan bir bilgin olmuştur. İmam Fahri Razi kendisiyle görüşmüş ve faziletini itiraf etmiştir¹.

Şeyh İsmail al-Kasrî'den Nehrecuriye hırkasını ve teberrüken Şeyh Ebu Nasır 'Ammâr ibn Yasir'den Söhreverdiyye hırkasını giyen Necmu'd-din Kübrâ'ya tasavvufî riyazetlerinde çok şeyler açılmış, bu terakki sonunda o, mutasavvıfların lideri olmuş, her taraftan kendisine müritler akın etmiştir. Hattâ Celâleddin Rumi'nin babası Mevlâna Bahau'd-din Veled'in de onun müritlerinden olduğu hakkında bir irvayet vardır².

Şafii mezhebine bağlı olan Kubrâ, seyahatlerinden sonra Harizm'e yerleşti, çok saygı gördü, gariplerin barınağı oldu³. Şöhreti Cengiz'in de kulağına gitmişti. Cengiz orduları Harizm diyarını istilâya başladığı sırada Cengiz tarafından bu saygıdeğer zata bir imtiyaz verilmek istenmiş, ordularının teca-

1 Şezerât, V, 79; 'Aynu'l-Hayât önsözü, varak 1, Damad, No. 153.

2 Şezerât, V, 79; Köprülü, Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar, s. 171, dip Not: 21, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 1966.

3 Sübkî, Tabakat, V, 11; Şezerât, V, 79-80.

A. Ü. İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, (c. 18, 1970), s. 85, 1972 (ANKARA)

Not: Makale 85-104 sayfalari arasındadır.

Dergi: Anı. Kütüphanesinde mevcuttur.

A KUBRAWĪ TREATISE ON MYSTICAL VISIONS:
THE *RISĀLA-YI NŪRIYYA* OF
'ALĀ' AD-DAWLA AS-SIMNĀNĪ
JAMAL J. ELIAS

The practice of *dhikr* is a central component of Sufi life and instruction. The word is normally translated as "recollection" or "remembrance," referring to the systematic repetition of God's name or of one of His attributes. At heart, this constitutes a meditational exercise, the goal of which is to rid the mystic of preoccupation with the self and other worldly concerns, thereby devoting him or herself completely to the contemplation of God. Various Sufi orders have prescribed the content and method of *dhikr* for their adherents, and the differences between them are so distinct as to constitute one of the primary distinguishing characteristics of these orders.¹

Although the content of these *dhikr* exercises is accessible in guide-books and compendia written by Sufi shaykhs as well as in a number of secondary works, very little information is available describing the experiences a mystic undergoes while practicing *dhikr*. The *Risāla-yi nūriyya* of 'Alā' Ad-Dawla As-Simnānī (d. 736/1336) constitutes one of the few treatises providing such information.

Simnānī was a prominent figure in the Kubrawī Sufi order. In its formative period, the Kubrawiyya appears to have been a loose conglomeration of individuals who derived their mystical affiliation from a visionary Sufi named Najm Ad-Dīn al-Kubrā (d. 618/1221). Their influence on Sufi thought and practice has been far reaching, and many subsequent orders in Iran, Central Asia, and India derive their mystical affiliation directly from these Kubrawī masters.²

¹ A survey treatment of the *dhikr* practices of a number of orders is found in Muḥammad ibn 'Alī as-Sanūsī, *As-salsabil al-mu'īn li'l-tarā'iq al-arba'ān*, printed in the margins of the same author's *Al-nasā'ih al-ashar* (Cairo: 1935).

² There is very little by way of doctrine, ritual or belief that identifies these early figures as belonging to one order. Despite the fact that Kubrā was himself a Sunni, two prominent Kubrawī shaykhs, Sa'd Ad-Dīn Ḥamūya (d. 650/1252) and his son Ṣadr Ad-Dīn (d. 722/1322), were Shī'īs. Kubrawī mystics are found on both sides of the debate over the doctrine of "Oneness of Being" (*wahdat al-wujūd*), one of the main issues dividing Sufis in their day. Furthermore, they appear to have had no shared stance regarding involvement in politics: Najm Ad-Dīn al-Kubrā allegedly met his death fighting the Mongols; Simnānī's teacher, Nūr Ad-Dīn al-Isfarā'īni (d. 717/1317) maintained contact with the Ilkhanid court, while Simnānī himself was deeply involved in the intrigues of various princes and was respected by the Ilkhanid rulers, Wjāyātū Khudābanda (r. 703/1304-716/1316) and Abū Sa'īd (r. 716/1316-736/1335). For a survey of Kubrawī history, see the introduction to Najm Ad-Dīn Dāya ar-Rāzī, *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return*, tr. Hamid Algar (Delmar: Caravan, 1982); also Marijan Molé, "Les Kubrawiyya entre sunnisme et shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'Hégire," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 29 (1961), 61-142.

One of the distinguishing features of the Kubrawī order in its formative period is the emphasis placed upon visionary experiences. Colors and visions encountered in meditation are seen not only as markers signifying progress along the mystical path, but also as symptoms of psychic and spiritual troubles ailing the individual. As such, treatises on visionary experience function as a *materia medica* of spiritual ailments in addition to their primary use as manuals of mystical instruction. Descriptions of mystical visions are found in several Kubrawī works such as the *Fawā'ih al-jamāl wa-fawā'ih al-jalāl* of Najm Ad-Dīn al-Kubrā³ and the *Mirṣād al-ṣbād min al-mabdā' ila'l-ma'ād* of Najm Ad-Dīn Dāya ar-Rāzī (d. 654/1256).

One treatise, the *Risāla-yi nūriyya*, stands out for its explicit and systematized discussion of mystical lights and visions. Although color symbolism and its association with mystical advancement forms the basis of much of Simnānī's thought, the *Risāla-yi nūriyya* is the only work in which he provides a systematic description of these lights as they are encountered during the practice of *dhikr*.⁴

This work has sometimes been falsely attributed to Shihāb Ad-Dīn As-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) and 'Alī-yi Hamadānī (d. 786/1385). Based on internal evidence, however, there can be no doubt that the treatise belongs to Simnānī: it is explicitly stated that the work was written at the request of a student named Muḥammad-i Khurd (possibly Khirād), who is known to have been one of Simnānī's closest disciples.⁵ The doctrines expressed in the treatise are identical to those found in Simnānī's other writings, and the style is also characteristically his.

The treatise begins by providing a general description of the forms of light found in the visible and invisible dimension. Simnānī then proceeds to the main subject of his treatise, which is a detailed outline of the lights encountered as one engages in mystical recollection (*dhikr*) in order to perfect one's spiritual nature. These lights are hierarchical, corresponding to the subtle substances (*laṭā'if*) or organs which make up the mystical body. In order to make his discussion more comprehensive, Simnānī additionally describes the light of Satan, and those of ablution and recollection.

³ Fritz Meier, *Die Fawā'ih al-Gamāl wa Fawā'ih al-Galāl des Nagm ad-Dīn al-Kubrā*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, no. 9 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1957).

⁴ For a detailed discussion of Simnānī's life and thought, see Jamal J. Elias, *Sufi Thought and Practice in the Teachings of 'Alā' ad-dawla as-Simnānī* (PhD Dissertation: Yale University, 1991).

