

ص ۱۴۰-۱۴۱؛ پاینده، ص ۲۸۱-۲۸۴؛ برای نقش خواب و خوابگزاری در ادبیات عامیانه فارسی ← د. ایرانیکا، ذیل "Dreams and dream interpretation".

منابع: آقازورگ طهرانی؛ شمس‌الدین محمدبن محمود آملی، نقائص القون فی عرایس العیون، ج ۳، چاپ ابوالحسن شعرانی، تهران ۱۳۷۹؛ ابن‌ابی‌الدنیا، کتاب المنام، چاپ لیه کینبرگ، لیدن ۱۹۹۴؛ ابن‌ابی‌شبه، المصنّف فی الاحادیث و الآثار، چاپ سعید محمد لَحَام، بیروت ۱۹۸۹/۱۴۰۹؛ ابن‌اثیر؛ ابن‌جوئی، المنتظم فی تاریخ الملوک و الامم، چاپ محمد عبدالقادر عطا و مصطفی عبدالقادر عطا، بیروت ۱۹۹۲/۱۴۱۲؛ ابن‌خلدون؛ ابن‌سعد (قاهره)؛ ابن‌شاهین، [الاشارات فی علم العیارات]، در هامش عبدالغنی بن اسماعیل نابلسی، تطعیر الانام فی تعبیر المنام، ج ۲، [قاهره، بی‌تا.]، چاپ افست قم ۱۳۷۸؛ ابن‌عبدالبرّ، بهجة المَجالس، و انس المَجالس و شحذ الذاهن و الهاجس، چاپ محمد مرسی خولی، بیروت [؟] ۱۹۸۱؛ ابن‌حساکر، تاریخ مدینة دمشق، چاپ علی شیری، بیروت ۱۴۱۵-۱۴۲۱/۱۹۹۵-۲۰۰۱؛ ابن‌غنام، السّعلم علی حروف المعجم فی تعبیر الاحلام، چاپ ابوعبیده مشهوربن حسن آل‌سلمان، ریاض ۱۴۲۸؛ ابن‌قنیه، کتاب تعبیر الرؤیا، چاپ ابراهیم صالح، دمشق ۲۰۰۱/۱۴۲۲؛ ابن‌ندیم (لابیزیک)؛ ابن‌هشام، السیرة النبویة، چاپ مصطفی سقا، ابراهیم ابیاری، و عبدالحقیظ شبلی، [بیروت]؛ داراحیاء التراث العربی، [بی‌تا.]؛ نزهت احمدی، رؤیا و سیاست در عصر صفوی، تهران ۱۳۸۸؛ محمد اسدیان خرم‌آبادی، محمد حسین باجلان‌فرخی، و منصور کیانی، باورها و دانسته‌ها در لرستان و ایلام، تهران ۱۳۵۸؛ محمدبن اسماعیل بخاری، صحیح البخاری، [چاپ محمد ذهنی‌افندی]، استانبول ۱۹۸۱/۱۴۰۱؛ چاپ افست بیروت [بی‌تا.]؛ ابراهیم‌بن محمد بیهقی، المحاسن و المساوی، چاپ محمد ابوالفضل ابراهیم، قاهره [؟] ۱۹۶۱/۱۳۸۰؛ محمود پاینده، آئینها و باورداشتهای گیل و دیلم، تهران ۱۳۵۵؛ ش. مَحْسَن‌بن علی تنوخی، الفرج بعد الشدة، [قاهره] ۱۹۵۵/۱۳۷۵؛ توفیق طویل، الاحلام، قاهره ۱۹۴۵/۱۳۶۴؛ توفیق فهد، «آغاز دانش خوابگزاری در اسلام»، در اسطوره در جهان عرب و اسلام، ترجمه و تألیف جلال ستاری، تهران: نشر مرکز، ۱۳۸۴؛ عبدالملک‌بن محمد نمالی، الاقتباس من القرآن الکریم، چاپ ابتسام مرهون صفار و مجاهد مصطفی بهجت، عَمَّان ۲۰۰۸/۱۴۲۹؛ جوادعلی، المفصل فی تاریخ العرب قبل الاسلام، بغداد ۱۹۹۳/۱۴۱۳؛ حاجی خلیفه؛ حبیب‌بن ابراهیم حبیش تغلیسی، کامل‌التعبیر تغلیسی، چاپ حسین رضوی برقی، تهران ۱۳۸۸؛ عبدالملک‌بن محمد خرگوشی، البشارة و النذارة، نسخه خطی کتابخانه (ش ۱) مجلس شورای اسلامی، ش ۱۲۵۲؛ خوابگزاری، در خوابگزاری، همراه التخبیر امام فخررازی، چاپ ایرج افشار، تهران: المعی، ۱۳۸۵؛ محمدبن احمد ذهبی، تاریخ الاسلام و وفیات المشاهیر و الاعلام، چاپ عمر عبدالسلام تدمری، حوادث و وفیات ۵۷۰-۶۹۱ هـ، بیروت ۲۰۰۰/۱۴۲۱؛ حسین‌بن محمد راغب اصفهانی، محاضرات الادباء و محاورات الشعراء و البلغاء، چاپ ریاض عبدالحمید مراد، بیروت ۲۰۰۴/۱۴۲۵؛ محمدبن عبدالرحمان سخاوی، الضوء اللامع لاهل قرن التاسع، قاهره: دارالکتاب الاسلامی، [بی‌تا.]؛ مجدودبن آدم سنایی، حدیقة الحقیقة و

