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Ismā‘il al-Qaṣrī, Kubrawiyya, and Sufi Genealogies: “Deep-Dark Transmissions” in Medieval Iran

This paper sheds light on Ismā‘il al-Qaṣrī, his scholarly and pietist networks, Sufi genealogy, and its later transmission. Other than his debated role in Najm al-Dīn Kubrā’s initiation into Sufism, very little is known on this understudied yet significant Sufi from Khuzistan. The paper argues that Ismā‘il al-Qaṣrī and his western Iranian Sufi genealogy was the primary, rather than secondary, initiatory chain claimed by Kubrā, his associates, and the later heritage. Besides, al-Qaṣrī’s robe continued to be transmitted beyond Kubrā’s Sufi chain, and received multiple names in the absence of a prominent, eponymous master to claim it. Also introducing the figures in al-Qaṣrī’s, and hence Kubrā’s, spiritual genealogy, the paper discovers the overlooked yet decisive impact of Iranian masters, most notably the famous pietist of the Fars area, Abū Ishāq al-Kāzarūnī, on Sufism in the later tradition.

Keywords: Kubrawiyya; Kāzarūniyya; Khuzistan; Sufism; Najm al-Dīn Kubrā; Ismā‘il al-Qaṣrī; Abū Ishāq al-Kāzarūnī; Robe (*khirqā*)

Born in Khiva near Khwarazm, Abū al-Jannāb Aḥmad Ibn ‘Umar, known as Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. ca. 618/1221), was a famous Sufi master and scholar. Celebrated as the eponym of a major *ṭarīqa* (Sufi order), he trained countless illustrious pupils and earned the well-known nickname, “*valī tarāsh*” (manufacturer of saints). Before earning this title, however, he himself underwent spiritual training as a Sufi novice under three major disciples of Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168). We encounter multiple narratives on the order in which he studied with these figures. As we find in Simnānī’s (d. 736/1336) *Chihil Majālis (Forty Assemblies)* collected by his pupil Iqbāl Sīstānī, the common narrative is that Kubrā was first initiated into Sufism in the hospice of Ismā‘il al-Qaṣrī in Dizful, Khuzistan. Al-Qaṣrī sent him to ‘Ammār Ibn Yāsir al-Bidlīsī (d. ca. 596/1200), who further sent him to

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Rūzbihān al-Wazzān al-Miṣrī (d. 584/1188) in Egypt. Here Kubrā would experience transformative visions, tame his ego, and move back to al-Bidlīsī.¹ In this account, both al-Qaṣrī and al-Bidlīsī endowed Kubrā with the Sufi robe. As Simnānī specifies in his *Tazkirat al-Mashāyikh*, Kubrā received his “foremost” robe of discipleship (*khirqā-yi aṣl*) from al-Qaṣrī, and the robe of blessing (*khirqā-yi tabarruk*), which is secondary in sequence and significance, from al-Bidlīsī.² The order is reversed in the narrative of Ḥusayn Khwārazmī (d. ca. 839/1436), the last known representative of the Kubrawī lineage of Bābā Kamāl Jandī (d. 671/1273). Accordingly, Kubrā first studied with Rūzbihān al-Wazzān in Cairo, then had an encounter with the ecstatic mystic Bābā Faraj in Tabriz, and later studied with al-Bidlīsī, and finally with al-Qaṣrī. In Khwārazmī’s account, Bābā Faraj appears as a holy fool (*majdhūb*), who had a major impact on Kubrā yet was unfit to be a spiritual guide.³ Thus, Kubrā first received from al-Bidlīsī the genealogy of discipleship (*shajara-yi irādat*), “denoting the initiatory genealogy of doctrinal inclination,” and then the genealogy of the robe (*shajara-yi khirqā*), “the lineage of the physical transmission of the Sufi robe,” from al-Qaṣrī.⁴ Hence Khwārazmī’s account not only reverses the order of his reception of the Sufi robes from al-Bidlīsī and al-Qaṣrī, but also their spiritual significance by giving the primacy to al-Bidlīsī.

Which of these three masters should be chosen in the construction of Kubrā’s Sufi genealogy? Considering the claim that all of them were pupils of Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī, this may appear an insignificant problem; however, this paper argues that it is of major importance for several reasons. First, I will show below that one of these three Sufi masters, al-Qaṣrī, relied on a different spiritual genealogy that has been understudied in the modern scholarship. Second, while the Kubrawī lineages extending to Egypt, Indonesia, India, Anatolia, and Central Asia all relied on al-Qaṣrī’s western Iranian genealogy, the way in which the modern scholarship has identified the lineage of al-Bidlīsī as the “primary chain” is worthy of attention. In identifying al-Bidlīsī’s lineage as the “primary chain,” modern scholarship has found a handy and familiar Sufi genealogy, the price of which has been the misidentification of Kubrawiyya as an offshoot of Suhrawardiyya. Arguably, the authentic spiritual genealogy of the Kubrawiyya is yet to be identified. Third, with this much-needed identification of Kubrā’s spiritual genealogy, a clearer picture of the construction of authority in the formation of Kubrawiyya can be drawn. This picture, as I will show below, embodies complex scholarly and Sufi networks that bear the neglected mark of Khuzistan.

¹Simnānī, *Chihil Majālis*, 186–9. On al-Wazzān, see Casewit, “Harmonizing Discursive Worlds,” 115.

²Simnānī, *Muṣannafāt*, 314; Elias, *Throne Carrier*, 39–40; Rowe, “Kubrā”; al-Kafawī, *Katā’ib*, 2:88; Jāmī, *Nafāḥāt*, 478–85; Simnānī in Martini, *‘Alā’ al-Dawla*, 445.

³DeWeese, “Bābā Faraj.”

⁴DeWeese, “Kashf,” 12.

Introduction: Politics of Spiritual Chains

The major implications of Khwārazmī's double reversal of Kubrā's spiritual genealogy that we find in Simnānī's writings are overlooked in the literature. Accordingly, whatever the order in which Kubrā studied with them, these three masters were all the leading disciples of Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī. Thus, having received spiritual robes from al-Qaṣrī and al-Bidlīsī, Kubrā would emerge as a charismatic Sufi master in Central Asia whose primary initiatory chain goes through Abū al-Najīb's lineage of illustrious pietists. As Rowe describes it:

al-Bidlīsī and al-Qaṣrī clothed Kubrā in the *khirqā* (a robe symbolising a vow of obedience to an order). It was through Kubrā's association with one or both of these masters, in addition to his tutelage under Rūzbihān, that the *silsila* (spiritual genealogy) of the Kubrawiyya can be traced back to Abū l-Najīb 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī. ... Each of these shaykhs was reputedly an initiate of that Ṣūfī order, with al-Bidlīsī even serving as Abū l-Najīb's *khalīfa* (deputy).⁵

Other scholars also argued along the same lines, regarding Kubrawiyya as a branch of the Suhrawardian genealogy.⁶ Accordingly, the order of his reception of the *khirqā* from al-Qaṣrī and al-Bidlīsī did not mean anything substantial, insofar as all three masters of Kubrā were eventually disciples of Abū al-Najīb. In the same way, Trimmingham's influential construction of the Kubrawī initiatory chain merges with that of the Suhrawardiyya, as both *tariqas* originate from Abū al-Najīb. Trimmingham argued that Kubrā received only a robe of blessing from al-Qaṣrī, while al-Bidlīsī played the primary role in the initiation, and, in turn, in Trimmingham's representation of the Kubrawī lineage.⁷ According to this now standard and well-known Kubrawī *silsila*, Kubrā is connected to Abū al-Najīb through his major deputy al-Bidlīsī, down to Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/815). Ma'rūf al-Karkhī was a student of both Dāwūd al-Ṭā'ī (d. ca. 165/782) and the eighth Shiite imam, 'Alī Ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (d. 203/818), as acknowledged by the Suhrawardian lineage, while the Kubrawī lineage coming through al-Bidlīsī follows the "strictly Sunni path." It traces back to 'Alī (d. 40/661) through Dāwūd al-Ṭā'ī, al-Ḥabīb al-'Ajāmī (d. ca. 156/773), and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), rather than 'Alī's descendants or loyal companion particularly revered by Shiites, Kumayl Ibn Ziyād (d. 82/701).⁸ This common lineage, often called the first or primary *isnād* (i.e. chain of trans-

⁵Rowe, "Kubrā."

⁶Insofar as Kobrā received his principal *kerqa* (initiativ robe) from Bedlisi, the Kobrawiyya may be regarded as a branch of the Sohravardiyya in its origins" (Algar, "Kobrawiyya"). "Since two of Abū'l-Najīb's students became masters of Najm al-Din Kubrā, the spiritual genealogy (*silsila*) of the Kubrawiyya order also goes back to Abū'l-Najīb" (Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism*, 203). Also see Danishpazhuh, "Khirqa-yi Hazār-Mikhī," 176.

⁷Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 55.

⁸Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 180, 262; DeWeese, "Kashf," 12–13; Āmulī, *Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūs*, 221–2.

mission) of the Kubrawiyya, is also the one claimed by Khwārazmī, through Bābā Kamāl Jandī:

Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī > al-Bidlīsī > Kubrā > Bābā Kamāl Jandī > Shaykh-i Ālam Majd al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Shams al-Dīn Muftī Jandī > Bahā' al-Dīn Kubrawī > Muḥammad Dānishmand Mawlānā Ibn Shams al-Dīn Muftī Jandī > Abū al-Futūḥ Ibn Bahā' al-Dīn Kubrawī > Khwāja Abū al-Wafā' Khwārazmī > Ḥusayn Khwārazmī.⁹

The earliest adoption of this now standard academic position of indifference, as far as I could trace, is with a student of Simnānī, Muḥammad Azkānī (690–778/1291–1376). In his *Shajaranāma*, Azkānī states that Kubrā had three masters, all of whom were pupils of Abū al-Najīb. He notes that al-Qaṣrī had a different chain of transmission through Kumayl, and quickly moves to introduce the names in al-Bidlīsī's Abū al-Najīb-based genealogy.¹⁰

On the other hand, we find a rather different spiritual chain claimed by Kubrā and his early pupils that questions this smooth narrative. Let us look at the genealogy of the robe (*nisbat al-khirqā*), which also marks the initiation to Sufism, claimed by Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī (565–616/1170–1219), the famous early associate of Kubrā:

The Prophet > 'Alī > al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Kumayl Ibn Ziyād > 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn Zayd > Abū Ya'qūb al-Sūsī > Abū Ya'qūb al-Nahrajūrī > Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Uthmān > Abū Ya'qūb al-Ṭabarī > Abū al-Qāsim Ibn Ramaḍān > Abū al-'Abbās Ibn Idrīs > Dāwūd Ibn Muḥammad known as Khādim al-Fuqarā' [Servant of the Poor] > Muḥammad Ibn Mānakīl > Shaykh al-Warā' [Master of all Humanity] Ism'īl al-Qaṣrī > Kubrā > Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī.¹¹

This chain, which is full of vague figures that we will discuss below, was in fact claimed by Kubrā himself as his primary spiritual chain. In an authorization that he granted to Raḍī al-Dīn 'Alī Lālā (d. 642/1244), Kubrā transmitted the robe that he received from “sayyidī wa shaykhī Shaykh al-Warā' al-Qaṣrī,” with his peculiar chain. Then he continued, stating that he wore the robe of blessing from al-Bidlīsī.¹² In his authorization granted to Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥammūya (d. 650/1253) in 616/1220, probably his most influential successor, Kubrā did not even mention al-Bidlīsī or his chain, and solely relied on al-Qaṣrī and his chain.¹³ In other words, the genealogy of the robes of Kubrā, Majd al-Dīn, 'Alī Lālā, and Sa'd al-Dīn did not pass through Abū al-Najīb, but through another chain of obscure names, sometimes (mis)named the

⁹DeWeese, “Kashf,” 76.

¹⁰Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Azkānī (or Adkānī) *Isfarā'īnī*. See Danishpazhuh, “Khirqā-yi Hazār-Mikhī,” 175–7.

¹¹Baghdādī, *Tuḥfat al-Barāva*, f. 242.

¹²Kubrā in Danishpazhuh, “Khirqā-yi Hazār-Mikhī,” 163–4.

¹³Abbasi, *Taṣṣiḥ*, 11.