⁵ Iqbāl-i Sistānī, *Chihil majlis-i 'Alā' ad-dawla-i Simnānī*, ed. 'Abd ar-Rafīq Ḥaḡiqat (Tehran: Shirkat-i mu'allifān-u mutarjimān-i Mrān, 1979); Ibn al-Karbalā'ī, *Rawdhat al-jinān wa janāt al-janān*, ed. Ja'far Sulṭān al-Qurrā'ī (Tehran: Bungāh-i tarjuma wa nashr-i kitāb, 1965); Zayn al-'Abidin-i Shirwānī, *Riyādh as-siyāha*, ed. Aṣghar Ḥāmid Rabbānī (Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-yi sa'dī, 1960), 525; Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, *Tarā'iq al-ḥaḡā'iq*, ed. M. Ja'far Mahjūb (Tehran: Kitābkhāna-yi bārānī, 1921), 2:339; S.M. Sadr, *Sharḥ-i aḡwāl-u alkār-u āsar-i Shaykh 'Alā' ad-dawla as-Simnānī* (Tehran: Dānish, 1955), 45.

Existential Needs of Human Beings and Perennial Responses of Religion

ABSTRACT

Are modern (or postmodern) human beings still in need of religion?

Needs of human beings are various. This article deals with the question above only in the context of existential needs of them. The three most fundamental of these are the needs of "understanding" of the universe, finding a "meaning" in life, and "purification" of our will.

The responses of religion to the needs of human beings are also various. This article deals only with the perennial responses of religion. These responses which correspond to the existential needs of human beings are based on the concepts of God, immortality and morality.

The perennial responses of religion are not without alternatives. Human beings who have consciousness and freedom should try to find the most reasonable and the most acceptable ones among them.

The responses of religion to the needs of human beings mentioned above are really perennial ones, that is to say, cover the needs of human beings living in the modern or post modern time and society. Because they are still more reasonable and acceptable than their alternatives when they are evaluated from a critical rationalist perspectives and interpreted wisely.

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**"BAHRU'L-HAKÂİK"
TEFSİRİ VE MÜELLİFİ ÜZERİNE**

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Mehmet OKUYAN*

GİRİŞ

Bu yazımızda, İşâri tefsirlerin önemli örneklerinden biri olan ve tasavvufî alanda oldukça orijinal sayılabilecek yorumlara sahip Necmuddîn Dâye'nin kaleme aldığı Bahru'l-Hakâik adlı tefsiri tanıtmayı ve onun hakkında yapılan çeşitli değerlendirmeleri inceleyerek söz konusu bu eserin kamuoyunda daha iyi tanınip bilinmesine çalışacağız. Geçmiş dönem ilim adamlarının bize bıraktıkları en önemli mirasları olan kitaplar, günümüz insanının ilgi alanına girmediği için genellikle kütüphane raflarında tozlanmaya terk edilmişlerdir. Ayrıca zaman zaman söz konusu bu eserleri inceleyen bazı araştırmacılar da kendilerinden önce yapılan bir takım hataları aynen tekrarlayarak sonraki dönem okuyucularının, bu çok değerli kültür miraslarını yanlış değerlendirmelerine neden olmuşlardır.

İşte bu çalışmamızda ele alacağımız tefsir de bu tür yanlışlıkların yapıldığı eserlerin arasında yer almaktadır. Yaşadıkları dönem ve coğrafya, aralarındaki hoca-talebe ilişkisi ve isim benzerliği gibi nedenlerden dolayı eserleri değişik isimlerle anılan bu iki müfessire nispet edilen tefsir bu çalışmamızın konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Bu tefsir, hicrî 647 yılında kaleme alınmış olan *Bahru'l-Hakâik ve'l-Ma'ânî fî Tefsîri's-Seb'i'l-Mesânî* adlı tefsirdir. Aşağıda da görüleceği üzere bu tefsir, *Aynu'l-Hayât*, *Te'vilât-ı Necmiyye* ve *et-Tefsîrun-Necmî* gibi değişik isimlerle bazen Necmuddîn Dâye'ye, bazen Necmuddîn Kübrâ'ya, bazen de bunlardan daha sonra yaşayan Simnânî'ye nispet edilmiştir. Şimdi yazma nüshaların ilk sayfalarında veya kapak bilgilerinde ya da buldukları kütüphanelerin kataloglarında farklı isimlerle kaydedilen bu tefsiri ve nüshalarını daha yakından tanıya çalışalım.

a) Bahru'l-Hakâik ve Nüshaları:

Anadolu'da yaşamış olan ve diğer pek çok eseri gibi tefsirini de bu topraklarda kaleme alan Necmuddîn Dâye'nin¹ bu eseri, tâbâkât kitaplarında,

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شیخ محمد الدین کبری

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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رسالة

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

إلى أهل البيت

مؤيدهم الأئمة

- Necmeddin-i Kübra

Med.

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نصیح و توضیح از دکتر نوفوسینا

Tehran 1364 h.

Najm al-Dīn Kubrā and the Central Asian School of Sufism (The Kubrawiyyah)

MUHAMMAD ISA WALEY

ONE OF THE MOST TURBULENT PERIODS in the history of the Muslim world was compensated by a phenomenal expansion and flowering of Sufism. During the later twelfth and the thirteenth centuries A.D. (550–700 A.H.) there occurred the cataclysmic Mongol invasion, the destruction of the Baghdad caliphate, and innumerable concomitant disasters. Yet Muslim saints and scholars flourished to an extent rarely seen since the early days of the Community of Islam, and many major Sufi orders were founded or revived: these include—to name but a few—the Qādiriyyah, Rifā'iyyah, Suhrawardiyyah, Shādhiliyyah, and Mawlawiyyah, as well as the Kubrawiyyah *ṭarīqah* (order) which is the subject of the present essay.

The Kubrawiyyah derives its name from Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221), founder of the order. From its beginnings in the Central Asian region of Khiva (then known as Khwarazm) to the south of the Aral Sea—where it survives to this day—it spread, with its offshoots, to Persia, Afghanistan, India, and even to China. During its long history the Kubrawiyyah produced several masters of great eminence who in addition to training disciples left for posterity a body of writings many of which are as yet unpublished. These works contain some highly interesting and innovative elaborations of Sufi methodology and doctrine. The contribution of Kubrā and certain of his successors in what has come to be known as the Central Asian school of Sufism to the phenomenology and analysis of spiritual vision and gnosis merits the attention of all who are interested in visionary experience and its place in spirituality.

Najm al-Dīn Kubrā: His Life and Spiritual Masters

Abu'l-Jannāb Najm al-Dīn ibn 'Umar al-Kubrā, founder of the Kubrawiyyah, was born at Khwarazm in about 540/1145. Najm al-Dīn's intellectual powers became evident at an early age. While still a student, he acquired the nickname *Kubrā* (literally, "the greatest"), an abbreviated form of the Quranic phrase *al-tāmmat al-kubrā*, "the Greatest Calamity" (LXXIX, 34). This appellation apparently alluded to the formidable talents which made Najm al-Dīn the downfall of those who contended with him in disputation. Having received the normal formation in the Islamic religious sciences, Kubrā left Khwarazm to pursue his studies in other lands, as was the wont of many medieval scholars. His chief interest at that time was in the science of *Ḥadīth*, which he studied for several years in Persia and Egypt.

