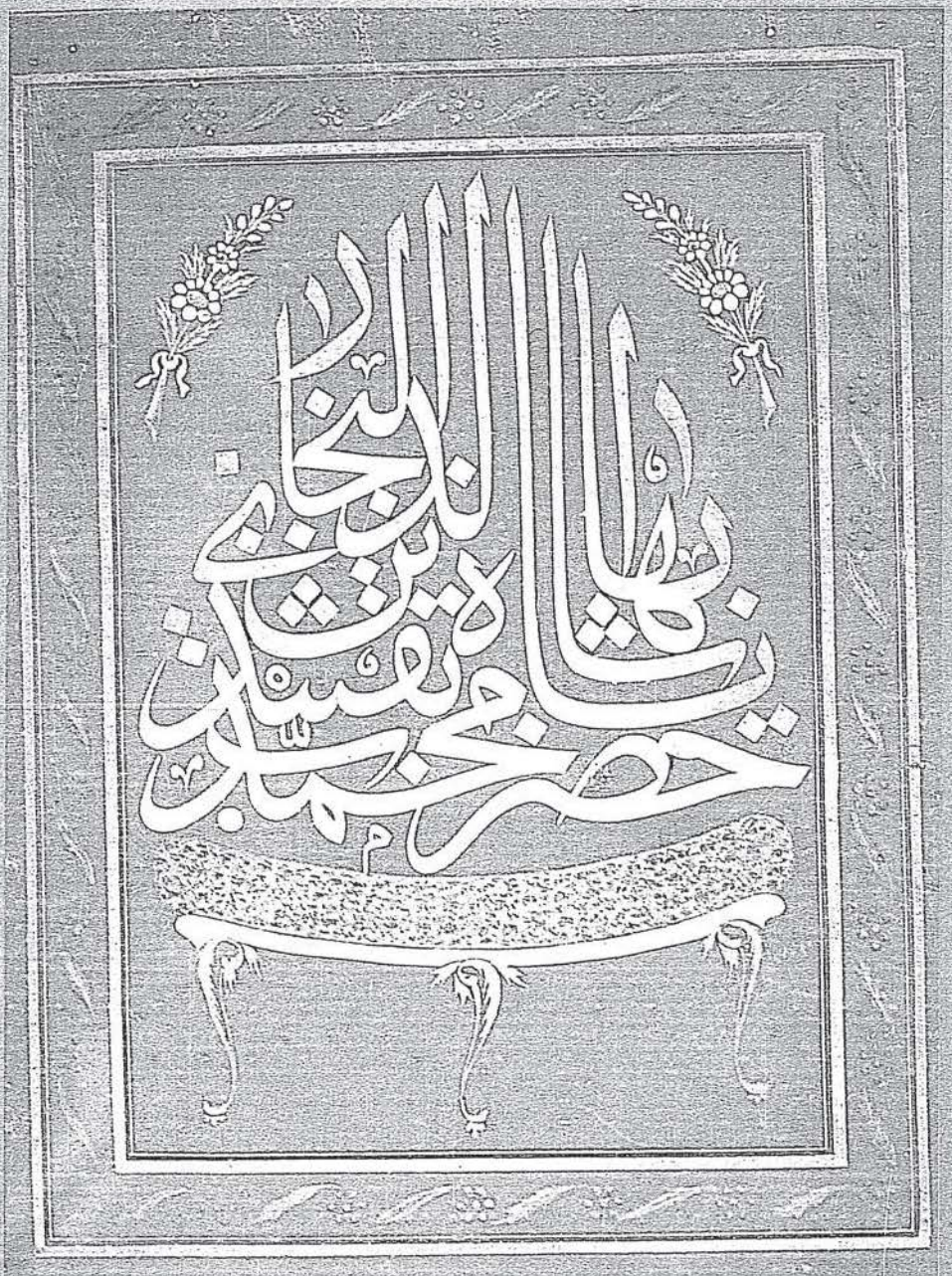
NAQSHBANDIS

IN WESTERN AND CENTRAL ASIA



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NAQSHBANDIS IN WESTERN AND CENTRAL ASIA

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

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From Kashghar to Eyüp: The Lineages and Legacy of Sheikh Abdullah Nidāī

HAMID ALGAR

It is well-known that the earliest presence of the Naqshbandiyya in Istanbul was the result of direct transmission from the Central Asian homeland of the order. This was undertaken by Mollā Abdullah Ilāhī of Simav (d. 896/1491), whose prolonged sojourn in Samarqand and Bukhara culminated in his initiation by the great Naqshbandī master, Khoja 'Ubaydullāh Ahrār (d. 895/1490), and Emir Ahmed Buhārī (d. 922/1516), a fellow disciple of Ilāhī who accompanied him back to Simav; first Buhārī and then Ilāhī himself moved to Istanbul in order to establish the first Naqshbandī circle in the Ottoman capital.[1] This was but the beginning of a fairly constant flow of Naqshbandīs from various parts of Central Asia to Istanbul, significant enough to result in the foundation of *tekke*s to accommodate them during their stays of varying duration, *tekke*s typically bearing designations such as Buhara tekkesi or Özbekler tekkesi.[2] The great majority of these Central Asian visitors remained anonymous, having little or no impact on the established Naqshbandī circles of Istanbul, a city which apart from its great cultural and political prestige was for them primarily a staging post en route to the hajj. It was generally from India and the Hijaz, not from Central Asia, that new branches of Naqshbandī tradition were transplanted to Istanbul. There were, however, a number of Central Asian migrants who settled permanently in Istanbul and left something of a mark on the spiritual life of the city.

Particularly interesting is the case of Sheikh Abdullah Nidāī of Kashghar, who had two distinct affiliations to the Kāsānī branch of the Naqshbandiyya, a lineage otherwise little known outside of Central Asia.[3] After his arrival in Istanbul, he found favor with Mujaddidī Naqshbandīs, while retaining his own Kāsānī loyalties, and the *tekke* one of these Mujaddidīs founded on his behalf came after several generations to serve — however briefly —as a center of the Khālidī branch of the order. His life and legacy thus serve to illustrate the interrelatedness of the various branches of the Naqshbandī tree, as well as the function of the Ottoman capital as a locus of cultural and spiritual interchange.

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1 Kasım Kufralı, "Molla İlahi ve Kendisinden Sonraki Nakşibendiye Muhiti," *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, III/ 1-2 (October 1948), 129-151.

2 Thierry Zarcone, "Histoire et Croyances des Derviches Turkestanais et Indiens à Istanbul," *Anatolia Moderna/Yeni Anadolu, II: Derviches et Cimetières Ottomans*, Paris, 1991, pp. 137-200.

3 Another spiritual descendant of Makhdūm-i A'zam who migrated westwards was Abū Sâa'id Balkhī, initiator into the Naqshbandiyya of the celebrated Syrian Sufi, 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1771); see Barbara von Schlegell, *Sufism in the Ottoman Arab World: Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi*, PhD. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1997, p. 141. There was also a Kāsānī sheikh in 11th/12th century Mecca, Muhammad Husayn al-Kāfī; see Ibn al-'Ujaymī, *Khabāyā al-Zawāyā*, ms. Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, tārīkh 2410, f. 23b.

The only source for the life of Nidāī before his arrival in Istanbul is the untitled treatise in Persian that he finished writing in Rebiülahir 1165/February-March 1752, and the poetry — all in Persian, with the exception of a few verses in Chaghatay — appended to the manuscript copies of this treatise.[4] A loosely structured work that has as its stated purpose the exposition of the Naqshbandī path, it is replete with quotations, definitions and classifications dealing with such matters as the main principles of the order, known as the *kalimāt-i qudsiyya* (ff. 4b-7b), its claim to initiatic descent from the Prophet through Abū Bakr (ff. 8b-9a), and the primacy of silent over vocal *dhikr* (ff. 4b, 13b). Most, if not all, of this material is to be found in earlier, more authoritative works on the order. Of much greater interest is the account Nidāī provides of his own life and wanderings, his twofold affiliation with the Kāsānī branch of the order, and the distinctive characteristics of this variant of the Naqshbandiyya.

