STRIVING FOR DIVINE UNION

Spiritual exercises for Suhrawardī sūfīs

Qamar-ul Huda

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This book examines the theological, philosophical and Islamic mystical dimensions of the Suhrawardī sūfī order from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. The Suhrawardīs were a legally grounded and intellectually vibrant sūfī order whose mystical path was based on exchanges and debates on the *Qur'ān* and on the Prophet's customs. This created a unique self-understanding, which developed specific sūfī spiritual exercises. The book analyses their interpretation of sacred texts – the *Qur'ān*, *ḥadīths*, *sunnā*, and *malfūẓā* and discusses important new ways of thinking about the sūfī hermeneutics of the *Qur'ān* and its contribution to Islamic intellectual and spiritual life.

Qamar-ul Huda is Assistant Professor of Islamic Studies and Comparative Theology at Boston College. He writes about medieval Islamic texts and mystical sūfī treatises. He is currently working on sūfī commentaries of the *Qur'ān* and translating a number of sūfī treatises dealing with the Suhrawardī sūfī path.

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DEDICATED TO MY LOVING PARENTS,
ANWARUL AND SHAFIA HUDA

منازلِ بلا سلاسل گرنوردی
ازاں دُور است منزل سُہروردی

In your travels you'll encounter the stations of endless misfortune,
not too far is the comfort station of Suhrawardī

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work is about Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* and their quest for an Islamic spiritual way of life. I am first and foremost thankful to the Suhrawardī sūfīs for their enormous contribution to *taṣawwuf* and their inspiring legacy to the history of knowledge. This research project began during my doctoral studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, and I am very grateful to my teachers: Professors Michael Morony, Afaf Lutfi-Sayyid Marsot, Stanley Wolpert, and Nasir Jairazbhoy. There were others who supported me by their valuable criticism; they are Stanford J. Shaw, Mahmood Ibrahim, Hossein Ziai, Patrick Geary, Ron Mellor, and James Galvin.

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TRANSLITERATION NOTES

It is difficult to satisfy everyone when it comes to transliterating Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages. I have followed the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* system for transliteration. All long vowels are marked with a macron; the *ʿayn* and *hamza* are transliterated respectively in accordance with the standards used by *IJMES*. The Persian and Urdu *iḍāfa* is expressed by -e or -i. The Arabic words ending in *hāʾ* and *tāʾmarbūṭa* are written with a final a. The *waw* is transliterated as -o in Persian and Urdu. Due to the frequency of the word sūfī, I have not italicized the word or put a dot under the s. Generally, I italicized all non-English words, even common words like *sharīʿā*, *Qurʾān*, and *imām*. Instead of using shaykh, I opted to use shaikh. I decided to make plurals of transliterated words by adding -s to avoid confusing the non-expert with new vocabulary words. All dates are given in the Common Era system for easy reference.

Plate 1 A Sūfī in Ecstasy in a Landscape, ca. 1650–1660. Iran, Isfahan.

Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Nasli M. Heeramaneeck Collection, Gift of Joan Pavlevsky M.73.5.582. Photograph © 2001 Museum Associates/LACMA.

INTRODUCTION

Striving for divine union: spiritual exercises for Suhrawardī sūfīs

The study of Islam is usually limited to the legal, philosophical, political, sociological, literary, religious and historical aspects of the tradition. When I inquired into spiritual dimensions of Islam within the larger doctrinal tradition, the superficial dichotomy between *'ulamā'* – the trained scholars – and sūfīs (mystics of Islam) was the accepted model of presenting the subject. Some legitimate sūfīs were masters of the inner spiritual life of Islam, while the *'ulamā'* were the true religious authorities of the Islamic tradition. In recent years, excellent scholarship by Carl Ernst, William Chittick, and Annemarie Schimmel and many others has demonstrated the false pretense in documenting constructions of anti-sūfī rhetoric.[1] The modern period is filled with many complexities of secular versus religious thinking, science versus philosophy, western versus eastern civilizations, developed versus underdeveloped societies, male versus female, and so on, which has set a cycle of dichotomous models as the natural way of studying traditions. As a result, there is a center of authorities that has control over real knowledge and then on the periphery are opposition groups who are perceived, understood, and presented as fringe irrational esoteric minded individuals. However, many individuals who characterized the sūfī tradition in these definitions, which are transparent categories, have constructed it with modern agendas or never studied the basic concepts of sūfī knowledge.

Within the Islamic tradition, modern reformers have argued that sūfīs are the one single reason for weakening Islam and initiated the decline of Islamic thought.[2] These reformers hold sūfīs responsible for the collapse of Islamdom which paved the way for European domination. Reformers argue some major repetitive themes such as the factionalism of the sūfī institution *khānaqāh*, the "cult

worship" of sūfī shaikhs, and the convergence of philosophy with mystical theology. Essentially, modern Muslim reformers call for a process of internal purification of Islamic thought, practice, and education in order to return to the glory days of high Islamdom culture.[3]

One of the main historical problems that still exist in studying the sūfī tradition is the acceptance of the *'ulamā'* versus sūfī paradigm. Scholars like Ira Lapidus, Marshall Hodgson and Fazlur Rahman used this two-tiered model where there is a normative official religion organized under the authority of the clerics and designed for the cultural elite.[4] Any deviation from the "mainstream official religion" is an aberration from the original doctrines of Islam and such practices are followed by the masses or commonly referred to as "popular religion." Until recently, sūfīs were categorized under the title of popular religion which was based on fixed, superstitious, misguided beliefs and practices influenced by other religious traditions. It was suggested that the people who practiced these sūfī beliefs were illiterate, anarchistic, and opponents to the religion of the literate clerics. Also, the masses who took part in "popular religion" were not susceptible to historical changes or capable of contributing intellectually to the tradition.[5] Fazlur Rahman argued that the appeal of the sūfī tradition was due to the deceptive and spiritual demagogy of sūfī shaikhs supports this line of thinking. He stated the following:

> Instead of being a method of moral self-discipline and elevation and genuine spiritual enlightenment, Sūfism was now transformed into veritable spiritual jugglery through auto-hypnotic transports and visions just as at the level of doctrine it was being transmuted into a half-delirious theosophy.[6]

Fortunately, Sūfī studies have progressed since Rahman with works specializing in sūfī thought, mystical theology, sūfī authority, the *taṣawwuf* path, ethics, epistemology, and analysis of models of the sūfī journey. Some recent works by Th. Emil Homerin, Valeri Hoffman, Vincent Cornell, and Stephen Hirtenstein have given the field of Sūfī studies a new way of thinking about sūfīs and their religious practices.[7] These works are important in many respects because these authors, and others, have analyzed sūfī authority, the mystical teachings of sūfī shaikhs, the conduct of sūfī disciples with mediating sūfī shaikhs, critical theories of sūfī theology, and sūfī

epistemology. This current work builds upon the works of past scholars and their interests in the sūfī tradition, and moves to incorporate the various intellectual, religious, political, philosophical, literary, artistic, and theological contributions to the tradition of Islam.

The field of Sūfī studies still has a number of problematic and outdated theories regarding the perception of sūfī theology and the *taṣawwuf* path. It is not my claim here that all scholarship produced by researchers concerned with data information and social roles of sūfīs is absolutely invaluable to the understanding of the sūfī tradition. Rather, these types of works are useful in providing a social historical context of the tradition. The main problem with data-oriented scholarship is that it is tied with an area studies approach toward *taṣawwuf* and it sets superficial and isolated categories on the sūfī shaikh, the *ṭarīqa*, and the larger theological aspects of *taṣawwuf* tradition. In some works, there is no cohesive bridge between one *ṭarīqa* to another *ṭarīqa* or there is no connection to the larger intellectual, religious, and philosophical Islamic context. As a result, the achievements of sūfī shaikhs and their sūfī orders are unique only to Egypt, to Turkey, or to Iran, or it is presented as a special case study within the entire Islamic tradition.[8] The pendulum often swings the other way too; that is, one sūfī shaikh's metaphysical or *taṣawwuf* theories influenced all scholarship in the region and touched every life in the Islamic community. As in area studies, generally speaking, the scholarship on the sūfī tradition suffers from narrow interpretations and courageous conclusions of uniqueness while neglecting what the sūfī tradition means to human existence and to the human spirit.

As an example, Ira Lapidus's work on the history of Islamic societies is an important contribution because of its depth and integrated overview of various sections of Islamic communities. In the area of the sūfī tradition, he situates sūfī as members in social organizations and part of the larger society. During the medieval Middle Eastern urban eras, he categorized sūfīs into three areas of society: first there were sūfīs who were part of the *'ulamā'* group; second there were sūfīs who led ascetic lives, and third there were sūfīs who were considered to be extreme in every practice and belief.[9] Also, Richard Eaton built on the social function of sūfīs in India by studying their multi-level relationships and function in society. Eaton demonstrated that sūfīs acted as reformists, warriors, literati, wealthy landowners, and ascetic dervishes. With much criticism to his interpretation of sūfī documents, Eaton

concentrated on sūfīs as social actors who performed a variety of functions for the state.[10] While all of these categories are pertinent to making sense of the social context, it does not explain the fluidity of sūfīs at various cross-sections of Islamic society; more importantly, it does not address how their *taṣawwuf* gave sacred meaning to their lives.

Clearly Sūfī studies has developed enormously since the works of Lapidus and Eaton, but what has persevered in the scholarship are the *'ulamā'*–sūfī relationship models and the social roles of sūfīs in different cross-sections of society. In consistency with these models, the perception of sūfīs as primarily intoxicated, dancing, socially withdrawn ascetics is still conjured up in contemporary works. This idea is continued with sūfīs or dervishes who needed no spiritual guidance from a teacher, and essentially, the belief that the *taṣawwuf* tradition is nothing more than an individual journey without any boundaries or religious instruction. Some of the problems that are associated with the individual sūfī journey without any structure to the Islamic doctrines and law are tied to western studies of mysticism like that of William James and Evelyn Underhill and the influence of their own traditions on their work.[11] Given the rampant Rūmī-mania in contemporary American Sūfism and in New Age Religious movements, the perception of sūfīs with absolutely no theological base in the *Qur'ān*, *sharī'ā* or adhering to the *sunnā* of the Prophet is alien to the history of the sūfī tradition.[12] Some contemporary works on *taṣawwuf*, specifically on Rūmī, never or hardly mention the theological roots of the sūfī shaikh or his sūfī order being studied, and rarely will one see the correlation of the sūfī shaikh's theosophy with the *Qur'ān*, and *ḥadīths* and *sunnā* of the Prophet. This is a major problem when one is content with wonderful mystical statements on reunion with God and being detached from the world, but there is no critical analysis of the theology and philosophy of the shaikh's *taṣawwuf* within the Islamic context.

Suhrawardī studies

Within the area of Suhrawardī studies, the majority of works have focused on one figure who coalesced Persian philosophy, the sūfī tradition, and reason with the Greek intellectual tradition. Since Otto Spies published *Three Treatises on Mysticism by Shihabuddin Suhrawerdi Maqtul*, Shihāb al-dīn al-Suhrawardī's (d. 1191) philosophy of illumination (*Ḥikmat al-Ishrāqī*) has been revived and studied by John Walbridge, Mehdi Amin Razavi, Hossein Ziai,

and Henry Corbin.[13] Many of these works are studies of history of philosophy and focus upon logic, syllogism, and epistemology criticism and not on Shihāb al-dīn al-Suhrawardī's *taṣawwuf* as it pertains to the Islamic religious tradition. In this list of Shihāb al-dīn al-Suhrawardī's texts is Emile Maalouf's monograph entitled *Risālat Maqāmāt al-Ṣūfīya – The Sūfī Stations* related to the author's ideas on metaphysics, sūfī stations and states, and teachings.[14] Another study that concentrated on this single figure's illumination mysticism is William M. Thackston's *The mystical and visionary treatises of Shihabuddin Yahya Suhrawardī*.[15] While these books bring a critical understanding of *ishrāqī* philosophy with other humanistic philosophies, one does not know more about Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* in a larger Islamic doctrinal context.

The serious problems in Suhrawardī studies have been the saturation of the study of only one thinker and the scholarly neglect of analyzing the larger Suhrawardī sūfī orders in the Middle East and in South Asia. To assume that there are no Suhrawardīs after Shihāb al-dīn al-Suhrawardī or that *ishrāqī* philosophy is the foundation of all Suhrawardī sūfīs, common statements among scholars of Persian sūfism, reinforces the influence of modern cultural agendas in area studies. Fortunately, recently a small group of scholars has focused on other important members of the Suhrawardī sūfī order. *Kitāb ādāb al-Murīdīn of Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī* was translated by Menahem Milson; Richard Gramlich wrote an excellent textual analysis of ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī's treatise in *Die Gaben der Erkenntnisse des ʿUmar as-Suhrawardī* (*ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*); and Aisha Yusuf Manai's doctoral thesis focused on al-Suhrawardī's life and *taṣawwuf* in *Abū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī: hayā tuhū wa-taṣawwufu*.[16] Angelika Haartmann's *An-Nāsir li-Din Allāh* focused on the policies of caliph al-Nāsir and included references to al-Suhrawardī; and, in Damascus, Dar al-Anwar published al-Suhrawardī's text *Rasa'il a'lam al-huda wa 'aqidāt arbāb al-tuqa*.[17] There is a good amount of secondary sources written in Urdu and Punjabi, mainly because the Suhrawardī sūfī are still an active sūfī order in South Asia. Scholarship and critical research is not precisely the same as it is in western academia, however, since these works mainly review Suhrawardī shaikhs and their respective *taṣawwuf* theologies. Some of these works are: Muhammad din Kalam's *Suhrawardī ʿAuliyā'*; Nūr Aḥmad Khān Faridi's *Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā Multanī* and *Tazkira of Sadr ad-dīn ʿArif*; Muhammad Yusuf Suhrawardī's *Taṣawwuf wa Sūfī Ijamāhī zedeen fī Shān-e Qalandarī*; and Seyyed

Abū Fez Qalandar ʿAlī Suhrawardī's *Anwar-e Suhrawardīyyā*, *Tazkirāt Suhrawardīyyā* and *Taʿrīf Suhrawardīyya*.[18]

With this in mind, this work focuses on shaikh Abū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, a prominent sūfī thinker of the twelfth and thirteenth century who was designated *Shaikh al-Islām* under caliph al-Nasir of the ʿAbbasid dynasty and established the Suhrawardīyya sūfī order in Baghdad. Shaikh Abū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī wrote a succinct and an influential sūfī treatise of that time and it was widely distributed and studied by other sūfī orders. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* was widely read because it served as a manual for *taṣawwuf* practices and studying sūfī theology. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's work contains instructional guidelines for internal and external discipline for sūfīs to follow in every aspect of life. For instance, in performing the ablution ritual for prayer, al-Suhrawardī explains what the believer needs to recite and think in almost every component of the ritual.

> While washing his hands, the believer says: God, I only ask you for happiness and blessing and I seek refuge with you from misfortune and disaster. While rinsing his mouth he says: My God, Bless Muhammad and help me to recite your book and to remember you often. While taking the water into the nostrils one says: O my God, Bless Muhammad and let me experience the fragrance of Paradise when you are content with me. While blowing out the water one says: My God, bless Muhammad. I take refuge with you from the stench of Hell fire.[19]

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's description demonstrates a *taṣawwuf* that is deeply committed to the minute details of faith because every act and thought advances the sūfī disciple toward the Creator. The *taṣawwuf* beliefs of al-Suhrawardī are a combination of living a life in this world and observing strict *taṣawwuf–sharīʿā* guidelines which is understood as a comprehensive discipline.

Why study the Suhrawardī sūfīs?

The Suhrawardī sūfīs still exist in the Islamic world and have made immense intellectual, historical, literary, political, economical, and spiritual contributions to the Islamic tradition. Their sūfī order stretches from many corners of the world, now in both western and eastern societies, and have historically been scholars of *sharīʿā*, *fiqh*, Qurʾānic and *ḥadīth* studies, philosophy, metaphysics, theology,

logic and reason, ethics, and *taṣawwuf*. While their original sūfī *khānaqāhs* were in Iran and Iraq, they rapidly expanded and flourished in Syria, Anatolia, and in South Asia. A study of the history of Suhrawardī sūfīs and of their theological *taṣawwuf* in these regions and in different periods is needed for an understanding of their enormous contribution to the Islamic tradition.

The goal of this work is to move beyond the dichotomous models of "official" versus "popular" religion by viewing Shaikh al-Suhrawardī and the Suhrawardī sūfīs as members of society concerned with *taṣawwuf* and upholding the *sharīʿā* and *sunnā* of the Prophet. This work examines sources that prove that, at times, Suhrawardī sūfīs were members of the cultural elite and pivotal political figures of the state enterprise, but at other times there were Suhrawardīs who secluded themselves from political activities and the luxuries of materialism. Eaton's social function of sūfī is appropriate to the extent of identifying the social status of sūfīs; however, this work takes the next step by incorporating the spiritual quest of Suhrawardīs and their distinct Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* beliefs. The theoretical limits of this study are not restricted to the dualistic model of world-embracing sūfīs versus world-rejecting sūfīs. It is clear that from early Suhrawardī history they professed the ideas of living and enjoying the worldly life but within the confines of a structured, disciplined guidance of elder sūfī shaikhs who knew *fiqh*, *sharīʿā*, Qurʾānic and *ḥadīth* studies, and kept the spirituality of the Prophet in the forefront of their *taṣawwuf*.

This work is interested in the ways in which Suhrawardīs interpreted their *taṣawwuf* and as sūfīs how they made each construction into a sacred experience. Whether it is political activities, social charities, or anti-social behavior, the way Suhrawardī sūfīs viewed the world as manifestations of the sacred (and through their rituals they symbolically united with the holy) is critical for this study. Annemarie Schimmel's work on sūfī poetry dedicated to the Prophet (*naʿtiyyā*) is significant to this study because we can understand the sūfī creation of a mystical *imitatio Muhammadi* that became the sacred object of return.[20] In the same manner, this work is concerned with the sacredness Suhrawardī sūfīs created in their *taṣawwuf* and how it was understood in their achievements.

The goal of this book

It is important to deconstruct Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's sūfī theology by analyzing his Qurʾānic interpretations and his understanding of

the sayings of the Prophet or *ḥadīths* within a sūfī context. A systematic examination of al-Suhrawardī's sūfī exegesis of the *Qurʾān* and the different methodologies he applies to his particular sūfī theosophy is discussed in Chapter 2. The function of the text is to aid in the daily spiritual exercises of the sūfī way (*taṣawwuf)* and in the spiritual and intellectual growth of the Suhrawardīyya members. I demonstrate that al-Suhrawardī's sūfī treatise contains a wide range of sūfī theology; from Qurʾānic hermeneutics, *ḥadīth* interpretations or *tafsīr,* rational arguments on epistemology, different levels of spirituality, proper etiquette, correct methods of subsisting with God, to disparaging criticism of other sūfī orders. All of these theological points, and others, are important arguments for his particular interpretation of a Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf*.

I argue that al-Suhrawardī's *ʿAwarif al-Maʿārif* is much more than a sūfī manual for spiritual union with the divine, but that al-Suhrawardī's authority on *ḥadīths* and knowledge of the Prophet allowed him to write one of the most definitive *taṣawwuf* spiritual guidebooks on the Prophet. The traditional use of *ḥadīths* in legal, philosophical, poetical, and religious texts has been historically applied to standard Islamic discourse; however, *ḥadīths* in a sūfī spiritual manual are mainly used to mirror the model of the Prophet's mystical spirituality. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's intensive use of *ḥadīths* are a significant feature of remembering and re-enacting the Prophet Muhammad so that Suhrawardī sūfīs could move from merely imagining the Prophet to embodying the Prophet's spirituality. While Shaikh al-Suhrawardī strongly advocated the delicate memorization of the *Qurʾān* for ritualistic prayers and incorporation of the *Qurʾān* into spiritual exercises (*dhikr*), when it comes to *ḥadīths*, sūfīs commit *ḥadīths* to memory in order to cultivate a closer kinship to the Prophet and maintain his sacred presence at every moment and at all times.

The geographical area that is of concern is first Baghdad during the period of the ʿAbbasid dynasty in the twelfth century. The second part of the study focuses on Multan during the Delhi Sultanate period. The chronological period extends from early thirteenth century to the late fourteenth century, to be specific, the time when Shaikh ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī is appointed the *shaikh al-Islām* under caliph al-Nāsir. This study begins with the original founder of the Suhrawardī order and analyzes the Suhrawardīs over four generations up to Shaikh Rukn ud-dīn Abū Fatḥ.

The primary sources used in this study are mainly Suhrawardī sūfī treatises and sūfī hagiographical literature. Suhrawardī literature

included a wide variety of biographies, dictionaries, recorded conversations of Suhrawardī shaikhs, and their legal opinions. In these sources Suhrawardī sūfīs elaborate on proper ritual procedures and supply theories on practicing the perfect form of mystical Islam or *taṣawwuf*. Suhrawardī poetry is an enormous field of information that discloses the meaning of the sacred for Suhrawardī poets. These poems contain personal commentaries of either the disciple of the poet or the sūfī himself. For some have argued that hagiographical and sūfī literature are filled with exaggerations and excessive devotion to the sūfī shaikhs. However, these sacred texts cannot be dismissed as unreadable for scholarly research, rather they serve to be instructional for readers and devotees alike.[21] If one is to only read these sacred texts as instructional guides to condition the human psyche, then one fails to understand how these texts bring about an awareness, a new enlightenment to the reader.

