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خارجی، نیرومندی و استحکام مرزها را موجب می‌شد، حفظ ائتلاف یاد شده بود. یکی از مهمترین تهاجمات به این سرزمین، حمله ازبک خان شیپانی است که به سرنگونی حکومت تیموریان انجامید. در جریان این تهاجم، نقشبندیان به دلیل پیوندهای مستحکمی که با تیموریان داشتند، در برابر حکومت جدید قرار گرفتند و به شدت قلع و قمع شدند. نمونه دیگری از این نوع تجاوز، حمله قلموق‌های بودائی از جانب شرق بود که تجاوزات متناوب آنها در طول دو قرن مشکلات زیادی برای ساکنان این سرزمین به وجود آورد. آنچه که در تاریخ مهم این سرزمین در این دوره، از نقش نقشبندیان نگاشته شده، حکایت از آن دارد که آنها پیش قراولی نبرد علیه مهاجمین قلموق را به یاری حکومت و توده‌های اجتماع برعهده داشتند و چنان بود که قلموق‌ها در تمامی آن سالها هرگز توفیق پایداری حاصل نکردند. آنچه در اینجا باید مورد توجه قرار گیرد این است که این دو نمونه گرچه مصداق تهدیدات خارجی بود و توسط مهاجمینی بیگانه صورت گرفت، اما ماوراءالنهر تا این زمان هرگز شاهد تجاوزی منسجم، نظام‌مند، دین ستیز که تمامیت و موجودیت آن را به چالش کشد نبود، بلکه آنها صرفاً متجاوزینی بودند که به هدف سلطه سیاسی بر منطقه چنگ می‌انداختند. قدرتی که به شیوه‌ای نظام یافته به آرامی در طول چند قرن با هدف سلطه سیاسی - دینی و با ظهور پدیده‌ای به نام استعمار در این منطقه ظاهر شد، از آن روس‌ها بود. رابطه نقشبندیان با حکومت در این زمان بسیار آشفته بود. حکومت منغیت با هدف کاهش قدرت فزاینده نقشبندیان با بیان نظریه تلفیق نهاد دین و قدرت و تجلی آن در وجود حاکم سیاسی، آنها را در انزوا قرار داد. از این رو هنگامی که صدای پای سپاهیان روس در پشت درهای خان نشین خوقند شنیده شد، این ائتلاف به شدت آسیب دید. با توجه به شیوه مبارزه متفاوت روس‌ها در ماوراءالنهر، طبعاً انتظار مشاهده آنچه که در قفقاز دیده شد در اینجا بی‌مورد است. البته علاوه بر تغییر استراتژی از جانب حکومت تزاری، همان‌طور که اشاره شد، در این منطقه نه رهبر مقتدری همچون شامل، نه یک نهضت بنیادگرا همچون نهضت شریعت نقشبندیان قفقاز، و نه روحیه جهادی وجود ندارد؛ از این رو اشکال متفاوتی از مبارزه را شاهدیم که در هر منطقه‌ای شکل منحصر به فرد خود را دارد و چون سازمان دهی و انسجام خاص را ندارد لاجرم محکوم به شکست است.

در این نوشتار تلاش می‌شود که با بررسی منابع باقی مانده و با پشتوانه اندک انجام

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واکنش نقشبندیان در برابر تجاوزات روس‌ها

به ماوراءالنهر

Nakşibendîyye
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سیده فهیمه ابراهیمی^۱

چکیده: در تاریخ ماوراءالنهر سیاست و نهاد قدرت با دین که در این منطقه در شکل صوفیانه‌اش ظهور یافته، پیوند داشته است. وجود این پیوند مثلثی را در این سرزمین ترسیم نمود که رابطه مشروعیت بخش میان اجزاء آن، تأثیر زیادی در تحولات منطقه داشته است. نگاهی به نقش نقشبندیان، مهم‌ترین جزء ساختار سیاسی و دینی فوق در جامعه فرارود، در دوران تجاوز روس‌ها و رابطه آنها با حکومت و توده‌های مردم در جریان مبارزات، موضوعی است که در این نوشتار به گونه‌ای توصیفی بدان پرداخته شده است.