“second *isnad*,” which Ismā‘il al-Qaṣrī inherited. Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī (d. 786/1385) would later rely on this Qaṣrian genealogy of ‘Alī Lālā in what he would define as his *futuwwa* (chivalry) lineage:

al-Qaṣrī > Kubrā > ‘Alī Lālā > Nūr al-Dīn Sālār > Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Jamāl al-Dīn Khurāsānī > Muḥammad Azkānī > Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī.¹⁴

Kubrā’s leading pupil active in Bukhara, “The Master of the Universe” (*Shaykh-i ‘Ālam*) Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī (d. 659/1261), relied on the same Qaṣrian lineage.¹⁵ When acknowledging that Kubrā received the primary robe from al-Qaṣrī, Simnānī also reproduced this chain of transmission.¹⁶ Another good example is Abū al-Mafākhir Yahyā Bākharzī (d. 736/1335), the author of the important Sufi manual *Awrād al-Aḥbāb*, and the leading representative of the Bākharziyya Kubrawī line. The *nisbat al-khirqā* that Abū al-Mafākhir received was also the above-noted chain of Ismā‘il al-Qaṣrī. He inherited this Qaṣrian chain via his father and grandfather:

al-Qaṣrī > Kubrā > Sayf al-Dīn Sa‘īd Bākharzī > Aḥmad Ibn Sa‘īd Bākharzī (d. 695/1296) > Abū al-Mafākhir Bākharzī.¹⁷

It was only Abū al-Mafākhir’s genealogy of the inculcation of mystical formula (*nisbat al-talqīn*) that passed to Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī through al-Bidlīsī—in the same way as described by Simnānī.¹⁸ Thus, Kubrā’s Qaṣrian initiatory chain was claimed not only by the immediate pupils, but also by the illustrious students in the following generations.

Other Sufis agreed with this early picture. In his discussion on the difference between *nisbat al-khirqā* and *nisbat al-talqīn*, Sa‘īd al-Dīn Farghānī (d. 699/1300) quoted Majd al-Dīn’s lineage, which, in turn, was reproduced with minor slips of the pen by Jāmī (d. 898/1492). Both Farghānī and Jāmī argued that Kubrā was connected to Abū al-Najīb through al-Bidlīsī in his *nisbat al-talqīn*, while his “foremost” initiatory chain relied on al-Qaṣrī, whose chain was different.¹⁹ The famous scholar al-Yāfi‘ī’s (d. 768/1367) historiographical work *Mir‘āt al-Janān* is another example. The work covers the historical events until the year 750/1349, and contains a biographical entry on Kubrā. Here, al-Yāfi‘ī states that Kubrā wore the “foremost” initiatory robe (*labasa khirqat al-aṣl*) in the hands of Ismā‘il al-Qaṣrī, and he reproduces the Qaṣrian chain given above.²⁰ Moreover, he adds that Kubrā wore solely the somewhat symbolic robe of blessing from the hands of al-Bidlīsī, and gives the

¹⁴Meier, *Die Fawā‘ih*, 34; DeWeese, “Kashf,” 53–4; Riyaz, *Aḥvāl va Āsār*, 374–5.

¹⁵Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 11:465.

¹⁶Simnānī, *Muṣannafāt*, 314; Simnānī in Martini, ‘*Alā’ al-Dawla*, 445; Meier, *Die Fawā‘ih*, 16–17.

¹⁷Bākharzī, *Awrād al-Aḥbāb*, 27–8.

¹⁸Ibid., 27.

¹⁹Jāmī, *Nafahāt*, 650–51.

²⁰Al-Yāfi‘ī, *Mir‘āt al-Janān*, 4:33.

chain that connects al-Bidlīsī to Abū al-Najīb and his well-known lineage. As we saw above, this description was indeed Kubrā's own vision. In all of these cases, al-Qaṣrī appears as the primary name in Kubrā's spiritual genealogy, and his chain is consistently connected to the vague figure known as "Ibn Mānakīl," "Ibn Yānakīl," "Ibn Māyankīl," "Ibn Malkīl," "Ibn Māzakīl,"²¹ or even "Ibn Mālīkī"²² or "Ibn Mikā'il,"²³ rather than the famous Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī.

The formation of a standard, primary Kubrawī initiatory *silsila* that passes through al-Bidlīsī rather than al-Qaṣrī, then, manifests four major problems. First, the replacement of the order in Kubrā's training by Khwārazmī has significant implications on construing his spiritual authority. Unlike contemporary scholars, who have argued that the order of Kubrā's study under the three disciples of Abū al-Najīb does not really matter, Khwārazmī was well aware of al-Qaṣrī's different chain when putting him into a secondary position compared to al-Bidlīsī.²⁴ His ascription of the double primacy to al-Bidlīsī embodied a move away from al-Qaṣrī's lineage of relatively vague local figures of western Iran to Abū al-Najīb's lineage of famous masters of Khurasan and Central Asia. Thus, it brought Kubrā's spiritual origins closer to Khwārazmī not only geographically but also spiritually through the presence of major Khurasanian Sufis.

Second, the double primacy given to al-Bidlīsī over al-Qaṣrī in Kubrā's training indicates the inclinations of some later Kubrawīs that reflect the spiritual genealogy claimed neither by Kubrā nor by his early associates. Thus, considering the Qaṣrian lineage as the second *isnād*, rather than the primary one, reflects an inclination that does not represent Kubrā, his major pupils, or even the early branches of the Kubrawiyya. Earlier associates of Kubrā and leading followers saw themselves within the initiatic lineage of al-Qaṣrī. Considering it secondary to the Bidlīsian lineage indicates a particular later tendency that cannot be extended to those figures who preceded Azkānī and Khwārazmī.

Third, the inclination of Azkānī and Khwārazmī cannot be extended to the later Kubrawī lineages either. A good example comes from the Ottoman Kubrawī lineage inherited by Ḥocazāde Aḥmed Ḥilmī (d. 1332/1914).²⁵ Aḥmed Ḥilmī begins his *Silsile-yi Meṣāyih* by introducing Ismā'il al-Qaṣrī and his peculiar chain to set the background for Kubrā's spiritual lineage. Then he moves to introduce the eponym Kubrā, relying on Simnānī's narrative on his education which prioritizes al-Qaṣrī. Finally, Aḥmed Ḥilmī gives his own Kubrawī genealogy, which passes through the leading Naqshī lineage of 'Abd Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1240/1824) and Aḥmad al-Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624), back to Kubrā's pupil Bābā Kamāl Jandī through Shaykh Aḥmad Ibn Shams al-Dīn Muftī.²⁶ Aḥmed Ḥilmī is thus relating Bābā Kamāl

²¹Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 3:140.

²²Danishpazhuh, "Khirqa-yi Hazār-Mikhī," 163.

²³'Abd al-Hādī, *Fī al-Taṣīr*, 29.

²⁴See Khwārazmī in Meier, *Die Fawā'id*, 34, fn. 2.

²⁵Born in Erzincan in Central Anatolia, Aḥmed Ḥilmī was a follower of İzmirli Oṣmān Nūrī Efendi — an influential Naqshī Sufi. Together with the Naqshbandiyya, İzmirli Oṣmān also transmitted the Suhrawardī and Kubrawī robes to Aḥmed Ḥilmī, whose Turkish book, *Silsile-yi Meṣāyih-i Sühreverdīyye ve Kübrevīyye*, preserves both of these entire *silsilas* going back to the Prophet.

²⁶Ḥilmī, *Silsile-yi Meṣāyih*, 35–47; DeWeese, "Kashf," 75–7.

Jandī's initiatory genealogy to al-Qaṣrī rather than al-Bidlīsī. It is also worth emphasizing that Aḥmed Ḥilmī depicts al-Qaṣrī as a leading pupil of Abū al-Najīb, but he still gives al-Qaṣrī's peculiar lineage, which Kubrā inherited, to be transmitted to himself through a long chain of Kubrawī and Naqshī Sufis. The Qaṣrian line was the primary, and, in fact, the only chain acknowledged within this lineage that came down to fourteenth-/twentieth-century Anatolia. The same with the dominant Kubrawī lineage in Egypt. Abū al-Mawāhib al-Shinnāwī's (975–1028/1568–1619) lineage of Kubrawī Sufi robe features illustrious figures like 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī (898–973/1492–1565), Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520), and others, going back to al-Qaṣrī and his non-Junaydian, Kumayl-based lineage through Kubrā, Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī, and 'Alī Lālā.²⁷ It was this Qaṣrian line inherited by al-Shinnāwī that was transmitted to Indonesia. The Kubrawī lineage found in the chronicle *Sejarah Banten Ranté-Ranté* and written in Java during 1072–1125/1662–1713 also descends through al-Qaṣrī and his obscure chain.²⁸

Finally, to make a general evaluation of historiography, it seems that the ascription of the priority to al-Bidlīsī, and thus to Abū al-Najīb, brought Kubrā's spiritual origins closer not only to later followers like Azkānī and Khwārazmī, but also to Muslim biographers, and to the modern academy as well. While the academic literature quickly carried his spiritual lineage to better-known figures, what is interesting is that the later Muslim heritage also did not shed much light on al-Qaṣrī or his spiritual genealogy composed of obscure names of Sufis from Khuzistan and Luristan. The biographical dictionaries after the eighth/fourteenth century, as far as I could trace, are mostly silent on al-Qaṣrī's lineage, if they are not simply repeating earlier entries only with added typing errors. One of the most prolific historians of all time, al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) makes a fascinating observation, illustrating this point. He has an entry on Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī, where he relied on a vast amount of sources, and was able to find Bākharzī's initiatic lineage. The lineage, as we saw above, passed through Ismā'īl al-Qaṣrī, who received the robe from "Ibn Nākīl [sic]," tracing back to the Prophet via Kumayl and 'Alī. Al-Dhahabī explains that his source on this lineage of Bākharzī was Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's (d. 723/1323) now non-extant *Mu'jam al-Alqāb*.²⁹ After copying the chain from Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's work, al-Dhahabī adds in the first person: "and I said: 'these are deep-dark transmissions; nothing bears any resemblance to them!'"³⁰ Here al-Dhahabī seems to speak on

²⁷ Al-Qushāshī, *al-Simt al-Majīd*, 119; Ibn Muḥammadqulī, *Abaqāt al-Anwār*, 10:445–6. Similarly with the Persian *Mir'āt al-Awliyā'* penned by Muḥammad Shu'ayb Haravī (d. 1238/1823): in his introduction to the Kubrawī *silsila*, he begins with the non-Junaydian chain of al-Qaṣrī, and adds al-Bidlīsī as the second chain. See Haravī, *Mir'āt al-Awliyā'*, 344–5.

²⁸ Wain, "The Kubrawī," 3.

²⁹ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's massive *Majma' al-Ādāb fī Mu'jam al-Alqāb* is only an abbreviated version of this even longer biographical book that did not survive. Thus, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's extant work does not preserve this chain, and omits possibly unique information on al-Qaṣrī and his spiritual genealogy.

³⁰ "Qultu: *hadhibi al-ṭuruq ḡulumāt mudlahimma, mā asbbahabā bi-l-waḍ'!*" (Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 16:488).

behalf of not only Muslim historians, but also the academic literature on Kubrā's spiritual genealogy.

The primacy of the Qaṣriān or the Bidlisian lineage certainly mattered in the construction of spiritual authority among later Kubrawīs. The constructions of such post-Kubrā lineages and branches are relatively well-studied, thanks to the presence of widely circulating writings of Kubrā and his illustrious pupils, and to the work of modern scholars. Yet when it comes to the key figure in this discussion and in Kubrā's spiritual genealogy, Ismā'īl al-Qaṣrī and his peculiar chain, the literature is surprisingly silent. Beyond Simnānī's oft-repeated narrative on Kubrā's initiation into Sufism in his hospice in Dizful, and a couple of further sentences, nothing is known on him.³¹ Similarly, the "deep-dark" Sufi genealogy of al-Qaṣrī, whereon Kubrā's spiritual authority primarily relies, has not even been discussed in the literature, to my knowledge, beyond its reproduction in various studies.³² This paper will undertake that task by introducing al-Qaṣrī, his network, his spiritual genealogy in western Iran, and its future beyond Kubrawiyya and its branches.

Ismā'īl al-Qaṣrī: A Biography

Dizful, literally "Fortress Bridge," where Kubrā entered the Sufi path under Ismā'īl al-Qaṣrī, is a relatively large city located in Khuzistan in western Persia, on the left bank of the Diz river (Āb-I Diz) that rises in the Central Zagros Mountains to its north. A contemporary of Ismā'īl al-Qaṣrī, the famous traditionist (*muḥaddith*) Abū Tāhir Aḥmad al-Silafī (d. 576/1180), who visited the place after 500/1106 and studied with many scholars there, called it simply "the city of the Fortress" (*Madīnat al-Qaṣr*).³³ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa did not visit the city, but knew it as "Disbūl." Accordingly, the northwestern gate of Tustar (modern Shooshtar), which is located around 60 kilometers southeast of Dizful, was known as "the gate of Disbūl." Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Tustar, moving eastward towards Isfahan.³⁴ Still, the presence of a gate in Tustar named after Dizful informs us of the presence of a common way, and close social relations between the two cities of Khuzistan.

