



## KĀZARUNIYA

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**KĀZARUNIYA**, a Sufi order (*tariqat*) so named after [Abu Eshāq Kāzaruni](#) (d. 426/1035), alternatively designated as Eshāqiya, especially in Turkey, or more rarely as Moršediya.

Although the order remained functioning in its place of origin, Kāzarun (see kazerun) in Fars, until the rise of the Safavids in the early 10th/16th century, remarkably little information is available on its history there. The eponym never married, proclaiming that he saw no difference between a woman and a wall (Maḥmud b. 'Oṭmān, p. 358), and he left no progeny to inherit the leadership of the order. The first four successors to Abu Eshāq were all members of the same family: **Ḳaṭīb** Abu'l-Qāsem 'Abd-al-Karim (d. 442/1050); Abu'l-Qāsem's son, **Ḳaṭīb** Abu Sa'd Zāher (d. 458/1066); Abu Sa'd's brother, **Ḳaṭīb** Abu Bakr Moḥammad (d. 502/1108), author of a no longer extant Arabic biography of Abu Eshāq; and a second brother, **Ḳaṭīb** Abu Ḥāmed Aḥmad. A separate initiatic line led from **Ḳaṭīb** Abu'l-Qāsem through **Ḳaṭīb** Abu Naṣr, **Ḳaṭīb** Abu Bakr Moḥammad, and Serāj-al-Din Maḥmud b. **Ḳalifa** Bayzā'i to Abu Naṣr Ruzbehān Baqli (d. 606/1209), the celebrated theorist of Sufi love. Ruzbehān established his own Sufi order, the Ruzbehāniya, which must be regarded as an offshoot of the Kāzaruniya (Jonayd Širāzi, pp. 243-47; tr., p. 343; Faṣiḥ, II, p. 284; Nazif Hoca, pp. 34, 48). Later directors of the Kazerun *kānaqāh* known by name are Jamāl-al-Din Abu Ḥāmed Aḥmad b. Moḥammad (early 7th/13th cent.) and **Ḳaṭīb** 'Abd al-Raḥmān Moršedi (after 731/1330; Meier, Introd. to Maḥmud b. 'Oṭmān, pp. 23-24). The prevalence of *kaṭībs* (preacher) among these successors to Abu Eshāq, himself renowned as a



highly effective preacher, may be taken as evidence of the important place held by preaching in the activities of the order.

A fairly detailed picture of life at the Kazerun *kānaqāh* is provided by Ebn Baṭṭuṭa, who visited it in about 726/1326. He records that all visitors were provided with a type of *harisa* made of meat and fat, to be eaten with thin bread, and not permitted to leave until they had enjoyed three days' hospitality. They were also encouraged to communicate whatever needs they had to the shaikh directing the hospice; in turn he would inform the hundred or so dervishes living there, some of them celibate, others married, and they would pray at the tomb of Abu Eshāq for the visitors' wishes to be granted (Ebn Baṭṭuṭa, I, p. 217). Ebn Baṭṭuṭa also reports (I, p. 207) that the ruler of Fars at the time of his visit, Abu Eshāq b. Moḥammadšāh Inju (d. 758/1357), was so named because of his father's reverence for the saint of Kāzarun. K̄vāju Kermāni (d. 750/1349), a poet attached to the Injuvi court, manifested similar devotion to Abu Eshāq Kāzaruni. Taking up residence at the Kazerun *kānaqāh*, he produced two *maṭnawis* (*Rawzat al-anwār*, comp. in 1342, and *Kamāl-nāma*, comp. in 1343), in which he praised Abu Eshāq and designated himself as a Moršedi, that is, a follower of his order (Meier, introd. to Maḥmud b. 'Oṭmān, p. 68; Browne, III, p. 226; Šafā, III, pp. 892-94; for the text, see K̄vāju Kermāni, pp. 1-198). With this single exception, the Kāzaruniya does not appear to have produced any literature, apart from the works written on the life of Abu Eshāq Kāzaruni. All activity at the Kazerun *kānaqāh* came to an end when Shah Esmā'il I Šafawi conquered the city in 909/1503 and massacred some 4,000 of its inhabitants. In this he may have been motivated, not only by sectarian hatred, but also by fear of the wealth and organizational abilities of the order (*Jahāngošā-ye Kāqān*, pp. 187-88; Aubin, p. 58).

