

## On the traces of Fazlullah Naimi

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Hurifism – one of the branches of Sufism, has long been the subject of investigation. But still Hurifism has many inexplicable secrets. The tragedy of Fazlullah Naimi, the founder of this group, is one of these mysteries. We don't have a totally correct account of the history of his life and so we need to find the truth hidden in historical sources to bring them into science.

This research paper is written to find a way to answer some of the questions. The research is based on knowledge from tracing the history of the Ottoman Empire. The mere political reason of Fazlullah Naimi's tragedy is clearly described in those sources. There are however no commentaries on his poetry and his sense of Hurifism. His activity as a philosopher and leader is described to be against non-equal property. He was tormented and executed because of this rebellious goal. In some sources his execution is described in which his death was brought about by him being skinned alive. Other sources described his death as being burnt alive along with others holding the same views as himself. The incident took place in Turkey during the reign of Sultan Murad I (1359-1389). Turkish historian Ashikpashaoglu (1393-1481) has described the incident briefly. The history in his book of "Tevarih-i Al-i Osman" shows that Fazlullah was advisor to Sultan Murad. Fazullah came from Ajam and was planning to confiscate landlords' estates as soon as he became advisor. He tried to realize his goal with the help of Sultan Murad, but Padishah absolutely rejected his thinking and offer. Their serious conversation is described in the book. As a result of this strained talk, Sultan Murad dismissed Fazlullah from the position of advisor. The fact is that Fazlullah's execution by

skinning was added to the text written by Ashikpashaoglu some time later. The main points in brief are as follows:

‘Narration: A doctor (philosopher) came from the province of Ajam, his name was Fazlullah. Fazlullah became a close friend of Padishah and then became an advisor. One day he said to Padishah: “My Lord, your province is wealthy and you as a Padishah have the power to take part of this wealth to your treasury”. Padishah asked a question: “What do you mean when you say wealth, and what is its origin”? Fazlullah answered: “Most inhabitants in your province do not pay religious taxes, if you make them pay taxes, then you will understand what I mean when I say wealth”. Padishah answered: “Religious taxes and alms should be given to poor people. Am I in need to take alms”? “In my country there are three kinds of permitted earnings that are mine. Other Padishahs do not have such kinds of earnings. Part of my earnings comes from silver mines, and some from other sources. In addition are the trophies, taken from those in prison (participants of war for religion). My soldiers live because of these earnings and I’m not going to feed my soldiers with prohibited bread.” He then dismissed Fazlullah from his position and humiliated him.

حکایت: علم ولایتدن بر حکم کلدی فضل الله دردی پادشاهه تعرب کب  
اینگله آخر وزیر اولدی بر کون پادشاهه ایدر سلطام سنک ولایتکده مالک نهایی یقدر  
امدی پادشاهه عادتدرکم اول مالدن بهانیله پادشاهن خرنسینه کوردار ددی پادشاه  
اندن سؤال اتدی وایتدی بو ددیکن (186۲) مال ناک گبی یرلردن حاصل اولور  
ددی فضل الله ایدر بو مملکتک خلقنک اکثری زکات ویزیر امدی جیبی ولایتکدن  
بو خلقنک زکاتاری جبرله الماتی کزکدر مبالغه مال جیح اولور بو سیله ددی  
پادشاه اکا بویله جواب وردی کم بوه های آله کفتخور زکات وصدقه خود فقرانکدر  
زکات بگدی مستحکم بکا مسلمانلردن جبرله زکات آلم دخی بیتم ددی بو نوم  
مملکتده اوج حلال لقمه واردرکم بتم المدهدر بو اوج حلال لقمه (186۷) غیر ولایت  
پادشاهلرده یقدر ددی بیسی کشش معدنلری ویرسی کقاردن اتان خراجدر ویری  
دخی غزللردن اتان غنیمت مالدر ددی بو بتم عسکر منصورم بو حلال لقمه  
زندگانی ادرلر بوندو بو جبرله اتان لقمه خود حرام اولور ولشکرومه حرام بدورب  
حرابی قبول اتیزن ددی اول زمان فضل الله عزل اتدی ویر جوابله خور وحقارت  
اتدی قاتندن رد اتدی

In the text which was added later it mentions: “Then Fazlullah went mad and Padishah ordered his butchers to strip his skin off and let everyone be aware of such a horrible end in the cases of disloyalty to Padishah” and this all took place in the reign of Murad Xan”.