شريعة الطريقة، چاپ مدرس رضوی، تهران ۱۳۵۹؛ احمدبن عبدالرحمان شهاب عابر، قواعد تفسیر الاحلام، المسمی 'البدر المنیر فی علم التعبیر' و شرحه، چاپ حسین‌بن محمد جمعه، بیروت ۲۰۰۰/۱۴۲۱؛ محمدبن عبدالکریم شهرستانی، کتاب الملل و النحل، چاپ محمدبن فتح‌الله بدران، قاهره [؟] ۱۹۵۶/۱۳۷۵؛ چاپ افست قم ۱۳۶۷؛ شهردان‌بن ابی‌الخیر، نزهت نامه علائی، چاپ فرهنگ جهانپور، تهران ۱۳۶۲؛ آنه‌ماری شیمل، احلام الخلیفة: الاحلام و تعبیرها فی الثقافة الاسلامیة، ترجمة حسام‌الدین جمال بدر و دیگران، بغداد ۲۰۰۵؛ محمدعلی صالحی مرزبجانی، «کتاب شناسی خوابگزاری»، در نسخه‌پژوهی، به کوشش ابوالفضل حافظیان بابلی، دفتر ۳، تهران: کتابخانه، موزه و مرکز اسناد مجلس شورای اسلامی، ۱۳۸۵؛ طبری، تاریخ (بیروت)؛ محمدبن حسن طوسی، فهرست کتب الشیعة و اصولهم و اسماء المصنفین و اصحاب‌الاصول، چاپ عبدالعزیز طباطبائی، قم ۱۴۲۰؛ محمدبن عمر فخررازی، جامع‌العلوم، [یمینی ۱۳۲۳]؛ کتاب‌التقسیم فی تعبیر الحلم: التفسیر النفسی الجسدی و الصوفی الاخلاقی للحلم و الرمز و المقدس، [منسوب به] امام جعفر صادق (ع)، چاپ بعلی زعور، بیروت: دارالبراق، ۲۰۰۴؛ مختار کمیلی، «خوابنامه‌نویسی در زبان و ادب فارسی: سیری در مهمترین خوابنامه‌های فارسی»، گوهر گویا، سال ۲، ش ۴ (زمستان ۱۳۸۷)؛ پیر لوری، تعبیر الرؤیا فی الاسلام، ترجمة دالیا طوخی، قاهره ۲۰۰۷؛ محمدباقر بن محمدتقی مجلسی، کتاب حلیة المتقین، قم ۱۳۶۹؛ محمدبن عمران مرزبانی، کتاب نورالقیس المختصر من المقتبس، اختصار یوسف‌بن احمد یغموری، چاپ رودلف زلهایم، ویسبادن ۱۹۶۴/۱۳۸۴؛ سعودی، مروج (بیروت)؛ مقدسی؛ محمد مکری، «خوابهای باطنی و گزارش آن نزد کردان اهل حق ایران»، ترجمة جلال‌الدین ستاری، نامه علوم اجتماعی، دوره ۱، ش ۲ (زمستان ۱۳۴۷)؛ منتخب‌الکلام فی تفسیر الاحلام، [منسوب به] ابن‌سیرین، در هامش عبدالغنی بن اسماعیل نابلسی، تطعیر الانام فی تعبیر المنام، ج ۱، [قاهره، بی‌تا.]، چاپ افست قم ۱۳۷۸؛ عبدالغنی بن اسماعیل نابلسی، تطعیر الانام فی تعبیر المنام، [قاهره، بی‌تا.]، چاپ افست قم ۱۳۷۸؛ ابن‌هشام، فهرست الهماء مصنفی الشیعة المشتهر برجال النجاشی، چاپ موسی شبیری زنجانی، قم ۱۴۰۷؛ صادق هدایت، نیزنگستان، تهران ۱۳۴۲؛ صادق همایونی، فرهنگ مردم سرستان، مشهد ۱۳۷۱؛ یعقوبی، تاریخ؛ یواقیت العلوم و دراری النجوم، چاپ محمدتقی دانش‌پژوه، [تهران]؛ اطلاعات، ۱۳۶۴؛