In Chapter 1, this study investigates Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's political career in the context of working toward consolidating caliph al-Nāsir's empire and simultaneously attempting to establish the Suhrawardī sūfī order. It examines the dynamics of this sūfī–state relationship on two levels. On the popular level, al-Suhrawardī's social and religious influence contributed to the defeat of anarchistic *fityān* groups and at the same time unified the decentralized *futūwwa* institution. In addition he worked toward building a positive, coalescing relationship with the alienated Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community. On a political level Shaikh al-Suhrawardī advocated and popularized a specific religious belief that equated the caliph as the main defender of *sharīʿā*. This section discusses al-Suhrawardī's reformist ideas connecting the two areas of *taṣawwuf* and politics, and how these changes were critical for consolidating the power base of the caliphate. It demonstrates that from the beginning the Suhrawardī were a politically driven sūfī order because of their deep commitment to defending *sharīʿā* and the authority of the caliph. This chapter highlights the political, social and religious climate in which Shaikh al-Suhrawardī was involved and it shows a growth in Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf*. It emphasizes the critical point that *taṣawwuf*, according to the shaikh, does not necessarily have to be compromised or sacrificed if properly understood and practiced.

Chapter 2 examines al-Suhrawardī sūfī religious and cultural attitudes that became normative for the Suhrawardī order. A textual analysis of al-Suhrawardī's treatise, *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*, demonstrates his understanding of an ideal world and what

methods are involved in achieving it. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī believed that his *ṭarīqa* was more than an organization for sūfīs to learn spiritual purity, but every single action and thought was related to the larger purpose of returning to the divine. To him, this meant that sūfīs and non-sūfīs were responsible for controlling themselves at every moment, in every place. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's emphasis on an internal and external structure for the individual required a strict observance to hierarchies, rituals, worship, political authority, social etiquette, *sharīʿā*, *Qurʾān*, *ḥadīths*, and *taṣawwuf* practices, all for the purpose of preparing for the moment of unity. These concrete views of living in this world to create an ideal world served to be the religious ideological foundation for successive Suhrawardī sūfīs.

The main concern for Chapter 3 is the eastward expansion of the Suhrawardī order to Multan by al-Suhrawardī's primary *khalifā* Shaikh Baha'uddīn Zakariyya. An analysis of Multani Suhrawardī biographical collections (*tazkirāt*), recorded sūfī conversations (*malfūzāt*), and a collection of religious opinions (*maktūbat*), illustrates how successive Suhrawardīs recollected, interpreted, imagined, and practiced a particular type of Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf*. This demonstrates both a continuity in the Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* tradition, as well as significant changes that were required to adjust to the challenges of Multan and Ucch in the Delhi Sultanate period. Unlike Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's supreme authority in thirteenth-century Baghdad, Multani Suhrawardīs in the mid-thirteenth-century and fourteenth century were confronted with unstable and altering governments and intense competition from other sūfī orders and *ʿulamāʾ*. In addition, being situated in a predominantly non-Muslim region allowed Suhrawardīs to take part in unprecedented cultural and religious exchanges. It demonstrates that Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* in many ways adjusted to a new cultural, social, economical, and political region, but the *taṣawwuf* of political activism, defending the *sharīʿā*, and following the *sunnā* of the Prophet were all equally important in institutionalizing the sūfī order.

After the discussion of the Suhrawardī order's adjustment and assimilation to Multan, Chapter 4 concentrates on the ways in which Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* consisted of symbolic meanings that communicated an aspect of their spiritual beliefs. It is concerned with Suhrawardī rituals as living and breathing symbols that were purposely constructed to be a part of a larger whole. This chapter illustrates the continuity of Suhrawardī rituals with the larger

historical sūfī tradition in order to have their *taṣawwuf* associated with past prominent sūfī shaikhs. Suhrawardī *dhikr* and *salām* rituals, recitation of *Nat'iyyā* poetry, *tasliyāt*, *khātam an-nubuwwa*, and the ninety-nine names of the prophet are all interconnected rituals to access the pre-eternal light of Muhammad (*nūr Muhammad*). Through these various rituals, which had to be conducted at a special time and place, Suhrawardī sūfīs were creating a sacred moment to bring them back to the Prophet.

And finally, Chapter 5 shifts from verbal symbols of sacred poetry to concrete spiritual exercises for Suhrawardīs in Multan and Ucch. Shaikh Zakariyyā's emphasis was different from his predecessor – al-Suhrawardī – who focused on sūfī theories and the evidence of *taṣawwuf* in the Islamic tradition. However, Shaikh Zakariyyā's emphasis was to have Suhrawardīs maintain a steadfast practice of spiritual exercises (*dhikr*) in order to cultivate a habit of remembrance of God, and through this recollection sūfīs were attempting to embody the model of the Prophet. Zakariyyā's texts were specific recitations of the *Qur'ān* or *dhikr al-Qur'ān* for Suhrawardīs to master the knowledge of the inner and outer meanings of the *Qur'ān*. This chapter examines the ways in which sūfī spiritual exercises were meant to purify the heart and prepare for the moment of God's presence.

1

THE LIFE OF SHAIKH ʿABŪ HAFS ʿUMAR AL-SUHRAWARDĪ

The original figure who established the Suhrawardī sūfī *ṭarīqa* was Shaikh Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī, the uncle of ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī was born in 1097 in the town of Suhraward, which is west of Sultaniyya, in the province of al-Jibal, Iran. Shaikh Abū'n-Najīb (d. 1168) became involved with the sūfī tradition with his association with Shaikh Ahmad al-Ghazālī, the brother of the well-known Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī, educator and scholar at the Nizāmīyya *madrasa* in Baghdad. It was Shaikh Ahmad al-Ghazālī who invited Shaikh Abū Najīb to become his disciple and advance in his studies of *taṣawwuf*. No sooner had he become proficient in sūfī spirituality, than Shaikh Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī built a *khānaqāh* on the banks of the Tigris river, and wrote the popular sūfī manual *Ādāb al-Murīdīn*, that describes the importance of disciplined sūfī behavior. Shaikh Ahmad al-Ghazālī, Shaikh Abū Najīb and their contemporary ʿAinu'l-Quzāt, all belonged to the Junāydī school of *taṣawwuf*. But contrary to Junāyd's mystical tradition of sobriety (*sahw*) they were all more inclined toward mystical intoxication or *sukr*.[1] Preachings and writings by Shaikh ʿAinu'l-Quzāt infuriated the *sharīʿā*-minded scholars and he was imprisoned in Baghdad. ʿAinu'l-Quzāt's *Tamhidāt* treatise argued that his doctrine of *fanā'* was neither pantheism nor introducing the contingent being into God's Being.[2] ʿAinu'l-Quzāt asserted that he was not different from earlier sūfīs but firmly agreed in many of areas of *taṣawwuf* with the great scholar Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). In 1131 ʿAinu'l-Quzāt was murdered at the age of thirty-three and never had the opportunity to defend his sūfī ideas on *taṣawwuf* in a public trial setting.

The nephew of Shaikh Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī was ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī who was born in the month of Rajab, 523 Hijri, or January 1145. Under his uncle's direction, he studied

theology with one of the prominent theologians of the time, Shaikh ʿAbdu'l-Qādir Jilānī. After a systematic study of *taṣawwuf* and legal studies the young al-Suhrawardī was initiated into *taṣawwuf* by his uncle, Shaikh Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī. It was not long before the budding scholar of *taṣawwuf* would encounter criticism from senior theologians and legalists. In his late teenage years, al-Suhrawardī came across vigorous opposition from the greatest Hanbalī theologian in Baghdad, Abdu'r Rahmān ibn al-Jawzī (1126–1200),[3] who was also a master interpreter of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and *ḥadīths* (*muḥadīth*). Abdu'r Rahmān ibn al-Jawzī was a prolific author and preacher, and held a considerable amount of religious and political influence with the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs as the designated *Shaikh al-Islām*. Aside from the religious differences between Ibn al-Jawzī's legalist thought and Jilānī's *taṣawwuf* understanding of Islām, Shaikh ibn al-Jawzī accused al-Suhrawardī's teachings of furthering the cause of philosophical heresy in Islamic intellectual circles. Criticisms against al-Suhrawardī were not isolated events, but according to Ibn al-Jawzī's *Naqd al-ʿIlm wa'l-ʿulamā'* and *Talbīs Iblīs* he went so far as to condemn non-*Sunnī* sects and even attacked a large number of *Sunnī* jurisconsults, *sharīʿā*-minded folks and leading sūfīs including Abū Ṭālib al-Mālikī, Qushāirī and Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī.[4] The turning point to Ibn-al-Jawzī's public service came when caliph al-Nāsir (1179–1225) reversed the policy of blind support for Ibn al-Jawzī, and instituted more of a "middle-of-the-road" and centrist policy outlined by Shaikh Abū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. Like Ibn al-Jawzī, Shaikh ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī served as political–religious advisor in the capacity of *Shaikh al-Islām*, as which he assisted the ʿAbbāsid administration's goal of consolidating power in global Islamic politics. Under the fiercely political caliph al-Nāsir, Shaikh ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī was sent abroad to the courts of the ʿAyyubid al-Mālik al-ʿĀdil I Saifu'al-dīn (1200–1218) in Egypt, of the Khwarazm-Shāh, ʿAlā' al-dīn Muhammad (1200–1220) and of the Seljuk ruler of Konya ʿAlā' al-dīn Kay-Qubaz I (1219–1237). In return caliph al-Nāsir built an extensive *khānaqāh* for Shaikh al-Suhrawardī and his family with a number of additions such as a bathhouse and a garden.

Islamic education: a Hanbalī scholar and sūfī

The sūfī writings of caliph al-Nāsir's personal advisor ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī are important in understanding the ideological

side to al-Nāsir's policies. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī was the founder of a sūfī *ṭarīqa* that had easily attracted a substantial number of followers and become a distinguished order.[5] As an author of a widely popular sūfī manual, al-Suhrawardī became the leading authority in *taṣawwuf* Islām and sūfī theology. In his sūfī beliefs, al-Suhrawardī was quite conservative and spoke out against the philosophical speculative orientation of his contemporaries, such as Ibn-ʿArabī. He was a strong supporter for obeying Islamic law (*sharīʿā*) as the legitimate form for society to be structured and for true religious understanding. With *sharīʿā* and other related disciplines such as theology, Qurʾānic *tafsīr*, and *sunnā* studies, al-Suhrawardī believed that they all must be strictly observed for real inner spiritual ascension. For him, the *sharīʿā* was not only a set of legal codes to memorize, understand, and enact, but it entailed a deeper understanding of the divine path that leads the individual back to the creator. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī believed that those individuals who argued over the insignificant minuscule elements of the *sharīʿā* were lost in human argumentation and missed the obvious divine essence. He explicitly opposed the philosophical speculation of the *Faylasūfs*, because an untrained person could put forth an interpretation that is totally false from the Islamic principles. Even with these discrepancies, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī was tolerant of all kinds of sūfī beliefs and practices, but was interested in those who followed the particular Suhrawardīyya *taṣawwuf* way of obeying the *sharīʿā* and adhering completely to the *sunnā* of the Prophet.

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī viewed sūfī beliefs as a way to perfect devotion in which one can fully enjoy divine beauty; *taṣawwuf* was the recreation of a divine connection one had previously experienced in a pre-existent time. To him this did not contradict the use of good sense and the ability to lead a practical life by embracing the benefits of this world. He encouraged living in a sūfī lodge, *khānaqāh*, while at the same time earning an income by working. Within the *khānaqāh* there were several administrative and clerical positions that provided a salary, but the *khānaqāh* institution was supported by charitable foundations (*ʿawqāf*) and could not employ all of its disciples, but more often the disciples who dedicated their lives to the order took on the limited positions.[6] The *khānaqāh* had a primary *shaikh al-sūfīyyā* who was the spiritual leader of the organization. The *shaikh al-sūfiyyā* usually had at least two assistants called the *khādim al-mushaf* and the *khādim al-rubʿa al-sharīfa*, who

assisted in prayers and supplications, *duʿā* and *dhikr*, and distribution of *Qurʾāns* for recitation and study. Some of the additional administrative roles performed by sūfīs in the *khānaqāh* were: leading the daily prayers (*imām*), announcing the daily prayers (*muʿezzin*), reciting the *Qurʾān* (*qārī*), washing and preparing the prayer rugs (*khādim al-sajāda*), reciting the funeral services (*kātib al-ghāyba*), and being in charge of food preparation (*hawāʿij kāshi*).[7]

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī preached a balanced code for sūfī living, one that was set as an example by the Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet Muhammad was the primary model for sūfīs to mirror themselves on because he embodied human perfection and ultimate divine guidance. For shaikh al-Suhrawardī there were only a few advanced spiritual devotees who were able to pray all night and work all day. For the rest of the believers, according to Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, all they had to do was to combine following the *sunnā* of the Prophet and studying the *Qurʾān* with certain sūfī practices, such as *dhikr*, as part of their daily routine. On the debatable issue of whether sūfīs should maintain a celibate lifestyle, he felt that only the sūfī shaikhs were qualified to judge their disciples on whether they were spiritually equipped to take on that challenge. His defense in opposing the practice of celibacy was that it was not practiced by the Prophet Muhammad himself; however, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī thought it was permissible for the few elite spiritually advanced sūfī elders. But one area he was very adamant about counteracting was the lifestyle of the nomadic begging *Qalandars*, who were extremely controversial at this time because of their antinomian characteristics and outward disrespect for the *sharīʿā*. While the *Qalandars* (sometimes called *Dervishes*) were not sūfīs associated with the state or organized *ṭarīqāts*, they were more or less connected through deep individual conviction of their own personal journey. For al-Suhrawardī, the *Qalandars*' disregard for the state was far from any reasonable interpretation of the *madḥābs* and their awkward ascetic way of life could not have had any associations to any of the *sharīʿā*-obeying established sūfī *ṭarīqāt*.

For many political theorists during this time like al-Māwardī, who believed that an effective caliph should designate power to regional sultāns in order to maintain a centralized authority, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī felt that the caliph was the central focus of the *sharīʿā*.[8] With the aid of expert advisors, the shaikh felt that the caliph had the sole authority to determine internal and international policies. But for al-Suhrawardī, in addition to being the sole executive, judicial, and spiritual leader to implement the

sharīʿā, the office of the caliphate needed to be the primary focus for sūfī practices. For him, sūfī beliefs and practices were a part of a branch of *sharīʿā* and it was *sharīʿā* that would give spiritual guidance to the community. While caliph al-Nāsir's role as the prime supreme sūfī was not explicitly expressed in sūfī terms, he was directly involved as the leader of *futūwwa* groups. These *futūwwa* groups were the main channel for expressing lower-class interest in the urban centers, and they were pervaded by sūfī teachings and a sūfī networking system. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī taught that the *futūwwa* system was a part of the sūfī way, intended for ordinary folks who found sūfī *ṭarīqāts* too demanding for them to become associated. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī advocated that *fityān* were inherently part of the larger *sharīʿā* system, where of course, the caliph was responsible for all religious, social, and political activities, and these powers were sanctioned by the divine.

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's hierarchical model established the priority of the *futūwwa*, sūfī orders, and the caliphate in an ascending order. He defined the caliph as the "representative" or "viceregent" (*khalīfa*) of God on earth. According to him, humanity is incapable of returning to God on its own without a temporal overseer. For this reason God chose a mediator, *wasīla*, between Himself and human beings. It is the caliph who is the representative of God and has the ultimate responsibility to bring human beings from a corrupt way of living and back to Him.[9] Those mediators who are near to God provide a service for the pious collective community, *jamaʿāt*.[10] Shaikh al-Suhrawardī became one of the most important associates in structuring caliph al-Nāsir's domestic and foreign policies and he went on key diplomatic missions with these ideas in mind.

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī taught the primacy of the *Jamāʿī* caliphate as the capstone for the *sharīʿā* structure. The caliph must be the ultimate guarantor for the Islamic religious, political, and social order. According to al-Suhrawardī, the caliph was the head of all legal institutions created by the *sharīʿā*. The caliph had to be the chief scholar of all the *ʿālim* scholars in the Muslim intellectual community; he needed to be an interpreter of the law by being a supreme *ʿālim* scholar himself. Indeed, al-Nāsir undertook to be an active teacher of *ḥadīth* reports, and al-Suhrawardī makes the point of citing caliph al-Nāsir as the last link in the *isnād* documentation in the *aḥadīths* he used. With the assistance of al-Suhrawardī and other leading Hanbalī authorities caliph al-Nāsir became a certified legitimate *faqīh* (legal scholar) in all four *Jamāʿī-Sunnī* legal

schools (*madḥābs*). This served to underline the equal status of the four *madḥābs* and to encourage them to admit each other's validity. With Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's supervision, caliph al-Nāsir created a cooperative program, which was to have the legal schools that were historically competitive (and at times had been sanctioned by the state and others) outlawed, to ensure that select social organizations and sūfī orders worked together for the benefit of the state.

Shaikh al-Islām and political statesman under Caliph al-Nāsir

The active participation of ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī in state affairs raises several questions regarding the evolution of sūfī orders and their sūfī beliefs. Al-Suhrawardī's political activities demonstrate another significant dimension to the development and institutionalization of sūfī orders during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. On one level he was serving as a political advisor for the caliph of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty who needed his expertise in building alliances and confidence with other Muslim administrations. On another level, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī possessed a considerable religious authority in both areas of legal training and *taṣawwuf* Islām.[11] The reason al-Suhrawardī stands out among his contemporaries is because he achieved a high position in the state's apparatus, and was responsible for consolidating its power base, while at the same time being able to penetrate into weak social institutions. The way Shaikh al-Suhrawardī successfully balanced a sūfī–state cooperative relationship leads to a greater understanding of the way these relationships influenced caliph al-Nāsir's administration (1180–1225), and more importantly, how these relationships affected the outcome of state policies and the expansion of the Suhrawardīyya order. It is important to put al-Suhrawardī in his context as a political and religious advisor during caliph al-Nāsir's reign in order to realize his contributions on multiple levels.

The ideological side to the policies of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāsir provides answers to his objectives in being the "caliph of unity." Shaikh ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (1145–1236) appears to have been one of many advisors to assist in caliph al-Nāsir's aims of consolidating his control over various Islamic institutions and regions. For caliph al-Nāsir, al-Suhrawardī was a prominent and popular sūfī shaikh of his time, who could gain access into a decentralized *futūwwa* system and shape it to serve the needs of

al-Nāsir.[12] With the gradual integration of sūfī ideas and practices in many *futūwwa* groups, it would not be difficult to penetrate them and inject a sense of direction. Al-Nāsir's conception of the Caliphate was that it should be the center of Islamdom toward which various leaders and movements should gravitate. This made al-Suhrawardī a valuable political and religious advisor.[13]

Caliph al-Nāsir was an intensely politically-oriented caliph, who advocated a Hanbalī legal ideology because he recognized the Hanbalī *madḥāb*'s cumulative power throughout the century. *Jamaʿāt-i Sunnī* dominance in Iraq was primarily brought about by the momentum of their opposition to Muʿtāzilī and Ashʿarī thought in earlier centuries. By the twelfth century the Hanbalī *madḥāb* became the dominant legal interpretation in Baghdad and caliph al-Nāsir effectively used that power to enhance himself on multiple levels. He used it to strengthen his own power base in *futūwwa* groups by maintaining influential Hanbalī authorities for the transmission of *ḥadīth*, such as Shaikh ʿAbd al-Mughīth, Shaikh al-Latīf al-Baghdādī, and Shaikh Ibn al-Miʿmār.[14] Shaikh Ibn al-Miʿmār was a prominent chronicler of *futūwwa* ritual and beliefs and ultimately served as an important advisor to assert control over the *futūwwa* structure under al-Nāsir's administration. In 1179, shortly after the caliph al-Nāsir had made his annual visit to the tomb of Ahmad ibn-Hanbal in Baghdad, he recognized the Hanbalī *madḥāb* as the legal school of the administration.

Caliph al-Nāsir's involvement with *futūwwa* groups

By the time of caliph al-Nāsir in the mid-twelfth centuy, *futūwwa* groups (pl. *fityān*) were institutionalized and mainly consisted of urban lower-class men. There were several types of *futūwwa* groups; some were dedicated to occupational associations, while some were formed for sports and mutual aid. Many *futūwwa* groups consisted of young men and were essentially "youth gangs" that found ways to be in solidarity and assert their independence in a variety of ways. It is clear that the members in *fityān* were most often poor and young men who did not have the family connections of notables, and some had an anti-establishment quality to them. *Futūwwa* groups maintained an unconditional loyalty to members and to each other, even to the extent that youth gangs insisted on cutting ties from their family members.