Nidāī does not record the date of his birth, although it may be presumed to have been 1100/1688-9, given the fact that he is said to have been seventy-four years of age when he died in Istanbul in 1174/1760.[5] Nor is it known precisely where he was born, whether in the city of Kashghar or a village in its environs. He tells us only that at the age of seventeen, when he was "one of the nightingales of Kashghar," he was captured by a *pir* who was "a nimble hunter on the Path," and persuaded by him to abandon all possessions and family ties. He then accompanied this unnamed *pir* on a series of extended travels to places in the immediate region left unspecified, until he conceived the desire of travelling independently to more distant climes. Thereupon the *pir* advised him to remain steadfast in journeying "for twenty or thirty years" and to observe the *sharī'a* in his outer life and the *tarīqa* in his inner life; listed for him the principal places he should visit, beginning with the city of Kashghar itself; and presented him with "a book full of intuitively attained knowledge" (*yak juz' kitāb-i 'ilm-i ladun*) (ff. 25a-26b).

It is unclear whether or not this *pir* was Naqshbandī, and if so whether he may be identified with either of the persons from whom Nidāī received his formal affiliation, Khoja Hidāyatullah Kāshgharī (d. 1106/1694) and Bābā Mollā Amān Balkhī. For Nidāī does not tell us clearly when, where, or in what order he was initiated by these two. All that is certain is that for him the Kāsānī branch of the Naqshbandiyya to which both were affiliated represented its most advanced stage of development. Its eponym was Khoja Ahmad Khojagī Kāsānī (d. 949/1542), more commonly known as Makhdūm-i A'zām, separated from the great Ahrār by only one link in the initiatic chain, Mawlānā Muhammad Qāzī.[6] Nidāī lays great stress on the role of Makhdūm-i A'zam as elaborator, perfecter and transmitter of the Naqshbandī path, describing him as the "chief link," *sar-halqa*, in the chain of the Naqshbandī masters, a title more commonly reserved for a much earlier master, Khoja 'Abd al-Khāliq Ghijduvānī (d. 617/1220); he remarks of him that "he developed this path of the silent *dhikr*, *tarīq-i khufya*, to the highest degree" (f. 12b). The high status of this master is also evident from the fact that he had "four honourable wives, twelve accomplished sons, and seventy-two perfected *khalīfas*," and that he trained this perfect progeny, both the biological and the spiritual, in "poverty and indigence, *faqr-u-fāqa*, according to the path of the Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a" (f. 13b).[7]

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4 All references in the text are to ms. Aşir Efendi (Süleymaniye) 411, a copy of the treatise and the poetry prepared in 1174/1760-61 by Mustafa Aşir.

5 Hafız Hüseyin Ayvânsarayî. *Hadîkatü'l- Cevâmi'*, Istanbul, 1281/1864-65, I, p. 261.

6 On Makhdūm-i A'zam, see Shāh Mahmūd Churas, *Jāmi' al-Maqāmāt*, O.F. Akimushkin (ed.), Moscow, 1976, and Arif Usman, *Makhdumi A'zam, Sirati va Merosi*, Tashkent, 1996.

7 This description of Makhdūm-i A'zam must have been standard, for an identical wording is to be found in Kemalettin Harîrîzade's *Tibyân Vesâili'l-Haqâiq ve Selâsili't-Tarâiq*, ms. İbrahim Efendi 430, II, f. 77a.

Distinctive in Nidāī's account of the Naqshbandī line, both before and after Makhdūm-i A'zām, is this emphasis on poverty, *faqr*, as pre-eminent among the spiritual virtues, a feature absent from most Naqshbandī literature, particularly that produced by Mujaddidī authors. Indeed, the only passages in the doctrinal portion of Nidāī's work that are cogently and forcefully argued are those that deal with poverty. It is, he says, "the crucible in which the appetitive soul, *nafs*, must be burnt," or alternatively "the alchemy that turns the dross of human nature, *bashariyat*, into pure gold" (f. 14a). Further, it is the innermost meaning of the affirmation of divine unity, *sirr-i tauhīd*, the quintessence of all gnosis, and the form assumed in the heart of the dervish by the love of Allah. This exalted state of poverty is attainable only through prolonged ascetic self-denial, *riyāzat*, and the abandonment, *tark*, both of this world and of one's self, the latter being infinitely more difficult (ff. 9b, 14a). Ultimately, however, Nidāī cites the Prophet as saying, "poverty is one of the treasures of Allah," "a gift bestowed by Him only on a prophet, a veracious devotee, *siddīq*, or a believer honored by Him" (f. 13b).

A sixteenth century Naqshbandī sheikh from Istanbul. (Türkishche Gewänder und Osmanische Gesellschaft im achtzehnten Jahrhundert, Graz 1966)

Going together with this stress on *faqr* is a concern, equally atypical for the Naqshbandīyya, with two outer accoutrements of the path symbolizing poverty, the distinctive headgear, *kulāh*, and cloak, *khirqa*, of the dervish. Both served initiatic purposes, for when a Kāsānī dervish donned the *kulāh* for the first time, he and all present would intone *lā ilāha illā'llāh*, and when the *khirqa* was draped over his shoulders, they would recite "succor from Allah, and a victory close at hand; give glad tidings to the believers" (Qur'ān, 61:13; f. 16a). Hats of poverty had been divinely bestowed first on Adam, then on Noah, next on Abraham, and finally on the Prophet Muhammad (f. 14a). Although the hat was in each case a token of *faqr*, it additionally symbolised another virtue or attribute present in each of its wearers: command, *amr*, in Adam, vision, *ru'yat*, in Noah, generosity, *sakhāvat*, in Abraham, and munificence, *'atā*, in the Prophet Muhammad. The hat of Adam went first to Seth and then to Idrīs, who took it with him to Paradise; Noah's hat was lost in the Flood; that of Abraham passed in turn to Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Jethro, Moses, and Jesus, the last of whom bore it off with him when he ascended to the fourth heaven; while that of the Prophet Muhammad was given to Abū Bakr, "when his clothes were distributed after his death" (ff. 16a-b). The removal from the world of the first three hats may be taken to symbolize the abrogation of previous religions, while the preservation of the hat of the Prophet signifies the permanence of Islam. As for the transmission of the Prophet's *kulāh* to Abū Bakr, this indicates, no doubt, not only the Sunni

belief in the legitimacy of his caliphate but also the Naqshbandī claim to spiritual descent from him. Each of the hats worn by the prophets had four *tark*, slashes or folds, a word fortuitously ambiguous, for it also has the meaning of abandonment.[8] Thus the four folds in the Muhammadan "hat of poverty and munificence" bequeathed to Abū Bakr betokened abandonment of the world, *dunyā*, the self, *nafs*, Paradise, and existence, *wujūd*, itself (f. 16a).

