

The Formation of Schools of Mysticism

THE term *ṣūfī* was first applied to Muslim ascetics who clothed themselves in coarse garments of wool (*ṣūf*).

the form *taṣawwuf* for 'mysticism'. There are excellent guides to Islamic mysticism and all that is necessary by way of introduction is to give some idea of how I am using the terms *ṣūfī* and Sufism in the context of this study on the mystical Ways and their expression in orders.

I define the word *ṣūfī* in wide terms by applying it to anyone who believes that it is possible to have direct experience of God and who is prepared to go out of his way to put himself in a state whereby he may be enabled to do this. Many will not be happy about this definition, but I find it the only possible way to embrace all the varieties of people involved in the orders.

The term Sufism as used in this book is equally comprehensive. It embraces those tendencies in Islam which aim at direct communion between God and man. It is a sphere of spiritual experience which runs parallel to the main stream of Islamic consciousness deriving from prophetic revelation and comprehended within the *Sharī'a* and theology. This contrast is the reason for the enmity legalists have always borne towards Sufism, for it means that the mystics are claiming a knowledge of the Real (*al-Ḥaqq*, their term for God) that could not be gained through revealed religion which in Islam became codified religion.

Mysticism is a particular method of approach to Reality (*Ḥaqīqa*, another special Sufi term), making use of intuitive and emotional spiritual faculties which are generally dormant and latent unless called into play through training under guidance. This training, thought of as 'travelling the Path' (*salak al-tariq*), aims at dispersing the veils which hide the self from the Real and thereby become transformed or absorbed into undifferentiated Unity. It is not primarily an intellectual process, though the experience of the mystic led to the formulation of various types of mystical philosophy, but rather a reaction against the external

2 THE FORMATION OF SCHOOLS OF MYSTICISM

rationalization of Islam in law and systematic theology, aiming at spiritual freedom whereby man's intrinsic intuitive spiritual senses could be allowed full scope. The various Ways (*ṭuruq*, sing. *ṭarīqa*) are concerned with this process, and it is with the historical development, practical organization, and modes of worship of these Ways that this book is concerned.

Early Sufism was a natural expression of personal religion in relation to the expression of religion as a communal matter. It was an assertion of a person's right to pursue a life of contemplation, seeking contact with the source of being and reality, over against institutionalized religion based on authority, a one-way Master-slave relationship, with its emphasis upon ritual observance and a legalistic morality. The spirit of Qur'ānic piety had flowed into the lives and modes of expression, as in the form of 'recollection' (*dhikr*), of the early devotees (*zuḥḥād*) and ascetics (*nussāk*). Sufism was a natural development out of these tendencies manifest in early Islam, and it continued to stress them as an essential aspect of the Way. These seekers after direct experience of communion with God ensured that Islam was not confined within a legalistic directive. Their aim was to attain ethical perception (we shall see how this was to recur in later developments) and this was redirected or transformed to the aim of the Sufis to attain mystical perception.

Sufism was a natural development within Islam, owing little to non-Muslim sources, though receiving radiations from the ascetical-mystical life and thought of eastern Christianity. The outcome was an Islamic mysticism following distinctive Islamic lines of development. Subsequently, a vast and elaborate mystical system was formed which, whatever it may owe to neo-Platonism, gnosticism, Christian mysticism, or other systems, we may truly regard, as did the Sufis themselves, as 'the inner doctrine of Islam, the underlying mystery of the Qur'ān'.

Sufism has received much attention from Western scholars, yet the study of the development, writings, beliefs, and practices of the orders which are its objective expression has scarcely been attempted. Sufism in practice is primarily contemplative and emotional mysticism. As the organized cultivation of religious experience it is not a philosophical system, though it developed such a system, but it is a 'Way', the Way of purification. This practical aspect is our main concern. Sufi teaching and practice

were diffused throughout the Islamic world through the growth of particular Ways which were disseminated among the people through the medium of religious orders, and as a religious movement displayed many aspects.

The foundation of the orders is the system and relationship of master and disciple, in Arabic *murshid* (director) and *murid* (aspirant). It was natural to accept the authority and guidance of those who had traversed the stages (*maqāmāt*) of the Sufi Path. Masters of the Way say that every man has inherent within him the possibility for release from self and union with God, but this is latent and dormant and cannot be released, except with certain illuminates gifted by God, without guidance from a leader.

The early masters were more concerned with experiencing than with theosophical theorizing. They sought to guide rather than teach, directing the aspirant in ways of meditation whereby he himself acquired insight into spiritual truth and was shielded against the dangers of illusions. Sufism in practice consists of feeling and unveiling, since *ma'rifa* (gnosis) is reached by passage through ecstatic states. Consequently teaching succeeds rather than precedes experience. Abu Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, a theorist of ethical mysticism, writes of his own realization that what is most peculiar to Sufis 'cannot be learned but only attained by direct experience, ecstasy, and inward transformation'. The drunken man knows nothing about the definition, causes, and conditions of drunkenness, yet he is drunk, whilst the sober man acquainted with the theory is not drunk.¹ Al-Ghazālī's own intellectual background, his inability to submit himself unreservedly to guidance, imposed too great a barrier for him to attain direct Sufi experience. Teaching about the state of *fanā'* (transmutation of self) will not help anyone to attain it, only guidance under an experienced director. Hence the great importance the guides attached to permission to recite *adhkār* (mystical exercises) and undertake retreats, for thereby the burden is adjusted to the capacity of the individual.

A *ṭarīqa* was a practical method (other terms were *madhhab*, *ri'āya*, and *sulūk*) to guide a seeker by tracing a way of thought, feeling, and action, leading through a succession of 'stages'

¹ Al-Ghazālī, *al-Munqidh min ad-dalāl*, Damascus edn., 1358/1939, pp. 124-5.

(*maqāmāt*, in integral association with psychological experiences called 'states', *aḥwāl*) to experience of divine Reality (*ḥaqīqa*). At first a *ṭarīqa* meant simply this gradual method of contemplative and soul-releasing mysticism. Circles of disciples began to gather around an acknowledged master of the Way, seeking training through association or companionship,¹ but not linked to him by any initiatory tie or vow of allegiance.

Two contrasting tendencies came to be distinguished as Junaidī and Bisṭāmī, or 'Irāqī and Kḥurasānī (but must not be taken too seriously or called schools of thought) after two men, Abu'l-Qāsim al-Junaid (d. 298/910) and Abu Yazīd Ṭaifūr al-Bisṭāmī (d. 260/874), who captured the imaginations more than any other of their contemporaries. These two are held to embody the contrasts between the way based on *tawakkul* (trust) and that on *malāma* (blame),² between intoxicated and sober, safe and suspect, illuminate and conformist, solitude and companionship, theist and monist, guidance under a this-world director (with a chain of transmitters to regularize in conformity with standard Islamic practice) and guidance under a spirit-shaikh.

'Alī al-Hujwirī refers³ to Bisṭāmī's teaching, which he calls Ṭaifūrī, as characterized by *ghalaba* (rapture, ecstasy) and *sukr* (intoxication); whereas that derived from al-Junaid 'is based on sobriety (*ṣaḥw*) and is opposed to that of the Ṭaifūrīs . . . It is the best-known and most celebrated of all doctrines, and all the Shaykhs have adopted it, notwithstanding that there is much difference in their sayings on the ethics of Sūfism.'⁴ Because he won the approval of orthodoxy as relatively 'safe', al-Junaid comes to be regarded as '*the* Shaikh of the Way', the common ancestor of most subsequent mystical congregations, even though many followed heterodox teaching; his inclusion in their genealogies

¹ *Li 's-ṣuḥba wa 'd-dars wa 'r-riwāya 'anhu.*

² See Appendix B.

³ Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Jullābī al-Hujwirī (d. c. 465/1072), *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, tr. R. A. Nicholson, London, 1936, pp. 184–5.

⁴ Ibid., p. 189. Junaid as the apostle of moderation (though he in fact held esoteric views) sought to tone down and explain away his ecstatic utterances, see Sarrāj, *Luma'*, pp. 380–90. On al-Bisṭāmī see 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Badawī, *Shaḥḥāt as-Ṣūfiyya: I. Abu Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī*, Cairo, 1949, which includes (pp. 37–148) a biography entitled *An-Nūr min kalimāt Abi Ṭaifūr*, as-Sahlaḥī. The ideas of a far more significant contemporary, al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmidhī (d. c. 295/908), fell into oblivion until resurrected by the genius of Ibn al-'Arabī.

was a guarantee of orthodoxy, for a sound *isnād* can support a multitude of heresies.

These groups were very loose and mobile; members travelled widely seeking masters, some earning their way, others supporting themselves upon alms. But foundations came into being which served as centres for these wanderers. In Arab regions many were attached to frontier-posts or hostels called *ribāt*;¹ those in Khurasan were associated with rest-houses or hospices (*khānaqāh*),² whilst others were the retreat (*khalwa* or *zāwiya*) of a spiritual director. All these terms came to mean a Sufi convent. An early *ribāt* was found on 'Abbādān island (the name itself is significant) on the Persian Gulf, which grew up around an ascetic called 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Zaid (d. 177/793), survived his death, and became especially well known.³ Other *ribāts* were found on the marches with Byzantium and in north Africa. Centres for devotees are mentioned at Damascus around 150/767, at Ramlah, capital of Palestine, founded by a Christian *amīr* before A.D. 800,⁴ in Khurasan about the same time, whilst 'there appeared in Alexandria an organization (*tā'ifa*) calling itself aṣ-Ṣūfiyya' A.H. 200.⁵

By the fifth/eleventh century organized convents of a quite different character had become numerous, though they still retained their character as collections of individuals pursuing their own way, even though they associated with and sought guidance from experienced men and ascribed themselves to such guides. The personnel of these places was still impermanent and migrant, and they adopted the bare minimum of institutional rules concerning their day-to-day life. Such Sufi 'companionship' (*ṣuḥba*) rules eventually became a religious obligation.⁶

Al-Maqdisī, whose range of interests was wider than that of

¹ On *ribāts*, see Chap. vi, pp. 167-8.

² *Khāna-gāh* (monastery, cloister).

³ See Sarrāj, *Luma'*, p. 429; al-Maqdisī, p. 118; Yāqūt, iii. 598; L. Massignon, *Lexique mystique*, p. 157.

⁴ Jāmī, *Nafahāt al-uns*, Calcutta, 1859, p. 34; though this reference is too late to be of any value by itself (the book was written in A.H. 881 though based upon earlier material).

⁵ Al-Kindī, *Quḍāt Miṣr*, ed. R. Guest, 1912, p. 162.

⁶ The first such work, though concerned with general ethical relationships, appears to be *Ādāb aṣ-ṣuḥba*, by as-Sulamī (330/941-412/1021), edited by M. J. Kister, 1954. 'Alī al-Hujwiri refers to a number of treatises explaining the rules; see *Kashf*, p. 338.

most geographers, gives some information about Sufi groups. He says that in Shiraz 'Sūfis were numerous, performing the *dhikr* (*yukabbir*) in their mosques after the Friday prayer and reciting blessings on the Prophet from the pulpit'.¹ As an organized movement he shows that the Karrāmiyya² in his time (he is writing around A.D. 975) was more effective, having *khānaqāhs* all over Islamic Asia,³ and it seems that it was from them that Sufis adopted the *khānaqāh* system. The only reference I have come across in al-Maqdisī to a *khānaqāh* where Sufi exercises take place is, 'There was a *khānaqāh* in Dabil [Dvin, capital of Armenia] whose inmates were gnostics (*'ārifs*) in the system of *taṣawwuf*, living in the strictest poverty.'⁴ Yet the Karrāmiyya was relatively short-lived (two centuries) whereas the Sufi movement went on from an individualistic discipline to change the whole devotional outlook of Muslims.

In the Syrian Jawlān mountains al-Maqdisī writes: 'I met Abu Ishāq al-Ballūṭī with forty men, all wearing wool, who had a place for worship where they congregated. I found out that this man was a learned jurist of the school of Sufyān ath-Thawrī, and that their sustenance consisted of acorns (*ballūṭ*), a fruit the size of dates, bitter, which is split, sweetened, ground up and then mixed with wild barley.'⁵

Al-Maqdisī was assiduous in seeking new experiences as well as geographical information, and the following engaging account shows that organized congregations existed in his time and that you needed to belong to one to gain insight into Sufi experience, as

¹ Al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm* (completed in Shiraz in 375/985), ed. de Goeje, 1906, p. 439, cf. p. 430. A non-Sufi usage of the term *dhikr* has to be looked for. Al-Maqdisī writes that in Jerusalem (Iliyā) were '*mudhakkirīn* who are [pious] story-tellers (*quṣṣās*), and the followers of Abū Ḥarīsa have a *majlis dhikr* in the Aqṣā mosque where they recite from a book'; op. cit., p. 182, and cf. p. 327.

² Founded by Muḥammad ibn Karrām, d. 255/869. Al-Maqdisī calls them men of *zuhd* and *ta'abbud* (p. 365). It was a revivalist and ascetic school distinguished by a special mode of dress. They were by no means happy with the Sufis, especially with the quietists.

³ And even outside, for they had their own section in Fāṭimid Fustāt; see al-Maqdisī, p. 202.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 379. References like the following in the section on Khurasan are common: 'The Karrāmiyya have a group (*jaloba*) in Herāt and Gharch of the Shēr, and *khānaqāh* in Ferghāna, Khuttal, and Gūzgānān, and in Marv ar-rūdh a *khānaqāh*, and another in Samarqand' (p. 323).

⁵ Al-Maqdisī, op. cit., p. 188.

well as showing that it was as easy to be a false Sufi in those days as at any other:

When I entered Sūs [in Khūzistān] I sought out the main mosque, seeking a shaikh whom I might question concerning points of *ḥadīth*. It chanced that I was wearing a *jubba* of Cypriot wool and a Basran *fūṭa*, and I was directed to a congregation of Sufis. As I approached they took it for granted that I was a Sufi and welcomed me with open arms. They settled me among them and began questioning me. Then they sent a man to bring food. I felt ill at ease about taking the food since I had not associated with such a group before this occasion. They showed surprise at my reluctance and absention from their ceremonial.¹ I felt drawn to associate myself with this congregation and find out about their method, and learn the true nature [of Sufism]. So I said within myself, 'This is your opportunity, here where you are unknown.' I therefore threw off all restraint with them, stripping the veil of bashfulness from off my face. On one occasion I might engage in antiphonal singing with them, on another I might yell with them, and at another recite poems to them. I would go out with them to visit *ribāṭs* and to engage in religious recitals, with the result, by God, that I won a place both in their hearts and in the hearts of the people of that place to an extraordinary degree. I gained a great reputation, being visited [for my virtue] and being sent presents of garments and purses, which I would accept but immediately hand over intact to the Sufis, since I was well off, having ample means. Every day I used to spend engaged in devotions, and what devotions! and they used to suppose I did it out of piety. People began touching me [to obtain *baraka*] and broadcasting my fame, saying that they had never seen a more excellent *faqīr*. So it went on until, when the time came that I had penetrated into their secrets and learnt all that I wished, I just ran away from them at dead of night and by morning had got well clear.²

Whilst some centres of withdrawal, more especially the *ribāṭs* and *khānaqāhs* which were supported by endowments (*awqāf*), became permanent centres, those which were based upon the reputation of a particular master broke up after his death. Most masters were themselves migrants. There were no self-continuatve orders, but groups of people possessing similar spiritual aspirations who had become disciples of an honoured master with whom the bond of allegiance was purely personal..

The eleventh century marks a turning-point in the history of

¹ Clearly not a question of accepting normal hospitality but a ritual meal.

² Al-Maqdisi, op. cit., p. 415.

Islam. Among other things it was characterized by the suppression of Shī'ism, which had attained political power in the dynasties of the Fāṭimids of north Africa and the Būyids of Persia, where even then it seemed likely to become the Persian form of Islam. The overthrow of political Shī'ism was brought about by the Seljuq rulers of Turkish nomads from central Asia. In A.D. 1055 they gained control of Baghdad and took over tutelage of the 'Abbāsid caliph from the Būyids. In the Maghrib and Egypt the power of the Fāṭimids weakened¹ until finally they were overthrown by the Kurd Saladin in A.D. 1171.

The Turks were upholders of the Sunna and opponents of Shī'ite tendencies. The counter-revolution they accomplished in the Islamic sphere took the form of the reorganization of the *madrasa* from a private school, a circle around a learned master, to an official institution to which the Seljuqs ensured the recruitment of masters sympathetic to their religious policy. In these institutions the stress was placed on the religious sciences, whilst the profane sciences which had flourished equally under the early 'Abbāsid and Shī'ite dynasties were discouraged or banned. The new form of *madrasa* soon spread from Iraq into Syria, Egypt, and eventually the Maghrib.²

But Islamic religious spirit could not be limited and confined within this institution alone and the cultivation of the deeper spiritual life took the form of the parallel institution of the organized, endowed, and supervised *khānaqāh* with which the Seljuqs were familiar from those of the Karrāmiyya in central Asia and Iran. The institution is a means of control, but it is to their credit that they encouraged the foundation of *khānaqāhs* and endowed them liberally.

The speculative Sufi spirit was viewed with suspicion. The dissociation of Sufis from recognized religious leaders had always been suspected and resented by the 'ulamā' (doctors of law), and provoked a reaction to which Shihāb

¹ The Zīrids of Ifrīqiya, Berber vassals of the Fāṭimids, repudiated their authority. Al-Mu'izz's recognition of the 'Abbāsid caliph in the *khutba* is ascribed to various dates between 433/1041 and 437/1045. In far western Islam other nomads, the Murābiṭūn, ensured the triumph of Sunnism in its Mālikī form when Ṣanhāja from western Sahara overwhelmed Morocco (at the time the Seljuqs were taking Baghdad) and then Spain (Battle of Zallāqa in A.D. 1086).

² *Madrasas* did not increase greatly in the Maghrib until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries under the Hafsids, Marīnids, and 'Abd al-Wādids.

fell victim.¹ But it was the formation of esoteric and mystical congregations outside the regular organization of Islam, together with the liturgical organization of the *samā'*, or spiritual concert for inducing ecstasy, which was more likely to provoke the reaction of the orthodox than suspect ideas.

By the end of the fifth century A.H. the change in the attitude of Islamic legalists towards a grudging and qualified acceptance of Sufism, begun by as-Sulamī and his disciple al-Qushairī, had been brought to a conclusion by al-Ghazālī, whilst the need for associations caring for religious needs other than the ritual sanctified and fixed by the Law was recognized. The association of Sufism in its *khānaqāh* form with the official favour of Nūr ad-dīn, Saladin, and their lieutenants and successors had made Sufi associations respectable. When the formation of separate congregations for liturgical 'recitals' became possible there began the development of an inner Islam with its own leaders, hierarchy, and forms of worship. But though accommodated in this way orthodoxy and mysticism followed not only separate but divergent paths. This is shown by the parallel institutional development of *madrasas* and *khānaqāhs*. The next stage is the formation of mystical schools consisting of circles of initiates. When this reconciliation or compromise was accomplished Sufism was still a Way which appealed only to the few, and the Sunnī doctors had no conception of what was to happen when it was mediated to the people in the form of a popular movement.

From the eleventh century the *zāwīyas* and *khānaqāhs* which provided temporary resting-places for wandering Sufis spread the new devotional life throughout the countryside and played a decisive role in the Islamization of borderland and non-Arab regions in central Asia and north Africa. By the twelfth century many *khānaqāhs* had become rich and flourishing establishments and Ibn Jubair, who travelled (A.D. 1183-5) in the near East in Saladin's time, writes of Damascus:

Ribāṭs for Sufis, which here go under the name of *khawāniq*, are numerous. They are ornamented palaces through all of which flow

¹ This Suhrawardī is to be distinguished from the *ṭarīqa* leaders bearing the same *nisba* by the epithet al-Maqtūl, 'the Martyr'. He taught in Anatolia at the court of Qilij Arslan II and his son, and wrote a number of remarkable theological works before he was tried and executed, martyr to the fanaticism of the orthodox 'ulamā' of Aleppo, by al-Malik az-Zāhir at the order of Saladin, at the age of 28 in 587/1191.

streams of water, presenting as delightful a picture as anyone could wish for. The members of this type of Sufi organization are really the kings in these parts, since God has provided for them over and above the material things of life, freeing their minds from concern with the need to earn their living so that they can devote themselves to His service. He has lodged them in palaces which provide them with a fore-taste of those of Paradise. So these fortunates, the favoured ones among the Sufis, enjoy through God's favour the blessings of this world and the next. They follow an honourable calling and their life in common is admirably conducted. Their mode of conducting their forms of worship is peculiar. Their custom of assembling for impassioned musical recitals (*samā'*) is delightful. Sometimes, so enraptured do some of these absorbed ecstasies become when under the influence of a state that they can hardly be regarded as belonging to this world at all.¹

However, it was not through such establishments that the next development in Sufi institutionalism took place but through a single master, sometimes settled in a retreat far from the distractions of *khānaqāh* life, sometimes in his *zāwiya* home in the big city, frequently a wanderer travelling around with his circle of disciples. Ibn Jubair occasionally mentions these humble ascetics of desert or mountain if something special calls them to his attention, such as when he finds Christians paying tribute to their dedication to the religious life.²

From the beginning of the thirteenth century certain centres (if we think of the centre as being a man, not a place) became the sees of *ṭarīqas*, mystical schools or teaching centres. This happened when a centre or circle became focused on one director in a new way and turned into a school designed to perpetuate his name, type of teaching, mystical exercises, and rule of life. Each such *ṭarīqa* was handed down through a continuous 'chain' (*silsila*), or mystical *isnād*.³ The derivative shaikhs are, therefore, the spiritual heirs of the founder.