Through the close association and eventual integration with the sūfī tradition, *futūwwa* organizations gained a spiritual element

that was compatible with their internal hierarchical structure. In addition, a sūfī influence brought a cross-regional networking system that enabled *futūwwa* members to increase their political and social contacts beyond their immediate neighborhoods. By the eleventh century, many *futūwwa* organizations had adopted aspects of sūfī language for expressing loyalty and magnanimity, which they transformed into loyalty to God. Some historians of the time interpreted the *futūwwa* as a sort of lesser sūfī way for those unable to achieve the full mystical way. Sometimes *futūwwa* clubs came to have their own sūfī ceremonies. The *futūwwa* had become essentially the sūfī dimension of organizations.[15]

In 1182, caliph al-Nāsir recognized a dissident branch of the *futūwwa* that had existed in Baghdad since the tenth century and called it "*niqābat al-futūwwa*." He was a member of the group, as were Shaikh ʿAbd al-Jabbār and Shaikh Ibn Yūsuf Sālih (d. 1187) – the very person who invested al-Nāsir with the *libās al-futūwwa*. The famous chronicler, Ibn al-Jawzī, observed sūfī traits in the *futūwwa* of *ʿAyyārun Fityān*. There were rules of purity, respect for one's brother, and the swearing of oaths. He called them the "protectors of the poor and women."[16] The *ʿAyyārun* were internally organized with a strong hierarchy of leadership, and they believed the state was corrupted by politicians who did not serve the community. From time to time the anarchistic views of the *ʿAyyārun* were expressed in social unrest; they took part in looting state buildings, setting fires in the markets, and causing violence in the streets.[17] In twelfth-century Baghdad, Ibn-Bakran was a source of trouble for both caliph al-Muqtafī and Sultān Masʿūd. Ibn Bakran's anarchistic violence flourished in the late 1130s, but eventually he soon found himself in a close relationship with *wāzīr* az-Zaynabī's son who was bestowed the *sarāwīl al-futūwwa*, a special sūfī garment.[18] The *ʿAyyārun Fityān* became less of a threat under the *wāzīr* Ibn-Hubayra, but within ten years of caliph al-Nāsir's succession to the caliphate, Hanbalī scholars dominated the *futūwwa* institution, which ensured a degree of stability and simultaneously a decline in popular anti-state sentiments. The caliph's infiltration of the *futūwwa* institution was a major element in weakening hostile *futūwwa* groups like the *ʿAyyārun Fityān*.

Caliph al-Nāsir's involvement with the *ʿAyyārun Fityān* suggests that he had a systemized policy to absorb dissidents and end their constant uprisings by incorporating them into the mainstream establishment. Once caliph al-Nāsir successfully exposed and penetrated *fityān*, he was especially interested in coopting their inner

unity and social system and replacing their political anarchistic philosophy with his own. This may have very well been the reason for the edict of 1207. Al-Nāsir wanted to root out the *futūwwa* groups that bore arms and were linked to volunteer militia groups. For example, the *aḥdāth futūwwa* organization in Syria often participated in battles alongside the Turkic troops to defend their regions from hostile invasions. An uncontrolled militia *futūwwa* group would have threatened al-Nāsir's aim of being the primary uncontested leader of all *futūwwa* organizations.

Al-Nāsir moved to control the *futūwwa* from within to ensure that the past history of turbulent *fityān* would not pose a threat under his administration. After twenty-five years as an initiate in the *futūwwa*, in the year of 1207, he was ready to consolidate the position he had gradually gained. He declared himself the sole authority over all *futūwwa* organizations both in Baghdad and elsewhere, and any organization that did not acknowledge his leadership was banned, and was not to be recognized as a true *futūwwa*.[19] He also went on to encourage mutual tolerance among Muslims, with the *futūwwa* rather than with the *ʿulamāʾ*; several *futūwwa* organizations were told that they were integral parts of the Islamic *umma*, and that it was necessary to recognize each other's validity.

In 1207, al-Nāsir made his political objectives clear and public. Caliph al-Nāsir recognized the *futūwwa* movement itself and declared all other *fityān* illegal except his *futūwwa* organization. He also declared himself the central authority of the *futūwwa*. Later in the year, al-Nāsir issued another decree which set forth the code of behavior for *futūwwa* members and declared that God had designated the caliph as having sole responsibility to maintain the *sharīʿā*. And also in 1207, al-Nāsir received his permission or *ijāza* as a transmitter of *ḥadīth* from the leaders of the four schools of jurisprudence. A letter to the representatives of the four schools of jurisprudence at the *Dār al-ḥadīth* in Damascus included al-Nāsir's words of "on conditions of sound authority."[20] This ensured him full support for uniting his administration by imposing himself not only as an active participant but also as the leader in the forefront of that movement.

Unlike other periods of time, this caliph's period is particularly distinct because, on the one hand, it consists of complex relationships between state authority, social institutions, and religious affairs, and on the other, there are major transformations of social institutions under the direction of the ʿAbbāsid caliph. There are

questions as to why the *futūwwa* organizations became an essential policy issue for caliph al-Nāsir. What did caliph al-Nāsir benefit from *futūwwa* groups in social, political and religious terms? How could centralizing *futūwwa* organizations with the caliph at the center of all authority change the function of *fityān*? And was it possible for caliph al-Nāsir to consolidate *futūwwa* organizations without the assistance of Shaikh al-Suhrawardī?

These issues are very controversial for scholars like Claude Cahen who believed that al-Nāsir recognized the *futūwwa* order in part to spread the ideas of al-Suhrawardī, the principal propagandist of *futūwwa* reforms and one of the most revered men of his day.[21] Cahen believed that early ideas in reforming *futūwwa* organizations were probably not from the caliph himself, but from shaikh al-Suhrawardī. To him Shaikh al-Suhrawardī was the mastermind in designing the religious, political, and social reforms of *futūwwa* organizations, because they increased the shaikh's opportunity to advance his particular form of sūfī islam to *futūwwa* members who were already sympathetic to sūfī ideals. It also allowed al-Suhrawardī to recruit members to his *tarīqa* and expand Suhrawardī *khānaqāhs* in the western regions. Cahen does not diminish the importance of caliph al-Nāsir's expansionary policies, but in regard to altering the religio-political philosophy of *fityān*, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī should be given primary credit.

One of the ways in which Cahen proved that al-Suhrawardī's efforts were essential to reconstructing *futūwwa* organizations was by using al-Suhrawardī's innovative political and religious beliefs in *taṣawwuf*. To Cahen, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī developed a theory for unifying the caliphate in a way that *fityān* and *taṣawwuf* islam were essentially one single entity. And both of these entities belonged under the supervision of the caliph, where the descending order after the caliph was sūfī *ṭarīqāts*, then the *fityān* which were really a subordinate part of the sūfī *ṭarīqāts*. According to Cahen, this theory certainly did not conflict with al-Nāsir's political ambitions and his conception of himself as the primary leader of *futūwwa* organizations. Cahen believed it was through the significant collaborative and intellectual efforts of al-Suhrawardī that caliph al-Nāsir was successful in making himself the final authority in *futūwwa* organizations, as well as expanding his power as the caliph.

Two authors of this period who studied *futūwwa* structure, ideas, beliefs and rituals were Ibn al-Miʿmar al-Baghdādī and al-Khartabirti. In Ibn al-Miʿmar's *Kitāb al-futūwwa* there are

references to al-Suhrawardī's statements connecting *futūwwa* organizations to the *sharīʿā*.[22] It is not surprising then to see Ibn al-Miʿmar use sūfī metaphors for internal hierarchy, where the essence of the *futūwwa* is in the "*kabīr*" (elder or greater in rank) and "*ibn*" (son or pupil). In many respects the sūfī spiritual model of a *pīr* and *murīd* was mirrored in *fityān*, and in these organizations there was a hierarchy of its members whose main objective was to uphold the precepts of Islam.[23]

Scholarly debate over al-Nāsir's and al-Suhrawardī's complex roles in the *futūwwa* organizations and over al-Suhrawardī's contributions to reforming social institutions to influence a sūfī theology is important to understanding the Suhrawardī sūfī order. Recently, scholars argued that caliph al-Nāsir's *futūwwa* involvement was a part of his social reform policy to bring about greater stability to the region. However, Paul Wittek believes that al-Nāsir's motives were to counteract the threat of the crusader hostility and to unite the Islamic world by means of patronizing the *futūwwa* organizations.[24] The main problem in Wittek's theory is that caliph al-Nāsir was not in the vanguard in defending against the Crusaders. In fact, when Salāh ad-dīn requested military and economic support from caliph al-Nāsir, to defend against the Crusader aggression, he was given a minimum and insufficient number of troops. In addition to this aspect, Wittek argues that al-Nāsir – being the caliph of Baghdad, which had a considerable amount of historical, political, and religious significance to the global Islamic community – was mainly interested in preserving the prestigiousness of Baghdad as the center of Islamic culture by protecting Muslims from both Crusader invasions and anarchistic *futūwwa* members.[25] Wittek's interpretation of al-Nāsir is one that positions the caliph in the center of Islamic politics, and as the commander of the faithful ("*amir al-muminīn*") whose objectives were to protect the regional borders, even if it meant subverting private social organizations like the *fityān*.

For some scholars Wittek's arguments do not take account of the nature of the relationships between the caliph and non-governmental private social organizations. To scholars like Taeschner, the grass-roots popularity of *fityān* along with their independent political and economic capacity was the real threat to the established caliphate institution. According to Taeschner, caliph al-Nāsir's role in the *fityān* was mainly to strengthen the authority of the caliphate by being the "caliph of unity."[26] He thinks the critical weakness of the *futūwwa* was that it had a vacuum of

power, and it was al-Nāsir's aim to centralize it with him at the center.[27] Taeschner treats the *futūwwa* organizations as another area for the caliph to assert his authority over the lower classes and discontented of society. For Taeschner, *fityān* were a perfect forum for caliph al-Nāsir to express his newly revived authority, while at the same time serving as the caliph who united the Islamic regions. Taeschner's theories may not be too far from the mark with respect to thinking that caliph al-Nāsir desired to be at the center of all social and religious institutions, but there are weak links in the way in which Taeschner viewed the power relationships of the caliphate and the *futūwwa* institution. Taeschner's view is a typical two-tiered model based on power struggles between political and social institutions. In this model the caliphate is the dominant entity and the *futūwwa* institution is the subjugated entity, and it is the objective of the dominant caliphate to control all parts of the weaker *futūwwa* system. Taeschner does not factor into his power struggle model that the weaker system does not always cave in to the dominant system. He does not consider the possibility that in all systems, weak or powerful, there is a negotiation process of power and of space between the two systems.

One such scholar who challenged the theories of Taeschner's caliphate–*futūwwa* relationship was G. Salinger. Salinger pointed out that the main flaw is understanding the Islamic caliphate system along the lines of a medieval European system. Salinger asserts that the caliphate was never a feudal system based on contractual relationships between kings and vassals. He commented that *futūwwa* guilds were independent organizations and could not have served as an arena for the caliph to assert political power or reinvigorate his own power.[28] However, in Salinger's opinion, caliph al-Nāsir's gradual influence in the *futūwwa* is called a "coup d'état." Due to uncontrollable factionalism, and disorderly public behavior, the state feared violent repercussions if it attempted to destroy the *futūwwa*. Instead, Salinger believes that caliph al-Nāsir decided to penetrate the *fityān* and transform them from the inside. According to Salinger, the *fityān* had reached a point of potentially threatening the state, at least in terms of supporting groups that were anti-state, and al-Nāsir's annexation of *fityān* was essentially a security issue. While Salinger's argument is credible, it is missing an important dimension to his point, which is that by the year 1207, the year caliph al-Nāsir declared himself the leader of all *fityān* groups and outlawed those groups that did not recognize him as the true leader, most *futūwwa* organizations displayed

characteristics neither of "uncontrollable factionalism" nor of "disorderly public behavior." In fact the *futūwwa* literature of this time clearly reflects more concern about proper codes, behavior and ideas, as opposed to ways of breaking into factional groups or devising methods of disrupting state business.

As mentioned earlier, Ibn al-Miʿmar and al-Khartabirti's works are the only extant literature regarding *futūwwa* organizations and provide significant insight into *futūwwa* rituals and structure, as well as into the ideas of both writers. Little is known of either writer other than that they lived in caliph al-Nāsir's period, and their works directly study *futūwwa* groups. Ibn al-Miʿmar was a Hanbalī *faqīh* and trained *muḥaddith* in Baghdad. There is less information on al-Khartabirti other than that he was a member of the same *futūwwa* group as caliph al-Nāsir's son, al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿAbū al-Hassan ʿAlī, to whom he dedicated his work in 1216.[29] Both of these handbooks discuss details of practices and ceremonies, which are usually supported by Qurʾānic or *ḥadīth* quotations.

For instance, al-Khartabirti discusses the transfer of *libās al-futūwwa*, a piece of clothing given to a younger initiate (*fata*), as clothing of piety or *taqwa*. To al-Khartabirti, a *fata* who wears the *libās al-futūwwa* must possess excellent qualities; "he must worship regularly, obey his parents, always speak the truth, pay alms-tax, is generous to those who do mischief against him, and visits sick people."[30] He continues to elaborate that the *libās al-futūwwa* pertains to the real world where one should have the fear of God. He cites the *sūra al-Aʿrāf*, verse 26, to support the *fityān* use of the *libās al-futūwwa* ritual.

> Oh children of Adam! We have bestowed upon you from on high the knowledge of making garments to cover your nakedness, and as a thing of beauty, but the garment of God-consciousness is the best of all.

According to al-Khartabirti, wearing the *libās al-futūwwa* is only for a select group of individuals who are worthy of such honor, because the cloth consisted of five distinct qualities: truth (*ṣadiq*), faithfulness (*amanat*), piety (*taqwa*), worship (*adaʾ as-salwat*), and restraint from committing adultery (*tark az-zina*).[31]

Al-Khartabirti and Ibn al-Miʿmar are often seen to use *ḥadīth* and Qurʾānic verses to refer to the piety of the *futūwwa* organization. Al-Khartabirti speaks of the *futūwwa* as the "tree of salvation," a

metaphor to demonstrate the permanency of the group that is rooted in earth and has branches up to the heavens.[32] To al-Khartabirti, the *futūwwa* connection to the tree is like that of the *Qurʾān* and this is symbolic of the significant relationship of how the *futūwwa* structure is firmly linked to that of the divine message of God. From *sūrā al-Ibrāhīm*, verse 24, al-Khartabirti quotes:

> Do you not see how Allah sets forth a parable? It is like a good tree, whose root is firm and whose branches reach into heaven.

For Ibn-Miʿmar, the individual *fata* members are responsible to live up to their allegiance to the *futūwwa* organizations. To him, *fityān* were originally established as an extension of faith which was designed to help out the needy and spend one's wealth on the poor. Since generosity was one of the major requirements for Ibn al-Miʿmar, in his discussion of rituals he points out the significance of wearing the *libās al-futūwwa* and drinking a mixture of salt and water (*shurb al-muradaʿah*) and as usual he quotes the *Qurʾān* to illustrate the sacredness of the ritual. From *sūrā al-Furqān*, verse 53:

> This is palatable and sweet water, and the other is saltish and bitter water.

Upon drinking the *shurb al-muradaʿah*, Ibn al-Miʿmar writes that the leading shaikh would recite "God has made the drink a symbol of the *futūwwa* pact and the covenant with Him. May God curse him who breaks the pact!"[33] Ibn al-Miʿmar combines theological signs like the divine convenant with the symbolism of water in *futūwwa* rites for its members. The symbolism is meant to connect the *fata* with the significance of *zamzam*, the holy well near the Ka'ba. Within the description of this initiation process, Ibn al-Miʿmar quotes from the *Qurʾān*, *sūrā* 21, verse 30, which states

> We have made alive everything through water

as a way to demonstrate that water has the power to purify hearts and external behavior, and one needs to nourish the body as well as purify the soul as long as they are members of the *futūwwa* group.

Ibn al-Miʿmar was more concerned with members understanding the connection between *futūwwa* rituals and beliefs, and how every

single action is directly supported by the orders of God. He argues that any *futūwwa* organization that is not grounded in the principles of *sharīʿa* is not a true *futūwwa* because *fityān* groups initiate members with only the highest moral qualities. And since the *fityān* groups that he is familiar with require the individual *fata* members first to prove their ability to reason (*ʿaql*) and demonstrate their knowledge (*ʿilm*) of *sharīʿā*, this combination of the two maintains a strong level of sound minded members who can distinguish right and from wrong.[34] He even criticizes the factionalism among *fityān* groups such as the "Bayt al-Maulidiya" or the "Bayt ash-Shuhayniya," and it is interesting to point out that he credits caliph al-Nāsir with putting an end to these divisions with his *futūwwa* reforms. Ibn al-Miʿmar explains that caliph al-Nāsir's guidance under Shaikh ʿAbd al-Jabbār, who initiated him into the "Bayt ar-Rahhāsiya" *futūwwa*, understood the importance of uniting the *fityān* groups because they were moving further away from the ideals of the *futūwwa*.[35]

It is likely that Ibn al-Miʿmar's and al-Khartabirti's extensive work was to prove that *fityān* groups were completely in harmony with the Islamic *sharīʿā* in order to defend the institution from criticism. This validity of *fityān* groups and the issue of whether their practices and beliefs were in compliance with Islamic principles was still an important controversy for the *ʿulamāʾ* in the late thirteenth century. For example, one important Hanbalī jurist scholar (*faqih)* who spoke out against *fityān* groups and all of the rituals that were created within the *fityān* was Shaikh Ibn-Taymīya (1263–1328). While there is a considerable amount of scholarship on Ibn-Taymīya, it is clear that recent studies show the complexity of his thought as well as the difficulty in labeling him either a reformer or a proponent of a *sunnī* orthodoxy.[36] In Muhammad Umar Memon's work on Ibn-Taymīya, he clearly illustrates how certain scholars only focus on the later years of Ibn-Taymīya's polemical works. During the later years of 1321–1326, Ibn-Taymīya witnessed a breakdown in Muslim–Christian relations where widespread riots fueled popular resentment. Also during this time, Ibn-Taymīya was imprisoned for his contentious polemical writings, such as, "The Necessity of the Straight Path against the People of Hell" (*Kitāb iqtidāʾ as-sirāt al-mustaqīm mukhālafat ashāb al-jahīm*). In *Kitāb iqtidāʾ as-sirātal-mustaqīm*, Ibn-Taymīya expands upon a theory on the subject of innovative additions (*biďa*) to the Islamic religion which he believes stems from non-Islamic practices and customs.[37] His view of history relies heavily on degrees of

moral correction to human beings, and he insists that Prophet Muhammad's mission was to define and exemplify the highest moral conduct that is upheld by God. It is important not to conclude, as earlier scholars and Muslim reformers have done, that Ibn-Taymīya's understanding of *biḍa* is a narrow definition of any practice that did not exist during the Prophet Muhammad's lifetime.[38] He is meticulous with the term and elaborates on a variety of *biḍa* types, those kinds that are either praiseworthy (*hasana*), certain *biḍa* that are reprehensible (*makrūh*) and specific *biḍa* types that are unlawful (*taḥrīm*) according to the *sharīʿā*.[39] Ibn-Taymīya was primarily concerned with popular practices that involved the acceptance of ideas on intercession, celebrating and adopting cultural festivals from non-Muslim communities, alleged blessings earned from visitation to sūfī tombs, beliefs attributing mystical powers to sūfī shaikhs, or membership of *fityān* groups, all of which he considered to be customs to have derived from a non-Islamic tradition.[40]

With respect to the *fityān* groups, Ibn-Taymīya criticized the *futūwwa* institution on the basis of whether it was ever permissible to exist with the *sharīʿā*. He rejected *futūwwa* rituals like the wearing of the *libās al-futūwwa* and drinking the *shurb al-muradaʿah* water since he never found evidence for them in either the *sharīʿā* or *sunnā* of the Prophet.[41] He dismissed all *fityān* claims that these practices were documented by the Prophet's son-in-law, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. In examining the *fityān isnād* reports that supported their claims of conducting *libās al-futūwwa* and *shurb al-muradaʿah* rituals, Ibn-Taymīya stated that in their chain of transmitters there were several questionable persons. According to him, there was an insufficient amount of information on a number of individuals who claimed to be transmitters, and it was unwise to attribute statements to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib when the integrity of these alleged transmitters is not certain. In respect to *fityān*'s defense of using the *libās al-futūwwa* because the *Qurʾān* discusses "a garment to cover your nakedness," that could mean any type of garment or a symbolic garment and it is not necessarily referring to the *fityān*'s *libās al-futūwwa*.[42] Despite Ibn-Taymīya's criticism of particular rituals and beliefs that were associated with the *futūwwa* institution, he approved of the *fityān*'s strong emphasis on maintaining an ethical character. However, he felt that living according to the *sharīʿā* was compulsory for every Muslim whether he was a member of *futūwwa* or not. Ibn-Taymīya was primarily concerned with Muslims, whether they were sūfīs or *fatas*

in a *futūwwa*, anyone who, he felt, was gradually deviating from the source for all ontological meaning, i.e. God and the *sunnā* of the Prophet. In terms of attributing the customs of an organization as a *sunnā*, he stated, "It is imperative to differentiate between following the Prophet and making a *sunnā* of his practice, and a practice which though it was connected with the Prophet was not intended as a *sunnā* and is therefore a piece of innovation (*bidaʿ*)."[43] Ibn-Taymīya did not agree with many areas of the specific rites of the *fityān*, especially when its proponents defended their ideas with the *Qurʾān* and *sharīʿā*. But in all of his criticisms it is important to recognize that he did not condemn the institution as a whole and advocate the dissolving of the *futūwwa* institution.

