

put to use in defense of the doctrine surrounding the Qā'im. Indeed, elsewhere traditions surrounding other prophets or individuals are used in a similar fashion¹⁵¹.

Finally, we can conclude that the Shī'ī understanding of the end times is not only very different from that of Sunnīs, but it is also much more central to their conception of human history. Until the Qā'im shows himself to the world, it will remain in a dark state of dis-equilibrium and tension, as injustice will continue to reign and God's chosen family will continue to suffer. The Shī'a wait in hopeful expectation for this moment, proclaiming at the mention of the Hidden Imām's name: «*Ajjala Allahu farajabu* (May God hasten his appearance)». They long for his parousia when he will exact revenge for all of the wrongs that they have endured, and raise up the *ahl al-bayt* to their rightful station¹⁵². Thus do eschatological hopes lie at the very heart of the Imāmī Shī'ism¹⁵³.

GABRIEL SAID REYNOLDS

Revista Degli Studi Orientali, vol. 75, no. 1-4 (2001) 2002 Roma

IRICA K+p.

ter point is seen in Imāmī traditions that justify the concept of the *ghayba* and the possibility of the Qā'im living such a long time. Tūṣī records an example: «As for the *ghayba* of Jesus (peace be upon him), the Jews and the Christians agree that he was killed, but God has shown them to be liars with [Qur'ān 4:157]. Thus, too, the *ghayba* of the Qā'im, although the [Islamic] community will reject it because of its length». 170.

¹⁵¹ Note the tradition from MUHAMMAD AL-BĀQIR: «The Lord of this Command has models in four prophets...His model from Moses (peace be upon him) is that he was afraid and on the watch. His model from Joseph (peace be upon him), is the *ghayba*. His model from Jesus is, as it is said 'he died and did not die'. His model from Muḥammad (God's blessing and peace be upon him and his family) is that he condones the sword». Tūṣī, 424. Elsewhere the longevity of the Qā'im is justified by comparison with Noah, who lived 995 years (cf. Gen. 9:29, 950 years), or to that of Muḥammad's companion Salman al-Fārisī, who had been around to meet Jesus some six hundred years earlier. See Tūṣī, 113.

¹⁵² «Le temps, pour les pauvres et les abandonnés, est l'espérance en une apocalypse de justice terrible, régénératrice». L. MASSIGNON, «Elie et son rôle trans-historique, Khadiriya, en Islam», *Opera Minora*, I:160.

¹⁵³ This fact remains so today, although many developments have taken place in Shī'ī thought (most notably the idea of *wilāyat-i faqīh* that gave legitimacy to the political activism of the Iranian revolution). I recently saw, for example, a call-in television program (on the station run by the Lebanese Shī'ī militia and political party Hizballah, «al-Manār») that was entirely dedicated to a discussion of the emergence (*khurūj*) of «Imām al-Mahdī» and the accompanying events. Similar is the observation of T. Khalidī, that on the occasion of the Mahdī's birthday in Beirut huge banners were raised which «congratulated the expectant believers for the dawning of the light of salvation upon the appearance of the Mahdī and the Prophet Jesus son of Mary». *Muslim Jesus* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2001), 229, n. 42.

1405 30
Nurbakshyev incl.

THE *RISĀLAT AL-HUDĀ* OF MUHAMMAD NŪRBAKŠ (d. 869/1464)
CRITICAL EDITION WITH INTRODUCTION

aut. Cairo lo Muzio

INTRODUCTION

Although messianism has been a significant religio-political paradigm throughout the course of Islamic history, it is possible to identify certain periods as being particularly conducive to the rise of activist messiahs¹. In the Islamic East, the interregnum between the demise of unified Ilkānid rule and the establishment of the Ṣafawid, Ottoman, Uzbek, and Muḡal states (1335 - ca. 1500 CE) had messianism as a distinguishing feature of its religious history². The period's political history was marked most strongly by the rise of Tīmūr (d. 807/1405) and the slow dissipation of his vast empire in the hands of his successors. The upsurge in radical religion resulted from the complex interaction of various trends in the political, social, and intellectual history of the region. The harshness of Tīmūr's campaigns followed by unceasing warfare between his successors resulted in a chronically unstable socio-political environment in which alternative models of political power gained in popularity. The 'Abbāsīd empire with its (at least nominal) caliph was long forgotten by this time, and even the Turko-Mongol tradition of universal rule on which Tīmūr had founded his empire provided little security to his successors³. A messianic deliverer, who invoked divine commission and legitimized his political quest

¹ The history of Islamic messianic doctrines is summarized in W. Madelung, «Mahdī, al.» *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, 5:1230-38.

² The religious history of this period is reviewed in: B. S. AMORETTI, «Religion under the Tīmūrids and the Ṣafavids,» in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, eds. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 6:610-23; SAID AMIR ARJOMAND, *Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 66-84; ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL, «The Ornament of the Saints: The Religious Situation in Pre-Ṣafavid Times,» *Iranian Studies* 7 (1974), 88-111; SHAHZAD BASHIR, «The Imām's Return: Messianic Leadership in Late Medieval Shī'ism,» in *The Most Learned of the Shī'a*, ed. Linda Walbridge (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

³ Cf. BEATRICE FORBES MANZ, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1-16.

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17 KASIM 1993

Kubreviyye
Ali Hemadani
Muhammad Nurbahs

179. ZARRINKUB, 'Abd al-Hoseyn. *Dombāle-ye jostoj dar taṣavvof-e Irān*. Téhéran, Amir Kabir, 1362/1983, 412 p.
Recherches sur le soufisme en Iran. Suite.]