The link of a person with this *silsila* acquired an esoteric character, and initiation, whereby the seeker swore an oath of allegiance to founder and earthly deputy and received in return the secret *wird* which concentrates the spiritual power of the chain, was the means of gaining this link. Ibn Khallikān describes *fuqarā'* having

¹ *The Travels of Ibn Jubair*, ed. W. Wright and M. J. de Goeje, 2nd edn., 1907, p. 284.

² *Ibid.*, p. 287.

³ See Appendix A for some early *silsilas*.

such a tie (*'uqda*, *i'tiqād*) with Ibn ar-Rifā'ī (d. A.D. 1182),¹ whose *silsila* is probably the earliest consciously maintained chain.²

The *silsila*-path was not intended to replace the formal Muslim religious organization which the Sufis regarded as a necessary concession (*rukḥṣa*) to human frailty. This development can be regarded as the beginning of the process whereby the creative freedom of the mystic was to be channelled into an institution. These paths never developed sectarian tendencies. Their founders maintained careful links with the orthodox institution and did not repudiate the formal duties of Islam. One of their functions in Islamic life was to fill the gap left through the suppression of Shī'ī sectarianism. The difference between the paths lay in such aspects as loyalty to the head of the order and belief in a particular power-line, in types of organization, methods of teaching, peculiar practices and ritual. They differed considerably in their inner beliefs, but their link with orthodoxy was guaranteed by their acceptance of the law and ritual practices of Islam. All the same they formed inner coteries within Islam and introduced a hierarchical structure and modes of spiritual outlook and worship foreign to its essential genius.

How this process of ascription came about is not clear. Pupils had normally traced or ascribed³ their *madhhab* (method), or *ṭarīqa* (course), to their revered teacher, for he was their guarantee of validity and training, but so far this had been primarily a direct personal link. It is true 'Alī al-Hujwīrī (d. c. 467/1074) enumerates twelve schools of Sufism:

The whole body of aspirants to Ṣūfism is composed of twelve sects, two of which are condemned (*mardūd*), while the remaining ten are approved (*maqbul*). The latter are the Muḥāsibīs, the Qaṣṣārīs, the Tayfurīs, the Junaydīs, the Nūrīs, the Sahlīs, the Ḥakīmīs, the Khar-rāzīs, the Khafifīs, and the Sayyārīs. All these assert the truth and belong to the mass of orthodox Muslims. The two condemned sects are, firstly, the Ḥulūlīs, who derive their name from the doctrine of incarnation (*ḥulūl*) and incorporation (*intizāj*), and with whom are connected the Sālimī sect of anthropomorphists; and secondly, the Ḥallājīs, who

¹ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt*, i. 95.

² See al-Wāsiṭī, *Tiryāq al-muḥibbin*, Cairo, A.H. 1305, pp. 5-6, which gives three *silsilas* culminating in him. Most of the links linking him with al-Junaid are obscure figures, which implies that the chains were not invented as so many were later.

³ *Intasaba*, *intamā*, and *tasammā* are the terms used.

have abandoned the sacred law and have adopted heresy, and with whom are connected the Ibāḥatīs and the Fārisīs.¹

But these are theoretical ways, none of which developed into *silsila-ṭarīqas*. Their teaching was modified by their pupils in accordance with their own mystical experiences. In fact, al-Hujwīrī singles out as exceptional the transmission from Abū 'l-'Abbās as-Sayyārī whose 'school of Ṣūfism is the only one that has kept its original doctrine unchanged, and the cause of this fact is that Nasā and Merv have never been without some person who acknowledged his authority and took care that his followers should maintain the doctrine of their founder'.²

The names of certain of these early masters were incorporated in the mystical *isnāds* of the *ṭarīqas*. The key figure in the lines of most *ṭarīqas* is Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Junaid (d. A.D. 910), yet Dhū 'n-Nūn al-Miṣrī, though continually quoted in support of mystical thought,³ is missing from the *isnāds*. Similarly, Husain ibn Manṣūr al-Hallāj is not normally found in them (though a Way was later attributed to him), whereas al-Bisṭāmī is found in the chains of many orders (for example, the Naqshabandiyya).⁴ Al-Wāsiṭī, writing around A.D. 1320 when the Ways were fully established, says that there were two distinct primitive *sanads* to which all the then existing *khirqas* went back, the Junaidī and the Bisṭāmī,⁵ and two extinct lines, the Bilāliyya and the Uwaisiyya.⁶ The grounds for incorporation in the chains, or for their rejection, are not made clear. It is not a simple question of condemnation by orthodoxy. Some figure as founders of artificial *ṭarīqas*, and we have just mentioned that attributed to al-Hallāj;⁷ that is, specific esoteric doctrines, *dhikrs*, and rules were ascribed to them in books of *khirqas* lines such as as-Sanūsī's *Salsabīl*, and certain masters would claim to initiate into the *dhikrs* of these figures. One of the earliest was Uwais al-Qaranī, a Yemeni contemporary of the Prophet.⁸ The method (*ṭarīqa* or *madhhab*) of al-Junaid was

¹ *Kashf al-mahjūb*, pp. 130-1. These schools are studied in the *Kashf* on pp. 176-266.

² *Kashf*, p. 251.

³ Although most of these sayings may not be authentic it must be remembered that inspired inventions had to be in line with the Sufi's known genuine thought.

⁴ As-Sanūsī, *Salsabīl*, p. 121.

⁵ Al-Wāsiṭī, *Tiryāq*, p. 47.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁷ As-Sanūsī, *Salsabīl*, p. 57.

⁸ He was unacquainted with the Prophet and is said to have been initiated after his death (traditionally in A.H. 37) by the spirit of the Prophet, hence

known to al-Hujwīrī,¹ and is mentioned in the thirteenth century in Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh's treatise on the *dhikr*² which gives the eight stipulations of his Way. This method, though, was not confined to one line, but was inherited by all the Junaidī orders.³

The true *silṣila-ṭarīqas* had a new element, not merely the teacher-pupil relationship which had prevailed so far, but the fuller one of director and disciple. A new aura emanates from the master as a *walī* (protégé) of God, which eventually, in the third stage, was to become belief in his mediumship and intercessory status with God. The Sufi life of recollection and meditation now becomes increasingly associated with a line of ascription so far as the majority of Sufi aspirants were concerned. *Murshids* (guide-initiators) bestowed the *ṭarīqa*, its *wird*, formulae, and symbols, as from their dead master and guided their own pupils along his Way in his name. This was primarily a consequence of the Islamic ideal of providing oneself with an *isnād* of guarantee and authority. The distinction within Sufism between Sufis and Malāmatis now becomes defined, the Sufis being those who submit to direction and conformity and the Malāmatis are those who retain their freedom.⁴

The change in the Sufis can be seen in the nature of the bond which unites them. The earlier groups had been linked by enthusiasm, common devotions, and methods of spiritual discipline, with the aim of stripping the soul and eliminating self to attain vision of Reality. They were, therefore, integrated by spirit and aim rather than by any formal organization, and were, in fact, very loose organizations. The change came with the development of such a *collegium pietatis* into a *collegium initiati* whose members ascribed themselves to their initiator and his spiritual ancestry, and were prepared to follow his Path and transmit it themselves to future generations.

darvishes who had no direct initiator were frequently called Uwaisīs. Such attribution is late (16th century?), though as a Sufi figure Uwais was known from an early date; see *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, pp. 83-4. On his *dhikr* attribution see al-Sanūsī, *Salsabil*, pp. 49-50; and cf. D'Ohsson, *Tableau*, iv. 2, 619-21.

¹ See *Kashf*, p. 189.

² Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh, *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ*, margin of Sha'rānī, *Laṭā'if al-minan*, Cairo, 1357, ii. 144.

³ At any time a Sufi might be told in a dream to convey al-Junaid's Way. We read, for example, that Yūauf al-'Ajamī al-Kūrānī (d. 768/1366) 'was the first to revivify the *ṭarīqa* of al-Junaid in Egypt after its obliteration'; Sha'rānī, *Laṭā'iqih*, Cairo, A.H. 1355, ii. 60.

⁴ See Appendix B.

The transformation of Sufi companionships into initiatory colleges began with the Sunnī triumphs over Shī'ite dynasties (Būyids in Baghdad, A.D. 1055: Fāṭimids in Egypt, A.D. 1171), and was settled during the troubled time of the Mongol conquests (Baghdad, A.D. 1258), which were accompanied by considerable Sufi migrations whereby it became a rural, as well as urban, movement of the spirit. A significant feature of the change is that the groups, about the time of Saladin, took over the Shī'ite custom of *baī'a*, initiation with oath of allegiance to the shaikh. There was also some linkage with and transmission from artisan *futuwwa* orders, another compensatory reaction against the suppression of open Shī'ism. *Futuwwa* orders were brought into prominence by Caliph an-Nāṣir's (A.D. 1219-36) attempt to create a knightly *futuwwa*, with whose patronage the great *murshid*, Shihāb ad-dīn Abū Ḥafṣ as-Suhrawardī, was associated, acting as an-Nāṣir's envoy in girding those grandees whom the Caliph wished to honour.

The *ṭarīqas* which became the most significant for the development of institutional Sufism were the Suhrawardiyya attributed to Diyā' ad-dīn Abū Najīb as-Suhrawardī (d. A.D. 1168), but developed by his nephew, the just-mentioned Shihāb ad-dīn Abū Ḥafṣ (d. A.D. 1234); the Qādiriyya attributed to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. A.D. 1166), whose line of ascription did not extend before the fourteenth century; the Rifā'iyya deriving from Aḥmad ibn ar-Rifā'ī (d. A.D. 1182); the nomadic Yasaviyya of Aḥmad al-Yasavī (d. A.D. 1166); the Kubrawiyya of Najm ad-dīn Kubrā (d. A.D. 1221); the Chishtiyya of Mu'īn ad-dīn M. Chishtī (d. A.D. 1236), mainly confined to India; the Shādhiliyya deriving from Abu Madyan Shu'aib (d. A.D. 1197) but attributed to Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ash-Shādhilī (d. A.D. 1258); the Badawiyya of Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. A.D. 1276) centred in Egypt; the Mawlawiyya inspired by the Persian Sufi poet, Jalāl ad-dīn ar-Rūmī (d. A.D. 1273), which was restricted to Anatolia; and the central Asian Naqshabandiyya, a mystical school, first called Khwājagān, which owes its initial insights to Yūsuf al-Hamadānī (d. A.D. 1140) and 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Ghujdawānī (d. A.D. 1179), but was eventually associated with the name of Muḥammad Bahā' ad-dīn an-Naqshabandī (d. A.D. 1389). All subsequent *ṭarīqas* claim to be derivatives of one or more of these chains. An account of the founders of these lines and their principal characteristics will be

given in the next chapter when other masters, such as Aḥmad al-Ghazālī and 'Alī al-Kharaqānī, who played an important role in founding lines but do not have a *silsila* named after them, will be given the recognition that is their due.

Many other groups continued for a time as family or localized orders, but unlike the Qādiriyya, which also was for long a restricted family order, did not lead to the formation of distinctive Ways such as those just mentioned. Such was the Rūzbihāniyya founded in Shiraz by Rūzbihān Baqlī (d. A.D. 1209), which became hereditary from the death of the founder¹ but did not spread outside Fars or even survive for very long. Ibn Khallikān mentions the Kizāniyya founded in Cairo by Abu 'Abdallāh Mūḥammad, known as Ibn al-Kizānī (d. 562/1167),² as such a *ṭarīqa manqūʿa*. Of another he writes:

Yūnus ibn Yūsuf ibn Musā'id ash-Shaibānī, shaikh of the *fuqarā'* known after him as the Yūnusiyya, was a holy man. I asked a group of his followers who was his shaikh and they replied, 'He had no shaikh, he was a *majdhūb*.' By this word they designate one who has no shaikh but has been attracted (*judhiba*) to a life of piety and sanctity . . . He died in 619 (A.D. 1222-3) in his village of al-Qunayya in the province of Dāra [in the Jazīra], where his tomb is well known and attracts pilgrims.³

Yūnus's great-grandson, Saif ad-dīn Rajihī b. Sābiq b. Hilāl b. Yūnus (d. 706/1306) went to live in Damascus where he was allotted the house of the *wazīr* Amin ad-dawla for his *zāwiya* as well as a village in the Ghūṭa. From that time his line became a hereditary *ṭā'ifa*, with a branch in Jerusalem, and was still in existence in 1500.⁴

¹ The Rūzbihāniyya was a simple *ṭā'ifa*, a derivative of the Kāzerūniyya, a *ṭarīqa* which later changed its role into a religio-commercial guild. Accounts of the sons and grandsons of Rūzbihān (who were also invested with the Suhrawardī *khirqā*) are given by Abu 'l-Qāsim Junaid Shīrāzī, *Shadd al-izār fī khaṭṭ al-awzār 'an zuwwār al-mazār* (written 791/1389), ed. M. Qazwīnī and 'Abbās Iqbāl, Tehran, 1328/1910, pp. 227-39, 243-54. The tomb-centre in Shiraz was still famous when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited that city in 1325 (Paris edn., ii. 83), but after Junaid Shīrāzī's time it fell into oblivion.

² Ibn Khallikān, *Wafūyāt al-A'yān*, Cairo, A.H. 1199, ii. 391; tr. De Slane, iii. 158. Examples of his poetry are given in Ṣalāḥ ad-dīn Khalīl aṣ-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfi bi 'l-Wafāyāt*, ed. H. Ritter, Leipzig/Istanbul, 1931, i. 347-50.

³ Ibn Khallikān, op. cit. iii. 522-3; tr. iv. 598; see also H. Sauvaire (ed.), 'Description de Damas', *J. Asiat. sér. ix. v.* 399-401. The *ṭā'ifa* still existed in Maqrīzī's time, see his *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo, A.H. 1326, iv. 304-5, which gives his date incorrectly as 719/1319.

⁴ Mujir ad-dīn 'Ulaimī, *Al-Uns al-jalīl bi ta'rikh al-Quds*, extracts tr. by

There were many other small independent-lineage *ṭarīqas* which had only a restricted local influence,¹ but those mentioned above, together with the western Turkish Khalwatiyya,² were the foundation lines sponsoring distinctive Ways of mystical thought and spiritual exercises. Through these *ṭarīqas* the Sufi message was mediated to the Islamic world.

The *silsila*-founders belonged to two main schools of Sufi thought which may be designated as the Junaidī and Bistāmī schools, or the Mesopotamian and central Asian, though the exponents were not confined to these areas. Later, Maghribī Sufism, deriving from Abu Madyan (d. A.D. 1197), was to form a third area with its own special characteristics, but though the main *silsila*-founder, ash-Shādhilī, came from the Maghrib, he and his successors only received recognition and encouragement in Egypt and his line of attribution did not become popular in the Maghrib until much later.

Antinomian tendencies were stronger in Khorasan and central Asia, though by no means exclusive to these areas, but such elements are not seen in the *silsila*-founders, who were frequently men trained in the legal sciences. They were strong among the large numbers of vagrant dervishes (*malāmatis* and *qalandaris*) unattached to any recognized master or line, who were above the Law. But once *silsilas* were established and recognized as Sunnī they could incorporate all sorts of other elements.

Sufism had now become a profession and this period is characterized by a great growth of unspecialized Sufi establishments. The popularity of the Persian-type hospices in particular is associated with the Seljuq period as can be seen from any list of

H. Sauvaire, 1876, p. 159, mentions a *zāwiya*-Yūnusiyya in Jerusalem in his time (A.D. 1500).

¹ One such early family *ṭarīqa* which had great influence upon Islamic life in Hadramawt and has survived until the present day is the 'Alawīyya in south Arabia, founded by Muḥammad ibn 'Alī of the Bā 'Alawī tribe (574/1178–653/1255) who was initiated into the Way deriving from Abu Madyan Shu'aib, but developed his independent Way. He is said to have been the first to introduce Sufi discipline (*taḥkīm*) into Hadramawt (see F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Ḥusfīten in Süd-Arabien*, Göttingen, 1883, p. 5; *E.I.*² i. 829). An example of a Damascene family *zāwiya* which survived for some time without expanding was the Qawāmiyya-Bālisiyya, founded by Abū Bakr ibn Qawām ibn 'Alī al-Bālisī (584/1188–658/1260). An account of his life is given in Ibn Shākir's *Fawāt al-Wafāyāt* (Bulaq, A.H. 1283, i. 101–2).

² Discussion of the Khalwatiyya has been reserved for the third chapter, see pp. 74–8.

the dates when these were founded,¹ and the tendency accelerated under the Ayyūbids. Saladin welcomed Asiatic Sufis to Egypt and he and his followers founded and endowed many *khānaqāhs*, *ribāṭs*, and *zāwiyas* of which al-Maqrīzī gives a long list.² Mujīr ad-dīn has accounts of these places in Jerusalem, Hebron, and Damascus.³ Saladin in 585/1189 endowed a Khānaqāh Ṣalāhiyya in Jerusalem,⁴ diverting for this purpose the palace of the Latin patriarch.⁵ His lieutenant in Egypt, Qarāqūsh ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Asadi, ‘erected a *ribāṭ* at al-Maqs’,⁶ whilst Muẓaffar ad-dīn Gökböri, Saladin’s brother-in-law (d. 630/1233),

built two *khānaqāhs* [at Irbil] for the Sufis, which housed a large number, both of residents and visitors. Festival days used to draw together so numerous a concourse that everyone marvelled. Both were well endowed to provide all that was needed by those staying there, each of whom must accept his expenses when he departed. Gökböri used to visit them frequently and associate himself with them in concerts.⁷

Ibn Khallikān then describes the pomp with which he celebrated the Prophet’s birthday at Irbil in A.D. 1207 when he passed the nights listening to Sufi concerts. Gökböri also built a *khānaqāh* at Aleppo.⁸

The difference between the institutions mentioned seems to be that the *ribāṭ* was an Arab type of hostel or training-centre;⁹ the

¹ The Seljuq conquest of northern Syria and Damascus was completed between A.D. 1071 and 1079, but the Ismā‘īlī Fāṭimid state in Egypt survived until 1171. Khānaqāh al-Balāṭ, the first new-type convent in Aleppo, was built by Shams al-Khawāṣṣ Lu’lu’, freedman of Ridwān ibn Tutush, in 509/1115 when he was governor of that city; see Abū Dharr (d. 884/1479) in *Kunūz adh-dhawābiḥ*, quoted by M. Rāghib aṭ-Ṭabbākh, *Ilām an-nubalā’ fī ta’rikh Ḥalab*, Aleppo, 1923-6, iv. 218-21.

² Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. A.H. 1324-6, iv. 271-306.

³ *Al-Uns al-jalil*, already referred to, and for Damascus the translation of H. Sauvaire, ‘Description de Damas’, *J. Asiat. sér. IX. v* (1895), *khānaqāhs* (pp. 269-97), *ribāṭs* (pp. 377-81), and *zāwiyas* (pp. 387-403).

⁴ See Ibn Khallikān, iii. 521, l. 12; tr. iv. 547.

⁵ See Mujīr ad-dīn, tr. H. Sauvaire, 1876, pp. 77, 166.

⁶ Ibn Khallikān, ii. 183; tr. ii. 520.

⁷ Ibid. iii. 195; tr. ii. 538.

⁸ See J. Sauvaget (tr.), *Les Perles choisies d’Ibnach-Chahna*, Beirut, 1933, p. 100.

⁹ M. ibn Aḥmad al-Fāsī (A.D. 1373-1429) in his *Shifā’ al-Gharām fī akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām* (Cairo, 1956) names some fifty *ribāṭs* in Mecca (i. 330-7), many of which were founded about this time. For example, ‘the *ribāṭ* of Rāmusht by the Hazwara Gate. Rāmusht, whose name was Shaikh Abū ‘l-Qāsim Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusain al-Fārīsī [as-Sirāfi, d. 534], gave it as a *waqf* in the year 529 [1135] for all male Sufis, exclusive of females, who wear the *muraqqa’a*, from the whole of Iraq’; i. 332, and cf. i. 232.

18 THE FORMATION OF SCHOOLS OF MYSTICISM

khānaqāh was the Persian non-training hostel type introduced into the cities of the Arab world; *zāwiya* was the term applied to smaller establishments where one shaikh dwelt with his pupils; whilst a *khalwa* designated the 'retreat' of a single dervish, frequently a cell situated around a mosque square. A more isolated 'hermitage' was sometimes called a *rābiṭa*.

Mysticism was the only religious sphere where women could find a place. There were many women Sufis, of whom Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya (d. A.D. 801) is the best known.¹ During this period there are references to convents for women. Al-Irbillī² uses the term *khānaqāh* for convents for men and *ribāṭ* for those of women. There were seven convents for women in Aleppo alone, all founded between A.D. 1150 and 1250.³ Baghdad also had a number, of which the *ribāṭ* of Fāṭima Rāziya (d. 521/1127) was the best known. In Cairo there was Ribāṭ al-Baghdādiyya, built by a daughter of al-Malik az-Zāhir Baibars in 684/1285 for a *shaikha* called Zainab ibnat Abī 'l-Barakāt, known as Bint al-Baghdādiyya, and her followers,⁴ which still exists in ad-Darb al-Aṣfar.

Maqrizī says that the first *khānaqāh* in Egypt was Dār Sa'id as-Su'adā',⁵ so called (its proper name was aṣ-Ṣalāḥiyya) from being situated in the confiscated house of Sa'id as-Su'adā', a eunuch employed in the Fātimid palace who was enfranchised by al-Mustanṣir and put to death in 544/1149.⁶ It was constituted a *waqf* in A.D. 1173. Its primary function was to serve as a hostel for foreign Sufis, but it expanded its functions to become the chief centre of Egyptian Sufism. Its shaikh had the official title of *shaikh ash-shuyūkh*,⁷ which, however, was only honorific and did not imply any wider jurisdiction than that of his own establishment, and later the title was frequently given to heads of other *khānaqāhs*.⁸

¹ See Margaret Smith, *Rābi'a the Mystic and Her Fellow-Saints in Islam*, Cambridge, 1928.