Another contemporary Hanbalī thinker and student of Ibn-Taymīya, Sāfi al-Dīn Idrīs ibn Bidqīn, was much more uncompromising against the *futūwwa* groups.[44] Ibn-Bidqīn went further than Ibn-Taymīya by stating that what he witnessed in the *futūwwa* groups was the worst form of *bidaʿ*. According to him, anyone associated with the *fityāns* had totally diverged from the principles of the *sharīʿā* and *sunnā*. While Ibn-Taymīya mainly argued against their text sources for defending *futūwwa* rituals, Ibn-Bidqīn attacked the popular practices themselves as *bidaʿ*. He accused elder *fityān* members of practicing sodomy with younger initiate *fata* members during the ritual of *libās al-futūwwa*. For Ibn-Bidqīn, the tying of one or more knots in the ends of *fata*'s girdle, belt or shawl and being in the presence of the "beardless youths" was absolutely forbidden by the Prophet.[45] In the sources that are available not all of the initiation rites are written in such detail to support Ibn-Bidqīn's allegations, which is a major a problem in fully analyzing what Ibn-Bidqīn observed and the *futūwwa* texts that are extant. What is distinct is the difference in Ibn-Taymīya's arguments against *fityān* claims of having pietistic roots in the *sharīʿā*, whereas Ibn-Bidqīn finds the popular practices within the *futūwwa* institution problematic as a whole and against all Islamic principles.

Even with scholarly criticism by Ibn-Taymīya and condemnation by Ibn-Bidqīn, both of the works by Ibn al-Miʿmar and al-Khartabirti are interested in not only preserving the history and philosophy of *fityān*, but more importantly, their writings promote a particular interpretation of Islamic worship. Both works, *Kitāb al-futūwwa* and *Tuhfāt āl-Wasaya*, stress the Qurʾānic significance in being members of *futūwwa* groups and how as members they are carrying forward, through rituals and beliefs, the message of the Prophet. Supporters like Ibn al-Miʿmar and al-Khartabirti

proposed the *futūwwa* as a complete religious, political and social institution for individuals who were ordinarily excluded from other organizations.[46] According to Ibn al-Miʿmar, *futūwwa* groups had discriminatory policies in admitting certain professions, like tax-collectors, astronomers, and astrologers, to ensure that members would become strict adherents to the *sharīʿā*. But aside from having selective admission policies, or the details of the particular rituals practiced, or the soteriological reasons to being a member in the *futūwwa* groups, the *futūwwa* institution served a function for sūfīs like Shaikh al-Suhrawardī and for politicians like caliph al-Nāsir. There are complex questions as to whether caliph al-Nāsir had a definite political agenda to penetrate *futūwwa* groups and restructure the entire configuration so that he would be able to assert caliphal authority from the inside. It appears that caliph al-Nāsir gradually merged the daily affairs of *futūwwa* organizations with his own personal interests, while demonstrating a strong interest in the very people who made up the groups, all of which was a far more judicious policy than totally destroying the institution and rebuilding it from the beginning.

A further understanding of the political and religious motives for caliph al-Nāsir to reform the *futūwwa* draws attention to one of his principal advisors, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī.[47] Thus it was al-Suhrawardī's efforts to disseminate the importance of obeying the *sharīʿā* and the caliph that enabled *futūwwa* members to accept and internalize these principles. Cahen asserted that al-Nāsir's role in the *futūwwa* was to be more than a symbolic caliph that united *Jamaʿat-i Sunnī* and Shīītes, sūfīs, Muslims and non-Muslim minorities and the lower classes who did not have elite connections.[48] More importantly, al-Nāsir wanted to place himself as the "*qibla*" of *futūwwa* that were legitimized by *sharīʿā*.[49] To Cahen, caliph al-Nāsir's dream was to have the *futūwwa* function as an independent institution under his direction, where the caliph would be a popular leader for every section of society, including the lower classes. Cahen's arguments raise important issues as to whether caliph al-Nasir was interested in coopting the *futūwwa* institution just to be the supreme leader or was the caliph more concerned with merely bringing stability to an anarchistic decentralized institution?

Political and diplomatic trips

Caliph al-Nāsir used his advisors like al-Suhrawardī to form alliances against the threat of his enemies, as well as to persuade

non-aligned groups to support the caliph. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī was an important advisor for the caliph on a number of levels. First, as one of the most respected learned men of his time and a member of the famous scholarly Suhrawardī family, other *fuqāha*, politicians, and ordinary people valued his opinions. Second, it is recorded that he was a gifted orator who had a strong personality, and he used to completely captivate his audience members. Third, al-Suhrawardī's preaching charisma bought him much fame, and people would travel a great distance just to listen to him. Fourth, his wide approval with both the cultural elite and laypersons constructed popular narratives whereby popular myths described by people illustrated the blessings (*barakāt*) they could earn by just sitting in his presence.[50] Whenever al-Suhrawardī traveled as a statesman he possessed authority on two levels. As a political ambassador from the ʿAbbāsid court he symbolized one of the caliph's closest advisors in political affairs. As a contemporary sūfī thinker with an important lineage to earlier sūfī shaikhs, like Shaikh ʿAbd al-Qādir Jilānī, his reputable theological authority was growing with sūfī theosophical writings.

In the year 1207, al-Suhrawardī went to Egypt and Syria as a political delegate to meet with the ʿAyyubid administration. This mission had two purposes, political and religious. There he met with an ʿAyyubid delegate Qādī Najm ad-dīn Halil al-Hamawī to offer caliph al-Nāsir's proposal in assisting in suppressing revolts and social disruption. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī also used this time to publically elaborate his theories on *futūwwa* groups and their new roles for the state. He assured his audience members that the *fityāns* no longer had to remain anarchical and factional groups without a leader, but that the caliph had strong interests in supporting the progress of *futūwwa* groups. He was well received and offered many presents because of his ability to convince others of his religious and political ideology. He was called the "prince of his time," *al-malik*.[51]

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī went to the court of al-Malik az-Ẓāhir in Aleppo. There he was treated with another grand reception by the sultān. Al-Suhrawardī gave speeches on several topics to demonstrate high ʿAbbāsid culture and to promote the caliph as the main reason for Baghdad's success. In one particular speech, he discussed how taxes were extremely low so that even the merchants did not know that there were any taxes, and even in the bazaar free produce was distributed to people because of an abundance of food products.[52] Al-Suhrawardī would connect the success of Baghdad

with his religious ideology. That is, the blessings and benevolence of God are seen through the work of the caliph. The caliph serves as medium to construct a prosperous, ethical society, and serves as the main vehicle to reunite with the divine. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī impressed his audience to such a degree that it was recorded that "both the hearts and eyes wept."[53]

Caliph al-Nāsir was receiving attacks from other shaikhs in Baghdad who heard of al-Suhrawardī's acceptance of luxurious gifts. Shaikh Muhy'd-dīn al-Jawzī publicly attacked the caliph during a Friday sermon asking, "how could he accept these riches for Baghdad?"[54] When al-Nāsir heard that al-Suhrawardī was showered with expensive gifts and decorated clothing, he sent an angry message to al-Suhrawardī. Caliph al-Nāsir publicly distanced himself from al-Suhrawardī's lifestyle in Egypt and Syria and sent a message to remind al-Suhrawardī of his purpose as an ambassador of the state and as the head sūfī shaikh of the Suhrawardīyya order. The tension between the two did not last long. It was in the interest of caliph al-Nāsir to display leadership qualities and to reprimand and build ties with his advisors. It was important to keep al-Suhrawardī in line for political and religious purposes; but it was even more significant to maintain the divine authority of the caliphate.

In 1214, after taking the city of Sinop, sultān ʿIzz ad-dīn Kay-Kawūs I, the Seljuk sultān of Rūm, sent Shaikh Majd ad-dīn Ishāq to al-Nāsir requesting the *libās al-futūwwa*. Al-Nāsir sent al-Suhrawardī to see the sultān with the symbolic *futūwwa* garments, *libās al-futūwwa*, and a copy of Ibn al-Miʿmār's *Kitāb al-futūwwa*. Ibn al-Miʿmār was a Hanbalī jurist of Baghdad and an important *futūwwa* chronicler under al-Nāsir's administration.[55] Al-Suhrawardī's meeting with sultāns and *ʿulamāʾ* had at least two clear functions; first, the shaikh was to foster stronger political alliances within the western regions; and second, to expand the membership base of the *futūwwa* groups to bring them under the leadership of caliph al-Nāsir. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī reinforced a specific type of sūfī religious ideology that stressed the unique relationship between the *futūwwa* groups and divine *sharīʿā*, and made certain others learn how they were truly a part of each other. In many ways, being a member of the shaikh's *futūwwa* or Suhrawardī sūfī order was like keeping a covenant with God.[56]

In 1221, the sultān of Rūm, ʿAlāʾ ad-dīn Kay-Kubād I, ascended to the throne as the new Seljuk leader, and caliph al-Nāsir specifically selected shaikh al-Suhrawardī to be sent to the Seljuk court as

a personal emissary to ensure that the new administration would not disrupt the established *futūwwa* groups. These missions were important because *futūwwa* groups in Anatolia had a large membership that included merchants, *ʿulamāʾ*, politicians, craftsmen, and sūfīs. It appears that al-Nāsir was particularly concerned about Anatolian *futūwwa* groups because in these towns there was no central political authority and these *futūwwa* groups were responsible for maintaining order by serving as a self-designated mini-government for these towns.[57]

In the same year a breakdown of diplomatic relations forced caliph al-Nāsir to send Shaikh al-Suhrawardī to sultān ʿAlāʾ ad-dīn to lessen tensions between the two administrations. Al-Suhrawardī seized this moment of political conflict to remind sultān ʿAlāʾ ad-dīn of a famous *ḥadīth* which warned against anyone harming the family of ʿAbbās. By using this specific *ḥadīth*, shaikh al-Suhrawardī achieved at least two levels of religious authority in trying to break the political stalemate; first, by referring to a common *ḥadīth* to an non-Arab political leader the shaikh demonstrated his mastery of religious texts and their significance to political affairs; and, second, al-Suhrawardī's metaphor of ʿAbbās is a direct point of his connection to the Prophet's family, and of course, an attack on any of the Prophet's family is a grave sin. However, with all of this in mind, the sultān responded by saying:

> Although I am a Turk and possess very little knowledge of the Arabic language, yet I have understood the sense of the *ḥadīth* recited by you; I have not harmed a single descendent of ʿAbbās nor have I endeavored to do evil to them. On the other hand, I have heard that a good many of them are always to be found in the prison of the Commander of the Faithful, and even evil multiplies and increases there; if the Shaikh would recite the same *ḥadīth* in the presence of the Commander of the Faithful, it would be more to the point and it would serve a better end.[58]

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's diplomatic trip failed to achieve a peaceful solution and sultān ʿAlāʾ ad-dīn invaded Iraq a few days later. Fortunately for al-Nāsir, a Khwārazmshāh invasion from Hamadhan to Baghdad suffered heavy losses in the mountains of Kurdistan from terrible snowstorms and weakened their army for any future attacks on Baghdad.

It is evident that caliph al-Nāsir tried to inject a new element into political life, an element that consisted of careful diplomacy and a political atmosphere for cooperation, at least in terms of peaceful competition rather than constant hostilities. Caliph al-Nāsir benefited from the weakness of the last Seljuk. He consolidated the power of the caliphate in Iraq and in parts of the Jazirah. He ruled his provinces rigorously and maintained public security. He also worked actively toward the destruction of the remnant of Seljuk power that had so long overshadowed the caliphate, and was still potentially the strongest single power in the area. He undertook this by way of alliances. First, he allied himself with the Khwārazmshāh Tekish (1172–1200); the caliph assisted his expedition into western Iran, where the last Seljukid was killed in 1194. Thereupon, differences between al-Nāsir and Tekish forced him to build alliances in the surrounding regions. The Khwārazmshāh Tekish asserted his own control in ʿIrāq ʿAjamī and evidently expected the caliph to be subservient to him as he had been to the Seljuks. In 1195, Tekish withdrew his forces and al-Nāsir's army secured the submission of Khūzistān and the adjoining parts of Iran, leaving him, of his recent conquests, only the lower regions of Khūzistān. Caliph al-Nāsir turned against this new power too, and constructed a new system of alliances among the lesser powers by infiltrating a weak *futūwwa* system that needed immediate reforms.

Caliph al-Nāsir ruled the ʿAbbāsid administration for forty-five years and was known as a benevolent and cruel ruler. For example, he established many *ʿawqāf* foundations to benefit the poor and at the same time executed his two *wāzīrs*. There are two main achievements that could be distinguished in al-Nāsir's policies. First, he expanded his own direct political rule in neighboring territories by little use of conventional military means. Second, with the assistance of Shaikh al-Suhrawardī he extended his influence in religious and political ideological forms over Islamdom. According to many scholars like Marshall Hodgson, Herbert Mason, and Claude Cahen, caliph al-Nāsir believed he needed to personally increase the role of the caliphate from a mere certifying government office to a more important ideal caliphate, whereby society functioned according to the divine principles of *sharīʿā* and he served as the executive leader.[59] For these scholars, the combination of these two policies of territorial expansion and Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's influence are closely interrelated policies, and it is difficult to consider one policy without the other. While this theory is reliable, since it

incorporates state expansionary policies through the penetration of social and religious institutions, it does not explain caliph al-Nāsir's success in maintaining a stable administration with the execution of his *wāzīrs*. Furthermore, given the uncertainty on both sides of the borders, these particular scholars do point out Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's political activism as an important reason in building security. But they do not analyze in depth al-Suhrawardī's contributions to building networking relationships with other competing sūfī orders and the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, which were extremely significant in developing confidence in the caliphate. After the Khwārazmshāh ʿAlāʾ ad-dīn Tekish defeated Tughril III at Rayy in 1194, al-Nāsir invested Tekish with the sultānate of Fars, Khurasan and Turkistan. The Khwārzamians soon had an impressive empire of their own, from the borders of India to Anatolia. Caliph al-Nāsir's attempts to be the center for Islamic diplomacy and politics were rooted in creating an environment of religious unity.

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's relationship with the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs

In order to understand the way al-Nāsir was able to cultivate allies in a short period of time, it is necessary to turn to the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state in Alamut. This is probably al-Nāsir's most spectacular diplomatic victory because he turned a historically hostile faction and integrated the leader of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state into his party of alliances. Upon Jalāl al-dīn Ḥasan's advent to being the imām of the Ismāʿīlī community in Alamut, he decided to increase practices in conformity with the *Jamāʿī-Sunnī* community. According to the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs the unchangeable truths that were passed on by the prophets to their interpreters (the Ismāʿīlī imāms) were contained in the *bāṭin* meanings, and the divinely guided infallible Ismāʿīlī imāms' function was to explain the truths to the community. But in a reformist wave, Ḥasan decided to take his community along with him, ending the hostility that had isolated the Ismāʿīlīs. The Ismāʿīlīs obeyed their imām in this move, presumably on the basis of dissimulation, *taqiyya*. At first, Ḥasan allied himself to the Khwārazmshāh ruler but then he allied himself with caliph al-Nāsir. Ḥasan materially helped the atabeg of Azerbaijan in the wars in ʿIrāq ʿAjamī, once in a joint military campaign, and once by sending an assassin.

The Persian Nizārīs were becoming increasingly weary of their isolation from the outside world in the *qiyāma* times.[60] During the

later years of Muhammad II's reign, there was a growing breach between him and his eldest son, Ḥasan. Ḥasan received Muhammad II's religious designation (*naṣṣ*)[61] to succeed him, but Ḥasan objected to the doctrine and practice of *qiyāma*. Ḥasan wanted a rapprochement between the Nizārī community, the larger *Jamaʿat-i Sunnī* world and at least with his neighbors.[62] While there is no evidence proving Ḥasan's alleged conversion to *Jamaʿat-i Sunnī* practices was credited to the efforts of Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, there is a striking similarity between al-Suhrawardī's and Ḥasan's theological reforms. For example, al-Suhrawardī believed that the caliph is the mediator, *wasīl*, between the earth and God. It is only the caliph's perfect rule and the total application of *sharīʿā* that reconnects believers to the divine. This is very similar to imām Ḥasan's active role in supporting Nizārī intellectual and ecumenical discourse within and outside the Nizārī community. Ḥasan was responsible for popularizing the acceptance of a number of Nizārī beliefs to the *Jamaʿat-i Sunni* community, while at the same time he attempted to build closer relationships between the two communities. One example is Nāsir al-dīn al-Tūsī (d. 1274), who formulated the doctrine of *satr* for this period.[63] The doctrine of *satr* explained imām Ḥasan's reform and created a stronger spiritual connection in the community. Ḥasan's observance of the *Jamaʿat-i Sunnī sharīʿā* implied that this was an era of *taqiyya* and it was a new period of concealment, *satr*.[64] Al-Tūsī broadened the definition of *satr* as the concealment of the true spiritual reality of the imām. The *satr* doctrine went beyond the physical hiddenness of the imām to include the unveiled truth of the imām. The truth would be once again hidden in the *bāṭin*. Furthermore, under Ḥasan's period of *qiyāma* a member of the Ismāʿīlī community could strive for a state of spiritual union, *waḥda*, with the imām.[65] Within the entire Ismāʿīlī community the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs would be the most representative Shīʿī group to advocate esoteric (*bāṭiniyya*) Islam that included a firm religious hierarchy, *hudūd*. The imām of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs represented an esoteric world of hidden spiritual reality, and he embodied the inner truths (*ḥaqāʾiq*) of every apparent living entity.

Imām Ḥasan's reformist policies and redefinition of *qiyāma* were a major declaration for the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community of their presence in the Islamic *umma*. On the one hand, imām Ḥasan was admitting to not having achieved a greater role in the Islamic world, and on the other hand, through *qiyāma* he was ushering in a new era where the imām was independent of the earthly world and

average believers. For imām Ḥasan, the *qiyāma* was a total transformation of the Nizārīs who were now to understand the imām as the manifestation in him of the divine truth. Through imām Ḥasan's eternal essence, he was defined as the epiphany (*mazḥar*) of the word (*kalīma*) or command (*amr*) of God. This is a grand revisionist interpretation in Shīʿī theology, where the imām is understood to be the proof (*hujja*) of God,[66] but it is obvious that imām Ḥasan's *qiyāma* declaration enabled the Nizārī imām to become the manifestation of the divine word, the cause for creating a spiritual *bāṭiniyya* world. The imām's new position was a spiritual reality that meant he too possessed an authority in metaphysical and mystical knowledge. The combination of both imām Ḥasan's reformist policies and revisionist doctrines contributed to an interesting coalescence between the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī and sūfī orders.

In 1256 the Mongols attacked the fortress of Alamut, the center of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community, destroyed the Alamut Nizārī Ismāʿīlī base, and forced the Ismāʿīlīs to resettle in other regions of Iran, Afghanistan and India. Successive Nizārī imāms lived in clandestine areas with only a few personal advisors who maintained their authority. The diaspora of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community was an important factor that enabled the incorporation of sūfī teachings and the greater acceptance of the influence of sūfī *ṭarīqāts*. One of the areas in which Nizārī-sūfī assimilation was obvious was when some Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs adopted the sūfī way of life. For example, one of many popular Ismāʿīlī imāms like Shams al-dīn Muhammad and Qāsim Shāhī allegedly lived as sūfī shaikhs (*pīrs*), and their followers embraced the common sūfī title of *murīd* or disciple.[67] A noted authority on Ismāʿīlī history, Farhad Daftary, says that the adoption of sūfī practices by Ismāʿīlī imāms was essentially the practice of *taqiyya* so they could survive under hostile circumstances. While the esoteric qualities in Ismāʿīlī theology were perhaps a major reason for Ismāʿīlīs to gravitate toward the sūfī tradition, it is not convincing to state that Ismāʿīlī imāms were in *taqiyya* when at the same time Ismāʿīlī sources cite popular sūfī shaikhs such as Saʿd al-dīn Mahmūd Shabistarī, Farīd al-dīn ʿAṭṭār and Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī as their spiritual mentors.[68] Daftary's theory of Ismāʿīlī imāms could be applied to a number of individuals who preached Ismāʿīlī doctrines and emphasized distinctive Ismāʿīlī beliefs such as the prophetic-imāmī cyclical history.[69] But the main problem with Daftary's argument is that a number of his alleged Ismāʿīlī imāms were Ismāʿīlīs in *taqiyya* and simultaneously

prominent spiritual teachers of various sūfī orders. According to Daftary, the Ismāʿīlī imāms, especially imāms in the Qāsim–Shāhī lineage, remained sūfī shaikhs of sūfī *ṭarīqāts* because "a suitable locality was needed to establish a *daʿwa* headquarters, though concrete evidence is lacking."[70] He continues to state that "Nizārism utilized the guise of sūfism, appearing as a sūfī order, one amongst many such orders then existing in Persia."[71] The main problem in this argument is if Ismāʿīlī imāms were hiding as sūfī shaikhs because they could not establish a central center for their missionary work, why did they not acquire the established sūfī institutions (*khānaqāh*) and convert them into Ismāʿīlī centers. Instead, Daftary highlights eminent sūfī shaikhs, who despite their enormous contributions to sūfī *ṭarīqāts*, were actually Ismāʿīlī imāms. For example, the sūfī shaikh Mustansir Billāh II (d. 1480) also known as Shāh Qalandar, a prestigious sūfī in the Niʿmat Allāh *ṭarīqa*, was also the thirty-second Nizāri Ismāʿīlī imām. The founder of the Niʿmat Allāh *ṭarīqa*, Shāh Niʿmat Allāh (1330–1431), who was credited with having numerous disciples of his own, was also an alleged Ismāʿīlī imām. Shāh Niʿmat Allāh was a disciple of the famous sūfī shaikh ʿAbdallāh al-Yafī (d. 1367), the original founder of the Yafiʿīyya order, and is credited with being the spiritual teacher for Timur's son, Shāhrukh. Daftary supports the theory of an active conscious propagation by Shīʿī missionaries throughout the Sunnī world. In this process, sūfī *ṭarīqats* became areas of religious eclecticism, Shīʿī–Sunnī syncreticism, and Shīʿī–sūfī coalescence.