The name "al-Qaṣrī," as a reference to the presence of a fortress, could apply to people from quite different geographies. Various towns in Kufa, Tunis, Basra, or Gharnata contained such fortresses, which, in turn, were used as a nickname for people from these

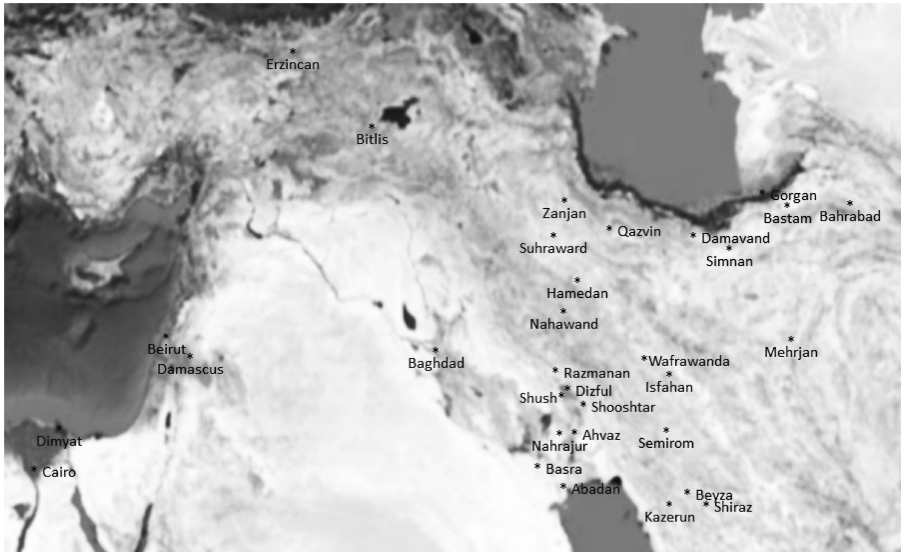
³¹Cf. Meier, *Die Fawā'ih*, 16–17; Jāmī, *Nafahāt*, 480; Böwering, "Kubra's Treatise," 8–9; Mahdavi, *A'lām Isfahān*, 1:590.

³²E.g. Meier, *Die Fawā'ih*, 197; Elias, *Throne Carrier*, 40; Steinfels, *Knowledge Before Action*, 161; Danishpazhuh, "Khirqa-yi Hazār-Mikhī," 163; Wain, "The Kubrawī," 3.

³³Al-Silafī, *Mu'jam al-Safar*, 195, 245, 323, 374. The origins of the city go back to the Sasanid bridge built by the 300s over the river and the fortress to defend it. "Qaṣr al-Rūnāsh," "Qanṭarat al-Rūm" (Roman Bridge), "Qanṭarat al-Rūd" (River Bridge) were among the names used to describe it. Yāqūt called it "Qaṣr al-Rūnāsh," adding that the place is also known by the name "Dizbuhl," which, he rightly declares, means "Fortress Bridge" (*qal'at al-qanṭara*) (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 4:357). In his brief entry on al-Qaṣrī, Simnānī calls the city "Disbūl" (Simnānī, *Muṣannafāt*, 319).

³⁴Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuhfat al-Nuẓẓār*, 2:20.

Figure 1. Map.



areas.³⁵ Yet there is no doubt that al-Qaṣrī was indeed from Dizful in Khuzistan, where his hospice was located, and where he died.³⁶ Here, al-Silafī studied under scholars who were originally of diverse geographies: including Beirut, Astarabad (modern Gorgan), and the nearby city of Ahvaz (see Figure 1).³⁷

In his brief entry on Qaṣr al-Rūnāsh, i.e. Dizful, Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) adds some intriguing information, mentioning the name of a single figure known from the city: “many people are related to here. One of them: Abū Ibrāhīm [sic] Ismā‘il Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qaṣrī, one of the distinguished pietists [*aḥād ibād al-mujtabidīn*]. He was teaching in the year 557/1162.”³⁸ As we will see below, this person is indeed our Ismā‘il al-Qaṣrī, on whom, other than Simnānī’s oft-repeated anecdote, nothing substantial was known. Beyond “Abū al-Ḥasan Ismā‘il al-Qaṣrī,” given to us by al-Yāfi‘ī, and Simnānī’s “Ismā‘il Ibn Ḥusayn [sic] al-Qaṣrī,” a fuller version of his name was not even available to trace him.³⁹ With Yāqūt’s brief entry, a broader range of biographical sources become available to inform us about al-Qaṣrī. First, however, in order to ensure that Yāqūt’s Ismā‘il Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qaṣrī is indeed the correct person, we must visit the spiritual lineage of another leading Sufi. This prominent figure is none other than Quṭb al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī

³⁵ Al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh al-Islām*, 11:687; al-Rāfi‘ī, *al-Tadwīn*, 2:375; Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl*, 4:55–6; 4:153–4; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Udabā’*, 4:1575; Jāmī, *Nafahāt*, 220.

³⁶ Simnānī, *Muṣannafāt*, 319.

³⁷ Al-Silafī, *Mu‘jam al-Safar*, 245, 323, 374.

³⁸ Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 4:357.

³⁹ Danishpazhuh’s edition of a letter of Kubrā came close to the correct name: “Ismā‘il (Ibn) al-Ḥusayn Ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qaṣrī.” See Danishpazhuh, “Khirqā-yi Hazār-Mikhī,” 163.

(d. 686/1287), a leading companion of ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) and a major transmitter of the Suhrawardian robe and corpus in Syria, Hijaz, and Egypt.

The traditionist Sufi Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī associated with multiple masters. Three of them, who invested him with the Sufi robe, are mentioned in detail in his *Irtifā’ al-Rutba*. Among them, ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī is the last. Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī’s second master, who invested him with the robe in Mecca, was Nāṣir al-‘Aṭṭār al-Miṣrī (538–634/1144–1236).⁴⁰ Al-‘Aṭṭār, in turn, received it from al-Samīrumī.⁴¹ Al-Samīrumī was serving in Mecca as the imam of the Station of Abraham (Maqām Ibrāhīm)—a position later taken by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabarī (636–722/1238–1322).⁴² Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī notes that al-Samīrumī had received the robe from “Ismā‘il Ibn al-Ḥasan,” who was introduced to the Sufi path by ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Dushmanziyār, and received the Sufi robe from Muḥammad Ibn Mānakīl, who had received it from Dāwūd Ibn Muḥammad, known as Khādīm al-Fuqarā’, and so on.⁴³ In other words, Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī’s “Ismā‘il Ibn al-Ḥasan” and Ismā‘il al-Qaṣrī have identical genealogies. This identity tells us a few important things. First, the “Ismā‘il Ibn al-Ḥasan” in Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī’s chain of transmission is the same person as the master of Kubrā, Abū al-Ḥasan Ismā‘il al-Qaṣrī. Second, we observe that al-Qaṣrī initiated disciples other than Kubrā, for example al-Samīrumī, into Sufism. Third, his independent chain remained alive through other disciples, who kept transmitting it without associating with, or connecting themselves to, Kubrā. Rather, it was perceived and formally granted as an independent robe by Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī, to be passed to later initiates beyond any fixed *ṭarīqa* affiliation.

To focus on the biographical information first, al-Qaṣrī’s full name was Abū al-Ḥasan (and not Abū Ibrāhīm) Ismā‘il Ibn al-Ḥasan (and not Ibn Ḥusayn) Ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qaṣrī. In some biographical sources, the rare moniker “the cave of religion,” “Kahf al-Dīn,” is also ascribed to him—one can only speculate on its significance. This moniker is absent in Arabic biographical dictionaries, which prefer “Jamāl al-Dīn.” A few, some Turkish, names bearing “Kahf al-Dīn” are mentioned by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, indicating the relative popularity of this otherwise unusual moniker in western Iran.⁴⁴ One of the figures who shared this name was al-Qaṣrī’s

⁴⁰ Abū ‘Alī Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-‘Aṭṭār al-Miṣrī. Originally from Egypt, Nāṣir al-‘Aṭṭār was a Shāfi‘ī traditionist who spent most of his adult life in Mecca, where he settled, taught, and died. He gave an authorization to the historian al-Mundhirī (d. 656/1258), who also received an authorization from ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī, and taught the Mālikī jurist and traditionist, Rashīd al-Dīn Yahyā Ibn ‘Alī al-Qurashī al-‘Aṭṭār (584–662/1188–1264). See Al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh al-Islām*, 14:162; 15:65.

⁴¹ The name “al-Samīrumī” comes from the modern-day Semirum, located halfway between Isfahan and Shiraz (see Figure 1; Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, 3:257). It is often mistakenly called “al-Sumayramī,” “al-Susmayramī,” or “al-Samīrī.” E.g. al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr*, 2:113.

⁴² Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Uthmān Ibn Banjīr al-Samīrumī. See al-Makkī, *al-Iqd al-Thamīn*, 2:378–9. Al-Ṭabarī was a leading Shāfi‘ī traditionist who disseminated the works of ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī and Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638/1240) as well as *The Riḍāan Traditions*.

⁴³ Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī, “Irtifā’ al-Rutba,” 81–3; Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Ṭabaqāt al-Awliyā’*, 506; al-Sakhāwī in Guerin, “Iršād al-Gāwī,” 2:456; al-Suyūṭī, “Sanad,” 79.

⁴⁴ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma’ al-Adāb*, 4:280–83.

great-grandson, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl Ibn 'Uthmān, who transmitted from him. The sole independent biographical entry devoted to al-Qaṣrī is also presented in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's *Majma' al-Ādāb*. Below, I will translate Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's consecutive entries on al-Qaṣrī and his descendant, Abū Ibrāhīm:

Kahf al-Dīn Ismā'īl Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qaṣrī, the master, the traditionist. He was one of the traditionist pious devotees of God. He collected a *Book of Forty Traditions* [*Kitāb al-Arba'in*]. His descendant Kahf al-Dīn Ismā'īl Ibn 'Uthmān narrated from it. Our master Ṣadr al-Dīn Abū al-Majāmi' Ibrāhīm Ibn Shaykh al-Islām Sa'd al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Mu'ayyad al-Ḥammūya has mentioned of this *Book of Forty Traditions* in *The Forth Traditions* [*Kitāb al-Arba'ināt*] that he compiled. He said: "The master Majd al-Dīn Abū Yazīd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn Abī Yazīd⁴⁵ has narrated it to me through my recitation of it to him in Jumādī al-Ākhira 694/May 1295 at the grave of his supreme ancestor, the sultan of the knowers, Abū Yazīd Ṭayfūr Ibn 'Isā Ibn Surūshān al-Biṣṭāmī."⁴⁶

Kahf al-Dīn Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl Ibn 'Uthmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Kahf al-Dīn Ismā'īl al-Qaṣrī al-Khūzī, the preacher, descendant of the former. He was a leading, virtuous, knowledgeable, good-doing Qur'an-reciter and preacher. His speech was subtle and serene, and his intimations were elegant and stimulating. He came to Baghdad in 675/1276–77, and assembled a circle for his sermons at the Mustanṣiriyya Madrasa. When I came to Baghdad, the City of Peace, with the pointing of the Ṣāhib al-Sa'id 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā' Malik, I wrote to him a letter, and asked him for an authorization, with all of its benefits and pearls [*al-fawā'id wa al-farā'id*]. He had a general authorization written for me, together with a pamphlet in his own handwriting that contains both poetry and prose. I mentioned him in my *Mashyakha*.⁴⁷

Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's knowledge of al-Qaṣrī thus relied on two figures that he met in person. One of them was al-Qaṣrī's descendant, who disseminated his *Book of Forty Traditions*, authorized Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, and preached at the prominent school established in Baghdad in 631/1233 by the caliph al-Mustanṣir (r. 623–40/1226–42). Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's second source is none other than Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (644–722/1246–1322), the son of Sa'd al-Dīn Ḥammūya, and an important factor in Ghazan Khan's (d. 703/1304) conversion to Islam. He was also married to the daughter of the above-mentioned vizier and historian, 'Aṭā' Malik al-Juwaynī (623–81/1226–83). Ṣadr al-Dīn had formally received al-Qaṣrī's *Book of Forty*

⁴⁵This descendant of Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī is also briefly mentioned by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (*Majma' al-Ādāb*, 4:552). He should not be confused with the father of the famous author Muṣannifak (803–75/1400–75), who was also known as Majd al-Dīn Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mas'ūd al-Biṣṭāmī.

⁴⁶Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma' al-Ādāb*, 4:280–81.

⁴⁷Ibid., 4:281.

Traditions from a descendant of the great mystic Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 262/875) at his tomb in Bastam, and himself wrote a book with a similar title.⁴⁸

As in the case of Yāqūt's brief reference, any direct or indirect mention of Sufism is entirely absent in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's entry on al-Qaṣrī. His portrait is of a pious traditionalist, which is further reinforced by other references to him. The historian of Qazwin, al-Rāfi'ī (d. 623/1226) mentions al-Qaṣrī only once, and it is in the same context of *ḥadīth* transmission. Accordingly, the Shāfi'ī writer and theologian al-Najjār (493–575/1100–79), passed on *ḥadīth* from al-Qaṣrī.⁴⁹ Al-Rāfi'ī provides us with valuable information on the chain of transmission, and the content. Accordingly, al-Najjār “heard *The Riḍāian Traditions* from Abū al-Ḥasan Ismā'īl Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qaṣrī” through the following narration:

al-Riḍā (d. 203/819) > Dāwūd Ibn Sulaymān al-Ghazī (d. af. 203/819)⁵⁰ > 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mihrawayh (d. 335/946–47)⁵¹ > Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Ghazzāl (d. 382/992)⁵² > Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Razzāq⁵³ > Abū 'Uthmān Ismā'īl Ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī (d. 509/1115–16)⁵⁴ > al-Qaṣrī > al-Najjār.⁵⁵

This chain is composed of a distinct group of scholars who are all from Isfahan or Qazwin, and some of them are known to have disseminated or studied traditions in nearby cities in western Iran, like Nahavand (see Figure 1). The chain does not contain any figure beyond this area. Some of these figures, such as al-Qaṣrī's immediate teacher, are criticized as being erroneous.⁵⁶ *The Riḍāian Traditions* is certainly a reference to the famous *Ṣaḥīfat al-Riḍā*, also known as *The Riḍāian Pages* (*al-Ṣaḥīfa al-Riḍāwīyya*), which is a collection of prophetic traditions compiled by the eighth imam al-Riḍā, narrated through 'Alīd chains, thus also called *Ṣaḥīfat Aḥl al-Bayt*.⁵⁷ As al-Rāfi'ī explains, many believed that al-Riḍā hid in a house in Qazwin for a while, and passed on *ḥadīth* here to Dāwūd Ibn Sulaymān, who transmitted them to other Qazwīnian traditionists, including 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Mihrawayh. Dāwūd Ibn Sulaymān claimed to have obtained a hand-written copy

⁴⁸Ṣadr al-Dīn is well known as a *ḥadīth* scholar, but the title of his work in this field, to my knowledge, was not yet identified. Only *Farā'id al-Simṭayn*, a book on the family of the Prophet, was known in the literature to be written by him. Cf. Elias, “Sufi Lords,” 69.

⁴⁹Abū Muḥammad Ṭāhir Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī known as “al-Najjār.” See al-Rāfi'ī, *al-Tadwīn*, 3:96–104.

⁵⁰Ibid., 3:3.

⁵¹Al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 7:693.

⁵²Ibid., 8:538.

⁵³Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Razzāq Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ja'far al-Khaṭīb. See Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, 59:92, 43:529, Ibn al-Zāhirī, *Mashyakha*, 2:1439; 3:1900; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 14:299.

⁵⁴Al-Dhahabī, *al-Ibar*, 2:393; al-Rūdānī, *Ṣilat al-Khalaf*, 97.

⁵⁵Al-Rāfi'ī, *al-Tadwīn*, 3:101.

⁵⁶Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 8:39.

⁵⁷See e.g. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma' al-Adāb*, 4:155.

(*nuskha*) of al-Riḍā's narrations, as reported in various sources, including Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) and al-Rāfi'ī.⁵⁸ However, Ibn Ḥajar argues that various *ḥadīths* were ascribed to al-Riḍā, especially by Shiite groups, which were all fabrications.⁵⁹ The examples of fabricated traditions given by Ibn Ḥajar are all found in the book *The Riḍāian Traditions*.⁶⁰ In other words, we find al-Qaṣrī transmitting a *ḥadīth* compilation that was suspect in the eyes of Sunni scholars like Ibn Ḥajar, who received multiple Sufi robes. In fact, as we will see below, Ibn Ḥajar received the Sufi robe relying on al-Qaṣrī's chain, while he does not seem to have had any idea that the person in the genealogy of his robe was disseminating these traditions that he was associating with Shiite scholarship.

Like al-Qaṣrī, one of those disseminating the *Ṣaḥīfat al-Riḍā* was the above-mentioned Kubrawī master, Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ḥammūya. Ṣadr al-Dīn is often associated with Shiism, and his *ḥadīth* scholarship became the subject of al-Dhahabī's fierce criticism, similar to that of Ibn Ḥajar.⁶¹ Various scholars, such as Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAlī al-Bayhaqī,⁶² the Shiite scholar ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Sabzivārī, and the Shiite writer Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ardabādī (fl. twelfth/eighteenth) transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfat al-Riḍā* through chains that went back to Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm:

al-Riḍā > (Aḥmad Ibn ʿĀmir al-Ṭā'ī)⁶³ > Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn ʿĀmir al-Ṭā'ī in Basra (d. 324/936) > Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Nīsābūrī (d. 344/955-6) > Abū al-Qāsim Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 406/1016) > Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan Ibn Aḥmad al-Sakkākī⁶⁴ > Zāhid Ibn Ṭāhir al-Shahḥāmī (d. 533/1138) > Abū Ruwaḥ al-Ṣūfi al-Harawī (522–618/1128–1221)⁶⁵ > Aḥmad Ibn ʿAsākīr (614–99/1217–1300)⁶⁶ > Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm > Ghiyāth al-Dīn Hibat Allāh Ibn Yūsuf.⁶⁷

Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm had received the *Ṣaḥīfat al-Riḍā* from Aḥmad Ibn ʿAsākīr in Rabīʿ al-Awwal 695/January–February 1296 at the Sumaysāṭiyya Sufi lodge (*khānaqāh*).⁶⁸ That is, around eight months after studying al-Qaṣrī's *Book of Forty Traditions* in Bastam, and six months after moving from his hometown, Bahrabad, to

⁵⁸ Al-Rāfi'ī, *al-Tadwīn*, 3:3.

⁵⁹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabdhīb*, 7:388–9; cf. Elias, "Sufi Lords," 70–3.

⁶⁰ See e.g. al-Riḍā, *Ṣaḥīfat al-Imām*, 61 (no. 91), 52 (no. 50).

⁶¹ Elias, "Sufi Lords," 70–3.

⁶² Husaynī, *Tarājīm*, 1:481.

⁶³ The chain is incomplete, and omits at least Aḥmad Ibn ʿĀmir al-Ṭā'ī, the father of the next person in the chain. See Böwering, "Major Sources," 53–6.

⁶⁴ Cf. al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 9:105; al-Riḍā, *Ṣaḥīfat al-Imām*, 21.

⁶⁵ Al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 13:547.

⁶⁶ Al-Riḍā, *Ṣaḥīfat al-Imām*, 21.

⁶⁷ See *ibid.*, 20–1, 27–8, 30–1.

⁶⁸ Al-Riḍā, *Ṣaḥīfat al-Imām*, 22–3. In order to differentiate these locations, I am translating *khānaqāh* as "lodge," *ribāt* as "hospice," and *zāwiya* as "convent." For the translations of the original terms, and their changing uses in different geographies and times, see Zarcone, "Sufism, Tombs and Convents."

Damavand in order to supervise Ghazan Khan's conversion to Islam, Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm was now studying the *Ṣaḥīfat al-Riḍā* in a major Sufi center in Damascus (see Figure 1).⁶⁹ Through general authorizations, both the *Ṣaḥīfat al-Riḍā* and al-Qaṣrī's *Book of Forty Traditions* would be transmitted among Kubrawīs down the following centuries:

Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm > Ghiyāth al-Dīn > Sa'd al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn 'Abd al-Wāhid > Ṭāhir Ibn Muḥammad al-Rāwnīzī.⁷⁰

Al-Qaṣrī's *Book of Forty Traditions* was separate from the *Ṣaḥīfat al-Riḍā*, and it survives in a single manuscript copied in 775/1374.⁷¹ The work comprises forty prophetic sayings that explain the pillars of faith and the fundamentals of Islam. Among the immediate authorities from which he takes these sayings, we find the above-named Abū 'Uthmān Ismā'il al-Iṣfahānī, from whom al-Qaṣrī was also transmitting *The Riḍāian Traditions*, and Ibn Rashnawayh, a teacher of al-Silafī.⁷² Only a couple of *The Riḍāian Traditions* are found in al-Qaṣrī's *Book of Forty Traditions*,⁷³ indicating his independent studies in prophetic sayings, which is corroborated by a valuable authorization (*ijāza*) recorded on the last folio of al-Qaṣrī's work. Here we read that his descendant, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'il Ibn 'Uthmān, passed a volume of the famous exegetical work of al-Wāhidī (d. 468/1075), *al-Wajīz fī al-Tafsīr*, to a disciple named 'Izz al-Dīn 'Umar Ibn 'Alī al-Tustarī⁷⁴ in 674/1275 (see Figure 3). Accordingly, Abū Ibrāhīm was transmitting this work, and other writings of al-Wāhidī through the following chain:

al-Wāhidī > 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ṭūsī (d. ca. 546/1151)⁷⁵ > Ismā'il al-Qaṣrī > 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tustarī⁷⁶ > Abū Ibrāhīm al-Qaṣrī > 'Umar al-Tustarī.⁷⁷

To close the introduction to al-Qaṣrī's profile, we should discuss the year of his death, and a final high-profile pupil of his, to shed light on it. Regarding his death, the year

⁶⁹Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm was known to have joined Ghazan Khan in June 1295, performed pilgrimage in August 1295, and studied *ḥadīth* in Damascus, while further details were not known (see Elias, "Sufi Lords," 67–9). Now we can have a clearer picture of his travels.

⁷⁰Al-Riḍā, *Ṣaḥīfat al-Imām*, 22–3.

⁷¹Al-Qaṣrī, *Arba'ūn Ḥadīth* (see Figure 3).

⁷²Abū al-Ḥasan Hibat Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Rashnawayh. See al-Silafī, *Mu'jam al-Safar*, 1:422–3.

⁷³For example, the prophetic saying given at the start of al-Qaṣrī's *Book of Forty Traditions* and the *ḥadīth* given in two narrations in nos. 21 and 22 are found in *The Riḍāian Traditions*. See al-Riḍā, *Ṣaḥīfat al-Imām*, 40 (no. 3), 65 (no. 114); al-Qaṣrī, *Arba'ūn Ḥadīth*, f. 106, 117–18.

⁷⁴Possibly 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Umar Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Umar al-Tustarī, who was a lecturer (*mudarris*) at the Thiqaṭiyya madrasa in Baghdad. Cf. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma' al-Adāb*, 1:277.

⁷⁵Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Khayyām. See al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 11:1007; al-Rāfi'ī, *al-Tadwīn*, 3:209.

⁷⁶Quṭb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad al-Tustarī known as Ibn al-Rūmī.

⁷⁷Al-Qaṣrī, *Arba'ūn Ḥadīth*, f. 129.

589/1193 was proposed by Meier, and this year ever since has been consistently accepted in the literature. It is important to remember that Meier’s single source on this year was quite late: the *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā’* by Ghulam Sarwar Lahori (1837–90).⁷⁸ This year is challenged by another later source. The above-mentioned late-Ottoman Sufi, Aḥmed Ḥilmī, gives the year 565/1169–70 for al-Qaṣrī’s death. Both years appear likely in the light of the above information on al-Qaṣrī’s students and networks. However, there is another illustrious Sufi known to have studied under al-Qaṣrī, who makes Ghulam Sarwar’s entry more likely. The analysis of a newly discovered manuscript, *Nisbat Ṣuḥbat al-Shaykh al-Suhrawardī*, provides us with the names of the otherwise unknown Sufi masters of another great eponym, ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī. After the death of his uncle and first teacher in Sufism, Abū al-Najīb, ‘Umar traveled from Baghdad to Basra, Abadan, Dizful, Hamadan, and Zanjan (possibly through his hometown of Suhraward, located between the two cities) to study with various Sufi masters, some of whom we know to have associated with ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166) (see Figure 1). He stayed in Basra for at least a couple of years before moving to Abadan, where he would stay for around forty days. Then he moved north to Dizful, where he “profited from the vision” of a Sufi master named “Shaykh Ismā‘il,” before moving further north in western Iran.⁷⁹ This Shaykh Ismā‘il of Dizful is almost certainly none other than al-Qaṣrī, on whom a separate Sufi lineage of his prominent associate, Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī, also relied. Hence this visit to Dizful suggests not only that al-Qaṣrī was a joint teacher of the two great eponyms, al-Suhrawardī and Kubrā, but also makes the year 565/1169–70 unlikely for al-Qaṣrī’s death, insofar as Abū al-Najīb died in 563/1168, triggering ‘Umar’s travels in western Iran. The year 589/1193 remains the most likely year for al-Qaṣrī’s death.

Descendants, Lineages, and Robes

Like al-Qaṣrī, his descendant Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā‘il Ibn ‘Uthmān, who transmitted his work and learnings, is also depicted by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī as a traditionalist and preacher without any mention of Sufism. The authorization record appended to al-Qaṣrī’s *Book of Forty Traditions* indicates that Abū Ibrāhīm was disseminating not only the corpus of al-Wāḥidī, but also another popular work in prophetic traditions, al-Ṣaghānī’s (d. 650/1252) *Mashāriq al-Anwār*.⁸⁰ There is, on the other hand, one piece of information that sheds new light not only on al-Qaṣrī’s connection with his pupil Kubrā, but also Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī, who inherited his Sufi robe. This is a biographical note on Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh al-Asadī, who is best known as Najm al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī (573–654/1177–1256)—the influential pupil of Kubrā who also met many other leading Sufis, such as ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī. Along with Kubrā and Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī, Dāya’s masters included the above-mentioned source of the *Ṣaḥīfat al-Riḍā*, Abū Ruwaḥ al-Harawī. Besides, among those influenced by Dāya

⁷⁸Meier, *Die Fawā’ih*, 17.

⁷⁹‘Umar al-Suhrawardī, *Nisbat Ṣuḥbat al-Shaykh al-Suhrawardī*, ff. 167b–168a.

⁸⁰Al-Qaṣrī, *Arba‘un Hadīth*, f. 129.

Rāzī, two names are notable: Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī, and Abū Ibrāhīm Ibn ‘Uthmān al-Qaṣrī.⁸¹ In other words, a direct teacher of Abū Ibrāhīm was Dāya Rāzī, who seems to have been closely connected to the networks that transmitted al-Qaṣrī’s work, in addition to his participation in passing on his Sufi robe through the mediation of Kubrā. Before passing on al-Qaṣrī’s *Book of Forty Traditions*, Abū Ibrāhīm must have received it from the above-mentioned ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Tustarī or Dāya Rāzī, who, in turn, may have received it from Majd al-Dīn, Kubrā, Abū Ruwaḥ, or others.

One final descendant of al-Qaṣrī can be noted in the extant sources. The author of the *Shīrāznāma*, Mu‘īn al-Dīn Aḥmad Zarkūb (d. 789/1387–88), is known to have entered the Sufi path under the guidance of a certain “Ṣadr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Ibn Kahf al-Dīn Ismā‘īl Ibn ‘Umar [sic] al-Qaṣrī,” who must be the son of Abū Ibrāhīm.⁸² Thus ‘Abd al-Laṭīf kept operating as a Sufi, although he did not invest any robe. Mu‘īn al-Dīn received Sufi training from ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, a Rifā‘īan robe from a descendant of Aḥmad al-Rifā‘ī (d. 578/1182), and a robe from his uncle, Rukn al-Dīn (d. 733/1332).⁸³ In other words, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf endorses the image depicted by his father where the descendants of al-Qaṣrī did not transmit his robe. It is a peculiar case that al-Qaṣrī’s Sufi robe kept being passed on independently even after the rise of Kubrā, and those doing so were not his descendants.⁸⁴

Before moving to the later scholars who inherited this spiritual genealogy, we can legitimately ask how the robe was authorized, or “labeled” in the absence of a Sufi eponym. If it was not a “Suhrawardī” or “Kubrawī” robe, what was its genealogical significance? The various labels ascribed to it provide a fluid picture, indicating a context-dependent spiritual weight.

The first and earliest label of the robe is provided by the associates of Kubrā, Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī and Simnānī. In his *Tazkīrat al-Mashāyikh*, Simnānī explains that ‘Alī Lālā underwent a rigorous ascetic training under Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī. He continues with the following description:

[‘Alī Lālā] wore the thousand-patched robe [*khirqā-yi hazār-mīkhī*] in his [i.e. Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī’s] hands. He wore it from the hands of the master Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, and he wore the foremost robe from the hands of Shaykh al-Warā Ismā‘īl Ibn Ḥusayn [sic] Dizfūlī Khūzī.⁸⁵

⁸¹Al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām*, 14:756.

⁸²Al-Shīrāzī, *Shadd al-Izār*, 317, 543.

⁸³On Rukn al-Dīn Maṣṣūr Ibn al-Muṣaffar, see al-Shīrāzī, *Shadd al-Izār*, 198–200.

⁸⁴Possible evidence on another son of Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā‘īl might be found in a manuscript copy of Ibn al-Athīr’s (d. 630/1233) famous chronicle, *al-Kāmil fī al-Ta’rīkh*, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Here, the name “Ishāq Ibn Ismā‘īl al-Qaṣrī” is recorded as one of the owners of the book. Insofar as the name appears between two other records dated 718/1318 and 780/1378, Ishāq was probably active in the eighth/fourteenth century, which makes him a likely candidate. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Ta’rīkh*, f. 27a.

⁸⁵Simnānī, *Muṣannaḥāt*, 314; cf. Danishpazhuh, “Khirqā-yi Hazār-Mīkhī,” 165.

Simnānī continues with the names in al-Qaṣrī's genealogy going back to Kumayl. From 'Alī Lālā, the *khirqa-yi hazār-mikhī* would eventually reach Simnānī himself:

Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī > 'Alī Lālā > Aḥmad Gūrpānī (d. 669/1270)⁸⁶ > Nūr al-Dīn Isfarā'inī (d. 717/1317) > Simnānī.⁸⁷

In Kubrā's *Ādāb al-Murīdīn*, *khirqa-yi hazār-mikhī* is associated with symbolism of battle and struggle. Accordingly, "one should wear it if one has worn oneself down and wounded oneself through a thousand blows of spiritual combat, drunk a thousand cups of poison and tortured one's nature with the needle of despair."⁸⁸ The idea of wearing the *khirqa-yi hazār-mikhī* appears too in the discourses of Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī, who also relied on al-Qaṣrī's Sufi lineage. He narrated an anecdote on a dervish *bā-khirqa-yi hazār-mikhī*, who awoke a sleeping dog. The dog turned to the saintly companion of the dervish, and began to speak miraculously, stating that a wayfarer who awakens a sleeping dog does not deserve the *khirqa-yi hazār-mikhī*.⁸⁹ In these cases, this particularly valuable robe seems to represent a broader ascetic theme that goes beyond al-Qaṣrī's lineage.⁹⁰ It was used for non-Qaṣrīan transmissions as well. A good case is Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779/1377), who received it from the hands of Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥusayn, a Sufi master in Isfahan. Quṭb al-Dīn's great-grandfather was a companion of 'Umar al-Suhrawardī, and over generations the robe was passed to Quṭb al-Dīn. In 727/1327, Quṭb al-Dīn invested Ibn Baṭṭūṭa with this physical robe, relying on his Suhrawardian spiritual genealogy.⁹¹ Ḥaydar Āmulī (d. af. 787/1385) also mentioned *khirqa-yi hazār-mikhī* as a physical robe granted among Sufis.⁹² Later, Jāmī attributed an anecdote where a companion of Awhād al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh al-Balyānī (d. 686/1287) of Kazarun counseled a Sufi who was wearing a white *khirqa-yi hazār-mikhī*.⁹³ The Naqshī Sufi and Jāmī's pupil, Ḥusayn Wā'iz Kāshifī (d. 910/1504–5) would trace the

⁸⁶Simnānī, *Muṣannafāt*, 316

⁸⁷See Elias, *Throne Carrier*, 41. Simnānī would also receive a thousand-patched hat [*kuḷāb-i hazār-mikhī*] from Isfarā'inī that was believed to belong to Kubrā. See Martini, 'Alā' al-Dawla, 57.

⁸⁸Kubrā in Meier, "A Book of Etiquette," 71.

⁸⁹Bākharzī, *Awrād al-Aḥbāb*, 32. Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī also narrated prophetic sayings from 'Umar al-Suhrawardī. See Erkaya, "Kūbreviyye Tarikatı Şeyhi," 837, 840.

⁹⁰See Elias, "The Sufi Robe," 279–86; Ohlander, "Kerqa."

⁹¹Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Maḥmūd Ibn 'Alī al-Rajā'. See Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuhfat al-Nuẓẓār*, 2:32.

⁹²He argues that Sufis pass on the robe, but do not appreciate its meaning. Accordingly, *khirqa-yi hazār-mikhī* is a symbol of disrobing the thousand blameworthy attributes of the ego, and robbing the praiseworthy divine attributes. See Āmulī, *Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣṣ*, 218–19; Āmulī, *Tafsīr al-Muḥīt*, 1:526. Āmulī himself relied on a *nisbat al-khirqa* associated with the Banū Ḥammūya in Syria, while his *nisbat al-talqīn* went through Ismā'īl al-Qaṣrī: "Ismā'īl 'al-Qayṣarī' (sic) > Kubrā > Sayf al-Dīn Sa'id 'Bādarzī' (sic) > Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr Isfarā'inī > Abū al-Khayr Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Iṣfahānī > Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr Simnānī > Āmulī" (see Āmulī, *Tafsīr al-Muḥīt*, 1:521–2).

⁹³Jāmī, *Nafahāt*, 294.

khirqā-yi hazār-mīkhī back to ‘Alī, like Āmulī.⁹⁴ In any case, even though this particular robe seems to emerge only in Persia and with the Qaṣṣrian lineage, it had a broader spiritual significance. This significance seems to be claimed especially by the early transmitters of al-Qaṣṣrī’s robe, when Kubrā’s authority was still under major construction.

The second “label” of the Qaṣṣrian robe is mentioned much later, by the biographer ‘Abd al-Ḥayy Ibn al-‘Imād (d. 1089/1679). The Ḥanbalī biographer has a peculiar name for the robe that Kubrā received from al-Qaṣṣrī. He writes that Kubrā received a “Nahrajūrian robe of Sufism” from al-Qaṣṣrī, and a “Suhrawardian robe of blessing” from al-Bidlīsī.⁹⁵ This particular description emerges from the presence of an important Sufi master, Abū Ya‘qūb al-Nahrajūrī (d. 303/915–16), rather than al-Junayd (d. 298/910), in Ismā‘īl al-Qaṣṣrī’s initiatory chain.⁹⁶ The absence of al-Junayd, the ecumenical master of Sufis, might also be the reason why Sayyid ‘Alī perceived the Qaṣṣrian chain as a *futuwwa* genealogy, rather than a Sufi one. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy’s peculiar description, on the other hand, does not appear anywhere else, to my knowledge.

A third label is given by Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Shirwānī (fl. thirteenth/nineteenth century), Ḥajj Ma‘šūm ‘Alī Shāh (d. 1344/1926) of Shiraz, and some later Persian sources: “the Kumaylian chain of Ismā‘īl al-Qaṣṣrī” (*silsila-yi kumayliyya-yi Shaykh Ismā‘īl Qaṣṣrī*).⁹⁷ This description is found particularly in the later Shiite sources that aimed to emphasize the presence of Kumayl, a major authority in Shiism, in Sufi lineages. Ḥaydar Āmulī and Ibn Muḥammadqulī (1246–1306/1830–88) are among such Shiite authors who were also mentioning the Qaṣṣrian chain to give examples of the presence of Kumayl-based Sufi chains.⁹⁸ The significance of the chain in this context was evidently its origin, which was already in harmony with Shiite piety.

The fourth and final label is provided by al-Sakhāwī (831–902/1428–97): “the Nu‘mānian chain” (*al-silsila al-nu‘māniyya*) or “the Nu‘mānian robe” (*al-khirqā al-nu‘māniyya*).⁹⁹ Here al-Sakhāwī was describing various Sufi robes that he received through the mediation of Ibn Nu‘mān (d. 683/1284), who ran a Sufi hospice in Egypt, and passed on multiple robes, one of which was that of al-Qaṣṣrī.¹⁰⁰ In this context, what we observe is a similar strategy to that of Khwārazmī—making the chain closer in multiple ways. Insofar as the earlier names in the chain were rather foreign, and an eponym was absent, al-Sakhāwī named the chain after the Mālikī Sufi active in Egypt and a major transmitter of the Qaṣṣrian robe, Ibn Nu‘mān.

⁹⁴See Abuali, “Clothing,” 326–7.

⁹⁵Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadbarāt al-Dhahab*, 7:141.

⁹⁶On al-Nahrajūrī, see al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh al-Islām*, 7:433; 7:587; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 11:465; al-Yāfi‘ī, *Mir’āt al-Janān*, 2:224. For an English account, see al-Qushayrī, *Epistle*, 64–5, 59, 180, 196, 318, 322, 331, 347.

⁹⁷‘Ādil, *Dānishnāma*, 5906; Shirwānī, *Bustān al-Siyāḥa*, 348; al-Shaybī, *al-Ṣila*, 1:468–9.

⁹⁸Āmulī, *Kitāb Naṣṣ al-Nuṣūṣ*, 222.

⁹⁹Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 1:275; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr*, 2:113; al-Sakhāwī in Guerin, “Iršād al-Ġawī,” 2:456.

¹⁰⁰Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn al-Nu‘mān al-Tilimsānī al-Fāsī al-Mālikī. See al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh al-Islām*, 15:512; Guerin, “Iršād al-Ġawī,” 2:456.

Thus, the chain was now much closer to him, both geographically and temporally, and of higher pietist value and efficacy.

In the absence of a charismatic eponym to claim it, the spiritual significance of al-Qaṣrī's robe was thus unfixed, while its credentials were distinctly Persian and non-Junaydian. Its future beyond the Kubrawī framework was limited, and shaped by these changing perceptions. The robe had, then, two future paths. One of them was the path of Kubrā, where al-Qaṣrī's spiritual authority was challenged by al-Bidlīsī's Suhrawardian robe and its Khurasanian genealogy. The second path, as we saw, was taken by al-Samīrumī, who would play major role in its alternative transmission, especially in Egypt. At the end of his *Ṭabaqāt al-Awliyā'*, Ibn al-Mulaqqin (723–804/1323–1401) gives us various robes that he received through multiple chains. One of them is the Qaṣrian chain, with significant typing errors in the names. Ibn al-Mulaqqin inherited the chain through two different paths, both going back to al-Samīrumī. The first one went through illustrious pietists:

Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī > Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī (d. 745/1344) > Ibn Mulaqqin.¹⁰¹

Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī transmitted the Qaṣrian robe to multiple students. One of them was the Andalusian traveler al-Wādī Āshī (673–749/1274–1348), through whom the robe would come, once again, to Egypt, reaching to an even more influential figure, al-Suyūṭī (849–911/1445–1505). Al-Suyūṭī had also separately received the Kubrawī and Suhrawardī robes, and had the strongest affiliation with the Shādhiliyya. His chain of the Qaṣrian robe was as follows:

Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī > al-Wādī Āshī > Abū Ya'la al-Ḥusaynī (d. 777/1375–76)¹⁰² > Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 817/1414)¹⁰³ > al-Shumunnī (d. 872/1468)¹⁰⁴ > al-Suyūṭī.¹⁰⁵

The second chain of Ibn Mulaqqin also moves from Iran to Egypt into the Shādhilī context. Accordingly, in the year 755/1354, on his first visit to Alexandria, he received the Qaṣrian robe from Abū al-Barakāt al-Judhāmī (673–758/1274–1357), a Mālikī jurist with Shādhilī affiliations, and the brother of the celebrated Sufi master Tāj al-Dīn Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309).¹⁰⁶ Ibn al-Mulaqqin

¹⁰¹Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Ṭabaqāt al-Awliyā'*, 506–8.

¹⁰²Najm al-Dīn Abū Ya'la Ḥamza Ibn 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī al-Mālikī. See Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 8:433.

¹⁰³Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Alī al-Kinānī al-Ḥanbalī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, 3:44; al-Makkī, *Dhayl al-Taḥqīd*, 2:42.

¹⁰⁴Taqī al-Dīn al-Shumunnī al-Qusanṭīnī. He was also a teacher of al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Ḥajjar al-'Asqalānī. See Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, 2:100–1.

¹⁰⁵Al-Suyūṭī, "Sanad," 78–9.

¹⁰⁶Sharaf al-Dīn (or Shams al-Dīn) Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Qāsim al-Judhāmī. See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 5:454.

explains that the two Shādhilī brothers had received the robe in the same gathering and from the same Egyptian master:

al-Qaṣrī > al-Samīrumī > Abū Marwān Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Qufl¹⁰⁷ > ‘Alī Ibn Qufl (576–647/1180–1249/50)¹⁰⁸ > Ibn al-Nu‘mān > Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī and his brother Abū al-Barakāt.¹⁰⁹

Among these pupils of Ibn al-Nu‘mān, it was particularly the Shādhilī-Mālikī scholar Abū al-Barakāt whose adoption of the Qaṣrian robe had long-term significance in its transmission to Egypt, and then to Hijaz and beyond. Very prominent, widely traveled, and illustrious Sunni scholars active in Egypt would inherit the robe from him:

Abū al-Barakāt > Zayn al-Dīn al-‘Irāqī (725–806/1325–1404) > Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī > al-Sakhāwī.¹¹⁰

Ibn al-Nu‘mān had other pupils to whom he transmitted the Qaṣrian robe in his hospice in Egypt. Originally from Istanbul, the Shāfi‘ī scholar Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (754–852/1353–1449) received it through two different chains, both of which originated from al-Samīrumī via Ibn al-Nu‘mān:

1. Ibn al-Nu‘mān > Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Wazīr Zayn al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Alī al-Miṣrī al-Shāfi‘ī > Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn ‘Umar Ibn Abī Abd ‘Allāh Ibn al-Nu‘mān > Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī.
2. Ibn al-Nu‘mān > his son, Abū Mūsā ‘Imrān > Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Qufl al-Qurashī > Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī.¹¹¹

Al-Ḥusaynī was tellingly known as “al-Nu‘mānī”; he received the Nu‘mānian robe via the Nu‘mānian chain, and was buried at the Nu‘mānian Sufi convent (*zawiya*) where he had been born. The Qaṣrian robe was, in other words, thoroughly localized and identified with Ibn al-Nu‘mān for al-Sakhāwī.

It is important to remember that these were non-Kubrawī lineages—Kubrā and his associates were absent from the picture. This is the “Nahrajūrian” or “Nu‘mānian” Sufi robe that was granted independently from the Kubrawiyya. Thus, if we look

¹⁰⁷Most probably Abū Marwān Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn ‘Umar Ibn Qufl al-Dimyāṭī. For his son who died in Egypt in 684/1285, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*, 7:37.

See al-Sakhāwī in Guerin, “Iršād al-Ġāwī,” 2:454.

¹⁰⁸‘Diyā’ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn Abī al-Qāsim Ibn Ghuzzi al-Dimyāṭī aka Ibn Qufl. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawābir*, 3:1271; al-Sakhāwī in Guerin, “Iršād al-Ġāwī,” 2:454; Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Ṭabaqāt al-Awliyā’*, 460, 501.

‘Alī Ibn Qufl had also invested the Qaṣrian robe to another Egyptian Sufi, al-Tazmanatī (640-721/1242-1322). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*, 6:146.

¹⁰⁹Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Ṭabaqāt al-Awliyā’*, 501–2.

¹¹⁰Al-Sakhāwī in Guerin, “Iršād al-Ġāwī,” 2:453–5; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, 5:454.

¹¹¹Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’*, 1:275; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr*, 2:113.

at the broader transmission of al-Qaṣrī’s robe, we observe that it continued on two paths. The first one is the Kubrawī chain that would often remember al-Qaṣrī and his “Kumaylian chain,” especially in Shiite contexts. Second, the brightest future of the Qaṣrian robe would be in Egypt, within a persistently Sunni and increasingly Shādhilī context. Here, the Qaṣrian robe would be associated with the more recent Egyptian jurist Sufi Ibn Nu‘mān, or a Persian alternative to the Junaydian paths, al-Nahrajūrī. Al-Qaṣrī’s descendants and the scholars of Persia like Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Hammūya and Ibn al-Fuwaṭī kept studying and disseminating his work, but apparently not his robe.

Considering the significance of the Qaṣrian robe in the later tradition, and its primacy in many Kubrawī lineages past and present, it is surprising to observe that the literature is silent on its genealogy. Below, I will provide some introductory information on these names, and point to some primary sources that shed light on this lineage.

Ismā‘il al-Qaṣrī’s Western Iranian Genealogy: Mānakīl, Ibn Mānakīl, and Khādim al-Fuqarā’

We mentioned that Abū Ṭāhir al-Silafī of Isfahan was one of the visitors to the city of Qaṣr, i.e. Dizful, where he studied with a variety of scholars. One of these is particularly interesting, and al-Silafī’s description deserves a full translation:

I heard Abū Muḥammad Mānakīl Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān al-Zizī saying: “I heard my maternal uncle Abū al-Fawāris Dāwūd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ijli saying: ‘I saw in a dream in Kazarun that the master Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Shahriyār al-Kāzarūnī was feeding a dog with his hands. I woke up, and was shocked. I continued sleeping, and saw this three times. In the morning, a man among the leaders of the Zoroastrians came to the convent of the Shaykh. He welcomed the man, had food brought for him, and gave him the morsels with his own hands. I thought: this is the interpretation of my dream.’”

Mānakīl said: “I asked my maternal uncle whether the man converted into Islam. He said: ‘he did not convert on that day. But he might have converted later, thanks to the auspiciousness of the hand of the master.’” Dāwūd said: “I heard the master Abū Ishāq (al-Kāzarūnī) saying: ‘27,000 Zoroastrians have converted in my hands.’”¹¹²

Mānakīl said: “I heard my maternal uncle saying: ‘The origin of the crop that we are eating, and feeding our companions and the poor ones from Kazarun, is Abū Ishāq’s food; I took it in a robe. And some of it is from (the town of) Fāla. No drop

¹¹²Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār gives the total of al-Kāzarūnī’s converts to Islam as 24,000. See Lawrence, “Abū Eshāq Kāzarūnī.”

of doubt is mixed into the food.” Mānakīl said: “We traverse a path that we paved with our own hands, and refined with our own hands; and it is God to whom we are grateful in any condition.”

At the time of farewell in the year 500/1107, I asked him when he was born. He said that he had exceeded ninety. The inhabitants of his town and his companions said that he was over a hundred years old. I saw that his eyebrows were completely white, and his hands and speech trembled, may God have mercy on him. According to what he said to me, Dāwūd and his companions in Ziz had fifty-five hospices [*ribāʿs*], and all of them were under the rule [*ḥukm*] of his son, Muḥammad Ibn Mānakīl. He had a great influence and reputation in that area.

Mānakīl said: “I heard my maternal uncle saying: ‘I saw the Prophet, peace and blessings upon him, in a dream, where he gave a sword to me, and said: march to Razmanan, and manifest Sufism!’”¹¹³

This fascinating passage immediately tells us a few important things pertinent to the Qaṣriyan lineage. First, it shows that al-Silafī studied under the father of Ibn Mānakīl, who was already in his nineties, at least, by the year 500/1107.¹¹⁴ At this point, it is good to remember the fact that al-Silafī was a leading *ḥadīth* teacher of both Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī and Kubrā, among others.¹¹⁵ (The town of “Ziz” was in the Hamadan area somewhere between Isfahan and Luristan.¹¹⁶) Second, al-Silafī’s account displays the major spiritual authority of Dāwūd Ibn Muḥammad—aka Khādim al-Fuqarā’—in the area, also witnessing its transmission to Ibn Mānakīl, the son of his nephew, who was now in charge of fifty-five hospices in the area. When al-Silafī visited Ziz by 500/1107, Khādim al-Fuqarā’ had already passed away, but it is in one of the hospices in western Iran where al-Qaṣrī would receive training in Sufism and his Sufi robe from Ibn Mānakīl. Third, the reference to “Razmanan,” which is today known as “Qal‘eh Razeh” (Razeh Fortress), near Dizful, gives further hints on the somewhat military inclinations of Khādim al-Fuqarā’ and possibly his disciple Mānakīl. Simnānī notes that Mānakīl died at “Razwanan,” which is the same city as Razmanan, and was buried in a village called Anjalla. Khādim al-Fuqarā’ is buried in a similar geography, in the “Mānkarra” area at a town called “Kishmin”—al-Silafī states that it should be read as “Kashman.”¹¹⁷ Like Razmanan, Mānkarra appears in historical sources through the presence of a major fortress.¹¹⁸

¹¹³Al-Silafī, *Mu‘jam al-Safar*, 386–7.

¹¹⁴This training, by the way, is recorded by other historians as well. Both Yāqūt and Ibn al-Fuwaṭī indicate that al-Silafī studied *ḥadīth* under Muẓaffar al-Dīn Mānakīl. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 3:140 (“Māzakīl”); Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-Ādāb*, 5:292.

¹¹⁵Al-Shīrāzī, *Shadd al-Izār*, 243; Efendioğlu, “Silefi.”

¹¹⁶Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, 3:140.

¹¹⁷Simnānī, *Muṣannafāt*, 319 (“Kishmin”); al-Silafī, *Mu‘jam al-Safar*, 195 (“Kashman”).

¹¹⁸Bahrāmī, “Dawlat-i Āl-i Khūrshīd.”

Combined with the anti-Zoroastrian language of the anecdotes, it seems Khādim al-Fuqarā’, if not his nephew, engaged in actual battle in the area as a component of his Sufi identity.

Finally, we are learning that Khādim al-Fuqarā’'s spiritual power in the area was derived from that of al-Kāzarūnī (352–426/963–1035)—the lifelong bachelor and a strict vegetarian ascetic known as the eponymous founder of an early *ṭarīqa*.¹¹⁹ Al-Kāzarūnī was famous for his conflicts with the strong Zoroastrian communities backed by the Buyid authorities, and Khādim al-Fuqarā’ seems to have followed his example. While Kāzarūniyya would later expand as far as India, China and Anatolia, particularly due to its proximity to the ports of the Persian Gulf, it is commonly depicted as an initially “thoroughly localized order” that “did not spread to other regions of Iran (or even to other parts of Fars).”¹²⁰ Khādim al-Fuqarā’ and his lineage in central and western Iran push us to revise this depiction. Maybe more importantly, it is this Kāzarūnian Sufi background that was transmitted to al-Qaṣrī, and through him to Kubrā and his pupils. We find not only the overall spiritual authority of al-Kāzarūnī, but also the influence of his vision of Sufism making its mark on Khādim al-Fuqarā’ and his pupils. The Kāzarūnian characteristic of serving the poor may have played some role in his name, “Khādim al-Fuqarā’” (or “Khādim-i Darvīshān,” as Simnānī puts it).¹²¹ The more usual and more formal title, “the servant of the Sufi lodge” (*khādim al-khānaqāh*) was a distinctly humble role of serving the pious visitors, and feeding the needy, including animals, unlike more supervisory and authoritative roles like the “master of the convent” (*shaykh al-zāwiya*).¹²² Incidentally, “khādim al-fuqarā’,” which is not a common nickname, was adopted by Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī.¹²³

“Abū al-Fawāris Dāwūd” in al-Silafī’s descriptions is certainly al-Qaṣrī’s Khādim al-Fuqarā’. First, this is consistent with the shorter name given by Simnānī. Second, al-Silafī calls him “Dāwūd al-Khādim” in another anecdote.¹²⁴ Here, we meet a leading pupil of Dāwūd al-Khādim and a teacher of al-Silafī in Ziz, Ṣāliḥ al-Nahāwandī. Ṣāliḥ is depicted here as a pupil to whom Khādim al-Fuqarā’ invested a rare and valuable patched robe (*muraqqa‘a*), where the origins of the *khirqā-yi hazār-mīkhī* may lie. Yet Ṣāliḥ himself did not invest the robe to anyone else as he

¹¹⁹He was initiated into Sufism by Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Akkār (d. 391/1001), a pupil of Ibn Khafif (d. 371/982). See al-Shīrāzī, *Shadd al-Izār*, 49-50; Lawrence, “Abū Eshāq Kāzarūnī.”

¹²⁰See Algar, “Kāzaruniya.”

¹²¹Simnānī, *Muṣannaḥāt*, 314. There are, however, some Sufis known by the honorific “khādim al-fuqarā’,” and without a visible connection with al-Kāzarūnī. Hence the honorific was used more broadly, and one cannot associate it directly with the Kāzarūniyya. See al-Rāfi‘ī, *al-Tadwīn*, 3:341, 4:72–3; Ibn ‘Asākīr, *Ta’rikh Dimashq*, 22:60; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’*, 1:275; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr*, 2:113.

¹²²See e.g. al-Subkī, *Mu‘id al-Ni‘am*, 98.

¹²³Danishpazhuh, “Khirqā-yi Hazār-Mīkhī,” 170. We find the famous Shiite philosopher Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640) among those who later claimed the phrase. Faruque, “Labyrinth,” 37.

¹²⁴Ibn Muḥammadqulī calls him “Khādim al-Qaṣrī,” locating him in Dizful rather than Ziz. See Ibn Muḥammadqulī, *Abaqāt al-Anwār*, 10:446.

did not see himself at the high level of a master of training—that role would be taken by Ibn Mānakīl. According to an anecdote narrated to al-Silafī by Ṣāliḥ, his master Khādīm al-Fuqarāʾ went to Nahāvand to the *ribāṭ* of Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn Ṭāhīr al-Nahāwandī, and worked some wonders.¹²⁵ This Abū al-Ḥasan was a grandson of the more celebrated Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Nahāwandī (d. 394/1004), who appears in the Suhrawardian chain (see Figure 2).¹²⁶ Besides, Abū al-Ḥasan was an active Sufi who is known to have invested his pupils also with the *muraqqaʿa*.¹²⁷ Hence it is possible that Khādīm al-Fuqarāʾ received a patched robe from Abū al-Ḥasan. Similarly, al-Kāzarūnī may have granted him a Sufi robe as well, but we lack evidence in either case.

Ibn Dushmanziyār

As noted in Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī's genealogy, al-Qaṣrī entered the Sufi path at the hands of a certain ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Dushmanziyār (*shaykhihi fi al-irāda ibtidāʾ*), while he received his primary robe later from Ibn Mānakīl. It is, once again, al-Silafī who provides us with information on this Sufi master of al-Qaṣrī. “Among the leading masters of the Jibal,” Ibn Dushmanziyār was originally from Wafrawanda, which was a town in the west of Darqan in Isfahan, towards Luristan (see Figure 1).¹²⁸ He was known as the “master of masters” (*shaykh al-shuyūkh*), a title later used by Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī, and attributed to ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī and Nūr al-Dīn Isfarāʾīnī.¹²⁹ The title was widely “used by state officials to designate the director of the main Ṣūfī lodge,” and in this capacity was ascribed to other Sufis like Awhād al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. 635/1238) in Baghdad, and the Banū Ḥammūya in Syria.¹³⁰ Ibn Dushmanziyār, however, is not described as playing such a managerial role, indicating a particular local semantic significance ascribed to the term. As for the very name “Ibn Dushmanziyār,” it was most notably used by the commander ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Abū Jaʿfar (d. 433/1041) and his descendants, who constituted the petty dynasty of Deylamite origin known as the Kakuyids that ruled the Jibal and Kurdistan areas during the fifth–sixth/eleventh–twelfth centuries. Dushmanziyār was initially under the service of the Shiite Buyids of Rayy, but his son Abū Jaʿfar became virtually independent after 398/1007, expanded their rule over Hamadan and Kurdistan, and built a principality and a court where the famous philosopher Ibn Sīnā (d. 427/1037) served as a vizier. With the Ghaznavid conquest of the Jibal area, Abū Jaʿfar fled to Khuzistan, and sought the help the Buyid governor of Iraq. His sons soon regained the control,

¹²⁵ Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ Ibn al-Faraj al-Nahāwandī. See al-Silafī, *Muʿjam al-Safar*, 21, 41, 119.

¹²⁶ Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Faḍl al-Nahāwandī. See al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrikh al-Islām*, 8:737; al-Shīrāzī, *Shadd al-Izār*, 382.

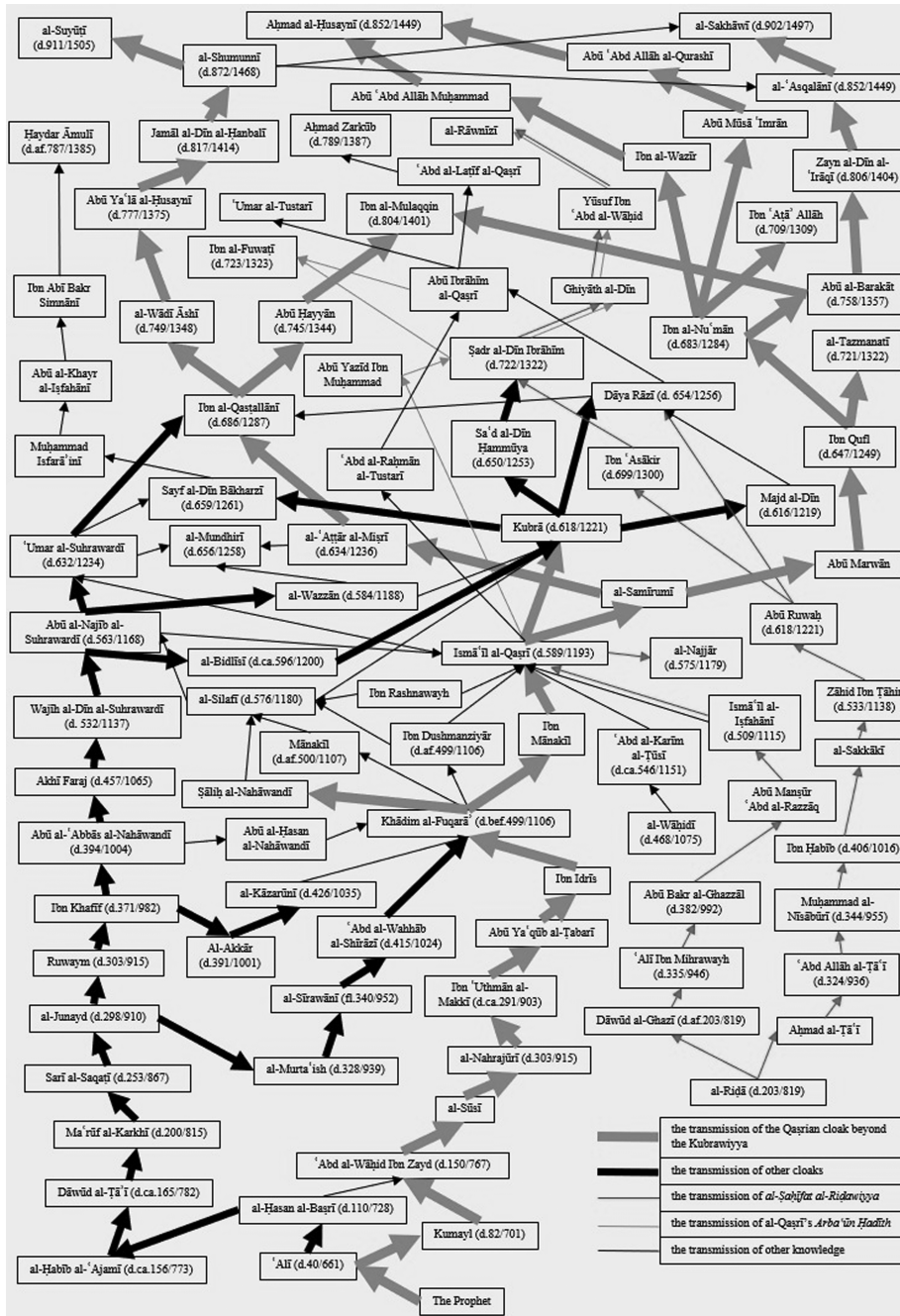
¹²⁷ Al-Silafī, *Muʿjam al-Safar*, 295–6.

¹²⁸ Al-Iṣṭakhri, *al-Mamālik*, 116; bn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-Ard*, 2: 361; Minorsky, “Luristān.”

¹²⁹ E.g. al-Qazwīnī, *Mashyakha*, 207, 238, 442; al-Shīrāzī, *Shadd al-Izār*, 9, 337.

¹³⁰ Abualī, “al-Baghdādī.”

Figure 2. Transmission of Authority and Knowledge.



which officially ended with the conquest of the Great Saljuqs in 442/1051. Their descendants remained significant agents in the area as feudatories of the Saljuqs, and they established another dynasty that governed Yazd during the sixth/twelfth century. Active in the same areas of western Iran, ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Dushmanziyār may have such a royal and, maybe more interestingly, Shiite background.¹³¹

Al-Silafī met Ibn Dushmanziyār in 499/1106 in Baghdad, at the Ribāṭ al-‘Itāb near the famous hospice of al-Junayd, Ribāṭ al-Shūnīziyya. Al-Silafī confirms that Ibn Dushmanziyār was a disciple of Khādim al-Fuqarā’, and describes him as a master known for his balanced piety who enjoyed ecstasy and mystical audition (*wajd wa al-samā’*). Al-Silafī later met him in Hamadan, but it seems that Ibn Dushmanziyār did keep strong connections with his master in Ziz. Ibn Dushmanziyār died in the hometown of Khādim al-Fuqarā’, in Ziz, and he was buried in Kashman near his master, Khādim al-Fuqarā’.¹³² We are told that “the natives of the city of Qaṣr tried hard to keep him, but he kindly refused as if he knew about his death, and he chose to have it happen at Dāwūd.”¹³³ Thus, like Khādim al-Fuqarā’, Ibn Dushmanziyār kept strong connections with Khuzistan, Dizful in particular, where he may have introduced the Sufi path to al-Qaṣrī.

Finally, Ibn Dushmanziyār narrated to al-Silafī an anecdote that sheds light on another Sufi robe that Khādim al-Fuqarā’ inherited in western Persia. The anecdote is in praise of the strict ascetism of a Sufi master from the Fars area, named al-Sīrawānī (fl. 340/952). This early Sufi, as narrated from al-Junayd, met Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988) in Dimyat, and is said to have been a companion of Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ (d. 291/903–4) and to have lived a very long life.¹³⁴ Al-Sīrawānī is depicted by his followers to have formed a separate “*ṭarīqa*” that traced back to al-Junayd through his teacher, the Sufi master and jurist Abū Muḥammad al-Murta‘ish (d. 328/939).¹³⁵ Al-Silafī heard the anecdote on al-Sīrawānī through the following chain, which serves as a witness to their companionship:

al-Sīrawānī > ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Shīrāzī (d. 415/1024)¹³⁶ > Khādim al-Fuqarā’ > Ibn Dushmanziyār > al-Silafī.¹³⁷

¹³¹Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-Ādāb*, 2:296–7, 2:353,, 3:278–9, 6:641; Bosworth, “Political and Dynastic History,” 9–41; Bosworth, “Kākuyids.”

¹³²Al-Silafī, *Mu‘jam al-Safar*, 195.

¹³³Al-Silafī heard this anecdote from Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī in Damascus. See *ibid.*, 195.

¹³⁴Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn Ja‘far al-Sīrawānī. Jāmī, *Nafahāt*, 255; 306–7; al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Luma‘*, 285.

¹³⁵Al-Silafī, *Mu‘jam al-Safar*, 222; Simnānī, *Muṣannafāt*, 318. As Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) reports, there were three wonders of Baghdad: “the subtle allusions of al-Shiblī (d. 334/945), the aphorisms of al-Murta‘ish, and the anecdotes [*ḥikāyāt*] of al-Khuldī (d. 348/959).” See Thibon, “al-Khuldī.”

¹³⁶Abū al-Ḥusayn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Sālība al-Shīrāzī.

¹³⁷Al-Silafī, *Mu‘jam al-Safar*, 195, 242, 313. Abū al-Faṭḥ ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Aḥmad Ibn ‘Azzuwayh al-Shīrāzī seems to be a different person, often confused in al-Silafī’s *Mu‘jam al-Safar* (287, 444). See al-Shīrāzī, *Shadd al-Isār*, 479. Beyond the Kubrawī robe and its Qaṣrīan genealogy, Majd al-Dīn

Al-Silafī also heard anecdotes about al-Sīrawānī from another Sufi in Dizful,¹³⁸ and from an otherwise unknown ‘Umar Ibn Aḥmad, who is called “Khādīm al-Fuqarā’ in Damascus.”¹³⁹ Both “Khādīm al-Fuqarā’”s had studied under ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Shīrāzī. As for ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, he received the Sufi robe from al-Sīrawānī. After earning a reputation as a leading Sufi of Fars, he died near Shiraz at Till al-Bayda, known simply as Bayda—the hometown of the great theologian, exegete, and jurist al-Qāḍī al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 685/1286). ‘Abd al-Wahhāb was known not only as “*shaykh al-shuyūkh*,” but also as “*kahf al-awliyā’*.”¹⁴⁰

Earlier Names

The identities of Abū al-‘Abbās Ibn Idrīs¹⁴¹ and Abū Ya‘qūb al-Ṭabarī¹⁴² in al-Qaṣrī’s lineage are not clear.¹⁴³ All we know about Abū al-Qāsim Ibn Ramaḍān is that he was born and grew up in Khurasan, and died in Khuzistan. His grave was in what is called “Chahār Āsyāb,” located between Dizful and Shooshtar.¹⁴⁴ In other words, these figures were already vaguely known by the time of Kubrā. On the other hand, there is rich literature on Abū Ya‘qūb al-Nahrajūrī, whose sayings widely circulated among pietists from early on.¹⁴⁵ Yet it is surprisingly silent on the location of Nahrajur. A couple of modern studies on Aḥmad al-Nahrajūrī, a member of the famous Brethren of Purity (Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’) and the only other major scholar from the town, equate Nahrajur with Mihrajan, i.e. modern Mehrjan in the northeast of Isfahan.¹⁴⁶ But this equation does not fit into Sim-

Baghdādī had a separate robe that traced back to al-Junayd through al-Murta‘ish, al-Sarrāj, Abū Sa‘īd Ibn Abī al-Khayr (357–440/967–1049) and his descendants. Kubrā did not appear in this genealogy. See Simnānī, *Muṣannafāt*, 313.

¹³⁸Al-Silafī, *Mu‘jam al-Safar*, 313.

¹³⁹Abū Ḥaḥṣ ‘Umar Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Abd Allāh Ibn Surkh al-Kāzarūn. Abū Ḥaḥṣ stayed in Damascus for some years and, during this period, his sole occupation was serving the Sufis at the Sumaysāṭiyya Lodge, which earned him this title. He studied in Kazarun under ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Aḥmad and the famous al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 473/1070). See al-Silafī, *Mu‘jam al-Safar*, 242.

¹⁴⁰Al-Shīrāzī, *Shadd al-Izār*, 54, 477–8. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb is said to have had some tensions with the great polymath and philosopher Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023), who was also known as a Sufi. Upon al-Tawḥīdī’s death, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb had a vision, where al-Tawḥīdī told him that God was merciful towards him, “despite ‘Abd al-Wahhāb.” Upon the vision, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb visited al-Tawḥīdī’s grave and prayed for him. See al-Shīrāzī, *Shadd al-Izār*, 54 (‘Abd al-Wahhāb seems to be confused with his father by the editor).

¹⁴¹Jāmī’s variant: Abū al-‘Abbās Idrīs.

¹⁴²Jāmī’s variant: Ya‘qūb al-Ṭabarī.

¹⁴³For Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf Ibn Aḥmad Ibn ‘Alī al-Ṭabarī, who is an unlikely candidate, see Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta‘rikh Dimashq*, 74:210.

¹⁴⁴Simnānī, *Muṣannafāt*, 319. Ibn Ramaḍān is certainly not the Abū al-Qāsim Ibn Ramaḍān of the island of Malta that al-Silafī met. Cf. al-Silafī, *Mu‘jam al-Safar*, 51–2.

¹⁴⁵E.g. al-Qushayrī, *al-Risāla*, 1:124; al-Ṣarīfīnī, *al-Muntakhab*, 164; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhabab*, 4:169–70; Simnānī, *Muṣannafāt*, 318; al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Luma’*, 52, 70, 71, 193, 203, 213, 271, 278, 304.

¹⁴⁶Brockelmann, *History*, 1:206; Rustow, *Lost Archive*, 192.

nānī's statement that Nahrajur is in the Fars area to the southwest (see Figure 1).¹⁴⁷ Yāqūt is of further help. He estimates that Nahrajur is a town located between Ahvaz in Khuzistan and Maysan, which is around 200 kilometers west, located today in southeastern Iraq.¹⁴⁸ The Karkhe River, which was also called the river of Sus, or Shush (Nahr-i Sūs), is the major determinant of the social and economic life in the area. It emerges in the Zagros mountains, runs through Khuzistan, and discharges its waters into the basin of Dasht-i Maysan.¹⁴⁹ Although its exact location is yet to be discovered, "Nahrajūr" was certainly different from "Mihrajān," and was located in the drainage area of the river, which might have given the town its name.

Al-Nahrajūrī is well-known to have associated with al-Junayd and 'Amr al-Makkī (d. ca. 291/903), and also lived in Mecca, where he passed away. He was a pupil of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sūsī, who is cited three times in the *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, and in Abū al-Najīb's *Ādāb al-Murīdīn*.¹⁵⁰ Considering his profile, the "Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Uthmān" in the Qaṣriān chain is thus very likely to have been Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Amr Ibn 'Uthmān al-Makkī. As for Abū Ya'qūb al-Sūsī, he also appears frequently in major Sufi classics, but little on his life can be derived from the repeated anecdotes.¹⁵¹ Sus, as we saw above, was geographically very close and economically connected to Nahrajur. More importantly, Al-Sūsī is known to have stayed in Nahrajur. Abū Sa'd al-Harawī (d. 412/1022) narrates an anecdote on the Sufi Abū 'Alī al-Mushtawlī, who had a vision when he was in Nahrajur together with Abū Ya'qūb al-Sūsī, who interpreted it.¹⁵² Al-Sūsī's presence in his hometown may suggest that he initiated al-Nahrajūrī into Sufism, explaining his presence in his Sufi chain, rather than al-Junayd or other Sufis.

The final two figures in this genealogy are well-known: 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn Zayd (d. 150/767) was an authorized companion of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.¹⁵³ The construction of the famous hospice in Abadan is often attributed to him, and he transmitted a prophetic saying on passionate love (*'ishq*) that offended Ghulām Khalīl (d. 275/888), the first known persecutor of Sufis.¹⁵⁴ As for Kumayl Ibn Ziyād, he was a celebrated companion of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, often quoted in Sufi sources.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁷ Simnānī, *Muṣannafāt*, 320.

¹⁴⁸ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 5:319.

¹⁴⁹ Ehlers, "Karkheh River."

¹⁵⁰ For references in sources available in European languages, see al-Suhrawardī, *Die Gaben*, Ch. 8, 81; Ch. 60, 419; Ch. 61, 435; Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī, *Ādāb al-Murīdīn*, 55; al-Qushayrī, *Epistle*, 64, 124, 221, 300, 322, 329, 331, 383). On 'Amr al-Makkī, see *ibid.*, 50.

¹⁵¹ Al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Luma'*, 43, 57, 59, 158, 190, 193, 207, 218, 224; al-Shirāzī, *Shadd al-Izār*, 18. There is a single instance in al-Sarrāj's *Kitāb al-Luma'*, where we learn his full name: Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf Ibn Ḥamdān al-Sūsī. See al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Luma'*, 43.

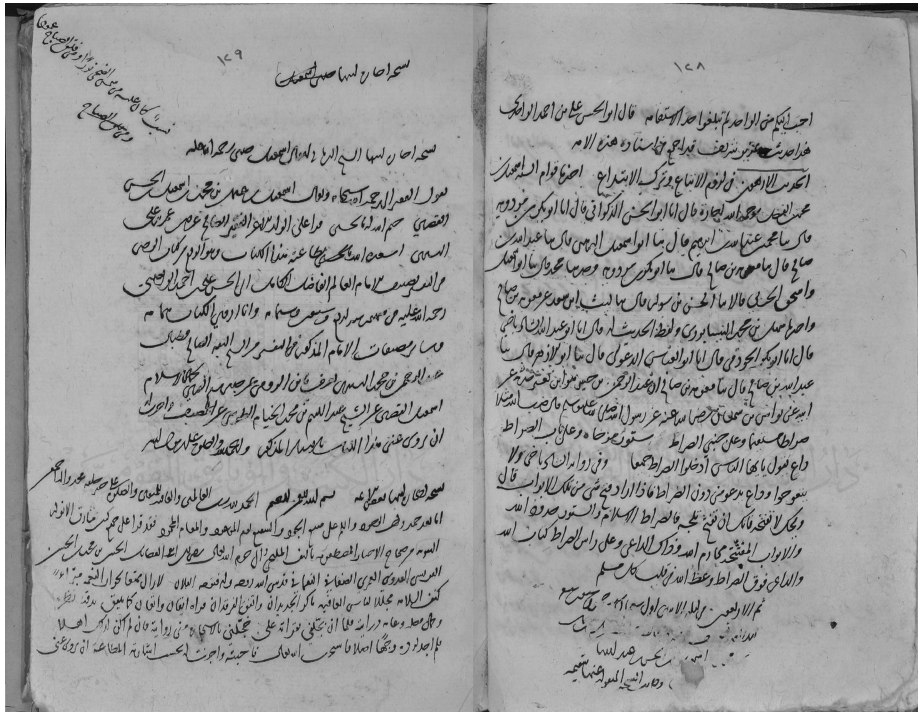
¹⁵² Al-Mālinī, *Kitāb al-Arba'ūn*, 118.

¹⁵³ 'Ādil, *Dānishnāma*, 5906; al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Luma'*, 25, 322, 429.

¹⁵⁴ 'Ādil, *Dānishnāma*, 5906; al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Luma'*, 25, 322, 429; Van Ess, "Sufism and Its Opponents," 22.

¹⁵⁵ E.g. al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Luma'*, 130, 380; Simnānī, *Chihil Majālis*, 206.

Figure 3. MS 240, al-Khizāna al-Taymūriyya (fhrst no. 176/2), ff. 128-129: The last folio of Ismā'il al-Qaṣrī's *Arba'un Hadīth* with the colophon, and the two authorizations [*ijāzas*] given by his descendant, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'il.



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Conclusions

This paper studied the Qaṣrīan lineage, commonly known as the “second chain,” of the influential Sufi eponym Kubrā. It argued that the Qaṣrīan lineage was predominantly considered the primary, rather than secondary, chain by Kubrā, his immediate disciples, and various branches of the Kubrawiyya, past and present, from Anatolia and Egypt to Indonesia, Iran, India, and Central Asia. It showed that the primacy commonly given to the Bidlīsian–Suhrawardian chain was not a matter of indifference, but rather an issue of avoiding the complexities and problems that came with the acknowledgment of the primacy of the Qaṣrīan chain. These problems included unfamiliarity, and thus relative lack of spiritual authority, and a distinctly western Persian local character. The Bidlīsian chain skirted around these problems with its robust spiritual authority, and global renown beyond a particular locality.

The paper has shown that the Qaṣrīan chain continued to be independently transmitted beyond the Kubrawiyya. While its transmission was not continued by his des-

cendants, a disciple who was originally from the same area, al-Samīrumī, played the key role. Reaching powerful figures like Ibn al-Qaṣṭallānī, Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh, Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, and al-Suyūṭī, the robe would be transmitted to the later tradition, particularly in Egypt. Across these centuries, in the absence of an eponymous figure to claim it, the Sufi efficacy of the Qaṣṭrian robe was unfixed. The presence of al-Nahra-jūrī (rather than al-Junayd), or Kumayl (rather than the strict Sunni lineage of al-Bidlīsī), for example, would be the hallmark of the robe in different contexts.

The final part of the paper studied the figures composing the Qaṣṭrian lineage. The lineage was firmly rooted in western Iranian territories. Dāwūd Ibn Muḥammad and his pupils had connections with various Sufi lineages, and a particularly striking affiliation with al-Kāzarūnī. The latter affinity had manifestations in their anti-Zoroastrian engagements, and their profiles and charitable orientation also found expression in their nicknames, such as “khādīm al-fuqarā’.” This Kāzarūnian background sheds new light not only on the Kubrawī spiritual genealogy, but also the historiography of the Kāzarūniyya, which is commonly depicted as a *ṭarīqa* that did not extend to Iran and Syria. It had a quick impact on the spiritual heritage of Khuzistan, Luristan, Isfahan, and Fars provinces claimed by Kubrā and his pupils. It was in these areas that the young ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī traveled after the death of his uncle, and met with various masters, including Ismā‘īl al-Qaṣṭrī, who was a much better-connected and more influential traditionist and Sufi than we initially understood.

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