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

KUBREVITYE
ALĪ-HAMADĀNĪ
MUHAMMAD NURBAKHSIYYE

178. DANEŠ-PAZUH, Md.T. *Silsila al-Awliyā'*, Nurbahš Qohestāni. *Mél. off. à H. Corbin*, S.H. Nasr, éd. Téh. 1977, pp. 1-61. Nurbakhsiyeye

Après une courte introduction sur les attestations dans les textes de la *silsila* de Nurbahš (869/1464) appelée aussi Moshadjareh et le rappel de la chaîne initiatique des Nurbakhsiyaya l'auteur donne le texte (en arabe) de la *silsila*: liste des mystiques avec chacun une courte notice, allant de Shibli à la fin du VIII^e/XIV^e siècle.
J. Ch.

297.701
NU.T Nurbakhsh, Diawad

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Nurbakhshiyec

The Noongar have given up their traditional craft of weaving and have taken up agriculture. Most of them own land, whereas others cultivate on share-cropping or contract (*theka*) basis. Their subsidiary occupation is to work as labourers. Social control is maintained by their homogeneous traditional council headed by an elected *mukhiya*. The Noongar are Muslim by faith and Sunni by sect. Their men weave carpets and women do embroidery. They also have oral traditions in the form of folklore and folk-tales.

Traditionally, the Noongar exchange all kinds of food with other Muslim communities. From Hindus they accept both *kachcha* as well as *pucca* food. Hindus do not accept any food from them. They have patron-client relationship with the scavenging caste. Landlord-tenant, cultivator-labour and other form of symbiotic relationships also exist. They favour the development schemes initiated by the government and their educational level is low. They do not accept family planning.

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S.K. BISWAS

Noor Basha

Community of India

The Noor Basha community derive their name from one of the most contemporary faithful followers of the Prophet Mohammed. The story goes that once on being called by the visiting prophet, Noor Basha came out leaving the job of cleaning cotton half finished. The prophet, along with his other followers, entered his residence and found the cotton-cleaning instrument (*gudipi*) working.

Hence, the name Noddaf of Saudi Arabia is said to be their original home: they came to India from there in search of livelihood and were thus named Naddaf which in course of time changed to Laddaf

and then to Ladaf. The other synonyms of the community name Pinjara and Dudekula also mean cotton-cleaners.

The Noor Basha are distributed all over Andhra Pradesh, particularly in the village and towns of Cuddapa, Anantapur, Vijayawada, Guntur, Kurnool districts. They also live in the Bellary district of Karnataka. Telugu or Urdu is their mother tongue, and they use the Telugu script among themselves and also to communicate with others. They are non-vegetarian but abstain from taking beef. Rice, ragi and jowar form their staple food.

The Noor Basha are divided on the basis of a number of exogamous surnames (*intiperu*), like Kodegol, Cuddapah, Sunkesala, Kajipentolla, Roopanagudi and Topukula after the names of the original homes of their respective ancestors. Though marriages are performed as per *shariat*, they observe exogamy at the *intiperu* level and prohibit parallel-cousin marriage.

Adult marriage is the norm and monogamy is followed. *Lachcha* (*thalibottu*) and toe-rings (*challa*) are the symbols of married women. Dowry (*mehar*) is promised for future payment. Dowry is paid in cash and kind. Nuclear and mixed extended families are found in the community. Pre-delivery ritual (*satvaru*), end of birth-pollution (*chillab*), and naming ceremony are observed. Circumcision is performed any time from the age of five to eleven years for a boy. *Vakkaku* or *shukrana* is observed on the eve of *nikah* at the bride's residence. The dead are buried. The performance of *chalisma* on the fortieth day is reported.

The traditional occupation of cleaning cotton is retained by only a few members of the Noor Basha community. Cultivation on dry land and agricultural labour are the primary and principal sources of income. The majority of the members have taken up petty business and trade, while a few are in service. They have informal council of elders (*peddamanu-shulu*) to resolve the intracommunity disputes.

The Sunni sect of Islam is the religion they profess. Some also visit the Hindu deity called Chowdamma to perform the *mundan* of the first child when the child is born as a fulfillment of their vows. Besides celebrating Muslim festivals like Ramzan

کشف الحقایق

نگاشتنه

میر سید محمد نور بخش قاینی

بنیانگذار سلسله نوربخشیه

بہتہام

غلام حسن

(کتابخانہ برات ، چنچن ، از توابع سکردو۔ پاکستان)

۱۲۵

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(آفاق اقبال - اقبالیات - خدا بخش لائبریری جرنل - فہرست پایان نامہ های فارغ التحصیلان دانشکدہ الہیات و معارف اسلامی - قرآن کریم کے اردو تراجم (کتابیات) - کتاب ذکرہ - مجموعۃ الاسرار - چند فہرست نسخہ های خطی از علیگرہ - دو اثر تازه چاپ دکتر معین الدین عقیل) -

۱۲۳

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تعارف

ڈاکٹر اکبر حیدری کاشمیری

۱۸۴

میرزا مظہر دہلوی کی فارسی شاعری

ڈاکٹر غلام مصطفی خان

imām and Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān [q.v.], the contemporary leader of the Syrian Nizārīs, although a complete break was avoided. Rāshid al-Dīn and other Persian historians also report a detailed story about how the Nizārīs of his time persuaded, initially through the intimidating dagger of one of their *fidā'īs*, the famous Sunnī theologian Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209 [q.v.]) to refrain from denouncing them in public. Having ruled longer than any other lord of Alamūt, Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad II died, possibly of poison, on 10 Rabī' I 607/1 September 1210.