Elr. s.v. "Dreams and dream interpretation" (by Hossein Ziai); Henri Massé, Croyances et coutumes persanes, suivies de contes et chansons populaires, Paris 1938.

/ اسماعیل باغستانی /

خواجگان، سلسله، طریقتی صوفیانه در ماوراءالنهر در سده‌های ششم تا هشتم که در گسترش تصوف در آسیای میانه سهم بسزایی داشت. خواجگان را اسلاف فکری

دانشنامه جهان اسلام، (ع ۱) تهران ۱۳۹۰

 Studies on Sufism in Central Asia

- VI The *Mashā'ikh-i Turk* and the *Khojagān*: rethinking the links between the Yasavī and Naqshbandī Sufi traditions
Journal of Islamic Studies 7/2, 1996

180–207

 MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
 SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	206679
Tas. No:	297.7 DEW.5

23 Mayıs 2015

2012

 ASHGATE
 VARIORUM

 - Hâcegan (080067)
 - Yasaviyye (220197)

 - Naksibendiyye
 (140098)

 THE MASHĀ'IKH-I TURK AND THE
 KHOJAGĀN: RETHINKING THE LINKS
 BETWEEN THE YASAVĪ AND
 NAQSHBANDĪ SUFI TRADITIONS

Among the three major Sufi traditions native to Central Asia—the others being the Naqshbandiyya and the Kubraviyya¹—the Yasavī tradition is at once the most limited in scope—since its legacy outside Central Asia is almost negligible (though often misconstrued)—and the most deeply revealing about the distinctive features of Islam in Central Asia after the thirteenth century. It is revealing because the Yasavī tradition came to reflect, and to shape, the assimilative processes that made Islam meaningful to the broadest segments of Central Asian society; its limited geographical range, however, has helped to make the Yasaviyya the least-studied aspect of Central Asia's Sufi legacy. The present contribution, drawn from a broader re-examination of the Yasavī tradition, will explore just one of the many aspects of Yasavī history of which our understanding is in need of revision.