(Ashikpashaoglu. “Tevarih-i Al-i Osman”, Leipzig, 1928, p. 194)

As it is seen in the text, Fazlullah as an advisor to Sultan Murad regulated the tax system. In his position he planned to make some changes in this area. The main essence of his thoughts is described through these words: “My Lord, your province is endlessly wealthy, and now Padishahs have made it custom to take some part of this wealth to their treasury under different pretexts”. In reality, Fazlullah’s advice was aimed at confiscating rich men’s properties making his initiative a great danger to feudalism. By dismissing him from his post of vezir (padishah’s assistant) Sultan Murad removed him from the centre of power. But then other statesmen and gossipers insisted on Fazlullah’s execution.

Turkish historian of XVII century, Huseyn has relatively followed the chronology of events more attentively. He describes the events of how Fazlullah was burnt. We can read this historical information in his work named “Beda i-ul-veka i” (“Amazing events”). This literary work still exists as a manuscript. It was published as a facsimile by the Russian scholar of oriental literature A. S. Tveritina in Moscow 1961. The manuscript is published in two volumes. A narrative of Fazlullah’s life is described in the first volume.

فوقه و حروفیه به رئیس اولان  
 فضل الله تبریزی اتبا عندون بعضی ملاقات پادشاه ایدوب کلمات  
 مزخرفه ایله قلبی جذب ایلنن محمود پاشا اچی دور ایتمکده صرف معذور  
 ایدوب کلمن پادشاهان زیاده میان مشاهده ایلنک ایله اقدام ایدوب  
 بالاشوره مولانا محمد اکریمه یلو ایدی مولانا اول ملحدک کلمات فاسد  
 بالذات ایشتمک مراد ایلنن پاشا اول بی مذهبی منزله کتوروب مولانا  
 پیغام ایلدی و مذهبی اینه میل صورتن کوستمکده دروندک اولان  
 مقاسدی اظهاره ایدوب مال اعتقاد لوری معلوله و ایدوب مولانا  
 صبر ایدوب میوب ملحدک اخذینه مباشرت ایلدکده سرایه فاجده  
 مولانا طلبارنک دقت ایدوب پادشاهی قابل ایدی و اناب  
 اوردنن بکی جا معینه ایلنوب مؤذنه صاب ایدوب خلیج  
 ایدوب و منبره جیفوب اول منشدک الحاد و ذندقه لوب و درجو  
 قتلین و معاونت ایدنار توایب عظیمه نایل اولنارن بیان و آتفه  
 یا قلوبنه ترغیب ایلدی و نماز کلام صحرا سنده اودون جمع  
 ایدوب اناب آتفه یا قدی حتی آتفی بالذات اوفور کلام صاعده

At the beginning it is stressed as a truth that Fazlullah was from Tabriz by birth. Huseyn begins the narration with the words “*Firqeyyi hurrfiyeye reis olan Fezlullah Tebrizi*” (*Leader of Hurufism, Fazlullah Tebrizi*). Before narrating this story it is necessary to note one thing. He uses many Arabian and Persian words while bringing citations from the text, there emerged a necessity to bring some Turkish counterpart words to make this text more understandable. The information that he gives about Fazlullah Naimi is as follows: “As leader of Hurufism, Fazlullah Tebrizi was closer to Padishah with his fictitious stories and talks he could conquer his heart. Mahmud Pasha used to spend much time to keep him under control and pleaded Mevlana Faxraddin. Pasha wanted Mevlana to hear these provocative words right from Fazlullah’s mouth and for this reason Padishah took Fazlullah to his palace and secretly let Mevlana observe the those trickery deceits spoken by Fazlullah; when he realized Fazlullah’s intention Mevlana could not tolerate his unreal talks and run to palace. He called his students, made Padishah agree with him on bringing them to two mosques in Edirna, proclaimed this everywhere and widely declared the consequences of the likely action to the people; they climbed up to the pulpit and asked everyone to kill those integrants announcing it as an act of salvage from the betrayers’ confession. As it stirred everybody, they gathered firewood in the Tamazgah desert and burned Fazlullah together with his followers. But some of

them escaped and survived. (*"Huseyn, Beda i-ul-veka i"*, Moscow, 1961, I volume, p.324-325).