At some time between 573/1177 and 576/1180, however, an interest in esoteric matters was kindled in Najm al-Dīn. He was initiated into the Suhrawardiyyah Order in Egypt by a shaykh named Rūzbihān al-Wazzān al-Miṣrī. According to one account, this followed—or else coincided with—a vision of the Prophet. At all events, we know from Najm al-Dīn's own writings that he had undergone at least one striking spiritual experience in his childhood.¹ Nonetheless, he continued for some time to pursue the study of Prophetic Tradition. The turning point in Kubrā's life may have been his encounter at Tabriz with a certain Bābā Faraj Tabrizī, whose bearing greatly impressed him and who urged him to forsake the pursuit of exoteric knowledge in favor of the Sufi path.

Najm al-Dīn's first Sufi master was Ismā'īl al-Qaṣrī (d. 589/1193), at Dizful in western Persia. But after he had spent only a short while there, Ismā'īl advised him to go to 'Ammār ibn Yāsir al-Bidlīsī. This shaykh, who died in 582/1186, was the disciple of Abu'l-Najīb al-Suhrawardī; his treatise entitled *Bahjat al-tā'ifah* (*Splendour of the Tribe*) is extant in manuscript. Kubrā underwent spiritual retreats (*khalwah*) with both Qaṣrī and Bidlīsī, and his writings include accounts of some experiences with them. Next, Kubrā returned to Egypt on the orders of 'Ammār; here Rūzbihān al-Miṣrī continued Najm al-Dīn's training until he pronounced him qualified to initiate and instruct disciples of his own. During this period Najm al-Dīn married Rūzbihān's daughter.

Probably between 581/1185 and 586/1190, Rūzbihān sent Najm al-Dīn back to Khwarazm. The remainder of Kubrā's life was devoted to the spiritual path and the training of disciples. These were relatively few in number, but such was their stature that Najm al-Dīn was to earn a second epithet: *Walī-tarāsh*, "Fashioner of Saints." He also wrote a number of

In a like vein, Mīrzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān, contrary to the opinions of Sirhindī and Shāh Ghulām 'Alī both of whom insisted on the suppression of the Hindu religion, was an advocate of reconciliation with Hinduism. Likewise, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd disagreed with Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 1239/1823) on the important concept of visualizing the master in spiritual practices. Despite these occasional departures from the original tradition, the Naqshbandiyya of India has remained strongly opposed to innovations in religious theory and practice and sought to suppress them by winning temporal rulers over to their side.

Najm al-Dīn Kubrā and the Kubrāwiyya

The eponymous founder of the famous Kubrāwiyya Sufi order of Central Asia and Khurāsān, Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Abū 'l-Jannāb Ahmad b. 'Umar derived his nickname "Kubrā" from the Qur'ānic expression "the major disaster" (*al-ṭāmmat al-kubrā*).⁸⁵ He earned it through his formidable talent in polemic and disputation, which enabled him to defeat the most skillful controversialists of his age.

Born at Khīva, in Khwārazm, in 540/1145, he began his career as a scholar of *ḥadīth* and speculative theology (*kalām*), travelling extensively in the cultivation of these disciplines. His interest in Sufism was awakened in Egypt, where he became a *murīd* of the Persian shaykh Rūzbihān al-Wazzān al-Miṣrī (d. 584/1188), an initiate of the Suhrawardiyya order. After a number of years in Egypt, he went to Tabrīz, in Persia, to pursue his studies of *kalām*, but came instead under the influence of a certain Bābā Faraj Tabrīzī who persuaded him to abandon his concern with the "external" religious sciences and to devote himself fully to the search of the inner wisdom by embarking on the Sufi path.⁸⁶ Kubrā then spent some time in the company of two other preceptors, 'Ammār b. Yāsir al-Bidlīsī and Ismā'īl al-Qaṣrī, from both of whom he received a Sufi robe (*khirqā*), before returning to shaykh Rūzbihān in Egypt. By then, Rūzbihān evidently regarded Kubrā as fully mature, for in about 540/1145 he sent him back to Khwārazm with full authority to train and initiate disciples. Kubrā swiftly gathered a large following, including a remarkable number of individuals who attained prominence in their

⁸⁵ See Qur'ān 79:34.

⁸⁶ Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, p. 55.

own right as spiritual masters of and writers on Sufism. On this account, Kubrā is frequently designated as *walī-turash*, the "manufacturer of saints." Among his foremost disciples were Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī (d. 616/1219), the master of the great Persian poet Fāriḍ al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār; Najm al-Dīn Dayā Rāzī (d. 654/1256), the author of the celebrated Sufi compendium "The Path of God's Bondsmen" (*Mūsad al-'ibād*),⁸⁷ Sa'd al-Dīn Hammūya (d. 650/1252), Bābā Kamāl Jandī, Sayf al-Dīn Bākhazī (d. 658/1260), Īraj Afshār, and Raḍī 'l-Dīn 'Alī Lālā (d. 642/1244). Kubrā is said to have fallen victim to the Mongol conquest of Khwārazm in 617/1220. According to the traditional accounts, he refused an invitation by the Mongols to leave the city before they proceeded with their massacre of its inhabitants and died at the head of a band of followers while engaged in hand-to-hand combat. He is reputed to have been buried at the site of his *khānaqā* outside the city, and his tomb, located in what subsequently became known as Kōhne-Urgenj, became a center of pious visitation, retaining this function even under Soviet rule.⁸⁸ His followers did not form a tightly knit organization but rather a congeries of small Sufi communities that rallied around one or the other of his chief deputies.⁸⁹ Kubrā left behind a number of brief but important works in Arabic that show his concern with the analysis of visionary experiences. He discussed, among other issues, the significance of various types of dreams and visions; the degrees of luminous epiphany that are manifested to the mystic; the different classes of conceptions and images (*khawāṭir*) that engage the mystic's attention; and the nature and interrelations of the "subtle centers" of man's body (*laṭā'if*). Among the most important of Kubrā's treatises are "The Fragrance of [Divine] Beauty and the Unveiling of the [Divine] Majesty" (*Fawā'ih al-jamāl wa-fawāṭih al-jalāl*),⁹⁰ "The Ten Principles" (*al-Uṣūl al-'ashara*) and "The Epistle to the Fearful One, Who Seeks to Escape the Reprimand of the Scold" (*Risālat al-khā'if al-hā'im min lawmat al-lā'im*).⁹¹ In addition to these short works dealing with the

⁸⁷ For an English translation of this book see H. Algar, *The Path of God's Bondsmen from Origin to Return*, Delmar, NY, 1982.

⁸⁸ G.P. Snesarev, *Relikty domusul'manskikh verovani i obryadov u uzbekov Khorezma*, Moscow, 1969, pp. 269 and 433.

⁸⁹ Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, p. 56.

⁹⁰ Edited with a comprehensive introduction to the life and work of Kubrā by F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1957.

⁹¹ Edited, together with other lesser treatises, by M. Molé under the title of *Traité mineurs*, in: *Annales Islamologiques* (Cairo), vol. 4 (1963), pp. 1-78.