The *khirqa* receives even greater emphasis. The primordial cloak (also termed "the garment of poverty," *libās-i faqr*, by Nidāī) was first bestowed on the Prophet in pre-eternity when the spirits of men were created, and then given him anew by the archangel Gabriel during the *mi'rāj*, prompting him to exclaim, "poverty is my pride," *al-faqru fakhrī* (f. 14a). Traditions to much the same effect are by no means exceptional in Sufism, although it is certain that the wearing of a cloak was a custom introduced by the Sufis themselves and retrospectively attributed to the Prophet.[9] Problematic, however, is Nidāī's division of the *khirqa* into two types, material, *sūrī*, and non-material, *ma'navī*, for even the material cloak — like the hat — would seem to have symbolic meaning, and it is difficult to see what could be signified by a non-material cloak other than the meaning symbolised by its material counterpart.[10] Nidāī compounds the obscurity of the matter by reporting that a *khirqa* of unspecified type was transmitted from the Prophet to the following succession of figures: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, Hasan al-Basrī, Ma'rūf Karkhī, Junayd Baghdādī, 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī, Bāyazīd Bistāmī, Abū'l-Hasan Kharaqānī, Yūsuf Hamadānī, 'Abd al-Khāliq Ghijduvānī, Bahā'al-Dīn Naqshband, and Mawlānā Ya'qūb Charkhī (f. 15a). This list, the last six names in which are to be found in the Naqshbandī *silsila*, with several intermediate links, is open to a number of chronological objections, unless the *khirqa* is supposed to have been transmitted in the atemporal, suprasensory realm, in which case it was presumably of the non-material type. The next recipient of the *khirqa*, Khoja 'Ubaydullāh Ahrār, is proclaimed by Nidāī to have had, however, "both the material and the non-material *khirqa* manifest in his noble being" (f. 15a). Given the great esteem enjoyed by Ahrār, it seems that whatever may be meant by the two types of *khirqa*, the simultaneous possession of both counts as a mark of special distinction. The immediate heir of Ahrār was Muhammad Qāzī, succeeded in turn by Makhdūm-i A'zam, for whose "stature the material and non-material *khirqa*s were perfectly fitted" (f. 15a). From him the *khirqa*(s) passed to Muhammad Amīn Dahbīdī, also known as Ishān Kalān, progenitor of the Dahbīdī sheikhs who for generations were custodians of Makhdūm-i A'zam's shrine in the village of Dahbīd near Samarqand;[11] next to Muhammad Amīn's son, Khoja Muham-

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8 For a similar correlation between the twelve slashes of the Ni'matullāhī headgear and twelve forms of abandonment, see Shāh Ni'matullāh Valī, *Risāla-hā*, ed. Muhammad Javād Nūrbakhsh, Tehran, 1352/1977, I, pp. 160-165.

9 See Sayyid 'Alī Muhammad Sajjādī, *Jāma-yi Zuhd: Khirqa va Khirqa-pūshī*, Tehran, 1369 Sh./1990, pp. 65-69. Despite the widespread popularity of these legends, Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 631/1234) had no hesitation in remarking "there is no doubt the wearing of a *khirqa* in the form now conventional among our sheikhs did not exist in the time of the Messenger of God" (*'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, in supplementary volume to Ghazālī's *Ihyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Beirut, n.d., p. 78).

10 It is true that the Prophet is reputed to have said, "I have two *khirqa*s, poverty and jihad," in a *hadīth* of dubious standing alluded to by Iqbāl when he made pilgrimage to the allegedly prophetic *khirqa* preserved in Qandahār (see *Kulliyāt-i Iqbāl*, ed. Ahmad Surūsh, Tehran, 1343 Sh./1964, pp. 426-427), but it seems difficult to correlate these with the two *khirqas* discussed by Nidāī .

11 Concerning this line of Naqshbandī sheikhs, see Hamid Algar, "Dahbīdīya," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, VI, pp. 585-586. Their interest in *khirqas* is apparent from the fact that in the late seventeenth century three of them were transporting a cloak that had allegedly belonged to the Prophet from Samarqand to India when they were intercepted along the Badakhshān-Chitral border and forced to take up residence, together with the cloak, at Jawzān, which was then renamed Fayzābād in recognition of the sacred relic. There the cloak remained until it was moved to Qandahār in 1182/1768. See Robert McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia*, Princeton, 1991, pp. 224-226.

mad Hāshim (d. 1046/ 1636); then to Khoja Muhammad Hāshim's nephew, Hidāyatullāh Kāshgharī (d. 1106/ 1694), better known as Khoja Afāq; and finally from him to Nidāī (ff. 15a-b).

In 1089/1678, Khoja Afāq seized control of Yārkand from a debilitated branch of the Chaghatayid dynasty, and his descendants, known as the White Mountain (Aqtağlıq) Khojas, continued to exercise rule in Eastern Turkestan until the mid 12th/18th century; he was thus a figure of considerable historical importance.[12] Nidāī, however, does not mention him with any particular reverence, nor does he attribute to him the same qualities by which he describes Ahrār and Makhdūm-i A'zam; it seems probable, therefore, that he did not regard him as his principal connection to the Naqshbandī-Kāsānī line. Indeed, the *khirqa* he received from him must have been a non-material one, posthumously donated, for when Nidāī parted company with his unnamed *pir* and came to Kashghar, he recounts having resided for a time at the "effulgent shrine," *mazār-i fayz-āsār*, of Khoja Hidāyatullāh, in alternating states of sobriety and distraction (f. 26b). Apart from this autobiographical detail, it should also be remembered that Nidāī can have been only eight years old when Khoja Hidāyatullāh died, making it improbable that the master should have given him an initiatic cloak while still in the flesh.

A sixteenth century Naqshbandi *murshid* from Istanbul. (Türkische Gewänder und Osmanische Gesellschaft im achtzehnten Jahrhundert, Graz 1965)

It is another line of Kāsānī transmission that had greater significance for Nidāī, although it is one entirely lacking in celebrated names and seems to have transmitted only the material *khirqa*. From Makhdūm-i A'zam this other line passes first to Mawlānā Khurd Tāshkandī, then in turn to Molla Akka Shabirghānī, Khoja Pāyanda Aqsī, Sūfī Juvayn Ghijduvānī, and Bābā Qul-Mazīd, who in addition to his Naqshbandī lineage had a Qādirī *khirqa*, bestowed on him by a certain Marjān Muhammad Khwārazmī (f.15b). Nidāī tells us nothing of these individuals beyond their names; it is known, however, from other sources that Mawlānā Khurd settled in Balkh, dying there in 975/1567,[13] and it is possible that his initiatic descendants also

12 Concerning the Khojas of Eastern Turkestan, see M. Hartmann, "Ein Heiligenstaat im Islam: das Ende der Caghataiden und die Herrschaft der Choğas in Kašgarien," in Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient: Berichte und Forschungen*, Berlin, 1905, pp. 195-346; R. B. Shaw, *The History of the Khojas of Eastern-Turkistan*, Calcutta, 1897; and İsenbike Togan, "Chinese Turkestan: V. Under the Khojas," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, V, pp. 474-6.

13 Muhammad b. Husayn Qazvīnī, *Silsila-nāma-yi Khwājagān-i Naqshband*, ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, supplément persan 1418, f. 20b.

resided there for several generations, for apart from Khoja Pāyanda, Shabirghānī had a disciple named Mawlānā Muhammad 'Arab Balkhī, who was succeeded in turn by Mīr Kalān b. Sayyid Mahmūd Balkhī. As for Baba Qul-Mazīd, one of his two principal disciples was also a Balkhī, Bābājī Hājī 'Abd al-Raḥīm 'Āqibat-ba-khayr, author of a treatise cited by Nidāī as his source for traditions concerning the headgear of the prophets (f. 16b). 'Āqibat-ba-khayr had five *khalīfas:* Shāh Nāzir, Shāh Manzūr, Bābājī Mazārī (i.e., from Mazār-i Sharīf), Bābājī Safāī Samarqandī, and Bābā Mollā Amān Balkhī (f. 15b). None of these can be presumed to have lived in Balkh, not even the last-named, for it was in Kashghar that Nidāī encountered him and received from him the essence of the Path, soon after bidding farewell to his nameless preliminary *pir*. Nidāī lavished much praise on Bābā Mollā Amān, describing him as one who had been "clothed by God in the cloak of honor, *khil'at*, of attaining His presence and given to drink of the wine of His beauty" (f. 16a). He not only helped Nidāī gain tranquillity amidst the tempestuous and unstable spiritual states to which he was then subject (f. 26b), but also bestowed on him such bounty, "both outer and inner," that a hundred years would not suffice to give adequate thanks (f. 16a). What precisely Nidāī meant by the "outer bounty" is uncertain, but presumably it included the hat and cloak Mollā Amān gave him while still alive, and the staff, *'asā*, and begging bowl, *kachkūl*, he bequeathed to him (f. 15b).