These incidents written by the author make possible to investigate the historical truth about Fazlullah's destiny. Firstly, the fact of him being from Tabriz, is true. His heritage's manuscript kept in Marburg openly confirms it. (293 MS. Orient. Oct. 2241 Staatsbibliothek. *Fadl-Allah b. Abu-Muhammad at-Tebrizi al-Hurufi*).

Other information given by historians needs also to be investigated in detail. It is understood from narrative that after being dismissed from his position Fazlullah was kept under heavy eye control for some time. But the 'integrant' didn't change his views and began assisted by his friends to spread his ideas secretly. Mahmud Pasha himself strictly kept Fazlullah under control because he was in the position of Head Mufti at the time. (Turkish poet Anveri has devoted his poem "*Dusturname*" to him). Mahmud Pasha pretended to be Fazlullah's close friend and was able to win Fazlullah's confidence. At the same time he shadowed him following him closely. He attracted Mevlana Faxraddin Ajam as a spy to these activities. Mevlana Faxraddin came from Ajam to Turkey and was able to be get close to the palace. He was in the position of Mudarris in Edirna and in addition to this he was appointed Mufti. He was pleased with his life: Huseyn writes that he refused to take a wage more than thirty axcha (gold coins). It is clear that his desire to be very close to Mahmud Pasha compelled Mevlana to espionage against Fazlullah. By informing the palace of secrets of Fazlullah, he convinced Padishah of the necessity of Fazlullah's death. It was Mevlana Faxraddin Ajami, who set the other fanatic believers against Fazlullah and his followers and convinced them to burn him together with his supporters.

The fact that he was guilty in Fazlullah's tragedy is traced in different sources. Evliya Chalabi, famous Turkish traveler of the XVII century also touches on this incident in his literary work "*Sayahatname*" (About traveling). In this work the author makes very important points on the matter. At the beginning he especially stresses: "Mevlana Faxraddin al-Ajami imprisoned and killed along with several followers of Hurufism in Adirna city. He went astray and led others astray". (*Evliya Chalabi, 'Sayahatname', Istanbul, 1896, 3<sup>rd</sup> Volume, page 475*)

Evliya Chalabi states that Mevlana himself was also the member of the group of Hurufism but he was betraying his friends as insider. He betrayed his friends calling them 'renegades' and 'traitors'. Evliya Chalabi expresses Mevlana's disloyalty by calling him "astray and compelling". In these sentences by saying "zal olmaq" he means "to go astray" and by saying "məzl olmaq", he means "to compel someone to go astray".

In the next sentences Evliya Chalabi notes that Mevlana has called them 'renegades' based on the principles of religion. In his work he slightly hints at the resistance of the members of Hurufism. This note coincides with the Turkish historian Huseyn's information and view.

The narration about Fazlullah given in different sources corresponds with information given in Nasimi's other poems. This relationship will be proved visually based on proper samples. It is necessary to note one thing before sticking to the essence of the matter. Nasimi came to Turkey during the reign of Sultan Murad I;

the fact that Nasimi longed to come to Turkey also is expressed in the following famous verses:

*“Why should I stop here, friends are calling,  
Don’t think, the friends that are calling are in Bursa, or Laranda”.*

(Laranda is the previous name of Qaraman village situated in the province of Konya).

Of course, the person that was inviting Nasimi to Turkey was Fazlullah. This person (assistant to shah) protected the authoritative members of the group and tried to offer all necessary facilities for their activity. According to Ashikpasha’s statement in his work, he even hired master craftsmen to construct a building for them.