² Al-Irbillī, *Madāris Dimashq*, ed. Dahman, Damascus, 1366/1947, pp. 15-16.

³ See J. Sauvaget, *Les Perles choisies*, 1933, pp. 105-6.

⁴ Maqrizī, *Khīṭaṭ*, iv. 293-4.

⁵ Ibid. 273-85; Ibn Khallikān, iii. 521, l. 6; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīf*, 1951, p. 121; as-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥādara*, ii. 141 f.

⁶ Maqrizī, *Khīṭaṭ*, Bulāq edn., ii. 415.

⁷ Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī (writing A.D. 1342-9) has preserved the directive (*waṣīyya*) that the chancellery of the Egyptian Mamlūk sultans gave to *shaikh ash-shuyūkh* at the time of his appointment; see *At-Tārīf bi 'l-muṣṭalah ash-sharīf*, Cairo, A.H. 1312, pp. 127-30.

⁸ Notably that of Siryāqūs on the outskirts of Cairo, founded by An-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalawūn; *Khīṭaṭ* of al-Maqrizī, iv. 285.

The foundation of *khānaqāhs* continued under the Bahārī (A.D. 1250–77) and other Mamlūk successors of the Ayyūbids. Ibn Khaldūn writes:

Since the old days of their masters, the Ayyūbid rulers, the members of this Turkish dynasty in Egypt and Syria have been erecting colleges for the teaching of the sciences, and monastic houses for the purpose of enabling the poor [Sufis] to follow the rules for acquiring orthodox Sufi ways of behaviour through *dhikr* exercises and supererogatory prayers. They took over that [custom] from the preceding caliphal dynasties. They set up buildings for [those institutions as mortmain gifts] and endowed [them] with lands that yielded income [sufficient] to provide stipends for students and Sufi ascetics . . . As a result, colleges and monastic houses are numerous in Cairo. They now furnish livings for poor jurists and Sufis.¹

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes these *khānaqāhs* and their rules at the time of his visit to Cairo in A.D. 1326. He writes: 'Each *zāwiya*² in Cairo is assigned to a *ṭā'ifa* of dervishes, most of whom are Persians, men of culture and trained in the Way of *taṣawwuf*.'³ This means an organized group, but it is unlikely that that means a group perpetuating a particular rule, certainly not in the government-sponsored *khānaqāhs*.

Al-Qalqashandī (d. A.D. 1418) describes briefly the relationship of the *khānaqāhs* of Egypt and Syria with the Mamlūk authority.⁴ Since these institutions were in the gift of the Mamlūk rulers and often very lucrative to their heads, anyone whom the ruler wished to provide with a sinecure without affecting his own pocket was frequently given the appointment. None of the heads of the Sumaiṣatiyya (or Ṣalāhiyya) *khānaqāh* in Damascus (founded c. 453/1061) seems to have been a Sufi.⁵ The first to hold the post (which also carried the charge of *mashyakhat ash-shuyūkh*)⁶ was

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *At-Ta'rif*, ed. Muḥammad at-Ṭanjī (Cairo, 1370/1951), p. 279. The above translation is by F. Rosenthal, *Muqaddama*, ii. 435–6, n. 68.

² Ibn Baṭṭūṭa generally uses the word *zāwiya*, the term with which he was most familiar, but in regard to Cairo he has just specified that he is describing convents known under the term *khawānīq*.

³ *Rihla*, Cairo, 1939, i. 27.

⁴ Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv. 193, 221; xiii. 222–51. He is especially concerned with the oaths taken by the various groups.

⁵ See the list of heads in H. Sauvaire, 'Description de Damas', *J. Asiat. sér.* ix, t. v. 279–80, 301–3; cf. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xii. 401, iv. 193. Ibn Jubair visited it (pp. 289–90).

⁶ Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xii. 410.

a former *wazīr* of Khwarazm, Sa'īd ibn Sahl al-Falakī, who was detained in Damascus by Nūr ad-dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī (A.D. 1146–73) and given the post to provide for his support, since all these were *waqf* foundations. In 791/1392 Ibn Khaldūn was appointed to the directorship of Khānaqāh Baibars.¹

Whereas the *khānaqāhs* were little more than hostels for Sufis (and concert halls for the great) and *ribāṭs* had an indefinite character as the establishment of a teacher or preacher, not necessarily a Sufi, *zāwiyas* were centres for a genuine teaching shaikh, whose successors consciously carried on his particular teaching and method. Whereas appointments to the headship of *khānaqāhs* was made by the secular authorities, the superior of a *zāwiya* was elected by the *ikhwān* (brethren), and it was in these that hereditary succession began. In the accounts of the religious establishments of the great Muslim cities, their founders, pupils, and successors, only of the *zāwiyas* do the authors assert or imply continuity of teaching and a particular rule of life. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa lodged in many *zāwiyas* and eastern *khānaqāhs* distinguished by specific attributions: Suhrawardī in Isfahan (A.D. 1326), Mawlawī in Qonya, and numerous Rifā'ī establishments in Anatolia and Caucasus (A.D. 1332), in Damascus (Ḥarīrī branch), as well as the founder-centre in the Baṭā'ih of Iraq. Of Qonya he writes: 'In this city is the tomb of . . . Jalāl ad-dīn, known as Mawlānā. An organization (*tā'ifa*) exists in the land of Rūm whose members derive from him,² and are known by his name, being called the Jalāliyya, similar to the derivation of the 'Irāqian Aḥmadiyya [= Rifā'iyya], or the Khurasanian Ḥaidariyya. Around his tomb is a large *zāwiya* in which food is provided for all migrants.'³ These, therefore, were Sufi *tā'ifas* in the full sense.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's narrative also demonstrates how important these establishments were in the expansion of Muslim commerce, in accommodation to their Hindu environment, and in the diffusion of Islam. For instance, all along the Malabar coast, which was under Hindu rulers, he was entertained in *khānaqāhs*: at Haunūr

¹ *At-Ta'rif*, ed. Tanjī, pp. 311–13. Ibn Khaldūn, though not a Sufi, was acquainted with the general theory of *taṣawwuf*. Apart from a short account in his *Muqaddama* he also has a work on the subject: *Shifā' as-sā'il li tahdhīb al-masā'il*, ed. Muḥammad at-Ṭanjī, Istanbul, 1958, and I. A. Khalifa, Beirut, 1959.

² The verb used is *intamā ilā*.

³ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, Cairo edn., 1939, i. 234.

(near Bombay) at that of Shaikh Muḥammad an-Nājōrī,¹ at Ghogah (Bhaunagar) where he came across a company of *fuqarā'* Haidariyya,² and in Kanbāya (Cambay in Gujarat), Calicut, and Kōlam (Travancore) where he lodged in the *khānaqāhs* of the Kāzerūnī Sufi insurance company.³

By Maqrizī's day (A.D. 1364–1442) the lines of derivation were well established. Thus he writes of the *fuqarā' al-Aḥmadiyya ar-Rifā'iyya* in Cairo.⁴ About the same time the Qādirī attribution begins to expand and a branch was formed in Damascus towards the end of the fourteenth century.⁵ Sufis were frequently allowed the use of mosques for their exercises. Maqrizī says that the Azhar was open to Sufis and *dhikrs* were performed there.⁶ Some were even found in *madrasas*, Aqbuga's *madrasa* in the Azhar having a permanent group.⁷

Iranian regions do not seem to have developed the officially sponsored *khānaqāh* and the change of their Sufi hostels to representation of a holy line (stage three of change) was not marked by any change of name but by the addition of an honoured tomb, though more commonly the later *khānaqāhs* were new foundations in association with a tomb. Later Turk and Mongol rulers rebuilt the tombs of famous saints and associated convents on more magnificent lines.

Sufis trained in these institutions founded daughter lodges in

¹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Cairo edn., 1928, ii. 109–10.

² Ibid. ii. 108. On the Haidariyya, see below, p. 39.

³ Ibid. ii. 106, 115–18.

⁴ *Khīṭaṭ*, ed. A.H. 1326, iv. 294, referring to the *ribāṭ* known as the *Riṭāq* of Aḥmad ibn Sulaimān al-Baṭā'ihī (d. 691/1292), an introducer of the Rifā'iyya into Egypt. This building still exists outside Bāb Zuwaila.

⁵ Zāwiya Da'ūdiyya founded by a Ḥanbalī, Abu Bakr ibn Da'ūd (d. 806/1403), about 800/1397, but developed by his son, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān (d. 856/1452); see H. Sauvaire, 'Description de Damas', *J. Asiat.* ix. v. 390–3: 'Il fit de cette zāwyeh une merveille: il y installa une roue à eau, une citerne, une grande grotte et une galerie où se trouvaient un *iṭwān*, une mosquée, des cellules, une bibliothèque pour les livres constitués en waqf en faveur de la zāwyeh, et des habitations pour les femmes. Il y établit un imām, un mouazzin, un gardien et un prédicateur . . . On y récitait les litanies (*dhikr*) chaque nuit du (lundi au) mardi. De toutes parts les gens y accouraient et il leur faisait préparer toutes sortes de mets.'

Many of these establishments functioned as pious night clubs, and this is an example. This 'Abd ar-Raḥmān was a Ḥanbalī who composed a number of books, none of them Sufi. After his death the sultan chose for his successor someone outside his family; subsequent disputes over the leadership were numerous, one superior being murdered in A.D. 1515.

⁶ *Khīṭaṭ*, iv. 54.

⁷ Ibid. iv. 225.

their own countries or in entirely new pasture grounds, especially in India. They rarely maintained direct contact with the mother institution¹ and became independent schools with their own characteristics and tendencies.

The thirteenth century was an age of disturbance and change as the Mongol hordes swept over central Asian Muslim states one after the other, Baghdad being conquered in A.D. 1258. Many refugees fled to those parts of the Muslim world which seemed more remote from the scourge. Among these were Anatolia in the north-west and Hindustan in the south-east. Many Sufis found a new home within the jurisdiction of the Turkish sultanate of Delhi.

Indian Islam seems to have been essentially a holy-man Islam. These migrants in the Hindu environment acquired an aura of holiness, and it was this which attracted Indians to them, rather than formal Islam. There were two categories of Sufis, those associated with *khānaqāhs* and the wanderers. The *khānaqāhs* were in a special sense focal points of Islam—centres of holiness, fervour, ascetic exercises, and Sufi training. Contrary to the Arab-world institutions bearing the same Persian name, the Indian *khānaqāhs* grew up around a holy man and became associated with his *ṭarīqa* and method of discipline and exercises. Two distinctive *ṭarīqas* were formed.

Mu'in ad-din Chishtī of Sijistan (d. A.D. 1236), after a lifetime of wanderings, finally settled at Ajmer, capital of a powerful Hindu state. From him stemmed a *silsila* which won widespread popularity under his *khalīfa* and successor, Quṭb ad-din Bakhtiyār Kāki (d. A.D. 1235), to become eventually the leading Indian *ṭarīqa*. Of other *ṭarīqas* only the Suhrawardī gained a following in India. Shihāb ad-din himself designated *khalīfas* for India, the chief being Ḥamid ad-din of Najore (d. A.D. 1274). Others were Nūr ad-din Mubārak Ghaznawī (d. 632/1234 at Delhi) and Bahā' ad-din Zakariyā (d. A.D. 1262 at Multan), probably the most effective organizer of the rule and chain in India, with whom the Persian *qalandari* poet, 'Irāqī,² 'associated' for some twenty years.

These shaikhs acquired such fame that they began to count in the calculations of the ruling authorities. The sultans of Delhi

¹ The Kāzerūniyya was one of the exceptions; see p. 236.

² His proper name is Fakhr ad-din Ibrāhīm b. Shahriyār; born Hamadan, A.D. 1213, died Damascus, 1289, and buried near his inspirer, Ibn al-'Arabi.

paid honour to those within their sphere of rule, *khānaqāhs* sprang up everywhere, the majority without definite ascriptions. Wandering dervishes, for whom these *khānaqāhs* formed centres for training, meeting, and hospitality, were numerous and acted as cultural agents in spreading and stabilizing Islam.

The attractions of the Sufi Way declined from the time of Muḥammad ibn Tughluq (A.D. 1325-51), though not in consequence of the restrictions he imposed on leaders and convent activities. It seems rather that Sufism had not yet taken such form as would attract Indians, its outburst as a popular movement was to come later. The decline finds expression in the reflections of Naṣīr ad-dīn Maḥmūd (d. 757/1356), successor to the great shaikh Nizām ad-dīn Awliyā’;

Some *qalandars* had arrived and were staying as guests of Khwajah Shaykh Naṣīr ad-dīn for the night. (The Khwajah) said, “These days the number of *darwishes* has decreased. In the days of the Shaykh [Nizām ad-dīn Awliyā] *darwishes* used to come by twenties and thirties, and the Shaykh used to keep them as guests for three days . . . When there was an ‘*urs*, the Shaykh [Nizām ad-dīn] would invite all *lash-kardars* [men of the army] and *darwishes* would arrive from all sides . . . Nowadays there are neither such soldiers, nor such slaves, nor such armies. All have deteriorated. Men have to wait [in vain] for the *darwishes* to come.’¹

In Anatolia the Seljuq period was significant in that the mystical movement was vitally linked with the spread of Islamic culture in that region. Both Persian refugees like Bahā’ ad-dīn Walad,

¹ Translated by Riazul Islam in *J. Pakistan Or. Soc.* iii (1955), 204. Sufis at all times have voiced complaints about spiritual decline. Muḥammad ibn Tughluq was unpredictable and not opposed to Sufis as such. This Nizām ad-dīn Awliyā was noted for his avoidance of courts and Tughluq’s son, Muḥammad Shāh, used to visit him when he was in a state of *ḥāl* (trance), and when he died (725/1325) at the beginning of Tughluq’s reign, the latter’s grandson assisted in carrying his bier, much to Tughluq’s annoyance (Ibn Battūṭa, iii. 211). Subservient *khānaqāhs* benefited from his patronage. Ibn Battūṭa reports that Rukn ad-dīn as-Suhrawardī of Multan, grandson of Bahā’ ad-dīn Zakariyā, accepted a *jāgīr* of 100 villages from Tughluq for the upkeep of his *khānaqāh* (iii. 324, see also pp. 101-2, 201). The hagiographers give accounts of his harshness to Naṣīr ad-dīn, successor of Nizām ad-dīn, and other Sufis. The sultan was suspicious of the influence of some of these shaikhs and no doubt the close regulation and supervision he exacted led to measures of repression. Those who interfered in politics were dealt with severely, but one must remember that many of these leaders were frequently intriguers for position and power.

father of Jalāl ad-dīn Rūmī, and Turkish *bābās* from central Asia moved in considerable numbers into Anatolia during the thirteenth century, especially during the time of the Mongol invasions, but dervish activity was just as strong after the collapse of the Seljuq state of Rūm. The mystics, manifesting a fervour and spirit quite different from that of legalist Islam, a spirit which also expressed itself in practical social aspects such as hospitality to travellers and care for the sick and poor, were mediators of Islam to the Christians of the region. They had the support of the Seljuq authorities. Jalāl ad-dīn Rūmī was highly honoured by the court of Qonya and there are many references to official patronage at other courts, such as that of Mujāhid ad-dīn Bihrūz ibn 'Abdallāh, Prefect of Iraq under Mas'ūd ibn Ghiyāth, who founded a *ribāṭ* at Baghdad.¹

It is important to distinguish between the mystical orders proper and such corporations as trade-guilds² and *futuwwa* orders of craftsmanship and chivalry,³ which are known under the same term, *tā'ifa*, and have similar forms of organization and possess religious aspects. The difference between them is one of purpose and intent, rather than in types of organization and linkages. The *ṭarīqas* are purely religious organizations, but the purpose of the guilds was economic association, craftsmanship, or trade. A religious *tā'ifa* could not strictly be at the same time a trade or craft *tā'ifa*. This is true in spite of the fact that there are

¹ Ibn Khallikān, iii. 472.

² *Ṣinf* (pl. *aṣnāf*, *ṣunūf*), *ḥirfa* (pl. *ḥiraf*), and regional terms like Moroccan *hanta*, pl. *hanāti*. They are referred to more simply as *tā'ifas*. The *akhi* organization in Anatolia was a similar Turkish *futuwwa* craft corporation. The members were called *ṣuyān* (pl. of *ṣatā*, 'youth', though not strictly a youth organization except in enrolment) and the head *akhi*, which term, originally Turkish, naturally became associated with Arabic *akhi*, 'my brother'. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa received hospitality from *akhīs* (c. 1333); see *Travels*, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, ii. 418 ff. On these see *E.I.*², art. 'akhi'. This type of organization disappeared during the 15th century with the full establishment of Ottoman power. But craft orders of a different type were an important aspect of the life of Ottoman Turkey. The Kāzerūniyya, though it took the name of an eminent Sufi, was developed rather as a religious-economic guild association; see below, p. 236.

³ Similarly they are to be distinguished from the Anatolian *ghāzī* movements based on the *ṣunawwa* principle whose religious affiliations were with Turkish *darāwish*. Sufis used the term *futuwwa*, not for an organization, but in their own special sense of an ethical self-offering, as when Aḥmad ar-Rifā'i is reported as saying, '*Futuwwa* means working for God's sake, not for any reward' (*Al-Wāṣiṭ*, *Tiryāq*, p. 45). On *futuwwa* as understood by Sufis see, for example, 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (A.D. 1006-89). *Manāzil as-Sā'irīn*, ed. S. de Beaurecueil, Cairo, 1962, pp. 47-8; al-Qushairī, *Risāla*, p. 103.

apparent exceptions,¹ and that the initial organization of the religious orders owes much to that of the guilds, and that the *ṭarīqas* sanctify such secular associations. Every form of social life embodies itself in associations and in a religious culture the need for acting together for what we call secular purposes is given a sacred character by religion. A particular guild and its members tended to be linked with a particular *ṭarīqa* and saint. At initiations and other ceremonies, religious rites were the predominant feature, and it was behind the banner of that *ṭarīqa* that the guild members proceeded to and from the 'īd prayer-ground. They were not secular associations, although centred on economic and social interests, but neither were they Sufi orders.

The organization of the orders, however, owes much to that of the guilds. These guilds had flourished under the Fāṭimid and other Shī'ite states and with the triumph of the Ayyūbids and Seljuqs over political Shī'ism the necessity for recognizing them was accepted by the Sunnī doctors. We have shown that the Ayyūbids encouraged the Sufi organization at the stage it had then reached—association in *khānaqāhs*. From then, when defined lines of mystical tradition had emerged, the organization of the *khānaqāhs*, which were also secular associations in some aspects of their relationship to the life of the community, drew more and more features from guild organization. As the latter had a grand-master ('*amīf*, *amīn*, or *shaiḥ al-ḥirfa*) and a hierarchy of apprentices (*mubtadi*'), companions (*ṣāmi*'), and master-craftsmen (*mu'allim*), so the religious orders acquired a hierarchy of novices, initiates, and masters. Since legal Islam tolerated the secret character of the initiation and oath of the guilds, it had to accept the implications of the act of allegiance to the *shaiḥ al-ṭarīqa* when Shī'ī practice was maintained. Medical doctors too, without necessarily belonging to a guild, would receive simple initiation into a Sufi chain as a possible source of spiritual aid to them in their work.²

¹ The sacred origins of the corporations are stressed, the Imām Ja'far being especially important in their traditions. Consequently, it may on occasion be difficult to distinguish which was the essential purpose of certain organizations of *akhīs* and central Asian Mongol-period *futuwwa* orders. The confusion is noticeable in Evliyā Chelebi's description (A.D. 1638) of the various guilds in Constantinople; see *Seyāḥat-nāme*, tr. von Hammer, I. ii. 90–100.

² See the chain acquired by Dr. Rashīd ad-dīn 'Alī in A.D. 1218, given in Appendix A.

And now we find manifestations of spiritual power becoming associated with the orders. No clear distinction can henceforth be made between the orders and saint-veneration, since God's protégés (*awliyā' li 'llāh*) are within the orders. Sufism provided a philosophy of election which was diluted and adapted to the needs of the masses by the orders. Not merely the great shaikh but his successors who inherited his *baraka* (spiritual power) were mediums of his power. With this was associated *ziyāra* (visitation) to saints' tombs. As in other aspects of Sufi thought and practice there is an essential distinction between the way in which the genuine Sufi approached a saint's tomb and the practice of the people. The mystic carries out a *ziyāra* for the purpose of *murāqaba* (spiritual communion) with the saint, finding in the material symbol an aid to meditation. But the popular belief is that the saint's soul lingers about his tomb and places (*maqāms*) specially associated with him whilst he was on earth or at which he had manifested himself. At such places his intercession can be sought.

The state of sanctity (*wilāya*) is characterized by the manifestation of *karāmāt*, gifted spiritual powers. The earlier spiritual leaders dissociated themselves from the working of such powers, though they all accepted the principle that saints did perform them as gifts from God. Al-Qushairī remarks that though prophets needed miracles (*mu'jizāt*) to confirm the validity of their mission, saints were under no such necessity and ought rather to hide any they had involuntarily made. The extraordinary graces with which they were favoured are a confirmation of their progress and can nevertheless edify and confirm the faithful and serve to distinguish a real *walī* from an impostor.¹ Still, a true *walī* does not necessarily, or indeed probably, know that he is one.² The writings of Sufis contain a vast amount on this subject of the validity of *wilāya*, but we are mainly concerned with practical aspects.

