

*Les provinces arabes
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THE INFLUENCES OF IBN AL-ARABI AND HIS SCHOOL OF SUFI THOUGHT ON SUFS AND SUFI BROTHERHOODS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINE

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In order to explain the influence which Ibn al-Arabi's sufi thought and his mystical philosophy had, a complete essay is necessary. But we will try to throw light upon this question in this report and point out influences that Ibn al-Arabi exercised until the end of the thirteenth century on sufi movements and sufi brotherhoods in the Province of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ibn al-Arabi's school of sufi thought had been formed in the thirteenth century. As a work of synthesis, it incorporated different trends in sufi movements, giving in that way a new quality to tasâvuf, and serving as a base for later developments, new tendencies and for more comprehensive aspects of sufism. The spread of Ibn al-Arabi's teaching was of exceptional significance for the intellectual and spiritual life of the Eastern lands of the Islamic world in the thirteenth century and thereafter. Ibn al-Arabi's teaching was explicitly influential in the shiite world, especially in Persia, where, beside its philosophical aspects, gnosis had powerful effects on poetry as an esthetic and emotional aspects of sufism. It is enough to mention : *Lama'at* of Fahr al-Din 'Arabi's commentary on the same work *'Adiat al-Lama'at* by 'Abd a-Rahman Dzami, poems of Aukad al-Din Kirmani, and *Gulsan-i raz* by Mahmud Sabistari. Beside that, it is necessary to mention the founder of a wide spread sufi order in Persia, Sah Mi'matullah Wali, who translated *Fusus al Hikam* into Persian commented on it and not it into Persian (1).

Abd al-Rahman Dzami (d. 1492), by his commentaries on Ibn al-'Arabi's works and by his own works written under Ibn al-'Arabi's influence, had an important impact on Persian speaking sufis. In the same sense, Ibn al-'Arabi influenced Persian gnostics, as for example, Sayyed Haydar Amoli, who wrote a commentary on *Fusus al-Hikam* : Ibn Turkah wrote an introduction to *Fusus al-Hikam* entitled *Tahmid al-Qawa'id* ; and Ibn Dzumhur, who in his work *'Kitab al-Mugli'* reflected the teaching of Ibn al-Arabi. The same influence has been perceived in works of the philosophers (hukama) of Persia, as in the works of Mulla Sadra Sirazi and his disciples (2).

The follower and the best commentator and interpreter of Ibn al-'Arabi's teaching and his works is Sadrudin Konjavi (d. 1273), through whom sufi thought and the doctrine of theomonism (*Wahdat al-wujud*)

(1) Muhammad Isma'il Muballig, *Dzami wa Ibn Arabi*, Kabul, 1343/1964.

(2) Sayyed Hossein Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages*, Cambridge, «Harvard University Press», 1964; H. Corbin, « Sayyed Haydar Amoli (VIII/XIV siècle) technicien shi'ite du soufisme ». *Mélanges Henri Masse*, Tehran 1963, 72-Lol; H. Corbin-O. Yahya, *la philosophie Shi'ite*, Tehran - Paris, 1969; H. Corbin, *le livre des pénétrations métaphisiques du Sadr al-Din Shirazi*, Tehran - Paris, 1964; H. Corbin, *creative imagination in the sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*, tr. by R. Manheim, London 1969.

reached the Eastern Lands of Islam in both Turkish and Persian (3). To demonstrate the extent of Ibn al-'Arabi's influence in Persia, it is enough to mention the fact that from 150 commentaries written on **Fusus al-hikam**, 120 of them have been written by Persians and other subjects of this region (4). What Sadruddin Konjavi initiated, his disciples continued, as for example : Sayh Muayyed al-Din Gandi (d. 700/or 735-H), who wrote a commentary on **Fusus**, for which he made use of other commentaries and in the same time he has given a certain analysis (5). Another of his disciples, Fahr al-Din 'Araki (d. 688/1289), in his work '**Lama'at**, explained Ibn al-Arabi's doctrines but by means of erotic language, or esthetic-emotional means (6). Still worthy of credit, they are : Abd al-Razzaq Kasani, whose commentary on **Fusus al-Hikam** has been printed in Cairo 1309 and 1321 A.H. and Da'ud Kaysari who propagated Ibn al-Arabi's teaching in his own commentary on **Fusus**. He begins his commentary with an introduction which contains complete cycles of sufi metaphysics (7).

All these trends and developments in tasawwuf and in sufi movement generally found their expressions all through Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in other Yugoslav lands which were part of the Ottoman Empire. Sufi brotherhoods, especially those of orthodox character such as as Mawlawi, Naksbandi, Rifa'i, Halwati, Kadiri, and the Un-orthodox ones such as Hamzawi, Bektasi, Bayrami-Melami and spread in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in other Yugoslav lands. These created one popular form of Islamic religion. Sufi doctrines had been spreading through sufi brotherhoods and their centres (tekkes, hancahs) and were propagating Ibn al-'Arabi's teaching. In this respect, they are significant, as for example, the Halwati, Bayrami-Melami and Naks bandi order whose great representaives used to explain and comment on Ibn al-'Arabi's **Fusus al-Hikam**, which became a textbook in medresas and sufi institutions (hancahs, tekkes).

There fore, activity of the great Halwati seyh, Bali Enfendi (d. 960/1552), was of great importance for Yugoslav lands. He wrote a commentary on **Fusus al-Hikam**, printed in Istanbul, and in that way, he inspired too his disciples, whose number was not so small when we know that he produced many halifas. With his **Commentary on Fusus al-Hikam**, Sayh Bali Efendi confirmed the fact that this brotherhood in his ideal orientation and in eductaional and training methods had been relying greatly upon Ibn al-'Arabi's theory of creation and his doctrine of theomorphism (Wahdat al-wugud), or put another way on the mystical philosophy of Ibn al-'Arabi's (8).

(3) Dr. Kasim Gani, *Bahs dar asar ve efkar ve ahval-e Hafiz-Tarih-e tasawwuf dar Islam*, Tehran, 1340, pp. 549.

(4) Othman Yahya, *la Classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn 'Arabi*, I, Damascus, 1964, pp. 247

(4) Dr. Kasim Gani, *op. cit.*, p. 549.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 550; Prof. Dr. Fuad Koprulu, *Türk Edebiyatında ilk mutasavviflar*, İkinci basım, Ankara, 1966, p. 171.

(7) Sayyed 'Abd al-Din Ashtiyani, *Sarh-e mukaddima-i Kaysari bar Fusus al-Hikam*, preface by H. Corbin and S.H. Kasr, Mashad, 1966.

(8) See : Dr. Dzemat Cehalic, *Derviski redovi u jugoslavenskin zemljama* (Dervish orders in Yugoslav lands), Sarajevo, 1979 (Dissertation not yet published) 257 e

Among sayh Bali Enfendi's disciples are sayh Muslih al-Din from Uzice (Serbia), (d. 1052/1642), who was active as a sayh and mursid, preacher and interpreter of prophetic tradition (hadis) and Kur'an interpretation (tafsir) in the Tekke of Uzice (9), sayh Ibrahim Enfendi (d. 1075/1655) from Sarajevo (Bosnia), who acted as a mufti and sayh of the hanckah that he had founded in Sarajevo (10); and sayh Muslikud-dine's sons: Hasan Enfendi and Isa Efendi, who served as heads of Halwati tekke of Uzice.

Certainly, in this regard, sayh Muslih al-Din's disciple, Alauddin'Ali Dede ibn Mustafa al-Bosnevi (d. 1007/1598), buried in Siget, was well known and significant. In the hanckah below Siget, Ali Dede had been teaching theological and mystical sciences. In his work *Hawatim al-Hikam* (seals of wisdom), Ali Dede on almost every page referred to Ibn al-Arabi. His theory of the Universe, the theory of creation and the six phases in creation of the world, were part of the influence of Ibn al-Arabi, as 'Ali Dede himself explained in the prologue of his work (11). His book was printed in 1314/1896 in Cairo.

More importance for training in sufi tradition, sufi education, theoretical activity and practice was Gazi Husrevbeg's hanekah in Sarajevo. It was a major institution of this kind in Bosnia nad Hercegovina. It is known that disciples of this kanckah, beside the other subjects of instruction, studied Ibn al-'Arabi's *Fusus al-Hikam* (12). This hanekah was founded in 1531 and operated until the end of nineteenth century and a little later (13).

Meanwhile, the most famous representative of the Bayrami-Melami order, a good specialist and commentator of Ibn al-'Arabi's works, and devoted follower of his sufi school was sayn Abdullah « Abdi » bin Muhammad al-Bosnevi (d. 1054/1644), who greatly contributed to the spread of Ibn-'Arabi's teaching and his doctrines. He was educated first in his homeland, then studied in Istanbul. When he finished his studies, he lived for some time in Brusa (Turkey), where he studied tasawwuf with Sayh Hasan Kabaduz of Brusa, from whom he got his diplome (idzazah).

In the year 1046/1636 he travelled through Egypt, and arrived at Mekka to perform pilgrimage (hadzdz). After that, he lived for some time in Damascus, settled down close to Ibn 'Arabi's mausoleum and

- (9) Halil Enfendi, *Magmu'a-i vefeyat-i messayih*, ms. 2397, pp. 23-b. This manuscript is preserved in Suleymaniyye Library in Istanbul.
- (10) Dr. Džemal Čehajić, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205; Mehmed Mujezinović, *Epigrafika Sarajeva* *Ibid* (The Epigraphy of Sarajevo), I, 1974, pp. 19-20.
- (11) Mursali Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanli Muellifleri (1299-1915)*, I, Istanbul, pp. 47-48; Araf, *Hadaik al-hakaik fi takmilat'is-Sekaik*, Istanbul, 1268, pp. 466; M. Enveri Kadie, *Kronika (Chronicle)*, pp. 94. This Chronicle is preserved in Gazi Husrev Bey's Library in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia; Hazim Sabanović, *Knjizevnost Muslimana Bosne i Hercege vine na orijetlanim jezicima (The Literary History of Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Oriental Languages)*, Sarajevo, 1973, pp. 96-101.
- (12) In a manuscript of *Fusus al-Hikam*, a disciple of the Hanekah marked the date of Lecture, the page and the lesson.
- (13) Hazim Sabanović, « Teritorijalno širenje i gradjevni razvoj Sarajeva u XVI, stoljeću » (The Territorial expansion and architectural developments of Sarajevo in the sixteenth century), in, *Radovi*, t. XXVI, Odjeljenje istorijsko-filoloskih nauka, t. 9. Sarajevo, 1965, pp. 32; Alija Nametak, *Islamski kulturni spomenici-Turska perioda u Bosni i Hercegovini (The Cultural monuments of Islam - The Turkish era in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*, Sarajevo, 1939, pp. 18-19; M.E. Kadie, *Kronika (chronicle)*, V, pp. 29, 109, 110; VI, 305; VII, 79; XII, 1 28.

devoted himself to study his works. Then, he went to Konja to visit the graves of great sufis Mawlana Dzalaluddin Rumi and Sadruddin Konjavi. There he spent the last years of his life, and died in 1054/1644 according to his will, he was burned beside the tomb of Sadruddin Konjavi. On his tomb-stone the following epitaph was engraved : « This is the grave of the poor traveller on earth, Abdullah Bosnavi, Rumi, Bayrami » (14).

Sayh Abdullah has written a great deal Bursali Mohmed Tahir in his work *Osmanli Müellifleri* (15) mentioned 60 titles. Bagdatli Ismail Pasa, in his work « *Hidayat al-'arifin asma' al-müellifin wa asnar al-musannifin* » (16), quotes 46 titles of sayh Abdullah's works. These indicate the creative opus of this great sufi-neoplatonist. His work is significant both in size and in diversity. It ranges from a short treatise of a few pages to two volume works the Commentary on *Fusus al-hikam* of 1150 printed pages. From the formal side, his works are sufi commentaries on particular Kur'anic verses, or treatises and critical reviews on sufi authors and their works, as well as polemics which Abdullah has written against opponents of Ibn al-'Arabi's and enemies of sufi ideals of his mystical school.

Sayh Abdullah's works, from the point of theme, are heterogeneous, for as a theoretical representative of Ibn al-'Arabi's sufi thought, sayh Abdullah wrote almost about all sufi themes of his time, though it can be said that the greater part of his works had polemical and still more apologetical character.

In his works, sayh Abdullah discussed God as an Absolute Being, his nature, about man and his place in the world, about relations of the human soul and God, about the primordial State of the soul as an «idea» in God's knowledge and its ascension and its return to that condition of pristence, or, better said before phenomenal existence), about tarikhah and the life of sufis as initiated, about the prophet and his mission and walayah, and about Ibn al-'Arabi's as the last elected wali, or as a «seal» of Muhammad' swalayah » (17). He explained these questions in the introduction to his Commentary on *Fusus al-Hikam*, which forms a complete cycle of metaphysics, as well as in other works.

In fact, the best of the works of Ibn al-'Arabi is Abdullah's commentary on *Fusus al-Hikam*, entitled *Tagalliyat' arais' in nusus fi minasati hikam' il-fusus* » He wrote his Commentary first in Turkish, and then translated it in Arabic, which provided him with fame both in the Turkish speaking world and the Arabic speaking world (18). In the end of his second volume there is a kasida of 107 halfverses in praise of Fu-

(14) Bagdatli Ismail Pasa, *Hidayat al-'arifine asma'almuellifine wa asnar al-musannifin*, I, Istanbul, 1951, pp. 476/I; M. Tahir, *OM*, I, 60; Abdalbaki Gorpinari. *Melamillek ve Melamiler*, Istanbul, 1931, 79; *Megmu'a-i vefeyat-i tarika-i Bayramiyye*, pp. 18-b. This manuscript is preserved in Suleymaniyye Library in Istanbul; Small Ballé, *Kulture Bosnjaka (The Culture of the Bosnia)*, Wien, 1973, pp. 60-66.

(15) M. Tahir, *OM*, I, 59.

(16) Bagdatli Ismail Pasa, op. cit., 376/I.

(17) See : Introduction to the Commentary on *Fusus al-Hikam* by Sayh Abdullah in Turkish.

(18) The Commentary of Sayh Abdullah written in Turkish was printed in Bulag (Egypt) 1252/1836 and in Istanbul in 1290/1873 in two volumes on 1150 pages).

sus al-Hikam and its author - Ibn al-'Arabi. The **Commentary** of sayh Abdullah on **Fusus al-Hikam** is considered as one of the best commentaries on **Fusus**, for which Hadzi Halifa says « it is mixed with text and is very good it may be the best of all commentaries » (19). In addition to the **Commentary**, sayh Abdullah wrote, as we said before, a very outstanding introduction to it in which he explained his metaphysical theory, respecting all fundamental questions of sufi theory and practice (20).

Beside the **Commentary on Fusus al-Hikam**, say Abdullah commented on other works of Ibn al-'Arabi, as for example : **Sarhu hutbat al Futuhat al-Makkiyyah**, and also **Sarhu'l-iskal al-wagi' fi mukaddimat Sarh Muayyed al-Gandi lil Fusus** (21).

Finally it is interesting to mention that Ibn al-'Arabi by his works **Futuhat al-Makkiyyah** and **Fusus al-Hikam**, as well as other treatises, exercised a great fundamental questions of metaphysics, stressed in Ibn al-'Arabi's works, had been leading up to the end of eighteenth century. that the « Sayh Akbar », as he used to be called by sufis, inspired many great sufis who not only followed his teacher Ibn al-Arabi but gave to tasawwuf and to metaphysical doctrines (wahdat al-wujud) greater meaning.

However, we must say that the driving factor in their creation was Ibn al-'Arabi and his works. So, Ibn al-Arabi had not only his opponents (Ibn Taymiyya, al-Taftazani, Ibrahim bin 'Umar al-Bika'i) who treated him as a heretic and mulaid, but he had also his admirers (Abda al-Razzak Kasani, al-Firuzabadi and al-Suyuti, and particularly sayh Abdullah al-Bosnawi) who accepted his teaching, explained his doctrines and gave richer meaning and colour to them.

That interest and curiosity for Ibn al-'Arabi is alive to day in the Islamic world. There is also general interest among many researchers so his works should be studied and respectively fulfill a need of the human mind.

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(19) K. Celebi, *Kesf el-Zunun*, II, pp. 1263.

(20) See : much more about Sayh Abdulla : Magmu'a-i tarika-i Bayramiyye. Ms in Suleymaniyye Library in Istanbul, pp. 18-b; Sagvet-beg Basagic, *Bosunject i Hercegovci u islamskoj knjizevnosti* (Bosnians and Herzegovinians in Islamic Literature), Sarajevo, 1912, pp. 74; S. Basagic, *Znameniti Hrvati, Bosnaje i Hercegovci u turskoj carevini* (Famous Croats, Bosnians and Herzegovinians in the Ottoman Empire), Zagreb, 1931, pp. 1; Mehmed Handzic, *Knjizevni rad bosanskocercegovackih Muslimana* (The Library works of Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina), Sarajevo, 1954, pp. 29.

(21) Manuscript No-1293/1 in Suleymaniyye Library in Istanbul.

(22) See : Ms. No-2077/3 and No-2129/30 in Ayasofya Library in Istanbul.