In one of his poems Nasimi introduces himself the way they called him - as an “apostate who came to Rom”. Actually, as a fighting member of the group he faced severe resistance from his opponents. He mentions his persecution and imprisonment as he finds it possible to do so, and writes about the head of province (gazi) Mahmud Pasha’s treachery in the following verses.

“The Shah’s name was in reality Ahmedi Mahmud,  
Opposing he was to the truth and for treachery should be judged ‘cause”.<sup>1</sup>

In the first verse the meaning is clear: Mahmud Pasha is mentioned, but in the second verse we need explanation. “Təqəza” means ‘to be judged’. ‘Maməzad’ (Məzad) means ‘an opposite side’, and ‘müqəddər qədər’ (Qadər) means ‘a traitor’. The author uses these words very cautiously because of their meanings. In these verses Nasimi curses Mahmud Pasha because he has deceived the members of group and drawn them into trial.

In another poem he openly expresses his wrath and malice to Mevlana.

*“We should burn those ascetics,  
You can hear only from me about Sheikh and Mevlana”.*

In this poem the author does not mention the name of the Sheikh that demands Fazlullah to be burnt. But Mevlana’s name as a culprit of Fazlullah’s tragedy is known to us from above mentioned historical information.

In fact, Nasimi’s verses about Mahmud Pasha and Mevlana can be considered a primary source. Information given by Huseyn about the culprits of Fazlullah’s tragedy conforms to this sequence.

In some of his poems Nasimi expresses his deep motivates of sorrow towards Fazlullah’s death. He called the holy place (pir) propagated by hurifism as “The Senior of Time” as the day of execution – “The Day of Judgement”.

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<sup>1</sup> For word to word translation, herebelow we give the original lines of the verse. (Translator)

“Ol şahın adı ki, həqdən Əhmədi Mahmud ola,  
Tə qəzadır, maməzdir, ta müqəddərdir qədər”.

*“It is time for the Senior of Time  
They put him on the rack; it was a Day of Judgment for crime”.*

When Nasimi said ‘Senior of the Time’, he meant a person who realizes the dreams of mankind under God’s will. It is also used in the meaning of ‘a Prophet’(Mehdi). Fazlullah is raised to the level of an ideal person entrusted with a sacred duty. His execution separated Nasimi from his faithful friend (holy place “pir”) and in spite of his staunchness, Nasimi was badly terrified by Fazlullah’s death.

*“...Hey Moslems, help me, my friend is passing away,  
I don’t have any other chance, but cry, ‘cause my soul is leaving out.  
...I am distraught with grief and sunk into sorrow,  
My Yusif faced, Saint Kenan is leaving me”.*

In his poem “Bulunmaz” (Impossible finding) Nasimi writes

*“Unfortunately, people do nothing of how our soul is destroyed,  
It is impossible to find a person to aid, but not to avoid”.*

It becomes clear from some motives of Nasimi’s poems that he was in prison at the moment Fazlullah was executed. He writes about it in the information about Mahmud Pasha; we also encounter the lines when he gives information about his imprisonment in some of his other poems.

*“Sacrifice your soul, Nasimi, for your God  
Don’t be unaware, wake up and let me drown within the walls of grief”.*

*“...Time revolves back, will it be the end ?  
Black crow is bustling about the cage and black crow is now freed”.*

*“...We will never offer a bribe to that selfish Gazi,  
Because our conscience is clean”.*

We will now briefly analyse the verses mentioning bribe-taking Gazis. Turkish historian Huseyn, whom we previously mentioned was often writing about bribe-taking Gazis in Turkey. Because of the spread of such illegal cases, people were treated unjustly. This situation was getting more serious during the reign of Ildirim Bayazid (1389-1402). “At the end when Padishah became aware of the complaints of the people, he examined the situation”- wrote Huseyn. Members of the palace arrested 80 Gazis in Anadolu and Rumeli and brought them to the palace. Padishah decided to lock them in a wooden house and set fire to it. At the request of advisor Ali Pasha they were released. According to this historical information, it becomes apparent a bribery nature Gazis’ which was made evident by Nasimi’s sayings. It



becomes clear from his poems that he himself had been faced with such injustices while in prison.

