

An Encounter of al-‘Abbās b. Ḥamza (d. 288/901) with Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. ca. 245/859-60): Edition and Study of MS. Vollers 875d

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Abstract

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This article presents and analyzes a new source on the relationship between *ḥadīth* and Sufism, a *juzʿ* in the library of the University of Leipzig titled *Juzʿ fihī qīṣṣat al-‘Abbās b. Ḥamza ma‘a Dhī l-Nūn al-Miṣrī raḥmat Allāh ‘alayhi*, “An Encounter of al-‘Abbās b. Ḥamza with Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī.” The text is an account of the visit of Abū l-Faḍl al-‘Abbās b. Ḥamza b. Ashūsh of Nishapur (d. 288/901) to Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. ca. 245/859-860), an influential figure in the early mystical tradition. By underlying the difference between a mainstream *ḥadīth* transmission and what the text calls *ḥadīth al-riqāq* (“heart-melting traditions”), the text helps to defend early ascetics and mystics against accusations of being “weak transmitters” of prophetic traditions.

Keywords

al-‘Abbās b. Ḥamza – Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī – *ḥadīth* – Sufism – *miḥna*

Introduction: *Ḥadīth* and Sufism

The relationship between traditionalists (*muḥaddithūn*, *ahl al-ḥadīth*)¹ and Sufis and how they mutually influenced their scholarly milieus have been

¹ Schacht, *Ahl al-Ḥadīth*.

the subject of several studies. These studies show that in its formative period Sufism developed in close contact with the network of the “*ḥadīth* folk.”² To recollect a few critical notes, Ahmet Karamustafa emphasizes the following:

[F]irst Sufis clearly formed an intellectual elite who were highly literate and learned in the Qur’an, the *ḥadīth*, and much else besides. [...] In their skepticism toward the use of human reason in the matter of God, the first Sufis were aligned with the “traditionalists” who had especially formed around the example of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.³

Hasan Abdel-Kader, in his study on the Baghdādi mystic al-Junayd (d. 297/910), relates the following episode that shows the tensions among the branches of Islamic knowledge in the third/ninth century and how a Sufi master like al-Junayd strove to unify those disparate intellectual and spiritual forces:

Al-Junayd relates that one day as he was leaving his uncle Sarī al-Saqaṭī, asked him to whose *majlis* (assembly) he was going. He replied “To that of Hārith al-Muḥāsibī.” Sarī then said: “Yes, go and accept his learning and his discipline, but beware of his speculative reasoning and his refutation of the Mu‘tazilites.” And, as I was going out, adds al-Junayd, I heard Sarī say: “May God make you a traditionalist who is a *ṣūfī*, and not a *ṣūfī* who is a traditionalist!”⁴

This injunction would realize itself in al-Junayd’s attitude toward *ḥadīth*, which he considered one of the foundations of the spiritual path: “This knowledge of ours is reinforced by the reports of the Messenger of God.”⁵ The interest of those early Sufis in *ḥadīth* and *zuhd* literature is clearly evident in the collections of *ḥadīth* on asceticism and renunciation composed by some of al-Junayd’s companions, such as Ja‘far al-Khuldī’s (d. 348/959-60) *al-Fawā‘id fī l-zuhd* (“Beneficial Statements of Asceticism”) and Abū Sa‘īd Ibn al-A‘rābī’s (d. 341/952) *Kitāb fī ma‘nā l-zuhd wa-l-maqālāt wa-ṣīfat al-zāhidīn* (“On the Definition of Asceticism and the Sayings and Attributes of the Ascetics”). Abū ‘Abdallāh Aḥmad b. ‘Aṭā’ al-Rūdhābārī (d. 366/976-77),⁶ the nephew of Abū

² See, for instance, Ephrat, *Spiritual Wayfarers*, 86f; Algar, *Hadith; Melchert, Piety of the Hadith Folk*.

³ Karamustafa, *Sufism*, 22-3.

⁴ Abdel-Kader, *Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd*, 3.

⁵ Qushayrī, *Risāla*, I, 79; English transl. Knysh, *Epistle*, 44.

⁶ For biographical details on Aḥmad b. ‘Aṭā’ al-Rūdhābārī, see Dhahabī, *Sīyar*, xvi, 227; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta‘rīkh Baghdād*, v, 97.



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FRANCESCA BELLINO

Dhū l-Nūn Abū l-Fayḍ al-Miṣrī

Dhū l-Nūn Abū l-Fayḍ Thawbān b. Ibrāhīm **al-Miṣrī** (d. Giza, in 245/859 or 248/862) was an early mystic leader of Nubian origin, who is celebrated for his knowledge of a wide range of disciplines, including medicine and alchemy. He was most commonly known by his *laqab* (honorific title) Dhū l-Nūn (lit., he of the fish, i.e., Jonah), which, rather than Thawbān, may have been his given name.

Dhū l-Nūn appears in the earliest accounts of Ṣūfism as the leading figure of his generation, despite coming from Akhmīm, in Upper Egypt, a region which is under-represented in the Iraqi

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more specifically on the Holy Land in Palestine undoubtedly shows the influence of contemporary Jewish eschatology. The Jewish apocalyptic literature of this era anticipated divine deliverance at the hand of another people, whom God would raise up to expel the Romans and liberate the children of Abraham and their Promised Land from Roman oppression. The early Islamic focus on the religious significance of Jerusalem and Palestine is itself evidence that the sons of Ishmael shared in the Jewish reverence for the Promised Land and in the hope of its liberation from the rule of the unrighteous.

And so in light of the broader religious context within which Muḥammad's movement emerged, Donner's tentative proposals concerning the eschatological valence of the early Islamic conquests seem more than credible: they seem likely. Presumably Muḥammad started out in Mecca preaching a message centered on the impending final judgment and the Hour's imminent arrival. As his religious movement progressed and emerged as a polity, this urgent eschatology was augmented by ambitions for conquest and expansion, which were seen as in some way realizing this eschatology. Certainly, any contact that Muḥammad and his followers had with contemporary Jewish and Christian religious ideas would have led them in this direction.



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Dū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī and Early Islamic Mysticism

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Abstract

The article analyzes some of the main teachings that are attributed to Dū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (died ca 245/859-860), a prominent figure in the formative period of the Sufi tradition. These teachings are reflected in the many sayings that are ascribed to Dū l-Nūn in Sufi literature, in non-Sufi biographical dictionaries, and in several other medieval Islamic sources, all dating from the 4th/10th century onwards. The article demonstrates the historical problems related to the figure of Dū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, and, in this context, particular attention is given to the occult tendencies that are attributed to him in various writings.

Keywords

sufism, Dū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Egypt, North Africa, historiography, hagiography, biography, biographical dictionaries, Occult, magic, alchemy, Hermetic tradition, hermeticism, neoplatonism, shiism, ismailism

Résumé

L'article analyse quelques-uns des principaux enseignements attribués à Dū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (mort vers 245/859-860), une figure importante de la période de formation de la tradition soufie. Ces enseignements sont reflétés dans les nombreux propos attribués à Dū l-Nūn dans la littérature soufie, les dictionnaires biographiques non soufis et dans quelques autres sources islamiques médiévales, toutes datant au moins du IV^e/X^e siècle. L'article montre les problèmes historiques liés à la figure de Dū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī et, dans cette perspective, une attention particulière est portée aux tendances occultes qui lui sont attribuées dans de nombreux écrits.

[4]

No Other Word

Because the Truth is all that it may tell
The heart unceasingly repeats *Allab*;
No other word will have the final say,
The fate of darkness is to fade away.

In silent cloisters of the here and now
Our freedom is perfected when we bow.
We shall let go of all that is not true—
In prayer we learn all that we need to do.

The sun pours down its radiance of gold;
The beauty of the light does not grow old.
The heart illumined by God's Name reveals
No vision but the vision of the Real.



The Sufi Teachings of Dhu'l-Nun

By Mohammed Rustom

Dannun et Misri

Abu'l-Fayd Thawban b. Ibrahim Dhu'l-Nun al-Misri was born in the upper Egyptian district of Akhmim (the famous Panopolis of late antiquity) in approximately 175/791. He is believed to have died in 245/859 or 248/861.¹ Early sources indicate that Dhu'l-Nun was of Nubian stock, his father being a Nubian freedman of the Quraysh tribe.² Not unlike a number of other key figures of early Sufism, Dhu'l-Nun's teachings have attracted relatively little scholarly attention, especially in English.³ This is somewhat surprising, since he is one of the most important figures in the history of Sufism, and is considered to be the first Sufi to have spoken theoretically about gnosis (*ma'rifa*) and the stations (*maqamat*) and states (*ahwal*).

What follows is a thematic presentation of over sixty of Dhu'l-Nun's sayings, which have been culled and translated from the following

¹ Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami, *Tabaqat al-sufiyya*, ed. Nur al-Din Shurayba (Aleppo, 1982), 16.
² Abu'l-Qasim al-Qushayri, *al-Risalat al-Qushayriyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Karim 'Ata' (Damascus, 2000), 57.

³ Two recent exceptions are Paul Losensky, "Translator's Introduction," in Farid al-Din 'Attar, *Memorial of God's Friends*, trans. Paul Losensky (New York, 2009), 24-32 ('Attar's (d. ca. 617/1220) account of Dhu'l-Nun's life and teachings is to be found on pp. 164-187); Reza Shah-Kazemi, "The Notion and Significance of *Ma'rifa* in Sufism," *Islamic Studies* 13/2 (2002): 155-181 (this piece discusses several of Dhu'l-Nun's statements). Ibn 'Arabi's (d. 638/1240) book on Dhu'l-Nun is available in French as *La vie merveilleuse de Dhu'l-Nun l'Égyptien*, trans. Roger Deladrière (Paris, 1988). Amongst writings in non-European languages, the late Javad Nurbakhsh's Persian book on Dhu'l-Nun is a useful repository of his teachings, extracted from a wide variety of classical Persian and Arabic Sufi texts. See Nurbakhsh, *Dhu'l-Nun Misri: az mashahir-i dānishmandan wa sufiyan-i misr* (London, 1999).