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s. 234-239.
DN: 799501

dir. Bütün bunlar 23/644 senesi için çok daha kuvvetle geçerlidir, ve, Kur'an, Peygamberin *sünnet*'i ve ilk iki halifenin yolu üçlüsü, ki bu tabiri, tarihçilerin bu seneye aid rivayetlerinde buluyoruz, fikirlerin muahhar gelişmesinde kazanacağı manada asla izah edilmemesi gerekir. Eğer Peygamberin *sünnet*'i tabiri daha o devirde mevcudsa, bu, Abdullah ibn İbâd'ın mektubunda anlattığının dışında hiçbir şey ifade ediyor değildi. Hatta mümkündür ki bu tabir, istikbalde o derece temel hale gelecek (fakat Abdullah ibn İbâd'ın mektubuna muvazî metinlerin çoğunda eksik) olan bir tabirin, bu mühim mevzuda hesaba dahil edilmemiş olmasını garib karşılayacak bir nesil tarafından idhal edilmiştir. Peygamber tarafından alınmış kararların dışına çıkmanın hangi ölçüde mübah olduğunu sarahatle bilme Müslümanlar için bahis mevzuu olduğu sırada, 23/644 senesinde, Peygamberin *sünnet*'ine bir atıfta bulunmanın işe yarar bir delil hizmeti görmeyeceğini dikkate almamız gerekir. Metnin bir başka cihetten tahkikine inanıyorum: Abdullah ibn İbâd, Peygamberin *sünnet*'inin yanı sıra, Ebû Bekir ve Ömer'in *sünnet*'inden bahsetmekte tereddüd etmiyor, سنة نبي الله صلى الله عليه وسلم و أبي بكر و عمر (165, 4), nitekim onlardan sonrakilerin *sünnet*'inden de söz etmektedir (158, 9; 164, 18), halbuki biz *sîre* ve *fi'l* tabirlerini, tarihçilerin rivayetlerinde, ilk iki halifenin yolu manasında kullanılmış görmekteyiz, ki bu, muahhar sistematik gelişmenin göz önüne aldığı şeydir.

Abdullah ibn İbâd'ın mektubu, Peygamberin *sünnet*'i mefhumunun ancak siyasi bir manada intişar bulduğu bir devire aiddir.

Bir tabirin tarihçesinden bahseden bu küçük tedkiki, büyük üstad ve meslekdaşa, hayranlık ve dostluğun şahidi olarak sunulmakta olan bu cildde takdim etmeyi münasib buluyorum, ki Sayın Massé bu tabirin kat'i manâlarını, mûtâd fesahatiyle bizzat işlemişlerdir¹.

130 HAZİRAN 1993

ÜÇ MÜFESSİR BİR TEFSİR

Dr. SÜLEYMAN ATEŞ

1- *Necmu'd-din Kübrâ, Ebu'l-cennâb Ahmed ibn'Ömer ibn Muhammed al-Hivâkî* (540-618/1145-1221)

Zahid, takva sahibi, zâhir ve bâtın ilimlere vâkıf bir bilgindi. Henüz küçük yaşında medresede akranından üstün olduğundan kendisine "aṭ-Ṭâmmetu'l-Kubrâ" unvanı verilmiş, sonradan aṭ-Ṭâmmu kaldırılmış, al-Kubrâ kalmıştır. Çok yer dolaşan Necmu'd-din Kübrâ, birçok kimselerden feyz almıştır. Mekke'de Muhammed ibn Mübarek'ten, İskenderiye'de Ebu Tahir Selefi ve Ebu'd-Diya Bedru'd-din 'Abdullah al-Haddâdî'den, İsfahan'da Ebu'l-Mekârim Ahmed ibn Muhammed al-Labbân ve Ebu Sa'îd Halil ibn Bedr ar-Râzî'den, Neysabur'da Ebu'l-Ma'âlî al-Fârâvî'den ve daha birçok kimselerden hadis dinlemiş, büyük bir hadisçi, usul ve furu'u kendinde toplayan bir bilgin olmuştur. İmam Faḫri Razi kendisiyle görüşmüş ve faziletini itiraf etmiştir¹.

Şeyh İsmail al-Kasrî'den Nehrecuriye hırkasını ve teberrüken Şeyh Ebu Nasır 'Ammâr ibn Yasir'den Söhreverdîyye hırkasını giyen Necmu'd-din Kübrâ'ya tasavvufî riyazetlerinde çok şeyler açılmış, bu terakki sonunda o, mutasavvıfların lideri olmuş, her taraftan kendisine müritler akın etmiştir. Hattâ Celâleddin Rumi'nin babası Mevlâna Bahau'd-din Veled'in de onun müritlerinden olduğu hakkında bir irvâyet vardır².

Şafii mezhebine bağlı olan Kübrâ, seyahatlerinden sonra Harizm'e yerleşti, çok saygı gördü, gariplerin barınağı oldu³. Şöhreti Cengiz'in de kulağına gitmişti. Cengiz orduları Harizm diyarını istilâya başladığı sırada Cengiz tarafından bu saygıdeğer zata bir imtiyaz verilmek istenmiş, ordularının teca-

1 Şezerât, V, 79; 'Aynu'l-Hayât önsözü, varak 1, Damad, No. 153.

2 Şezerât, V, 79; Köprülü, Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar, s. 171, dip Not: 21, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 1966.

3 Sübki, Tabakat, V. 11; Şezerât, V, 79-80.

KRAUSE, MAX, Moḥammad Šaḥī', <i>Tatīmna(!) Šiwān al-Ḥikma</i>	90
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— Necmeddin-i Dāye
— Necmeddin-i Kübra

Der Islam, c. 24, s. 1-42, 1937 (Berlin)

Stambuler Handschriften dreier persischer Mystiker: 'Ain al-quḍāt al-Hamaḍānī, Naḡm ad-dīn al-Kubrā, Naḡm ad-dīn ad-Dāja.

Von Fritz Meier.

Der vorliegenden Arbeit liegen zugrunde eine Reihe von Handschriftenaufnahmen H. RITTER's, um deren Nachprüfung und Ausarbeitung er mich bat. Sie soll versuchen, für das Studium der islamischen Mystik auf einem Teilgebiet das notwendige bibliographische Material zusammentragen zu helfen. Eine vollständige Erfassung aller Stambuler Handschriften der drei Mystiker war noch nicht möglich; es kann jeden Augenblick eine neue auftauchen.¹⁾

I.

Abū'l-ma'ālī 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Majānigī²⁾,
'Ain al-quḍāt al-Hamaḍānī (st. 525).

Über sein Leben s. MOH. B. ABDELJALIL im Vorwort zu seiner Ausgabe der *Šakwā J. A.* 216, 1930, 4, ferner BERTHELS *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS, cl. des Humanités* 1929, 695—706, MASSIGNON *Recueil* 98, dann *Buḥāne* BODL. PERS.³⁾ 366 Nr. 58 und 115, *Maḡzanu 'l-ġarā'ib* ebd. 395, 1523, CARULLAH 1016 *Fawā'id* 1a (aus Ġāmī); Šahrazūrī, *Nuḡhat al-arwāḥ* YENI CAMI 908, 194a nennt ihn Schüler 'Umar-i Ḥajjām's. Andere Quellen s. Cat. BANGKOPUR 16 p. 7.⁴⁾ Ġāmī benutzte ihn als Quelle (IVANOW, *JASB* 18, 1922, 397). Proben aus seinen Werken liegen vor in den anonymen Blütenlesen BERL. PERS. 672 II b 5 ع. JACKSON-YOHANNAN: *Cat. Persian Manuscripts ... presented to the Metropolitan Museum*

¹⁾ Ich möchte hier Herrn Dr. MARTIN SCHEDE, dem Direktor des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abt. Istanbul, für die gütige Erlaubnis, während meines Aufenthaltes in Stambul im Institut wohnen zu dürfen, und für seine stete Zuvorkommenheit gegenüber allen meinen Ansuchen meinen ergebensten Dank aussprechen.