The mention of a staff and a begging bowl — the meagre equipment of the wandering mendicant — as part of Bābā Mollā Amān's legacy, is significant. Taken together with Nidaī's rule that all the dervish may legitimately possess is a jug, *ibrīq*, for making ablutions, a kerchief, *rūymāl*, and a prayer mat, *musallā*, (f. 17b), it shows clearly that for the line of Kāsānī descent to which Nidāī belonged, *faqr* meant not simply an inward detachment from the things of this world, but a deliberately chosen indigence that demanded the renunciation of a settled life. He does not explicitly mandate mendicancy, but he is clear and emphatic in his condemnation of *kasb* (regular exertion for the sake of earning a living), denouncing it as "the deed of the weak" and liable, moreover, to cause the neglect of prayers, and in his complementary exaltation of *tavakkul* (reliance on God, hyperbolically interpreted to mean the abandonment of all such exertion) as "the deed of the strong" (f. 22b); the practical result of such attitudes must clearly have been at least passive mendicancy.[14] It was thus as a wandering Naqshbandī mendicant that Nidāī set out from Kashghar on the long journey that was to take him to Istanbul.

The very notion of an itinerant Naqshbandī dervish seems at first sight contradictory, even grotesque, given the strict adherence to the norms of Sunni propriety and the insistence on maintaining a presence within society that are normatively associated with Naqshbandīs. Even apart from the case of Nidāī, however, there is evidence that the typology of the order, especially in Central Asia, was more complex than is often realized. A much travelled and highly observant Iranian Sufi belonging to the Ni'matullāhī order, Zayn al-'Ābidīn Shīrvānī (d. 1253/1838), remarks that in the course of his journeys he had encountered three classes of Naqshbandīs: *sharī'a*-observant Sunnis, who did indeed constitute the great majority; Shi'is, of whom he had never met more than two or three; and *qalandars*, "ignorant of the *sharī'a* and regarding it as a mere series of fetters." These *qalandars* neither prayed nor fasted; regarded marriage as forbidden; consumed large quantities of bhang and hemp juice; travelled ceaselessly; recited poetry whenever the mood took them; considered it incumbent to beg every Thursday; and cheerfully desig-

14 Concerning the general problem of begging in Sufism, see Hamid Algar, "Begging in Sufi Literature and Practice," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, IV, pp. 81-82.

nated themselves as "God's fools." Their relation to Islam was purely nominal, and their sole claim to the true *faqr* of the Sufis consisted of the clothes they wore.[15] Other evidence from the early ninteenth century suggests that Bukhara, the very homeland of the Naqshbandī order, was by no means free of this *qalandar* pestilence. Throughout the khanate there were hospices established to accommodate *qalandar*s when they wished to rest from their travels, and in the city of Bukhara itself they had official permission to beg freely every Thursday and Sunday, using whatever means they saw fit. "On those days," reports the Russian traveller Khanykov, "they are seen strolling in crowds through the streets, stopping the passers by, and with loud wild cries asking alms, singing hymns, and exhibiting the holy towns of Mekka and Medina, illuminated on wood, or pictures of the damned in hell." So fully institutionalized were the *qalandar*s of Bukhara that the emir would appoint "the wisest of them" to act as their leader and representative with the authorities.[16] It was presumably *qalandar*s such as these that Zayn al-'Abidīn Shīrvānī regarded as one class of Naqshbandī.

Nidāī must not, however, be confused with them. It is significant that in the terminology of his native Eastern Turkistan, as reflected in the texts published and translated by Gunnar Jarring, the terms dervish and *qalandar* convey different although sometimes overlapping meanings. There, *qalandar* stands uniformly for a religious charlatan, aggressive and shameless in his begging; whereas "dervish" means generally one who is either content with "whatever God places in front of him," or begs only passively, accepting unsolicited donations.[17] It is true that Nidāī's first place of residence in Istanbul was the *kalenderhane* at Eyüp, and that annexed to his poetry we find some verses of Sheikh Ahmad-i Jām (d. 536/1141) in praise of the *qalandar*,[18] but none of this justifies his classification as a *qalandar* in the Eastern Turkistani sense of the word. Nidāī is in fact vehement in his condemnation of the antinomian pretendants to Sufism for all the faults Shīrvānī detected in them, and several more besides: their complete disregard for the categories of *halāl* and *harām*; a straightforwardly pantheistic claim to absolute identity with God; mistaking visions of Iblīs for true illumination; and regarding the saints, *awliyā*, as superior to the prophets (ff. 20a-23a). He stresses the necessity of studying the sciences of the *sharī'a* as well as observing its commands, and the absolute incumbence of performing not only the five mandatory prayers but also the superogatory acts of worship, *navāfil*, and recitations, *awrād*, that are the hallmark of the especially pious (ff. 19b-20a). It is three elements alone that set apart Nidāī's understanding and practice of the Naqshbandī path from more familiar concepts and tend to create a misleading impression of identity with the *qalandar*s: abstention from marriage, passive mendicancy, and — most important of all — itinerancy.

Nidāī's independent travels took him first to Yārkand, "capital of the lands of Turkistan", where he visited a complex of Sufi tombs known as the "Seven Muhammads", *haft Muhammadān* (ff. 26a-b). In general, it seems that his primary purpose in visiting the cities that lay along his route, as well as his most abiding memory of them, was pilgrimage to the shrines of various Sufis, for this is virtually all

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15 Shīrvānī, *Riyāz al-Siyāha*, ed. Asghar Hāmid Rabbānī, Tehran, 1339 Sh./1960, pp. 482-483.

16 Khanykov (Khanikoff), *Bokhara: its Amir and its People*, tr. Baron Clement A. de Bode, London, 1845, pp. 261-262. For depictions of the Naqshbandī *qalandars* of Bukhara, see the frontispiece to the 1865 New York edition of Arminius Vambery, *Travels In Central Asia*; and O. A. Sukhareva, *Bukhara XIX - Nachalo XX vekov*, Moscow, 1966, p. 307.

17 Jarring, "Dervish and Qalandar: Texts from Kashghar edited and translated with notes and glossary," *Scripta Minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis*, (1985-1986) 2, 18-27.