واژه‌های کلیدی: نقشبندیان، ماوراءالنهر، روس‌ها

مقدمه

نقشبندیان ماوراءالنهر گرچه جریانی بودند که توانستند با پیوند میان مردم گرای و نخبه‌گرایی، ائتلافی شگفت‌انگیز با اجتماع مردم و نهاد قدرت به وجود آورند، اما این مثلث همواره در تاریخ این سرزمین پایدار نبود و البته بی‌ثباتی و برهم خوردن توازن قدرت در آنجا، ناآرامیها و اغتشاشاتی را به دنبال داشته است. و رای آنچه که در این ساختار موجب تنش در جامعه فرارود شد، عوامل دیگری نیز از بیرون، حیات سیاسی و دینی ساکنان کناره‌های زرفشان را تهدید نمود. آنچه که طبعاً به هنگام هر تهدید

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CHAPTER 10

Abtibendiye (140098)

The Relationship between the Naqshbandi Order in Central Asia and Khwaja in Xinjiang and *Menhuan* in Northwest China

Chen Guo-guang

MADDE YAYIMLANMIŞTIR
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Abstract

After the rise of the Naqshbandi in the 14th Century AD, it became a major religious force that formed a synergy with the Eastern Chaghatai Khanate and opened the gate of Islamic preaching in Xinjiang. Its active roles in Xinjiang lay the foundation of the Kashgar Khwaja with the Yarkant Khanate and helped the latter's territorial expansion. The political experiences and preaching of Xinjiang Khwaja exerted tremendous influences on later formations of Chinese *menhuan* in the Northwest. This chapter focuses on the Naqshbandi sect in connection with Xinjiang Khwaja and the Northwest *menhuan* of China and offers clues to the origins, circulation, and development of Sufism, in terms of nationalization and Sinicization.

Keywords

Sufism – Central Asia – Naqshbandi – Xinjiang Khwaja – Northwest Menhuan

The large-scale introduction of Sufism during the Ming and Qing Dynasties matured when Islam took charge politically, economically, and culturally as well as in other ways in terms of nationalization and Sinicization. In this period, after the end of the Yarkant Khanate, there was a special period in which Xinjiang was ruled by the Kashgar Khwaja; in parallel, a form of Islamic organization called *menhuan* was mushrooming in China. The cause of this form of religious governance was attributed to the rise of Islamic mysticism in Central Asia, especially the prosperity of the Naqshbandi sect in the 14th Century AD. This chapter, as we shall see, outlines the main formation and development of the Naqshbandi sect as a focal point of analysis in the synchronic development of Xinjiang Khwaja and Chinese *menhuan*.

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post-Caliphal, post-Mongol period, the beginning of a "nation state" that for some time served as a link between the later Middle Ages and the early modern times.

NOTES

1. Roger Savory, "Safavids," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (EI²), 8:765.
2. Jean Aubin, "L'Avènement des Safavides reconsidéré," *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien* 5 (1988): 1-130.
3. Michel M. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safavids: Šī'ism, Sūfism, and the Gulāt* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972).
4. The three historians: Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Khunji, *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi Amīni*; trans. V. Minorsky: *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, Royal Asiatic Society (London: Luzac, 1957); Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-Tawārikh*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nāva'i (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bābak, 1357/1979); trans. C. N. Seddon as *A Chronicle of the Early Safawis* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931); Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi Abbāsī*, ed. Iraj Afshār (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1334-35 Sh./1995-96); trans. R. Savory, *History of Shah 'Abbas* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978).
5. Modern historians, especially the celebrated E. G. Browne, have discussed the rise of a spirit of Iranian nationalism during the Safavid period. This concept of *vahdat-e millī* is difficult to prove at this time. See the section "Nationality" in Browne's *A Literary History of Persia*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 4:12ff.
6. Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn became very famous as a Sūfi master during the post-Mongol period (d. A.D. 1334). *Ṣafvat al-Ṣafā*, on the life and times of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn, has recently been edited by Ghulam-reza Ṭabarabā'i Majd (Tabriz: published by the editor, 1373 Sh./1995).
7. From Minorsky's translation of Khunji's work, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, p. 63.
8. Ibid.
9. Mustafa Kemal did it against the Greeks in Anatolia after the First World War and gained the honorific "ghāzi."
10. Khunji/Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, p. 64.
11. Ibid., p. 69.
12. Ibid., p. 68.
13. V. Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shah Isma'il," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1940-43): 1006a-1053a; quoted in Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safavids*, p. 85.
14. Rūmlū, *Aḥsan* in Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safavids*, pp. 1-2.
15. Rūmlū, *Aḥsan* in Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safavids*, p. 2.
16. Alessandro Bausani, *The Persians* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971), p. 139.
17. Munshī/Savory, *History of Shah 'Abbas*, 1:145/1:75.
18. Ibid., 1:60/1:99.
19. The famous Houghton *Shahnamah*, done in a royal edition by Martin B. Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981.)