It is at first sight curious that, although as a thoroughly localized order the Kāzaruniya did not spread to other regions of Iran (or even to other parts of Fars), it had a presence in the seaports of India and southern China. The phenomenon is, however, entirely explicable in terms of the maritime trade that linked the ports of the Persian Gulf with those of South and East Asia. Kazerun was the chief staging post between Shiraz and the Persian Gulf coast, and merchants based there appear to have dominated much of the seaborne trade with India and China. Many of them revered the memory of Abu Eshāq Kāzaruni and invoked his name to protect their endeavors. They regarded soil from his tomb as not only curative, but also as capable of calming tempestuous waters (Maḥmud b. 'Oṭmān, pp. 508-9). It is curious to note that, as late as the



early 20th century, the people of Konya retained a similar belief long after the order had ceased to exist in their city (Köprülüzade, pp. 24-25). Ebn Baṭṭuṭa reports that, whenever Kāzaruni merchants voyaging across the Sea of China encountered unfavorable winds or feared attack by pirates, they would make a vow to Abu Eshāq Kāzaruni and keep a written record of the vow. Once they arrived safely in port, an agent of the local Kāzaruni *zāwia* (lodge) would board the ship and collect the money that had been vowed (Ebn Baṭṭuṭa, I, p. 217-18). Ebn Baṭṭuṭa himself visited the Kāzaruni *zāwias* in Calicut on the Malibar coast of southern India, where the overseer was Shaikh Šeḥāb-al-Din Kāzaruni (II, p. 564); Kollam, farther down the coast, where Šeḥāb-al-Din's son, Faḡr-al-Din, was in charge (II, p. 570); and Zaytun (Guangzhou), where the *zāwia* lay somewhat outside the city and was administered by Shaikh Borhān-al-Din Kāzaruni (II, p. 633).

The existence of Kāzaruni *zāwias* in India and China has sometimes been taken to mean that the order was actively engaged in the propagation of Islam in those distant lands, but of this there is no evidence. Indeed, there is no indication that these *zāwias* attracted any members of the Muslim mercantile colonies in Indian and Chinese ports apart from the Kāzarunis, and for them they appear to have functioned as a kind of guild headquarters. It is, however, true that the ruler of Delhi (left unnamed by Ebn Baṭṭuṭa, but probably Moḥammad b. Toḡloq) revered Abu Eshāq sufficiently to donate 10,000 dinars to the Kazerun *kānaqāh* (Ebn Baṭṭuṭa, I, p. 218). Abu Al-Faḡl 'Allāmi's inclusion of the Kāzaruniya among the fourteen Sufi orders represented in India in the 10th/16th century is not supported by any contemporary evidence (tr., II, p. 204).

A somewhat different type of Kāzaruni presence in India is suggested by the story of Shaikh Šafi-al-Din Kāzaruni, a nephew of Abu Eshāq. He is said to have been given *kelāfat* (deputyship) by his uncle, who mounted him on a camel and told him to alight and settle wherever it came to a halt. The camel finally stopped at an uninhabited site in Multan, so Šafi-al-Din duly dismounted and established the city of Učĉh on the spot, which soon became a center of Muslim population (Moḥaddet Dehlavi, p. 205). He is recounted to have vanquished a yogi there in a miracle-working contest, which suggests that he was engaged in the propagation of Islam among Hindus (Nezām-al-Din Awliā', pp. 57-58). However, there is no indication that he implanted the Kāzaruni initiatic line (*selsela*) in the region; his best-known descendant was a great-grandson known as 'Abd al-Qāder Tāni on account of his prowess in the



Qāderi order.

The only real extension of the Kāzaruni order beyond its homeland was in Anatolia and Rumelia, where it was known as the Eshāqiya. Precisely how and when the first transmission took place is unknown; it was presumably undertaken by some of the disciples whom Abu Eshāq annually dispatched for war against the Byzantines. (The common assumption that the Eshāqis were prominently and consistently engaged in *jehād* [e.g., Vryonis, p. 367] is not, however, proven; there is no record of their engagement in any particular battle or campaign.) A Kāzaruni (or Eshāqi) from Aksaray is recorded to have established an Eshāqi zāwia in Aleppo in 747/1343, which suggests a Kāzaruni presence in Anatolia as early as the first half of the 8th/14th or even the latter part of the 7th/13th century (Caskel, pp. 284-85).