¹ See al-Qushairī, *Risāla* (Cairo, 1319/1902), pp. 158–9. Ibn Khaldūn remarks, 'Among the Sufis some who are favored by acts of divine grace are also able to exercise an influence upon worldly conditions. This, however, is not counted as a kind of sorcery. It is effected with divine support, because the attitude and approach (of these men) result from prophesy and are a consequence of it' (*Muqaddama*, tr. Rosenthal, iii. 167).

² Cf. the *ḥadīth qudsi*: 'My saints are beneath my tents, none knoweth them but me.'

With this development is associated a new reverence for the Prophet, which not merely brought him into the category of wonder-workers at the popular level, but also led to the popular equivalent of the belief in the Spirit of Muḥammad as the Logos, guardian, and preserver of the universe. The celebration of the Prophet's birthday seems, at least in part, to be a compensation for the suppression of 'Alid demonstrations after the destruction of Shī'ite regimes. Ibn Jubair (travelled A.D. 1183-5) refers to it as an established practice.¹ It was fairly widespread in Ibn Taimiyya's time, for it comes under his condemnation,² but it was not yet an aspect of the people's religion. By the time of as-Suyūṭī (d. A.D. 1505) the *mawlid* had acquired its characteristic features.³ These features and the writing of special recitations for performance at Sufi gatherings belong to the next stage, but the prophylactic poem, *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, by al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1295), was written during this time.

The blending of the saint-cult with the orders and a new reverence for the Prophet is one aspect of the change. The other is a change in the constitution of the body of adherents. Concern for his own spiritual welfare had led the devotee and early Sufi to isolate himself from the world, but the need for spiritual direction had necessitated the association of Sufis. Their congregation in hospices concerned for the welfare of travellers and care for the sick and unfortunate brought them back into the world. The hospices with their associated tombs became the foci of the religious aspirations of the ordinary man who sought the *baraka* of the saints. The dedicated disciples (*fuqarā'*, *darāwish*, or *ikhwān*) continued to devote themselves to ascetic practices and duties within the order, but membership was now extended to embrace tertiaries or lay adherents who 'took the *ṭarīqa*' from the shaikh or more usually his representative (*khalīfa*), but continued to follow their ordinary mode of life. This meant that they affirmed their belief in the ideals for which the *ṭarīqa* stood, especially valuing the link with the *baraka* of the saints, and accepted such rules and modes of worship as were compatible with the pursuit of a normal mode of life. In towns such association

¹ Ibn Jubair, *Travels*, 2nd edn., 1907, pp. 114-15.

² Ibn Taimiyya, *Majmū' fatāwī*, Cairo, A.H. 1326-9, A.D. 1908-11, i. 312.

³ See as-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-maqṣid fi 'amal al-mawlid*—a kind of *fatwā* on the festival which concludes that it is a *bid'a ḥasana*, an acceptable innovation.

was especially linked with membership of guilds. Whilst, on the one hand, new techniques for the individual *dhikr* were adopted, this broadening of membership led to changes in methods for the collective *dhikr*. The full development of this system of lay adherence belongs to the next stage, when the *ṭarīqas* come to be represented by local organizations throughout the whole Islamic world, wielding an immense influence throughout most strata of society.

Along with the development of new forms of devotion and their acceptance parallel to ritual prayer went the process of accommodating the sciences of astrology, divination, and magic—techniques which professed, not merely to reveal the secrets of the unseen world, but to control them. This development is especially associated with the name of Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Būnī (d. 622/1225), who put the seal to the work of his predecessors operating less openly by finally systematizing the sciences of divination, astrology, and magical invocation. Popular works brought all this within the range of the ordinary practitioner and became part of the equipment of the shaikhs and brethren.

It is easy to see why this aspect was so important and how easy it was to Islamize borrowed material. The orders stressed the power of the Word of God, and hundreds of booklets have been written on the virtues and properties of the names of God, of phrases like the *Basmala*, or Qur’ānic verses (*Āyat al-Kursī*), or chapters (*sūra* Yā Sīn). The association of these ‘words’, as in ash-Shādhilī’s *Hizb al-Baḥr* or al-Jazūlī’s *Dalā’il al-khairāt*, gives these magical properties. Power symbolism in Islam is, therefore, primarily based on words.

All the same, the ideals of the orders were maintained, however much they were compromised in practice. The honour which Islam accords to jurists is reflected by the fact that certain of the *silsila* founders were also professional jurists. They and their successors clung to the externals of Islamic practice and based their litanies solidly on the Qur’ān. They played an immense role in enriching the devotional life of the ordinary Muslim as well as adepts, within the sphere of the regular Islamic institutions. They invested orthodox ritual with esoteric significance, for ‘every act commanded by the Law denotes a mystery’. Thus not merely does *wuḍū’* (ablution) signify the abandonment of profane actions, but every action within *wuḍū’* has its ethical and mystical meaning.

But apart from the deeper mysteries the effect of their stress upon the spirit instead of the letter of the Law was morally and spiritually stimulating.

Earlier Sufis had been concerned with ascetic-mystical theory, or, if they were poets, with illuminating their search and the states they experienced. The change towards greater systematization is seen in the manuals now being produced as guides for the director and his pupils. Whilst Najīb ad-dīn as-Suhrawardī wrote one of the earliest manuals of this nature,¹ *Ādāb al-murīdīn*, it was his nephew, Shihāb ad-dīn, who wrote what deservedly has been the most popular guide, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, the medieval vademecum for spiritual directors. Other manuals were Najm ad-dīn Kubrā's *Ṣifāt al-ādāb*² and Ibn al-ʿArabī's *al-amr al-muḥkam*, suspect by many *ʿulamā* because of its author's reputation as an antinomian.

These manuals show that the ritual is now a traced-out Way, a rule of life, by following which the novice may attain union with God, founded upon a series of observances additional to the common ritual and duties of Islam. It involves a noviciate, during which he receives guidance from a shaikh, and it is now that the saying that the novice must be in the hands of his director like the corpse in the hands of the washer of the dead becomes popular.³ This culminates in initiation, which includes investment with a *khirqā*, mantle, and headdress.

The Way under guidance implies a life in common (*muʿāshara*) for the dedicated group of aspirants and adepts in a convent under the direct supervision of a superior. Suhrawardī in the book just mentioned deals with the rules of behaviour in such an institution.⁴ The superior allots various prayer tasks, supererogatory exercises, recitations of litanies, praises, and invocations (*adhkār*, *aḥzāb*, and

¹ An earlier manual on the rules of the noviciate was *Aḥkām al-murīdīn*, by Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain al-Jaṣṣaṣ, d. 418/1027. *Ādāb as-suḥba* by as-Sulamī (d. 1021) is a general treatise on manners, concerned especially with imitation of the prophet; it is not Sufi in content, though it has its place in as-Sulamī's work towards reconciling *taṣawwuf* with orthodoxy.

² Translated by F. Meier, 'Ein Knigge für Ṣūfī's', *R.S.O.* xxxii (1957), 485-524.

³ The original, which is attributed to Sahl ibn ʿAbdallāh at-Tustarī (d. A.D. 896), referred to God: 'The first stage in *tawakkul* (dependence upon God) is that the worshipper should be in the hands of God like a corpse in the hands of the washer, he turns it as he wills without impulse or initiative on its part'; al-Qushairī, *Risāla* (Cairo, A.H. 1319), p. 76.

⁴ *ʿAwārif*, chapters 29-55.

awrād), graded according to a person's stage, together with such mortifications as vigils (*sahr*) and fasts (*ṣiyām*). He is required to make periodic retreats (*khalwa*, *ī'tikāf*, *'uzla*, *ī'tizāl*, or *arba'īniyya* = quadragesima) individually in his cell or, if highly advanced, in the society of the convent.

But, as may be seen from these manuals, although the lines of the practice of the mystical Way had been worked out, the aims of the Sufis in association were still variable, confused, and limited. There were great variations too between the Sufi establishments. Some were rich and luxurious, favoured by authority, whilst others followed the strictest principles of poverty and unworldliness; some had no shaikh, others were under the authority of one leader and had become attached to one *silsila*; whilst others were governed by a council of elders. Then there were wandering dervishes such as the *qalandars*, who made use of these hostels, and had their own rules and linkages but no organization.¹

¹ On *qalandars*, see Appendix B.

II

The Chief *Ṭarīqa* Lines

HAVING outlined the general stages in the development of the Sufi organization leading to the formation of schools of teaching and training we may now say something about the personalities from whom the great *ṭarīqas* derive and their subsequent development. We have shown that they came into existence through an outstanding director being succeeded by men who combined practical abilities along with spiritual qualities and insight, who made collections of his sayings and episodes from his life, and taught their own pupils in his name. The difficulty of utilizing the lives of the saints as historical sources is well recognized. Hagiographa is simply biography designed, and consequently distorted, to serve the cult of the saints. It forms an essential aspect of any study of the orders since these qualities, deeds, and manifestations are real to the believer, but they obscure the historical personality. At the same time, the historian is concerned with the effects, if not the reality, of such beliefs, since they account for the existence of the cult and help to elucidate its objective expression in an organization.

The main areas of Sufi thought and practice from the point of view of subsequent *ṭarīqa* development were Mesopotamia, Khurasan, and the Maghrib. Anatolian forms derive from central Asia, whilst Sufism in India, stemming originally from the first two, subsequently developed along lines of its own and its phases of growth, stagnation, and revival owed little to non-Indian influences.

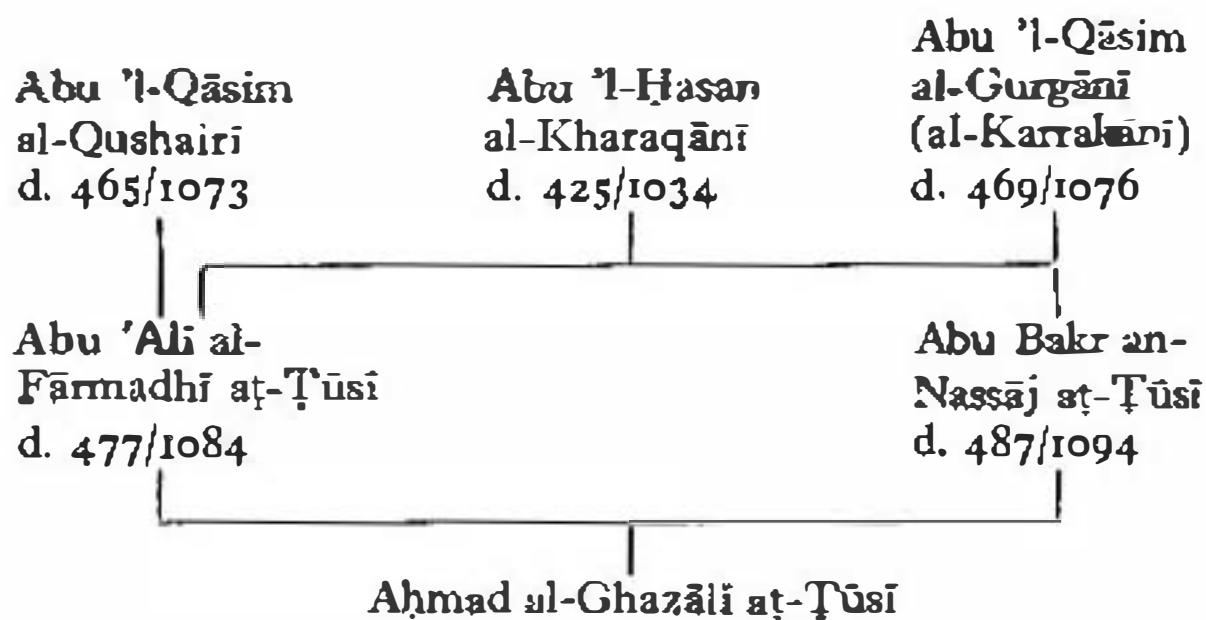
I. MESOPOTAMIA

Here Sufism centred on Baghdad, embracing Syria and extending into Egypt. Lines of ascription go back through al-Junaid al-Baghdādī (d. 298/910) to Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/815) and Sarī aṣ-Ṣaqaṭī (d. 251/865). It is here that Sufism won a qualified recognition from the doctors of Islamic legalism, on the one hand, through the work of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī (d. 412/1021),

the Khorasanian traditionalist and historian of early Sufism, his disciple al-Qushairī (d. 465/1072) who taught in Baghdad and wrote books on Ash'arite theology as well as *taṣawwuf*, and Abu Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111); and, on the other, through its association with the official favour of Nūr ad-dīn, Saladin, and their lieutenants and successors, who encouraged the development of parallel institutions of *madrasas* and *khānaqāhs*.

The Mesopotamian tradition is the nearest that we can get to an Arab Sufism and its objective expression, even though most of the leaders were not Arabs. We find two main lines, the Suhrawardī and the Rifā'ī. Both stand squarely in the Junaidī tradition. The Rifā'ī, with its family antecedents centred on the Basran marshes, haunt of outlaws, stressed strongly the Arab ancestry of Aḥmad ar-Rifā'ī and his standing in direct succession to Arab Sufis. It was the only *ṭarīqa* in this tradition which gained any great following in the Seljuqid empire. The Suhrawardī school was distinctively urban and orthodox Shāfi'ī. The Ḥanbalī Qādiriyya is also included since 'Abd al-Qādir, of Persian origin, was a contemporary of the other two; but he does not count in any of the *ṣuhba* and *silsila* Sufi ascriptions and the *ṭarīqa* which carries his name only came into existence later, and even then it was some time before it became a universal *ṭarīqa*.

The key figure in this tradition is Aḥmad al-Ghazālī. The way in which he, and his equally important master, al-Fārmadhī,¹ combined the lines of Sufi devotional expression is shown:



Abu 'l-Futūḥ Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazālī² (d. at Qaswīn

¹ See as-Subkī, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya*, Cairo, A.H. 1324, iv. 9, for his training under al-Qushairī.

² Not much is known about his life for he attracted no hagiographer. Ibn Khallikān (writing c. A.D. 1256) has only a short account (*Wafōyāt al-A'yān*,

520/1126), younger brother of the ethical theologian Abu Hāmid, was early attracted to the Sufi life, serving his apprenticeship with Sufis and then wholly devoting himself to the Way. Abu 'Alī al-Fārmadhī, also a Ṭūsī but teaching at Nisapur, was his *shaikh as-ṣuḥba*.¹ He was at one and the same time withdrawn from and active in the world, no *khānaqāh* Sufi but a vagrant evangelist, 'visiting villages and the countryside, and even preaching to bedouins the way of approach to God'.² He spent a period in Baghdad, where his sincerity immediately won people's hearts, and he taught for a time at the Nizāmiyya, deputizing for his brother when the latter was in the throes of his spiritual crisis (488/1095). The part that he played in his brother's life during this period can only be conjectured. According to M. al-Murtaḍā, the final straw

'which caused Abu Hāmid to break the bonds with this world . . . came one day when his brother Aḥmad entered while he was preaching and recited:

You lent a hand to them when they hung back, and you yourself have been kept behind, whilst they went ahead of you.

You have taken the role of guide, yet you will not be guided; you preach but do not listen.

O whetstone, how long will you whet iron, but will not let yourself be whetted?'³

(a) *Suhrawardiyya*

This *ṭariqa* may be regarded as going back to Ḍiyā' ad-dīn

Cairo, A.H. 1299, i. 49; tr. de Slane, i. 79). As-Subkī (A.D. 1327-70) brings together what material he could find in his *Ṭabaqāt* (iv. 54-5), but he was much more interested in his elder brother.

¹ Abu Hāmid also studied under him as well as under Yūsuf an-Nassāj; see Subkī, iv. 109, and the account of his friend, 'Aḥd al-Ghāfir b. Ismā'il al-Fārisī (d. 529/1134), quoted in M. al-Murtaḍā's introduction to his commentary on the *Iḥyā'* in *Ithāf as-Sāda*, Cairo, 1911, i. 19. Although he engaged under al-Fārmadhī's guidance in a course of Sufi discipline he received no enlightenment at this stage of his career. That came later through Yūsuf an-Nassāj, *murshid* of his brother Aḥmad. Abu Hāmid told Quṭb ad-dīn M. b. al-Ardabili: 'I was at first sceptical about the reality of the ecstatic states of the Sufis and the stations of the gnostics until I put myself under the guidance of my shaikh Yūsuf an-Nāssaj in Ṭūs. He persevered in the task of refining me with soul-cleansing disciplines until I was vouchsafed revelations (*wa'ridāt*) and saw God in a dream.' Then follows an account of the dialogue between God and himself (*Ithāf*, i. 9).

² As-Subkī, iv. 55.

³ M. al-Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī, *Ithāf as-Sāda*, i. 8.

Abu 'n-Najīb as-Suhrawardī (490/1097–563/1168)¹ owing to his influence upon his nephew Shihāb ad-dīn. He belonged to a family with initiatory filiation (*nisbat al-khirqā*). He left Suhraward as a youth for Baghdad where he followed the customary courses of *uṣūl* and *fiqh*. He taught for a while at the Nizāniyya, 'then left it in order to associate with Shaikh Aḥmad al-Ghazālī who wafted upon him the breath of felicity and guided him along the Sufi Path.² He cut himself off from ordinary society in order to lead a life of seclusion and retreat. *Murīds* came to put themselves under him and the fame of his *baraka* spread widely.'³ He built a *ribāt* on a ruined site on the Tigris, which also became a place of refuge. He was the author of *Ādāb al-muridīn*, a manual for Sufi aspirants. Among his disciples were Abu Muḥammad Rūzbihān Baqlī of Shiraz (d. 606/1209),⁴ Ismā'īl al-Qaṣrī (d. 1193), and 'Ammār al-Bidlīsī (d. c. 1200), the last two of whom were masters of the great Khwarizmian mystic, Najm ad-dīn Kubrā, from whom stems the Kubrāwiyya line of mystical ascription.⁵

The man regarded as the founder of the Way was Abu 'n-Najīb's nephew, Shihāb ad-dīn Abu Ḥafṣ 'Umar (539/1145–632/1234), who received his early training in his uncle's *ribāt*.⁶ He was no ascetic living withdrawn from the world, though he passed periods in retreat, but associated with the great. The caliph an-Nāṣir li dīni 'llāh realized the importance of the influence of Sufi leaders and showed Shihāb ad-dīn great favour. He associated him with his aristocratized *futuwwa* and sent him as ambassador to 'Alā' ad-dīn Kaiqubād I, Seljuq ruler of Qonya (A.D. 1219–36),⁷ the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-'Ādil, and the Khwārizm-

¹ Accounts of his life are found in Ibn Khallikān, i. 535–6; as-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, iv. 256–7; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, s.v. 'Suhraward'; as-Sam'ānī, *Ansa'b*, G.M.S. xx.

² Ḥammād ad-Dabbās (d. 525/1131) also gave him some Sufi training, but Aḥmad al-Ghazālī was his true guide.

³ As-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, iv. 256.

⁴ See Junaid Shīrāzī, *Shadd*, pp. 243–7. Rūzbihān Baqlī travelled seeking initiations, but his true *silsila*, the one he himself passed on, was the Kāzerūniyya of Abu Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Kāzerūnī (d. 426/1034), through Junaid and Ibn Khafīf, into which he was initiated by Sirāj ad-dīn Maḥmūd ibn Khalīfa (d. 1166), head of the *khānaqāh* in Shiraz. The Rūzbihāniyya as a branch order was restricted to Fars, but a later-stage Kāzerūniyya became widespread; see below, p. 236.

⁵ See the Kubrāwī table of spiritual *nisbas*.

⁶ Ibn Khallikān says (tr. ii. 382) that one of Shihāb ad-dīn's masters was 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlī, but the subject of study was *uṣūl ad-dīn*, not *taṣawwuf*, according to al-Wāsiṭī, *Tiryaq al-muḥibbin*, Cairo, A.H. 1305, p. 61.

⁷ J. von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tr. J. J. Hellert, 1844, i. 41.

shāh.¹ An-Nāṣir built for him a *ribāṭ*, associated with a large establishment which included a bath-house and a garden for himself and his family.² He was no theoretical exponent of Sufism and his association with the *futuwwa* may have encouraged the introduction of certain initiatory practices, such as the *shadd* (girding), into Sufi associations. He was a great teaching shaikh, whose influence, not only through his pupils, but through his work, '*Awārif al-ma'ārif*', has extended to almost every Sufi leader to this day. Sufis from all over the world came to him for training, and he himself made extended stays at *khānaqāhs* in various towns, including Damascus and Aleppo. They also sent to him seeking mystical 'opinions', as is seen from this account by Ibn Khallikān:

I met a number of those who had attended his courses and sojourned in his *khatwa*, training under his direction according to Sufi custom. They would give me an account of the strange sensations which overcame them during those occasions when they experienced ecstatic states (*ahwāl*). He came to Irbil as an envoy from the government in Baghdad and held assemblies for spiritual counsel, but I had not the opportunity of seeing him since I was too young. He performed the pilgrimage frequently and sometimes resided near the House for a time. Contemporary Sufi leaders in other lands used to write to him putting to him problems, seeking advice in the form of *fatwās*.³

The spiritual insight of Shihāb ad-dīn was deeper than that of the founders of the Qādiriyya and Rifā'iyya. The Suhrawardiyya was a mystical school and his pupils introduced his teaching into

¹ W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, 1928, pp. 373-4.

² Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Al-Hawādith al-jam'ia*, ed. H. Jawād, Baghdad, 1351/1932, p. 74.