²⁾ Majānigī in Ādarbaigān, s. PAUL SCHWARZ: *Iran im Mittelalter* VIII, 2, 1023.

³⁾ Die ausführlichen Titel der im folgenden abgekürzten Hds. Kataloge s. in den Listen bei BROCKELMANN *GAL Suppl.* 1, 5ff. und K. V. ZETTERSTEN: *Die Arab. Pers. u. Türk. Hds. der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala*, 1930 XVII.

⁴⁾ Eine Probe aus 'Ain al-quḍāt's Werken findet sich in der Anthologie BANGKOPUR SUPPL. 1, p. 256.

Makalemin tamamı "Necmeddin-i Dāye"
pozitifindedir

31 HAZIRAN 1995

Ne meddini Kibron

وإن كان صاحب معجم المؤلفين ذكر أن الكنية هي : « أبو الجنان » .
ونرى أنه خطأ مطبعي .

* في فهرس المخطوطات المصورة : تاريخ الوفاة سنة ٦٨١ هـ . وإنني أرى أنه
خطأ مطبعي .

١ - انظر : مقدمة فريتز ماير لتحقيقه كتاب « فوائح الجمال وفوائح الجلال » / للمترجم
له . - مجمع العلوم والآداب ، ١٩٥٧ م .

٢ - سير أعلام النبلاء في ٢٢ : ١١١ - ١١٤ .

٣ - الوافي بالوفيات : ترجمة رقم ٣٢٢٧ في ٧ : ٢٦٣ .

٤ - العبر في خير من غير ٥ : ٧٣ .

٥ - طبقات المفسرين / للدودي ؛ تحقيق على محمد عمر : ترجمة رقم ٣ في ١ : ٥٧ .

٦ - طبقات الشافعية الكبرى / للسبكي ؛ تحقيق عبدالفتاح الحلو ، والطناحي : ترجمة
رقم ١٠٥١ في ٨ : ٢٥ .

٧ - طبقات الشافعية / للأسنوي ؛ تحقيق عبدالله الجبوري : ترجمة رقم ٩٩٦ في ٢ :
٢٣١ .

٨ - طبقات الشافعية / لابن قاضي شهبة ؛ تحقيق عبدالعليم خان : ترجمة رقم ٣٥٢
في ٢ : ٥١ .

٩ - مرآة الجنان / لليافعي في ٤ : ٤٠ .

١٠ - شذرات الذهب ٥ : ٧٩ .

١١ - هدية العارفين ١ ع ٩٠ .

١٢ - كشف الظنون ١ ع ٤٥٩ ، ٨٧٦ ، ٢ ع ١١٨١ .

١٣ - فهرس مكتبة الأزهر (ملحق فهرس التصوف) ٧ : ٤٥١ .

١٤ - فهرس المخطوطات المصورة / فؤاد سيد في ١ : ١٤٦ .

١٥ - الأعلام ط ٤ في ١ : ١٨٥ .

١٦ - معجم المؤلفين ٢ : ٣٤ .

نجم الدين الكبرى^(١)

أحمد بن عمر بن محمد بن عبدالله ، الخيوقى^(٢) ، الخوارزمي ، نجم
الدين ، أبو الجناب^(٣) :

٥٤٥ - ٦١٨* هـ

١١٥ - ١٢٢١ م

(١) الكُبْرَى : على صيغة فعلى كعظمى ، ومنهم مَنْ يمدّ فيقول : الكبراء جمع
كبير . قال الذهبي في تاريخ الإسلام : سمعت أبا العلاء الفرضي يقول : إنما
هو نجم الكبراء ثم خفف وغيّر وقيل : « نجم الدين الكبرى » .

(٢) خيوق : بفتح الحاء المعجمة وكسرها عند ياقوت . أما المترجم له فقد اختار
كسر الحاء فهو عنده أقوى من الفتح .

(٣) أبو الجناب : بفتح الجيم الموحدة التحتية ثم نون مشددة وبعدها باء موحدة
تحتية . أما هذه الكنية فقد قال المترجم له إنه رأى النبي ﷺ وسأله عن
كنيته أهي بالتخفيف أم بالتشديد للنون فقال المصطفى ﷺ بالتشديد ،
ففرح المترجم له لأنه ثمة اختلاف بين التخفيف والتشديد . (انظر : فوائح
الجمال وفوائح الجلال / للمترجم له) .

Najm al-Dīn Kubrā and the Central Asian School of Sufism (The Kubrawiyyah)

MUHAMMAD ISA WALEY

ONE OF THE MOST TURBULENT PERIODS in the history of the Muslim world was compensated by a phenomenal expansion and flowering of Sufism. During the later twelfth and the thirteenth centuries A.D. (550-700 A.H.) there occurred the cataclysmic Mongol invasion, the destruction of the Baghdad caliphate, and innumerable concomitant disasters. Yet Muslim saints and scholars flourished to an extent rarely seen since the early days of the Community of Islam, and many major Sufi orders were founded or revived: these include—to name but a few—the Qādiriyyah, Rifā'iyyah, Suhrawardiyyah, Shādhiliyyah, and Mawlawiyyah, as well as the Kubrawiyyah *ṭarīqah* (order) which is the subject of the present essay.

The Kubrawiyyah derives its name from Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221), founder of the order. From its beginnings in the Central Asian region of Khiva (then known as Khwarazm) to the south of the Aral Sea—where it survives to this day—it spread, with its offshoots, to Persia, Afghanistan, India, and even to China. During its long history the Kubrawiyyah produced several masters of great eminence who in addition to training disciples left for posterity a body of writings many of which are as yet unpublished. These works contain some highly interesting and innovative elaborations of Sufi methodology and doctrine. The contribution of Kubrā and certain of his successors in what has come to be known as the Central Asian school of Sufism to the phenomenology and analysis of spiritual vision and gnosis merits the attention of all who are interested in visionary experience and its place in spirituality.

Najm al-Dīn Kubrā: His Life and Spiritual Masters

Abu'l-Jannāb Najm al-Dīn ibn 'Umar al-Kubrā, founder of the Kubrawiyyah, was born at Khwarazm in about 540/1145. Najm al-Dīn's intellectual powers became evident at an early age. While still a student, he acquired the nickname *Kubrā* (literally, "the greatest"), an abbreviated form of the Quranic phrase *al-tāmmat al-kubrā*, "the Greatest Calamity" (LXXIX, 34). This appellation apparently alluded to the formidable talents which made Najm al-Dīn the downfall of those who contended with him in disputation. Having received the normal formation in the Islamic religious sciences, Kubrā left Khwarazm to pursue his studies in other lands, as was the wont of many medieval scholars. His chief interest at that time was in the science of *Hadīth*, which he studied for several years in Persia and Egypt.