According to Daftary, the Ismāʿīlī geneology records (*gināns*) document individuals who spread Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, and Pīr Sadr al-dīn (d. 1416) was one of the first Ismāʿīlī imāms to establish an Ismāʿīlī *jamāʿat-khānā* in Ucch. Pīr Sadr al-dīn is credited with being the first Indian Nizāri Ismāʿīlī to have organized community centers in Punjab, Kashmir, and in Gujarat where members of this community were known as the Khojas. His son, Pīr Ḥasan Kabīr al-dīn,[72] was also a significant Ismāʿīlī imām, although according to Suhrawardīyya sources, he is listed as a leading sūfī shaikh in Multan.[73] The fact that Ismāʿīlī imāms are recorded in both Suhrawardīyya records and Ismāʿīlī geneology (*gināns*) is indicative of a substantial exchange of Ismāʿīlī–Suhrawardī religious beliefs which originally developed during the time of Imām Ḥasan and Shaikh al-Suhrawardī.

The resemblance between Imām Ḥasan's and al-Suhrawardī's theory of attaining spiritual union in the present world is not exact,

since the foci for the Ismāʿīlīs was the imām, whereas for Shaikh al-Suhrawardī the point of all authority was imbedded in the office of the caliphate. Although there are important differences in both religious leaders' interpretation of leading a pious life and where the source is for religious authority, it is worth noting their obvious commonalities.

Al-Nāsir's alliance with the Ismāʿīlīs through the alleged conversion of Jalāl ad-dīn Ḥasan broadened his reputation and his image as the "caliph of unity."[74] It allowed him to cross religious barriers that previously weakened the ʿAbbāsid empire and divided the Muslim community. He was essentially bringing in Nizārīs in order to be the leader of the Islamic *umma* and expand his alliances to undermine all threats to his power.

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's cooperative efforts as a political advisor and religious authority in sūfī orders and *futūwwa* served caliph al-Nāsir's program of unity. Al-Suhrawardī's sūfī worldview assisted in convincing members of the *futūwwa* who their leader was and what his function was in relation to their spirituality. Beyond the function of a religious authority, al-Nāsir sent al-Suhrawardī on diplomatic trips to diffuse tensions between al-Nāsir and his enemies. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī also served to cultivate new relationships and build alliances in Egypt, Syria, and Anatolia. These regions were not only experiencing political uncertainty in which al-Nāsir could provide some assistance; but, more importantly, they were fertile ground to join the *futūwwa* groups. Al-Nāsir utilized his advisors, especially al-Suhrawardī, to consolidate his power base and to keep him in the center of the expanding power structures. According to Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, his *taṣawwuf* commitment was not compromised or diminished because of his political activities with the caliph al-Nāsir. For him these activities gave him an opportunity to defend critical points of Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* like upholding the *sharīʿā* and popularizing practicing the *sunnā* of the Prophet to a wider audience in the Islamic community. His intentions were to have people realize that *taṣawwuf* does not have to be against the authority of the state: rather, there can be a *taṣawwuf–sharīʿā* balance.

2

ʿAWĀRIF AL-MAʿĀRIF

The sūfī Manual of Shaikh ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī

Suhrawardī sūfī texts in the thirteenth century, like other sūfī texts, illustrate the way ideas were argued and used to structure the lives of sūfīs. Written sūfī treatises are more than a lifetime of compiled ideas because within these ideas there are complex individual and collective relationships between fixed or unfixed ideas. Generally, ideas not only reflect beliefs and how these beliefs affect world-views, but they reflect experiences of continuous changes and define or refine themselves as compared to generations. Putting forth one's ideas is a way of connecting to past thinkers or ideological systems or what Karl Mannheim referred to as "a common location in the social and historical process in creating a particular world-view or mentality."[1] This point is true for sūfī shaikhs, like Shaikh al-Suhrawardī: testing his ideas with past figures was part of a process of locating himself within what was known or understood. Examining his sūfī beliefs further highlights how his ideas were associated with a specific social group, in this case the Suhrawardīyya order. Analyzing the subtext of his ideas offers the opportunity to learn about the role al-Suhrawardī's sūfī beliefs played in forming the sūfī order.

In determining the *taṣawwuf* workings of the Suhrawardīyya system, we can use Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's religious ideas to help us understand the attitudes, hierarchies, psychology, culture, and general values of its adherents. Peter Burke pointed out the division among historians in approaching intellectual history by either the mentalities or the ideology model.[2] The mentalities approach is more useful here because it is concerned with collective attitudes of the sūfī order rather than individual ones, and one can better understand how different mental patterns have changed or stayed the same at a particular time; whereas if one were merely to restrict

oneself to the study of the ideology of a group or an individual, that would require an intensive investigation into all of the political philosophies of the state and its various multi-relationships with the group. Examining Shaikh al-Suhrawardī and his disciples who moved eastward, such as Shaikh Baha' ud-dīn Zakariyyā, it opens a deeper analysis of their spiritual lives and especially the ways these religious ideas affected sūfī practice within the Suhrawardīyya *silsilā* over a period of three generations. In discussing Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's religious beliefs, it is important to view sūfī theology not as a static cement that holds the *silsilā* together, but more as what Mannheim referred to as total and particular conceptions of ideology. According to Mannheim, "total conceptions" suggests that there is a relationship between a set of beliefs and some social groups, and particular conceptions of ideology are used to support or maintain a political order or other institutions.[3] Applying a combination of total and particular conceptions of Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's religious beliefs will reconstruct the way these ideas were perceived, transmitted and ultimately reconstructed in a different place and time.

The sūfī background of Shaikh ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī

The earliest theosophist of the Suhrawardī sūfī *ṭarīqa* was Shaikh ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī's uncle, Shaikh Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī. Shaikh Abū Najib al-Suhrawardī was born in 1097 in the town of Suhraward, which is west of Sultaniyya, in the province of al-Jibal in Iran. Shaikh Abū Najīb (d. 1168) was a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad al-Ghazālī, the brother of the well-known Abū Ḥamīd al-Ghazālī, educator at the Nizāmīyya *madrasa* in Baghdad. Shaikh Ahmad al-Ghazālī invited Shaikh Abū Najīb to become his disciple. On the banks of the Tigris Shaikh Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī built a *khānaqāh* and wrote the *(Ādāb al-Murīdīn*, a popular sūfī manual that describes the importance of disciplined behavior. Shaikh Ahmad al-Ghazālī, Shaikh Abū Najīb and their contemporary ʿAinu'l-Quzāt all belonged to the Junāydī school of *taṣawwuf*. But, in addition to Junāyd's *taṣawwuf* tradition of sobriety (*sahw*), they were all more inclined toward mystical intoxication of the soul resting with God (*sukr*) after complete divine reunion.[4] Preachings and writings by ʿAinu'l-Quzāt infuriated the *sharīʿā*-minded and he was thrown into prison in Baghdad.

ʿAinu'l-Quzāt's treatise argued that his doctrine of *fanā'* was neither pantheism nor did it mean that everything was contingent upon being with God's Being.[5] ʿAinu'l-Quzāt asserted that he was not different from earlier sūfīs but firmly agreed in many of areas with Abū Ḥamīd al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). In 1131 ʿAinu'l-Quzāt was murdered at the age of thirty-three and never had the opportunity to defend himself or his ideas on *taṣawwuf* at a public trial.

Shaikh ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī was born in Rajab 523 Hijri, or January 1145. He studied theology under Shaikh ʿAbdu'l-Qādir Jilānī and a number of other prominent theologians, and was initiated into *taṣawwuf* by his uncle, Shaikh Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī. Even in his late teenage years, al-Suhrawardī encountered vigorous opposition from the greatest Hanbalī theologian in Baghdad, Abdu'r Rahmān ibn al-Jawzī (1126–1200),[6] who was also an interpreter of *fiqh* and a *muḥadīth*. Abdu'r Rahmān ibn al-Jawzī was a prolific author and preacher, and had a considerable amount of influence with the ʿAbbāsid caliphs as the *Shaikh al-Islām*. Aside from the religious differences between Ibn al-Jawzī and Jilānī and the latter's popularity in Baghdad, Shaikh ibn al-Jawzī accused al-Suhrawardī's teacher of furthering the cause of philosophy and heresy. In his works, *Naqd al-ʿIlm wa'l-ʿulamā'* and *Talbīs Iblīs*, Ibn al-Jawzī condemned non-*sunnī* sects and even attacked a large number of *sunnī* jurisconsults, *sharīʿā*-minded individuals and sūfīs including Abū Ṭālib al-Mālikī, Qushairī and Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī.[7]

The turning point came for Ibn al-Jawzī's career came when caliph al-Nāsir (1179–1225) reversed his policy of blind support for Ibn Jawzī and instituted a more "middle-of-the-road" policy formulated by Shaikh ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī. Like Ibn al-Jawzī, Shaikh ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī served as political–religious advisor in the capacity of *Shaikh al-Islām*, to advance the ʿAbbāsid administration's goal of consolidating power in global Islamic politics. As discussed earlier, caliph al-Nāsir sent Shaikh ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī abroad to the courts of the ʿAyyubī al-Mālik al-ʿĀdil I Saifu'al-dīn (1200–1218) in Egypt, of the Khwarazm-Shāh, ʿAlā' al-dīn Muhammad (1200–1220) and of the Seljuk ruler of Konya ʿAlā' al-dīn Kay-Qubaz I (1219–1237). In return for his service to the ʿAbbasid administration, caliph al-Nāsir built an extensive *khānaqāh* for Shaikh al-Suhrawardī and his family with a number of additions such as a bathhouse and a garden.

Shaikh ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī: *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*

During his lifetime, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī wrote many books and essays regarding the *taṣawwuf* and *fiqh* tradition. Of the ones that survive, *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* ("Knowledge of the Learned") was the most popular. At the time this work was important because it was an attempt to reconcile the historical conflicts of *taṣawwuf*- and *sharīʿā*-obeying individuals by a distinguished government religious figure. To later generations of sūfīs it became one of the most closely studied texts on *taṣawwuf*. Posthumously, the Arabic text *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* was translated into Persian by ʿIzzuʾd-dīn Muhammad bin ʿAlī of Kashān (d. 1352–1353) and entitled *Misbahuʾl-Hidāya wa Miftahuʾl Kifāya*. The translator ʿIzzuʾd-dīn Muhammad made minor changes to the translation, such as restructuring the organization of the text and adding his own views on *taṣawwuf*. One of many areas of concern for Shaikh al-Suhrawardī was the concept and origin of the word "sūfī." In *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*, he comments on the early influential sūfī thinker Abū Nasr al-Sarrāj's understanding of the way the term "sūfī" had been used in pre-Islamic Arabic.[8] According to Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, the word was the product of a period of political change and unrest. He rejected the idea that "sūfi" etymology was derived from *suffa* (pure). For scholars like al-Sarrāj, *saffa* was the root of ʿsūfīʾ and he traced the word *saffa* to many incidents of the *sunnā*, which to them at least made *taṣawwuf* an integral part of the Prophet's tradition. However, for al-Suhrawardī there were many elements of *taṣawwuf* practice in the Prophet's life; and *taṣawwuf* aspects were evident in the lives of the companions of the Prophet in Madina who were called "the People of the Verandah" (*aḥl as-saffa*). Al-Suhrawardī asserted that early sūfī shaikhs after the companions continued the religious practices of the companions. But this did not explain the original meaning of "sūfī." Al-Suhrawardī referred to a class of Khurāsānī sūfīs who lived in caves and were called *shikaftiyyah* (from the word *shikaft*, "cave"); this word possibly contributed to the development of "sūfī." Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's description implies that sūfīs of that era then adopted a particular mode of life, which was very close to the lives of Buddhist monks.[9] He did not explicitly state that the sūfī tradition borrowed elements of Buddhism, but his acknowledgment of other religious groups in the region shows that sūfīs were in religious dialog with others who lived according to ascetic principles.

For Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, the derivation of the word sūfī originally came from *sūf* (wool), meaning those who wore woolen garments to imitate the clothing of the Prophet. Using Qur'ānic verses to support this theory, al-Suhrawardī showed that knowledge, particularly spiritual inner knowledge, was the basis for *taṣawwuf*. He quoted the Qur'ānic passage of *al rasikhūn fī al-ʿIlm* ("Those firmly rooted in knowledge") to refer to those people who declare the truth and are insightful enlightened sūfīs.[10] Al-Suhrawardī's idea of knowledge was that it should be a good combination of formal education in a *madrasa* and knowledge gained from the spiritual experiences of prominent sūfī shaikhs. He stated that certain knowledge cannot be learned in school because the prophets left a legacy with spiritual teachers and one needs to acquire this knowledge from them.[11] This is an example of al-Suhrawardī's goal of balancing *madrasa* or institutional knowledge with alternative spiritual shaikh-*murīd* sūfī knowledge. According to al-Suhrawardī, the understanding of knowledge separated sūfīs into two categories: the first were those whose mystical insight was built on their spiritual perception; the second consisted of those whose supernatural enlightenment was the result of their own annihilation of the inner self (*fanā'*).[12] Shaikh al-Suhrawardī quoted Shaikh al-Junāyd al-Baghdādī's statement that what leads to *taṣawwuf* is not reason and intellectual debates, but intense fasting, renunciation of the world, and abstention from even that which is lawful.[13] It is significant to point out that Shaikh al-Junāyd was probably one of the first sūfīs to have discussed ritual acts with an esoteric interpretation and Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's elaboration of rituals was a way of connecting to those ideas. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī was sensitive to popular participation in sūfī *ṭarīqāts* and by linking Shaikh al-Junāyd in his arguments he connected himself with the substantial legitimacy that attached to such a historical figure.

The *taṣawwuf* of Shaikh al-Suhrawardī

Taṣawwuf *and the truth of* taṣawwuf

In understanding al-Suhrawardī's ideas and what he wanted to achieve with them, it is important to recall that he was part of a Baghdādī Hanbalī tradition, trained in *fiqh*, *sharīʿā*, and *falsafa*, and a member of the *muḥadīthūn* circles. His background in Islamic sciences placed al-Suhrawardī within an elite intellectual

ʿulamāʾ group, and his family heritage as a Suhrawardī also qualified him as a spiritual leader in sūfī circles. To support his arguments, as a Hanbalī jurist, al-Suhrawardī followed the tradition of using passages of the *Qurʾān*, and *ḥadīths* from the six major *sunnī* sources such as al-Bukhārī (d. 970), Muslim (d. 875), Abū Dāwūd (d. 889), al-Tirmidhī (d. 892), al-Nisāʾī (d. 915), and Ibn Majah (d. 887), and sayings from past eminent sūfī shaikhs. When al-Suhrawardī quoted from the *Qurʾān*, he usually took sections of a verse to support his particular idea and supplied the citation. This does not mean that he quoted misleadingly or partially ignored other elements of the *Qurʾān*; rather, he continued the *muḥadīth* practice of supplying evidence from the sacred sources. Whenever he made a reference to the Prophet he followed the *sunnā* by supplying the proper benediction of *salā allāhu ʿalaihim wa sallam* (may peace and blessing be upon him) and with companions to the Prophet, members of the Prophet's family, Shīʾī Imāms, and eminent sūfī shaikhs he applied *raḥmat allāh alahī* (may God have mercy on them). Every *ḥadīth* has a chain of transmission, *isnād*, but he did not specifically state whether it came from the main *ḥadīth* sources of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nisāʾī or Ibn Majah unless he referred to one of these individuals in the discussion. This demonstrates al-Suhrawardī's training as a *muḥadīth* and his heavy reliance on *ḥadīths* as one of the main patterns to prove legitimacy. Essentially, al-Suhrawardī based his authority on three sources: the *sunnī*, *ḥadīth*, and the sayings of earlier sūfī shaikhs. This order is used in almost every heading but is not always in the same order. There are a few areas in the text where only one source is used and the three others are neglected.

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's use of simple language, easily flowing sentences that are not difficult to follow, may have opened the doors for a wider audience to read his treatise. It is fair to assume that his religious authority in both *taṣawwuf* and *sharīʿā* needed to be expressed in layperson's terminology so that a wider audience could comprehend complex theological ideas. Due to the fact that he may have had a diverse group of people, all of whom were sūfīs or capable of reading his theories, his interpretations of *taṣawwuf* needed to be as succinct as possible.[14] In *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*, al-Suhrawardī generally starts with a topic by quoting a *ḥadīth* from the Prophet or another significant figure, and reserves quoting from the *sunnā* for the heart of his argument. As far as modern standards are concerned, the *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* as a thirteenth-

century sūfī treatise has little textual structure. It is not organized by a certain chronology of *taṣawwuf* and has no order of topics related to *taṣawwuf*. Rather, al-Suhrawardī organized his treatise by themes and subthemes that are related to the general topic. For instance, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī commented on proper etiquette, *ādāb*, in over thirty-five separate but thematically related areas such as prayer, fasting, speaking to a shaikh, entering a room, approaching a *khānaqāh*, donating to charity, ways to practice the *sunnā* of the Prophet, etc. Each theme has a heading and subsequent headings in the following manner: "The *ādāb* of *taṣawwuf*," "The excellence of *ādāb*," "The importance of *ādāb*," "The sayings of sūfīs on *ādāb*," "The *ādāb* of a shaikh," "The *ādāb* of disciples," and "The *ādāb* in a shaikh's *mājlis*," etc. This type of textual organization reflects a mental structure that weaves together interconnected themes so that the reader feels that one theme is related to the larger web. Al-Suhrawardī's treatise consists of more than his own personal legal opinions and *taṣawwuf* principles. For his disciples, it was the source for interpreting *taṣawwuf*, something around which to structure their spiritual and temporal lives, and ultimately take them closer to divine union.

Under the theme of "The Real Truth of *Taṣawwuf*," al-Suhrawardī begins with a *ḥadīth* and then supports his explanation as it is related to the theme. In this case, the *ḥadīth* will provide an important authority for his point which is that past sūfī shaikhs already established that *taṣawwuf* is connected to taking care of the underprivileged and that this is a way to God. There are two elements: one of social responsibility and another of finding one's place with God. In the end both elements are intertwined, and by using the authority of the Prophet, the *ḥadīth* functions as the prime model for existence. For example, Shaikh Abū Zuhr ʿAttār ibn Abī Fazl (*radī allāh anhu*) told Shaikh al-Suhrawardī a *ḥadīth* from Abd Allāh ibn ʿUmar (r) that the Prophet Muhammad (*salā allāh ʿalaihī wa sallam*)[15] said that "everything has a key to it, and in this respect the key to heaven is having love and patience toward your loved ones and the sūfīs (*faqīr*). On the day of judgment, Allāh will have mercy on us."[16] Shaikh al-Suhrawardī continues his explanation by stating:

> In this way, *faqīrs* are the real truth of *taṣawwuf*, and the basic necessity is assisting them. As Rūmī (r) said that "*taṣawwuf* had three exclusive fundamentals: (1) to adopt the poor, (2) be generous and (3) to adopt the abandoned."

> When al-Junāyd al-Baghdādī (r) was asked about *taṣawwuf*, he stated that "*taṣawwuf* is when you are with Allāh and you cannot live otherwise." Also, Mʿarūf al-Karkhī (r) stated that "truths of *taṣawwuf* are to adopt the poor and make the unfortunate feel fortunate."[17]

Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* is then concerned with its sūfī members helping poor and abandoned people. The *taṣawwuf* incorporates the *ḥadīths* of the Prophet in order to emulate his model of being the guardian for the poor. The use of *ḥadīths* are instructional for sūfī disciples to remember the Prophet, as well as to remind Suhrawardīs of their link to the Prophet.