18 Ff. 58 a-b.

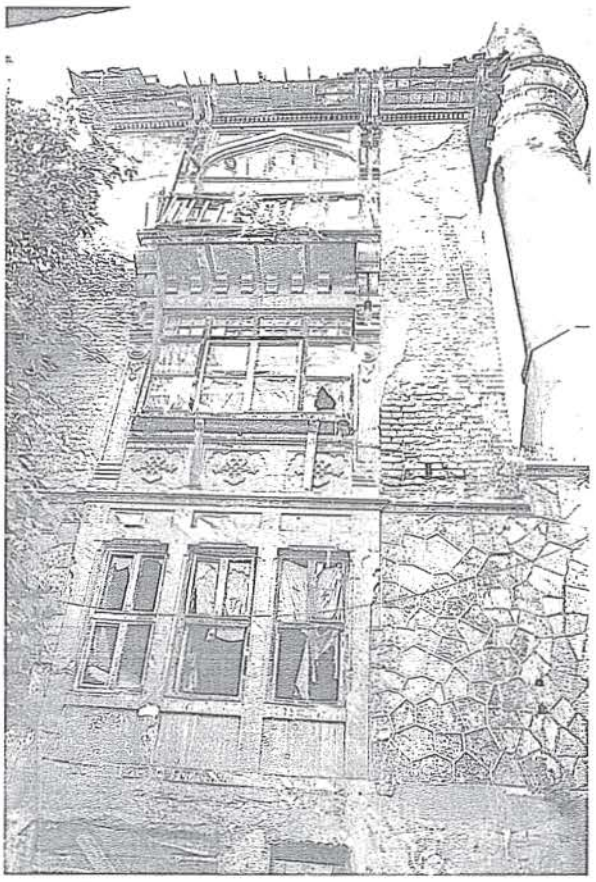
that he records of his journey before arriving in Istanbul.[19] From Yārkand he went northwest to Kashghar, where, as previously recounted, he spent some time at the shrine of Khoja Hidāyatullāh Kāshghārī before making his evidently decisive encounter with Mollā Amān Balkhī. He does not tell us how long he spent in Kashghar with this master, but however great his devotion to him, it was not sufficient to deflect him from continuing on his way, first to Khujand, where he visited the tombs of Bābā Kamāl Khujandī (d. 803/1400-01) and Muslih al-Dīn Khujandī. Next, in Samarqand and its environs, he paid homage at the tombs of the theologian Abū Mansūr Māturīdī (d. 333/944) and two of his great ancestors in the Naqshbandī line, Khoja Ahrār and Makhdūm-i A'zam. Once arrived in the district of Bukhara, he hastened to the shrine of 'Abd al-Khāliq Ghijduvānī, a key figure in the immediate prehistory of the order, and then to that of its eponym, Khoja Bahā'al-Dīn Naqshband. The latter site appears to have left an unusually strong impression on him: "At that blessed shrine, I witnessed scholars and gnostics, lovers and sheikhs, coming in great crowds, multitudes, and droves, to visit the *pir*. Some were busy with their supplications, others were engaged in reciting the Qur'ān, and others again were sunk in introspective meditation. All, in short, were engaged in some form of devotion" (f. 27b). These brief but evocative sentences serve to confirm the well-known appeal exerted by the shrine as a goal of pilgrimage for devotees from all over Central Asia and beyond. From Bukhara he proceeded to Balkh, where he recounts visiting the saints' tombs, without mentioning any of their names.[20] Next he traversed Khorasan, visiting in Herat the tombs of Khoja 'Abdullāh Ansārī (d. 481/1088) and two Naqshbandīs, Sa'd al-Dīn Kashgharī (d. 866/1462) and Kāshgharī's disciple, the celebrated poet and polymath 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492); in Turbat-i Jām, that of the Sufi Sheikh Ahmad-i Jām (d. 536/1141), commonly known as Zhanda-Pīl; in Mashhad, that of Imām Rizā; in Khārjird — somewhat curiously — that of Qāsim-i Anvār (847/1433-4), a Sufi suspected of Hurūfī leanings and condemned by Jāmī as a heretic; in Nishapur, that of Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār (d. 617/1220); and in Bistām, that of Bāyazīd Bistāmī (d. 260/874), who is the sixth link in the Naqshbandī initiatic chain. From Khorasan he struck out southwest to Isfahan, where he visited the tomb of the poet Sā'ib (d. 1087/1676), again a curious choice, given Sā'ib's lack of renown for religiosity, and then continued on to Shiraz, visiting there the tombs of two poets with a more credible claim to spiritual eminence — Sā'dī and Hāfiz (f. 27a).[21] From Shiraz he moved on to Baghdad, presumably overland through western Iran, although a journey through Fars to the Persian Gulf coast followed by a sea voyage to Basra would also have been a possibility. Baghdad was rich in sites for pious visitation; among the tombs Nidāī visited there were those of Abū Hanīfa, Imam Mūsā al-Kāzim, and early Sufis such as Junayd Baghdādī (d. 297/910), Shiblī (d. 333/945), Hallāj (d. 310/922), Ma'rūf Karkhī (d. 199/815), 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī (d. 561/ 1166), and Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 631/1234). The possibilities of Baghdad exhaust-

19 The prompt paying of homage at the tombs of the saintly in whatever city one alighted had for long been part of established etiquette for the Sufi traveller. See Suhrawardī, *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, p. 96; Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, *Mirsād al-'Ibād*, Muhammad Amīn Riyāhī (ed.), Tehran, 1365 Sh./1986, p. 526; and Abū 'l-Mafākhir Yahyā Bākharzī, *Awrād al-Ahbāb va Fusūs al-Ādāb*, Īraj Afshār (ed.), Tehran, 1358 Sh./1979, p. 163.

20 This silence is curious, given the abundance of Balkhīs in Nidāī's own lineage and the fairly prominent place occupied in Balkh — even in fairly recent times — by the tomb of Abū Nasr Pārsā (d. 865/1459), the son and *murīd* of Khoja Muhammad Pārsā (d. 822/1419 in Medina), one of the chief *khalīfas* of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband.

21 It is worth noting that Nidāī makes no mention of encountering sectarian hostility during his travels in Iran. This furnishes one indication among many others that the notion of Iran forming a "sectarian barrier," denying transit to Central Asians *en route* to the hajj even in peacetime, must be discarded.

ed, Nidaī moved on in turn to Kirkuk, Mosul, Aleppo (where he mentions having stayed with a certain Hājjī Muhammad Balkhī, possibly a member of his own initiatic line), Jerusalem, and finally the Hijaz. All that he relates of his sojourn in the Hijaz is that during each of the three years he spent there he performed the hajj and visited the Prophet's Mosque in Medina (f. 27b).



Ruins of the Buharalı tekkesi, built in 1692, restored in 1887, in Kadırga (vicinity of the Hippodrome), Istanbul (Cengiz Kahraman, 1994).

Having, as he puts it, spent "forty-five years seeking out the People of God, *dar talab-i ahlullāh*," Nidāī finally reached Istanbul and decided to settle there. Why he decided to go to the Ottoman capital and why he chose to end his journeys there are two more of the questions left unanswered by his narrative. It is true that he himself offers several explanations. "The springtime of life was," he says, "drawing to a close," in addition to which his protracted wanderings seemed to have induced in him weariness and confusion: "Where was I? Where had I been? Where was I now? In this state of bewilderment madness was hard on my heels" (ff. 50b-51b). Apart from these entirely comprehensible human sentiments, it may be that Nidāī felt he had exhausted the spiritual benefits to be gained from ceaseless travel: he had, after all, defined the seventh and final degree, *daraja*, of poverty as *sukūnat*, (tranquillity, coming to rest; f. 16a).

Moreover, the impressive spectacle of the great city, located at the junction of three waterways, did not fail to arouse the admiration of Nidāī, who until then had seen only the landlocked cities of Central Asia and the arid terrains of Iran, Iraq, Syria, and the Hijaz. Here was "a city the like of which I had never seen ... in the midst of it great waterways beyond the mind's ability to conceive, plied by fine ships of all types" (ff. 50b-51b, 56a-b). Istanbul was adorned not only by its natural setting, but also by "the supremacy of the *sharī'a* and the path of the *tarīqa*," ensured by its ruler, Commander of the Faithful Sultan Mahmūd, who was of such splendor that Jamshīd and Faridūn would have immersed him in praise if they had lived to see his auspicious age (ff. 50b-51b).

Possibly decisive, however, for Nidāī's abandonment of the itinerant life was the favor extended him by La'līzāde Abdülbaki Efendi (d. 1159/1746). A retired kadi who had been initiated to the Mujaddidī branch of the Naqshbandiyya by Sheikh Muhammad Murād (d. 1166/1752 in Damascus) during one of his sojourns in the Ottoman capital, La'līzāde also had ties of sympathy if not formal affiliation to the Melāmiye-Bayrāmiye, and it may have been this breadth of spiritual interests that

inspired him either to build or to restore the *kalenderhane* in Eyüp in 1156/1743.[22] He appointed Nidāī as its first sheikh, which might lead to the supposition that it was an explicitly Naqshbandī establishment; indeed it is designated as such in a list of the *tekke*s of Istanbul drawn up some forty years after its foundation.[23] No doubt Naqshbandī practices predominated at the *kalenderhane*, which would have been comprehensible given the overwhelmingly if not exclusively Central Asian identity of its clientele, but they were mingled with Yesevī elements such as the "*dhikr* of the saw," *zikr-i arra*, and the recitation of the poetry of Ahmad Yasawī.[24] It is unlikely that this compound should have been elaborated in Istanbul; more probably, it represented a transplantation there of the fusion between the two cognate orders, Naqshbandiyya and Yasawiyya, that is occasionally encountered in Central Asia, despite their marked differences with respect to the methods of *dhikr*.