At some time between 573/1177 and 576/1180, however, an interest in esoteric matters was kindled in Najm al-Dīn. He was initiated into the Suhrawardiyyah Order in Egypt by a shaykh named Rūzbihān al-Wazzān al-Miṣrī. According to one account, this followed—or else coincided with—a vision of the Prophet. At all events, we know from Najm al-Dīn's own writings that he had undergone at least one striking spiritual experience in his childhood.¹ Nonetheless, he continued for some time to pursue the study of Prophetic Tradition. The turning point in Kubrā's life may have been his encounter at Tabriz with a certain Bābā Faraj Tabrizī, whose bearing greatly impressed him and who urged him to forsake the pursuit of exoteric knowledge in favor of the Sufi path.

Najm al-Dīn's first Sufi master was Ismā'īl al-Qaṣrī (d. 589/1193), at Dizful in western Persia. But after he had spent only a short while there, Ismā'īl advised him to go to 'Ammār ibn Yāsir al-Bidlīsī. This shaykh, who died in 582/1186, was the disciple of Abu'l-Najīb al-Suhrawardī; his treatise entitled *Bahjat al-tā'ifah* (*Splendour of the Tribe*) is extant in manuscript. Kubrā underwent spiritual retreats (*khalwah*) with both Qaṣrī and Bidlīsī, and his writings include accounts of some experiences with them. Next, Kubrā returned to Egypt on the orders of 'Ammār; here Rūzbihān al-Miṣrī continued Najm al-Dīn's training until he pronounced him qualified to initiate and instruct disciples of his own. During this period Najm al-Dīn married Rūzbihān's daughter.

Probably between 581/1185 and 586/1190, Rūzbihān sent Najm al-Dīn back to Khwarazm. The remainder of Kubrā's life was devoted to the spiritual path and the training of disciples. These were relatively few in number, but such was their stature that Najm al-Dīn was to earn a second epithet: *Walī-tarāsh*, "Fashioner of Saints." He also wrote a number of

D1571

- Necmeddin-i Kübra
- Mevlana
- Velayet

ولایت و ولی

در
عرفان شیخ نجم الدین کبری
و
مولانا جلال الدین رومی



● دکتر محمود یزدی مطلق (فاضل)

دانشگاه فردوسی مشهد

الدین حسین خوارزمی که از معاریف عرفان سده نهم هجری است درباره نجم الدین کبری گوید: برگزیده حضرت پروردگار، بغایت عظیم الشان و رفیع المکان بوده است و انوار ولایت و آثار هدایت او، مشارق و مغارب آفاق را منور و مزین ساخته...^۷ او از خانواده اهل علم بود، پدرش عالمی صوفی مشرب و اهل حال بود.

شیخ نجم الدین از همان کودکی بسیار باهوش بود و در دبستان، مشکلات و غوامض مسایلی را که از سوی استادش مطرح می شد از دیگر دانش آموزان زودتر در می یافت.^۸ در نوجوانی دروس ابتدایی را در زادگاهش شهر خیوه نزد پدرش شیخ ناصرالدین عمر بن محمد بن عبدالله و دیگران فرا گرفت. در جوانی شوق علم حدیث، او را به سیر و سفر داشت و بمقتضای رسم آن روزگار به مسافرت در بلاد پرداخت، در نیشابور محضر ابوالمعالی فراوی، متوفای ۵۷۸ هـ ق، را درک کرد و در همدان نزد حافظ ابوالعلاء عطار، متوفی ۵۶۹ هـ ق و در اصفهان به حوزه درس ابوالمنکرم لبان، متوفی ۵۹۷ هـ ق و ابوجعفر صیدلانی، متوفی ۵۶۸ هـ ق و در تبریز خدمت ابومنصور

یک جام تجلی جمال تو بس است
تا از عدم و وجود بیزار شوم
نجم الدین کبری

چکیده

در این مقاله به جایگاه «ولایت» و «ولی» در آراء عرفانی شیخ نجم الدین کبری و مقایسه مختصر آن با آراء مولوی در همین زمینه پرداخته می شود ولی ابتدا گزارش نسبتاً مفصل درباره مقام شیخ در میان عرفا شرح حال زندگی شجرنامه و آثار او ارائه می شود. درباره مذهب وی در دیدگاه در این مقاله ذکر شده که بر اساس یک دیدگاه او شافعی مذهب و بر اساس دیگری، که بنظر می رسد بیشتر مورد تأیید نویسنده است، مذهب شیخ نجم الدین کبری شیعی مذهب دانسته شده و شواهدی نیز در این زمینه ارائه شده است و بقیه مقاله نیز اختصاص به بررسی، شرح و تبیین جایگاه ولایت و ولی در عرفان شیخ نجم الدین کبری دارد.

کلید واژه

ولی؛

ولایت؛

نجم الدین کبری؛

مولوی؛

سلطان الاولیاء والأقطاب، المرشد الی الله الوهاب^۱، ابوالجَنَاب (به فتح جیم و نون مشدّد^۲ بر وزن شدّاد) احمد بن عمر بن محمد خَیَوَقی به سال ۵۴۰ هـ ق در خیوه خوارزم متولد گردیده است و در دهم جمادی الاول سال ۶۱۸ هـ ق در حمله مغولان به اورگنج به شهادت رسید و خانقاه مخصوص خودش بخاک سپرده شد^۳، گرچه حمدالله مستوفی مزارش را ناپیدا می داند^۴. عموم مورخین او را ستوده اند از جمله تاج الدین سبکی، متوفی ۷۷۱ هـ ق، وی را شیخ خوارزم و امامی عالم و زاهد معرفی کرده است^۵، یافعی متوفی ۷۶۸ هـ ق، نجم الدین کبری را قدوة المحدثین و امام السالکین، و... خوانده است^۶، کمال

۱- جواهر الاسرار و زواهر الانوار. تألیف کمال الدین حسین بن حسن خوارزمی، سده نهم هـ ق: ۱۱۲/۱.
۲- طبقات الشافعیة الکبری. تألیف تاج الدین سبکی، عبدالوهاب بن علی متوفی ۷۷۱ هـ ق. قاهره، دار احیاء الکتب (۱۹۷۱ م): ۲۵/۸.
۳- شدّرات الذهب فی اخبار من ذهب. تألیف ابن عماد، عبدالحی، متوفی ۱۰۸۹ ق، بیروت، دار احیاء التراث العربی (بی تا): ۸۰/۵.
۴- تاریخ گزیده. تألیف حمدالله بن ابی بکر مستوفی قزوینی، در سنه ۷۳۰ هـ ق. تهران، امیرکبیر، ۱۳۶۲ خورشیدی: ۶۶۹.
۵- طبقات الشافعیة: ۲۵/۸.
۶- مرآة الجنان و عبّرة البقظان... تألیف یافعی، محمد عبدالله بن اسعد متوفی ۷۶۸ هـ ق. حیدرآباد دکن، دائرة المعارف النظامیة، ۱۳۳۹ هـ ق: ۴۰/۴.
۷- جواهر الاسرار: ۱۱۲/۱. ۸- مرآة الجنان: ۴۱/۴.

12. LAWSON, Todd (ed.). *Reason and Inspiration in Islam. Theology, Philosophy and Mysticism in Muslim Thought. Essays in Honour of Hermann Landolt*. London-New York, I.B. Tauris & The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2005, 558 p.