In praise of the sūfī

After establishing the truth of *taṣawwuf*, al-Suhrawardī continues to build an argument, no matter how convincing or weak it may be, by turning to prominent figures such as the Prophet, his family members, his companions and past sūfī shaikhs to authenticate their *taṣawwuf* characteristics. Using these individual figures is not only a literary technique, but a theological argument that rests on historical–religious truths of the tradition. At the same time, it is more important to acknowledge al-Suhrawardī's ability to associate himself with these figures and the way he affirms his authority by knowing intricate religious details of these influential persons. For instance, when he is developing the theme of praising sūfīs, he again uses renowned figures that command a certain amount of respect by their names alone. Al-Suhrawardī stated that:

> Shiblī (r) stated that the real truth regarding the *faqīr* is that *faqīrs* are concerned with truth and nothing else matters. Also, ʿAbū Ḥasan Noorī (r) stated in praise of the mystic that a *faqīr* is comfortable when he is penniless and in time of having money he is generous with it. Another sūfī elder stated that a good mystic is one that is not attached to the world. And if worldly things would come to a *faqīr*, he would not be spoiled by it and this is why worldly persons are drawn near to sūfīs because they ask that the riches not spoil them.[18]

In this passage, there is a superior quality to sūfīs who are not materially oriented (*tajrīd*), but are solely interested in pursuing

spiritual matters. This was an important point because Shaikh al-Suhrawardī favored a greater involvement between *taṣawwuf* practices and the government. The fact that his *ṭarīqa* was heavily supported by caliph al-Nāsir reflects his concern over sūfīs abusing official patronage or, worse, leading to the corruption of *taṣawwuf*.

The questioning of sūfīs and the practice of taṣawwuf

A congenial aspect of al-Suhrawardī's thematic argumentation is that, within the topics, he addresses problems as if they were unresolved compelling issues of his time, and suggests answers to these issues in a rational way. Al-Suhrawardī's sensible qualities of confronting difficult and controversial issues are to present a peaceful and immediate resolution. It is obvious that his approach to dealing with uncomfortable issues within *taṣawwuf* and *sharīʿā*, is part of his *Weltanschauung* of maintaining a balanced lifestyle between *taṣawwuf* practices and living on earth.

From the treatise, al-Suhrawardī was conscious of *taṣawwuf*'s precarious past with sūfī shaikhs' claims of being divine manifestations. It also appears that he took exception to current trends in *taṣawwuf* and there was an obvious need for him to highlight several areas of misinterpretation in sūfī theosophy. It was another way for al-Suhrawardī to dismiss sūfīs that were extreme and outside of the tradition, and an opportunity for him to correct the ways of sūfī shaikhs and disciples. He believed that the best way to not misunderstand *taṣawwuf* was to study with reputable and qualified shaikhs. While he did not propose himself or his own disciples as the answer, by referring to such a problem he displayed his sensitivity to the problems of poor guidance by untrained sūfī shaikhs, certainly an important issue in his time. On this subject, he stated the following:

> At various states, virtuous shaikhs would give different meanings. This is because at different times and different states they have different understandings. This is why in understanding the differences in virtues and etiquette, one needs to know the rules that are associated with them. Because there was an incident once when a *faqīr* was teaching the finer points of *taṣawwuf* principles but he misunderstood these points himself. The people listening who were in search of real truths had doubts in his explanations. In this manner, it is necessary to have a praise-worthy

> community because sometimes a *faqīr* can be misunderstood concerning the human expression of *taṣawwuf*. Some basic points can be misunderstood. This is why when one is in search for the truth, one needs another person to teach proper etiquette (*ādāb*) and even this has its problems.[19]

The real truths of taṣawwuf

Under this theme, al-Suhrawardī boldly states his theories on *taṣawwuf* without any reservations. The long drawn-out debate by sūfī shaikhs over the nature of *taṣawwuf*, *faqīrs*, *zāḥid*, and *bāṭin* was an area which he felt needed firm clarity. What is interesting is how simple he makes these individual components. He states that they are basically the same in nature; but, in the past, shaikhs have misunderstood them because they have not undergone true mystical experiences. For him, these elements are held together by proper etiquette, *ādāb*, which is present at every level of every experience. Al-Suhrawardī writes that:

> *Taṣawwuf*, *faqīrs*, *zāhid*, and *bāṭin* are not separate or different things. *Taṣawwuf*, *faqīrs* and *zāhid* have many meanings to them and in these things there are many parts that exist. But with them there are additional qualities or merits that are together. And without them, no sūfī can be a sūfī. Abūl Ḥafiz (r) stated that "*taṣawwuf* needs etiquette from the top of the head to the bottom of the foot." That is, for each time there is a proper etiquette, for every moment (*waqt*), for every state (*ḥāl*) and spiritual station (*maqām*) there are different etiquettes. In this way, anyone who adheres to proper etiquette and its proper times, that person reaches another level of humanness. For the person who violates proper etiquette then that person grows further away from a developed heart and instead stays at an invaluable expectation.[20]

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī distinguished between time, states, and spiritual stations and each of their required etiquette practices to demonstrate that *ādāb* is not a single static practiced universally. Sūfī disciples needed to be prepared to adjust their knowledge of *ādāb* so that they are in obedience to the proper *waqt*, *ḥāl*, *maqām*. These categories are yet another specific arena for sūfīs to explore *taṣawwuf* knowledge and employ the appropriate type of *ādāb*.

In this context, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī cites a recorded statement that includes a *ḥadīth* report to support his argument: "Muzīd (r) reported that there are signs of *ẓāhir* etiquette and *bāṭin* etiquette. Because the Prophet (s) said that 'the person who has a humble heart is with magnificence'."[21]

The differences between sūfīs and taṣawwuf

Al-Suhrawardī addresses issues by identifying the obvious correct way that is based on prophetic tradition and sanctioned by God. While these issues were probably controversial during his time, he constantly applies the "unquestionable truths" to his main argument. For instance, under this heading of "The Differences between Sūfīs and *Taṣawwuf*" al-Suhrawardī illustrates *taṣawwuf*'s basic tenet of assisting the poor, and those sūfīs who do not speak about working toward social justice in their theology are not really practicing the original tradition of the Prophet. Al-Suhrawardī states that:

> Basically the issue is that the *faqīr* takes care of the poor and there is much wisdom in it. And this is why being worldly is preferred, because *faqīrs* ask for mercy from God. As the Prophet (s) stated: "Amongst my followers, the poor will enter heaven a half day before those followers concerned with the world. And there, for those present during the half day it will seem like five hundred years."[22]

Not only does al-Suhrawardī advocate a type of social justice *taṣawwuf* by quoting this *ḥadīth*; he is taking part in fulfilling a covenant with the Prophet that was left up to the community. While he does not explicitly state that those sūfīs who do not make social welfare a high priority in their *taṣawwuf* will have problems in the hereafter, he is implicitly stating that his type of *taṣawwuf* is fully aware of this *ḥadīth* and incorporates it into his *taṣawwuf*. Specifically, Suhrawardī sūfīs are responsible for the lives of both the poor and their own community of sūfīs. On this subject Shaikh al-Suhrawardī stated:

> *Zāḥir* exists in between *taṣawwuf* and sūfīs. It is also understood that sūfīs are the basic components for *taṣawwuf*, and it is a necessary part of it, meaning that we as sūfīs are in the path of *taṣawwuf*. But this does not mean that sūfīs without wealth will not be complete followers of *taṣawwuf*.[23]

Here, al-Suhrawardī is responding to many sūfīs who contested his authority as a sūfī shaikh and his religious authority. He was aware of his critics who argued against a *taṣawwuf* that allowed wealth to be permissible and often in his text would contradict those views as not knowledgeable of the tradition.

Annihilation in God

> Shaikh al-Junāyd (r) stated that *taṣawwuf*'s true understanding is when the truth of God is upon your dead soul and then it is awakened. It is understood that the sūfī maintains the self with God. The reverse is when the *faqīr* and *zāḥid* are constantly laughing. And their intentions are to be aware and to seek knowledge for their needs. But, sūfīs are not inclined to act according to their selfish needs, but they are interested in subordinating to the desires of the Prophet (s).[24]

In addition, he noted that "Shaikh Dhūn-Nūn Misrī (r) reported that a sūfī is one who does not search for narrow-minded things and is not in need of anything and is not disturbed by rewards."[25]

> And Shaikh Ayāz (r) stated that sūfīs prefer God over anything else and this also is why God prefers them. They have one important support behind them and that is that their personal knowledge is about God and their intentions are to prefer God only.[26]

The shaikh's words

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī stressed the importance of listening to and obeying the shaikhs' wise advise. To him these were actually spoken words that have traveled on a long journey and deserve to be treated as sacred vocabulary. He quotes the following passage:

> Rūmī (r) stated that *taṣawwuf* is about having the soul in the hands of almighty God, and having intentions is only a part of it. It is said that *taṣawwuf* is performing *dhikr* with the community of sūfīs, and taking part in *samāʿ* – with actions.[27]

Good virtues of the friends of God, ʿAuliyā'

> It is recorded by Shaikh Dhūn-Nūn Misrī (r) that one night he was walking along the beach when he saw a woman. He asked her where are you coming from? She responded, I am coming from those people who have visions. Then Shaikh Dhūn-Nūn Misrī asked her what her destination was? Again she responded that she was going to where Allāh's *dhikr* was performed and where people were not carelessly bought or sold. He said to her that she was virtuous because of her company.[28]

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's emphasis is on spiritual exercises in *taṣawwuf* and that everything is built upon returning to God. His constant reminder to Suhrawardī *murīds* that *ādāb* is an essential part of their *taṣawwuf* beliefs, reflecting a great concern for structure, order, and hierarchy which are all connected to sūfī spirituality. For the shaikh it was important to make this point as coherent as possible so there would be no risk of thinking that *taṣawwuf* is an individual spiritual pursuit without any boundaries or religious education. To obey the shaikh's guidance means to adhere completely to his regulations and sūfī practices. Instructions from the shaikh entail real directions toward Allāh. The lessons learned from these instructions impact their ability to proceed in spiritual enlightenment. He commented on the above story as follows:

> There are five lessons to be learned from this story: (1) people like these who are interested in God's path only are not interested in keeping relationships with anyone else; (2) their only purpose is to be personal with Him. In this manner, it is their purpose to bring those who hold no values closer to God; (3) they do not get involved in worldly affairs, their etiquette (*ādāb*) and their children's affairs are not compromised; (4) these people are not interested in wearing luxurious clothes, nor do they enter into any town to desire others; and (5) they are disciplined with time and do not rush anything.[29]

The taṣawwuf *way and its various qualities: the degrees of* taṣawwuf

> At times, people refused the blessings of sūfī shaikhs, even though obtaining faith through them is very worthy. And it is true that they possess a great deal of knowledge and in their *ṭarīqa* they too have knowledgeable persons there, and this is by the mercy of Allāh. In this case, faith and *taṣawwuf* are similar, because after obtaining certain faith, within the *ṭarīqa*, the disciple obtains knowledge. In this way, the virtues increase of a poverty-embracing *faqīr*. But sūfīs are willing to take risks. One time there was a particular situation when a sūfī was homeless and still was peaceful beyond any imagination. This is due to the fact that Allāh has a beautiful working system, that every person in any condition is allowed to obtain peace. First, the person enters the state of willingness (*zuq*). Then upon entering the state of revelation (*mukāshāfa*), the person receives knowledge (*maʿrifa*). And then moving above this state, the person obtains faith. The state of willingness is a step-by-step process, whereas the state of knowledge is through visions and it is the highest state, where faith is.[30]

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's statement of sūfī orders as a space for real knowledge to be understood and obtained is not a passing remark on the subject. The entire arena from the institution of the *khānaqāh*, *dhikr* exercises, prayer instructions from the sūfī shaikh, and of intense religious textual instruction are all mandates from God. It is the blessings from Allāh Himself who desires His servants to praise Him and learn to perfect their surrendering of worldly pleasures (*hawā*) so that they will return to the Creator. To understand these fundamentals means that Suhrawardīs can immerse themselves in the various degrees of *taṣawwuf* which will cure all of their grieving ills. If a sūfī seeker does not see that *taṣawwuf* inherently has its own challenges which require patience and persistence, then the seeker will not understand the step-by-step process toward Allāh. Al-Suhrawardī's commentary that initially the state of willingness (*zuq*) is crucial in *taṣawwuf* practice shows that the sūfī seeker needs to develop the inner practice of releasing restraint. Once this can be achieved, then one can receive divine knowledge (*maʿrifa*) from the state of revelation (*mukāshāfa*).

The sūfīs and the inner path

> There are mixed blessings of *faqīrs* and *taṣawwuf*. The blessing of the *faqīrs* is reflected in the practice of *taṣawwuf*. In this way, the sūfī has the means of reaching a closer spirituality. The Prophet (s) is reported to have said that "those people who perform *dhikr* with intense pleasure are absorbed by it, and with this *dhikr* they will live easily on the day of the judgment." This *ḥadīth* tells us the state in which the sūfī can stay, and the shadow of *taṣawwuf* and various degrees that are in it. The sūfī needs to have correct visions and it must be according to God's wishes. If a sūfī reaches a certain spiritual level where he becomes a *mushaid*, and his mystical level reaches and touches his heart, then his soul reflects this new level of understanding and becomes a *mujāḥid* (sūfī guide) and a *muḥasib* (self-examiner).[31]

The critical point in Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's commentary on the *taṣawwuf* path is the *ḥadīth* support used as evidence, and also the criteria in which the *ḥadīth* was applied. The use of *ḥadīth* by *ʿulamāʾ* in argumentation is common in a *sharīʿā* and *fiqh* context; however, by applying certain *ḥadīths* in a context of *taṣawwuf* practice demonstrates the shaikh's ability to connect Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* with the mystical life of the Prophet. Specifically, referring to *ḥadīths* says to sūfīs that their spiritual path is modeled after the Prophet's life and is a blueprint of the Prophet's journey. The Prophet's statements that "people who perform *dhikr* with intense pleasure are absorbed by it, and with this *dhikr* they will live easily on the day of the judgment" are instructions to Suhrawardīs to immerse themselves into *dhikr* because this is a practice of preparing oneself for Allāh. With *dhikr* the sūfī understands that there is pleasure in the practice and it unites them to Allāh in the temporal world and in the hereafter. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's commentary on *dhikr ḥadīth* that "the soul reflects this new level of understanding and becomes a *mujāḥid* and a *muḥasib*" is about knowledge that is rooted in the theology of mystical experience. With the guidance of a sūfī shaikh who understands proper *dhikr* and *ādāb*, a sūfī disciple is capable of transforming the self, which is untamed and inexperienced, toward a thoughtful enlightenment.

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī on prayers

The excellence of prayers

> It is the tradition of Shaikh ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbbās (r) that the Prophet (s) reported that almighty God created heaven and there are unique things that exist in it. It is a place where the eyes have not seen things, and the ears have not heard things, nor has any person's heart ever experienced [it]. And God tells us in the holy *Qurʾān*, "The believers that will succeed are those who are humble in their prayers."[32]

The importance of prayers

On the subject of daily ritualistic prayers, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī is adamant about following the structure of prayers as strictly as possible. He points to the Prophet's statements that refer to God calling prayers the "pillars of the religion." Al-Suhrawardī's uncompromising position on prayers could be due to many factors, like upholding the *sharīʿā* and adhering closely to the *sunnā* of the Prophet, but it is clear that he was concerned that his sūfī disciples' behavior reflect a complete adherence to the structure of his *taṣawwuf* beliefs. He states that "God has prescribed five obligatory prayers and the Prophet (s) stated that God claimed that prayers are the pillars of the religion; whoever neglects prayers becomes part of the unbelievers. With prayer, one encounters a binding testimony. One of worship's parts is prayer and the testimony that comes with prayer."[33]

He continues to explain that "A *ḥadīth* reports that when a seeker of truth prepares to do prayers, then almighty God places a *ḥijāb* over the seeker, and with personal greetings God places angels on the shoulders who also simultaneously pray with the believer."[34]

The importance of humility in prayers

"Prayers are a means of establishing a relationship between the Divine and the believers. Therefore it is necessary for the believer to practice the most humility in prayer and whenever God hears you pray, it is the humblest prayers that appeal to Him. Praying with humility will lead to victory."[35] For the shaikh, to cultivate a

strong sense of humility meant that the sūfī disciple could then possess real intentions (*niyyāt*) toward reuniting with God. Without humility in *taṣawwuf* the sūfī could not experience true sincerity in loving Allāh. The sūfī disciple needs to foster a loving relationship with Allāh so that there could be a dialog of hearts in love. If the sūfī seeker does not concentrate on humility then it is difficult for an earnest invitation from Allāh to the sūfī disciple. Humility is critical to the *taṣawwuf* journey and it is modeled after the Prophet's life and habits as cultivated in his *sunnā*.

Prayers regarding sūrā al-Fātiḥa

Al-Suhrawardī's discussion of particular *sūrās* from the *Qurʾān* follows a clear sūfī way of thinking that certain parts of the *Qurʾān* have slightly more spiritual power than others. First, by using *sūrā al-Fātiḥa*, the first *sūrā* in the *Qurʾān*, he is appealing to the well-known saying of the Prophet that it was his favorite *sūrā* in the *Qurʾān*. Second, al-Suhrawardī's interpretation of *sūrā al-Fātiḥa* gives him extended legitimacy to build upon the Prophetic tradition, again making connections to it to reinforce his position in the tradition. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's commentary on *sūrā al-Fātiḥa* is the following:

> God gave believers a special favor with the revelation of *sūrā al-Fātiḥa*. With this *sūrā*, one's prayers are acted upon by God as quickly as possible and God has taught His believers the way to pray. *Sūrā al-Fātiḥa* is recited from morning to night because it is so important that it was revealed to the Prophet (s) on two separate occasions. One time it was revealed in Mecca and another time it was revealed in the holy city of Madina. If this *sūrā* is recited at different times, only then you can begin to understand its deeper meanings. If you were to repeatedly recite *sūrā al-Fātiḥa* a thousand times then you would learn a new meaning each time.[36]

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī applies the explanation of Shaikh Abū Hurāyra, who believed that *sūrā al-Fātiḥa* was an example of the way the Divine keeps a dialog with His creation. Abū Hurāyra believes the relationship between the Creator and the believer is about the moment when the believer praises God and calls for

guidance. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's decision to cite Abū Hurāyra's discussion of the recitation of *sūrā al-Fātiḥa* again reinforces the ideas of structure and order for the sūfī and the need to follow as closely as possible the rules of that order.

> Shaikh Abū Hurāyra's tradition [is] that the Prophet (s) reported that prayer divides the believer in between two parts. One is when the believer recites "*bismillāh urahmān wa raḥīm*" (In the name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate); then God replies "my servant has called upon me." When the believer continues to recite "*alhamdulilāh rabiʿalamīn*" (All praise is due to the Lord of the worlds); then God responds "my believer has praised me." When the believer recites "*arahmān wa raḥim*" (the most Beneficent, ever-merciful), then God states "my believer has commended me." As the believer continues to recite "*malik yaumadīn*" (King of the Day of Judgment), then God replies "my believer has placed the responsibilities of all work onto me." Then the believer recites "*iyaka na'budo wa iyaka nasta'een*" (You alone we worship, and to You alone turn for help) and God states "there is room in the believer for me." As the believer states "*adanas siratul mustaqīm siratul lazina anʿumta ʿalaihim gharil maghdube ʿalaihim wa la dhaleen*" (Guide us to the path that is straight, the path of those You have blessed, Not of those who have earned Your anger, nor those who have gone astray), God states "all of this is for my believer and whatever he desires it will be granted."[37]

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī quotes this *ḥadīth* because it is extremely symbolic and it is directly related to his point of a real dialog with Allāh. Again it is al-Suhrawardī's method of reminding his audience that through prayer there is a constant dialog between the divine and human beings. By using *sūrā al-Fātiḥa* as the forum for this dialog, he creates a channel for the believer and links their prayers, something very intimate and personal, with the divine. This is another example of al-Suhrawardī functioning as a sūfī shaikh guiding his disciples toward God.