Having abandoned itinerancy, one pillar of the life of the wandering dervish, Nidāī decided to marry, thereby discarding another of its pillars. This choice compelled him to vacate the *kalenderhane*, since its direction was reserved for a celibate sheikh. Fortunately for Nidāī, a certain Yekçeşm Murtaza Efendi (d. 1160/1747), a financial official who had been initiated into the Mujaddidī branch of the Naqshbandiyya by Sheikh Ahmad Yekdast Jūryānī (d. 1119/1707) while on the hajj, had shortly before received instructions in a dream to construct a Naqshbandī *tekke* at Eyüp. He complied with this command from the unseen, and construction began in 1157/1744, in the quarter of Eyüp known as Idris Köşkü after the mansion built there in the sixteenth century by the Kurdish statesman and historian, Idris Bitlisī (d. 926/1520). Once the *tekke* was finished, about a year later, the newly married Nidāī was appointed its first sheikh, and it became known after him as the Kaşgāri tekkesi.[25]

In the space of about two years, Nidāī had thus benefited successively from the favor and patronage of two Mujaddidīs, La'līzāde and Yekçeşm Murtaza Efendi. There is, however, no reason to assume that he replaced or even supplemented his Kāsānī affiliation with an adherence to the Mujaddidiyya, despite his abandonment of the itinerancy and celibacy that characterized the line of Bābā Mollā Amān Balkhī. The assertion that the Kaşgārī tekkesi founded on his behalf was or became "one of the principal centers in Istanbul for the diffusion of this branch of the Naqshbandiyya" (i.e. the Mujaddidiyya) seems entirely unwarranted.[26] Nidāī's move from the *kalenderhane* to the *tekke*, far from involving the adoption of "a new, energetic and rigorist form of the Naqshbandiyya,"[27] seems to have been dictated exclusively by his wish to marry, not by any desire or need to acquire new spiritual loyalties.

In 1158/1746, Sheikh Mehmed Emin Tokadī, a *khalifa* of Sheikh Ahmad Yekdast Jūryānī, died in Istanbul; he had been the principal representative of the Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman capital. The succession was uncertain until a certain Yahya Efendi, a longtime devotee, dreamed that Tokadī had risen from the grave to converse with him. Informed of the dream, Nidāī interpreted it as a posthumous appointment of

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22 Ayvânsarayī, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmi'*, I, p. 260. Concerning La'līzâde, see Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, Istanbul, 1333/1914, I, p. 159; Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmânî*, Istanbul, 1308/1890, III, pp. 298-299; and Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlîk ve Melâmîler*, Istanbul, 1931, pp.153-155.

23 Cited by Zarcone, "Derviches turkestanais et indiens à Istanbul," p. 155.

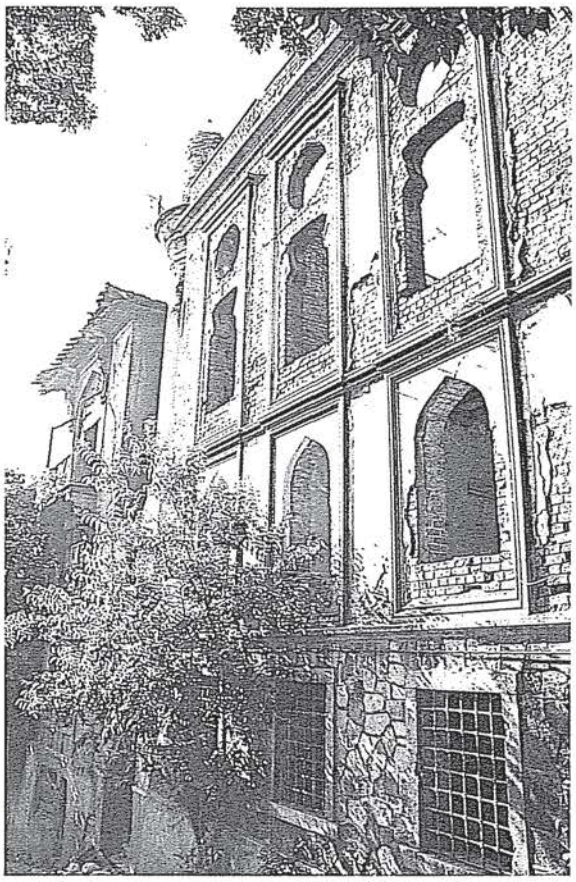
24 Osman Ergin, *Türk Şehirlerinde İmaret Sistemi*, Istanbul, 1939, p. 31.

25 Ayvânsarayî, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmi'*, I, pp. 261-2. Occasionally, however, the *tekke* is designated after its founder as Murtaza Efendi Tekkesi; see Günay Kut and Turgut Kut, "İstanbul Tekkelerine Ait Bir Kaynak: Dergāh Nāme," *Türkische Miszellen: Festschrift für Robert Anhegger*, Istanbul, 1987, p. 233. Concerning Yekçeşm Murtaza Efendi, see Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmânî*, IV, p. 361, and concerning Jūryānī, see Muhammad Khalīl al-Murādī, *Silk al-Durar*, reprint, Damascus, 1408/1988, I, pp. 107-108.

26 Zarcone, "Derviches turkestanais et indiens à Istanbul," p. 164.

27 *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

Yahya Efendi as Tokadī's *khalifa*, and his view was accepted as that of a respected friend of the Mujaddidīs, not as one of them.[28] The significance of the contacts between Nidāī and the Mujaddidīs of Istanbul lies precisely in such mutual acceptance and the intertwining of different branches of the Naqshbandiyya that it reflects.



Ruins of the Buharalı tekkesi in Kadırga, Istanbul (Cengiz Kahraman, 1994).

Nothing is recorded of the remainder of Nidāī's life, which ended on Safar 7, 1174/ November 18, 1760. He was buried next to his *tekke* and succeeded as sheikh by his son, Ubeydullah Efendi, who died almost exactly ten years later at the age of forty-five. Next came Gilānī Isa Efendi, who had formerly been imam at the *tekke*; his designation as Gīlānī probably indicates a claim to descent from 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī, not an origin in the Iranian province of Gīlān as has been suggested.[29] Isa Efendi appears to have been highly regarded by the Ottoman royal house: Sultan Mustafa III (r. 1171-87/ 1757-74) would come to visit him incognito at the *tekke*,[30] and when he died a nonagenarian on Safar 26, 1206/ October 28, 1791, a *türbe* was constructed for him by Sultan Selim III (r. 1203-22/ 1789-1807). The following sheikh was Çelebi Seyyid Ubeydullāh (or, according to one source, Mehmed) Efendi, Nidāī's son-in-law; he died less than three years into his tenure, on Şevval 16, 1208/ July 17, 1794. He was succeeded by Hacı Ismail Efendi, who had been Nidāī's slave and served him as his coffee maker, *kahveci*; he too died some three years after his appointment to the office, on Rebiülevvel 24, 1212/ September 16, 1797. Next came Hāce Nidāī Abdullah, son of Çelebi Seyyid Ubeydullah Efendi, named, obviously enough, after his grandfather; he died on Rebiülevvel 7, 1213/ August 19, 1798, at the exceptionally early age of twenty-two, a mere fourteen months into his tenure. Stability of direction again proved unattainable with the next sheikh, Hāce Lutfullah Efendi, former custodian of the shrine of Ebu Eyüp Ensārī. Three years after his appointment to the *tekke*, he was accused of improper relations with his daughter-in-law and compelled to resign. Burdened with debts as well as disgrace, he spent the rest of his life in poverty in Üsküdar, but he appears ultimately to have been forgiven, for he was buried next to the *tekke* when he passed away in 1220/1805-6. This

28 Seyyid Hasib Üsküdarî, *Menâkıb-i Şeyh Emin Tokadî*, ms. Ali Emiri (Şeriye) 103, ff. 27b-28a.

29 Klaus Kreiser, "Kaşgarī Tekyesi - ein Istanbuler Naqşbandī-Konvent und sein Stifter," in *Naqshbandis: Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman*, Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic, and Thierry Zarcone (eds.), Istanbul-Paris, 1990, p. 333.