The Yasavī tradition takes its most common appellation from the figure of Aḥmad Yasavī, whose *nisba* is in turn derived from the name of his native town, Yasī, now known as 'Turkistān', in southern Kazakhstan; Aḥmad Yasavī, usually said to have died in 562/1166–7, is customarily portrayed as the earliest Sufi among the Turks of Central Asia, and specifically as the 'founder' of the *silsila* and 'Sufi order' that

¹ Central Asian sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries speak of *four* major Sufi orders active in Mawarannah; the fourth is sometimes the 'Zayniyya' (i.e. the Suhrawardī lineage introduced, primarily in Herat and Samarkand, by Zayn ad-Dīn Khwāfī and his followers), but is more often the 'Ishqiyya, whose origins are linked with those of the Sufi communities called 'Khalvatī' in several regions (including, for a time, Central Asia) and 'Shaṭṭārī' in India. To judge from available sources, neither of these orders was as widespread or significant in Central Asia as the Naqshbandiyya, Yasaviyya, or Kubraviyya; in any case, both seem to have disappeared by the second half of the seventeenth century.

Hacegân Silsilesi

17 ARALIK 1992

Zerinkub, Ek, 207

Hacegân

Tıbyan, I, 377b-391a.

922.977

Hacıgân (80067)

6 İSAM 2012

THE KHWĀJAGĀN AT HERAT DURING SHĀHRUKH'S REIGN

JÜRGEN PAUL

Martin-Luther-Universität

MADDE YAYINLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Central Asian Naqshbandī shaykhs have received some attention over the last few years.¹ For the prominent Samarqandī shaykh of Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh (806–895/1404–1490), called Khwāja Aḥrār, some important sources have been published recently: the *Letters of Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār and his Associates*² and the no less important collection of sources

¹ A good book-length history of the Naqshbandiyya is now available: Itzhak Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Sufi Tradition*. London: Routledge, 2007.

² Jo-Ann Gross and Asom Urumbaev, *The Letters of Khwāja 'Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār and his Associates*. Leiden: Brill, 2002. This volume includes 257 letters written by Khwāja Aḥrār, a group of his followers and associates, as well as other figures; in a way, it is a sequel to Asom Urumbaev's *Pis'ma-avtografy Abdarraḥmana Jami iz 'Al'boma Navoi*. Tashkent: Fan, 1982, where the letters written by Jami were published in Russian translation and facsimile, 337 items in all. It is very fortunate that the "Navoi album" has now been published in full. As for the letters transmitted in the form of *inshā'*, there is no list available now, and research into that particular genre has not yet begun. It must be kept in mind that the letters (extant in the original, partly in Khwāja Aḥrār's own handwriting) were collected and glued into the volume by 'Alishir Navā'i, whose motivation for doing so is rather difficult to ascertain. Navā'i included letters not only from Jāmī, Khwāja Aḥrār and "his associates," but also some specimens written by persons who cannot with any degree of certainty be associated with the Khwājagān-Naqshbandiyya (e.g., Muḥammad-i Tabādkānī and Muḥammad Amīn, see below).

- yay., Ankara 1998, 189-196.
- Kerjetay, Dosay, "Hoca Ahmet Yesevi: Yaşadığı Devir, Şahsiyeti, Tarikatı ve Tesiri", *Tasavvuf-İlmî ve Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, yıl 1, sy. 2, Aralık 1999, 105-129.
- Köprülü, Fuad, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yay., Ankara 1993.
- Köprülü, Fuad, "Ahmed Yesevî", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul 1993, I/210-215.
- Kufuralı, Kasım, *Nakşebendiliğin Kuruluş ve Yayılışı*, basılmamış doktora tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi 1949.
- Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar, *Türk Süflüğüne Bakışlar*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 1996.
- Ocak, A.Yaşar, "Anadolu Türk Süflüğünde Ahmed-i Yesevî Geleneğinin Teşekkülü", *Milletlerarası Ahmed Yesevî Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Ankara 1992.
- Şener, İbrahim-Yıldız, Alim, *Türk-İslâm Edebiyatı*, Rağbet Yayınları, İstanbul 2003.
- Şeyh Safiyüddin Mevlana Ali b. Hüseyin, *Reşahat Canı Damılları*, nşr. Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Büyük Doğu Yayınları, II. Baskı, İstanbul 1995.
- Tahrallı, Mustafa, "Ahmed Yesevî'nin Dîvân-ı Hikmet'inde Dinî-Tasavvufî Unsurlar", *Yesevîlik Bilgisi*, Ahmet Yesevî Vakfı yay., Ankara 1998, 157-169.
- Togan, A.Zeki Velidî, *Umumî Türk Tarihi'ne Giriş*, Enderun Kitabevi, III.Baskı, İstanbul 1981.
- Yazıcı, Nesimi, "Hoca Ahmed Yesevî Döneminde Türk-İslâm Kültürünün Oluşum Ve Gelişimi Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler", *Yesevîlik Bilgisi*, Ahmet Yesevî Vakfı yay., Ankara 1998, 65-77.