En hommage à Hermann Landolt, ce volume réunit un grand nombre d'articles de spécialistes consacrés à l'islam, dont certains font l'objet d'une recension dans ce numéro (cf. c.r. n° 183, 266, 273). Une bibliographie de Hermann Landolt est donnée au début de l'ouvrage (pp. 7-18).

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Ismailiyye
Ahmad Han Sirhat
Ala' al-Din Gaggali
Mulla Sadra
Fayz-i Kashani
Concept of Baṭin

24 EKM 2008

SONIA STEINBERG

عبد الجبار عبدالرحمن، ذخائر التراث العربي الإسلامي، الجزء الثاني،

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✓ لنجم الدين أحمد بن عمر الكبري المتوفى سنة ٦١٨ هـ .

(طبقات الشافعية للسبكي ٥: ١١، امرأة الجنان ٤: ٤٠، شذرات الذهب ٥: ٦٩) خ الموصل
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— شرح عين الحياة

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✓ عبد الله بن محمد بن شاهفور نجم الدين الداية
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— شرح عين الحياة (بحر الحقائق)

خ إستانبول .

أحمد بن محمد بن أحمد البيبانكي

9 MAR 2004

92 04-11 2005

174. KUBRÂ, Najm al-dîn. *Les éclosions de la beauté et les parfums de la majesté*. Traduit de l'arabe et présenté par P. Ballanfat, Nîmes, Ed. de l'Eclat, 2001, 246 p.

Ce traité essentiel de mystique soufie avait été édité par Fritz Meier en 1957. Najm al-Dîn Kubrâ y fait état avec une précision toute particulière du cheminement du soufi vers l'union au divin, notamment par des excursus sur la nature de l'expérience visionnaire, les couleurs, les sons, le symbolisme des lettres, l'évolution du désir amoureux. Il y apporte également des témoignages personnels sur son propre parcours, ce qui est plutôt rare dans ce genre de littérature. P. Ballanfat nous en livre ici une traduction soignée, rigoureuse, copieusement introduite (127 p. denses et éclairantes), annotée et complétée par des index, suivant en cela sa démarche pour plusieurs œuvres de Rûzbehân Baqlî.

P.Lo.

Najm al-Dîn
Kubrâ

B-130. Corbin, Henry. *History of Islamic Philosophy* (translated from French by Liadain Sherrard). London: Kegan Paul International, in association with Islamic Publications for the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 1993.

The book is about Islamic philosophy, not Arab philosophy, the author insists, and the geographic boundaries extend to Iranian thinkers as well. The discussion is divided into three periods: (1) from the beginning of Islam up to the death of Averroes (Ibn Rushd, 1126–1198), this period is said to be rather insufficiently known; and with Averroes, “something came to an end in Western Islam,” and then emerged Al-Suhrawardi and Ibn al-Arabi; (2) the second period extends over the three centuries preceding the Safavid Renaissance in Islam, characterized by the “Sufi metaphysic”—the growth of the school of Ibn al-Arabi; (3) another deriving from Najm al-Din al-Kubra, and it extends to the present, including the centuries when numerous Iranian thinkers wrote in a Shiite milieu.

Part I (From the Beginning Down to the Death of Averroes, 595/1198) contains eight detailed chapters: (1) The Sources of Philosophical Mediation in Islam, (2) Shiism and Prophetic Philosophy (Twelve Shiism, Ismailism, Fatimid Ismailism, and Reformed Ismailism of Alamut), (3) The Sunni *Kalam* (The Mu'tazilites, Abu al-Hasan al-Ashari, Ash'arism), (4) Philosophy and the Natural Sciences (al-Razi, al-Biruni, al-Khwarizmi, ibn al-Haytham, and others), (5) The Hellenizing Philosophers (al-Kindi, al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, al-Ghazali, and others), (6) Sufism

Felsefe
- İsmailiyçe
- Kalam
- Mu'tezile
- Fârâbî-yeğ.
- Biruni
- Khwarizmi
- İbn el-Haysem
- Kindi
- Farabi
- İbn Sina
- Gazzali
- Bayezidi Bîstâr
- Alamiy-i Sâfî
- Tirmizi
- Hallac-i Mâvî

Harî Harâvî
- İshraqî
- İbn Hazm
- İbn Bâcâ
- İbn Tufeyl
- İbn Rüşd
- Şîrâzî
- Şîhî
- İbn el-Arabî
- Mevlevî
- Mavlânâ Celâleddîn
- Camî Rûdî
- Molla Sâdî

(al-Bastami, al-Junayd, al-Tirmidhi, al-Hallaj, and others), (7) Al-Suhrawardi and the Philosophy of Light, (8) In Andalusia (Ibn Hazm, Ibn Bajjah, Ibn Tufayl, Ibn Rushd, and others).

Part II (From the Death of Averroes to the Present Day) has three chapters: (1) Sunni Thought (The Philosophers, The Theologians, The Adversaries of the Philosophers, and The Encyclopedists), (2) The Metaphysics of Sufism (al-Shirazi, Umar al-Suhrawardi, Ibn al-Arabi, Najm al-Din al-Kubra, al-Hamdhani, Jalal al-Din Rumi, Jami, and others), (3) Shiite Thought (Nasir al-Din Tusi, The Ismailis, Sadr al-Din Dashtaki, Mulla Sadra Shirazi, Qadi Said Qummi, Jafar Kashfi, The Schools of Khurasan, and others).

The 450-page book provides a comprehensive chapter-by-chapter bibliography. There is a detailed name-subject index.

MADDE YAYINLANDIRILAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

09 TEM 2010

Najm ed-Din Kobra

495. NAJM ED-DIN KOBRA, *Ādāb al-Şufiyye*, éd. critique par M. Qāsemi, Téhéran. Zovvār, 1363/1984, 80 p.

«Les règles de conduite des Şufi» est un traité du même type qu'*al-Sā'ir al-Hā'ir*; ces deux traités paraissent-être les seuls écrits en persan de l'A., et vu le dépouillement du style et la simplicité pratique des thèmes abordés, semblent avoir été destinés aux disciples débutants ne connaissant pas l'arabe. Ce texte avait déjà été édité, avec quelques variantes, par S. de Beaucueuil dans le *BIFAO* (tome LIX, 1960, pp. 203 sq.; trad. française, pp. 215-224). S. de B. l'attribue au célèbre X^eājah 'Abd Allāh Anşāri (m. 481/1087), se fiant à l'indication du seul manuscrit qu'il avait utilisé (Şahid 'Ali Pāšā 1393). Or les cinq autres mss. utilisés par M. Qāsemi l'attribuent à Najm ed-Din Kobra (pp. 4-6). L'ouvrage comprend sept chapitres appelés *ādāb*: 1. Les règles pour revêtir la *xerqe*; 2. ... s'asseoir et se lever; 3. ... pénétrer dans le *xāneqāh*; 4. ... prendre les repas; 5. ... se rendre aux invitations; 6. ... l'audition du *sanā'*; 7. ... voyager. L'ouvrage constitue un élément utile pour l'étude des rapports entre le şufisme et les mouvements de la *fotovyat* à cette époque, vu la similitude des thèmes du texte avec ceux des *Fotovyat-Nāme*. L'introduction est plus substantielle et mieux documentée que celle de l'ouvrage de la notice précédente, quoiqu'en l'absence d'une bibliographie, les références restent imprécises. A la p. 10, note 1, l'éditeur corrige l'erreur qu'il avait commise dans l'introd. d'*al-Sā'er al-Hā'er*, concernant un des maîtres de l'A. (erreur signalée dans la notice précédente).