Now we can analyse another secret point of historical truth connected with Fazlullah's activity. The motives that encouraged Fazlullah to become the advisor to Sultan Murad should be explained. His rare manuscript became to be a successful discovery that led to the explanation of this secret. This estimable work is named "Haza Menakibi Sheikh Bedreddin bin Qazi Israil". German Turkologist Franz Babinger published the facsimile of this manuscript in Leipzig, in 1943. This is a work reflecting Sheikh Bedreddin Simavi's (1369-1420) life story in an epic form. The author of the work is Simavi's grandson, Halil ibn Ismail.

A part of this source work (pages 16-17) is about Fazlullah. In the manuscript he is named as Feyzullah, but in reality it is about Fazlullah. According to the author, Fazlullah was in the position of mudarris in Konya; he became popular as a scientist and philosopher. He was a clever astrologer, teosofy (perception of the divine in sufism) and logic. Fazlullah taught Samavna Gazi's son Bedreddin and Sultan Murad's grandson Musa Chalabi. Because of the fame of this mudarris these boys strongly wished to study in Konya medrese (religious school). They asked benediction of Sultan Murad and Gazi Israil to realize their wishes; and they did so Fazlullah met Musa Chalabi and Bedreddin there. Fazlullah, in his turn, cordially and with high praises to their professions, met Musa Chalabi and Bedreddin.

*"Fazlullah spoke of two young boys  
The geniuses came from Rum to take lessons, let's take joys".*

These students were very diligently "genious" and distinguished by their unusual talent. Their speech was so fluent and like "flowing as the rivers of Nile and Jeyhun".

*"If Ibn Sina or Hippokrat were alive  
They would be very fascinated.  
They spoke of the lessons taught  
And enlightened the world with flashes of their mind..."*

Musa Chalabi, Bedreddin Simavi took lessons from Fazlullah in logic, astrology and the secrets of sufism at medrese. Fazlullah deeply appreciated the boys' talents, the author introduces him as a 'Sheikh of gentleness.' But no information is given about his life. The author says something indefinite about his life only at the end of the piece:

*"A very well-known Sheikh of the time,  
A very polite man passed away to the House of Divine".*

In this second part two historical secrets are divulged. Sheikh Bedreddin's way of thinking and world outlook was formulated within the walls of Fazlullah's school.

The source idea of his activity takes its roots from Fazlullahs lessons. (We shall deal with Bedreddins historical life later on).

Sultan Murads grandson, Musa Chalabi played an important role in Fazlullahs appoinment to the position of advisor. Musa Chalabi was able to build a relationship between his honourable teacher and his grandfather who was a Padishah. Ashikpasha was writing the truth saying that, “Fazlullah became a close friend of Padishah and then became an advisor”. Simply he didn’t write how it happened.

Communicating with Fazlullah Naimi, Sultan Murad respected him as a great scientist and appointed him to the position of advisor. Of course, Musa Chalabi had a great influence on his grandfather when they came to such decisions.

We need to remind one thing: Sultan Murad dismissed Fazlullah from his position because of political disagreement, but tried to save his life; maybe, he did it because of his grandson. But the Head Gazi Mahmud Pasha’s will, whose aim was to keep him under control, was completely different. Acting against Padishah’s will, he was trying to convince him of necessity of Fazlullah’s death. We already know that he received his wish thanks to Mevlana Faxraddin’s espionage. Mahmud Pasha’s purpose becomes clear from the first sentences of Huseyn’s narration. “He didn’t agree with Padishah’s tranquility and began to implore Mevlana Faxraddin”...

After these explanations, it becomes necessary to write about Sheikh Bedreddin Mahmud. We already wrote that the source of ideas for his activity came from Fazlullah’s lessons. The essence of these ideas will become clear in the process of our explanation.

Sheikh Bedreddin was part of the intelligencia of his time. He wrote several scientific works on religion, logic and Tasavvuf. He came to the political arena only after Ildirim Bayazids’ sons began to quarrel with each other about the throne. Musa Chalabi defeated his brother Suleyman Chalabi in the war of Edirna and came to a throne (1411). During his rule he appointed Bedreddin Simavi to the position of Gaziasker (soldiers’ Judge). The prince on the throne at the time was trying to defend a friend of his youth. Sheikh Bedreddin started to struggle against ruling feudalism in Turkey at that time directing the propaganda of followers of Sufism to this purpose. He was filling the minds of the oppressed members of Islam, Christian and Jews with the thought of religious equality. Together with this idea he was speaking out in support of the concept of common property. Under this slogan he was encouraging people from different nations to rebellion. The rebellion began to expand and became a massive revolutionary movement. Borkluje Mustafa, Torlag Kamal and Bedreddin Semavi’s friends were participating in this revolutionary movement (According to sources Torlag Kamal was Jewish). Borkluje Mustafa assembled more than ten thousand people in the land of Aydin, Qaraburun. The Sheikh Bedreddin revolution ruthlessly suppressed the people after several bloody battles. The Sheikh himself was imprisoned; and he was executed at the request of a Mufti, Heydar Haravi.

Because of its character this revolution can be compared with reformist movements in Europe. The movement of Yan Gus was very famous in the Czechoslovakia the time. It started against church supremacy and demanded to deposition of the papas from their properties and privileges. Yan Gus was burnt alive in 1415. But the Sheikh Bedreddin movement can be related to a peasant war that



took place in Germany later on. This was a peasant war led by Thomas Munzer in XVI century. Like Sheikh Bedreddin, Thomas Munzer was also fighting with the slogan of equality and unity. Non-equality between the rich and the poor was unjust and contrary to the rules of Christianity. "It is the time for the rich to share their properties with the poor"- he would say. So, he was able to encourage his co-religionists to massive rebellion against the ruling strata in society.

The aim of rebellions mentioned above can be characterized as utopian communism. We should stress one thing here, in the East or in Europe social Utopias have an interesting history. The dream of an indivisible society containing non-division of the stratum has always been an eternal ideal. And this ideal revives again from time to time in folklore, religion, poetry and philosophy conforming to the truth of the period. It has always been expressing the nation's mood toward social-political oppression. In times it became more radical and ended in political rebellion.

Bedreddin Simavi's kind of activities came about by the rebellious nature of his Tasavvuf views. He has devoted his book of 'Varidat' (Existence) to Tasavvuf (Sufism). His grandson especially names his book of 'Varidat' while speaking of his works. He wrote that his grandfather together with Musa Chalabi took their lessons on scientific secrets of Sufism from Fazlullah. In fact, scientific secrets of Sufism meant to perceive the divine existence in human. The perception of divine existence in human is the main basis of Sufism. The unity, equality and ideal of perfect human come from intuitive reasoning. Mutasavvif's love of unity contradicts with the division of society into stratum. Free-thinking intentions in Sufism find its reflection in this sphere. And sometimes these ideas didn't remain within the framework of common outlook. Social contradictions in society caused a struggle and political quarrel. Most members of Sufism ended their life with a tragedy because of this political goal. Was Hallac Mansur inspiring Sufis with the interjection of "Enel-Hegg" (I'm God) executed because of his pantheist ideas? Ibni, the contemporary of Hallac Mansur speaks of him as a sly person. "... Only at the presence of Sultans he pretended to be courageous and strived to overthrow the government. He used to tell his followers that he possesses a divine power and unites with God". (Annemarie Schimmel, Parts of Tasavvuf, Istanbul, 2000, p. 78, Turkche Yashar kecheci).

Nasimi was also accused. In 'Ashik Chalabi's Memoirs' (XVI century) Nasimi was accused of sowing discord in the lands of the rulers. Memoirist's judgment was closely related with political features of Nasimi's life. We have already written about his political activities in Turkey together with Fazlullah.

Nasimi's activities were also related with Sheikh Bedreddin's Movement; the author reminds us with this information. Describing Sheikh's meeting with Halabian Turkman he mentions it. Sheikh is faced with a strict opposition here, although he was among thousands of his supporters. He could hardly escape from the attentions of a spy and went back to Turkey immediately. The spy had instigated Nasimi's death prior, this is briefly mentioned in page 46.

*"They say, who tried to do away with Sheikh,  
Is the very one who committed Nasimi to death".*

It is meant that Nasimi's tragic death is because of his relations with Sheikh Bedreddin. Their ideas and activities were similar, because both of them were Fazlullah's followers. Nasimi actively participated in the work-out of ideological basis for Sheikh Bedreddin's rebellion. For this reason he was facing opposition and had to move from country to country. He was arrested in Halab for the last time and executed. He seemed to have no chance this time and because of it he wrote the following verses.

*"They said, poor Nasimi, truth will always win  
But Liars won this time, get ready to die".*

The author writes that Nasimi was Turkman living in Halab. Is it true or not, we can realize it from Nasimi's poems. See the sample below.

*"Nile flooded and ran over Egypt,  
I joined Halab, found Bagdad and now feel happy.  
I wandered all over Iraq, didn't find anyone to trust the lonely God,  
I liked Egypt, but missed again Bagdad".*

Here "Nile flooded..." is the symbolic expression of social processes taking place in Egypt. After these processes he expresses his delight 'finding Halab and Bagdad'. Though he travels through Iraq and other countries, he loves and misses Bagdad. The verses are created with the love of Halab, Bagdad. Nasimi really expresses here great love of native land.

The fact that Nasimi's native land is Bagdad is often mentioned in history. Latifi (XVI) writes in his memoirs that he was from the region of 'Nasim' in Bagdad. And Nasimi takes his pseudonym from this region. But in reality Nasimi took his pseudonym close to the meaning of 'a soft gentle wind'. Soft gentle wind is a life-giving wind blowing from divine and is the symbol of good beginning in Tasavvuf. Nasimi makes his fascinating poems alike a soft gentle wind. "Morning breeze like Isa resuscitates the dead"... He decorates his verses with sensible words. "Hey, morning breeze, take my whispers to my beloved in the language of birds, in the language even unknown to Suleman, himself..."

But Nasimi is really a Turkman, but Baghdadi by birth. According to Ashik Chalabi Nasimi is Turkman but he was not right when he said that Nasimi was from Diyarbekir by birth. Endelib, Turkman poet of XVII century has written an epic poem about Nasimi. Russian Turkologist of XIX century V. Smirnov wrote when he dealt with the Nasimi's origin: "Biographers say that he was born in the village near Bagdad and he is Turkman by origin". (V. Smirnov. *Oçerk istorii turetskoy literaturı*-In Russian (Essays on history of Turkish literature), IPB, 1891).

Smirnov also speaks of Fazlullah's tragedy briefly. He says that Fazlullah was burnt because he had used the secret meanings of Arabian letters in the interpretation of Quran. But the cause of this terrible death was quite different.

After this additional information we can continue our discussion. Now let's analyze the information given by Rafii, a Turkish writer, contemporary of Fazlullah and Nasimi. In his poem of 'Gancname' (About youth) Rafii writes his thoughts and

ideas about Fazlullah and Nasimi's activities. 'Gancname' was added to the old edition of 'Divan' by Nasimi. (Istanbul, 1844)

According to Rafii, Hurifism had caused to a great deal of political and religious stimulation in Turkey at that time.

*“Think that we were dead, but returned to life,  
We were in prison, now we found freedom,  
Because Nasimi's, Naimi came to our help,  
Rahim (Merciful God) felt sorry for us”.*

The author also writes that Fazlullah has his followers everywhere. Those who understand the essence of Hurifism can easily come to help like Xizir. Even princes are interested in studying it. Those who don't want to be slaves for anyone except for God, who are 'free men', desire to be with him.

*“Hey, Moslems, with the help of Fazlullah,  
Xizir lives in every corner,  
Ask your summon from the slaves  
Not just from Xizir.  
Even princes obey him,  
Free men want to join him...”*

There is no doubt that, when he says 'princes', he means Musa Chalabi. We have already spoken about how he studied in Fazlullah's school together with Bedreddin Mahmud.