³ Ibn Khallikān, ii. 95; tr. ii. 383. Correspondence became a regular feature of the activities of many of these mystics. In the Arab world few collections were made. The earliest include the *Rasā'il* of al-Junaid, edited and translated with an introduction on his thought and work by Dr. Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader, *The Life, Personality and Writings of Al-Junaid* (London, 1962). *Ar-Rasā'il as-sughra* of the western mystic Ibn 'Abbād of Ronda (A.D. 1332-90) have been edited by P. Nwyia (Beirut, 1958), who has also written a study of Ibn 'Abbād based on this and his larger collection (Beirut, 1956). The Persian *Maktūbāt* of 'Ain al-Qudāt al-Hamadānī still exist only in manuscript. The letters of Jalāl ad-dīn Rūmī have been edited by Ahmed Remzi Akyürek, Istanbul, 1937.

Collections were more common in India. *Fawā'id al-fu'ad*, the letters of Nizām ad-dīn Awliyā', were collected by Amir Hasan Sijzī; *Khair al-mujālis* of Naṣir ad-dīn Maḥmūd (d. A.D. 1356) were collected by Ḥamīd Qalandar. There are also *maktūbāt* by Aḥmad ibn Yahyā Manirī (d. A.D. 1381), Aḥmad al-Fārūqī as-Sirhindī (d. A.D. 1624), his son, Muḥammad Ma'sūm, and the Chishtī, Gīzū Darāz (d. 825/1422).

all parts of the Muslim world. From him only a few regularly organized *ṭā'ifas* stemmed. His son, 'Imād ad-dīn M. (655/1257) succeeded him as warden of Ribāṭ al-Ma'mūniyya in Baghdad, and he by his son, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān,¹ but it only survived as a family *ṭā'ifa*. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Wāsiṭī, writing about A.D. 1325, says² that the Suhrawardiyya had more branches (*furū'*) than any other *ṭariqa*, but it is difficult to get confirmation of the existence of many distinct *ṭā'ifas* as compared with the large numbers of Sufis claiming to belong to the Suhrawardī *silsila*.

Shihāb ad-dīn maintained a careful orthodoxy and this was continued by his more immediate followers, among whom may be mentioned the well-known Shirazi shaikh, Najīb ad-dīn Buzghūsh (d. 678/1279),³ and his son and successor, Zāhīr ad-dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥnān. Many who could hardly be called Sufis received the *khirqā* from him,⁴ such as Abū Bakr M. ibn Aḥmad al-Qaṣṭallānī (614/1218-686/1287), who founded a school of traditionalists.⁵ Similarly, the great Persian poet Sa'dī of Shiraz (A.D. 1208-92), who came under his influence when he was in Baghdad, was not a follower of the Sufi Path, though his wide range of understanding embraced Sufism and the ways of dervishes, and in his *Būstān* he refers to Shihāb ad-dīn's piety and love for his fellow men.⁶ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was another who loved to collect these affiliations and he was invested with a Suhrawardī *khirqā* at Isfahan in A.D. 1327,⁷ and with another at Outch.⁸ This shows what little meaning was sometimes to be attached to these initiations. Later leaders claiming a Suhrawardī ascription included all types of Sufis, men of such distinctive characteristics as Nūr ad-dīn 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad

¹ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Hawādiṭh*, p. 323.

² *Tiryāq*, p. 49, cf. p. 61.

³ See Mu'īn ad-dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim Junaid, *Shadd al-izār fī khaṭṭ al-awzār 'an zuṭar al-mazār*, ed. M. Qazwīnī and 'Abbās Iqbāl, Tchrān, 1328/1950, pp. 334-8, and Zāhīr ad-dīn, pp. 338-9.

⁴ Such references are incomplete unless one knows what type of *khirqā* is involved. We have to distinguish between the *khirqā* of teaching (*ta'lim*), companionship (*ṣuḥba*) which includes training, and guidance (*tarbiya*).

⁵ G.A.L.S. i. 809. Al-Qaṣṭallānī attacked his fellow Andalusian emigré, Ibn Sab'īn, Aristotelian gnostic philosopher, then enjoying favour in Mecca. He was expelled from Mecca but welcomed in Cairo by Baibars, who put him in charge of Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Kāmiliyya in 667/1268; see L. Massignon, *Opera Minora*, ii. 53, 409-10.

⁶ Sa'dī, *Būstān*, ed. Graf, p. 150.

⁷ Tr. H. A. R. Gibb, ii. 297.

⁸ French edition, iii. 116.

an-Naṭanzī, 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Kāshānī (d. 730/1329), and Sa'īd ibn 'Abdallāh al-Farghānī (d. c. 700/1300).¹

(b) *Rifā'iyya*

The Way of Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ar-Rifā'ī (A.D. 1106–82) is no derivative from the Qādiriyya as has been claimed. On the contrary, he himself inherited a family *silsila* and his order came into prominence as a distinctive Way from his lifetime, whereas the Qādiriyya did not emerge as a *khirqa* line until much later. The Rifā'iyya was distinguished by peculiar practices deriving from Aḥmad himself, and his centre in the Baṭā'ih counted as a focus of attraction for Sufis in a way that 'Abd al-Qādir's *ribāṭ* in Baghdad did not.

Little is known about the life of Ibn ar-Rifā'ī,² but sufficient to show its contrast to the careers of as-Suhrawardī and 'Abd al-Qādir. He was born into an Arab family and spent the whole of his life in the Baṭā'ih, the marshlands of southern Iraq between Baṣra and Wāsiṭ, leaving it only once (A.D. 1160) to go on pilgrimage. Little learned in either *fiqh* or *tasawwuf*, he wrote nothing; the few *awrād* attributed to him are probably not genuine. The Baṣra–Kūfa region was the nurture centre for Arab Sufism. From it came Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d. A.D. 813) whose parents were Ṣābians (=Mandæans). His *shaiḫ* aṣ-ṣuḥba, who invested him with his first *khirqa*, was 'Alī Abī 'l-Faḍl al-Qārī' al-Wāsiṭī, but he also inherited a religious community called ar-Rifā'iyya from his maternal uncle, Maṣṣūr al-Baṭā'ihī (d. 540/1145).³ Maṣṣūr gave him the *khirqa* in his 27th year and established him in Umm 'Abīda; then, just before his death, he invested him with the *mashyakha* (spiritual jurisdiction) and *sajjādat al-irshād*, or throne of spiritual direction. Ibn Khallikān writes (around 654/1256):

Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Abī 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, commonly known as Ibn ar-Rifā'ī, was a holy man and a *faqīh* of the Shāfi'ī school. By origin

¹ Jāmi, p. 651; G.A.L.S. ii. 807, 812. The Indian Suhrawardī school is discussed subsequently (pp. 65–6) and the chief affiliations are given in Appendix C.

² The earliest life of Aḥmad ar-Rifā'ī is *Tiryāq [thēriakē] al-muḥibbin fi sirat . . . A. b. ar-Rifā'ī*, by Taqī ad-dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Wāsiṭī (A.D. 1275–1343), published in Cairo 1305/1888. Subsequent *manāqib*-type works have little sound material to add. Sha'rānī's account in *Lawāiqh* (Cairo, A.H. 1355, i. 121–5) consists mainly of sayings.

³ Sha'rānī gives the biographies of Maṣṣūr and other members of the group drawn from the books of the order in *Lawāiqh*, i. 114–16.

he was an Arab and lived in the Baṭā'ih, at a village called Umm 'Abīda. A large concourse of *fuqarā'* attached themselves to him, taking the full compact of allegiance and following him [as their guide]. The dervish order (*aṭ-ṭā'ifa min al-fuqarā'*) deriving from him is known as Rifā'iyya or Baṭā'ihīyya. His followers experience extraordinary states during which they eat living snakes and enter ovens blazing with fires which are thereupon extinguished. It is said that in their own country [the marshlands] they ride on lions and perform similar feats. They hold festival gatherings (*mawāsim*) at which uncountable numbers of *fuqarā'* congregate and are all entertained. Ar-Rifā'i died without issue but the spiritual and temporal succession¹ was maintained in that region through his brother's children until this day.²

Although Aḥmad was no original thinker, the fame of his marshland retreat spread widely, a focus of attraction for migrant Sufis, four of whom founded independent *ṭariqas*: Badawīyya, Dasūqiyya, Shādhiliyya, and 'Alwāniyya.³ In the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa Rifā'i *zāwiya*s were clearly differentiated; he refers to them frequently in his travels, as well as to the extravagant practices for which they were notorious. When his caravan stayed at Wāsiṭ in A.D. 1327 for three days he writes:

This gave me the opportunity of visiting the grave of the saint Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ar-Rifā'i, which is at a village called Umm 'Ubaida, one day's journey from Wāsiṭ . . . It is a vast convent in which there are thousands of poor brethren . . . When the afternoon prayers have been said drums and kettle-drums were beaten and the poor brethren began to dance. After this they prayed the sunset prayer and brought in the repast, consisting of rice-bread, fish, milk and dates. When all had eaten and prayed the first night prayer, they began to recite their *dhikr*, with the shaikh Aḥmad sitting on the prayer-carpet of his ancestor above-mentioned, then they began the musical recital. They had prepared loads of fire-wood which they kindled into a flame, and went

¹ *Al-mashyakha wa 'l-wilāya*.

² Ibn Khallikān, Cairo, 1299, i. 95-6. He was in fact succeeded by his sister's son, 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān. Ibn Khallikān also reports that the Rifā'i dervishes memorized the poems of the local poet, Ibn al-Mu'allim (d. 592/1196), and sang them at their concerts in order to excite themselves to ecstasy (op. cit. ii. 400). Aḥmad tried to get him to compose religious poetry; *Tiryāq*, p. 24.

³ The first three are discussed subsequently; see pp. 45-51. The 'Alwāniyya was a Yemenite *ṭariqa* founded by Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ṣafī ad-dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Aṭṭāf ibn 'Alwān (d. 665/1266), who took the *ṭariqa* from Aḥmad al-Badawī and Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣayyād, *khakfa* of Ibn ar-Rifā'i; al-Wāsiṭi, *Tiryāq*, p. 18. A list of attribute-*ṭā'ifas* is given in Appendix II, most of them small nineteenth-century family groups.

into the midst of it dancing; some of them rolled in the fire, and others ate it in their mouths, until finally they extinguished it entirely. This is their regular custom and it is the peculiar characteristic of this corporation of Ahmadi brethren. Some of them will take a large snake and bite its head with their teeth until they bite it clean through.¹

Elsewhere Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions the related Ḥaidarī group centred in Khurasan south of Mashhad, derived from Quṭb ad-dīn Ḥaidar,² 'who place iron rings in their hands, necks and ears, and even their male members so that they are unable to indulge in sexual intercourse'.³ These Rifā'ī exercises signify the victory of the spirit over the flesh and its temporary annihilation in absolute Reality. Rifā'ī dervishes are still noted for their fire-resistant and snake-charming properties.⁴ The Ḥaidariyya spread into Iran, Syria, Anatolia,⁵ and India⁶ where it was linked with and finally absorbed in the qalandarī trend. A notable *khānaqāh* was that of Abu Bakr Tūsī Qalandarī, situated on the banks of the river Jumna.⁷

The Rifā'iyya spread into Egypt through the agency of Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Wāsiṭī (d. 632/1234) and into Syria through Abu Muḥammad 'Alī al-Ḥarīrī (d. at Buṣrā, capital of the Ḥawrān, in 645/1248), whence this branch was known as the Ḥarīriyya.⁸

¹ *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, ii. 273-4.

² He was a disciple of the qalandarī, Muḥammad ibn Yūnus Jamāl ad-dīn as-Sāwajī, a refugee fleeing before the Mongol invasion who settled in Damascus (A.D. 1221) and died in 630/1232.

³ French edition, iii. 79-80.

⁴ An Egyptian Rifā'ī gave the writer a demonstration of snake- and scorpion-charming which was simply jugglery. He also offered to teach for a consideration the formula of Ibn ar-Rifā'ī, which he guaranteed to ensure infallible protection against snake-bite. Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, Everyman edn., p. 460) refers to members of the Sa'diyya branch eating snakes, but this would be a similar process of disappearance into the mouth.

⁵ Aflākī gives an account (tr. Huart, i. 196-7) of the installation in Qonya of a Ḥaidarī named Iḥājī Mubārak, as shaikh of an establishment called Dār adh-Dhākirīn, when there were present, besides *fuqarā'* and *akhis*, the dignitaries of the state. On this occasion Jalāl ad-dīn Rūmī excelled himself in the dance of the spheres.

⁶ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, tr. Gibb, ii. 274-5, and French edn., iii. 439 (Tibet).

⁷ K. A. Nizami, *Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century*, Bombay, 1961, pp. 286-7.

⁸ See H. Sauvaire, 'Description de Damas', *J. Asiat.*, sér. ix, v. 387-9, 404. A notable disciple of al-Ḥarīrī, Najm ad-dīn M. b. Isrā'il (A.H. 603-77), who is given a notice in *Fawāt al-Wafāyāt* (ii. 269), received his *khirqā* from Shihāb ad-dīn as-Suhrawardī. Hasan al-Jawāliqī, a Persian qalandarī who founded a *zāwiya* just outside Cairo, later went to 'Alī al-Ḥarīrī's *zāwiya* in Damascus and died there in 622/1225; Maqrizī, *Khīṭaṭ*, ed. Cairo, A.H. 1326, iv. 301.

He was a noted Malāmatī who was imprisoned under al-Ashraf (A.D. 1228–37), but was released by Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl on condition that he kept away from Damascus. Another branch in Damascus (Zāwiya Ṭālibiyya) was founded by Ṭālib ar-Rifāʿī (d. 683/1284).¹ Other Syrian branches were the Saʿdiyya or Jibāwiyya² and the Ṣayyādiyya.³ There was a *zāwiya* in Jerusalem.⁴ It spread into Anatolia among Turks and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa lodged frequently in Aḥmadī (as he calls the Rifāʿīs) establishments.⁵ One *zāwiya* he visited in Machar, had seventy *fuqarāʾ*, of varied origins, Arabs, Persians, Turks, and Greeks.⁶ A group was even found in the Maldivian island of Mahal.⁷

It is probably true to say that until the fifteenth century the Rifāʿiyya was the most widespread of all *ṭariqas*, but from that century it began to lose its popularity in favour of the Qādiriyya, which expanded as a *ṭariqa*, though never to the extent that is so often claimed.

(c) Qādiriyya

It is difficult to penetrate through the mists of legend which formed even during the lifetime of ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Abī Ṣāliḥ Jangidōst and thickened rapidly after his death,⁸ and to discern

¹ See *J. Asiat.* ix. v. 394.

² See below, p. 73.

³ Founded by ʿIzz ad-dīn Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣayyād (*ḥafīd* A. b. ar-Rifāʿī), d. 670/1273. On him and his successors see Muḥammad Abu ʿl-Hudā aṣ-Ṣayyādī (1850–1909), *Tanwīr al-abṣūr fī ṭabaqāt as-sādat ar-Rifāʿiyya*, Cairo, A.H. 1306.

⁴ Muḥīr ad-dīn, *Uns*, tr. Sauvaire, 1876, p. 167.

⁵ See *Travels*, tr. Gibb, ii. 436, 445, 449. Aḥākī has an account (tr. Huart, ii. 203) of how Tāj ad-dīn, great-grandson of Aḥmad ar-Rifāʿī, visited Qonya accompanied by a group of dervishes who intrigued the whole population with their extraordinary performances. Tāj ad-dīn it seems settled in Anatolia, since Ibn Baṭṭūṭa reports on his coming to Umm ʿAbīda to receive the investiture; tr. Gibb, ii. 273. Taqī ad-dīn al-Wāsiṭī says that he accompanied Tāj ad-dīn Abū Bakr ar-Rifāʿī, shaikh Riwāq Umm ʿAbīda, on the pilgrimage in the year 720/1321; *Tiryāq al-muḥibbin*, p. 72.

⁶ Tr. H. A. R. Gibb, ii. 479; 1928 edn., i. 211.

⁷ Paris edn., 1879, iv. 141.

⁸ The most elaborate biography of ʿAbd al-Qādir, which completely obscures his personality and presents him as a great miracle-monger, *Bahjat al-Aṣṭār* by ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf ash-Shaṭṭanawfī (d. 713/1314), was written over a hundred years after his death (A.D. 1166). The shorter and still later notice of adh-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), but based on Ibn an-Najjār, edited and translated by D. S. Margoliouth (*J.R.A.S.* 1907, 267–310), is more valuable because he adopts a critical attitude and is sceptical of the more extravagant type of miracles ascribed to ʿAbd al-Qādir. Of the former treatise adh-Dhahabī writes: 'The Shaikh Nūr ad-dīn al-Shaṭṭanawfī the Muḥri composed a lengthy work in three volumes on

why he, out of the hundreds of saintly figures of the period, survived in a unique way to become the inspirer of millions, a heavenly receiver of petitions and bestower of benefits, right up to the present day. Vast numbers have accorded him a devotion which evoked the condemnation of orthodoxy, yet he himself was a strict Ḥanbalī, who would never have made such claims. He is acclaimed as a great preacher, but his reputation was certainly not gained from the content of his sermons.¹ And as for his Sufi reputation there is not the slightest indication that he was a Sufi at all or that he struck any new note, and it seems likely that his reputation for soundness was used by others who were responsible for such developments as paved the way for ordinary people to participate in the insights and experiences of Sufis.

‘Abd al-Qādir was born in Jīlān,² where Ḥanbalism was strong, in 470/1077. He came to Baghdad in A.H. 488 and pursued a legalistic course of Ḥanbalī training, refusing to study at the Nizāmiyya where the Sufi, Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, had succeeded his brother Abū Ḥāmid. He received the *khirqā* of first investiture at the hands

his life and work, wherein he has produced milk with the cud equally, and has mixed with truth statements that are groundless and false, being told on the authority of persons of no worth. So they assert that the Shaikh took thirteen steps in the air off his pupil at a meeting; and that once when the Shaikh was discoursing and no-one was moved, he said, “You are not moved, and feel no pleasure. Ye lamps, manifest your delight!”, whereupon the lamps moved about and the dishes danced’ (tr. D. S. Margoliouth, loc. cit., p. 310).

A contemporary, Taqī ad-dīn ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Wāsiṭī (d. A.D. 1343), also attacks Shatṭanawfī’s book as a tissue of lies. He mentions the names of authorities who claimed that he was a *kadhḍāb muttāhim*, an indicted liar. Even though al-Wāsiṭī is an interested party since Ibn ar-Rifā‘ī is his hero, his criticisms seem fair and sound enough. He shows that Shatṭanawfī’s book has led to a distorted estimate of ‘Abd al-Qādir himself, whose undoubted qualities are not enhanced by claiming that he was a Sufi subject to *aḥwāl* and a miracle-worker (*Tiryāq*, p. 51).

Still later works include al-Yāfi‘ī (d. 768/1367), *Khulāṣat al-mafākhir fi ‘khtīṣār manāyib ash-Shaikh ‘Abd al-Qādir* and the notice in his *Mir’āt al-jinān*, iii. 347–66. Ibn Khallikān (d. A.D. 1282) did not consider him important enough to include in his ‘Obituaries’ and M. ibn Shākir’s (d. A.H. 764) account in his ‘Omissions from the Obituaries’ (Bulaq, 1283/1866, ii. 2–3) contains nothing of interest.

¹ See *al-Faṭḥ ar-Rabbānī*, a collection of 62 sermons delivered in A.H. 545–6. His most important works are the collection of 78 of his discourses under the title of *Futūḥ al-Ghaib* (tr. W. Braune, Leipzig, 1933) and a treatise on legalistic ethics and theology entitled *Al-Ghunya li tālibī*.

² He was a Persian and when he visited the Baṭā‘ih during his wanderings he was known as al-‘Ajamī. Al-Wāsiṭī says that none of the genealogists supported his claim to a Ḥasanī nasab (*Tiryāq*, p. 50).

of the Ḥanbalī *faqīh*, Abu Sa'ad 'Alī al-Mukharrimī, 'by order of al-Khadr', but there is no indication that he received any Sufi training until he attended the school of Abu 'l-Khair Ḥammād ad-Dabbās (d. 525/1131),¹ to the disgust of Dabbās's other pupils who resented the intrusion of this Ḥanbalī. After this he seems to have spent some twenty-five years as a wandering ascetic in the deserts of Iraq. Only in 521/1127 when he was over fifty years old did he suddenly come into prominence as a popular preacher in Baghdad.² From that date his reputation grew, but as a Ḥanbalī preacher, not as a Sufi. He dressed like an *'ālim*, not like a Sufi. A *madrasa* with an attached *ribāṭ* as a residence for himself, his large family, and pupils was specially built for him (A.H. 528), but there is no evidence that he ever claimed to have a Path or guided anyone or initiated anybody. No Sufis ascribed themselves to him but to such men as Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, Abu Najīb as-Suhrawardī, and Abu Yūsuf al-Hamadānī. Taqī ad-dīn al-Wāsiṭī wrote:

'Abd al-Qādir was renowned during his lifetime for his sermons and courses of religious instruction, but he never at any time propagated any *khirqat at-taṣawwuf*. However, after his death, with the passage of time, certain people were given his *khirqā*, then it grew through his *baraka* and expanded through highland and lowland . . . The only two of his children who did not pursue a secular career were 'Abd ar-Razzāq [A.H. 528-603] and 'Abd al-'Azīz [d. A.H. 602]. These two shaikhs set to work to propagate their father's Way in all sincerity, temperance and modesty, and in that movement they were assisted by certain godly and sympathetic associates of their father.³

Because it was suspect 'Abd al-Qādir's *silsila* rarely figures in other than Qādirī lines, for instance, in the attributions in Sanūsī's *Salsabil*.⁴ The order attributed to him produced few famous Sufis

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 80; M. b. Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafāyāt*, ii. 3; al-Wāsiṭī, *Tiryāq*, p. 54; al-Yāfi'i, *Mir'āt al-jinn*, iii. 242.