M. A. A. M.

Abst. Ir. Supp. 3. 1935 Leiden. s. 129

494. NAJM. ED-DIN KOBRA, *al-Sâ'er al-Hâ'er*, éd. critique par M. Qâsemi, Téhéran, Zovvâr, 1361/1982, 75 p., (en persan).

Al-Sâ'er al-Hâ'er, «le voyageur stupéfait», est une traduction libre, faite par l'A. de son traité en arabe *al-Khâ'if al-Hâ'im min Lu'mat al-Lâ'im*. Il paraît que le célèbre mystique du X^eârazm (m. 618/1226) envisageait de faire de son traité, le manuel d'instructions pratiques accompagnant toujours les disciples surtout dans leurs pérégrinations; les dimensions réduites de l'ouvrage ainsi que le grand souci de systématisation des thèmes corroborent ce point de vue. Le traité est formé d'un ensemble de dix «devoirs» (*šarf*) ainsi que les «utilités» ou les «enseignements à tirer» de chacun d'eux: la pureté (avec ses 20 *fâ'ida*), le silence (11 *f.*), la solitude (13 *f.*), le jeûne (22 *f.*), le *zîkr* (18 *f.*), la neutralisation des pensées négatives (les différentes catégories de ces dernières), la soumission à Dieu, fréquenter les vertueux et éviter les vicieux, ne dormir que par stricte nécessité (12 *fâ'ida*), boire et manger peu (7 *f.*). L'éditeur a utilisé 3 mss. (Šahid 'Alî Pâšâ 1393, Suleymâniyya 1208, Univ. de Téhéran 3654) et donne à la fin les sources et les traductions des *hadith* et des citations utilisées dans le texte. On regrette de nombreux cas d'erreurs de frappe. Il faut relever une erreur dans l'introduction consacrée à la biographie de l'A. (intr. malheureusement trop sommaire quand il s'agit d'un personnage aussi marquant): le maître de l'A. et plus tard son beau-père était bien sûr Ruzbehân Wazzân al-Mešri et non comme l'indique l'éditeur le célèbre Ruzbehân Baqli Širâzi (p. 6). M. A. A. M.

Abst. Ir. 8

Abst. Ir. Supp. 8, 1985 Leiden. pp. 128

18 EKIM 1996

229. YAJIMA, Yoichi. « La conversion des Mongols à l'islam et les Kubrawiyya-s » (en japonais). *Bulletin of the Society for Western and Southern Asiatic Studies*, Kyoto University, n° 53, (2000).

Le rôle important joué par des cheykh *kubrawiyya-s* dans la conversion à l'islam des deux souverains mongols Berke et Ġāzān, est admis par l'unanimité des chercheurs. L'A. de cet article n'est toutefois pas d'accord avec eux.

Après avoir consulté les multiples sources arabes et persanes relatives à l'histoire des Ilkhans et des Khans de Dašt-e Qipčāq, Yajima conclut que dans le cas de Berke, seules des sources arabes ont souligné l'intervention du cheykh kubrawi Sayf al-Dīn Bāḥarzī dans sa conversion. Les sources persanes n'en ont jamais parlé puisqu'elles n'ont pas le moindre doute sur le fait que Berke ait été musulman de naissance. Il est certain qu'il y eut des relations entre Berke et Bāḥarzī, mais, si l'on se fonde sur les sources persanes, Bāḥarzī ne peut avoir joué un rôle dans une quelconque conversion. Quant à Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, un autre chaykh kubrawi, il était par hasard à côté de Ġāzān au moment de sa confession (*šahāda*) et il n'avait pas eu tellement d'occasions de voir le souverain avant sa conversion.

Par ailleurs, Yajima insiste sur le fait qu'on ne peut pas admettre que Ṣadr al-Dīn ait appartenu à l'ordre kubrawī par le seul fait que Sa'd al-Dīn, son père, avait suivi les enseignements de Najm al-Dīn Kubrā.

M.H.

Majallah
Kubrawiyya

02 MAR 2001

III. NAIM al-DĪN al-KUBRĀ (a. l-Jannāb Ṣāni' al-Awliyā' [i. e. Walī Turāsh] A. b. 'U. b. M. al-Khawārizmī al-Khaywaqī al-Muḥaddith al-Shahīd al-Shāfi'i al-Shādhilī), *Fawa'id al-jamāl wa fawā'id al-jalāl*, éd. Yūs. Zaydān, al-Ṣafāt/Le Caire, Dār Su'ād al-Ṣabbāh, 1993, 300 p.; 16,5x24 cm.

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Pour l'A., né à Khaywaq en Chorasmie (Kh^wārazm) en 450/1145, m. 617/1220, v. Hamid Algar, *EI*, V, 299-301; *Gal*, I, 440; *S I*, 786-87; *San*, XXII, 111-4. Son nom, mis *supra* entre crochets, est donné tel par Dhahabī, mais on n'est pas certain qu'il en soit ainsi. Deux versions existent sur la signification de al-Kubrā: ce serait à l'origine Najm al-Kubarā', puis l'on aurait dit al-Kubrā; ou bien, comme il était en avance sur les enfants de son âge, on aurait dit de lui «al-tamma al-kubrā». (Coran 79, *Nāzi'āt*, 34), ce terme qui désigne dans le Coran le grand cataclysme final (J. Berque a traduit par «l'hydre géante», ce qui ne conviendrait pas pour notre A.), renvoie à l'idée d'envelopper de sa masse (flots, mer), de remplir jusqu'au bord, et à celle de vitesse et de soudaineté. Il était donc considéré comme un «crac»! Pour «al-Shahīd», v. Macdonald.

Il étudia le *ḥadīth* à Hamadan (Hamadhān); puis se sentant attiré par la mystique, il se rendit à Ahwaz (Ahwāz) où il se mit à l'école et au service de Ism. al-Qaṣrī (a. Ibr. b. al-Ḥ. b. 'Al, de Qaṣr Rūnāsh près de Ahwaz), et il connut aussi 'Ammār b. Yāsir al-Badlīsī. Il rencontra Fakhr al-Dīn ar-Rāzī lors du voyage de ce dernier en Chorasmie (compl. à l'art. de Macdonald que l'on consultera pour le reste, notamment pour son établissement en Égypte). Selon Ibn Nuqṭa (dans son *Taqyid*, v. *San*, XXII, 112 et n. 1 de l'édition.), il était shāfi'ite, et ce comme les habitants de Khaywaq, alors que le reste de la Chorasmie était ḥanafite.

Texte établi à partir de deux ms. (récents, respectivement 80 et 32 f.) de la bibliothèque de H. 'Abbās Zakī (né à Port Saïd en 1917, plusieurs fois ministre entre 1957 et 1971, conseiller financier du shaykh Zāyid b. Sulṭān, actuellement banquier et homme d'affaires), et de l'éd. Fritz Meier, Wiesbaden, 1957, 126+299 p.

Claude GILLIOT, "TEXTES ARABES ANCIENS ÉDITÉS EN ÉGYPTE
AU COURS DES ANNÉES 1992 à 1994",

MIDEO: Mélanges Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du

Caire, Vol. XXII, Louvain 1994. pp. 271-396. s. 338-339