IBNUL-ARABI
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2184. Ibn-al-'Arabi, Muhyi'd-Din Muhammad Ibn-'Ali: La vic merveilleuse de Dhū-l-Nūn l'Egyptien : d'après le traité hagiographique »al-Kawkab al-durri fi manāqib Dhī-l-Nūn al-Misri« »L'astre éclatant des titres de gloire de Dhū-l-Nūn l'Egyptien« / Ibn 'Arabi. Trad. de l'arabe, prés. et annoté par Roger Deladrière. - Paris : Sindbad, 1988. - 404 S. - (La bibliothèque de l'Islam)
Einheitssacht.: al-Kaukab ad-durri fi manāqib Dīn-Nūn al-Misri (franz.). - Aus d. Arab. übers.
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938. SHAKED, Shaul. "A Facetious Recipe and the Two Wisdoms: Iranian Themes in Muslim Garb". *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987) pp. 24-35.

A partir d'une recette enjouée, attribuée à Dhu'l-Nun, qui use de métaphores culinaires pour décrire le processus de l'expérience spirituelle ("la nourriture de la gnose"), l'A. apporte d'autres occurrences du même thème dans la littérature en pehlevi. L'origine est donc sassanide et non arabe. Ce n'est pas le seul exemple d'un "transfert d'idées religieuses de l'Iran zoroastrien à l'Islam": l'A. en donne pour témoin la notion des "deux sages", l'innée et l'acquise, qui se trouve dans la littérature en arabe (par ex. Jahiz, Ghazali), qu'on rattache tantôt à 'Ali, tantôt au sage sassanide Bozorgmehr, ou à Khosrow Anushirvan, et qui est largement attestée dans la littérature en pehlevi (*Dadestan-i Menog-i Khrad, Bundahishn, Denkart*). Cet exemple montre comment un thème central de la pensée religieuse d'époque sassanide peut être présenté, dans la littérature en langue arabe, comme un point de sagesse persane et comment il est aussi transformé en une notion islamique, gagnant même "l'ultime estampille de légitimité en étant attribuée à 'Ali".
Cl.K.

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+ Dū al-Nūn al-Misri
198. 2. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 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İSLAM DÜŞÜNCE TARİHİ

İLK SUFİLER (Devam)

sordu onlara: Allah'a niçin ibadet ediyorsunuz? Birisi cevap verdi: Cehennemde yedi safha vardır ve herkes bu safhalardan geçmek zorundadır; bu nedenle onların korkusuyla ibadet ederim. Bir başkası şu cevabı verdi: Cennetin sekiz safhası (stage) son derece muhteşem yerlerdir ve bir âbid burada ebediyen kalmak istemiştir. Râbia ise şöyle cevapladı: O, Allah'a ceza korkusu veya mükâfat tutkusuyla ibadet eden hayırsız bir kuldur. Ziyarcte gelenler şu soruyu yöneltti ona: Eğer cenneti istemiyorsanız niçin ibadet ediyorsunuz öyleyse? Râbia şu cevabı verdi: Ben komşunun evindense (yani cennetin) Komşu'yu yeğliyorum. Ve şöyle devam etti: Allah'ın korku veya mükâfat umuduyla yapılmayan [yani doğrudan O'nun rızasını kazanmak için yapılan] ibadet makbuldür.²⁵ Rivayete göre bir gün Râbia, bir elinde ateş, diğerinde ise su ile koşmaktaydı. İnsanlar ona niçin böyle yaptığını sordular. O da şu cevabı verdi: Ben ateşle cenneti yakmaya, suyla cehennemi söndürmeye gidiyorum, böylece her ikisinin peçeleri sakınlarının gözlerinden düşer ve amaçlarından emin olurlar, nihayet Allah'ın kulları O'nu herhangi bir umut hedefi ve korku güdüsü olmadan görebilirler.²⁶ Aşağıdaki beyitlerde Râbia iki tür aşkı, bencil ve karşılıksız aşkı birbirinden tefrik eder:

Ben iki şekilde de sevdim O'nu: bencilce,
Ve değeri O'ndan gelen bir aşkla.
Bencil aşkıta ben zevki O'nda buldum,
Oysa tüm başka şeylere ve başkalarına karşı körüm.
Fakat O'nu arama aşkı değerlidir,
Örtü ben O'na bakarken yukarı kalktı.
Şu ya da buna övgü düzmek bana göre değildir,
Bu ya da şu övgüde tümüyle sen varsın.²⁷
Râbia'ya göre karşılıksız aşkın gayesi Allah'la birleşmedir. Şöyle ifade eder bu durumu: Ümidim O'nunla itihad'dır, zira bu tutkumun amacıdır.

7. Zünnûn Mısri (180/706-245/859)

Zünnûn Mısri çoğu tezkireciler tarafından şöhretli bir sufi olarak kabul edilmiştir. O, mistik tecrübelerini topluma ilk açıklayan kişiydi;²⁸ diğer ilk sufiler gibi o da aşırı bir zühd hayatı yaşadı,²⁹ nefsin iğvalarını en büyük perde olarak

gördü,³⁰ ve bir sufide ihlasın artması için inziva hayatının vazgeçilmez bir durum olduğunu söyledi.³¹ Ona göre sufinin takip edeceği iki farklı yol söz konusudur. Birinci yol -ki derece bakımından daha aşağıdadır- günaha kaçınmak, dünyayı terk etmek ve tutkuları dizginlemektir; ikinci yol ise -ki derece bakımından daha üstte yer alır- Allah'ın dışındaki herşeyi terk edip kalbten herşeyi boşaltmaktır.³² Zünnûn tevekkül'ü, geleceğe yönelik tasarılar yapma ve aracı sebeplere sarılmanın karşıtı olarak yorumlar.³³ Dünyadan ne insanlardan uzaklaşmak ve alakayı tümüyle koparmak ve yalnızca Allah'a dayanmak ister.³⁴ Ona göre pişmanlık (tövbe) herkes için temel önemdedir; sıradan insanlar günahlarından tövbe ederlerken, seçkinler (havas) dikkatsizliklerinden ötürü tevbe ederler. Tövbe iki türdür: geri dönüş tevbesi (*inâbe*) ve utanma tevbesi (*istihiyâ*). Birincisi ilahî ceza korkusundan tevbedir, ikincisi ilahî rahmetten utanın getirdiği tevbedir.³⁵

Zünnûn bilgiyi yakîn'den ayırt eder. Bilgi duyusal algılamamanın sonucunda, yani beş duyumuzla aldığımız şeylerle ortaya çıkar; oysa yakîn sezgiyle gördüğümüz şeyin sonucudur.³⁶ Başka bir bağlamda ise bilginin üç çeşit olduğunu söyler: birincisi Allah'ın birliğinin bilgisi (tevhid bilgisi) olup bu tüm müminler için müşterek bir husustur; ikincisi kanıt ve istidlalle elde edilen bilgidir ve bu hakîm, hatib ve alime aittir; üçüncüsü birliğin sıfatlarının bilgisidir ve bu, Allah'ın vechini kalplerinde temaşa eden velilere aittir, öyle ki, Allah kendisini onlara dünyadaki başka hiç kimseye açmadığı gibi açar.³⁷ Bu bilgiye *ma'rifet* adı verilir ki, bu fikri tasavvufa ilk sokan kişinin Zünnûn olduğu öne sürülür. Ona göre ma'rifetin esası, Allah'ın inayetinin kişinin kalbine manevi nûrunu bırakmasıdır.³⁸ Arifler dolaysız bilgiyle, gözleriyle görmeksizin, malumat almaksızın, gözlemlemeksizin, tasvir etmeksizin, perdelenmeksizin ve perdesiz görürler. Onlar yalnız değildirler; fakat Allah'ta vardırlar. Onların hareketleri Allah tarafından yönlendirilir, kelimaları kendi dilleriyle söylenmiş Allah'ın kelimalarıdır ve görmeleri gözlerine girmiş olan Allah'ın görmesidir.³⁹ Böylece Zünnûn için Sufinin en büyük başarısı ma'rifet olarak bilinen akıl-üstü bilgiyi -ki insan için tam anlamıyla bilinç-dışı kalır- elde etmektir. Attâr'ın naklettiği sözlerinin birinde şöyle der: "Bir insan Allah'ı tanıdıktan sonra O'nda kaybolur." Öyle görünüyor ki, Zünnûn'un aklında, çağdaşı Bâyezid Bestami'nin *fenâ* olarak şekillendirdiği mistik hal vardı.

25- A.g.e., s.47.

26- Enâkî, *Menâkıb el-Arifin, Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* içinde zikredilmiş, s.463a.

27- M.Smith, *Râbia, the Mystic*, s.102-104. Gazalî bu mısraları yorumlarken şöyle der: "O (Râbi'a) bencil aşkla, O'nun lütufları ve ihlâsı ve geçici dünyevi mutluluk karşılığında Allah'ı sevmeyi; O'na yaraşır aşkla ise O'nun cemalini sevmeyi -ki bu Râbi'a'ya bağışlanmış bir şeydir- kastediyor ve bu iki aşkın en üstünü ve onların en mükemmel olanıdır" (*İhyâ*). Bk. ayrıca *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.463a.

28- Attâr, a.g.e., s.76, 80.

29- A.g.e., s.78.

30- A.g.e., s.83; Hucviri, a.g.e., s.200.

31- Attâr, a.g.e., s.84.

32- A.g.e., s.79.

33- A.g.e., s.86.

34- A.g.e., s.88.

35- Hucviri, a.g.e., s.298, 299.

36- Attâr, a.g.e., s.84.

37- A.g.e., s.81.

38- A.g.e., s.84; bk. ayrıca Hucviri, a.g.e., s.275.

39- Attâr, a.g.e., s.85.