02193



13 TEM 2006

MADDE YATIRILMIŞTIR
SONRA İZLENİLERİ DÜZEN

HÂCEĞÂN'A AİT KOLLAR VE TASAVVUFUN ELEŞTİRİSİ: HOCA ALİ AZİZÂN RÂMİTENÎ'NİN MENÂKİBİ'NDE CEMAATSEL BENZERSİZLİK İDDİASI *

Prof. Dr. Devin DeWeese
Çev.: Necdet Tosun *

Moğol döneminden 19. Asra kadar Orta Asya'nın dînî ve siyâsî hayatında tasavvufî düşünce ve müesseselerin güçlü hâkimiyeti, araştırmamızı tasavvuf ve muhâlifleri arasında süregelen münâkaşaya yönlendirmeyi, ancak doğrudan tasavvuf aleyhtarı tartışmaya yoğunlaşmaksızın (ki bunun örneklerini Rus yönetimi dönemine kadar çok az bulabilmekteyiz) bu konudaki gözle görülür örnekler üzerinde düşünmeyi ve daha ziyâde cârî olan mübâlağalı tasavvuf tenkitlerini mütâlaayı önermektedir. Bu mübâlağalı tenkitlerde bile, tasavvuf muhâliflerinin (hatta süfler arasındaki muhâliflerin/eleştircilerin) delillerini, tasavvufu müdâfaa düşüncesiyle tersine dönmüş tepkilerinin içinden geçirerek göstermeye meyilli olan ve bize acaba gerçek bir gerginliği yansıtan hakîkî münâkaşalar mı yoksa sadece bir dönemde şekillenmiş zihnî ve mantıkî münâzalar mı olduğu belli olmayan ifâdeler bırakan kaynak kitaplar önümüzü kesmekte ve bizi engellemektedir.

Yine de biz bu hususta birkaç örneğe ve sürece işaret edebiliriz. İnanıyorum ki bu örnekler, genel olarak Orta Asya'nın Rus hâkimiyeti dönemi önce-sindeki dînî târihi konusunda olduğu kadar, bu bölgenin şifâhî (halk arasında yaygın olan, sözlü) ve kitâbî (medresede öğrenilen) din tefekkürü üzerinde

- * Bu metin, Devin DeWeese, "Khojağânî Origins and the Critique of Sufism: The Rhetoric of Communal Uniqueness in the Manâqib of Khoja 'Ali 'Azizân Râmîtanî", *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, ed. Frederick de Jong- Bernd Radtke, Leiden 1999, pp. 492-519'dan tercümedir. Yazar, Amerika'da Indiana University'de öğretim üyesidir.
- Ar. Gör. Dr., Marmara Üniv. İlahiyat Fakültesi

THE MASHĀ'IKH-I TURK AND THE
KHOJAGĀN: RETHINKING THE LINKS
BETWEEN THE YASAVĪ AND
NAQSHBANDĪ SUFI TRADITIONS

DEVIN DEWEESE
Indiana University

Among the three major Sufi traditions native to Central Asia—the others being the Naqshbandiyya and the Kubraviyya¹—the Yasavī tradition is at once the most limited in scope—since its legacy outside Central Asia is almost negligible (though often misconstrued)—and the most deeply revealing about the distinctive features of Islam in Central Asia after the thirteenth century. It is revealing because the Yasavī tradition came to reflect, and to shape, the assimilative processes that made Islam meaningful to the broadest segments of Central Asian society; its limited geographical range, however, has helped to make the Yasaviyya the least-studied aspect of Central Asia's Sufi legacy. The present contribution, drawn from a broader re-examination of the Yasavī tradition, will explore just one of the many aspects of Yasavī history of which our understanding is in need of revision.