² It is noteworthy that his biographers give no indication that he had any contact, let alone training, with any of the great Sufis of the day, except for one story of his appealing to Yūsuf al-Hamadānī (visited Baghdad in 506/1112; Ibn al-Athīr, x. 496-7), and this very account shows his lack of Sufi training. The story goes that 'Abd al-Qādir, troubled by inner voices ordering him to go out and preach, consulted Yūsuf al-Hamadānī, 'the Mouth of the Age'. Yūsuf told him: 'Since you possess the light of *fiqh* and the Qur'ān, you can now preach to the people. Hesitate no longer! Mount the pulpit!'

³ Al-Wāsiṭī, *Tiryāq*, pp. 53-4.

⁴ We read in Ibn Khallikān (ii. 440) of *fugarā'* tracing themselves (*al-muntasi-būn ilaihi*) to Aḥmad ar-Rifā'i, but no such attributions to 'Abd al-Qādir.

or Sufi works; the *awrād*, teaching and other material found in Qādirī manuals, being largely borrowed. His later followers attributed to him a line of mystery teaching he could not possibly have taught. An inspired Qādirī would attribute to his master the miracles he ought to have done and the overflowings he experienced when in a state of *jadhā*; things like the interesting divine questionnaire called *al-Ghawthiyya* or *al-Mi'rājiyya*.¹

According to Shaṭṭanawfī² 'Abd al-Qādir's pupils taught his *madhhab* (system) in various parts of the Islamic world, 'Alī al-Haddād in Yemen, Muḥammad al-Baṭā'ihī in Syria, and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad in Egypt. This is unlikely since 'Abd al-Qādir left no system, let alone Path, to be introduced, and even the *Bahja*, as Margoliouth has pointed out,³ does not support the claim that his sons propagated his Way throughout the Muslim world. Although Qādirī centres existed in Iraq and Syria in A.D. 1300, nothing indicates that it spread at all widely or rapidly before the fifteenth century. In the course of time a body of rules, teaching, and practice was formed,⁴ and some shaikhs began to initiate their pupils into his name because his fame as an intercessor was spreading. In Iraq it remained a local Baghdadi *ṭā'ifa*,⁵ upon his tomb-mosque which suffered a number of destructions until Ottoman patronage restored the local influence of the family. It gained greater influence at a later period among Kurds.

Although 'Abd al-Qādir became the most universally popular *saint*, to whom many *maqāms* were erected, we must stress that the Qādirī *ṭarīqa* never became popular. Its spread as a Way belongs to the *ṭā'ifa*

might be useful to bring together here some references to propagators. The foundation of the first Qādirī *zāwiya* (Da'ūdiyya) in Damascus in the early fifteenth century has been mentioned.⁶

¹ See Ismā'īl ibn M. Sa'id, *Al-Fuyūdāt ar-Rabbāniyya*, Cairo, A.H. 1353, pp. 4-12.

² Shaṭṭanawfī, *Bahja*, Cairo edn., 1304, pp. 101, 109-10.

³ *E.I.*¹ ii. 609.

⁴ According to tradition music and the rhythmic dance were not introduced until the time of 'Abd al-Qādir's great-grandson, Shams ad-dīn.

⁵ There are references to the family in the chronicles of Baghdad, such as al-Mustanṣir's appointment of one of them as shaikh of a newly-built *ribāṭ* in 626/1229; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Hawādith al-jāmi'a*, Baghdad, A.H. 1351, pp. 2, 86-7, but few references to its influence elsewhere. The Mongol conquest put an end to any fame the tomb had acquired and when that assiduous tomb visitor Ibn Battūṭa went to Baghdad in 727/1326 he makes no mention of it.

⁶ See above, p. 21, n. 5.

In Egypt it has never been a popular order. In India it did not become an established order until the arrival of Muḥammad Ghawth (d. A.D. 1517), who claimed descent from 'Abd al-Qādir, and even then it remained localized. The author of *Ā'in-i Akbari*,¹ writing about A.D. 1600, does not include the *ṭarīqa* among the orders represented in India. Around A.D. 1550 it was introduced from Hijaz into the Funj state of the two Niles by Tāj ad-dīn al-Bahārī al-Baghdādī.² During the Turkish expansion in Asia Minor there is no evidence that the Qādirī as a distinct line of ascription was represented among the multitudes of dervishes carving out their niches of holiness within the religious eclecticism of that region. The order was only introduced in any definitive fashion into Istanbul through the energetic initiative of Ismā'il Rūmī (d. 1041/1631 or 1053/1643), who founded a *khānaqāh* at Tōp-khāneh. He is called *Pīr Thānī* (second master), which implies that he was the first to introduce it (the first master, of course, was 'Abd al-Qādir), and he is said to have founded some 40 (or 48) *tekkēs* in the region.³

2. EGYPT AND THE MAGHRIB

Egypt and the Maghrib constitute a special zone, since most orders founded in these regions, mainly in the next phase when in the Maghrib they underwent a unique development, did not spread far beyond their confines, or at least outside Africa. Further, the Sufis of the region contributed little during the formative period to the doctrines and method of *taṣawwuf*.

A number of eminent Sufis were Egyptians, at least by adoption: Dhū 'n-Nūn (d. A.D. 860), whose father came from the Nubian stretch, the greatest Arab Sufi poet, 'Umar ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. A.D. 1234), of Syrian parentage but born and lived in Egypt,⁴ and al-Būṣīrī (d. A.D. 1296), important because of his influence

¹ Abu 'l-Faḍl al-'Allāmī, *Ā'in-i Akbari*, tr. H. S. Jarrett, new edition, 1948, iii. 398.

² *Ṭabaqāt* of Wad Daif Allāh, ed. Mandīl, pp. 42-3; ed. Ṣidaiq, pp. 44-5.

³ J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, ed. J. J. Hellert, Paris, 1835-43, xviii. 77. Among the hundreds of convents mentioned by Evliya Chelebi very few are Qādirī; references in von Hammer's translation under the title of *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa by Evliya Bīḡdī*, London, 1834-50, I. ii. 59, 81; II. 8, 213.

⁴ Some of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poems were composed for singing at Sufi ecstasy concerts; see C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di Scritti*, ii. 205-6.

upon popular piety. Though few schools of mystical insight had their origin in Egypt, the cities abounded with *khānaqāhs* which welcomed Sufis from both East and West. Such *khānaqāhs*, however, were urban and professional institutions and had little effect upon the spiritual life of *fallāḥīn*.

Egypt became the elected home of ash-Shādhilī, the chief centre from which his teaching spread, to become eventually one of the great Ways. Two Egyptian *ṭarīqa* founders whose orders survived were Aḥmad al-Badawī and Ibrāhīm ad-Dasūqī. Aḥmad al-Badawī (b. 596/1199) was an Egyptian by adoption, for he belonged to an Arab family which had emigrated to Fez and then returned to the Hijaz.¹ He was originally a Rifā'ī and received his training at the centre in the Baṭā'ih of Iraq. On the death in 632/1234 of Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Wāsiṭī, *khalīfa* of Aḥmad ar-Rifā'ī, former *murshid* of ash-Shādhilī and from A.H. 620 Rifā'ī representative in Egypt, the 'Irāqī brethren sent Aḥmad to take his place.² He settled in Ṭanṭa, won great renown, and received divine authority to found his own Way. He died in 675/1276 and his tomb at Ṭanṭa was to become the most famous sanctuary and place of *ziyāra* in Egypt. His order, known as the Aḥmadiyya but better referred to as the Badawiyya to avoid confusion with other orders of the same name, gave rise to a number of branches,³ not confined to Egypt, for it spread into Hijaz, Syria, Turkey, Tripolitania, and Tunisia.

Ibrāhīm ibn Abī 'l-Majd ad-Dasūqī (c. 644/1246–687/1288) was no *khānaqāh* Sufi but came from the soil of the Nile banks, being born in a village into a *baraka*-inheriting family and deriving his *nisba* from another village with which he was associated. Ash-Sha'rānī's considerable notice on him⁴ consists mainly of quotations from his *Ḥawāḥir*, a book of instructions to *murīds*, and little is known about his life. He is shown to have been initiated into the Suhrawardī,⁵ Rifā'ī, and Badawī chains, and then received

¹ Ash-Sha'rānī gives an account of his life and *dicta* transmitted by his brother Ḥasan; *aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Cairo, A.H. 1355, i. 158–63.

² He received his *nisba* of al-Badawī through having arrived in Egypt wearing Arab dress. Later he was called *al-Mulaththam*, 'the Muffled', but it is unlikely that he was a Ṣanhājī Berber. Ash-Sha'rānī (op. cit. i. 160, l. 16) says he wore the two *lithāms* (of the eastern Arabs) from childhood.

³ A list of these branches is given in Appendix E.

⁴ Ash-Sha'rānī, *aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, A.H. 1355, i. 143–58.

⁵ Association with Najm ad-dīn Maḥmūd al-Iṣfahānī? al-Wāsiṭī, *Tiryāq*, p. 61.

permission to found an independent *ṭarīqa*. This was known as the Ibrahīmiyya until the ninth century A.H. when adherents began calling themselves Dasūqīs. It was also known as the Burhāniyya from his *laqab* Burhān ad-dīn. Like the Badawīyya it split into independent groups and spread outside Egypt to Syria, Hijaz, Yemen, and Hadramawt.

Sufism was slow in spreading into the Maghrib,¹ but in spite of the kind of Mālikī and official obscurantism which had led to the promulgation of a *fatwā* condemning and banning al-Ghazālī's works (503/1109) it gained a foothold during the Almoravid period (A.D. 1056-1147) and even flourished under the Almohades (A.D. 1130-1269). In Spain, although there was the brief flowering associated with Ibn Masarra (A.D. 883-931) and his pupils, Sufism could not thrive openly in the atmosphere of intolerance and suspicion that prevailed there. Eminent Sufis of the age were the Ṣanhājī Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad, known as Ibn al-'Arif (A.D. 1088-1141), whose disciple, Abu 'l-Qāsim ibn Qasiyy, demonstrated how easily spiritual power can aspire to mundane power when he rose from his *ribāṭ* of Silvas (A.D. 1141) and subjected a large section of Algarves region (southern Portugal) before he was killed in 546/1151. The greatest Sufi to come out of Spain was, of course, Ibn al-'Arabī (A.D. 1165-1240), but he was of Arab origin and a universal figure, against whose doctrines Mālikī literalism imposed, successfully for the most part, a barrier of condemnation.

In enduring influence in relation to subsequent *ṭarīqa* development the greatest of the early Sufis was Abu Madyan Shu'aib b. al-Ḥusain (A.D. 1126-98).² Born near Seville he moved as a young man to Fez, where he was attracted to the pursuit of the mystic Way and was initiated by Muḥammad ad-Daqqāq and Abu Ya'azza (d. A.D. 1176), the latter a crude non-Arabic-speaking Berber. He went on pilgrimage and travelled to Iraq, where he

¹ Al-Maqdisī (ed. de Goeje, 1906, p. 238) says that there was not a single *khānaqāh* of the Karrāmiyya in the Maghrib in his time (about A.D. 970) and assuredly none of the Ṣūfiyya.

² Biographies of the Maghribī mystics of this period are given in the collections of Ibn az-Zayyāt at-Tādili, *At-Tashawwuf ilā rijāl at-Taṣawwuf*, written around 617/1220, and 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Bādisī, *Al-Maqṣad*, written c. 711/1311, tr. G. S. Colin in *Archives Marocaines*, xxvi (1926). Colin points out (p. 11 and n.) that only one of the holy men mentioned in the *Maqṣad* and none of the 260 in the *Tashawwuf* is qualified by the title of *sharīf*, a title without which holiness was impossible to achieve in the Maghrib at a later date.

met Aḥmad ar-Rifā'ī, ties of fraternity and extrasensory contact being established between them.¹ On his return he settled at Bougie (Bijāya). His teaching and reputation stirred the envy and opposition of the Almohade 'ulamā'; he was summoned to the capital Marrākush to give an account of himself and died on the way at the village of 'Ubbād (presumably a centre of 'devotees') near Tilimsān.

Although a distinctive Madyanī Way derives from him and he was the master of the twelfth-century Sufis of western Islam, relatively few Madyanī *ṭā'ifas* came into being. A number of Abu Madyan's spiritual sons and grandsons went to Egypt and gained great fame there.² These included Abu 'l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf, a former customs officer, who founded a *zāwiya* at Luxor in the ruins of the Temple of Amun where he died (642/1244) and whose *mawlid* there became the most famous in upper Egypt.³ Another was Abu 'l-Ḥajjāj's master, 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Jazūlī, who went to live in the *zāwiya* ascribed to Dhū 'n-Nūn at Akhmīm and then Alexandria where he is buried. Other western Sufis who found a more congenial spiritual home in the East were the Andalusians Ibn al-'Arabī (d. Damascus 638/1240), Ibn Sab'īn (d. Mecca 669/1270), and the latter's disciple the poet Shushtarī (d. 668/1269 near Damietta), a Madyanī by mystical ascription, who wrote short *muwashshahāt* poems which have continued to be popular in Shādhilī *ḥaḍras* to this day.⁴ In Jerusalem there is a *zāwiya* founded by a grandson of Abu Madyan situated near Bāb as-Silsila of the Ḥaram ash-Sharīf which still survives.

Abu Madyan's Way was perpetuated through his pupil, 'Abd as-Salām ibn Mashīsh (d. 625/1228), and the latter's most eminent disciple, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ash-Shādhilī, whose Way, called the Shādhiliyya, was to become the most important in north Africa

¹ See Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, Cairo edn., 1928, i. 59.

² Sha'rānī says (*Lawāqih*, ii. 19, l. 27) that Abu Madyan himself sent many of his followers to Egypt. These included the son, Madyan, from whom he derives his *kunya*. The site of his tomb is mentioned; op. cit., i. 133.

³ On Abu 'l-Ḥajjāj al-Uḡsurī see al-Bādisī, *Maḡrad* (pp. 153-7), where his successor, a Nubian of Christian origin, Shammās an-Nūbī, and other 'companions' are named. Sha'rānī has a notice on him in *Lawāqih* (i. 136-7), and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited his tomb (i. 107). Another immigrant Berber was 'Abd ar-Rahīm at-Targhī (d. at Qena, 592/1196), master of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. aṣ-Ṣabbāgh al-Qūsi (d. at Qena, 613/1216).

⁴ Commentaries on these poems have appeared in Madyanī circles, e.g. the Syrian, 'Alawān 'Alī b. 'Atīyya (d. A.D. 1530), *an-Nafahāt al-quḍsiyya fī sharḥ al-abyāt ash-Shushtariyya*; see Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, viii. 218.

from Morocco to Egypt and also to gain a following in Syria and Arabia.

This Abu 'l-Ḥasan, born in the village of Ghumāra in the far West in 593/1196, received his first *khirqā* from Abu 'Abdallāh M. b. Ḥarāzīm (d. 633/1236), a pupil of Abu Madyan. He went east in A.H. 615, where he was drawn to the Rifā'ī school, accepting Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Wāsiṭī as his shaikh (A.D. 618). He became obsessed with the search for the *Qutb* (Pivot) of the universe¹ and Abu 'l-Faṭḥ told him to return to the West where he would find him. He returned and eventually found him in 'Abd as-Salām ibn Mashīsh of Fez who 'prepared him for the *walāya*'.² Later, on the advice of 'Abd as-Salām, he left Morocco to go into retreat in a cave near a village of Ifrīqiya called Shādhila, whence derives his *nisba*. Periodically he went out on preaching and teaching tours, thereby incurring the hostility of the Tunisian '*ulamā*'. So bitter did the persecution become that, in spite of the support of the sultan, Abu Zakariyyā al-Ḥafṣī, he was driven to take refuge in Egypt, where he won great renown, not only among the populace, but surprisingly enough even with '*ulamā*'. He made a practice of going on *hajj* every year and he died at Ḥumaithrā on the Red Sea coast whilst on the way back from one of them in 656/1258.³

We have said that it is usually impossible to pierce through the mists of pious legend to the real men beneath. A few letters of Abu 'l-Ḥasan have survived which show him as a very human shaikh, a leader of pilgrimages, whose personal dedication did not weaken his concern for the welfare of his followers. But in addition they enable us to discern how he and other *ṭariqa* leaders were able to become the inspirers of enduring systems. This correspondence is inaccessible to me but here is a testimony to its value from P. Nwyia:

This correspondence shows not only that Shādhilī had a deep knowledge of the Sufi teaching of the eastern doctors, but a personal experience of spiritual realities. If Shādhilī knew how to inspire his disciples it was not so much that he preached to them a simple Sufism as because he had the qualities of a spiritual master as is revealed by his letters. He certainly formed no intellectual system, but he had qualities of

¹ See Aḥmad b. M. b. 'Abbād, *Al-Mafākhīr al-'Aliyya*, Cairo, A.H. 1327, p. 10; and for the *Qutb* see below, pp. 163-5.

² *Walāya* used in this way has the sense of 'spiritual office or jurisdiction'.

³ See Ibn Baṭṭūta, 1939 edn., i. 42.

spiritual discernment and knew how to extract from his personal experiences what was valuable to others.¹

Abu 'l-Ḥasan as a shaikh *sā'ih* or 'vagabond ascetic' did not himself initiate his pupils into any special rule or ritual, but his teaching was maintained by his disciples. One disciple in particular, Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Mursī (616/1219-686/1287), Andalusian in origin, who joined his circle in Alexandria, was regarded as his successor, and a *ribāṭ* with a mosque was built for him. The existence of any Shādhilī *ṭariqa* at all is due to al-Mursī and his successor, Tāj ad-dīn ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh 'Abbās (d. Cairo 709/1309),² who wrote an account of the life and sayings of both Abu 'l-Ḥasan and Abu 'l-'Abbās³ and collected their *awrād*. Pupils carried on the Way of ash-Shādhilī in scattered *zāwiyas* having little connection with each other. In Ifrīqiya his name was kept alive by a small group of pupils with whom Abu 'l-Ḥasan had kept up a correspondence after he had been forced to leave the country.⁴ An Egyptian derivative was the Wafā'iyya, founded by Shams ad-dīn M. ibn Aḥmad Wafā' (701/1301-760/1359),⁵ whose son 'Alī (761/1357-807/1404) is one of the great names in Egyptian Sufism. The Wafā'iyya spread into Syria⁶ and survived in Egypt into the present century.

¹ P. Nwyia,

² At least one Egyptian line, the Ḥanafīyya, came directly from al-Mursī; see Maghribī table of spiritual genealogies. On the founder, Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī (d. 847/1443), see Sha'rānī, *at-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, ii. 81-92 (the ascription is on p. 82); 'Alī Muḥarak, *Khīṭaṭ Jadīda*, iv. 99-102.

³ *Laṭā'if al-minan*, by Tāj ad-dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, composed in A.D. 1284, printed on margin of ash-Sha'rānī, *Laṭā'if al-minan*, Cairo, A.H. 1357.

⁴ Two of these wrote short lives of their master, which also include selections from his correspondence: Muḥammad ibn aṣ-Ṣabbāgh, *Kitāb durrat al-asrār wa tuḥfat al-abrār* (ed. Tunis), compiled about 720/1320; and 'Abd an-Nūr ibn M. al-'Imrānī, *Fī manāqib Abū 'l-Ḥasan ash-Shādhilī*, composed about 745/1344.

⁵ On Muḥammad Wafā' (also known as M. Baḥr aṣ-Ṣafā) and his son 'Alī, well known for his *aḥzāb*, see Sha'rānī, *At-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ii. 19-60. He took the *ṭariqa* from Da'ūd ibn Bākhilī and he from Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh.

⁶ Mujīr ad-dīn mentions a *zāwiya* in Jerusalem in his time (he died in 927/1521); see *al-Uns al-jalīl*, ii. 389; tr. Sauvaire, p. 147. He is to be distinguished from Abu 'l-Wafā' called Kākish (417/1026-501/1107). This Abu 'l-Wafā' was connected with the *khirqā* line founded by Abu Muḥammad 'Abdallāh Talḥa ash-Shunbukī (tenth century), hence the double name given to it of Shunbukīyya-Wafā'iyya, which is one of the *silsilas* to which Ibn ar-Rifā'i was connected. This 'Abdallāh converted the former highway robber Abu 'l-Wafā', who became so famous in the Baṭā'iḥ that he was nicknamed Tāj al-'Ārifīn,

Through the circulation of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh's works the Shādhilī Way began to spread in the Maghrib, which had rejected the master. But it remained an individualistic tradition, almost Malāmatī, though this term was not used, placing strong stress upon the cultivation of the interior life. Shādhilīs wore no habit (references to investment with the *khirqā* now begin to disappear), and no popular form of devotions was encouraged. It was made clear that *faqr* (poverty) meant no life of mendicancy or complete withdrawal from normal life, rather the term refers to the interior life. This is brought out in order to point the contrast with the fifteenth-century Shādhilī movement to which the diffusion of Abu 'l-Ḥasan's *silsila* is largely due, a devotional movement which affected every family in the Maghrib.¹

The period of the early Marīnids of Morocco (full dynastic span, 1195–1470) and early Ḥafṣids of Ifrīqiya (A.D. 1228–1534) was important for the flowering of western Sufism. Like the Seljuqs in the East, the Marīnids and Ḥafṣids paralleled the foundation of *madrasas* with patronage of Sufi leaders and their *zāwiyas*. The Marīnid, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, after his capture of Tilimsān in A.D. 1337, sponsored the development of a large establishment around the tomb of Abu Madyan by building a mosque, *madrasa*, public baths, and ancillary buildings. Thus *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf* became mutually tolerated companions. Sufism in the Maghrib, as also in Nilotic Sudan, became a subject for regular teaching compatible with the acquisition of legal sciences. This contrasts with their relationship in Arab Near East in general, where classical Sufism was just tolerated.