Explanations of spirituality (*rūhāniyyāt*)

Pure love

For Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, love for Allāh was essential in being a believer who surrendered everything to the Creator. A sūfī disciple focused his love with deep passion and his love was unique to all other types of love, a special love (*muḥabbat-e khās*). This special love was the purest kind a human being could cultivate because it had conditions attached to it. The shaikh explained that, unlike in human relationships where love for another person is unpredictable and often unkind, for sūfīs love for God is inextricably connected to Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* and the process of annihilating the self in God (*fanāʾ fīʾllāh*). Love for Allāh brings about direct communication, intimate relationships between the sūfī seeker and the divine, and it makes the bond between the sūfī disciple and sūfī shaikh closer. He stated the following on pure love:

> Pure love is when everything you want is for the purpose of being with God. Every type of human love is included in pure love: spiritual love. Love from the heart, love from the soul, and love from reasoning, this is why the Prophet (s) stated "Oh Lord I have more love for you than for my life, belongings, family and friends, the power to hear, and cold water."[38]

Muḥabbat-e khās is like any other spiritual exercise in Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf*, the sūfī disciple needs to consistently learn the inner details of it in order to master the practice. It is incumbent for the sūfī disciple who is in training of recollecting, remembering, and embodying the spiritual life of the Prophet to completely adhere to the *sunnā* of the Prophet. With the guidance of the sūfī shaikh, the sūfī disciple will be able to achieve union with Allāh, but only after the following the footsteps of the holy Prophet. Just as the Prophet's love for Allāh superseded any other human being, no one could deny his love for humankind. The shaikh stated "When this type of pure love is practiced toward God, then the blessings are upon all of humanity."[39]

Personal love versus special love

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī discussed different types of love a sūfī can experience and develop their spiritual education in *taṣawwuf*. According to him, love for oneself (*mūḥabbat-ba anā*) is self-destructive and leads the sūfī away from proper observance of *taṣawwuf*. The highest type of love is the one that is not for the individual self, but only for attaining beauty of the divine (*mūḥabbat-e jamāl*). When a sūfī completely surrenders his love to the divine, then he is able to begin to access elements associated with the divine. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī stated that "The love for oneself is like fire because one's observations become slanted."[40] In addition he stated the following:

> Special love is from personal love because it is here that the disciple can develop his love. This special love is full of smiles and it is channeled toward God. It is the generosity of the Divine that gives blessings and favors to the disciple so that their relationship becomes stronger. When people direct their special love in the proper ways, then they become interested in the things that are associated with divine things. This is because love is charitable and the lover and Beloved become attached to each other.[41]

Knowledge of the spirit and soul

The excellence of reasoning

An important section in al-Suhrawardī's treatise that is connected to his goal of developing an internal and external structure is the one that concerns having his disciples depend on their own intellectual abilities to comprehend their *taṣawwuf*. Al-Suhrawardī is interested in having his disciples actively practice reasoning (*ʿaql*) in their *taṣawwuf* because it was important to develop the mind in conjunction with striving toward spiritual enlightenment. Also, since Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's sūfī order stressed being politically active, it is reasonable to think that he wanted his disciples to be intellectually capable of meeting challenges of political activities. Another reason to stress the importance of *ʿaql* in *taṣawwuf* is to distinguish his order from the world-rejecting antinomian sūfīs who, to him, were not intellectually inclined. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī stated the following on the subject of *ʿaql*:

Reasoning (*ʿaql*) is the job of language. The power to think is reflected in the following *ḥadīth*: First, God made the human mind so that his creation could think. The ability to use *ʿaql* is related to worship, as another *ḥadīth* reports that with *ʿaql* you can know me and also praise me.[42]

The importance of reasoning

One time Ayesha (r) asked the Prophet (s), what is the best way for people to evaluate themselves? The Prophet (s) replied that *ʿaql* is the best means to evaluate oneself. She pursued further and asked, are people not in control of their actions? The Prophet (s) responded that obedience to almighty God involves *ʿaql*, and with more *ʿaql* involved, then people will apply more righteous actions. They will benefit as their righteous actions increase.[43]

The Prophet (s) once said the truth is that almighty God gave his servants *ʿaql* piece by piece. They learn to increase their knowledge, practice pure prayers and try to do proper fasting, but there is a great difference in their *ʿaql*.[44]

These statements reinforce the idea to Suhrawardīs that there is a hierarchy in reasoning and it takes a considerable amount of attention to proceed up the ranks of mastering the act of using reasoning and logic. It is important first for sūfīs to understand the hierarchical structure so that they may proceed to identify what *ʿaql* is necessary at each step of the *taṣawwuf* journey. If one neglects to do this, then according to al-Suhrawardī, one will encounter faulty understandings of spirituality and the guidance provided by the shaikh will be incoherent.

The truth of reasoning

The truth of *ʿaql* is that it is related to studies and one can improve on their reasoning power. But all of reasoning does not derive from studying, in fact, there have been many graduates from schools who still possess little *ʿaql*. Many times, learned people from these schools state that knowledge and reasoning are intertwined and it must be obtained by them. This is not necessary.[45]

On proper etiquette – *ādāb*

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's overwhelming stress on proper etiquette (*ādāb*) is mainly connected with his concern for sūfīs to develop an internal and external discipline. To him, the physical world is very much related to the spiritual world and in order for sūfīs to perfect their spirituality, their physical customs must reflect their internal condition. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's ideas on *ādāb* stem from the belief that it is necessary to completely obey the *sharīʿā*, which is a manifestation of divine order. His efforts in creating a perfect harmonious society required an intensely structured model. *Ādāb* was a critical element in his ideal world because all the minute details of the individual's behavior could be controlled. For Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, sūfīs were practicing more than spiritual purity, but in the larger scheme Suhrawardīyya sūfīs were attempting to unite with the divine, which required them to uphold the *sharīʿā*. According to al-Suhrawardī, one needed to be prepared to carry out this extraordinary responsibility by having one's thoughts and actions planned for every moment, at every place. On this subject al-Suhrawardī made the following statements: "faith and *taṣawwuf* are similar, increasing one's faith is to mature in inner spiritual knowledge."[46]

The ādāb *of* taṣawwuf

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's text contains a great deal of elaboration on theories and practices of proper sūfī conduct or *ādāb*. His main concern was to ensure that Suhrawardīs would not be neglectful of obeying *sharīʿā* and the guidance of the mediating shaikh. The knowledge learned from a senior sūfī shaikh, *al-ʿilm aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ as-samāʿī*, needs to have boundaries established in order to ensure that the shaikh–*murīd* relationship be not disturbed or threatened. It was important that sūfī disciples understood their *taṣawwuf* training entailed both the inner and outer realms and if any aspect of *ʿilm* was disrespected by improper *ādāb* then the equilibrium of *sharīʿā* and *taṣawwuf* would imbalance the goal of reuniting with Allāh. The *taṣawwuf* tradition requires sūfīs to adhere to the *ādāb* of the guiding shaikh and to the regulations of the *ṭarīqa*. Hierarchies and rankings of sūfī disciples and shaikhs mattered in many ways; aside from the realities of set roles in the sūfī order, these distinctions marked the level of mystical knowledge, in-depth understanding of *irfān*, and more importantly, the mystical comprehension (*dhawq*) of the *Qurʾān* and God's presence (*hulūl*). Shaikh al-Suhrawardī stated the following on this subject:

> The Prophet (s) stated that God had taught him good etiquette. *Ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* etiquette is needed for a civilized world. If people embrace *ẓāhir* then they will learn to be a sūfī with etiquette, *ādāb*. But, there are several things that are difficult for a person to completely achieve. Until the ill-mannered persons fully immerse themselves in proper manners and all manners are good like that of the Prophet (s), then they will remain ill-mannered. For those people who indulge themselves with the world and in materialism, their appearances will reflect these manners of worldliness. For example, when people do not change their manners, they also do not change and then their manners are copied from elsewhere. Let us remember what the *Qurʾān* tells us: "In God's creation there can be no changes."[47]

For Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, *ādāb* represented many aspects of law and order for sūfī disciples in the larger society; it was the real practice of representing the Prophet's life in this world. The Prophet in every way represented the "perfect human being" (*insān al-kamil*): he mastered social relationships, political challenges, tribal conflicts, financial stresses, was divinely chosen as the last Prophet – who was the only Prophet to ascend to heaven to dialog with God – and brought God's final book of guidance to humanity. In every moment of the Prophet's existence he was being taught by Allāh the proper conduct of behavior as well as being spiritually trained by God. Each aspect of the Prophet, from his speech (*kalām*) to worship (*ʿibāda*) to daily actions (*aʿmāl*), is derived from his witnessing the divine face (*mushāhadat al-wajh*) and of God's essence being manifested (*tajallī ad-dhāt*). As a servant (*ʿabd*) to Allāh, the Prophet's *ādāb* is fundamental to Shaikh al-Suhrawardī because it is connected directly to the divine order and to the Suhrawardī *ṭarīqa*. For example, the shaikh quotes a well-known *ḥadith* that speaks clearly to followers how important *ādāb* is to God:

> And an even better point is that people are against changes to manners and proper etiquette, and this is why the Prophet (s) stated to make friends with one's *ādāb*.[48]

> This is why God created human beings and their ability to correct themselves when it is needed. And in this it is virtuous, God has shown His majesty to humankind

> through these virtues (*ādāb*). These virtues are from personal training, to light the flints to set a fire to a pure and virtuous life. In this way, human beings will become strong in their values, and strength is a character instilled into human beings by the will of God.[49]

The subject of *ādāb* is demystified as an object inherited as a heirloom or a specific practice learned from elder sūfī shaikhs. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's reference to the Prophet's statement "to make friends with one's *ādāb*" is intentionally situated here to prove two points: first, the *ādāb* in the Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* is not baseless but it has roots in the *sunnā* of the Prophet. And second, the Prophet's statement illustrates that the power of *ādāb* can work either against you or for you; it is best to accept it as a friend. *Ādāb* acting as a friend means that the sūfī disciple needs to depend on it for various moments of life. To portray *ādāb* as a friend allows the sūfī disciple to view *ādāb* not as another obstacle in *taṣawwuf*, but instead, as a colleague in the path that is supportive of the path. To contribute to this subject, al-Suhrawardī provides his own understanding of why Allāh gave human beings *ādāb*. In the statement, "God created *ādāb* to give human beings the ability to correct themselves when it is needed and God reveals Himself to humankind through *ādāb*," again Shaikh al-Suhrawardī is proving that *ādāb* was created from God, and all created things were meant to witness His manifestation (*mushāhada*). *Ādāb* is part of God's creation and sūfīs must respect it and cultivate a love for practicing *ādāb*.

> A person needs to understand both morality and immorality. It is important to keep the soul as pure as possible and to use *ʿaql* to stay virtuous. Become friends to one's *bāṭin* and *ẓāhir*, which will assist you in morality and learning proper etiquette. Proper *ādāb* creates proper behavior, and right actions for the individual. Human beings were originally pure and it should be their goal to return to that pure state. It is God's will to have human beings strive toward a strong morality and not fall into an immoral state of affairs. It is God's intention to remove human beings from the fire of misdoing and have them develop *ādāb* to keep them virtuous.[50]

The practice of *ādāb* goes beyond adhering to proper conduct in front of the shaikh, within the confines of the *khānaqāh*, or in daily

dealings with people. Here, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī is discussing the intellectual aspects of understanding related disciplines of *ādāb*, such as ethics, sūfī liturgy, and *taṣawwuf* theosophy. To him, there is an *ādāb* theology for Suhrawardī sūfīs to study and examine so that they may intellectually understand the *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* of ethics, liturgy, and *taṣawwuf*. An examination into *ādāb* theology would force sūfīs to entirely appreciate intellectually the interconnectedness of *ādāb* and other features in Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf*. This is in line with al-Suhrawardī's perspective on *taṣawwuf* that requires the sūfī to use reason, intellectual inquiry, and exchange of debates in accordance to the grander spiritual journey of *taṣawwuf*.

The excellence of ādāb

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's arguments for *ādāb* is to prove to his audience that his strong emphasis on *ādāb* is historically, religiously, legally, philosophically, and theologically grounded in the Islamic tradition. After the section on "*ādāb* in *taṣawwuf*," he continues to explain the benefits of practicing and adhering to sūfī *ādāb*. The main point for al-Suhrawardī is to demonstrate that *ādāb* is not an incidental feature to *taṣawwuf*, rather sūfī shaikhs have learned their wisdom from Allāh and then this knowledge of *ādāb* was transferred to their disciples. For him, this is not a point to overlook as a minor issue and insignificant to the sūfī path. He is interested in reminding his readers that the theology of *ādāb* is an important instructional tool for the shaikh–*murīd* relationship and to ignore this point is to miss the heart of Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf*. For example, he commented on the excellence of *ādāb* in the following statement:

> Almighty God gave respected sūfī shaikhs of the past good habits so that they may have virtues in their *bāṭin* (inner dimensions). They were fortunate to have a good training to have their souls protected with *ādāb*. As individuals endowed with *ādāb* by God, they were able to enrich and train their disciples. For some individuals it is not in their nature to easily grasp *ādāb* and it takes them a long time to achieve it. Just as disciples learn from their shaikhs and build a loving bond for their shaikhs, it is in this way that one needs to develop a firm training that reflects strong actions. This is why God stated in the *Qurʾān* in *sūrā*

> *at-Taḥrīm* verse 6: "Protect yourself and your household from fire."

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī explains the meaning of this *āyāt* by applying an anecdote from Shaikh ʿAbbās. "Shaikh ʿAbbās (r) reported that you were taught your religion and its *ādāb*. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī returns to the authority of the Prophet's sayings and quotes a *ḥadīth*: 'the Prophet (s) reported that my merciful God taught me good *ādāb*. Then He taught me wisdom in morality. And follow in the good *ādāb* and give wise virtuous advice.'"[51] This analysis is compact with *Qurʾān* and *ḥadīths*, both of which give legitimacy to al-Suhrawardī's argument that *ādāb* is theologically rooted in the tradition and is being followed in the Suhrawardī order.

Ādāb is a means to gaining mystical knowledge (*maʿrifa*) and simultaneously connecting knowledge to the practices of *taṣawwuf*. The theology of *ādāb* brings together the wisdom of *taṣawwuf* with the actions of the sūfī seeker. For Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, wisdom comes in many ways to the sūfī seeker of God, but one clear aspect of *ādāb* is how the new inner wisdom merges the understanding of human actions with encountering the divine. For example, al-Suhrawardī states the following to support this idea of wisdom and *ādāb*:

> It is reported by Shaikh Yūsuf ibn Hūssein (r) that *ādāb* comes from understanding knowledge. Knowledge is the means of learning proper actions (*ʿamal*, pl. *aʿmāl*). And *ʿamal* is the means of learning wisdom. Wisdom is the means of learning advanced *zuhd* where one finds the pleasure in making a place on the day of judgment and also, in this pleasure one meets the heart of God.[52]

In other sections of *ādāb*, al-Suhrawardī confirmed the idea that *ādāb* was practiced and preached by the Prophet, and then followed by members of his household. The teachings of *ādāb* by the Prophet were not left only for a select few to understand, but rather for the entire community to act upon his *ādāb* model. The shaikh stated, "It is recorded by Ayesha (r) (the wife of the Prophet) that it is the right of the children to receive good names from their parents, so that the children can follow proper *ādāb* and training."[53] He repeated the point that *ādāb* must be understood in all of its different forms, inner and outer, and appreciate the theology of *ādāb* as an intellectual pursuit that unites the sūfī disciple with knowledge of *taṣawwuf*.

The importance of ādāb

One of Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's crucial points on *ādāb* is where he connected *ādāb* with *sharīʿā*, faith, and the basic Islamic doctrine of affirming the unity of God, *tawḥīd*. The doctrine of *tawḥīd* affirms the oneness of God and is the single major theological feature of professing Divine unity. For Muslims, every moment and every level of existence requires the believer to assert *tawḥīd* in Islamic spiritual life. Through all of the daily prayers, fasting, charity, social work, pilgrimage, and other faith-related rituals, believers must struggle to submit themselves to God's supremacy at every conceivable level, that is, the mind, heart, and soul. The *Qurʾān* commands its believers to work toward establishing a life of *tawḥīd* and, in order to establish this realization, it describes it as a human struggle. For Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, to create a reality based on *sharīʿā* and its principal foundation of *tawḥīd*, *ādāb* is then an essential factor in this construction. For him, this reality is feasible because Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* unites all of the elements to make it possible. He commented on *tawḥīd* and *ādāb* in the following statement:

> Shaikh Jalāl al-Basrī (r) reported that "It is necessary to affirm divine unity (*tawḥīd*) and faith (*imān*). For those who do not have faith, they do not have *tawḥīd* either. It is necessary to have *imān* in accordance with *sharīʿā*, and where *sharīʿā* does not exist, faith and *tawḥīd* do not exist. *Sharīʿā* requires *ādāb*, and this is why, where *ādāb* is not found, there is no *sharīʿā*, no faith and no *tawḥīd*."[54]

The importance of *ādāb* to al-Suhrawardī cannot be underestimated in his *taṣawwuf* because it is the underlying layer that joins *sharīʿā*, *imān*, Qurʾānic knowledge, the *sunnā* of the Prophet, and the practice of *taṣawwuf*. Sūfīs who neglect any single aspect of *ādāb* will not receive the benefits of God's blessings. Al-Suhrawardī stated, "Shaikh ʿAbdallāh ibn Mubarak (r) stated that those who are lazy with their *ādāb* are punished by being deprived of following the *sunnā* of the Prophet (s), and that those who are careless of the *sunnā*, are punished by being deprived of knowledge of God."[55] Again, real understanding of *ādāb* mirrors the Prophet's *sunnā*, upholds the *Qurʾān*, the *sharīʿā* and *faith* which in turn connects them to the union of Allāh. To abuse this and not give proper attention to *ādāb* is not to break the chain of God's blessings of knowledge upon the sūfī seeker. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī stated

that *ādāb* is not fixed for certain places and times, but for each place and each level of the seeker. He commented with the following statement:

> It is said that *taṣawwuf* is about *ādāb*, therefore, for every level of *taṣawwuf* there is a particular form of *ādāb* for it. For the person who adheres to *ādāb*, he will learn the path of excellence. For those who do not practice *ādāb*, they are far away from achieving an advance level of *taṣawwuf*.[56]

The shaikh focused on *ādāb* as a reciprocal process of spiritual education for sūfī disciples. He based this upon the relationships between the Prophet and the companions who dedicated their lives to paying attention to the Prophet's revelations, sayings, and customs. According to al-Suhrawardī, each moment a companion spent with the Prophet, he was being taught proper *ādāb*. This *ādāb* was not the construction of the Prophet (s) – a human product – rather this *ādāb* came from Allāh, making it a divine essence. Al-Suhrawardī stated, "God had even taught the companions of the Prophet (s) *ādāb* and were told to speak at the tone of the Prophet (s) and not louder than the Prophet (s)."[57]

> It was reported that Thabit ibn Qais ibn Shamas (r) was partly deaf and would speak in a loud tone. One time in the presence of the Prophet he was having a conversation and his loud tone would hurt others, and this is why God revealed to the Prophet (s) to teach him and others *ādāb*.[58]

The ādāb *of the disciples*

> Along side of sūfī shaikhs were disciples who strongly emphasized *ādāb*. Even the companions of the Prophet understood the significance of *ādāb*. God tells us in the holy *Qurʾān*: "Oh Believers, there is nothing greater than God and his Prophet, fear God because He is hearer and doer of all things."[59]

In this section Shaikh al-Suhrawardī is narrowing *ādāb* practices to disciples, especially to those novice sūfīs who contest the importance of *ādāb* with their shaikh. Again supplying Qurʾānic evidence to his case, the shaikh insisted that that is an area that cannot be challenged because the references to *ādāb* are abundant in the

Qurʾān, *sunnā* and *ḥadīths* of the Prophet and in the lives of the companions. For example al-Suhrawardī stated, "Another enlightening moment is when the Prophet (s) was present in a congregation and someone was asking him a question and also interrupting his answers, the Prophet (s) told him that this behavior was improper."[60]

> The way the disciples used to submit to their shaikhs was uncompromising; all of their personal belongings and personal affairs depended on the wise advice of their sūfī shaikhs. It is reported by ʿAbū Ladurd (r) that he was walking ahead of ʿAbū Bakr (r) when the Prophet asked him why he was walking ahead of him, are you better than the world and the day of judgment?[61]

These examples are indicative of proper *ādāb* being practiced during the time of the companions. More so, the evidence of the Prophet interjecting his companions' comments demonstrates that proper *ādāb* of practicing faith was a natural learning practice. For al-Suhrawardī this vividly supports the sūfī shaikhs instructing disciples of right *ādāb* during *taṣawwuf* education. When sūfī disciples learn *irfān* from their sūfī shaikhs, one cannot separate this model from the way the Prophet taught his companions.