30 Mustafa Özdamar, *Dersaâdet Dergâhları*, Istanbul, 1994, p. 22.

scandal seems to have created an unexpected vacuum, for no one could be found to replace Hâce Lutfullah Efendi other than Hâce Mehmed Eşref Efendi, second son of Çelebi Seyyid Ubeydullah Efendi and a minor at the time; the office of sheikh had initially to be exercized on his behalf by a *vekil*, Hüdaverdi Efendi. In the long run, however, the appointment proved beneficial, for Mehmed Eşref Efendi lived until Rebîülevvel 15, 1257/ May 7, 1841, permitting him a tenure of forty years. The *tekke* evidently gained in esteem under his direction, for it was one of the two Naqshbandî hospices represented at the gathering of sheikhs, *ulemâ* and government officials convened on Zîlhicce 2, 1241/ July 8, 1826 to decide on the disposition of the Bektashî *tekkes* then being sequestered.[31] Mehmed Eşref Efendi was succeeded by his son, Sheikh Mehmed 'Âşir Efendi. Born in 1248/1832-3, he also assumed formal leadership of the *tekke* as a minor. However, in the fullness of time he, too, became well regarded in the Sufi circles of Istanbul, and he was appointed in 1385/1894 to the Meclis-i Meşayih, a regulatory body for the Sufi orders attached to the office of the Sheikh al-Islam that had been created in 1295/ 1868.[32] He died on Zîlka'de 20, 1320/ February 28, 1903, to be succeeded by the last sheikh to preside over the *tekke* before the collapse of the Ottoman State, Sheikh Bahaettin Efendi (d. 1918); it is unknown whether he belonged to the lineage, biological or spiritual, of Nidâî.[33]

The successor to Bahaettin Efendi and the last sheikh appointed to the Kaşgarî tekkesi before the forced closing of all the Sufi hospices and meeting places in November 1925 was Seyyid Abdülhakim Arvâsî. A Kurd, he was born in Şevval 1281/ November-December 1865 in Başkale, a town in the province of Hakkari (but later attached to that of Van). His father, Seyyid Mustafa Efendi, was one of the numerous Qâdirî sheikhs who had transferred their principal allegiance to the Naqshbandiyya after the rise to prominence — particularly marked in Kurdistan — of the Khâlidiyya, a new and truly energetic branch of the order founded by Mawlânâ Khâlid Baghdâdî (d. 1242/1826). Arvâsî was thus immersed in the world of the Naqshbandiyya from childhood. He received his formal initiation into the order at the age of fourteen from Seyyid Fehim (d. 1313/1895), a disciple of Taha Hakkârî (d. 1269/1852-3), who had been one of Mawlânâ Khâlid's principal *khalifa* among the Kurds. After a lengthy period of study in the *medreses* of both Kurdistan and Iraq, he settled in Van to teach what he had learned, together with the principles of the Naqshbandî path. In April 1915, after Armenians armed by the Russians invading Eastern Anatolia had launched a campaign of killing and plundering in Van and its environs, Arvâsî found himself compelled to leave his homeland. After a lengthy journey in search of refuge that first took him across the mountains to Irbil and Mosul, and then to Adana, Eskişehir, and Bursa,

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31 The *tekke* was represented on this occasion by a certain Balmumcu Mustafa Efendi; see Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih*, Istanbul, 1309/1891, XII, p. 182.

32 Mustafa Kara, *Tekkeler ve Zaviyeler*, Istanbul, 1980, p. 308.

33 This account of Nidâî's successors is drawn from Ayvânsarayî, *Hadikatü'l-Cevâmi'*, I, pp. 261-2; Zâkir Şükrü Efendi, *Die Istanbuler Derwisch-Konvente und ihre Scheiche*, Mehmet Serhan Tayşı and Klaus Kreiser (eds.), Freiburg im Breisgau, 1980, pp. 50-51; and Hüseyin Vassâf, *Sefîne-i Evliyâ*, ms. Süleymaniye, yazma bağışlar 2300, II, ff. 58a-59b. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı speaks additionally of another sheikh at the *tekke*, Hâce Husâm (d. 1281/1864), who had a supplementary affiliation to the Mawlawiyya (*Türkiye'de Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar*, Istanbul, 1969, p. 223); he is, however, absent from all the lists of Nidâî's successors. The sum of the admittedly somewhat sparse information concerning the sheikhs who presided over the Kaşgarî tekkesi suggests that the institution played a role of some importance throughout the nineteenth century. Against this it might be argued that the number of people resident there was not particularly impressive (eight men and four women in 1885, for example, as opposed to twenty four men and seventeen women at the Yenikapı Mevlevîhanesi; see Necdet İşli and Thierry Zarcone, "La population des couvents de derviches d'Istanbul à la fin du XIXe siècle," *Anatolia Moderna/Yeni Anadolu*, II, pp. 214-215). Such figures are not, however, particularly significant; it would be more important to know how many people would typically attend the sessions of *dhikr* that were held at the *tekke* every Friday.

Özbekler tekkesi, Üsküdar, Istanbul (Yavuz Çelenk, 1997).

he finally arrived in Istanbul in April 1919. Together with his family, he was lodged intitially in the Yazılı medresesi at Eyüp, moving six months later to the Kaşgarī tekkesi. Apart from Bahaettin Efendi's aged and infirm mother, no one else was living there at the time and the life of the *tekke* was at a low ebb. Arvāsī's arrival served to reinvigorate it, for it now became a meeting place for all those who were drawn to him by the sermons he preached at various mosques and by the lessons on Sufism he gave at the Süleymaniye. It continued to function as such after the cessation of *tarikat*-related devotional practices in accordance with the law of November 1925 which, while prohibiting the *tarikat*s, permitted certain sheikhs to continue residing in their *tekke*s. Arvāsī is said to have accepted the proscription of organized Sufi activity, as well as the other anti-Islamic measures of the period, with quiet resignation and a determination to avoid political entanglements. Thus he told Hüseyin Vassāf (d. 1929), who was then gathering material for his history of the Sufi orders, *Sefîne-i Evliyā:* "I know nothing of politics; I have never had any connections to any political group; I have no duty other than providing religious guidance, *irşad*."[34] This emphatic quietism did not satisfy the Kemalist authorities. After the Menemen incident of December 1930, Arvāsī was among the Sufi sheikhs who were arrested and accused of participation in a vast reactionary plot. After his acquittal, he returned to the Kaşgarī tekkesi. However, in 1943, he was arrested again and forced to live under surveillance at a hotel in Izmir before being permitted to move to Ankara. It was there, in a modest house near the Hacı Bayram mosque, that he died in the midst of these final travails. His followers and relatives were denied permission to take the body to Istanbul for burial, so a group of them interred him in the nearby village of Bağlum.[35] People still visit his tomb, and the local inhabitants attribute to him the posthumous miracle of bestowing exceptional fertility on their land.[36]

Thus ended the life of the last sheikh of the Kaşgarī tekkesi. All that had remained

34 Vassâf, *Sefîne-i Evliyā*, ff. 59a-60b.

35 On the life of Arvâsî, see Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, *Son Devrin Din Mazlumları*, Istanbul, 1969, pp. 249-280; Sadık Albayrak, *Şeriat Yolunda Yürüyenler ve Sürünenler*, Istanbul, pp. 159-164; and Hüseyin Hilmi Işık, *Tam İlmihal: Seâdet-i Ebediye*, 33rd. ed., Istanbul, 1984, p. 972.