It is clear that a basic, continuative Madyanī tradition was maintained in the Maghrib quite distinct from the Shādhilī which was then more Egyptian than Maghribī, being known only

'Crown of the Gnostics'. On him see especially al-Wāsiṭī, *Tiryāq*, pp. 41–4; later accounts are found in collections like Sha'rānī, *Lawāiqih*, A.II. 1355, i. 116. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīl

his *baraka*', but was not initiated by him (*Tiryāq*, p. 42), nor was he regarded as one of Abu 'l-Wafā's star pupils: 'Someone said to Shaikh Baqā' ibn Baṭū, "● my lord, was there among the disciples of Abu 'l-Wafā' any man so carried away by the flashings of ecstasy as 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlī?" He replied, "By God's glory! there were ranged under the banner of Abu 'l-Wafā' seventeen sultans, everyone of them more perfect in ecstatic progression than 'Abd al-Qādir'" (*Tiryāq*, p. 44).

¹ This is not to deny the existence of popular, even extravagant, *dhikr* devotions practised in common, but these seem to be localized when contrasted with their later profusion.

in Tunisia, and spreading only slowly westwards, not becoming popular until the fifteenth-century revival. Al-Wāsiṭī, writing in Iraq about A.D. 1320, calls the Madyanī tradition the Tilimsāniyya,¹ and *zāwiya*s associated with it provided the nuclei from which the popular movement began. Ibn Qunfudh in his *Uns al-faqir*, composed in A.D. 1385 and principally concerned with the life of Abu Madyan, mentions² six *tā'ifas* in western Morocco. The Māgiriyyūn deriving from Abu Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ ibn (Yanṣāran) Sa'īd al-Māgiri (c. 550/1155–631/1234), a disciple of Abu Madyan, who spent twenty years in Alexandria and, on his return to Morocco to found a *ribāṭ*

pilgrims to the holy places. He wrote a *Talqīn al-wird* and had much to endure from the enmity of the *fuqahā'*.³ At the end of the seventh/thirteenth century his order was in a state of confusion and a descendant, Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Māgiri, wrote a life called *al-Minhāj al-wāḍiḥ* in order to preserve the name of the master from the charge of *bid'a* cast upon it by the Mālikī bigots, as well as to recount his *karāmāt* or manifestations of God's favour.

Other defined Berber groups included: the Shu'aibiyyūn, deriving from Abu Shu'aib Ayyūb b. Sa'īd, patron saint of Azammūr (d. A.D. 1165) and one of the masters of Abu Ya'azza; the Ḥāḥiyyūn, from Abu Zakariyā Yaḥyā al-Ḥāḥī; the Gham-mātiyyun (or Aghmātiyya) or Hazmīriyya, from Abu Zaid 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Hazmīrī (d. A.D. 1307); a group of Banu Amghār known as Ṣanhājiyyūn, centred on the *ribāṭ* of Tīṭ-an-Fiṭr, founded around A.D. 1140; and a Ḥujjāj group, whose members were restricted to those who had accomplished the pilgrimage to Mecca.

3. IRANIAN, TURKISH, AND INDIAN SPHERES

In the Iranian world Sufis blended the two traditions of interior religion: that which came to be linked with the name of al-Junaid (Sufi: Mesopotamian), and that associated with Abu Yazīd

¹ Al-Wāsiṭī, *Tiryāq*, p. 49.

² References to these groups will be found in G. S. Colin's translation of the *Maqṣad* of al-Bādisī, *Archiv. Maroc.* xxvi (1926), 207–8; see also P. Nwyia, *Ibn 'Abbād de Ronda*, Beirut, 1958, pp. xxx–xxxi; A. Faure, art. 'Hazmīriyyūn', *E.I.*² iii. 338–9.

³ See al-Bādisī, *Maqṣad*, pp. 92–3, 196.

al-Bisṭāmī (Malāmatī: Khurasanian).¹ Iranian Sufis tended to express greater individualism, divergent tendencies, and heterodox doctrines and practices, and consequently it was here that such tendencies are reflected in later orders. Many Sufis were strongly drawn towards 'Alī as the source of esoteric teaching, and Imāmī-Twelvever (and to a lesser degree Ismā'īlī) ideas survived under the cloak of Sufism. Later, these were to come into the open and consolidate themselves in new orders (Dhahabiyya, Nūrbakhshiyya, Ni'matullāhiyya, and Bektāshiyya), or as with the Ṣafawīyya, whose head in the early sixteenth century became the master of Iran, actually change from a Sunnī to a Shī'ī order.

The accompanying tree of spiritual genealogies, which shows some aspects of the merging of the two traditions, serves at least to introduce the names of famous Sufis whose leadership and ideas were deeply to influence subsequent orders. Two significant figures in central Asian Sufi history were Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Kharaqānī (d. A.D. 1034 at the age of 80), who regarded himself as the spiritual heir of al-Bisṭāmī,² and Abu 'Alī al-Farmadhī (d. A.D. 1084). Two of the latter's pupils, important in that from them the chief lines

al-Ghazālī (d. 520/1126), younger brother of the better-known Abu Ḥāmid, and Yūsuf al-Hamadānī (441/1049-535/1140). The name of Abu Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī has been inserted in the tree to show why he counts so little in the teaching as well as the ascriptions of the orders. He comes fully within our definition of a Sufi, hut, though his mysticism of intellectual insight and understanding is acknowledged, he is not regarded as being a practising Sufi by the ecstatics and gnostics. Aflākī reports Jalāl ad-dīn Rūmī as commenting:

L'imām Moḥammed Ghazālī a nettoyé la mer de la science dans le monde des anges; il en a levé l'étandard; il est devenu le guide de l'univers et le savant des mortels. S'il avait eu un atome d'amour

¹ See al-Wāsiṭī, *Tiryāq*, p. 47. Other early Khurasanian shaikhs with strong Malāmatī tendencies included Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥusain ar-Rāzī (d. 301/913), Abu Ḥafṣ

² On al-Kharaqānī see E. Berthel's article in *Islamica*, iii. 5 ff.; Farid ad-dīn 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*, ed. R. A. Nicholson, 1905-7, ii. 201-55. De Beaurecueil has pointed out (*Khawādja 'Abdullāh Anṣārī*, Beirut, 1965, pp. 65-6) a number of traits which Kharaqānī and Bisṭāmī had in common; apart from the fact that they came from the same district, they were both illiterates who, on their own, without the supervision of any *murshid*, sought to follow the Way to God by direct divine guidance.

mystique comme Aḥmed Ghazālī, cela aurait mieux valu, et il aurait connu le mystère de la proximité mahométane, comme Aḥmed l'a connu, car il n'y a rien de pareil, dans l'Univers, à l'amour d'un maître, d'un directeur spirituel, d'un introducteur [des profanes auprès de la Divinité].¹

The twelfth century was a period of transition in these regions towards a distinctively Persian Sufism, for which the way had been prepared by Sufi poets like Abu Sa'īd ibn Abī 'l-Khair (A.D. 967–1049).² With this movement Abu Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Hamadānī al-Būzanjirdī (A.D. 1049–1140) is especially associated. He left his native Lūr-Kurd village in Hamadān province for Baghdad, where he studied *fiqh* under the famous Shāfi'ī jurist, Abu Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī (d. A.D. 1083). He did brilliantly, especially devoting himself to *'ilm an-naẓar* (rationalism), and was put in

¹ Cl. Huart, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, 1918, i. 200. See also Ibn Sab'in's very shrewd assessment of Abu Hāmid; Arabic text given by L. Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits relatifs à la mystique musulmane*, Paris, 1929, pp. 129–31.

The most remarkable of Aḥmad's pupils, 'Abdallāh ibn M., commonly known as 'Ain al-Quḍāt al-Hamadānī, regarded the *Iḥyā'* as primarily a treatise on practical ethics. Although his reading of the *Iḥyā'* marks his transition from formal learning into Sufism 'Ain al-Quḍāt owed his release from spiritual impasse and subsequent Sufi training to Aḥmad al-Ghazālī. Enthusiastically indiscreet he ignored the Sufi injunction *Ifshā' sirr ar-rubūbiyya kufr* (it is impiety to reveal [to the commonalty] the secret of divine power), and after Aḥmad's death taught his inner doctrine openly. This led to his joining (in 525/1131 at the early age of 33) al-Ḥallāj and preceding as-Suhrawardī 'al-Maqtūl' of Aleppo on the roll of Sufi martyrs. It was for him that Aḥmad wrote his treatise 'Intuitions of the Lovers' (*Sawāniḥ al-'ushshāq*) which he (= 'Ain) paraphrased in Persian under the title *Lawā'ih* (ed. H. Ritter, *Aphorismen über die Liebe*, Istanbul/Leipzig, 1942: Bibliotheca Islamica, Bd. 15). 'Ain al-Quḍāt's remarkable defence in Arabic called *Shaqwā 'l-gharīb*, addressed to his friends whilst in prison, has been edited and translated by M. 'Abd al-Jalīl in *J. Asiat.* ccxvi (1930), 1–76, 193–297.

² Other early Sufi writers in Persian include the Hujwīrī to whose *Kashf* (composed around A.D. 1050) we have referred frequently, the *qalandarī* known as Bābā Tāhīr (d. A.D. 1010), Abu 'l-Majd Sanā'ī (d. c. A.D. 1141), and Abu Ismā'īl 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī al-Ḥarawī (d. Herat, A.D. 1089). Harawī's Ḥanbalism was tempered and his outlook modified through his coming under the influence of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kharaqānī. He headed a teaching circle in Herat; one who studied under him being Yūsuf al-Hamadānī. Strictly he should not have been included in the table of spiritual genealogies since he does not appear to have been a transmitting *murshid* and his name does not appear in *silsilas*. As well as his famous Sufi guide-book in Arabic, *Manāzil as-sā'irīn* (ed. and tr. S. de L. de Beaurecueil, Cairo, I.F.A.O., 1962), he wrote *Munājāt*, meditations in Persian *sey'* and verse, which is supposed to have influenced the composition of Sa'dī's *Būstān*.

charge of a class of students. Then suddenly 'he abandoned all the theoretical speculation to which he had been devoted and took himself off into retreat to prepare to dedicate himself to the things which really mattered—the personal life of devotion in God's service, to calling people to God, and to guiding his contemporaries along the right Path'.¹ He returned to Hamadān, then to Merv, dividing his time between there and Herāt. Many famous Sufis ascribed themselves to him, but from two of his *khalīfas* in particular spring two major lines of ascription, one Persian, derived from 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Ghujdawānī, the other Turkish, derived from Aḥmad al-Yasavī.

The Paths of these great central Asian Sufis, after taking root among Iranians, also took hold of the expanding Turks, and were an important factor in facilitating their adjustment to Islam. These ascriptions and tendencies spread with their dispersion, a process accelerated by the Mongol conquests, and became especially influential at the far extremes, in Anatolia and India. Aḥmad al-Yasavī stands as the prototype of all the Turkish Sufis, and from him derives Ḥājji Bektāsh² as a kind of mythical symbol of hundreds of migrating Turkish *bābās*,³ whose name served as the eponym of a famous *ṭarīqa*. The Yasavī tradition was strongly Turkish from the beginning. Aḥmad began his training under a Turkish shaikh, Arslān Bābā, after whose death he went to Bukhara, at that time still largely Iranian, to join Yūsuf al-Hamadānī's circle, becoming his *khalīfa* number four.⁴ Later, he resigned his position to return to Turkestan to become the head of a group of Turkish-ascribed shaikhs (*sar-i silsila-i mashā'ikh-i Turk*).⁵ A long line of Turkish mystics derive from his inspiration which, with the migration of *bābās*, spread among the Turks of Anatolia. Whereas the Mawlawiyya, which thrived in certain

¹ Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, Cairo, A.H. 1299, iii. 426) quoting Ibn an-Najjār (d. 643/1245), who in turn is quoting Abu Sa'd as-Sam'ānī (d. 562/1166), historian of Merv.

² Al-Wāsiṭī shows (*Tiryāq*, p. 47) that the derivation Bektāsh al-Khurasānī, *nazil bilād ar-Rūm*, from Aḥmad al-Yasavī was accepted in Iraq c. 1320.

³ *Bābā* is the Turkish term for a missionary, an equally common designation and title for a holy man.

⁴ His first *khalīfa* was 'Abd al-Khāliq, the second 'Abdallāh Barqī, and the third Aḥu Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Andāqī (d. A.D. 1157). It is highly unlikely that Aḥmad succeeded to the leadership of the Bukharan circle as Yasavī tradition asserts.

⁵ 'Alī ibn Husain al-Wā'iz, *Rashahāt 'ain al-hayāt*, pp. 8-9.

circles in Anatolia, belonged to the Iranian tradition, the *Khalwatiyya* derived from this central Asian Turkish tradition, but its treatment has been reserved for the next chapter.

Having inserted a genealogical table it may be well to remark that the lines of ascription up to this age do not imply the descent of *one rule*. Sufis still wandered about seeking masters, many did not transmit any one tradition, but formed their own Ways from their various sources of enlightenment. This is particularly the case with the order-founders. The difference after their establishment is that they become true *silsila-tariqas*, that is to say, the line traced back through certain figures is consciously maintained. These chains of authority are often very complicated. Whilst that from the founder to the ancestor tends to become stable, the lines of each individual *khalīfa* back to the founder varied.

The main *tariqas* emerging from the central Asian tradition which survived in some form were the *Kubrāwiyya*, *Yasaviyya*, *Mawlawiyya*, *Naqshabandiyya*, *Chishtiyya*, and *Bektāshiyya*. We will give a short account of the founder and the development of the tradition, with the exception of *Ḥājji Bektāsh*, whose relationship to the order attributed to him is tenuous, whilst the order itself comes more appropriately into the next stage of development.

(a) *Kubrāwiyya*

From *Najm ad-dīn Kubrā* (540/1145–618/1221)¹ stem many chains of mystical ascription or derivative orders, mostly now defunct but important for the historical range of the orders and for their *sanads* of *dhikr* practices. Although born in *Khīva* (*Khawārizm*) *Najm ad-dīn* followed a course of ascetic discipline in Egypt under the Persian *shaikh-sā'ih*, *Rūzbihān al-Wazzān al-Miṣrī* (d. 584/1188), disciple of *Abū Najīb as-Suhrawardī*, from whom he received his first *khirqā*, but it was not until his search led him to *Bābā Faraj* of *Tabriz* that he adopted the full Sufi life. Another teacher was *ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir al-Bidlīsī* (d. c. A.D. 1200), but his real training took place under *Ismāʿīl al-Qaṣrī* (d. 589/1193), who gave him the *khirqā* of *tabarruk*. He settled eventually in his native *Khawārizm* and built a *khānaqāh* in which he trained a number of remarkable men, including *Majd ad-dīn al-Baghdādī*²

¹ On *Najm ad-dīn Kubrā* see F. Meier's edition of his *Fawā'id al-jamāl wa fawā'id al-jalāl* (Wiesbaden, 1957) which contains a valuable study of his life and thought.

² The *nisba* probably relates to *Baghdādak* in *Khawārizm*.

(d. A.D. 1219), who was the shaikh of the great Persian poet, Farīd ad-dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. c. A.D. 1225), author of *Manṭiq at-Tair* ('Speech of the Birds'), an allegorical *mathnawī* which traces the spiritual pilgrimage through 'Seven Valleys' (stages) with deep insight. Najm ad-dīn fell victim to the Mongol sack of Khwārizm in A.D. 1221. Although most of his works are in Arabic he wrote in Persian a *Ṣifat al-ādāb* (rules of conduct) for the guidance of neophytes, which forms an important landmark in the trend towards the Iranization of Sufism.

From many of Najm ad-dīn's *khalīfas* no defined branch orders stemmed but rather a Kubrāwī *tā'ifa* localized around the *khalīfa*'s tomb, to which were attached a convent and ancillary buildings. Many establishments of this kind were visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in A.D. 1333. These included that of Najm ad-dīn himself outside Khwārizm¹ and that of Saif ad-dīn al-Bākharzī (d. 658/1260), who received the adherence of Berke, Khān of the Golden Horde, to Islam,² and whose tomb and convent in Bukhara were built under Timur's patronage.³ Another *khalīfa* was the Shī'ī, Sa'd ad-dīn M. al-Ḥamūya (or Ḥamūyī, d. c. 650/1252), whose descendants maintained a localized *tā'ifa* around his tomb at Baḥrābād in Khurasan.

The main orders deriving from Najm ad-dīn were:⁴

Firdawsiyya, an Indian branch of the line from the Bākharzī of Bukhara who has just been mentioned. It derives its name from a *khalīfa* of his called Badr ad-dīn Firdawsī, whose *khalīfa*, Najīb ad-dīn Muḥammad (d. Delhi c. A.D. 1300), introduced the order into India.⁵

Nūriyya, a Baghdadi branch, founded by Nūr ad-dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Isfarā'inī (d. 717/1317), master of as-Simnānī.

Rukniyya, a Khurasani branch, deriving from Rukn ad-dīn Abu 'l-Makārim Aḥmad ibn Sharaf ad-dīn, generally known as 'Alā' ad-Dawla as-Simnānī, d. 736/1336.

Hamadāniyya, a Kashmiri branch of the Rukniyya, founded by

¹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Paris edn., iii. 5-6.

² Ibn Khaldūn, *Iḥṣār*, Bulaq, 1867, v. 534.

³ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii. 27), who attended a *samā'* at the convent when songs were sung in Turkish and Persian.

⁴ Most derivatives branched out from one line, that of Najm ad-dīn's most forcible and independent pupil, Majd ad-dīn al-Baghdādī; see Kubrāwī table.

⁵ According to *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, 1948 edn., iii. 407-8.

Sayyid 'Alī ibn Shihāb ad-dīn b. M. al-Hamadānī, b. Hamadān 714/1314, d. in Pakhli 786/1385, and buried at Khotlan in Tājikistān. The definitive establishment of Islam in Kashmir is ascribed to three visits of this vagrant Sufi in A.D. 1372, 1379, and 1383. He was associated with a migration of seven hundred Sufis seeking a haven from the Mongols under 'Timur, followed by another three hundred under 'Alī's son, Mīr Muḥammad.¹

Ighitishāshiyya,² a Khurasani branch founded by Ishāq al-Khuttalānī (assassinated by emissaries of Shāh Rukh in 826/1423), a pupil of 'Alī al-Hamadānī. From him through his pupil, 'Abdallāh Barzishabādī Mashhadī, came the Shī'ī order of *Dhahabiyya* (centred today in Shiraz), the term by which Najm ad-dīn's line is frequently and confusingly denominated.

Nūrbakhshiyya, a Khurasani branch, deriving from Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh, called Nūrbakhsh (d. 869/1465), a pupil of Ishāq al-Khuttalānī, who developed his own distinctive Shī'ī beliefs. From him again stemmed two lines: that through his son, Qāsim I'aid-bakhsh, carried on the Nūrbakhshī, and the other through Shams ad-dīn M. al-Lāhijī (or Lāhjānī, d. 912/1506-7), who had a *khānaqāh* in Shiraz, branched out independently.

As-Simnānī was a most important influence in the intellectual development of central Asian and Indian orders, even though his own order was of no great importance. Born in 659/1261 in the Khurasanian village of Simnān into a family with a civil service tradition he entered the service of the Buddhist Ilkhān Arghūn (reg. A.D. 1284-91); then, as a result of experiencing an involuntary *ḥāl*, he adopted the mystical life. After surmounting initial difficulties with Arghūn he was allowed to pursue his new course, and was initiated into the Kubrāwī *silsila* by al-Kasirqī al-Isfarā'inī. After accomplishing the pilgrimage and spending some training spells in his master's *khānaqāh* in Baghdad, he settled in his native place of Simnān, founded his own *khānaqāh*, *Ṣūfiyābād-i Khudādād*, and lived there tranquilly until his death in 736/1336.

He was the author of numerous works,³ and followed an

¹ *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E. Denison Ross, London, 1895, pp. 432-3.

² To be distinguished from the Ighit-bāshiyya, a Khalwati order in Anatolia.

³ For his works in Arabic see *G.A.L.* ii. 263; *G.A.L.S.* ii. 281. On as-Simnānī see F. Meier's art. in *E.I.*², i. 346-7, and for his ideas, with references to unpublished MS. material, see A. A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern*

orthodox line, advocating a literal interpretation of the Qur'ān, and strict adherence to the *sharī'a* as the essential foundation for progress along the Path. He deprecated current corruptions (*bida'*) in Sufi thought, though not in practice. He condemned ideas concerning *wilāya* and saints' miracles. He disputed the theosophical theories of Ibn al-'Arabī, teaching that the world is a reflection, not an emanation, of Reality. Later, his approach, taken up by the Indian Naqshabandī, Aḥmad as-Sirhindī, came to be known as *waḥdat ash-shuhūd* (Unity of the witness or phenomena) in contradistinction to the *waḥdat al-ujūd* (Unity of the Being) of Ibn al-'Arabī.

Although such an orthodox Sufi in the intellectual sphere, he was a thorough-going ecstatic and adopted and popularized *dhikr* practices derived from the methods of the Yogis, in addition to a particular form of head-jerks developed by his initiator al-Kasirqī. He also taught that form of 'confrontation' (*taṭawjjuh*) which aimed at contact, through concentration, with the spirits of dead Sufis; and in particular made a unique contribution to Najm ad-dīn's vision-pattern and colour-scheme associated with the Sufi stages of progressive enlightenment.