The Yasavī tradition takes its most common appellation from the figure of Aḥmad Yasavī, whose *nisba* is in turn derived from the name of his native town, Yasī, now known as 'Turkistān', in southern Kazakhstan; Aḥmad Yasavī, usually said to have died in 562/1166–7, is customarily portrayed as the earliest Sufi among the Turks of Central Asia, and specifically as the 'founder' of the *silsila* and 'Sufi order' that

¹ Central Asian sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries speak of four major Sufi orders active in Mawarannahr; the fourth is sometimes the 'Zayniyya' (i.e. the Suhrawardī lineage introduced, primarily in Herat and Samarkand, by Zayn ad-Dīn Khwāfī and his followers), but is more often the 'Ishqiyya, whose origins are linked with those of the Sufi communities called 'Khalvatī' in several regions (including, for a time, Central Asia) and 'Shatṭārī' in India. To judge from available sources, neither of these orders was as widespread or significant in Central Asia as the Naqshbandiyya, Yasaviyya, or Kubraviyya; in any case, both seem to have disappeared by the second half of the seventeenth century.

bore his name, but is perhaps best known for the magnificent shrine erected in his honour at the end of the fourteenth century by Timur. Aḥmad Yasavī, moreover, is typically described, in Central Asian hagiographical literature, as the 'chief' of the *mashā'ikh-i turk*, the 'Turkic shaykhs', and that designation often appears to be used virtually synonymously with the term 'Yasaviyya', referring to the Sufi tradition that traced its origins to Aḥmad Yasavī; the tradition is also called the 'Jahriyya', after the vocal *dhikr* (*dhikr-i jabrī*) that was the hallmark of its mystical practice.²

If considerable attention has been devoted, especially in the last twenty years, to the Naqshbandiyya, including its Central Asian origins,³ and if the Kubraviyya has inspired fine scholarship focused upon its doctrinal contributions and major personalities (in this case, however, with unfortunate neglect of the Kubraviyya's legacy within Central Asia),⁴ the Yasaviyya has suffered both from the general inattention to the history, and religious history, of Islamic Central Asia and from a more specific set of circumstances that have tended to marginalize the study of the Yasavī tradition. Those circumstances include, naturally, the Soviet domination of Central Asia, which not only isolated the region and left the sources needed to study its religious history all but inaccessible, but also hampered any serious study of religious movements or their social reflections; Soviet ideology discouraged the study of figures such as Aḥmad Yasavī, not to mention the later history of

² The *dhikr-i jabrī* is also referred to as the *dhikr-i baland* ('vocal *dhikr*') or the *dhikr-i 'lānī* (the 'public' *dhikr*); while each of these terms might refer to forms of the vocal *dhikr* employed in other traditions as well, the distinctively Yasavī method was specified by the term *dhikr-i arrab*, the '*dhikr* of the saw', so called because of its rasping sound.

³ See the seminal article of Hamid Algar, 'The Naqshbandi Order: A Preliminary Survey of its History and Significance', *Studia Islamica*, 44 (1976), 123–52, and his later studies, 'A Brief History of the Naqshbandī Order', in *Naqshbandīs: cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman* (Actes de la Table Ronde de Sèvres, 2–4 mai 1985), ed. Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic, and Thierry Zarcoune (Istanbul/Paris: Éditions Isis, 1990), 3–44 (and in the same volume, his 'The Present State of Naqshbandī Studies' (45–56) and 'Political Aspects of Naqshbandī History' (123–52)); see also the works of Joseph Fletcher on Naqshbandī history in East Turkistan, and the outstanding work of Jürgen Paul, *Die politische und soziale Bedeutung der Naqshbandiyya im Mittelasien im 15. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991).