ظلال الإسلام

02 EKİM 1991

كتاب في أربعة أجزاء ، يبحث في الحياة الاجتماعية والحركات العلمية والأدبية والفرق الدينية في العصر العباسي الثاني

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Ansiklopedisi
Kütüphanesi | |
| Kayıt No : | 692-4 |
| Tasnif No. : | 297-9. AHM. Z |

تأليف
إبراهيم بن محمد

Zannun el-Misri (159-164)

الجزء الرابع

يبحث في المذاهب والعقائد وتطورها وفي الصراع بينها ،
وفي المرحلة الأخيرة من تدوينها في متون ثم شرح هذه
الملخصات ، مع نظرات في مستقبل المذاهب الإسلامية



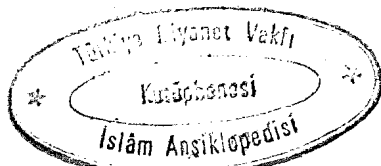
الطبعة الثالثة

ملقمة الطبع والنشر
مكتبة النهضة المصرية
لأصحابها حسن محمد وأولاده
9 شارع مدني بشار بالقاهرة

- ١٥٩ -

ذو النون المصري

وهو أيضاً شخصية غريبة فهو مصري من أحميم ، يقال إنه نوبي ، وتدل أقواله على أنه مثقف ثقافة واسعة . اشتهر بالكيمياء ، والكيمياء في ذلك العصر كانت مشوبة بشعوذة السحر ، فكانت النتائج الكيميائية التي ننظر إليها اليوم هادئين ينظر إليها فيما مضى على أنها نوع من الكرامات . وقد روى عنه أنه شغف بالتجوال في البرابي ، وادعاء أنه يقرأ خطوطها المبروغليفية ، وأن هذه الكتابات مملوءة بالسحر والحكمة . وكان يدعي أنه يقرؤها ، ويدل ما نقل إلينا عنه من قراءتها أنه لم يقرأها حقاً ، كما قرأها شامليون بعد اكتشاف حجر رشيد ، وإنما قرأها من خياله وأوهامه . على كل حال له تأثير كبير في نقل التصوف من حال إلى حال ، وينسب إليه إدخال الكلام في المقامات والأحوال في الصوفية ، وقد شغلت جزءاً كبيراً منها . فللصوفية كلام طويل في الأحوال والمقامات التي وضع فكرتها ذو النون ، خلاصتها أن طريق الوصول إلى الله شاق عسير يجب أن يتدرج فيه المرید في مراحل يسلم بعضها إلى بعض ، ولذلك سمو السير في الطريق سفراً وحجاً ، وسموا السائر سالكا : وهذه المراحل المتعددة تسمى بالمقامات . وقد جعلها الطوسي صاحب كتاب «اللمع» وهو من أقدم الكتب الصوفية سبعاً كل وحدة تُسلم إلى ما بعدها ، وهي مقام التوبة والورع والزهد والفقر والصبر والتوكل والرضا . فالتوبة هي الشعور بالخطيئة والعزم الأكيد على الإقلاع عنها . وإذا لم يستطع المرید ذلك ، فعليه أن يتوب مرة تلو مرة ، إلى أن يتوب الله عليه ، حتى يرووا أن أحدهم كرر عملية التوبة سبعين مرة . ويضاف إلى الشعور بالخطيئة والعزم على تركها عدم التفكير فيها إذ الشغل الشاغل هو الله تعالى ، وبعد التوبة يجب أن يتبع الطالب مرشداً أو شيخاً



RECHERCHES

PUBLIÉES SOUS LA DIRECTION DE L'INSTITUT DE LETTRES ORIENTALES DE BEYROUTH
SÉRIE I : PENSÉE ARABE ET MUSULMANE

Tome XLVII

IBN AL-JAWZĪ'S
KITĀB AL-QUṢṢĀS
WA'L-MUDHAKKIRĪN

*Including a Critical Edition, Annotated
Translation and Introduction*

BY

MERLIN L. SWARTZ



DAR EL-MACHREQ ÉDITEURS
B.P. 946, BEYROUTH

2 Onnān el-Misrī

من دار الى دار كما نُقِلتم من الأصلاب الى الأرحام ، ومن الأرحام الى الدنيا ، ومن الدنيا الى القبور ، ومن القبور الى الموقف ، ومن الموقف الى الخلود في الجنة أو في النار¹ .

ومن المذكرين بمصر
ذو النون

١٧٢ أخبرنا أبو بكر بن حبيب العامريّ قال : انا أبو سعد بن أبي صادق قال : انا أبو عبدالله بن باكويّه قال : سمعت بكران بن أحمد يقول : سمعت يوسف بن الحسين يقول : سمعت ذا النون يقول : ما خلع الله على عبد من عبيده خلعة أحسن من العقل ، ولا قلّده قلادة أجمل من العلم ، ولا زيّنه بزينة أفضل من اللحم . وكمال ذلك كلّهُ التقوى² . 10

ومن أهل المغرب
أبو عبدالله محمد بن إسماعيل المغربيّ

١٧٣ / أخبرنا ابن حبيب قال : انا ابن أبي صادق قال : انا ابن باكويّه قال : سمعت أبا بكر الجوزقانيّ يقول : سمعت إبراهيم بن شيبان يقول : كان أبو³ عبدالله المغربيّ يقعد لأصحابه يتكلّم عليها . فما رأيته انزعج إلا يوماً واحداً كنا على الطور وقد استند الى شجرة خرنوب وهو يتكلّم علينا . فقال في كلامه : لا ينال العبد مراده حتّى ينفرد فرداً بفرده . فانزعج واضطرب ورأيت الصخور قد تدكدكت وبقِيَ في ذلك ساعات . فلما أفاق كأنه نُشِر من قبر⁴ . 15

1. *Hilya*, V, 229.

2. *Safwa*, IV, 288-289.

3. أبو .

4. *Ibid.*, IV, 306; *Muntaẓam*, VI, 113.

مُرشدُ الزُّوَّارِ إلى قبور الأبرار

المستقى
الدر المنظم في زيارة حبيب المقطم

لإمام العارف

موفق الدين بن عثمان

المثوف سنة ٦١٥ هـ

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
m Araştırmaları Merkezi
Kütüphanesi

a. No: 56704-1

. No: 726.8962

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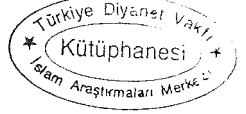
مَقَرَّ وَعَلَى عَلَيْهِ وَوَضِعَ ذَهَابَهُ وَذَيْلَهُ

مُحَمَّدُ فَتْحِي أَبُو بَكْرٍ

المُشَرِّحُ

الدار المصرية اللبنانية

Zünnün el-Mısri (377-387)



الناشر : الدار المصرية اللبنانية

١٦ ش عبد الخالق ثروت - القاهرة

تليفون : ٣٩٢٣٥٢٥ - ٣٩٣٦٧٤٣

فاكس : ٣٩٠٩٦١٨ - بريقياً : دار شادو

ص . ب : ٢٠٢٢ - القاهرة

رقم الإيداع : ٩٤/١١٣٦٠

التقييم الدولي : 0 - 182 - 270 - 977

تجهيزات فنية : محمد الخانجي

العنوان : ١١ شارع عبد العزيز

ت : ٣٩١٥١٤٨

طبع : المحدثي

العنوان : ٦٨ العباسية

تليفون : ٨٢٧٨٥١

جميع حقوق الطبع والنشر محفوظة

الطبعة الأولى : ١٤١٥ هـ - ١٩٩٥ م

تجليد فني : مطبعة سيد عبد الحفيظ

08 HAZIRAN 1999

٣٧٧

وقال أيضاً : « لا رضا لمن لا يصبر ، ولا كمال لمن لا يشكر الله عز وجل ، وبالله وصل^(١) العارفون إلى محبته ، وشكروه على نعمته . »

وقال همام بن الحارث : سمعت أبا عليّ الروذباري يقول : « إن المشتاقين إلى الله سبحانه وتعالى - يجدون خلاوة الوقت عند وروده لما كشف لهم من فرح الوصال^(٢) إلى قربة أحلى من الشهد . »

وقال أيضاً : « من رزق ثلاثة أشياء فقد سلّم من الآفات : بطن جائع معه قلب خاشع^(٣) ، وفقير دائم معه زهد حاضر ، وصبر كامل^(٤) معه قناعة دائمة . »

وقال - رضى الله عنه : « السعيد من عمّر أوقاته بالطاعات ، وترفع عن المعاصي المهلكات^(٥) . »

قبر ذى النون المصري^(٦) :

تجد على يمينك من قبره قبر الشيخ الإمام ، العابد الزاهد أبا الفيض ذى النون المصري ، ذى المناقب العظيمة ، والأخلاق الكريمة ، رضى الله عنه .

قال يوسف بن الحسين : سمعت ذى النون المصري يقول ، وقد سأله إنسان عن أصل تويته ، فقال : « خرجت من مصر إلى بعض القرى ، فتمت في الطريق ،

(١) في (م) : « وقال : وصل . » وما هنا عن المصدر السابق .

(٢) في الحلية ج ١٠ ص ٣٥٧ : « روح الوصال . »

(٣) في (م) : « قلب قانع ، وما أثبتناه عن الحلية . »

(٤) في (م) : « وفقير حامل كذلك » تحريف من الناسخ ، والتصويب من المصدر السابق .

(٥) إلى هنا ينتهي الساقط من (ص) .

(٦) العنوان من عندنا . وقد سبقت ترجمته . [وانظر طبقات الصوفية ص ١٥ - ٢٦ ، وحلية

الأولياء ج ٩ ص ٣٣١ - ٣٩٥ ، ج ١٠ ص ٣ و ٤ ، وتاريخ بغداد ج ٨ ص ٣٩٣ - ٣٩٧ ،

وشذرات الذهب ج ٢ ص ١٠٧ و ١٠٨] .

٣٧٦

قال : « وأشدنا أبو عليّ الروذباري لنفسه :

وَدِدْتُ أَنْ دَمِي يَجْرِي فَأَسْفَحُهُ مِنْ مُقَلَّتِي عَلَى مَافَاتٍ مِنْ زَمَنِي
وَأَمَا عَلَى أَسْفِ مَيِّى عَلَى وَهْلِ يُجِدِي التَّأْسُفُ إِلَّا عِلَّةَ السَّجْنِ^(١)
لَوْ صَحَّ تَحْقِيقُهُ أَنْ التَّأْسُفُ لِي لَمَا أَسِفْتُ لِجَمْعِ التُّوْحِ فِي الزَّمَنِ^(٢)

وله أيضاً - رضى الله عنه :

إِنْ كَانَ دَارِي نَأَتْ عَنْ قُرْبِ دَارِكُمْ فَالْتَفُسُ لَيْسَ لَهَا مِنْ بَعْدِكُمْ سَكَنٌ
قَلْبِي لَدَيْكَ وَعَيْنِي غَيْرُ نَاطِرَةٍ [إِلَّا إِلَيْكَ] وَسُؤْلِي وَجْهَكَ الْحَسَنُ^(٣)
يَأْتِي لِي أَعْيُنًا فِي كُلِّ جَارِحَةٍ تَبْكِي عَلَيْكَ بِدَمْعِ جَارِحِ الْوَسَنِ^(٤)

وقال^(٥) : « من الاغترار^(٦) أن تُسِيءَ فَيَحْسَنَ إِلَيْكَ ، فَتَتْرَكَ الْإِنَابَةَ
وَالتَّوْبَةَ تَوْهُمًا أُنْكَ^(٧) تُسَامِحُ فِي الْهَفَوَاتِ ، وَتَرَى أَنْ ذَلِكَ فِي بَسْطِ الْحَقِّ
لَكَ . »

وقال : « المشاهدات للقلوب ، والمكاشفات للأسرار ، والمعانيات للبصائر^(٨) ، والمراعات للأبصار . »

(١) هذا البيت في (ص) « وَرَدَ هَكَذَا :

وَأَمَا عَلَى أَسْفِ مَنِي وَهْلِ يَجْوُو التَّأْسُفُ إِلَّا عِلَّةَ السَّجْنِ
وهو مكسور بهذه الصورة وبه تصحيف في قوله « يجنو » . والصواب ما أثبتناه ، وهو من بحر البسيط .

(٢) في (م) : « بجمع » مكان « لجمع » .

(٣) في (ص) : « وعيني ناظرة » سقطت لفظة « غير » سهواً من الناسخ في الشطر الأول ،

ولا يستقيم الوزن والمعنى إلا بها . وما بين المعقوفين في الشطر الثانية عن (ص) « وساقط من م . »

(٤) في (م) و (ص) : « يأت لي أعين » لا تصح . وفي (م) : « على » مكان « عليك » .

في الشطر الثانية .

(٥) من هنا إلى أول ترجمة ذى النون المصري عن (م) « وساقط من (ص) . »

(٦) في (م) : « الاعتلال » وما أثبتناه عن طبقات الصوفية ص ٣٥٩ .

(٧) في (م) : « وترى أنك » وما أثبتناه عن المصدر السابق .

(٨) في (م) : « والمعانيات للأبصار » وما أثبتناه عن المصدر السابق .

مسالك الأَبصار في ممالك الأَمصار

تأليف

ابن فضل الله العمري

شهاب الدين أحمد بن يحيى

(توفي ٥٧٤١هـ)

السفر السابع

241-247

يصدره

فؤاد سزكين

بالتعاون مع

علاء الدين جوخوشا، إيكهارد نويباور

١٤٠٨هـ - ١٩٨٨م

معهد تاريخ العلوم العربية والإسلامية

في إطار جامعة فرانكفورت - ألمانيا الاتحادية

منشورات

معهد تاريخ العلوم العربية والإسلامية

يصدرها

فؤاد سزكين

سلسلة ج

عيون التراث

المجلد ٧/٤٦

22 MAYIS 1991

مسالك الأَبصار في ممالك الأَمصار

السفر السابع

طبع بالتصوير عن مخطوطة ٤/٢٧٩٧ (ص ٢١٨-٥٧٠)

أحمد الثالث، طوبقابو سراي

إستانبول

• سلام عليكم صد والجذر الجذر من قال العن احدث الجزر
• وهي قصيدة عشره المنسك متوخره الجواب حار في طلبها وبحب
• في صماتها ووجهه المختار منها قوله •
• واسترت نور الحق من كل وجهه على كل وجهه فاستوى النور والجره
• فصا موا ونا هو ابراهيم بن جوده زيد وينعمه عز و
• ولوسلوا اصاروا على منج الهدى يلا حظه الرضوان لكم عز و
• فقوموا على شاق من الجد وابتوا على قدر الجرد ان العن قصه
• ولا جعلوها راحة دون غاية فلا راحة الا اذا انعت القبره
• ونما الشده ابن الكلان قوله •
• حاشا ساك من اذى باين له العذرا الكبير ورفه لا يمنع
• لم تبد فيهن الدما بل ضله الفضل كن سا فحق المطمع
• لما زات هيك جوداها معا و تحاب ذلك الجود لا يقشع
• فصدت مشاربه الانام فاضحت من ميسر جودك لسد وجمع
• وهذا الخرم من وقع في الجانب الغربي فاما من ميسر فقوم
• • • • •
• ابو الفيز ذوالنون المصري واسمه نومان بن ابراهيم وقيل
• الفيز بن ابراهيم مروه للأوليا واسوه للعلماء ورثه الانصار
• اتقى الله حق تقائه وقصر على الطاعة كل اوائه وكان من البار
• طابا • وللباين امله جالسا • عرف الايام حق معرفها
• وعرف ذوى الافكار مخرج صفتها • خلاها من بره • واواها
• الاعراض لذنه • تدارك فساد القلوب بصلاحه • وجلا
• عواد الدنيا بحبصاجه • وكان في يوم ما ذا نوان الله بجكا •
• وكانوا اذا سئل عليهم انات الرحمن عزوا مجد اديكا • وطلبه

خاد مران هود فقال صحيح • وحتى لا شتخنا انوالنا قال الى
• لا حين باب الشام وحسام الدين الرازي ابن هود وهو لا يعرفها
• وكان مع لاجين سجاده فشرها تحت ابن هود بيده وساعده
• الرازي فقال له بعض من عنده يا شدي هذا باب الشام ويده
• قد فرثك الحياه وهذا الذي معه من اكار العلماء قال
• بارك الله فيهما والله ما فرثك الحياه الا لجلت على نزل الملك وصا
• قاضي القضاء • قال وكان ابن هود ذا علم جرم ولكن كانت
• الفئه غايه عليه ولقد كان يفتي الايام والليالي لا ياكل طعاما
• ولا يشرب شرايا وكان كيرا ما يقعد في مقابر بيسان مستذرا
• للدينه متوجها الى السبله فباله البرج المعروف وبنى الايام الكبر
• في الحر والبرد لا يتغير من مكانه ولقد رايته هناك في زمان
• صيف شديد وقد لحنه عواجر الحر وارضيه التومر وكانت
• بنى وبنيه صحبه وروعت امامه والشده قول الداني •
• انت المنبه والمحي فيك اشوي ظل النامه والمجيز المحرق •
• فرف رانه الى وقال من يكون فرصه بنفى فقال ما اغرتك فانصت
• وانا اراي له ما يقاسي وقد ذره ابوالضفا والشده قطعه منها
• ارزوى بذكر الخرج عنه وبانه ولا البان مطلوي ولا فضدي الربله
• واذا رعدى في حدتي مغالط بلبل ولا ليلى مرادى ولا جمل
• ولرازي الشاق مثل لا في بلذلي البلوى وحلوا الى العذل
• سوى مغشع حلوا النظام ومزقوا الثياب ولا فرض عليهم ولا نفل
• مجازين الا ان دل حوضهم عز ز على اعتبارهم ليجد العقل
• والشده في الشيخ سجد له شعرا كبيرا منها قصيده المشهوره التي
• • • • •

D

Dakkak, Sheikh Abu Ali

Sheikh Abu Ali Dakkak ('sheik Alov') was a Yasawi saint of the early twelfth century, near the village of Bagir in the Kopet Dagh mountains, not far from the capital, Ashkhabad. This is one of the oldest Turkment shrines, famous since the Middle Ages. The holy place underwent a long period of decay in the nineteenth century, but was 'reactivated' in the early twentieth century by Naqshbandi missionaries from Bukhara.

The *mazar* suffered from the 1948 earthquake but believers restored it. The pilgrimage remained intense until the late 1960s, attracting the Sunnis (Turkmens) as well as the Shi'as (Persians and Kurds). Until the late 1960s, the *mazar* had a permanent guardian (*mujevur*), who was a Naqshbandi sheikh and who performed the religious rites. The guardian was then expelled, and since then the guardianship is assumed periodically by volunteers.

After the suppression of the *mujevur* there were fewer pilgrims, but, as Demidov writes, "the pilgrimage may be reactivated any time by the strengthening of religious propaganda" ("Mavzolei podnozhiiia Kopet Daga—Pravda

of sviatykh mestakh", *Turkmenskaia Ikra*, 2 March 1983). Demidov expresses the hope that in the future the shrine will be included among the historical-archaeological national monuments of Nyssa, on which territory it is situated, and that this may facilitate the progress of anti-religious work.

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S.M. Demidov, *Turkmenski Ovliady* Ashkhabad, 1976.

EB

Dhu 'l-Nun, Abu 'l-Fayd (796–861)

Abu' I-Fayd b. Ibrahim Dhu'l-Nun (A.D. 859) of Egypt is regarded as the father of theosophical mysticism by Sufis of all sects. He was the most learned and honoured Sufi of ninth century and was known as the 'Imam' or the spiritual leader of 'awliya' or saints of God. Early Sufi writers like Abu Nasr al-Sarraj and Abu'l-Qasim al-Qushayri acknowledged his scholarship and recognised his great contribution to Sufi thought. Hujwiri considered him as one of the "hidden

27 SUBJAT 2002

MUSLIM THEOLOGY

DĀ'ŪD AL-ZĀHIRĪ

David the Literalist. Abū Sulaimān Dā'ūd ibn 'Alī ibn Khalaf al-Isfahānī. Born at Kūfa c. 815; flourished at Bagdad; died in 883-84. Muslim jurist. Formerly a Shāfi'ite, he founded an independent school of law, the madhhab al-zāhir. This law was based on the surface, the literal sense (zāhir), of the Qur'ān, on the ḥadīth, and on nothing else. It did not take any roots in the East, but had some success in the Maghrib and especially in Spain; it has now entirely vanished.

I. Goldziher: *Die Zahiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1884). C. Brockelmann: *Arabische Litteratur* (vol. 1, 183, 1898). D. B. Macdonald: *Development of Muslim Theology* (1903).

MUSLIM

Abū-l-Ḥusain Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushairī al-Nisābūrī. Born in 817-18 or 822-23; died in 875; buried in Naṣrābādh, suburb of Nisābūr. Muslim traditionalist. He wrote a collection of traditions, called al-Ṣaḥīḥ, arranged according to the chapters of al-fiqh. It is more theoretical than Bukhārī's work and enjoys less reverence.

There are still four other such collections, all of the ninth century, which are authoritative, though less so than the two Ṣaḥīḥ. The six collections are canonical in the whole Sunnite world.

Text—I do not know any critical edition or translation of Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ.

Criticism—Ignác Goldziher: *Muhammedanische Studien* (vol. 2, 1-274, 1890). C. Brockelmann: *Arabische Litteratur* (vol. 1, 160-163, 1898).

DHŪ-L-NŪN

Abū-l-Fayd Thawbān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ikhnīmī, al-Miṣrī, nicknamed Dhū-l-Nūn.* He originated from Nubia or from Ikhnīm in Upper Egypt; he died in 859-60. Muslim mystic and alchemist. An alchemical and magical treatise called Mujarrabāt is ascribed to him. In the Fihrist he is classified with the alchemists and Ibn al-Qifṭī brackets him with Jābir ibn Ḥaiyān. It is difficult, of course, to say where alchemy begins and where it ends: many Ṣūfis were more or less alchemists in the same sense as many Chinese Taoists.

At any rate, Dhū-l-Nūn was chiefly famous as a mystic. He is considered by the Ṣūfis as the originator of their doctrines—it would be more exact to say, of their mental attitude. Ṣūfism is the form which mysticism has taken in Islām. It is derived from Christianity, Neo-Platonism, Gnosticism, and Buddhism, all of these foreign elements being adjusted as well as possible in a Muslim frame. Mystic doctrines, everywhere, are essentially syncretic. The word ṣūfi is derived from ṣūf, wool, an allusion to their simple woollen clothing.

C. Brockelmann: *Arabische Litteratur* (vol. 1, 198, 1898). R. A. Nicholson: *Literary History of the Arabs* (386-390, 1907). E. G. Browne: *Literary History of Persia* (vol. 1, 416-444, 1908).

* Meaning "He of the Fish." (The same nickname is given in the Qur'ān to Jonah!)

Zūnūn Miṣrī (Tasawwuf)

GAS, I, 643

Sarkar I

محمود الهندي

Zunnun el-Misri (230622)

03 015

ذو النون المصري

التفسير العرفاني للقرآن الكريم

مكتبة مديبولي

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İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi
Kütüphanesi | |
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ش المرور بالدراسة - القاهرة
تليفون : ٥٩٠٣٠٣٠ - ٥٩٠٣٥٣٥

الآراء الواردة في هذا الكتاب تعبر عن وجهة نظر
الكاتب، ولا تعبر بالضرورة عن رأي الناشر

علي رضا قره بلوط , معجم المخطوطات الموجودة في مكتبات
استانبول و أناطولي, الجزء الأول, [y.y.,t.y.] , ISAM 141806

s. 362

Lügna el-Misri

1097 - ثوبان بن إبراهيم أبو الفيض أو أبو الفيض

ذي النون المصري الإجمي الصوفي الشاعر المعروف

بذي النون المصري المتوفى 861/246

(أنظر : طبقات الصوفية للسلمي ص 15 ، 26 ،

177 ، 185 ؛ هدية العارفين 249/1 ؛ الزركلي

102/2 ؛ معجم المؤلفين 147/4)

من تضافيفه :

1 - حل الرموز وبرء الأسقام في كشف أصول

اللغات والأقلام - في الخط

معلم جودت رقم 290 ورقة 112 ؛

2 - رسالة في العناصر الثلاثة - في الخواص (ف)

أحمد ثالث رقم 2075 ورقة 76-79 ؛

3 - رسالة في خواص الإكسير - في الكيمياء

فاتح رقم 5/5309 ورقة 105-109 ؛

4 - رسالة في تدبير الحجر الكريم - في الخواص

حاجي محمود رقم 8/4224 ورقة 49-54 ؛ رقم

9/4224 ورقة 54-57 ؛

5 - رسالة في الصنعة - في الكيمياء

حاجي محمود أفندي رقم 13/4224 ورقة 64-67 ؛

رقم 14/4224 ورقة 67 فقط ؛

6 - رسالة ذي النون المصري - في الكيمياء (ف)

أحمد ثالث رقم 7/2075 ورقة 76-79 ، 740 هـ

7 - القصيدة في الصنعة الكريمة - في الكيمياء

حاجي بشير آغا رقم 32-33 ؛ ولي الدين أفندي رقم

2/2130 ورقة 35-36 ؛

8 - الكوكب الدرّي في مناقب ذي النون المصري

أحمد ثالث رقم 1378 ورقة 195 ، 712 هـ

لقاء العشر الأواخر
بالمسجد الحرام
(٣٤)

Zaman et Musri

صِفَةُ الْمُؤْمِنِ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتِ

للعالم الزاهد الواعظ أبو الفيض ثوبان بن إبراهيم الأحمسي
المعروف بـ (ذي النون المصري)
المتوفى سنة ٢٤٥ هـ

اعتقابه
مزي سعيد الدين دمشقي

أشهر بطبعه بعض أهل الحرم المكيين الشريفين ومحبهم

دار البساتين الإسلامية

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İbn Arabî

Bir Sûfinin Portresi

Şeyh-i Ekber'in Kaleminden Zunnûn-i Mısri

Metnin aslından ve Fransızca tercümesinden
Türkçe'ye çevirip notlandıran

Dr. Ali Vasfi KURT

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İstanbul 2005

this collection had mystical tendencies and was often accused, in an apparent contradiction, of both *tashbih* and *ta'fil*. Ḥallāj would have to respond to the same charge.⁴¹¹

B. The First Editor: Dhū'l-Nūn Miṣrī⁴¹²

SOURCES FOR HIS BIOGRAPHY

Kindī mentions him in his *Ta'rikh al-mawālī al-miṣriyyīn*. There are no extant biographies from Miṣrī's time, and the accounts by Ibn Khamīs and 'Aṭṭār are stuffed with invention. The *Ṣayf al-tawahhum 'an Dhū'l-Nūn Miṣrī*⁴¹³ by Abū Hurra ibn Suwayd Ikhmīmī is lost. Later monographs include *Kawkab durī fi tarjamat Dh. N. M.* (ms. Ṭöpqāpū, 1378) and Suyūṭī's *Sirr makenūn fi manāqib Dh. N.* (ms. 'Ashir Eff. 2051).

CHRONOLOGY OF HIS LIFE

Abū'l-Fayḍ (var. Fayyād) Thawbān (var. Fayḍ) ibn Ibrāhīm Miṣrī, called Dhū'l-Nūn,⁴¹⁴ was born at Ikhmīm in Upper Egypt, c. 180. Little is known of his life. Authentic details are missing about the circumstances of his and his brothers' vocations. His teacher of mysticism seems to have been Sa'c-dūn, of Cairo.⁴¹⁵

He learned certain *ḥadīth* with an *isnād* including Layth ibn Sa'c, 'Abdallah ibn Lahī'a (d. 174), Ibn 'Uyayna (d. 198), and Ibn 'Iyād. (d. 187), but we do not know who taught them directly to Dhū'l-Nūn. Perhaps it was the enigmatic Faḍl ibn Ghānim Khuza'i.⁴¹⁶ Dhū'l-Nūn's works attest to his knowledge of the mystical literature of the time, including some of

411. See *Der Islam*, III, 251.

412. See *Hilya*, IX, 331-35; Ibn 'Asākir, V, 271-88. On his trial in Baghdād: Kindī, *Quḍāt Miṣr*, 453. And Kattani, *Fihrist*, I, 234, for the monograph of Ibn 'Arabī. His *mawā'iz* were compiled by a Mālikī, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ibn Yāsūr (descendent of the *ṣahābī* 'Ammār: Ibn Farḥūn, 248). On his tomb [photograph in *Essai*], which is preserved in the Qarāfa, cf. Ibn al-Zayyāt (*Kawākib sayyāra*, ed. Aḥmad Taymur, Cairo, 1907, 233-38, and 109-10). Following Yf. Aḥmad (1922), I studied the adjoining *turba* of Fakhr Fārisī, the Ḥallājīan *muhaddīth* (d. 622 A.H.) who was Malik Kāmil's adviser during his interview with the *rāhib* (St. Francis) at Damietta. For centuries, Dhū'l-Nūn's tomb was one of the stages in the curious pilgrimages, in the form of a closed circle, which were undertaken in the great Muslim cemeteries, such as the Qarāfat Miṣr. The aim was to speed the arrival of Divine Justice, hoped for by the Martyrs of Desire. It should be noted that in the fourteenth century, popular legend had it that Dhū'l-Nūn was a contemporary and friend of Ḥallāj (Qūṣī ap. Sha'rāwī, *Lawāq*, I, 159); especially in Turkish poetry (*Rev. Et. Isl.*, 1946, 72, 74, 76).

413. *Fihrist*, 359.

414. The man with the fish, like Jonah.

415. Sarrāj, *Maṣāri'*, 130.

416. Dhahabī, *I'tidāl*, s.v.; herein, p. 139; Mālinī, 31.

Rābi'a's poems, which he uses without naming the author. He traveled widely: to Mecca, Damascus, and the cells of the ascetics on Mt. Lukkām, south of Antioch.⁴¹⁷ Summoned by the state's Mu'tazilite inquisition, he courageously affirmed the "uncreated" character of the Qur'an.⁴¹⁸ The Egyptian Mālikite *faqīh* 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 214) condemned him for his public teaching of mysticism. Towards the end of his life he was disturbed again: arrested, transferred to Baghdād, and interned at the Maṭbaq prison, where the Baghdād Sufis, notably Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm Sara-khsī, were able to visit him.⁴¹⁹ Released by order of the caliph after a brief interrogation, Miṣrī came back to Cairo to die (in 245/856).⁴²⁰

HIS WORKS AND DOCTRINE

There are apocryphal alchemical and kabbalistic works under his name. His authorship of a "translation" of some hieroglyphs from Egyptian temples seems to be imaginary as well. Ibn al-Nadīm says that as a disciple of Jābir Dhū'l-Nūn wrote two treatises on alchemy, *Rukn akbar* and *Thiqa*, but these are lost.⁴²¹ I have not examined his *Kitāb al-'ajā'ib* in Cairo.⁴²²

The only authentic extant mystical fragments of Miṣrī are sayings, parables, and anecdotes. Some were written down by his disciples in Egypt, like Muḥājir ibn Mūsā and Aḥmad ibn Ṣabīḥ Fayyūmī, others by his admirers in Baghdād. Already in his lifetime, Muḥāsibī was citing him as an authority. 'Alī ibn Muwaffaq and especially Yūsuf ibn Ḥusayn Rāzī (d. 301)⁴²³ propagated his fragments. Tirmidhī, in a gloss, treats one of his sayings as a *ḥadīth qudsī*.

Dhū'l-Nūn's rather complex doctrine attenuates the theses of 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Zayd's school; nevertheless, the doctrine is more developed than Dārānī's attempt at conciliation. Miṣrī clarifies *tafwīd*,⁴²⁴ he uses the term *ḥubb*⁴²⁵ without hesitation, and he was the first to isolate the idea of *ma'rifā* clearly [*ṣifātī'l-wahdāniyya*].⁴²⁶ But his fervent, detailed introspection

417. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣafwa*; Yāfi'ī, *Nashr*, II, 83.

418. Dhahabī, ms. Leiden 1721, f. 28a.

419. Mālinī, 32; Tagrib., I, 753.

420. The map of his tomb, his stela (Kufic inscription of the third century), the monument of his *khādīm*, Ḥamid (d. 634/1236), and the *marṣūma* of the sultan Barsbay (838/1434) concerning his *waqf* were published by myself in 1911 (*Bull. Inst. Fr. Archéol. Caire*). A mosque at Giza is dedicated to him; there is a cenotaph bearing his name in the Shūniz cemetery in Baghdād.

421. *Fihrist*, 358; 355.

422. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, I, 199, 521.

423. Ibn 'Arabī, *Muḥād.*, II, 313, 315-16, 363.

424. *Passion*, Fr 3:120/Eng 3:108-9.

425. See above, text at n 346.

426. *Passion*, Fr 3:66/Eng 3:57; 'Aṭṭār, I, 126-27, 133; Ibn Qayyim, *Madārij*, III, 220.

those reported about her namesake from Baṣra.⁹ One even wonders whether we are dealing with a floating motif that eventually led to the emergence of Rābi'a's narrative twin. In any event, it appears that, in the world of early Islamic piety, Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya of Baṣra was far from unique. Nor was the presence of female ascetics confined to Baṣra and Iraq.¹⁰

It is noteworthy that, contrary to his image in the later Sufi tradition, Abū Sulaymān hardly considered himself a Sufi. Although he did apply this term to other ascetics, namely to Mālik b. Dīnār, he was wary of identifying himself with this group.¹¹ Given Mālik's Iraqi background and Abū Sulaymān's ascetic training in Baṣra and in 'Abbādān early in his career, one may surmise that when he spoke of "Sufism" he referred primarily to the Iraqi ascetic and mystical tradition which by that time must have become firmly associated with the practice of wearing a woolen robe. On the whole, Abū Sulaymān's teaching, as systematized by Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥawārī, reveals a worldview that is more ascetic than mystical in character. His sayings consistently emphasize fear of God and humility as the "root of all that is good in this life and the next." Although he did occasionally describe love of God as the mystic's ultimate objective or mention the soul's progress through several stages (*darajāt*) to what he identified as "divine gnosis" (*ma'rifa*), he left no systematic account of this progress on the lines of Shaḥīq's. It fell to his followers to bring his nascent mysticism to fruition.¹² Apart from Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥawārī, this task was taken up by Aḥmad b. 'Aṣim al-Antākī (d. 220/853) of Antioch. Aḥmad is credited with the authorship of several treatises that bear a close resemblance to the mystical psychology of the great contemporary thinker al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857) of Baghdad. Although the attribution of these treatises remains uncertain¹³ and there is little evidence to support A. Arberry's statement that al-Antākī converted contemporary asceticism "from a way of life taken up as a protest against the worldliness prevalent

⁹ Ibid., 142-144.

¹⁰ On the pious women of Baṣra see Pellat, *Le milieu basrien*, pp. 103-106; cf. Smith, *Rabi'a*, pp. 143-149.

¹¹ Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya*, vol. 9, pp. 275 and 276.

¹² See, e.g., R. A. Nicholson, "An Historical Enquiry Concerning the Origin and Development of Sufism," in: *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 308-309.

¹³ There are indications that at least two of his three known works may have been written by al-Muḥāsibī, van Ess, *Theologie*, vol. 1, p. 146.

in high places into a theory of existence and a system of theosophy," there is little doubt that the ascetic and mystical thought in Syria was not confined to Damascus and its immediate environs. Internal evidence from al-Antākī's "Book of [Spiritual] Retreat" (*Kitāb al-khalwa*) suggests that he addressed it to a wide audience, including, possibly, the town-folk of Antioch and the pious volunteers of the Arab-Byzantine Marches.¹⁴ If authentic, many of al-Antākī's statements "mark him out as a true mystic."¹⁵ This, for example, is how al-Antākī described the state of the mystical lover:

When others look at the lover, he does not see them; when he is called, he does not hear; when misfortune comes upon him, he is not grieved; and when success looks him in the face, he does not rejoice. He fears no one and has hope of no one . . . , as if there were no one on Earth but yourself and no one in Heaven but God.

Al-Antākī's preoccupation with mystical psychology and introspection is further attested by his nickname "Explorer [lit. "Spy"] of the Hearts" (*jāsūs al-qulūb*), which is said to have been given to him by his teacher Abū Sulaymān.

Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī

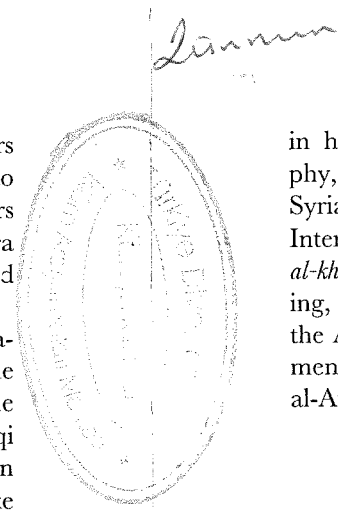
We know little about Muslim ascetic life in Egypt from the time of the Muslim conquest up to the turn of the third/ninth century. Given the existence of a rich tradition of Christian monasticism in Egypt before Islam,¹⁶ it seems likely that it could have exercised certain influence on the nascent Muslim asceticism. However, historical evidence as to its tendencies and social make-up is very scarce. An early Egyptian chronicle mentions the rising, in Alexandria, in the year 815, of a group of pious rebels, described collectively as "Sufis" (*al-sūfiyya*). Led by a man named 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣūfī, the rebels attempted to persuade the governor to enforce a stricter Muslim code and opposed those of his decrees which they considered inconsistent with the Islamic Law.¹⁷ This episode is indicative not only of the presence of

¹⁴ Van Ess, *Theologie*, vol. 1, p. 147.

¹⁵ Smith, *An Early Mystic*, p. 79.

¹⁶ Idem, *Studies*, pp. 13-19.

¹⁷ R. Guest (ed.), *The Governors and Judges of Egypt . . . of El Kīndī*, Leiden, 1912, p. 162; 'Azīz al-Sayyid Jāsīm, *Mutaṣawwifāt Baghdad*, Paris, 1994, pp. 64-65.



Alexander Kynsh
Islamic mysticism: a short history, Leiden-1999,
s. 39-42.
DN: 79507

- 175 DHŪ 'L-NŪN, ABŪ 'L-FĀ'ID TAWBĀN B. IBRAHĪM AL-MIṢRĪ
(d. 246/861)

Al-Risāla

A fragment on an epistle on alchemy by the Egyptian Sūfi, Abū 'l-Fā'id Tawbān Ibr. Dhū 'l-Nūn thought to be a student of Jābir (though perhaps figuratively).

MS. British Library Add. 7722 (10), ff. 114-115.

Ref.: Hamarneh Cat., no. 41.

ZUNNŪN EL-MIṢRĪ

27 TEMMUZ 1994

Zunnu'n el-misri' abū l-fayd' Sa'ib b. Ibrahim

DHŪ al-NŪN, Master of the Fish, (in allusion to a miracle allegedly performed by him) his real name being abu-al-Fayd Thawbān, a mystic († 860), of Nubian or Coptic origin who by his erudition, piety and eloquence acquired great influence upon the people of Egypt. A scholar of philosophy, he was versed also in medicine, alchemy and magic. But it was above all his doctrine of ecstasy (*wajd*) as the basis of true knowledge of God (*ma'rifa*) which secured his place among the founders of the great mystical movement of Sufism. His views brought him into conflict with the leading orthodox theologians who denounced him as a free-thinker (*zindīq*) and succeeded in having him exiled from Egypt and sentenced to prison; but impressed by his deep religiousness Caliph al-Mutawakkil (847-861) ordered his release. Dhū al-Nūn, who died soon afterwards, became one of the most venerated saints of his country. Two of his most frequently quoted sayings are: 'God is the opposite of anything you can imagine' and 'The more one knows God, the more one is lost in Him'. Dhū al-Nūn did not leave anything in writing, but his sayings were collected and frequently commented upon by later authors, who saw in them the origin of Islamic theosophy and mysticism, an opinion which in part has been confirmed by modern research.

ROBERT, Stephen and
Mandy CEAC, S. 143/142
1959 (AMSTERDAM)

١٤٢ - (١) - أرجوزة في الكيمياء * *ZUNNUN el-MISRI*

لأبي الفيض ثوبان بن إبراهيم ذو النون الإخيمي المصري (ت ٢٤٥ هـ).

منها نسخة محفوظة في معهد المخطوطات العربية في القاهرة، مصورة عن الأصل في المحفوظ في المتحف البريطاني ضمن مجموع رقم (Add 1590) من (٢ - ٧) (٣).

١٤٣ - (٢) - منظومة في علم الكيمياء *

منها نسخة في مكتبة الملك عبد العزيز بالمدينة المنورة خزانة مكتبة الشيخ عارف

حكمت ضمن مجموع رقم (١١٠ / ٨٠) في (٥) ورقات (٤).

(١) تذكرة النوادر من المخطوطات العربية ص ١٧٥.

(٢) نوادر المخطوطات العربية في مكتبات تركيا ٢: ٢٢١.

(٣) فهرس المخطوطات المصورة لمعهد المخطوطات العربية في القاهرة ج ٣ / العلوم / ق ٤ / ص ٤٥.

(٤) فهرس المجاميع المخطوطة في مكتبة الشيخ عارف حكمت ص ٨٥.

ZUNNUN

١٤٥ - (٤) - ذات العجائب مبينة لكل المطالب * el-MISRI

منه نسخة في الخزانة الحسنية في الرباط بالمغرب رقم (١٢٨٨) في (١٧) ورقة^(١).

١٤٦ - (٥) - شرح رسالة ذي النون *

لمجهول .

منه نسخة في الخزانة الحسنية في الرباط بالمغرب ، ضمن مجموع ، رقم (١٣٧٧ /

١٦) في (١٧) ورقة منسوخة سنة ١٣٠٤ هـ^(٢) .

(١) فهارس الخزانة الحسنية ٥ : ٩٢ .

(٢) المصدر السابق ٥ : ١٥٤ .

171. al-SUYŪTĪ, *al-Maknūn fī manāqib Dhī l-Nūn*, éd. 'Ar. H. Maḥmūd, I.e Caire, Maktabat al-Ādāb, 1412/1991, 242 p.; 14x19 cm.

Y
Pour Dhū l-Nūn, m. 246/861, v. *Gas*, I, 643-44; Introd. de R. Deladrière à sa trad. d'*al-Kawkab al-durrī fī manāqib Dhī l-Nūn al-miṣrī* = Ibn 'Arabī, *La vie merveilleuse de Dhū-l-Nūn l'Égyptien*, Paris, Sindbad, 1988, 404 p. [cf. notre c. r. dans «Bulletin», in *Rev. Sc. ph. th.*, 74 (1990), 494-95].

Longue introduction (3-57) psittacique, hors de propos et polémique contre ceux «qui prétendent que les Égyptiens descendent des pharaons», entendez des Coptes! Il faut attendre les 46-55, pour qu'il soit question de ce qui eût dû, en toute logique, en constituer l'objet formel.

Le texte est édité à partir de deux ms.: 1. Azhar 2585 *kbāṣṣ*, 'Abāza 6354 *āmm*, 78 p. (non recensé par Sezgin). L'édit. déclare qu'il a eu beaucoup de difficultés à lire ce ms. 2. Ch. Beatty 4865, 145 p., copié en 1114 h. par M. b. Khaṭṭāb b. Yūs. b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Miṣrī al-Shāfi'ī, microf. Univ. Koweït.

s. 493

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Claude GILLIOT, "Textes Arabes Anciens Édités en Égypte au Cours Années 1990 à 1992" MIDEO (Melanges Institut Dominicain d'Etudes Orientales du Caire), Vol.21, 1993 Louvain. pp.385-562.

25 Surat 2009

D

Dhu al-Nun Misri (706–859)

Dhu al Nun Misri is regarded by most biographers as a renewed mystic. He was the first to give expression publicly to his mystic experiences. Like other early mystics, he practised asceticism of extreme type, regarded the temptations of self as the greatest veil and looked upon seclusion as indispensable for the promotion of sincerity in a Sufi. According to him, there are two different paths for the mystic to follow. The first path, lesser in degree, is to avoid sin, to leave the world and to control passion; the second path, higher in degree, is to leave all besides God and to empty the heart of everything.

Dhu al-Nun interprets *tawakkul* (trust in God) as opposed to reliance on intermediate causes and the use of planning. It demands solitude and complete break with the world and its people and total and full reliance on God. Repentance, according to him, is essential for everybody; the common people repent of their sins, while the elect repent of their heedlessness. Repentance is of two kinds: repentance of return (*inabah*) and repentance of shame (*istihya'*). The former is repentance through fear of divine punishment, the latter is repentance through shame of divine clemency.

Dhu al-Nun distinguishes knowledge from certitude (*yaqin*). Knowledge is the result of sensory perception, i.e. what we receive through bodily organs, while certitude is the result of what we see through intuition. In another context he says that knowledge is of three kinds: first, knowledge of the unity of God and this is common to all believers; second, knowledge gained by proof and demonstration and this belongs to the wise, the eloquent and the learned; the third, knowledge of the attributes of Unity and this belongs to the saints, those who contemplate the face of God within their hearts, so that God reveals Himself to them in a way in which He is not revealed to anyone else in the world.

It is this knowledge which is called gnosis (*ma'rifah*), the idea of which, it is claimed, was first introduced into Sufism by Dhu al-Nun. The core of gnosis, according to him, is God's providential communication of the spiritual light to one's heart. The gnostics see with direct knowledge, without sight, without information received, without observation, without description, without veiling and without veils. They are not in themselves; but in so far as they exist at all, they exist in God. Their movements are caused by God and their sight is the sight of God which has entered into their eyes.

فكري الجزار ، مداخل المؤلفين و الأعلام العرب حتى عام ١٢١٥ هـ = ١٨٠٠ ،
الجزء الأول ، ١٩٩١ ، الرياد . ص . ٥١٧-٥١٨ . DIA KTP.16760..

ذو النون المصري

ذو النون المصري

ثوبان^(١) بن ابراهيم، الإخميمي، المصري، أبو الفيض^(٢)

٥١٧ - ٢٤٥* هـ

٧٧٣ - ٨٥٩ م

- (١) ثمة خلاف في اسم المترجم له واسم أبيه على النحو التالي :
- (أ) ذو النون بن ابراهيم
(ب) ثوبان بن ابراهيم
(ج) الفيض بن ابراهيم
(د) ابن الفيض بن أحمد وغير ذلك
- (٢) ويقال: «أبو الفيض» .
* في تاريخ الوفاة خلاف فيما بين ٢٤٥ - ٢٤٨ هـ، وما أثبتناه هو الأشهر .
- ١ - تاريخ بغداد في ٣٩٣:٨ .
 - ٢ - الفهرست/ لابن النديم؛ تحقيق رضا - تجدد . ط . - طهران في ص ٤٢٣ .
 - ٣ - ميزان الاعتدال: ترجمة رقم ٢٧٠١ في ٣٣:٢ .
 - ٤ - حلية الأولياء: ترجمة رقم ٤٥٦ في ٣٣١:٩ ، ٣٣:١٠ .
 - ٥ - طبقات الصوفية/ للسلمي: ترجمة رقم ٢ في ص ١٥-٢٦ .

١٧ MART 1995

finance, Colbert, in 1670 (Paris, 1890). Chardin had seen a copy of Father Raphaël's memoir on the establishment of the Jesuit mission at Isfahan, written in about 1662; an autograph copy is preserved in the archives of the Missions Étrangères at Paris, and there is an abridged Latin version in the archives of Propaganda Fide at Rome. In another *Estat de la Perse*, datable to about 1665, Father Raphaël described, perhaps for Nicolas de Lalain, the court of 'Abbās II and its institutions; the preserved copy, made by François Pétis de la Croix at Isfahan, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (ms. no. Fr. 6114). *Réponse de quelques savants de Perse . . . sur la magie, etc.*, mentioned by the same Pétis in about 1674, seems to have been lost. The autograph of *De Persia*, written in Latin in 1684 for two members of the Swedish embassy of Ludwich Fabritius, Kaempfer, and his companion Gotfredus Pristaf, is preserved in the Sloane collection at the British Library, London, along with other texts collected by Kaempfer. A Turkish grammar, written for Kaempfer in Father Raphaël's hand, is also preserved at the British Library, and a Turkish dictionary, copied by Balthazar de Lauzières, is in the library of the University of Uppsala. Some memoirs or reports written by Father Raphaël seem to have been incorporated into Tavernier's *Six Voyages*, though the originals are lost. No text in Persian or Turkish has been preserved in his hand, though he was renowned for his perfect knowledge of these languages.

The writings of Father Raphaël merit serious attention. He was both an attentive observer of Persian society in the Safavid capital and a critical and uncompromising moralist. He thus provided an extremely colorful description of the functioning of Safavid institutions, of great value to social historians and linguists; in particular he transcribed the contemporary Isfahan pronunciation of a very large number of words and expressions, as well as common proverbs. His various memoirs were among the major sources of published travel accounts, notably those of Tavernier, Fryer, Kaempfer, and Chardin; as for de Thévenot, he stayed a long time in the hospice at Isfahan and was an intimate of the Capuchins.

Father Raphaël emerges from these works as an original and attractive personality; his interest in Persian institutions and customs, which impressed both Persian Muslims and European travelers, made him something of the model for the French *pādrī* (< Portuguese *padre*) in the Safavid capital.

Bibliography: F. Richard, *Raphaël du Mans, missionnaire en Perse au XVIIème siècle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1994. C. Schefer, *P. Raphaël du Mans. Estat de la Perse en 1669 . . .*, Paris, 1890.

(FRANCIS RICHARD)

DU'L-NÜN MEŞRI, ABU'L-FAYZ ṬAWBĀN b. Ebrāhīm (b. Aqmīm in Upper Egypt, ca. 175/791, d. Jiza [Giza], between 245 and 248/859 and 862),

early Sufi master. He lived mainly in Lower Egypt (Meşr) and is known to have visited Mecca and possibly also Yemen, as well as traveling extensively in Palestine and Syria, becoming familiar with Syrian asceticism. During his active years he was opposed by two groups: the Mālekī jurists of Egypt, particularly 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Abd-al-Ḥakam (d. 214/829), who condemned him for public teaching about mystical experience, and the Mo'tazilites, whose persecution during the *meḥna* forced him to flee Egypt in 228/843 (van Ess, p. 100). He preached at the court of al-Motawakkel (232-47/847-61) in Samarra and visited Sufi circles in Baghdad on his way there; he may have been imprisoned in Baghdad for a short while, presumably for maintaining the "uncreatedness" of the Koran, but was released on al-Motawakkel's orders and returned to Egypt.

Extant primary sources include traces of two strands of tradition on Du'l-Nün. The Egyptian strand is reflected in *Ta'rik' 'olamā' ahl Meşr* by Ebn Ṭaḥḥān (d. 416/1025), who derived his sparse information from *A'yān al-mawālī al-meşrīyīn* by Abū 'Omar Kendī (d. 360/971; GAS I, p. 358). References by Abū Bakr b. Moḥammad Mālekī (d. 356/967; p. 223) to the Mālekī ascetic Abū 'Alī Šaqerān b. 'Alī of Qayrawān (d. 186/802?) as a teacher of Du'l-Nün, repeated by Abū Zayd Dabbāg (d. 696/1296; I, p. 209, with reference to Solamī's lost *Ta'rik' al-šūfiya*), raise chronological and geographical difficulties. Du'l-Nün's transmissions of prophetic Hadith, which he received through intermediaries on the authority of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), Layṭ b. Sa'd (d. 175/791), and Sofyān b. 'Oyayna (d. 198/814) appear historically plausible, however. Accounts of his ability to read hieroglyphs (Mas'ūdi, *Morūj*, ed. Pellat, I, p. 307; Abū No'aym, IX, pp. 339, 367), though untenable, may function as a topos expressing his links with an Egyptian Hellenistic wisdom tradition.

Large segments of the Syrian and Iraqī tradition were preserved by Abū No'aym Eşfahānī (d. 430/1038; IX, pp. 331-95, X, pp. 3-4), Ebn Ḳamīs Mawşelī (d. 522/1157; fols. 17a-34a), and Ebn 'Asāker (d. 571/1176; facs. ed., VI, pp. 147-71; ed. Badrān, V, pp. 271-88; cf. Ebn Manẓūr, VIII, pp. 246-54). In addition, many of Du'l-Nün's sayings are scattered throughout the works of Abū Naşr Sarrāj, Abū 'Abd-al-Raḥmān Solamī, Abū'l-Qāsem Qoşayrī, K'āja 'Abd-Allāh Anşārī, and Ebn al-Jawzī; Farīd-al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār collected and embellished many anecdotes about him (I, pp. 114-34). In two later hagiographies of Du'l-Nün, by Ebn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240) and Jalāl-al-Dīn Soyūfī (d. 911/1505), selected anecdotes and sayings are accompanied by extensive glosses. Conjectures that Faṭema of Nişāpūr (d. 223/838) was Du'l-Nün's spiritual master at Mecca, derived from incidental references in these sources (Deladrière, pp. 21-22), have a weak historical basis. More reliable is information on the transmitters of Du'l-Nün's sayings, among whom

ذو النون المصري بين التصوف والأدب للأستاذ عبد الجليل شبلي

يمسند هذه النزعة الدينية من قديم ، فصورها في أقاليم صعبة جذابة فاتنة ولون قصصه بألوان زاهية ونوع عناصر الحياطة فيها جعلها متباينة الصور والأحداث ، وفي الأساطير المصرية القديمة التي صورت حياة الآلهة في الدنيا وحساب الناس في الآخرة دليل واضح على قوة الدين والخيال جميعا عند المصريين .

وفي العصر الإسلامي كانت شخصية ذي النون عجوراً لهاتين الصفتين - فهو رجل دين وتصوف أشبع رغبات المصريين وهاج خيالهم ففسدوا حوله أقاليم كثيرة جعلت سيرته صورة من الأدب المصري أكثر مما صورت حياته الحقيقية .

ظهر ذو النون في القرن الثالث الهجري وتوفي سنة ٥٢٤ هـ . ويقول الكندي : إن المصريين مالوا إلى التصوف منذ نهاية القرن الثاني لذر النون إذ جاء في موهده إذ ظهر في الوقت الذي صبت فيه العقلية المصرية إلى مثل - وزاد من قدره أنه كان أستاذاً لكثير من كبار الصوفية الذين كانوا يدورهم أسانذة لصوفية آخرين ، ويقول القشيري إنه « أوحى وقته علماً وورعاً وحالاً وأدباً » .

شخصية ذي النون كما تبدو من سيرته والأقاليم الصعبة التي فسجت حوله تصور خاصة من أهم خصائص العقلية المصرية وخلقا من أثبت أخلاقهم وأحفظها كما تصور لونا من ألوان الخيال الشعبي المصري الغنان - ونحن إذ نقرأ سيرة ذي النون العابد المتصوف والآخذ بحظ من الفكر الفلسفي في عصره - نقرأ فيها أيضا صفات الأدب المصري والاتجاهات التي يميل إليها المصريون في قصصهم والشخصية المثالية التي يكبرونها ويمجدونها - فالعقلية الشعبية قد تصور الأشخاص الذين تكبرهم في صور خيالية شائقة - وليست في الواقع صورهم ولكنها الصور التي يحبها الناس ويتمنون وجودها .

وقد امتاز الشعب المصري منذ أقدم عصوره التاريخية إلى وقتنا الحاضر بعمق تدينه وسعة خياله - فهو شديد الإيمان بالنيديات ويركن إلى المعجزات والحوارات ويميل إلى تصديتها - وهو يترقب عناية السماء عند المشاكل التي تواجهه - وهذه صفة قد تكون عامة في الشرقيين - ولكنها في المصريين أثبت وأعمق - والخيال المصري

العيال ، وقال في ذلك : (يا معشر الناس ، إياكم وخلا لا أربعة فإنها تدعو إلى النصب بعد الراحة ، وإلى الضيق بعد السعة ، وإلى المذلة بعد العزة : إياكم (وكثرة العيال) ، وإخفاض الحال ، وتضييع المال ، والقيام بعد القول ... إلخ (١) .

وقد قرأت وأنا أكتب الصفحة الأخيرة من هذا المقال أن وزير الصحة يمد مشروعاً ضخماً : لتحديد النسل على مستوى المجتمع كله في الجمهورية العربية المتحدة ، إدراكاً منه بمدى الخطورة التي تتعرض حياتنا وتعرض لها مجتمعتنا من الإباحة والإطلاق .

وقد قال الرئيس جمال عبد الناصر كلمة حق في مؤتمر الميثاق الوطني ، الذي ناقش هذا الموضوع من قبل . هذه هي الكلمة : « إن تحديد النسل لا يمكن أن يفرض بقانون » .

وهنا يبدو واجبنا - نحن رجال الدين - وانحنا ملحا . فإن مشكلتنا هذه ، كما قلنا ، أساسها الجهل ؟

تصور التصوف قديماً

(١) فتوح مصر وأخبارها لابن عبد الحكم ص ٢٣٩ طبع ليدن ١٩٢٠ ، والنجوم الزاهرة في أخبار ملوك مصر والقاهرة ص ٧٢ - ٧٤ الجزء ١ « دار الكتب المصرية » .

والغزالي حين يجعل من الأسباب التي تبيح تحديد النسل : « اسبقها سبعة المرأة ، إنما يقصد ، بلا شك ، الإبقاء على جمالها ، لأن سبعة الجسم في ذلك الوقت كانت من ميزات الجمال ومما يبيسه عند المرأة والرجل .

وإذا كان العزل ، هو الوسيلة الوحيدة التي كان يعرفها المسلمون على عهد النبي ولم يمنع ممارستها ، فإذا ظهرت في عصرنا أو في غيره وسائل أخرى يقرر الأطباء أنها لا تضر المرأة ولا الرجل وتحول دون البويضتين أو تفسد عمل إحداهما - مما يمنع تخلق الجنين وتكوينه - فلا شك في أن حكم العزل ينسحب على هذه الوسائل أيضا . بل إنها أحق منه بالإباحة لأن بعض الأزواج والزوجات يتضرر من العزل .

إياكم وكثرة العيال :
وأخر ما تذكره وتذكر به هؤلاء القوم أثر عن صحابي جليل القدر ، كان من كتاب الوحي للنبي عليه السلام ، « ينهى » عن كثرة الإنجاب إذا كانت المصلحة في ذلك : (... عن داود المغازي أنه شهد صلاة الجمعة ... فأقام المؤذنون الصلاة ، فأقام عمر بن الخطاب من المنبر فرأيت رجلاً ربهمة ... فحيد الله رأيي فأبى حمداً سرجياً . فسبته يحض على الزاة وصحة الأرحام ويأمر بالإقتصاد » ينهى « عن الفضول وكثرة

Created for Compassion*1

Ibn 'Arabī's work on Dhū-l-Nūn the Egyptian

Cecilia Twinch

*Bismillāh ir-rahmān ir-rahīm. Wa mā tawfīqī illā bi-llāh.*²

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. My only help is in God.

Ibn 'Arabī's book about Dhū-l-Nūn's life and teachings, *al-Kawkab al-durrī: fī manāqib Dhī-l Nūn al-Miṣrī (The Brilliant Star: On the Spiritual Virtues of Dhū-l-Nūn the Egyptian)*,³ not only collects together stories and sayings connected with this great Egyptian master but provides some insightful, if brief, commentary by Ibn 'Arabī himself. Dhū-l-Nūn's coming to the spiritual path, his quest for beneficial knowledge in his constant wanderings, the miraculous events he encounters, the rigorous life of the ascetic and the longing of the lover, provide the rich backdrop woven by the mysticism of the time. This is reflected on, several centuries later, by the Andalusian master, Ibn 'Arabī, whose observations and good counsel on compassion, self-knowledge and human completion still have application in bringing together the East and West of today.

* First presented at the international congress 'Ibn 'Arabi in Egypt: Crossroads of East and West', held in Cairo, 13–16 December 2008.

1. Cf. Quran 11:119, "wa li-dhālika khalaqahum".

2. This is how Ibn 'Arabī starts his *Kawkab*; see following note.

3. Ibn 'Arabī, *Kawkab al-durrī: fī manāqib Dhī-l Nūn al-Miṣrī*, Istanbul ms. Topkapi Ahmet III A1378, fols. 1b–196b, copied in Cairo in AH 712 (1312) by Ḥasan ibn al-Qasim al-Ja'farī al-'Irāqī. [Note that the 24th folio has not been numbered but the following folio is numbered 24. Therefore, all subsequent folio nos. will be one less than the JPEG nos. on any digital copy.] See also the French translation: *Ibn 'Arabī, La vie merveilleuse de Dhū-l-Nūn l'Égyptien*, translated from the Arabic and presented by Roger Deladrière (Paris, 1988). I have recently been informed that Ibn 'Arabī's *Kawkab al-durrī* has now been published in Arabic by Dar al-Kutub al 'Ilmiyah (Beirut, 2005).

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