It was, however, the 9th/15th century that witnessed the rise to relative prominence of the Eshāqiya in Anatolia. In 802/1400, Yıldırım Bāyazid (r. 1389-1402) established an Eshāqi zāwia in Bursa (text of the *waqfiya*, together with a certification by Mollā Fenāri, in Erzi, pp. 424-27). He entrusted its direction to a certain Sayyed Moḥammad Naṭṭā' from Baghdad, who had come to Bursa in the company of Sayyed Šams-al-Din Emir Sulṭān, the patron saint of Bursa. Bāyazid also appointed him as the first Ottoman *naqib al-ašraf*, the chief of the descendants of the Prophet Moḥammad. Sayyed Moḥammad was taken prisoner two years later by Timur and transported to Transoxiana; after a while he managed to escape and to return to Bursa, where he was buried next to the zāwia (Aṭā'i, p. 161). Restored by Sultan Moḥammad II Fāteḥ in 884/1479, the Bursa zāwia had forty cells (*ḥojra*) for resident dervishes and an 'emārat (kitchen), where soup was distributed every day to travelers and the poor. Occasionally restored over the centuries, both zāwia and 'emārat gradually fell into disuse until early in the 20th century, when Rašid Dede, muezzin at the mosque attached to the zāwia, attempted to restore the endowments (*awqāf*) assigned to the complex. Soup began to be distributed once more every Ramazan, but Rašid Dede died in 1912 with the work of restoration still incomplete. At around the same time, the directorship of the zāwia was nominally exercised by a certain Solaymān Bey, who had inherited it from his father. He preferred, however, to reside in the Ramažān Bābā Dargāhi, and when he died no one assumed responsibility for the Eshāqi zāwia (Şemseddin, pp. 219-20). The mosque once attached to the zāwia is, however, still in use and is known to the people of Bursa as the Ebu Ishak Camii (Abu Eshāq Mosque; for a description of its current state, see Turyan,



pp. 244-45; Kara, p. 103). Şile, a village near Bursa, also once housed a Kāzaruni zāwia.

In 821/1418 an Eshāqī zāwia was founded in Konya by Sultan Muhammed II of the Qaramanid dynasty. The position of shaikh was vested in a certain Ḥāji Ḥasib b. Ḥāji Aḥmad and his descendants, and the administration (*tawliat*) of the endowment (*waqf*) attached to the zāwia was awarded to Ḥāji Ḥasib's brother, Ḥāji Yusof and his descendants (text of the endowment deed in Oral, pp. 4-5). Nothing is known about these brothers or the circumstances under which they acquired their Eshāqī affiliation. However, a document relating to a dispute in 1092/1681 over the administration of the endowment refers to a certain Fāṭema b. 'Ewaz, a descendant of Ḥāji Yusof, as belonging to the progeny of Abu Eshāq Kāzaruni (Oral, pp. 5-6). If not entirely false, this statement must mean that she and her ancestors were laterally descended from Abu Eshāq, for it is well known that he himself never married. Another hint of direct connection between the Konya zāwia and Kazerun is provided by a document of initiation (*enāba*) dated Moḥarram 900/October 1494. By virtue of this document, a certain Kemali Shaikh Moḥyi-al-Din Moḥammad b. Şehāb-al-Din, described as already affiliated to the *kānaqāh* in Kāzarun, received a second initiation into the order at the hands of a certain Ḥāji 'Abd-Allāh, allegedly a descendant of Abu Eshāq, and the shaikh of the zāwia at the time, Nur-al-Hodā b. 'Abd-al-Raqib (Oral, pp. 13-14). It is thus possible, although entirely unproven, that the Anatolian zāwias of the order were administratively linked to the Kazerun *kānaqāh* until its destruction by Shah Esmā'il Şafawi in 909/1503. The building that once housed the Eshāqī zāwia in Konya still survives, as does a tomb attached to it which is erroneously attributed to Abu Eshāq (Oral, p. 4). It was fully restored and opened to the public in June 1990, amid accusations that this constituted a violation of the ban on Sufi institutions that had been in place since 1925 (Kara, p. 98, n. 21). There was in addition a Kāzaruni zāwia in the village of Efe on the outskirts of Konya (Kara, p. 98).