(b) *Yasaviyya*

Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī of Yasī (a town later called Turkestan) we have said was formed in the tradition of Yūsuf al-Hamadānī but returned to his homeland in Turkestan and died there in 562/1166. Although little is known about his life, Aḥmad's significance in the formation of a Turkish Islamic tradition is undisputed.¹ The Yasavī tradition has many ramifications, religious, social, and cultural; it played a role in the Islamization of Turkish tribes, in the adaptation of Islam to a Turkish nomadic milieu,² and

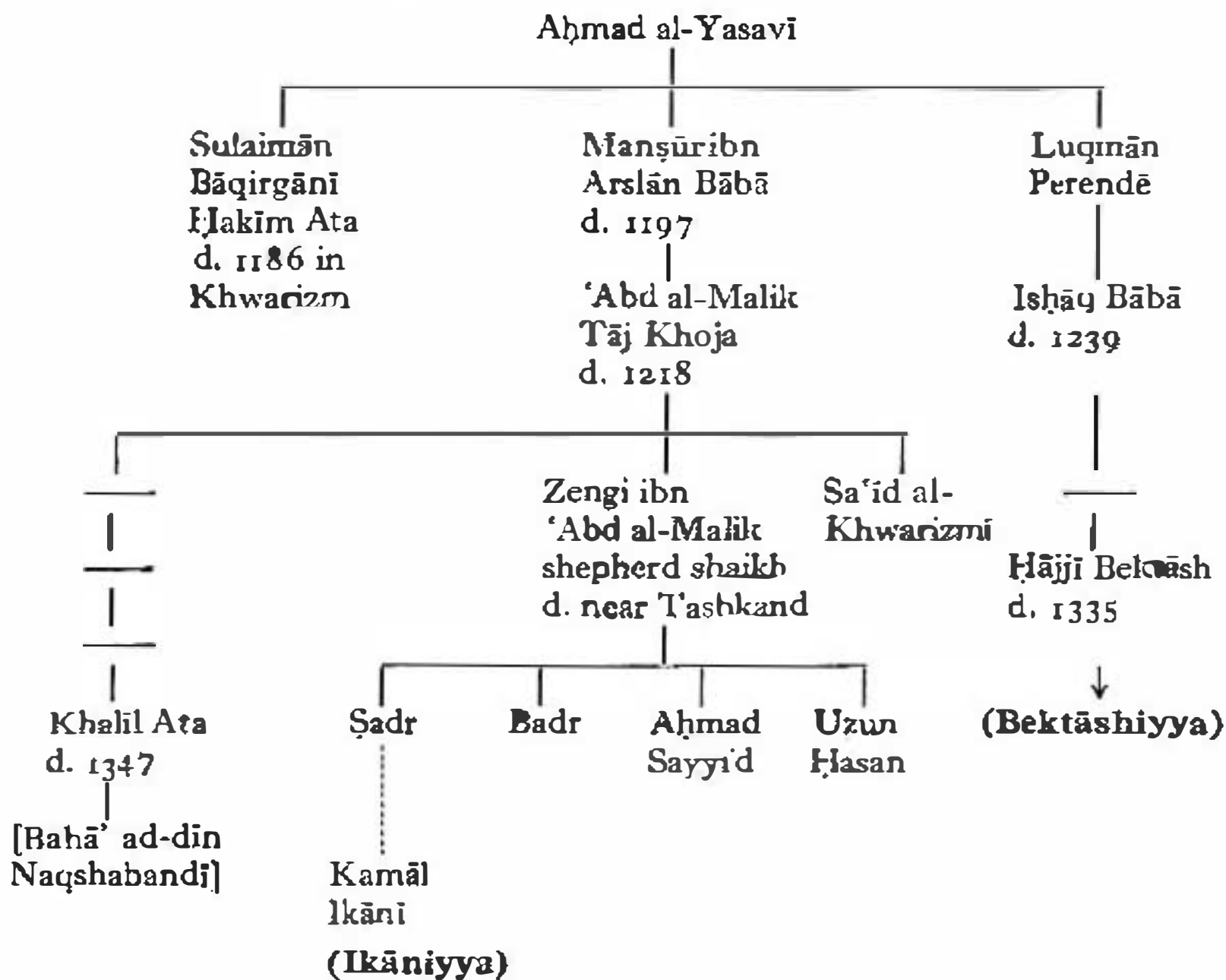
India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Agra, 1965, pp. 36-42. There is also a valuable study by M. Molé, 'Les Kubrawiyya entre Sunnisme et Shīisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire', *R.E.I.* xxix (1961), 61-142.

¹ See Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad, *Türk edebiyatında ilk mütesavvıflar* ['The First Mystics in Turkish Literature'], Pt. 1, Istanbul, 1919; summarized by L. Bouvat in *R.M.M.* xliii (1921), 236-82.

² Turkish customs incorporated into ritual and practice gave an ethnical colouring to the *ṭarīqa*—types of dress, the saw-*dhikr*, women's participation in seances, and methods of cattle sacrifices which survived among derivatives like the Bektāshīyya. Turkish was used in worship outside ritual prayer. Ibn Battūṭa says (iii. 36) that 'Alā' ad-dīn Ṭarmashīrīn, sultan of Transoxiana (A.D. 1326-34), whose winter camp he visited, recited his *dhikr* after morning prayer until sunrise in Turkish.

in linguistic reconciliation through the poems of Aḥmad and his successor dervishes like Yūnus Emre (d. c. 740/1339).

The following gives some names in direct succession, famous in central Asian Turkish folklore:



The Yasaviyya was a *ṭariqa* of wanderers; there were few distinctive branches or permanent settlements, except those associated with the tombs of these shaikhs to which pilgrimage became a permanent feature of central Asian Islam. The Yasavī Way was a Way of holiness and a method of religious practice which displaced the ancient religion of the Turks, rather than a mystical Way. These wanderers spread the tradition throughout Turkestan and among the Kirghiz, from eastern Turkestan northwards into Transoxiana (and the region of the Volga), southwards into Khurasan, and westwards into Azerbaijan and then Anatolia, where they contributed in the persons of men like Yūnus Emre to the formation of the popular side of the new Islamic Turkish civilization, but where the Yasavī as a distinctive tradition did not establish itself. The strength of the cult of Ḥaḍrat-i Turkestān, as Aḥmad was called, in the eighth century A.H. is shown by Tīmūr's readiness to erect an edifice (completed in 801/1398)

on the Sir-Darya consisting of a two-domed structure, one over Ahmad's grave and the other over the mosque.

The order stressed the retreat (*khalwa*), and the Khalwatiyya which developed in the Azerbaijan region and spread into Anatolia may be regarded as its western Turkish extension. It also claimed Bahā' ad-dīn an-Naqshabandī as a descendant through the dervish-sultan Khalil.¹ A definite order-descendant was the Ikāniyya, deriving from Kamāl Ikānī, fifth in spiritual descent from Zengi Ata. Yasavī shaikhs are still mentioned in the sixteenth century in central Asia and even in Kashmir.²

(c) *Mawlawiyya*

This order falls into a special category, since it derives from a Persian immigrant into Anatolia who belonged to the Khurasanian rather than to the Baghdadian tradition. It is also a localized order, its influence being restricted to Asia Minor and the Ottoman European provinces; such *tekkes* as were founded elsewhere, as in Damascus, Jerusalem, and Cairo, being chiefly for Turks.

Jalāl ad-dīn³ was born in Balkh in A.D. 1207 to a father, Bahā' ad-dīn Walad (1148-1231), steeped in the Khwarizmian mystical tradition. Local difficulties and the Mongol advance set the family upon wanderings (1217) which eventually brought them into the region governed by the Seljuqs of Rūm (hence Jalāl ad-dīn's *nisba* Rūmī) in 1225. They stayed for a time at a place called Lāranda (now Qaramān) until invited by Kaiqubād I to his capital of Qonya, where Jalāl ad-dīn was to spend the rest of his life. His Sufi training, begun under his father, proceeded along stereotyped lines under another Balkhī refugee called Burhān ad-dīn Muḥaqqiq at-Tirmidhī (d. A.D. 1244). But his life was then transported into a new dimension which turned him from a sober follower of tried paths into an ecstatic whose visions he transmuted into inspired Persian poetry. This came about in 1244, through his fifteen

¹ See below, p. 63.

² See *Ta'rikh-i Rashidi*, pp. 369, 371.

³ The book about Jalāl ad-dīn and his more immediate successors written under the title of *Manāqib al-ʿĀrifīn* by Shams ad-dīn Ahmad al-Aflākī, begun in A.D. 1318, forty-five years after Jalāl ad-dīn's death, and finished in 1353, is not a biography but a hagiography. Part of the *Manāqib* was translated by J. W. Redhouse in the introduction to his translation of Book I of the *Masnawī* (London, 1881), and there is a complete translation by C. Huart, *Les saints des derviches tourneurs*, Paris, 1918-22. The best edition is that by T. Yaziji, Ankara, 1959-61.

months' association with a wandering dervish called Shams ad-dīn of Tabriz. So obsessed with Shams ad-dīn did Jalāl ad-dīn become and his life so disrupted that his *murīds* plotted against the dervish. To Jalāl ad-dīn's dismay he disappeared as mysteriously as he had appeared. In fact, he had been murdered by the *murīds* with the connivance of one of Jalāl ad-dīn's sons.¹

This experience released Jalāl ad-dīn's creative powers and set him upon a new Way which derives its name from the title *mawlānā* (our master), given to its founder. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, whose visit to Qonya in 1332 we have mentioned earlier, refers to the Way as the Jalāliyya.² The Way developed as a self-perpetuating organization immediately after Jalāl ad-dīn's death in 1273.

This order is so well known owing to the publicity given to its mystical exercises and the fame of the master's mystical poem, the *Mathnawī*, that we need only refer to its place in the general context of the *ṭarīqas*. The famous *Mathnawī* is a somewhat incoherent accumulation of Jalāl ad-dīn's outbursts, anecdotal ruminations, and above all parables, expressed in poetical form. Mawlawīs regard it as a revelation of the inner meaning of the Qur'ān, and it was in fact called by Jāmi 'the Qur'ān in Persian' (*ḥast Qur'ān dar zabān-i Pahlavī*).

From the close association of the founder with the Seljuq ruling authority the order developed aristocratic tendencies and became a wealthy corporation. It played a considerable cultural role in Turkey and helped in the reconciliation of certain types of Christians to Islam. Almost from the beginning it was an hereditary order. Jalāl ad-dīn was succeeded by his vicar, Ḥasan Ḥusām ad-dīn, the inspiring genius of the *Mathnawī*,³ but after his death (683/1284) the succession passed to Jalāl ad-dīn's son, Bahā' ad-dīn Sulṭān Walad, and thereafter rarely was the dynastic succession broken. The development of the principles and organization of the order around the name of Mawlānā took place under Sulṭān Walad. His works gave solidarity to the aesthetic and emotional mysticism of the master, and when he died at an advanced age (712/1312) the order had spread widely throughout Anatolia and a number of daughter centres had been founded.

¹ See the article by H. Ritter in *E.I.*² ii. 393-6.

² *Travels*, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, ii. 431.

³ See Afāki, quoted in J. W. Redhouse's translation of the first book of the *Mathnawī*, p. 113.

His successor Jalāl ad-dīn Amīr 'Ārif (d. A.D. 1320) travelled widely, consolidating these centres, and in his time the principles, ritual, and organization solidified, though its creative inspiration survived into the age of Selīm III when the order produced its last great poet in Ghālib Dede (Meḥmed Es'ad: A.D. 1758-99). The order remained centralized and was not subject to the splitting process which so typified the Khalwatiyya, but this also meant that its influence was restricted to Turkey.¹

The members of this order became famous for their devotion to music and the nature of their *dhikr* exercises, whence they were known to Europe as the 'whirling dervishes'. The dance, which is symbolic of the universal life of the spheres, infinitely complex in form yet essentially a unity, is frequently referred to in Jalāl ad-dīn's lyrical poems known under the title of the *Diwān* of Shams ad-dīn Tabrizī.²

(d) *Khawājagān-Naqshabandiyya*

Naqshabandī tradition does not regard Bahā' ad-dīn an-Naqshabandī as the founder of the *ṭarīqa* which bears his name and the lines of ascription (*silsilat al-tarbiya*) do not begin with him. Fakhr ad-dīn 'Alī b. Husain, who wrote a history of the *ṭarīqa* called *Rashahāt 'Ain al-Hayāt*, begins it with Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Hamadānī (d. A.D. 1140),³ whilst his *khalīfa* (by spiritual appointment), 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Ghujdawānī (d. A.D. 1220), may be regarded as the organizer of its special tendencies.⁴ He is responsible for the stress placed upon the purely mental *dhikr*, and he also formulated the eight rules⁵ which governed *Tarīqat al-Khawājagān*, the name by which the *silsila* was known. 'Abd al-Khāliq was taught the *ṭarīqa*'s special form of *ḥabs-i dam*,

¹ Outside Turkey the Mawlawīs had *tekkes* only in Damascus, Aleppo, Nicosia, Cairo, and a few other towns where there was a Turkish population; see Murādī, *Silk ad-durar*, Cairo, 1874-83, i. 329, iii. 116; and for Jerusalem Mujir ad-dīn, *al-Uns al-jalīl*, tr. H. Sauvaire, 1876, p. 181.

² R. A. Nicholson, *Selected Odes from the Diwan-i-Shams-i-Tabriz*, Cambridge, 1898, and his edition of the *Mathnawī*, iv. 734.

³ The main account of Yūsuf al-Hamadānī is found in the *Rashahāt*. Short notices are given by Ibn Khallikān (*Wafāyāt*, vi. 76-8), Sha'rānī (*Tabaqāt*, i. 116-17), and Jāmī (*Nafahāt al-uns*, Tehran edn., pp. 375-7).

⁴ The reference in al-Wāsiṭī's *Tiryāq* (p. 47) records it as a distinctive line whose founder was al-Ghujdawānī. A reference to an-Naqshabandī may have been added by a later hand.

⁵ These rules, which Bahā' ad-dīn expanded to eleven, are given below, pp. 203-4.

or 'restraint of the breath', by al-Khaḍir, the spirit of Islamic gnosis. The succession from him is as follows:¹

'Ārif Riwgārī, d. 657/1259

Maḥmūd Anjīr Faghnawī, d. 643/1245 (or 670/1272)

'Azīzān 'Alī ar-Rāmitanī, d. 705/1306 (or 721/1321)

Muḥammad Bābā as-Sammāsī, d. 740/1340 (or 755/1354)

Amīr Sayyid Kulalī al-Bukhārī, d. 772/1371

Muḥammad ibn M. Bahā' ad-dīn an-Naqshabandī, 717/1318–791/1389.

Bahā' ad-dīn, who was a Tājīk, served his apprenticeship under both as-Sammāsī and Kulalī ('the Potter'). But he also had Turkish links and there is a romantic story of his encounter with a Turkish dervish called Khalīl whom he had first seen in a dream, and his subsequent association with him until this dervish eventually (A.D. 1340) became Sultan Khalīl of Transoxiana.² Bahā' ad-dīn served him for six years, but after Khalīl's fall (747/1347) Bahā' experienced a revulsion against worldly success, returned to his Bukharan village of Rewartūn, and resumed his interrupted spiritual career. Like most of the men after whom *ṭarīqas* have been named, Bahā' ad-dīn did not found an organization (whilst his *ṭarīqa* he had inherited), but gathered around himself like-minded devotees prepared to strive towards a quality of mystical life along Malāmatī lines without show or distracting rites, for, as he said, 'the exterior is for the world, the interior for God' (*aṣ-ṣāhir li 'l-khalq al-bāṭin li 'l-Ḥaqq*). Though modified through the corruptions of time this Way never lost the stamp of 'Abd al-Khāliq's genius in the quality of its leadership and teaching and the purity of its ritual. From the Islamic point of view it was especially important in ensuring the attachment of Turkish peoples to the Sunnī tradition. Bahā' ad-dīn's mausoleum and the attached convent (a magnificent structure was erected in A.D. 1544 by Amīr 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān) became one of the most

¹ Most of these come from the neighbourhood of Bukhara as is evident from their *nisbas*. Riwgār, Faghna, and Rāmitan are, like Ghujdawān, villages near that city. Apart from the Naqshabandī books the *silṣila* is given in al-Wāsiṭī, *Tiryāq*, p. 47.

² Ibn Battūṭa describes the rise to power of Khalīl (-Allāh Qazan), French edn., 1877, iii. 48–51. He knows nothing of any dervish upbringings and says that he was the son of the Chagatai prince Yasavur.

important places of pilgrimage in central Asia. The great Persian mystical poet Jāmī derives from Bahā' ad-dīn through an intermediary. Outside central Asia, the order spread into Anatolia and the Caucasus, among mountain peoples in Kurdistan (where it became a factor in Kurdish nationalism), and southwards into India, but never became popular in the Arab world.

(e) *Chishtiyya*

From the sixth (thirteenth) century central Asian Sufis had been migrating southwards into India as well as westwards into Anatolia. The formation of various kinds of *khānaqāhs* and small associations coincided with the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi. Apart from the Baghdadian Suhrawardiyya, the only other order to become defined and influential in India during this formative age was the Chishtiyya. Orders which were introduced later, like the Shaṭṭāriyya ('Abdallāh ash-Shaṭṭār, d. A.D. 1428), Naqshabandiyya (with Bāqī Bi'llāh d. A.D. 1563), and Qādiriyya (by M. Ghawth of Uchch, d. A.D. 1517), never attained the range of allegiance and influence of these two lines.

The Chishtiyya¹ is one of the 'primitive' lines. Mu'īn ad-dīn Ḥasan Chishtī, born in Sijistan about 537/1142, was attracted early to the errant Sufi life and served his master, 'Uthmān Harvanī, during some twenty years of wanderings, and then continued them on his own. Nothing reliable is known about his life. His biographers (late and untrustworthy) claim that he met and was given initiatory authority by most of the celebrated Sufis of this formative age, including not only 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī but others who were dead before he was born.² The *ṭariqa* is not regarded as linked with the Suhrawardī line though '*Awāriṣ al-ma'āriṣ*' was adopted as the basic textbook of the order. He came across Quṭb ad-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 633/1236), who was later to become his *khalīfa* in Delhi.³ Mu'īn ad-dīn went to Delhi in

¹ On the order and its founder see the articles 'Čishti' and 'Čishtiyya' in *E.I.*² ii. 49–56, by K. A. Nizami.

² Until one gets as far back as Ibrāhīm ibn Adham no well-known names appear in his *siṣila* (see Sanūsi, *Salsabil*, pp. 151–2) which was invented later, for it would never have occurred to a rootless wandering dervish like Mu'īn ad-dīn that such a thing was of any importance, as it did to a lineage-conscious Arab like Ibn ar-Rifā'i.

³ Quṭb ad-dīn Kākī's *Hisht Bahisht* or 'Eight Paradises', a collection of the sayings of eight of his Chishtī predecessors, was most important in giving a distinctive line to the doctrinal outlook of the order.

589/1193, then to Ajmer, seat of an important Hindu state, where he finally settled and died (633/1236), and where his tomb became a famous centre for pilgrimage.

One of Quṭb ad-dīn Bakhtiyār's initiates called Farīd ad-dīn Mas'ūd, known as Ganj-i Shakar (1175-1265), is regarded as being the person most responsible for the definition and wider diffusion of this line, since he initiated many *khalīfas* who moved to different parts of India, and after his death maintained their *khānaqāhs* as independent institutions in which the succession became hereditary. Important figures in the Chishtī *silsila* are Nizām ad-dīn Awliyā' (d. 725/1325) and his successor, Naṣīr ad-dīn Chirāgh-i Dihlī (d. 757/1356), who opposed the religious policy of Muḥammad ibn Tughluq. From the Nizāmiyya many branches diverged. A separate line was the Ṣābiriyya derived from 'Alā' ad-dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣābir (d. 691/1291).

(f) *Indian Suhrawardiyya*

In the Arab and Persian spheres few shaikhs attributed themselves directly to as-Suhrawardī, as, for example, adherents of the hundreds of *ṭā'ifas* in the Shādhilī tradition claim that they are Shādhilī. But the Suhrawardī *silsila* spread in India as a distinctive school of mystical ascription to become one of the major *ṭariqas*.¹ Outstanding figures were Nūr ad-dīn Mubārak Ghaznawī, a disciple of Shihāb ad-dīn, whose tomb at Delhi is famous, and Ḥamīd ad-dīn of Najore (d. 673/1274), Shihāb ad-dīn's chief Indian *khalīfa* until he transferred his allegiance to the Chishtī, Quṭb ad-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.² The chief propagandist in Sind and Punjab was another disciple, Bahā' ad-dīn Zakariyā (A.D. 1182-1268), of Khurasanian origin, who worked in Multān and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ṣadr ad-dīn M. 'Ārif (d. A.D. 1285), the succession continuing in the same family. But also from him diverged a large number of independent lines, some becoming known in India as *Bi-Shar'* (illegitimate orders). One orthodox line, the *khānaqāh* of Jalāl ad-dīn Surkhposh al-Bukhārī (A.D. 1192-1291) at Uchch, became an important diffusion centre. Contrary to the Chishtī shaikhs of the only other order active in India, Bahā' ad-dīn pursued a worldly policy, associating freely

¹ See Appendix C for the various branches.

² See Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 156.

with princes, accepting honours and wealth, and building up a large fortune. He and his associates also followed a rigid orthodox line, pandering to the '*ulamā*' and rejecting *samā*' (public recital) in the form which prevailed among Chishtīs.

THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM

BY

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OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1971

Oxford University Press, Ely House, London W. 1

GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON
CAPE TOWN SALISBURY IBADAN NAIROBI DAR ES SALAAM LUSAKA ADDIS ABABA
BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI LAHORE DACCA
KUALA LUMPUR SINGAPORE HONG KONG TOKYO

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN