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ISMĀ'ĪL ḤAQQĪ BURSAWĪ'S COMMENTARY ON
AL-ṢALĀT AL-MASHISHIYYA:
A TRANSLATION WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND
NOTES

BY

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INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
MALAYSIA

JULY 2004

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ABSTRACT

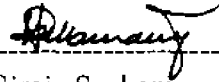
This thesis provides an English translation of the prominent Ottoman Şūfī Ismāʿīl Ḥaqqī Bursawī's (d. 1137/1725) commentary on the prayer of the eminent Moroccan Şūfī 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh (d. 625/1228). The full title of this Ottoman Turkish work is *Sharḥ Ṣalawāt al-Mashīshīyah* which was written by Bursawī in the year 1113/1701. The importance of Ibn Mashīsh's prayer is due to the fact that it was one of the earliest expositions of the concepts '*al-insān al-kāmil*' and '*tawḥīd*' understood at the level of oneness of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) in Şūfī history. The two chapters following the introduction are devoted to the life and works of these eminent Şūfis locating them and their works in their historical context. The relevant concepts behind the prayer of Ibn Mashīsh such as the concept of '*al-insān al-kāmil*' and '*tawḥīd*' are explained and discussed with respect to their usage in the prayer in the third chapter. The fourth chapter is devoted to the analysis of Bursawī's commentary followed by an English translation of his '*Sharḥ Ṣalawāt al-Mashīshīyah*'.

ملخص البحث

يقدم هذا البحث ترجمة إنجليزية للشرح الذي قام به المتصوف العثماني المشهور إسماعيل حقي البرصوي (توفي سنة 1137هـ/1725م) لصلاة المتصوف المغربي المشهور عبد السلام بن مشيش (توفي سنة 625هـ/1228م). العنوان الكامل لهذا العمل العثماني التركي هو: شرح الصلوات المشيشية، وقام بكتابته البرصوي في سنة 1113هـ/1701م. تتبع أهمية صلاة ابن مشيش من أنها واحدة من أولى المحاولات لعرض مفهوم "الإنسان الكامل" و"التوحيد" المعروف في تاريخ التصوف بـ"وحدة الوجود". خصص الفصلان الأول والثاني لعرض حياة هذين المتصوفين وأعمالهما وذلك بوضع كل منهما في الظرف (السياق) التاريخي الذي عاش فيه. إن المفاهيم التي تقف وراء صلاة ابن مشيش مثل مفهوم "الإنسان الكامل" و"التوحيد" يمكن شرحها ومناقشتها حسب استخدامه لها في الصلاة ويتم ذلك في الفصل الثالث. أما الفصل لتحليل "شرح صلوات المشيشية" للبرصوي متبوعاً بالترجمة الرابع فقد خصص الإنجليزية لذلك الشرح.

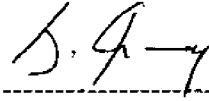
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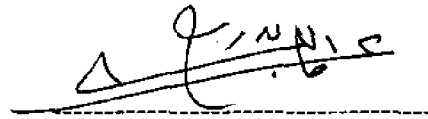
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Examiner

This thesis was submitted to the Kulliyah of ISTAC and is accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (Islamic Thought).

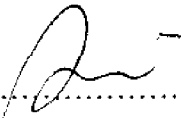


Malik Badri
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references and a bibliography is appended.

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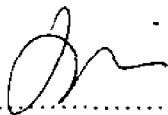
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To my parents, with love and profound gratitude.

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Needless to say, any errors or misinterpretations in the work rest entirely with me. My thanks go to the academic and library staff of ISTAC who were ready to help me at any time during my enjoyable stay in Malaysia.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis provides an English translation of the late 17th and early 18th century Ottoman Şūfi Ismā‘īl Ḥaqqī Bursawī’s (d.1137/1725) commentary (*sharḥ*) on the prayer (*salāt*) of the Moroccan Şūfi ‘Abd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh (d.625/1228). The full title of this Ottoman Turkish work is *Sharḥ Ṣalawāt al-Mashīshīyah* which was written by Bursawī in the year 1113/1701 and was posthumously published three times. There are also more than twenty eight manuscript copies of this work in Istanbul libraries, and one copy in the library of The International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization [ISTAC]. In this translation, the ISTAC library manuscript copy and the Bulak 1279/1862 print edition have been used. These two copies have been compared, and no substantial difference is detected between them. The only attested difference is the absence of notes in the margins in the print edition compared to the ISTAC manuscript copy. This translation, to the best of our knowledge, is the first English rendering of a work belonging to Bursawī.

Ibn Mashīsh’s prayer (*salāt*) is his only written legacy. This prayer has won enormous fame in the Muslim world and became the subject of numerous commentaries throughout centuries. This sublime prayer (*salāt*) constitutes the backbone of Shādhilī rituals and is recited till to this day in the Darqāwiyya, Fāsiyya, ‘Alawiyya and Yashrūṭiyya branches of the Shādhiliyya order. However this interest in the prayer of

Ibn Mashīsh was not solely confined to the Shādhiliyya order. The Qādirī, Khalwatī, and Jalwatī orders also widely recited this prayer, and used it as a *wird*.

The importance of Ibn Mashīsh's prayer stems from the fact that it is one of earliest expositions of the concept of '*tawhīd*' understood at the level of '*waḥdat al-wujūd*' (oneness of being). Also, this prayer depicts Prophet Muḥammad as the 'Perfect Man' (*al-insān al-kāmil*) who is the quintessence of existence, and the cause for all that exists in this universe. This prayer contains the seeds of a sophisticated theosophical Sufism by a Moroccan Sūfī who was contemporaneous with Ibn 'Arabī (d.625/1228). Although there is no indication in the sources about a meeting and mutual influence between these two eminent Sūfīs, Ibn Mashīsh shows remarkable affinity with the ideas and concepts attributed to Ibn 'Arabī such as '*waḥdat al-wujūd*' and '*al-insān al-kāmil*' and espouses them in his short prayer without using Ibn 'Arabī's terminology.

Bursawī wrote his commentary on the prayer of Ibn Mashīsh upon the petition of one of his disciples with the intention of spreading its benefits throughout Ottoman lands. The sophisticated theosophical Sufism espoused in this prayer is thoroughly explained in this commentary by Bursawī who was the prime Akbarian shaykh in Ottoman lands during that time. Bursawī's commentary can be safely regarded as an Akbarian commentary on the prayer of Ibn Mashīsh as the whole commentary is written based on Ibn 'Arabī concepts, and worldview. In his commentary Bursawī discusses many different topics such as the concept of '*al-insān al-kāmil*', '*tawhīd*', and more importantly '*al-Haqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*' (the Muḥammadan Reality). The

Muḥammadan Reality being the essence of the Perfect Man is the archetype that is actualized through the messengers, the prophets, and the saints. All things by necessity shall have an either partial or full share of the Muḥammadan Reality according to Bursawī because the subsistence (*baqā*) of a being is dependent on continuous and uninterrupted Divine effusion (*fayḍ*) which comes through the mediation of the Muḥammadan Reality since not everybody's existence is capable of directly benefiting from God. Due to this either partial or full share of the Muḥammadan Reality, every existing being has a particular inclination towards God, and has a special attachment to the Prophetic spirit. This inclination and attachment is the sole reason why every existing being asks for salvation from God, and submits its petitions to the realm of Divine exaltedness. This spiritual relation and special reckoning according to Bursawī is the gist of the idea of any prayer (*salāt*) which is epitomized with the utterance of praises with one's utmost capability. Thus, Bursawī connects the prayer of Ibn Mashīsh (*al-salāt al-mashīshiyya*) or any prayer for that matter to the Muḥammadan Reality. Bursawī's commentary is an invaluable source for the exposition of the idea of 'Muḥammadan Reality' which still remains to be not well understood, and barely studied. For that matter alone, this commentary is worth translating so that it will serve for a better understanding of the concept of 'Muḥammadan Reality'.

The second chapter of this thesis is devoted to the life and works of Ismā'īl Ḥaqqī Bursawī with due emphasis on his intellectual personality and overall position in Ottoman Sufism. The third chapter is devoted to the life of 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh, and his prayer (*salāt*). In this chapter the Arabic text of his prayer (*salāt*) is given along

with an English translation. The importance of The Prayer of Ibn Mashīsh (*al-Ṣalāt al-Mashīshiyya*) is discussed in terms of both its historical and theosophical background. Also lengthy expositions regarding the concepts espoused in the prayer such as ‘*al-insān al-kāmil*’, ‘*tawhīd*’, ‘*al-Haqīqa al-Muhammadiyya*’ are provided in this chapter. The fourth and the final chapter is dedicated to the English translation of Ismā‘īl Ḥaqqī Bursawī’s commentary on the Prayer of Ibn Mashīsh.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF ISMĀ'IL ḤAQQĪ BURSAWĪ

I. The Life of Ismā'īl Ḥaqqī Bursawī

Ismā'īl Ḥaqqī Bursawī¹ or al-Uskudārī², Ottoman scholar, Şūfī and poet was born in Aydos near present day Edirne on the north western border of Turkey in 1063/1653. His original name was Ismā'īl, the pseudonym Ḥaqqī he chose for himself as a poet after the approval of his *Shaykh* is also added to his name. He explains this situation in his *Dīwān* with this poem³:

Oh lover I am named after the one who is offered for slaughter
My pseudonym is Ḥaqqī my name Ismā'īl
Oh God You made my pseudonym Ḥaqqī
Thus give me progress make me God's slave (*'abd al Ḥaqq*)

There is not much known about his family besides the information provided by Bursawī in his works⁴. His father Mustafa Efendi who was originally from Istanbul⁵, lost his

¹ This appellation is attributed to Bursawī to distinguish him from another Ismā'īl namely Ismā'īl Ankaravī (d.1041/1631). Also he is referred to as Bursawī because he spent a greater part of his life in Bursa and he is buried there.

² "Ismā'īl Ḥaqqī," *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd Ed. vol. IX E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1986, 4:191.

³ Murat Yurtsever, *İsmail Hakkı Bursevi Divanı*, Arasta Yayınları, Bursa, 2000, p.3.

⁴ The primary sources for the life and works of Bursawī are his two works *Silsilanāma-i Jalwatiyya* and *Tamām al-Fayd*. The first work deals with the chain (*silsila*) of the Jalwatiyya order to which Bursawī belonged, and the importance of the chain for a Şūfī path. In that work Bursawī also gives considerable information regarding his life. The second work is similar in nature. Bursawī discusses the necessity of joining a *tariqa* (path) for a believer, and the concomitant obligations that will be bestowed on the believer after entering the path. Towards the end of the work he gives lucid information regarding the masters (*shuyūkh*) of the Jalwatiyya order, more specifically about his *Shaykh* 'Uthmān Fadlī. For a scholarly analysis of *Silsilanāma-i Jalwatiyya* please see: Efendi, İlyas. 1994. İsmail Hakkı Bursevi'nin Kitabū's-Silsileti'l-Celvetiyye'si. M.A. Thesis. Marmara University. For *Tamām al-Fayd* please see: Muslu, Ramazan. & Namlı, Ali. 1994. İsmail Hakkı Bursevi ve Tamamū'l Feyz Adlı Eseri 1&2. M.A. Thesis. Marmara University. More information regarding his life is scattered through Bursawī's more than a hundred works.

⁵ Ismā'īl Ḥaqqī Bursawī, *Silsilanāma-i Jalwatiyya*, n.d., MSS no:230, Halet Efendi Section, Süleymaniye Library, p. 96b.

house and belongings in a devastating fire⁶ in 1062/1652 and was subsequently forced to leave Istanbul and take refuge with his relatives in Aydos⁷, where he spent the remaining seven to eight years of his life cultivating land.⁸

Bursawī began his studies in Aydos at the age of seven in 1070/1659.⁹ He had a brief encounter with his future Shaykh ‘Uthmān Faḍlī (d.1102/1691)¹⁰ of the Jalwatiyya order at the age of three¹¹ who was on close terms with Bursawī’s father in Aydos. However, ‘Uthmān Faḍlī left Aydos and entrusted his post to a certain Shaykh Aḥmad under whom Bursawī began his studies. Bursawī studied Arabic and Ottoman Turkish under him for five years,¹² and later on moved to Edirne to continue his studies under Shakyh ‘Abdulbākī Efendi under whom he managed to memorize Qur’ān by heart¹³ and completed his studies on grammar and syntax. He also studied¹⁴ logic, jurisprudence, exegesis, and ḥadīth under Shakyh ‘Abdulbākī Efendi, and perfected his Persian and Arabic. After seven years, having completed his basic Islamic education, and obtained

⁶ Ibid., p. 92b.

⁷ Ibid., p. 50a.

⁸ Sakıp Yıldız, *Exégète Turc Ismā‘īl Ḥakkī Burūsawī. Sa Vie, Ses Oeuvres et La Methode dans son Tafsir Rūh al-Bayān*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Sorbonne University, 1972, p.7.

⁹ Ismā‘īl Haqqī Bursawī, *Tamām al-Fayd*, n.d., MSS no:244, Halet Efendi Section, Süleymaniye Library, p. 217a.

¹⁰ More on him please see: “Atpazari Osman Fazlı” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1988, 4:83-85. Also see: Hüseyin Vassaf, *Kemalname-i İsmail Hakkı*, Arasta Yayınları, Bursa, 2000, pp. 62-67.

¹¹ Bursawī, *Tamām al-Fayd*, p. 217a.

¹² Ibid., p. 217a.

¹³ Ibid., p. 217b.

¹⁴ Bursawī provides a list of books he studied with his *Shaykh* which is important for providing us some insight regarding the texts of classical Ottoman *madrassa* education in 17th century. The list includes Nasafi’s (d.537/1142) *Aqā’id*, and Taftazānī’s (d.791/1389) commentary on it, İbrāhīm al-Ḥalabī’s (d.956/1549) *Sharh al-Manār* and Bayḍawī’s (d.658/1286) *Anwār al-Tanzīl*. For the complete list, please see: Bursawī, *Tamām al-Fayd*, p. 217b.

the necessary tools for his further studies Bursawī set out for Istanbul in 1083/1672¹⁵ to the center of the *Jalwatiyya* order to meet Shaykh ‘Uthmān Faḍlī who was by now the head of the *Jalwatiyya* order in Ottoman lands. Up until now Bursawī’s education was rather focused on the exoteric sciences related to the Shari‘a. After his re-union with his Shaykh, Bursawī delved into the realm of esoteric sciences. Although he had an early acquaintance with ‘Uthmān Faḍlī at the age of three, Bursawī was not initiated to the *Jalwatiyya* order until their second meeting in Istanbul. Bursawī made allegiance (*bay‘a*) to his master¹⁶ immediately, and started studying esoteric sciences along with the exoteric ones. Bursawī took this opportunity to take some calligraphy classes from the famous master of his day Ḥāfiẓ ‘Uthmān (d. 1110/1690) in Istanbul.¹⁷ He also perfected his Persian, and was consequently able to read Rūmī’s (d.672/1273) *Mathnawī* and Sā‘dī’s (d.689/1257) *Gulistān* and *Bustān* in Persian.¹⁸ Bursawī went into spiritual retreat (*ḥalwah*) upon the request of his Shaykh ‘Uthmān Faḍlī, and stayed there for three months.¹⁹ After completing his *sulūk* he took *ijāzah* (authorization) from the *Jalwatiyya* order through ‘Uthmān Faḍlī and became a *shaykh* of the order in 1085/1674. Bursawī stayed one more year with his Shaykh, and after being designated as a representative (*khalīfa*) by his master was sent to Skopje in 1086/1675 to spread the *Jalwatiyya* order and to preach to the public.²⁰

¹⁵ Ismā‘īl Haqqī Bursawī, *Wasīlat al-Marām*, n.d., MSS no:243, Halet Efendi Section, Süleymaniye Library, p. 10b.

¹⁶ Bursawī, *Tamām al-Fayd*, p. 218a.

¹⁷ Süleymān Sadeddin Mustakimzāde, *Tuḥfa-i Hattātin*, ed. Ibnulemin Mahmud Kemal, Istanbul, 1928, p.216.

¹⁸ Bursawī, *Tamām al-Fayd*, p.218b

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p.219b.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p.223 a-b.

Bursawī had to reside in a mosque for a couple of months before he was granted an old abandoned convent (*zāwiya*) to settle in Skopje. After some restoration work, he immediately started his lectures in the convent as well as preaching from the pulpit of the local mosques.²¹ Bursawī had his first marriage with ‘Āfifah Hanım, the daughter of a local Shaykh, in Skopje in the year 1087/1676.²² Bursawī’s six year sojourn in Skopje led him to perform four different functions at the same time. As a teacher he was teaching in the convent, as a preacher he was preaching in the local mosques, as a scholar he was writing books²³, and more importantly he was a *Jalwatiyya* shaykh and had disciples to oversee. As a preacher his uncompromising attitude towards the actions of the local *mufī* and some other locals whom Bursawī accused of being remiss in following the Book and Sunnah got on the nerves of the muftī, and Bursawī was subsequently transferred to Köprülü (Titos Veles)²⁴ by his *shaykh* ‘Uthmān Faḍlī in 1092/1681.²⁵ Bursawī stayed fourteen months there, and although we do not have much information regarding his activities there, we presume he continued his preaching, and teaching activities as in Skopje. He also authored a couple of works here²⁶, and toured around the area visiting convents in places like Kratovo and Strumica.²⁷ In 1093/1682 Bursawī was relocated to Strumica by his *shaykh* where he spent three years in a

²¹ Ali Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı Bursevî: Hayatı, Eserleri, Tarikat Anlayışı*, İnsan Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001, p.42.

²² Bursawī, *Tamām al-Fayḍ*, pp.224a. , also see: Mehmet Ali Aynı, *Türk Azizleri İsmail Hakkı*, Marifet Basımevi, İstanbul, 1944, p.16. Aynı erroneously gives the name of this lady as ‘Aishah, also see A. Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı Bursevî*, pp. 115-119 for two subsequent marriages of Bursawī.

²³ For a list of works he has written during his sojourn in Skopje, please see: Sakıp Yıldız, “Türk Müfessiri İsmail Hakkı Bursevî’nin Hayatı,” *İslami İlimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 1975, 1:111.

²⁴ A town 145 km north-west of Salonica. Şemseddin Sâmî, *Kāmusu’l-A’lām*. vol. 6, Mührân Matba’ası, İstanbul, 1306-1316, vol.5, p.390b.

²⁵ Bursawī, *Tamām al-Fayḍ*. pp. 226a-228b, also for his sojourn in Skopje please see: A. Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı Bursevî*, p. 41-46, also: Aynı, *Türk Azizleri*, pp. 18-20, and Yıldız, “Türk Müfessiri,” 1:109-113.

²⁶ For a list of works he authored in Köprülü, please see: A. Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı Bursevî*, pp.47.

²⁷ S. Yıldız, *Exégète Turc*, p.79-80.

Jalwatiyya convent.²⁸ During his stay in Strumica, Bursawī received a letter from his *shaykh* asking him to visit him in Edirne where the *shaykh* was attending the court of Ottoman Sultan Mehmed IV to give him advice and preach him on religious matters.²⁹ During his stay in Edirne, Bursawī studied Ibn ‘Arabī’s (d.638/1240) *Fusūs al-Hikam* with his *shaykh*³⁰, and set his foot firmly on the Akbarian tradition which will define his literary output in upcoming years. The *Jalwatiyya shaykh* in Bursa passed away during Bursawī’s stay in Edirne, and Bursawī was subsequently appointed as the head of the *Jalwatiyya* order in Bursa by his *shaykh* where he would spend the next forty years of his life.

Bursawī arrived to Bursa in the month of May, 1096/ 1685 and promptly settled in the *Jalwatiyya* convent, lecturing and overseeing his disciples.³¹ He was also preaching to the public in various local mosques, especially in *Ulucāmī* (Grand Mosque) on Sundays.³² The format and content of these public lectures were usually defined by a verse or a chapter from the Qur’ān, which was elaborately discussed by Bursawī enriched with quotations from Persian poems and tales. These lectures provided the basis for Bursawī’s magnum opus the Qur’ānic exegesis *Rūḥ al Bayān fī Tafsīr al-*

²⁸ Bursawī, *Tamām al-Fayd*, p. 229b.

²⁹ Ibid., 231a.

³⁰ A. Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı Bursevi*, p.50. Bursawī provides a detailed account of the topics they have discussed with his *Shaykh* while studying *Fusus* in his *Tamām al-Fayd*, these include *tawhīd*, existence, the degrees of existence, Divine knowledge, the difference between *sharī’a* and *ḥaqīqa*, and the degrees of the soul. For a detailed exposition, please see: Bursawī, *Tamām al-Fayd*, p. 231a.

³¹ Ibid., p.235b. For his sojourn in Bursa please see: A. Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı Bursevi*, pp. 52-70, also: M. A. Aynı, *Türk Azizleri*, pp. 63-65, and S. Yıldız, “Türk Müfessiri,” 1:113-115.

³² S. Yıldız, “Türk Müfessiri,” 1:113.

Qur'ān.³³ Bursawī produced a greater part of his literary output in Bursa. He had the opportunity to benefit from relative calm in his life at this particular time compared to earlier phases of his life where he had to travel, and struggle with his adversaries. Thus, Bursawī interprets his transfer from the Balkans to Bursa as a Divine grace for him and his disciples, and a punishment for his adversaries back in Skopje which subsequently fell to the hands of Hungarians in 1100/1689.³⁴ As in Skopje, Bursawī had to perform four different, albeit intertwined, functions in Bursa: overseeing his disciples, writing books, preaching to the public and teaching in the convent.

Upon the invitation of his *Shaykh* 'Uthmān Faḍlī who was exiled to Cyprus from Istanbul due to a disagreement with the Grand Vizier of his time, Bursawī traveled to Cyprus in 1101/1690.³⁵ The reason of the invitation was *Shaykh* 'Uthmān Faḍlī's intention to entrust his post to Bursawī which was realized during this brief encounter. *Shaykh* 'Uthmān Faḍlī who was already senile by that time passed away a couple of months after this encounter, and Bursawī subsequently became the head of the *Jalwatiyya* order, and entered the *Jalwatiyya* chain as the 32nd *Shaykh* of the order.³⁶ Being the head of a major Ṣūfī order brought additional responsibilities for Bursawī. Besides his usual routine, he was maintaining close contacts with the Palace in Istanbul dispensing advice on certain occasions. He was on two occasions asked by the Sultan to

³³ This work which is written in Arabic was completed in almost twenty years. Bursawī started writing it in 1096/1685 and completed it in 1117/1706. Cherished by Ṣūfī's as one of the greatest exegesis, it was copied and published numerous times. For a recent edition please see: Bursawī, Ismā'īl Ḥaqqī. 1389/1969. *Rūḥ al Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*. vol. 10. Istanbul: Eser Neşriyat ve Dağıtım.

³⁴ Ismā'īl Ḥaqqī Bursawī, *Kitābu'n Netice*. Vol. 2., İnsan Yayınları, Istanbul, 1997, vol.1:131, and vol.2:340.

³⁵ Bursawī, *Silsilanāma-i Jalwatiyya*, p. 94a.

³⁶ Bursawī, *Tamām al-Fayd*, p.326b.

join military campaigns to encourage and inspire the troops, and contribute towards victory through his prayers and blessings. The first military campaign he attended was against Austria in 1108/1696 under the command of Sultan Muṣṭafā II, and the second one was two years later also against Austria under the same command.³⁷

In 1112/1700, Bursawī traveled to Mecca through Syria to perform his first *Hajj*³⁸ and stayed there for over seven months. He also spent some time in Syria meeting with the local *shaykhs*, and engaging in intellectual debates with them. Bursawī managed to complete his magnum opus *Rūḥ al Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān* in 1117/1705. It took him almost twenty years to complete this work considering the fact he started it back in 1096/1685.³⁹ Bursawī performed his second Hajj ten years after the first one in 1122/1710 this time traveling through Egypt.⁴⁰ Like his earlier sojourn in Syria, he met with some local *shaykhs* here, and reportedly initiated some of them in the *Jalwatiyya* order.⁴¹ In 1126/1714, Bursawī traveled to Tekirdağ⁴² acting upon a dream where his late shaykh ʿUthmān Faḍlī instructed him to marry his daughter.⁴³ The marriage was completed the same year, and after a three year sojourn in Tekirdağ Bursawī returned to Bursa in 1129/1717. After a couple of months stay in Bursa, Bursawī embarked on yet another journey, this time to Damascus to visit the Greatest Master Ibn ʿArabī.⁴⁴ Considering the fact that Bursawī stayed almost three years in Damascus, his only

³⁷ M.A. Ayni, *Türk Azizleri*, pp. 65-66, also A. Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı Bursevî*, pp. 71-73.

³⁸ Bursawî, *Kitabu'n Netice*, I:244.

³⁹ S. Yıldız, "Türk Müfessiri," p.113.

⁴⁰ A. Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı Bursevî*, p.86.

⁴¹ S. Yıldız, "Türk Müfessiri," p. 116.

⁴² A north-western town in present day Turkey.

⁴³ A. Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı Bursevî*, p.89.

⁴⁴ Bursawî, *Silsilanāma-i Jalwatiyya*, p. 52a.

motivation for this journey could not have been merely a visit to Ibn ‘Arabī. Having just completed his exegesis, Bursawī had an intention to spread his knowledge and the fame of his exegesis, and add new followers to the *Jalwatiyya* order. He was known to have held classes on exegesis during his stay in local convents, and *madrasas* in Damascus.⁴⁵ He also engaged in intellectual debates with the local *shaykhs* mostly notably with the famous Ṣūfī ‘Abd al Ghānī al-Nabulūsī (d.1143/1731).⁴⁶ One of the fiercest debates between Bursawī and Nabulūsī was on the permissibility of tobacco. Nabulūsī ruled for its permissibility in his epistle ‘*Risāla fī al-tutun wa al-qahwa*’⁴⁷ however Bursawī disagreed with him based on a dream he had where Ibn ‘Arabī was lecturing in a mosque in Damascus telling the congregation including Bursawī ‘this thing that is referred to as leaf among the common man, in our understanding it is impure, and forbidden’.⁴⁸

After a three year stay in Damascus, Bursawī returned to Istanbul rather than to Bursa in 1132/1720 and stayed there for three years. Although no specific reason is given by Bursawī about his preference for Istanbul, we can surmise that as head of the *Jalwatiyya* order he had to oversee the development of the order, guide and inspire the followers. With Bursawī’s headship, it was the first time in the order’s history that the head of *Jalwatiyya* order resided in a city outside of Istanbul which was the origin and major center of the order. Bursawī must have found it difficult to oversee the order’s

⁴⁵ S. Yıldız, “Türk Müfessiri,” p. 119.

⁴⁶ For a detailed account of Nabulūsī’s life and works please see: Bekri, Alaaddin. 1995. *Bir Çağın Öncüsü Şeyh Abdülğani Nablusi*. Trans. Veysel Uysal. Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları.

⁴⁷ A. Bekri, *Şeyh Abdülğani Nablusi*, p.233.

⁴⁸ A. Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı Bursevi*, p.97.

development and exercise his influence in the court of the Sultan from the farness of Bursa. So this three year stay was a great opportunity for Bursawī to arrange things before his departure from this world since he was almost seventy years old by that time. Bursawī also experienced the most prolific era of his life in terms of scholarly writing in this particular time. He is known to have written around thirty works in three years during his stay in Istanbul.⁴⁹ By the time he returned to Bursa in 1135/1723 Bursawī was seventy three years old having authored more than hundred works, and heading one of the largest *Ṣūfī* orders in Ottoman lands. Old age had its toll on Bursawī who started living a rather reserved life after his return. Burawī spent all his savings on building a mosque next to his convent at around this time.⁵⁰ He named the mosque Masjid Muḥammadī after seeing the Prophet in his dream before deciding on a name. He also donated all his books to his convent which subsequently became the source for the autograph copies of his works.⁵¹ Bursawī also continued writing, and delivered eight books during this time.⁵²

Bursawī passed away on 9 Zulkāda 1137/20 July 1725 in Bursa and was buried in the courtyard of his mosque next to his convent.⁵³ He was seventy five years old when he passed away. He left behind more than hundred works, and many disciples who completed their *sulūk* under him.

⁴⁹ S. Yıldız, "Türk Müfessiri," p.121. For Bursawī's sojourn in Istanbul please see: A. Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı Bursevî*, pp. 104-108.

⁵⁰ S. Yıldız, "Türk Müfessiri," p.123.

⁵¹ A. Namlı, *İsmail Hakkı Bursevî*, p. 110.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., pp.112, also see: S. Yıldız, "Türk Müfessiri," p. 125, H.Vassaf, *Kemalname-i İsmail Hakkı*, p. 24.