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Naqshbandīs and Safavids

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF
IRAN AND HER NEIGHBORS

Hamid Algar

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

The circumstances surrounding the genesis of a Sufi order rarely give any hint of the ultimate scope of its diffusion—whether it is to remain local, expand regionally, or become quasi-universal. Thus the Naqshbandiyya first emerged as a crystallization of Sufi lineages, collectively known as the Khwājagān, that for six generations had been restricted to Transoxiana and Khwarazm. Most followers of the eponym, Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband (718-91/1318-89), lived in the city of Bukhara or its surrounding villages; and there was little if any indication in his lifetime of the order's potential for diffusion throughout Central Asia and beyond.¹ The broader propagation of the order began with several of Bahā' al-Dīn's immediate successors: Khwāja 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. 802/1400), for example; had among his disciples a certain 'Abdullāh Imāmī Iṣfahānī, and his son and successor, Ḥasan 'Aṭṭār (d. 826/1423), extended the influence of the order south to Herat.²

It was not until late in the ninth/fifteenth century, however, that the true expansion of the order began, principally although not exclusively at the hands of Khwāja 'Ubaydullāh Aḥrār (806-95/1404-90). His disciples propagated the Naqshbandiyya throughout much of Central Asia and took it west to Ottoman Turkey, Syria, and the Hijaz. Among the places where the order now made its appearance were also certain areas of Iran, a land soon to be submerged by the violent tides of Safavid Shi'ism; the lifespan of the Naqshbandiyya in places such as Tabriz and Qazvin was therefore destined to be relatively brief. The Naqshbandī presence in pre-Safavid and early Safavid Iran nonetheless deserves to be studied in some detail, as a topic of importance

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The Importance of the Spiritual Guide in the Naqshbandī Order

Johan G.J. Ter Haar

The question as to what are the distinctive characteristics of the Naqshbandī Order is usually answered in two ways. First of all attention is drawn to the fact that conformity to the Islamic law is of the utmost importance in this fraternity. Strict adherence to the prescripts of the *Shari'a* is a recurring theme in the definitions which many Naqshbandīs have given of their mystical path.¹ Secondly, reference is made to the eleven principles which were introduced into this mystical fraternity during the 13th and 14th centuries AD.² The first eight of these principles (*hūsh dar dam, nazar bar qadam, safar dar waṭan, khalwat dar anjuman, yādkard, bāzgasht, nigāhdāshd and yāddāshd*) are attributed to 'Abd al-Khālīq Ghujduwānī (d. 617-18/1220-21), who appears, however, to have attributed the first four to his spiritual guide, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf Hamadānī (d. 534/1140).³ Later, Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 791/1389) added three more principles, viz. *wuqūf-i 'adadī, wuqūf-i zamānī* and *wuqūf-i qalbī*.

There are, however, some other features which, in the eyes of the Naqshbandīs themselves, are also highly significant, if not almost equally characteristic, of the mystical path of this fraternity. These features, as far as their origin and their terminology is concerned, belong to the tradition of almost every mystical Order and cannot therefore be regarded as exclusively characteristic of the Naqshbandī path. Nonetheless, they have gained a special popularity with the Naqshbandī Order or have been adapted to the mystical path of this fraternity and cast in a particular mould, to such an extent that they have become a very important part of the identity of this Order. The way in which the *dhikr* is practised by the Naqshbandīs is a clear example of such a feature.⁴ Another example is provided by the prominent role the spiritual guide (*Shaykh, Pīr, Murshid*) plays in this order. The importance of this role is acknowledged in every mystical fraternity, but the Naqshbandīs developed and elaborated this universal theme in their own way. This essay concentrates on

1. For a survey of these definitions see Muḥammad Pārsā, *Qudsiyya Kalimāt-i Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband*, ed. by A. Tāhīrī 'Irāqī (Tehran: Kitābkhāna-i Tāhīrī 1975), pp. 51-544.
2. A most detailed description of these principles, based on the most important Naqshbandī sources, is given by Ajmād Tāhīrī 'Irāqī in his introduction to Muḥammad Pārsā, *op.cit.*, pp. 50-64.
3. 'Abd al-Khālīq Ghujduwānī, *'Risāla-i Šāhibiyya*, ed. S. Nāfīsī, in *Farhang-i Irān-zamīn* 1 (1332), p. 91.
4. H. Algar, 'Silent and Vocal *Dhikr* in the Naqshbandī Order' in *Akten des VII Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*, (Göttingen, 1976), pp.39-47; R. Gramlich, *Die Schīlitschen Derwischorden Persiens*, Teil II, (Wiesbaden: Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GmbH, 1976), pp.398-401.

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