In 'Gancname' the author stresses that Fazlullah guided Bedreddin Mahmud's intentions.

*“When Fazlullah becomes visited by Mahmud,  
He gives him all knowledge and guide”.*

But what was essence of the aim that Fazlullah taught his student? Principal idea was to show the way leading to the survival of poor people. To realize this idea a group was set up named "Naji" which comes from word "nicat" meaning "survival".

*“The name of this group was Naji  
They helped everyone in need”.*

We realize from Rafii's commentaries that both Fazlullah and Bedreddin Simavi served the same purpose.

In connection with this it is quite acceptable to write our attitude towards the investigation about Sheikh Bedreddin. Remember: "Sherefeddin Mehmed, Simavna kadisi oglu Sheikh Bedreddin. Istanbul, 1924". The author writes that Sheikh

Bedreddin took lessons from Fazlullah in Konya. But as he couldn't define his identity, he didn't set about introducing him. He simply thought him to be the leader of the trend of hurufism. He thinks that if there are traces of hurufism in Bedreddin Simavi's work of "Varidat", then he is right in his thoughts. And he had never tried to find the truth. The identity of Fazlullah, Sheikh Bedreddin's tutor remained a secret for Sherefeddin Mehmed...

When it comes to the destiny inork of 'Varidat', pay attention to Ahmed Jevdet Pasha's (1823-1895) words: "The work of 'Varidat' by Sheikh Bedreddin about perception of tasavvuf is more famous. But it doesn't have a copy in **Istanbul**. Arif Hikmat Bey who is a well-known Sheikhulislam in our time would buy this book, though expensive or cheap and burn it" he writes. (Ahmed Jevdet pasha, Kisasi enbiya, Peygamberler tarixi, 16-th volume, Istanbul, 1955, p 1745).

Religious fanatics prohibited to spread Sheikh Bedreddin's heritage. What was the purpose of doing it? Of course, difference of thoughts was not the only reason. Main purpose was to distract the attention from the struggle against social inequality and oppression. And Sherefeddin Mehmed speaks a little of it in his book of 'Simavna kadisi oglu Sheikh Bedreddin'. Nazim Hikmat was able to find this book and read it during the years of his imprisonment in Turkey. And he thought him to be against Sheikh Bedreddin's ideals. He himself wrote an interesting poetic saga appreciating Sheikh Bedreddin's ideas of equality, unity and fraternity. (Nazim Hikmet, Simavna kadisi oglu Sheikh Bedreddin dastani. Ankara, Dostyayinlari, 1966. Atacin bir incelemesiyle).

Let's continue our discussion of Fazlullah at the end of our investigation. We can look through 'Anadolu usyanlari' (Anadolu rebellions) by Jemal Berdakchi. The author writes that members of the group were incited to participate in the Sheikh Bedreddin rebellion. He also writes that agitation led by the members of the trend Hurifism was more terrible. Fazlullah Astrabadi's supporters broke into Anadolu like a terrible storm to begin their propaganda and agitation. They settled in the house of Bektashi and started to publish the ideas of Hurifism. And "Javidan" (Javidanname) by Farishtahoglu was in hands. (Jemal Berdakchi, Eski Konya Valisi, Anadolu isyanlari, Istanbul, 1940, p 87).

As we see Jemal Berdakchi describes the ideas of Sheikh Bedreddin's rebellion corresponding to the truth. He draws into attention to Fazlullah and Nasimi's activities in this field and seriously criticizes them as perpetrators of the rebellion.

Now we can summarize our investigation. We name it 'On the traces of Fazlullah Naimi', but the material doesn't cover only the activities of Fazlullah. His historical life was closely connected with lives of Nasimi and Bedreddin Simavi. Information taken from different sources explains the historical truth. At the same time it tells us more about Nasimi's destiny. The historical truth presented in this investigation refreshes our knowledge in this sphere and paves the way to a scientific background that liquidates legends, myths from future researches.

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