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(F. DAFTARY)

NŪR AL-ḤAKK AL-DIHLAWĪ, or Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shāhājānābādī, a traditionist and historiographer of Mughal India who flourished in the 11th/17th century. The nickname "al-Turk al-Bukhārī" points to his origin from Central Asia. As a poet he adopted the pen name "Mashrīkī". He was the son of the scholar 'Abd al-Ḥakk [q.v.] al-Dihlawī, a well-known *shaykh* of the Kādīriyya order. Nūr al-Ḥakk succeeded his father as a religious teacher and was appointed a judge at Agra under Shāh Djahān. His death at Dihlī occurred in 1073/1662.

In *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, Nūr al-Ḥakk enlarged the *Tārīkh-i Ḥakkī*, a chronicle of Indian history written by his father, bringing it up to 1014/1605, the beginning of the reign of Djahāngīr. He wrote two Persian commentaries on canonical collections of *hadīth*: *Taysīr al-ṭarīq fi sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Manba' al-ṣilm fi sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*; the latter work was later revised and enlarged by his son Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥibb Allāh. Nūr al-Ḥakk's early work dedicated to his father, is a commentary on Amīr Khusrāw Dihlawī's [q.v.] historical *mathnawī Kirān al-sa'dayn*; it is dated 1014 A.H. by a chronological riddle (cf. Rieu, ii, 617b).

Bibliography: H.M. Elliot, *Bibliographical index to the historians of Muhammadan India*, i, Calcutta 1849, 281-97; idem and J. Dowson, *History of India*, London 1867-77, vi, 182-4; Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1879, i, 224b-225a, 617; Brockelmann, S I, 263, no. 31, 266, no. 13; Storey i/1, 441, 501, 1309; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khattī-yi fārsī*, v, Tehran 1351 sh./1972, 3515, and vi, Tehran 1353 sh./1974, 4661.

(J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

NŪRBAKHSHIYYA, a Shī'ī offshoot of the Kubrawī Sūfī order [q.v.], which functioned for part of its existence as a distinct sect because of the intermittent claims to the status of *mahdī* [q.v.] of its eponym, Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Nūrbakhsh. Its importance lies primarily in exemplifying the messianic-tinged Sūfī-Shī'ī ferment that preceded and, in some measure, prepared the way for the establishment of the Ṣafawid state.

Nūrbakhsh was born at Kā'īn in Kūhīstān in 795/1392. His father, supposedly a descendant of the

Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm, had come from Kaṭīf, a Shī'ī region of eastern Arabia, on pilgrimage to Mashhad before settling in Kā'īn; it may therefore be presumed to have been a Shī'ī. Nūrbakhsh's grandfather was from al-Aḥṣā [q.v.], likewise an area of Shī'ī settlement; this accounts for Nūrbakhsh's occasional use of the *takhalluṣ* Laḥṣawī. While studying in Harāt in his early youth, Nūrbakhsh was recruited into one branch of the Kubrawī order by a follower of Ishāk Khuttalānī, the principal successor to Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī (d. 786/1384). Moving to the *khānakāh* at Khuttalān, he soon became the most prominent disciple of Khuttalānī, who bestowed on him the title Nūrbakhsh ("Bestower of Light") in accordance with an indication contained in a dream. The account given by Nūr Allāh Shushṭarī (d. 1019/1610) in his *Madjālis al-mu'mīnīn* (ed. Tehran, 1375-6/1955-6, ii, 143-7)—followed almost unanimously by later writers—relates that on the basis of the same dream Khuttalānī also declared Nūrbakhsh to be the Mahdī and incited him to style himself Imām and caliph and to lay claim to rule. He swore allegiance to him himself and ordered his disciples to do the same; all obeyed, with the exception of Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Barzishābādī (d. ca. 856/1452). Nūrbakhsh asked for a delay in starting his insurrection, but Khuttalānī refused, saying that the divinely-appointed time for rebellion (*khurūdj*) had arrived.

The beginnings of the episode are recounted somewhat differently by Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalā'ī, a spiritual descendant of the dissident Barzishābādī. He attributes a far more active role to Nūrbakhsh, claiming that he originated the claim to the status of *mahdī* himself and then had it endorsed by Khuttalānī, who was too senile and decrepit to stand in his way. Barzishābādī allegedly succeeded in having the endorsement temporarily withdrawn, but his influence over Khuttalānī was no match for that of Nūrbakhsh, and preparations for the uprising proceeded (Karbalā'ī, *Rawḍat al-djīnān wa-djannāt al-djānān*, ed. Dja'far Sulṭān al-Kurrā'ī, Tehran 1349 Sh./1970, ii, 249-50). This version of the affair seems at least as credible as that offered by Shushṭarī. Nūrbakhsh certainly had a high estimate of his own worth; he claimed to possess superiority to Plato and Avicenna and absolute mastery of all the sciences. Moreover, he continued to advance claims to the status of *mahdī*, however sporadically, after the death of Khuttalānī and wrote a treatise, *Risālat al-Hudā*, attempting to vindicate these claims.

In 826/1423, Khuttalānī and Nūrbakhsh left the *khānakāh* in Khuttalān and ensconced themselves with their followers in the nearby castle of Kūh-tīrī. Before they could complete their military preparations, they were attacked and taken prisoner by Bāyazīd, the Timūrid governor of the area. Khuttalānī, together with his brother, was put to death almost immediately, despite his advanced age. Nūrbakhsh himself was spared and sent in chains to the presence of Shāhrukh in Harāt. The contrasting fates of the two men might be taken to confirm Shushṭarī's depiction of Khuttalānī as the instigator of the whole affair; it is also possible, however, that Khuttalānī was singled out for death because of his long-standing ties to local rulers in Badakhshān who had sought to block the expansion of Timūrid power in the region (Devin DeWeese, *The eclipse of the Kubrawiyah in Central Asia*, 60).

After interrogation, Nūrbakhsh was sent on from Harāt to Shīrāz; Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, Shāhrukh's governor of Fārs, subjected him to a further spell of imprisonment in Bihbahān before releasing him.

KASIM 1892
Nur bakhshye

ed the educated Indians to consider their attitude towards the British administration. They had watched the Viceroy giving way before protest meetings and extravagant propaganda. They prepared to make a similar psychological warfare. The conference held in Bengal in 1883 was followed next year by one in Madras headed by Allen Hume and attended by the theosophists from various parts of India. The result was a National Congress whose first meeting took place in December, 1885, in Bombay.

"Its ideals were (a) "to enable the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other, (b) the Congress will form the germ of a Native Parliament, and if properly conducted will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions"¹

1 *A History of the Indian Nationalist Movements*, p. 35.

MIR SAYYID MUHAMMAD NUR BUKHSH

by

DR. MUHAMMAD RIAZ, TEHRAN

The founder of the religious and social-cum-political sect "Nūr Bakhshyah" was Mir¹ Sayyid Muḥammad Nūr Bakhsh (795—869 H.), hereafter called "Mir". In this contribution, we shall discuss his life, works, beliefs and the said sect.

Mir was born in the town of 'Qayan' which lies at the foot of the 'Qabistān Hills', in the north of the famous city of 'Birjand' in Iran. His father was a *ṣūfi* and belonged to the town of 'Leḥsa' in the city of 'Qaṭīf' in Bahraīn. His family traced their descent from Imām viii, Ḥaḍrat Abu al-Ḥasan 'Ali b. Mūsa al-Raḍa. He came for a pilgrimage from his native place to the tomb of Imām in Mashhad city. He did not return to 'Qaṭīf' but settled down in the said town of 'Qayan'. He was married to a noble Sayyid lady, Ṭabāṭabā'i (طباطبائی), who after sometimes gave birth to Mir in the year 795 H.

The Mir was a genius and to quote *Shaykh Sa'di's* famous phrase, 'the signs of brightness and extraordinary intelligence were evident from his very forehead'.² His father grasped the capabilities of his son and provided all possible facilities for him to acquire knowledge of all the subjects, in vogue in those days. He learnt the Holy *Qur'ān* by heart at the age of seven years, mastered Persian and Arabic languages and literature. He was a born poet and could versify easily in both the languages. He studied

1 Or Amīr, a usual title of the Sayyids.

2 *Gulistan-i-Sa'di*, Chap. 1, *Ḥikayat* No. 5.

311. BASHIR, Shahzad. *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nurbakhshīya between Medieval and Modern Islam*. Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 2003, 328 p.

L'A. reconstitue l'histoire de la confrérie Nurbakhshīya, un mouvement messianique né au 15^e s. en Iran et en Asie Centrale et perdurant aujourd'hui au Pakistan et en Inde. Cette première étude conséquente sur le sujet s'intéresse tout particulièrement aux réinterprétations et ajustements de la tradition dans les différents contextes locaux, aux continuités et ruptures doctrinales dans le temps et l'espace, aux aléas du patronage politique. L'ouvrage se compose de deux grandes parties.

Dans la première partie consacrée à la naissance de l'ordre, après avoir rappelé la genèse et le développement des idées messianiques au début de l'islam, Bashir nous fournit une bibliographie détaillée du fondateur du mouvement, Muhammad Nurbakhsh (m. 1464). Né dans une famille chiite duodécimaine, membre de la confrérie Kubrawīya, et influencé par la pensée d'Ibn 'Arabi, il se proclama le Mahdi en 1423, se sentant appelé à réformer et à unifier l'islam par une doctrine nouvelle, enracinée dans le soufisme et transcendant les clivages confessionnels. Sa pensée messianique combine la croyance chiite au retour du douzième Imam et les idées soufies du Sceau de la Prophétie et de l'Homme Parfait.

Dans la seconde partie, l'A. étudie la postérité de Nurbakhsh. Bien que sa prétention à être l'Imam caché n'ait eu qu'un succès limité de son vivant, son mouvement prospéra néanmoins par l'action de ses disciples dans l'Iran timouride et safavide, en Asie Centrale et dans l'Anatolie ottomane. Il disparut d'Iran et d'Anatolie au 17^e s., survécut en s'implantant dès le 16^e s. au Kashmir, au Baltistan (dont il disparut au début du 17^e s.), et au Ladakh (où il perdure). Il met actuellement en avant le message d'unité des musulmans face aux violences qui opposent sunnites et chiites au Pakistan.

Cette présentation à la fois historique et doctrinale est extrêmement claire et précise et utilise de nombreuses sources inédites, notamment des manuscrits.

E.F.

Nurbakhshīya

239. NEWMAN, Andrew (ed.). *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East: Studies on Iran in the Safavid Period*. Leiden, Brill, 2003, xxi + 429 p., plates (B&W, colour), maps, charts, appendices, index (Vol. 46, Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts).

The volume comprises 20 of the original 42 papers first presented at the Third International Round Table on Safavid Persia in Edinburgh in 1998; published here in revised and expanded versions thanks to the editorial efforts of Andrew Newman. The volume emphasizes particularly Safavid art and craftsmanship but also addresses other features such as historiography, numismatics, popular culture, and religious institutions.

Table of matters:

Section 1: Michele Bernardini, "Hātifi's *Timūrnāma* and Qāsimi's *Shāhnāmah-yi Ismā'īl*: Considerations towards a Double Critical Edition", pp. 3-18; Sholeh Quinn, "The Timurid Historiographical Legacy: A Comparative Study of Persianate Historical Writing", pp. 19-32; Karin Rührdanz, "Illustrated Persian *Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* manuscripts and their Function in early Modern Times", pp. 33-48. Section 2: Iraj Afshar, "*Maktūb* and *Majmū'a*: essential Sources for Safavid Research", pp. 51-62; Charles Melville, "New Light on the Reign of Shah 'Abbās: Volume III of the *Afzāl al-Tawārīkh*", pp. 63-96; Anthony Welch, "Safavi Iran as Seen Through Venetian Eyes", pp. 97-122. Section 3: Sheila Blair, "The Ardabil Carpets in Context", pp. 125-144; Stephen Blake, "Shah 'Abbās and the Transfer of the Safavid capital from Qazvin to Isfahan", pp. 145-164; Robert Hillenbrand, "The Scarophagus of Shah Ismā'īl at Ardabil", pp. 165-190. Section 4: A. T. Adamova, "Muhammad Qāsim and the Safavid School of Painting", pp. 193-212; Barbara Brend, "Another career for *Mirzā 'Alī*?", pp. 213-236; Jonathan Bloom, "Epic Images Revisited: An Ilkhanid Legacy in Early Safavid Painting", pp. 237-248. Section 5: E. Bahari, "The Sixteenth Century School of Bukhara Painting and the Arts of the Book", pp. 251-264; Rudi Matthee, "The Safavid Mint of Huwayza: The Numismatic Evidence", pp. 265-292. Section 6: Shahzad Bashir, "After the Messiah: The *Nūrbakhshīyya* in Late Timurid and Early Safavid Times", pp. 295-314; Jean Calmard, "Popular Literature Under the Safavids", pp. 315-340; Ihsan Ishraqi, "Noqtaviyya à l'époque des Safavides", pp. 341-350; Rasul Ja'fariyan, "The Immigrant Manuscripts: A Study of the Migration of Shi'ī Works from Arab Regions to Iran in the Early Safavid Era", pp. 351-370; Andrew Newman, "*Bāqir al-Majlisī* and Islamic Medicine: Safavid Medical Theory and Practice Re-examined", pp. 371-396; Mansur Sifatgol, "Safavid Administration of *Awqāf*: Structure, Changes and Functions, 1077-1135/1666-1722", pp. 397-408.

A detailed review is forthcoming in *St. Ir.*

C.M.

Safaviler

Hatifi

Timur

Edebi

Abbas(?)

Aliya Ali M.

Ilkhanlar

Sanat

Bukhara

Nurbakhshiyeh

Majlis

(M. Bakir)

Tip

Vahif

20 ARA 2000

219. BASHIR, Shahzad. *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nurbakhshīya Between Medieval and Modern Islam*. Columbia, South Carolina, University of South Carolina Press, 2003, xxxv + 328, plates, maps, charts, index.

Shahzad Bashir has offered here the first systematic, English-language study of the Nurbakhshīya Order. The medieval confluence of shi'ite notions of hagiography and eschatology with *ṣūfī* models of cosmology and cosmogony is well-represented in the Nurbakhshīya *ṭarīqa*, and it is not surprising that the 15th century doctrines of Muḥammad Nurbakhsh "should be regarded as a significant paradigm for understanding the development of religious history in general" (p. xvii). This study is divided into two broad sections, with one examining the life and intellectual import of Muḥammad Nurbakhsh (1392-1464), and the other detailing the evolution of the Nurbakhshīya movement as it faced numerous doctrinal, political, and ethnic challenges from the 16th century to the present. After an overview of Muslim messianic traditions in the first chapter, Bashir provides a thorough narrative in the subsequent chapter ("A Messiah's Life") of Nurbakhsh's education and career from Badaḥshān to Gilān. Nurbakhsh flourished within the Kubravi tradition, and Bashir provides convincing evidence to suggest that the movement's turn towards militancy under Ṣayḥ Kuttalānī and its suppression by the Timurid ruler Šāhruḥ in 1423 was due to longstanding internal rivalries and the unsettling messianic claims of Kuttalānī's designated successor, Nurbakhsh himself. Nonetheless, Bashir is uncompromising in his characterization of Nurbakhsh as a Mahdī claimant who, unlike previous charismatic personalities in Islamic history, eschewed a messianic agenda dependent on violence and coercion. The underpinnings to these and other theological stances are discussed in greater detail in the third chapter, "Articulating the Messianic Message", where Bashir flushes out and paraphrases Nurbakhsh's defense of his claim to Mahdī-ship in the oft-neglected and currently unpublished work, "The Treatise on Guidance" (*Risālat al-hudā*). With an innovative understanding of *walāya* ("sainthood") in hand, Nurbakhsh rejected the doctrine of the transmigration of souls (*tanāsul*) and instead embraced the notion that the divine essences of prophets and imams alike could be simultaneously "projected" (*burūz*) into a designated corporeal vessel living in the future. This chapter is then followed by an orderly presentation, supplemented by helpful charts, of Nurbakhsh's theosophical *Weltanschauung*, which Bashir arranges and discusses on the basis of cosmology, epistemology, methodology, and experiential concerns.

The remaining half of the book examines the diffusion of Nurbakhshīya ideas and the ultimate reorientation of the movement eastwards to Ladakh and Baltistan. Chapter Five ("The Mahdī's Successors in Iran and Anatolia") focuses on the activities of several important Nurbakhshīya disciples – such as Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad Lāhījī (d. 1506), the author of *Mafātīḥ al-i'jāz* (a celebrated commentary on the *Gulshan-i rāz*), and Qavām al-Dīn Nurbakhshī (d. 1537) – and their ability to weather the arrival of the Safavid shahs and their proclivity to violently assimilate or eliminate rival mystical organizations. However, by the 17th century, the Nurbakhshīya had lost prominence in Iran and any formal preaching and proselytism had been pushed eastward to the Hindukush range. The reasons for this geographic shift are provided in the sixth chapter ("Hope on a New Front") where Bashir highlights the ability of the Nurbakhshīya notable Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad 'Irāqī (d. 1526) to appreciate the ethno-religious syncretism of medieval Kashmir as well as navigate the capricious politics of the day in order to establish an impressive *ḥānqāh* at Zadībal. 'Irāqī is clearly the most important Nurbakhshīya figure after the founder himself, but Bashir is quick to point out that he rejected esoteric scholarship in favour of pragmatic guidance on ritual and liturgy: "Iraqi's political behavior and his religious outlook constituted an effort to 'exteriorize' Nurbakhsh's esoteric doctrine" (p. 241). Despite 'Irāqī's efforts, formal Nurbakhshīya practices would soon be subsumed by the aggressive policies of Mirza Hidar Dughlat and the subsequent incorporation of Kashmir into the Mughal empire. Vestiges of the original Nurbakhshīya belief systems are still evident, and it is in his last chapter ("Establishment and Survival in Baltistan and Ladakh") that Bashir explains how this movement has mingled with and metamorphosed the predominantly Tibetan Buddhist society of Baltistan and Ladakh in the 19th and 20th centuries. Geographically situated among a competitive nexus of belief systems (sunni Islam, shi'ite Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism), this community has suffered in terms of numbers and is struggling to preserve its heritage. However, Bashir has followed closely the media reports and publishing activities of the Nurbakhshīya, and suggests that they are in a process of mutual engagement and dialogue; indeed, some of the same overarching debates taking place in the "higher" Islamic traditions, namely the appeal of modernity and innovation in the face of traditionalism and adherence to authoritative norms, characterize Nurbakhshīya discourse as of late.

C.M.

Nurbakhshīye

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

PAR

MARIJAN MOLÉ

04 MAYIS 1964

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

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

I

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

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

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

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

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

AFTER THE MESSIAH: THE NŪRBAKHSHIYYEH
IN LATE TIMURID AND EARLY SAFAVID TIMES

Shahzad Bashir

The rise of the Safavid ruling house in the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century was the culmination of a process in which an influential Sufi order transformed itself into a political movement. The order's increasing militarization during the latter half of the ninth/fifteenth century correlates with its leaders' tendency towards an exaggerated cult of personality, and the order's rapid popularization among Turkoman tribespeople active as *ghāzīs* in the Caucasus and Asia Minor. From a broader vantage point, the order's eminently successful mixing of religion and politics was part of a larger vogue in messianic and millenarian ideas in the Islamic East during the fifteenth century.¹ While a number of recent studies have greatly advanced our understanding of the Safavid order's mutation,² the general character of the fifteenth century as a messianic age has received relatively less attention. Studies on the origins of the Safavids contain brief mentions of the other orders and movements that were a part of the tumultuous religious scene in the fifteenth century. However, they do not dwell on such movements' particular historical circumstances and characteristics.

In this paper, I wish to focus on the Nūrbakhshīyyeh, a Mahdist movement which arose and matured slightly ahead of the Safavids in the fifteenth century. Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 869/1464), the movement's eponymous founder, put forth a claim of being the

¹ For an overall review of such activity see B.S. Amoretti, 'Religion under the Timurids and the Safavids,' in *Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. P. Jackson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 6:610-23, and Shahzad Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nūrbakhshīya Between Medieval and Modern Islam* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, forthcoming 2003).

² See particularly: Jean Aubin, 'L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré,' *Moyen Orient & Océan Indien* 5 (1988), 1-130; A.H. Morton, 'The Early Years of Shah Isma'īl in the *Afḍal al-tawārikh* and Elsewhere,' in *Safavid Persia*, ed. Charles Melville (London: I.B. Tauris, 1996), 27-51; Said Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Michel Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safavids: Sūfism, Sūfism and the Gulāt* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1972).

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Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions

THE NÜRBAKHSHĪYA BETWEEN
MEDIEVAL AND MODERN ISLAM

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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Shahzad Bashir



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The Nurbakhshis of Kashmir 99

THE NURBAKHSIS OF KASHMIR

'Abdul Majid Mattoo

HISTORICAL SETTING AND ACCOUNT

The external frontiers of Islam have continued to expand up to our times. Kashmir was gained to Islam through the efforts of missionaries during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but its significance was felt in the thirteenth century, and Muslim rule was established in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Muslim missionaries continued to pour into the Kingdom of Kashmir throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the Hindus in the course of time were reduced to a minority. But it is significant to note that throughout the long period of Muslim rule the *shari'a* was never applied fully and strictly, although repeatedly influential ulema urged the kings to follow the *shari'a* in their daily life. The rulers did not directly indulge in the propagation of Islam but rather adopted a liberal attitude towards their non-Muslim subjects. They even participated in their festivals, rites and rituals.¹

The visit of Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani (d. A.D. 1385) and his son,

¹See Mohibul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans* (Calcutta, 1959), passim; 'Abdul Qaiyum Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century* (Varanasi and Delhi, n.d.), passim.

mir Muhammad Hamadani, was a turning-point in the history of Kashmir, Mir Sayyid Hamadani advised the then ruler to follow a liberal policy towards the non-Muslim subjects and avoid compulsion in matters of religion. Only persuasion could bear fruitful results.² The Sufis always advocated love and piety. This approach, as a matter of fact, has had a lasting effect on the socio-cultural life of the people of Kashmir, and its imprint is visible even at the present. Nevertheless, there was a little digression in this policy during the reign of Sultan Sikandar (d. A.D. 1394), who was called "The Iconoclast" (*but-shikast*). He, on account of exorbitant demands of the generals of Amir Timur, resorted to the destruction of some important temples in order to acquire gold and silver to meet their demands.³ But his policy was immediately reversed by his successors. Sultan Zainul 'Abidin the forerunner of Akbar, not only provided the non-Muslim subjects with facilities to re-build and repair their temples, but also allowed them to return to their previous religion if they were interested. He ruled the kingdom for a period of fifty years (A.D. 1420-1470). During this period the fame of the kingdom spread to the four corners of the world. Missionaries, fortune-seekers, ulema and merchants came in large numbers. Diplomatic relations were established with the wider Muslim world.

The rulers of Egypt, Syria, Khurasan, Rome and India were keen on having their diplomatic contacts with Kashmir. There was a frequent exchange of embassies, also.

The successors of this great monarch were not competent to maintain this kingdom, and a long-drawn-out and devastating Civil War continued, which ultimately resulted in the downfall of the Shahmir Dynasty in 1561. The role of the unscrupulous nobility in that chaotic period was no less responsible than the role of some ulema who had entered into matrimonial alliances with the rulers and nobles. On the external front, in the whole of the Muslim world, certain significant changes were also taking place, especially in Persia whence thousands of Muslim families accompanied Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani and his son Mir Muhammad Hamadani to Kashmir. They settled in the Valley and spread the teachings of

²*Maktubat-i Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadhani*, MS, Research Library of the Centre of Central Asian Studies thereafter used (CCAS), Kashmir University, Srinagar.

³On the basis of some fresh evidence some scholars hold contrary views. See J.L. Bhan's paper read in the Seminar at the CCAS, Kashmir University, in June 1980.

اعمالی که منافی اخلاص بوده نموده سرانجام کار او در این دولت ابد پیوند به وبال و نکال کشید... (۲۴)

درشکست بیکناش به دست یعقوب خان خانه بسیاری از اهالی یزد و اتباع میرمیران نیز به تاراج رفت. از اولاد عظام میرمیران جناب شاه خلیل الله همیشه با پدر نقیض و با بیکناش خان مخالف بوده میانه او و یعقوب خان مراسلات واقع می شد در آن وقت نزد یعقوب خان آمده و معزز و محترم بود اما میرمیران و سایر اولادش را یعقوب خان به موافقت بیکناش خان و مخالفت و عصیان، متهم داشته احترامی نکرد، بلکه در مقام استخفاف درآمده جمعی را که به ضبط خزاین اموال بیکناش خان تعیین کرده بود محافظت خانه او نیز می کردند. غایتش چون از بنات مکرمه این سلسله علیّه (صفوی) یک دو نفر در منزل او بود قزلباش ملاحظه نموده زیاده بی اندامی نکردند و دست درازی بخانه های سلسله میرمیران کمتر واقع شد، اما خفت و خواری بسیار به او رسید. (۲۵)

میرمیران پس از گذشت یک سال برای اظهار یا شکایت از یزد به اصفهان رفت و به جلب عنایت شاه در حق خویش موفق نشد. مع هذا شاه، ولایت یزد را به پسر وی شاه خلیل الله (وفات ۱۰۱۶ هـ. ق.) داد و شاه خلیل سلطان بیگم خواهرزاده شاه طهماسب رادر حباله داشت. در همین اوقات عمه شاه، خانم بیگم هم که در حباله نعمه الله، پسر دیگر میرمیران بود وفات یافت. شاه به دلجویی و تغریت رفت و بدین گونه سخط شاه عباس در حق میرمیران موجب نقصان حیثیت و نفوذ خاندان نعمت اللّهی نشد و این خاندان صوفی به سبب وصلت های گوناگون و متعدد با خاندان صوفی اعظم به صورت یک شاخه فرعی خاندان صفوی درآمد و دستگاه ارشاد درویشی آن هم در واقع تبدیل به دستگاه قدرت شاهزادگی شد. همین انتساب به خاندان صفوی هم بعدها برای آنها موجب بیم و زیان گشت، چنانکه شاه صفی جانشین شاه عباس وقتی به سعایت بدخواهان به قتل شاهزادگان

صفوی اقدام کرد، سنجر میرزا پسر شاه نعمت اللّه ثالث را نیز با پسر بیست ساله او و یک پسر دیگر از همین سلسله نعمه اللّهی در ضمن سایر شاهزادگان صفوی به قتل آورد (۱۰۲۴ هـ. ق.) (۲۶)

سلسله نعمه اللّهی به علت پیوند با خاندان سلطنت جنبه معنوی و باطنی خود را از دست داد و بیشتر به حفظ قدرت ظاهری پرداخت تا اینکه در اواخر عهد کریم خان زند، محمد معصوم شیرازی معروف به معصومعلی شاه این سلسله را احیاء کرد.

فرقه نوریخشیان:

نوریخشیان، فرقه ای از صوفیانی در قرن هشتم و نهم، لباس ایشان برخلاف بکناشیان که لباس سفید بر تن می پوشیدند، سیاه بود. و این شعار سیاه را علامت تغریت شهدای کربلا می دانستند. پیشوای فرقه نوریخشیان، سید محمد نوریخش قاینی خراسانی است. نسب شریفش با هفده واسطه به حضرت امام موسی کاظم علیه السلام می رسد. در قاین در سال ۷۹۵ هـ. ق. متولد گردید و در ۸۶۹ هـ. ق. در ولایت سولقان وفات یافت. مولد پدر و جدش لحسا بوده است. در پاره ای از غزلیات، لحسوی و یا نوریخشی تخلص می نماید. در هفت سالگی قرآن را حفظ نمود، به اندک فرصتی در جمیع علوم متبحر گشت. سید محمد، مرید خواجه اسحاق ختلاتی است و خواجه، مرید سید علی همدانی بود و خواجه به موجب خوابی که دیده بود سید محمد را به نوریخش ملقب نمود. چون به کمال رسید خواجه اسحاق خرقة آخرین سید علی همدانی را به احواله کرد و به دست خود به او پوشانید و برمسند ارشاد نشانند و امور خانقاه و جمیع سالکان را به او تفویض کرد و این مثل را بر ملا گفت که: «ما آرد بیختم و آرد بیز آویختم. هر که را داعیه سلوک است به خدمت میر رجوع نماید که اگر چه به ظاهر او مرید ماست اما در حقیقت پیر

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ABKÜRZUNGEN/ABBREVIATIONS/ABRÉVIATIONS

BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London)
EI	Enzyklopädie des Islam/Encyclopaedia of Islam/Encyclopédie de l'Islam (Leiden)
III	Handwörterbuch des Islam (Leiden)
IBLA	Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes (Tunis)
IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies (New York/Cambridge)
Isl.	Der Islam (Berlin)
MEJ	The Middle East Journal (Washington)
MES	Middle Eastern Studies (London)
MSOS	Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen (Berlin) (1898-1939)
MW	The Muslim World (Hartford, Conn.)
OLZ	Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung (Berlin)
OM	Oriente Moderno (Rom)
REI	Revue des Études Islamiques (Paris)
RMM	Revue du Monde Musulman (Paris) (1906-1926)
Stud. Isl.	Studia Islamica (Paris)
WI	Die Welt des Islams (1913-1943 Berlin, Leipzig, seit 1951 Leiden)
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wien)
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Wiesbaden)

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THE NURBAKHSIS OF BALTISTAN—CRISIS AND
REVIVAL OF A FIVE CENTURIES OLD COMMUNITY

BY

ANDREAS RIECK*

Hamburg

The Sufi order named after Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (1392–1464), a branch of the Kubrāwiyya,¹ has been suppressed or merged with orthodox Twelver Shi'ism in Safawid Iran² as well as in Kashmīr, where it was introduced since late 15th century by Shams al-Dīn 'Irāqī,³ a disciple of Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh's son and successor Shāh Qāsim Faiḍbakhsh. But it has survived to this day in Baltistan, the mountainous region north of the Srinagar-Ladakh road that became part of Pakistan after the partition of India and the first Kashmīr war 1947–8. The order's longevity in remote Baltistan stands in marked contrast to its quick absorption into Twelver Shi'ism in the valley of Kashmīr, where the Nurbakhshiyya had almost ceased to exist some decades after its persecution by Mīrzā Ḥaidar Dughlāt in mid-16th century.⁴ While being slowly supplanted by Twelver Shi'ism in Baltistan, too, a large community of Nurbakhshis there has preserved its identity,

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¹ J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, pp. 55–58; Richard Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, Vol. I, Wiesbaden 1965, pp. 13–15.

² Hamid Algar, "Nurbakhshiyya", *EI*, Vol. VIII, Fasc. 133–134, p. 135.

³ Mohibbul Hasan, *al-'Irāqī*, *EI*, Suppl., Fasc. 5–6, p. 423; Abdul Majid Mattoo, "The Nurbakhshis of Kashmir", in: Christian Troll (ed.), *Islam in India*, Vol. II, Delhi 1984, pp. 98–113; this account of Shams al-Dīn 'Irāqī's mission in Kashmīr makes use of some yet unpublished manuscripts like *Tuhfat al-ahbāb* of Mullah Muḥammad 'Alī Kashmīrī and *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr* of Sayyid 'Alī.

⁴ Mattoo, p. 113; Algar, p. 136.

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