⁴ Kubravī history and doctrine have enjoyed the scholarly attention of, among others, such specialists as Fritz Meier, Hermann Landolt, Hamid Algar, and Marijan Molé; on the Kubravī lineages of Central Asia, see my 'The Eclipse of the Kubraviyyah in Central Asia', *Iranian Studies*, 21 (1988), 45–83, 'Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī and Kubravī Hagiographical Traditions', in *The Legacy of Mediaeval Persian Sufism*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (London: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications/School of Oriental and African Studies, 1992), 121–58, and 'Bābā Kamāl Jandī and the Kubravī Tradition among the Turks of Central Asia', *Der Islam*, 71 (1994), 58–94.

528. PAUL, Jürgen. *Doctrine and Organisation. The Khwājagān/Naqshbandīya in the first generation after Bahā'uddīn*. Das Arabische Buch, Halle-Berlin, 1998, 84 p. [ANOR, vol. I].

Monographie par un éminent spécialiste de l'histoire des ordres soufis en Asie centrale, consacrée à la confrérie *Ḥājagān/Naqšbandīyya*, et plus particulièrement à l'évolution et à l'interrelation de leur pratique, de leur doctrine et de la structure de leur organisation dans la première moitié du 15^e s.

R.

Handwritten note: Hacıyan

[*q.v.*] (southeastern Kazakstān). After they increased their power, they returned to the *Dašt-i Kipčak* and replaced the *Ozbeqs*, who moved to the south of the *Sir Daryā*. Their dynasty is known as the *Kazak Khānate*, but its government structure and territory were unstable, and there is a dispute among Kazakstāni scholars on whether the *khānate* can be called a "state" or not. In any case, there is scant evidence of the ethnic consciousness of its inhabitants, and it is not clear whether the word "Kazak", which originally means a "independent man" or a "wanderer", meant at this time a distinctive ethnic group.

In the late 17th and the early 18th centuries, fierce battles occurred between the *Kazaks* and the *Oyirads* or *Oinats* (*Qalmaqs* [see *KALMUK*]) of the so-called *Djungar Khānate* (western Mongolia). This confrontation, on the one hand, consolidated the *Kazaks'* ethnic identity, and on the other hand, induced some *Kazak khāns* to swear loyalty to the Russian Empress Anna Ivanovna, though in practice they remained independent. In the 1820s, Russia abolished the *khān's* power in the Middle and the Junior *Djuz*, and started to rule directly most parts of Kazakstān. The territory of the Senior *Djuz*, which was under the rule of the *Khokand [q.v.] Khānate*, was incorporated into Russia by the 1860s.

During the 1917 October Revolution and the ensuing civil warfare in Russia, *Kazak* intellectuals established the *Alašh-Orda* autonomous government. After it collapsed, the Autonomous *Kazak* (mistakenly called "Kīrgiz" in Russian usage until 1925) Socialist Soviet Republic was formed inside Soviet Russia. After receiving and abandoning some territories in 1925, it was in 1936 upgraded to the *Kazak SSR*, one of the fifteen constituent republics of the USSR.

The 1920s and 1930s were especially hard times for *Kazakstān*: purges, mass collectivisation and forcible sedentarisation killed a large number of politicians, intellectuals, nomads and peasants. But at the same time, the Soviet government started the industrialisation of *Kazakstān*, which was accelerated during World War II, when factories were evacuated from Central Russia. The ethnic *Kazak* cadre grew, especially since the 1960s under *Dīnmūkhamed Kōnaev*, who served as first secretary of the Communist Party of *Kazakstān* for 25 years. When he resigned under pressure from Moscow in December 1986, *Kazak* youths in *Almatī* and other cities held demonstrations, which were suppressed violently.

6. Post-Soviet Kazakstān.

Although the leadership of *Kazakstān* actively advocated maintaining and renovating the USSR, it declared independence in December 1991 when the USSR collapsed. *Nūrsūltan Nazarbaev*, who became first secretary of the Communist Party in 1989 and president in 1990, was known as a pragmatic and semi-democratic reformist. But in 1995 he took drastic measures to concentrate power in his own hands; the parliament was suddenly dissolved, the constitution of 1993 was abolished, and the new constitution increased the power of the president and restricted the functions of the parliament. The opposition's sphere of activity is very limited, though it has not been physically liquidated as in *Uzbekistān* and *Turkmenistān*.

Although the country is undergoing economic hardship, *Kazakstān* is rich in natural resources (especially oil and metals), which have not yet been fully exploited. *Kazakstān's* resources, as well as geopolitical importance, have drawn the attention of many foreign countries, and it maintains basically good relations with all neighbouring countries including Russia and China,

as well as with the United States, Japan and European countries.

Bibliography: G.M. Wheeler, *The modern history of Soviet Central Asia*, London 1964; *Kazak Sov'et Ėntsiklopediiasī*, 12 vols., *Almatī* 1972-8; A. Bennigsen and S.E. Wimbush, *Muslims of the Soviet empire. A guide*, London 1985, 63-73; E. Allworth (ed.), *Central Asia, 130 years of Russian dominance. A historical overview*, ³Durham N.C. and London 1993; *Kazakhi. Istoriko-etnografičeskoe issledovanie*, *Almatī* 1995; M.B. Olcott, *The Kazakhs*, ²Stanford, Calif. 1995; *Istorija Kazakhistana s drevnejšikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, *Almatī* 1996- (to be publ. in 4 vols.). (TOMOHKO UYAMA)

KELANTAN, a state of northeastern Malaysia.

Lying on the coast adjoining the Malay areas of southern Thailand, Kelantan has long been a centre of devout Islamic scholarship and education, of Malay cultural creativity, and assertive forms of Malay-Islamic politics. Kelantan's traditional religious boarding school academies (*pondok* [see *PESANTRENJ*]) and their more illustrious teachers were well known throughout the Malay world; together with Malays from neighbouring Patani [*q.v.*] (Pattani) in southern Thailand, the Kelantanese constituted a sizeable component of the so-called *Djāwa* or Southeast Asian Malay community in 19th century Mecca. By the early 20th century, Kelantan was an important centre of publication of religious and Malay vernacular works and the site of important innovations in the collection and management of religious taxation (*zakat* and *fitra*) through its state religious council (*Majlis Ugama Islam*).

With its people intensely committed to their own local variants of the Malay language and culture, Kelantan has over time elaborated a powerful sense of its own distinctiveness within the wider Malay-Islamic world. It resisted Thai domination in the 19th century, succumbed to British rule in the first half of the 20th, and achieved independence in 1957 as part of the Federation of Malaya, later Malaysia. Since 1959 it has been the stronghold of PAS (*Parti Islam Se-Malaysia [q.v.]*), an avowedly Islamist party which, while playing a leading opposition role in national politics, has held power at the state level in Kelantan for much of the post-independence period (1959-78, and 1990 to present).

Since the 1980s, and especially since its return to power in Kelantan in 1990, PAS has promoted a strongly "*Shari'a*-minded" neo-traditionalistic Islamism. Since 1993, Kelantan has mounted a powerful challenge to the ascendancy of Malaysia's ruling multi-ethnic coalition by questioning the national government's Islamic credentials, most notably through its efforts to secure constitutionally-required federal assent to implement the *Shari'a* law, including the *hudūd* punishments, in Kelantan state.

Bibliography: W.A. Graham, *Kelantan, a state of the Malay Peninsula. A handbook of information*, Glasgow 1908; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*, Leiden 1931 (= Eng. tr. of orig. Dutch edition, 1888); W.R. Roff (ed.), *Kelantan. Religion, society and politics in a Malay state*, Kuala Lumpur 1974 (esp. ch. by Roff, *The origins and early years of the Majlis Ugama*, 101-52); C.S. Kessler, *Islam and politics in a Malay state. Kelantan 1838-1969*, Ithaca 1978; Shahril Talib, *History of Kelantan 1890-1940*, Kuala Lumpur 1995; Abdullah Alwi Haji Hassan, *Administration of Islamic law in Kelantan*, Kuala Lumpur 1996. (C.S. KESSLER)

KH^wADJAGĀN, a *Šūfi* brotherhood of Central Asia.