Similarly in Erzurum, there is an unmarked shrine (*ziāratgāh*) near the citadel, which to this day is popularly attributed to Abu Eshāq Kāzaruni (Aytürk and Altan, p. 151; Konyalı, pp. 393-95). Like its counterpart in Konya, it belongs presumably to an Eshāqī shaikh who oversaw or possibly founded a zāwia in the city. The Eshāqī zāwia in Erzurum must have come into being at the latest by 941/1534, for it was visited in that year by Qānuni Sultan Solaymān when he passed through Erzurum en route to a campaign against



Iran (Hammer-Purgstall, III, p. 147). A document from 1000/1591 mentions a certain Sayyed Qāsem b. Sayyed Shaikh Khan as the shaikh of the zāwia and specifies that it was endowed with two farms (*çiftlik*; Konyalı, p. 395). The erroneous belief that Abu Eshāq himself was buried in Erzurum had evidently taken root by the time of Evliya Çelebi (II, p. 218), for he accepted the attribution as true. He also mentions the tomb of a certain Kozlu Bābā in a village of the same name, some four stations distant from Erzurum, who was supposedly a deputy (*kalifa*) of Abu Eshāq and would miraculously travel back and forth between his village and the city in order to perform each of the five daily prayers with him (V, p. 43). Evliya Çelebi's *Siāḥat-nāma* is also the sole source to report on the existence of an Eshāqi zāwia in Edirne (III, p. 454).

In general, the history of the Eshāqiya in Turkey is as poorly documented as that of its counterpart in Fars; little is known of it beyond the existence of the zāwias in Bursa, Konya, Erzurum, and Edirne. Its adherents appear to have produced no literature apart from a Turkish translation of Maḥmud b. 'Otmān's Persian biography of Abu Eshāq, *Ferdaws al-moršediya*, made by Çömezzade Mehmed Şawqi Efendi (d. 1100/1688); only a single manuscript of this translation is known to exist (Esad Efendi, 2429; see Köprülü, p. 20, n. 2; Oral, p. 13, n. 17; Kara, pp. 101-2). It is not, therefore, surprising that Evliya Çelebi felt free to concoct an entirely fanciful biography of Abu Eshāq, according to which he traveled to Bursa and Edirne before settling in a zāwia he established at Erzurum near the Tabriz gate (II, p. 218). Further, he described the Eshāqi lineage (*selsela*) as an offshoot of the Naqšbandiya (III, p. 454). This misattribution bears witness not only to the great traveler's powers of imagination, but also to the obscurity of Eshāqi history and, perhaps, to the ascendant popularity of the Naqšbandiya in his time, which may well have absorbed the remnants of the Anatolian Eshāqiya. As for the erroneous attribution to Abu Eshāq of tombs in Erzurum and Konya, this is to a degree excusable, in that Eshāqi zāwias tended to be dedicated to his person rather than to the order he had founded (see the inscriptions from Erzurum and Bursa, in Konyalı, p. 394, nn. 1, 2).

The most vivid description of the Anatolian Eshāqis in their heyday is provided by a certain Théodore Spandouyn Cantacasin, who resided in Turkey during the early years of the 10th/16th century. He lists as the four chief dervish orders of Turkey the Dynamie (Adhamiya), the Calender (Qalandars), the Torlaqui (Torlaks), and the Seque (Eshāqiya). Of the last he remarks: "Some of them wear their hair and beards long, while others shave their beards and



even their heads. They wear woolen turbans and carry distinctive banners, chanting prayers and demanding alms. None of them wear iron or silver earrings [presumably in contrast to the *qalandars*]. They are as well regarded as the others [i.e., the adherents of other orders]” (Spandouyn Cantacasin, p. 222). If accurate, this description suggests a presence of the Eshāqīs outside the *zāwias* of Konya, Bursa, Erzurum, and Edirne, more as wandering mendicants than as enthusiasts for *jehād*. What is certain is that Spandouyn’s ranking of the Eshāqīs among the leading orders of Turkey was no longer applicable by the following century. They departed almost entirely from the historical memory of Turkish Sufis. All that Ḥaririzade (d. 1882) has to report of them in his encyclopedic survey of the Sufi orders is three lines of *kerqa* (robe worn by the Sufis) transmission: one passing through Ebn al-‘Arabi and going back to Abu’l-Faṭḥ, a disciple (*morid*) of Abu Eshāq; a second passing through Esmā‘il Jabarti and going back to Abu Naṣr Kalifa, another disciple; and a third including several members of the Zayni order and going back to Shaikh Tāj-al-Din ‘Abd-al-Raḥmān b. Šehāb-al-Din Mas‘ud Moršedi (Ḥaririzāda, I, fols. 72a-73b). As Köprülüzade (p. 24) surmises, these lines of *kerqa* transmission may also reflect the absorption of the Eshāqīya by other orders.

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