36 Remarks made to the author during a visit to Bağlum in May 1977.

of its devotional life after Arvāsī's forced departure from Istanbul was the performance of public prayer in the mosque attached to the *tekke*, which indeed continues down to the present.[37] Arvāsī's spiritual legacy did not, however, remain entirely unclaimed. The celebrated poet and litterateur, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek (d. 1983), credited him with his own deliverance from an infatuation with Western, especially French, culture and concomitant rediscovery of the Islamic heritage, and in gratitude he wrote copiously on his teachings and life.[38] Hüseyin Hilmi Işık, by laying claim to being Arvāsī's *khalifa*, has secured some transmission of this particular branch of Khalidī-Naqshbandī tradition, albeit with certain distinctive emphases of his own that have caused his followers to become popularly known as Işıkçı.[39]

Istanbul was not the only terminus for wandering Naqshbandī dervishes. India, viewed by many Central Asians as a land of opportunity, was in fact a destination far more frequently chosen by itinerant Sufis, including dervishes known to Nidāī and belonging to his initiatic line. Principal among them was a certain Bābā Shāh Sa'īd Palang-pūsh, meaning "man in the leopard skin," a disciple of Bābā Qūl-Mazīd. Born in Ghijduvān near Bukhara, he travelled to Tashkent, Mashhad, the Hijaz, Balkh, Kabul and Kashmir, before arriving in India in 1086/1785. There he encountered Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān, a Moghul general engaged in the conquest of the Deccan. He joined his retinue as a kind of spiritual auxiliary, entrusted not so much with moral uplift of the soldiery as with the deployment of his miraculous powers against the enemy. He was reputed to have derived his martial prowess from Khizr, who had equipped him with arrows he used to fell a leopard with minimal effort; it was to memorialize this triumph that he took to wearing the skin of his prey (hence also his sobriquet).[40] Closely associated with Palang-pūsh was Bābā Shāh Musāfir, also a native of Ghijduvān. He first met Palang-pūsh as a child, when studying at a *maktab* in Bukhara, but it was not until he too had migrated to India that Palang-pūsh bestowed on him an initiatic *khirqa*. Unlike Palang-pūsh, and despite the meaning of his own sobriquet, "the traveller," Bābā Shāh Musāfir chose the settled life and took up residence in a *tekke* established for him at Awrangābād in the Deccan by Nizām al-Mulk Āsaf Jāh, founder of the dynasty that was to rule the Deccan until the mid-twentieth century. Bābā Shāh Musāfir did not, however, follow the example of Nidāī by marrying after ending his travels, thus excluding the possibility of hereditary succession, and when he died in 1126/1714, it was to Bābā Shāh Mahmūd Jī, an orphan who had been reared in the *tekke*, that its direction was passed. His assumption of leadership did not, in the long run, suffice to ensure the vitality of the *tekke*, for it attracted only unassimilated immigrants from Central Asia. Among these wanderers were Bābā Shāh Nāzir of Samarqand and Shāh Qalandar of Qunduz, mentioned by Nidāī without further detail as disciples of Bābā Hājjī 'Abd al-Rahīm 'Āqibat-ba-Khayr (f.16a); after their migration to the Deccan, they joined the following of Bābā Shāh Sa'īd Palang-pūsh. When the flow of fortune seekers from the north dwindled to a trickle in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, Sufi activity at the *tekke*

37 For photographs of the present state of the *tekke*, see Kreiser, "Kaşgarī Tekyesi," p. 336; and Zarcone, "Derviches turkestanais et indiens," p. 171.

38 See especially Kısakürek, *Büyük Kapı*, Istanbul, 1965; idem., *O ve Ben*, 4th. ed., Istanbul, 1984.

39 See Hamid Algar, "Der Nakşibendi-Orden in der republikanischen Türkei," *Islam und Politik in der Türkei*, Jochen Blaschke and Martin van Bruinessen (eds.), Berlin, 1984, pp. 184-185.

40 Virtually the only source for the history of the *tekke* at Awrangābād and its occupants is Bābā Shāh Mahmūd Jī, *Malfūzāt-i Naqshbandiya*, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1358/1939. This work is unavailable to me, and I have therefore depended on the exhaustive account of it given by Simon Digby in "The Naqshbandīs in the Deccan in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century A.D.: Bābā Palangposh, Bābā Musāfir and Their Adherents," in *Naqshbandis: Cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman*, pp. 168-207.

effectively ceased, although the male descendants of Bābā Shāh Mahmūd Jī continued to inhabit it as their private property until 1916.[41]

The fortunes of the two transplanted Kāsānī lineages — one in Istanbul and the other in the Deccan — thus differed widely from each other. Without renouncing his own spiritual loyalties, Nidāī demonstrated a certain flexibility by marrying and thus begetting a lineage, simultaneously biological and spiritual, that helped to ensure longterm continuity at the Kaşgarī tekkesi. Although the origin of Nidāī's wife is unknown — it need not be assumed that she was born and bred in Istanbul — the mere fact of his marriage can be taken as an indication of assimilation into the environment where he had chosen to settle. Perhaps more importantly, he developed a reciprocal collegial sympathy with the Mujaddidīs who were fast eclipsing all other Naqshbandī lineages in the Ottoman capital, and this permitted him and his descendants to enjoy respect and acceptance in its Sufi circles. By contrast, the Kāsānīs of Awrangābād neither modified their practices nor showed any inclination to acquire a local clientele, depending almost exclusively on migrants and wanderers from Central Asia; many of the dervishes were in fact recruited as boys in Central Asia on the understanding that they would remain permanently celibate, and the only locals recruited were orphans.[42] A particularly telling sign of their unwillingness or inability to assimilate into the Indian environment was their complete lack of contact with the Mujaddidīs, who by the late eighteenth century were present in Awrangābād and engaged in a determined and organized effort to disseminate their branch of the Naqshbandiyya throughout the subcontinent.[43]

It may finally be noted, however, that for all his contented assimilation into the Ottoman environment, Nidāī remained sympathetically aware of his brethren in the Deccan, remarking of Bābā Shāh Mahmūd Jī that "he is at present occupying the seat of guidance, *sajjāda-nishīn*, in India, where he is the guide of the age, *murshid-i vaqt*" (f. 16a). The channels of communication whereby such awareness was preserved are unclear; correspondence, the exchange of visits, or encounters at the hajj may have been involved, although there is no record to this effect.[44] What is important to note, and may fittingly serve as conclusion to this paper, is the function of the Naqshbandiyya as a farflung network of human, spiritual and intellectual sympathy, that for several centuries linked together the three principal zones of the Sunni Muslim world — the Ottoman State, Central Asia, and the Indian subcontinent.[45]

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41 Digby, "The Naqshbandīs in the Deccan," p. 204.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 206.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

44 A possibly significant detail is that Bābā Shāh Musāfir once received a box of dates prepared with honey, "sent by a *murīd* with an Ottoman name" (Digby, "The Naqshbandīs in the Deccan," p. 187).

45 Even more clearly illustrative of this function than the career of Nidāī is that of a certain Shāh Haydar of Tashkent, a *murīd* of Palang-pūsh who left India and after prolonged wanderings in Europe, Ethiopia and the Hijaz established a Naqshbandī *tekke* at Bülbül Deresi in Üsküdar; see Zarcone, "Derviches turkestanais et indiens," pp. 157-159, and Digby, "The Naqshbandīs in the Deccan," p. 199.