The ādāb *in a shaikh's* majlis

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's commentary on *ādāb* in a shaikh's arena of religious guidance, *majlis*, is very explicit in what and when the disciple can speak. He compares the *ādāb* in front of the shaikh to the blessing from an ocean. If one does not follow the proper *ādāb* that is required then the sūfī could lose the daily allowance of blessings from the shaikh and will not comprehend real *taṣawwuf* theology. Another *ādābī* instruction was the importance of the sūfī disciple not looking face to face with the shaikh, which reinforced the subordinated position of the disciple in the hierarchy. These points are important to Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's central theme of maintaining a strict, hierarchical and disciplined sūfī order. The instruction on sūfī *ādāb* with a shaikh reflects Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's concern for members in the order to follow and comprehend the reasons for human and divine hierarchy. The shaikh's *majlis* is more than an educational forum for sūfī students to learn from the enlightened teacher. It is a not a space like the dialogs and debates of an institutional college learning where

students are encouraged to challenge ideas being taught by the instructor. It is neither a space of rote memorization nor a mindless regurgitation of ideas. Rather, the space of the shaikh's *majlis* is about enlightened knowledge (*irfān*) gained from absolute real experiences and dialogs between the shaikh and Allāh. In order for sūfī students to comprehend and appreciate this knowledge, they must learn another set of values attributed to *irfān*. To be present at the shaikh's *majlis* is to view the teachings as useful instructional sūfī knowledge for *taṣawwuf* practice. The *majlis* is a classroom for sūfī students first to mentally comprehend the conceptual model and second to attempt to capture that spiritual achievement. The teachings of the shaikh at his *majlis* require an *ādāb* of listening to spiritual instruction and of incorporating the sūfī exercises. The shaikh stated the following commentary:

> In the same manner, during a *majlis*, the disciple should show proper *ādāb*. When sitting in front of the shaikh, the disciple should not speak a word even if it is nice greetings, until proper permission is given by the shaikh. The presence of a shaikh to his disciple is like someone who is sitting along the shore on a beach waiting for one's daily spiritual allowance from God. The shaikh's wisdom is the path for spiritual allowance. In this way, the level of the disciple's faith and his search for truth is elevated through the shaikh. If the disciple decides on his own to speak from emotions, he reverses a level of understanding and then the disciple knows that he made a mistake.[62]

> In order for the disciple to learn about the state of spirituality, he must establish this by asking questions from his shaikh. But it is not necessary for the shaikh to ask questions face to face, but whatever method the shaikh decides is fine. The shaikh adds to the *ẓāhir* and what correct conversations are needed for this process. Instead of speaking face to face, he takes particular persons from his heart and directs them to the attention of God. And for them, he asks for mercy and offers special prayers. At this time, the disciple's heart and tongue are engaged in a conversation with truth. The needy then receives grace. Through the shaikh's actions he designates and correctly evaluates the disciple who is seeking truth, because action is one type of seed to assist the disciple. It is the duty of

> the shaikh to plant seeds so the soul desires a mixture of purity and guidance, and to entrust the disciple to God. After this, any conversations for truth will be with God, and a model is then completed.[63]

The ādāb *of the shaikh*

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's discussion of the *ādāb* of the shaikh is significant because here he is interested in highlighting that a shaikh's spiritual wisdom is just as important as his physical touch. He remembers a time when he was given a handkerchief by his shaikh and how he cherished it because it had the physical blessings of his shaikh. Al-Suhrawardī's stress on the physical touching of objects by sūfī shaikhs reflects his opinions on sacralizing objects.

> It is often that a disciple is overwhelmed and intensely inspired by his shaikh sometimes even causing difficulty to look at the shaikh. This happened to me when I was in Buhkara and my uncle Shaikh ʿAbū Najim Suhrawardī (r) entered the house. My entire upper body started to perspire. At the time, I wanted to control my perspiration, but I could not with the entrance of the honorable shaikh. I was later cured by the blessings of my uncle.[64]

> One day I was home alone and next to me was a handkerchief given by the honorable shaikh as a gift. He asked to tie a turban with that very handkerchief and coincidentally at that moment it ripped. That moment brought me great pain since that same handkerchief touched the feet of the honorable shaikh. I then built a lot of respect and love for that material in my heart.[65]

Qualities of ādāb

> Shaikh ʿAbū Nasr Sarrāj (r) reported that the qualities of the Prophet's (s) *ādāb* were pure. He was trustworthy and conscious of being on time. He was very thoughtful and concerned about everything. Wherever he was, he was concerned with *ādāb*.[66]

According to Shaikh al-Suhrawardī there are two parts to *ādāb*, meaning that words and actions are both to be adhered to. The

quality of *ādāb* mattered to the shaikh because he wanted to ensure that sūfī disciples understood that sincerity of their *ādāb* made a difference in their knowledge and actions. He stated, "Any person who uses *ādāb* with their actions becomes closer to God by being a part of the love in His heart." Shaikh Ibn Mubarak (r) once said, "we are not in need of more knowledge but of more *ādāb*."[67] He did not want the possibility of sūfīs occasionally adhering to *ādāb* as if it was perfectly fine to practice at some times and at other times it was more important to show your *ādāb*. The sūfī attention toward *ādāb* needed to be with full concentration, sincerity, and understanding of its related components. For example, knowledge of *taṣawwuf* is impossible without complete obedience to *ādāb* theology. He stated, "Shaikh Nūrī stated that 'Whoever did not spend their time with *ādāb*, their time will be considered a time of hate.' Shaikh Dhūl Nūn Misrī (r) reported, 'so much has been said about *ādāb*, I say that *ādāb* is about knowing oneself.'"[68] In another area of this section he commented on this subject as follows:

> After obtaining the light of knowledge (*nūr-e ʿirfān*) it is one way of defending the soul (*nafs*) and it is well said in the following *ḥadīth*: "Those who defend their souls also defend God." This light of knowledge (*nūr-e ʿirfān*) is the light of the soul that was in ignorance. Knowledge is the means of building a fort where *ādāb* is part of it.[69]

Practicing the art of patience – *sabr*

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's ideas on patience (*sabr*) are directly connected with *ādāb* because he wanted to illustrate how each aspect of development requires patience. The ability to control one's mental thoughts and physical actions to meet the challenges of *ādāb* and improving in *taṣawwuf* is an important element to spiritual growth. On this subject, al-Suhrawardī stated the following commentary: "Shaikh Sahil (r) stated that patience is a vast part of waiting. Giving to others is the best aspect of *sabr*." A quote from *sūrā al-Baqara*, verse 3, states, "Those who are patient during times of fear, pain and fighting are virtuous and temperamental."[70]

> It is said that everything has one distinct character. For human beings it is their *ʿaql*. And for reasoning it is *sabr*. From *sabr* there is the chastisement of the soul (*naf*) and

> that is possible in becoming weak. *Sabr* is able to penetrate like breathing, because to practice proper restrictions of *zāḥir* and *bāṭin*, *sabr* is necessary. Moreover, knowledge works on words and *sabr* brings them together.[71]

The importance of sabr

According to al-Suhrawardī, the practice of patience, *sabr*, is crucial to the *taṣawwuf* journey because reunion with God comes when the sūfī disciple moves along the path and endures the challenges of mystical reflection. Knowledge obtained in *taṣawwuf*, *irfān*, does not come easily nor does it come at the time when the sūfī desires it the most. With the practice of righteous *ādāb*, regular fasting, prayers, *dhikr*, charity, and adhering to the *sharīʿā*, if the sūfī seeker does not have *sabr* then all of his efforts to meet Allāh may not happen. *Sabr* is a critical component in making both the aforementioned meet together. If the disciple does not possess the patience to control desires to bypass the obstacles of *taṣawwuf*, then the sūfī seeker will not be able to contain himself with Allāh. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī stated, "The importance of patience is told to us by God when He said that Those who are patient will be given without any hesitation and degrees."[72] Similarly, he commented the following:

> For those persons who protect their *zāḥirī* and *bāṭinī* knowledge learn that it is necessary to have *sabr*. *Bāṭinī* knowledge and *sabr* are complementary like a body and its spirit and each cannot live without the other. They both have light of reasoning and this is why they were created as one to be united.[73]

Patience from Allāh

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī contributed to this enormous sūfī discourse of patience in *taṣawwuf* practice. Like earlier sūfī thinkers before Suhrawardī, there was considerable disagreement and debate over the types of patience and degrees of patience a sūfī needs to sustain to encounter Allāh. Should the sūfī seeker develop a unique type of patience that is transcendental and allows the sūfī to subsist with God, *baqāʾ*? Other concerns on patience were whether it could be understood in human terms and was it all connected with *irfān sabr*? How can Suhrawardīs develop a higher realm of patience that

is connected with all of their concerns for *ādāb*, *sharīʿā*, *Qurʾān*, *salat*, *dhikr*, charity, and fasting – all of them together and interconnected. Suhrawardī sūfī disciples were interested in the cohesive understanding of the different but similar components to *taṣawwuf* while maintaining the integrity of the *Qurʾān* and *sunnā* of the Prophet. In this climate Shaikh al-Suhrawardī believed that *sabr* in Allāh or *sabr an-Allāh* and sabr with God or *sabr ma ʿAllāh* were very compatible and that the differences were not worth arguing over. The first, *sabr an-Allāh*, was mostly tied with the *ḥāl* of *baqāʾ* – subsistence with God. While the second, *sabr ma ʿAllāh*, was connected with stations on the path toward meeting Allāh. One example he provided was the following statement:

> One time a person asked Shaikh Shiblī (r) "Amongst the patient ones, which type is the best form of *sabr*?" He responded patience in God, *sabr fi-Allāh*, but the person persisted asking if patience is for the sake of God, *al-sabr Allāh*? Again, Shaikh Shiblī (r) stated patience with God, *sabr ma ʿAllāh*. Again the person was confused and wanted to know which patience was the best. Finally, the Shaikh responded patience from Allāh, *sabr an-Allāh*.[74]

Patience is one area that sūfīs claimed gave the most return. With *sabr*, one could achieve all that Allāh has in store for the sūfī seeker, but if one does not know which type of patience to employ then he will be lost on the path. For Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, this was not entirely true nor was patience so simple to think that sūfīs can easily be lost in *taṣawwuf*. For him, *sabr an-Allāh* or patience from Allāh was difficult to achieve because it is one of the highest mystical stages where the Prophet resides. The sūfī seeker aspires to reach Allāh's glory by annihilating the self in Him; however, for al-Suhrawardī, in most situations it is the Prophet (s) himself who directs the sūfī seeker to the Beloved to ensure a safely conducted journey. Once the sūfī seeker meets the Prophet (s), either you can stay with the holy Prophet (s) or, depending on the seekers' *sabr*, *ādāb*, *nafs*, heart, and love for Allāh, the Prophet (s) will direct the seeker toward witnessing God's face, *mushāhadat al-wajih*. On this account, al-Suhrawardī commented the following statement:

> It is my understanding that *sabr an-Allāh*, patience from Allāh, is the most difficult to reach. *Sabr an-Allāh* requires

> reaching the level, *maqām*, with the Prophet (s) and it is an extremely special level. At this level, the seeker for truth is inclined toward the majesty of God (*jalāl*). The power of words by God humbles the sūfī seeker as he is lost in them. This is the most intense stage of *sabr* because it is for the sake of God; his spirituality is forever affected by this experience.[75]

Degrees of sabr

In assessing the differing types and categories of *sabr*, al-Suhrawardī added that there are also three degrees of patience for the sūfī seeker. Each degree illustrates the sūfī's level of his own self-knowledge because patience is tied to *irfān*. The perfect degree of *sabr* is where the sūfī seeker is exclusively patient with all things: whether it be about the temporal world or the mystical realm, this type of patience does not alter for any situation. It is the purest kind of patience a sūfī can achieve because it means that the seeker has perfected his knowledge of patience and can access Allāh's grace when he wishes. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī stated the following commentary to support his evidence:

> It is reported by Shaikh ʿAbū al-Ḥasan (r) that there are three types of *sabr*. First, there are those who are patient with God, but occasionally they get upset. Second, there are those who are patient with God and usually never become impatient, but at certain times they complain and fall into a state of discomfort. And third, there are those who are entirely patient with God and their *sabr* is totally completed. This type of person is not even disturbed during catastrophes. This personality is firm in faith and cannot be changed. As a result, the nature of this person is related to the Divine.[76]

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī points to the sayings of another prominent scholar of Islam, commonly referred to in twelver Shīʿī Islam as the sixth imām, for support in *sabr* theories. For example, he commented that "Shaikh Imām Jāfar al-Sādiq (r) reported that God gave His Prophet (s) the wisdom of *sabr* and the form of *sabr* was given to the Prophet (s). This is due to the fact that *sabr* is not a personal possession, but it is related with God and godliness. One's *sabr* is with the Divine."[77]

Poverty and asceticism – *faqr wa ẓuhd*

Al-Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* asserts that sūfīs need to be reminded that the sūfī *ṭariqā* was not identical to either *faqr* (poverty) or *ẓuhd* (asceticism), although both of these practices are legitimate in *taṣawwuf* and could lead to *fanāʾ*. Al-Suhrawardī's personal activities with the ʿAbbāsid government was a clear example of being a high profile statesman and a productive contributor to society. Ascetic proponents for withdrawing from society and rejecting the world because of its corruptive nature were considered extreme to al-Suhrawardī. To him, withdrawing was part of being anti-social and against the *sunnā* of the Prophet. According to Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, this attitude was derived from an obsessive opposition to wealth, which demonstrated a real sign of weakness that was ultimately connected to a "dependence-causation" model. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī believed that those who fit the model were mainly preoccupied with an anticipation of reward, whether it be in this lifetime or in the hereafter. The dependence-causation model especially referred to the wandering *Dervishes* (*Qalandars*) whose renunciatory antinomian existence had qualities like poverty, mendicancy, itinerancy, celibacy, self-mortification and other forms of social deviance.[78] Shaikh al-Suhrawardī draws a distinction between *Qalandars* and sūfīs, with the former "only concerned with the tranquillity of their hearts to the point of destroying customs and eliminating all bonds of social interaction."[79] This division reflects al-Suhrawardī's disapproval with the way *Qalandars* neglected *sharīʿā* and demonstrated very little respect toward ethics, embodying the *sunnā* of the Prophet, obeying the *sharīʿā*, adhering to the principles of the *Qurʾān* and their general attitudes toward living on earth.

For al-Suhrawardī, a true sūfī did not differentiate between poverty and wealth and was concerned with neither fear nor the need for recompense.[80] Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, and a host of other sūfī shaikhs and scholars, considered people misguided who believed that ascetic beliefs absolved them from a need to obey *sharīʿā* and reality (*ḥaqīqā*) which were interdependent. Similarly, he spoke against those sūfīs who claimed they had attained the analogy of the divine and human aspects of Christ's personality, and believed in a doctrine of incarnation (*ḥulūl*). Sūfīs who spoke of submerging themselves into the ocean of Divine Unity were misdirected; precedence should be given to fulfilling the divine will.

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī discussed the Qur'ānic verse: "They will ask thee concerning the Spirit. Say, the Spirit is by command of my Lord, and of knowledge it is only a little that is communicated to you."[81] To this al-Suhrawardī said that "The spirit is neither eternal nor subsistent, but created and an attribute of God." The animal spirit of human beings was connected with the digestive organism of the body, but the heavenly spirit belonged to the world of command. When it overpowered the baser spirit it transmuted the second nature of the latter and the two were fused; human beings were then able to receive divine inspiration.[82]

Ideas on the soul and on the heart

Al-Suhrawardī wrote in *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* that all immoral activities emanated from the lower self (*nafs*), and reason and patience controlled its natural impulses such as rage and lust.[83] The desire for evil (*ammān*), repentance (*tawba*) and satisfaction (*mutmaʿina*) represented three different stages in the development and gradual purification of the *nafs*. To al-Suhrawardī, the heart (*qalb*) acted differently from the rest of the human body although it was a part of it. The heart of a true believer (*muʾmin*) was like a pure soul and was illuminated by a shining light; but the heart of the unbeliever was dark and made of a lowly substance. The heart of the hypocrite was shrouded in a veil, and a many-faceted heart was one which was inclined towards both good and evil.[84] The purification of the heart was necessary for a pure *nafs* and the ability for the sūfī disciple to receive God's illumination.

Al-Suhrawardī's ideas on reason are based in that it was innate human talent which prompted human beings to acquire different kinds of knowledge. It was supplemented and supported by *sharīʿā*. Spiritual perception helped man to adopt a middle-of-the-road policy and obtain knowledge of the heavenly spheres (*malakūt*). Thus one could acquire an understanding of the world of matter and space, as well as of the earthly world and the Unseen. If reason was not supported and supplemented by the light of Islamic law, human beings could prosper in the world, but not obtain blessings from the spiritual world. Knowledge and reason complemented each other under the umbrella of the *sharīʿā*; the use of reason played a critical role in exercising the mind and understanding *taṣawwuf*.

Only true sūfīs were able to discriminate between experiences emanating from the lower soul, from God, from Satan and from

the angels. One dependent on an impure source for their existence was always a victim of evil influences; it was, therefore, a sūfī's duty to foster a balanced detachment from the material world, to constantly adhere to *ādāb* in order to fulfill the spiritual requirements of the Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf*. Suhrawardīs could not distinguish the source of their illumination or work toward the purification of the *nafs* without exercising the full use of reasoning toward *taṣawwuf*.

Ideas on ḥāl *and* maqāmāt *and obtaining* fanāʾ *and* baqāʾ

Al-Suhrawardī said that state of awareness (*ḥāl*) and stations on the inner path (*maqāmat*) were two technical terms of *taṣawwuf* which should not be confused. *Ḥāl* involved a changing spiritual condition, while *maqām* was relatively permanent. For example, in the beginning a novice disciple adopted an attitude of meditation. This however, was not a permanent feature of his *taṣawwuf* journey but a state of *ḥāl*. When an attitude of contemplation became an enduring feature, the novice sūfī seeker reached the second stage. He then passed to the third stage which was observation (*mushāhada*). This enabled him to understand the secrets of the spiritual world. Both divine grace and personal effort played complementary roles in progress towards the true sūfī states.[85] Al-Suhrawardī's comments were meant to bring clarification to the sūfī experience, as well as ensure that his sūfī disciples knew the identifiable differences of *ḥāl* and *maqām*.

One of al-Suhrawardī's important contributions consisted of adding his criticisms of *fanāʾ* and *baqāʾ*, which appeared to be a central point of discussion for earlier sūfīs. By adding to the debate, al-Suhrawardī was not only connecting to earlier sūfī scholars on the basis of legitimacy, but he was asserting his own ideas in a particular tradition. To al-Suhrawardī, the first stage to *fanāʾ* was an inevitable stage where the sūfī self-annihilates the self to earn the divine's invitation to return to Him. In this stage the sūfī felt possessed and no freedom of action or choice overtook the seeker of truth and everything emanated from God. The second stage was at a point of real annihilation involving a perception of receiving illumination from the divine attribute and His Essence. At this stage the divine command dominated the seeker to such a degree that no evil influence could affect the sūfī aspirant. What is crucial for al-Suhrawardī is that it was not essential for the sūfī in the state of

fanā' to lose all consciousness. The state of *fanā'* was not a fixed model for all, instead it varied from sūfī to sūfī. As the sūfī left *fanā'* and acquired the state of *baqā'* (subsisting in God) he gradually regained his power of action or consciousness. The sūfī could then perform duties for the earthly and spiritual worlds with equanimity. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī was convinced that persistent self-examination, introversion, contemplation, patience, submission to God's will and an attitude of complete detachment enabled a sūfī to practice *fanā'*. In reality, this process was one of self-purification and a second birth from the womb of the spirit to the kingdom of a newly awakened spirit.[86] A spirit that was enriched with a knowledge of God's essence (*maʿrifa*) and the witnessing of the beautiful attributes.

Sūfī ethics and the khānaqāh

Perhaps the most fascinating section of the *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* is a lengthy discussion of sūfī ethics and the sūfī way of life. This section on the sūfī way of life is not unique in that previous sūfī thinkers wrote on this subject. For example, Shaikh Uthman al-Hujwirī's famous treatise, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, has a section on sūfī living and it appears that Shaikh al-Suhrawardī desired to make an additional contribution to sūfī life in the *khānaqāh*. This is not surprising since the *khānaqāh* was a popular sūfī institution during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As discussed in the previous chapter, Shaikh al-Suhrawardi was an important advisor for caliph al-Nāsir, who assisted in acquiring all *futūwwa* groups and patronizing numerous *khānaqāhs*. Al-Suhrawardī stated that the establishment of the *khānaqāh* institution was a human innovation, but viewed them as jewels of the *suffa* during the life of the Prophet. He believed that the advantages of establishing *khānaqāhs* were an important and positive contribution to society at large. First, they offered board and lodging to sūfīs who were often without financial resources of any kind. Second, the corporate life of a *khānaqāh* provided an opportunity for individual members who shared a close relationship to exchange views and experiences. Finally, the proximity of life in a *khānaqāh* provided for a healthy rivalry between sūfīs in perfection of their morals and conduct. Like al-Hujwirī, al-Suhrawardī divided residents of *khānaqāhs* into two categories: there are residents and travelers. According to al-Suhrawardī, the latter, generally wandering dervishes, should reach the *khānaqāh* before afternoon prayers, and if late, they should spend the night

in a mosque. The residents should extend a warm welcome to the visitor and the *khānaqāh* steward must offer the best food to them. Travelers should not be bothered with questions, although resident sūfīs should make themselves available to answer all inquiries. Keeping along the lines of *ādāb*, al-Suhrawardī insisted that even if a *Qalandar* entered the *khānaqāh*, and if he was ignorant of *khānaqāh* customs and traditions of sūfī life, he should not be expelled, but treated with respect.

Again to Shaikh al-Suhrawardī there were three types of *khānaqāh* residents. The first group contained members of the novice or servant class who were assigned to such duties as waiting on others, which enabled them to become acquainted with the company of mystics and to be initiated in humility. Service enabled novices to rise to the second group of mystics who learnt the social ethics of *taṣawwuf*. Members of the third category were elderly advanced sūfīs, generally living in seclusion, who were entirely dedicated to prayers and mediation. In a *khānaqāh*, younger disciples should live communally in the *jamāʿat-khānā*, allowing older sūfīs to reside privately in their quarters. According to Shaikh al-Suhrawardī there were two sources of income for a *khānaqāh* – endowments and begging. The head of the *khānaqāh* was the *shaikh al-sūfīyya*, and the others were *ikhwān* (brethren). For the shaikh, it was important that residents should obey the *khānaqāh* structure by cooperating and taking food in a communal ritual. He was strict with internal conflict and competition among sūfī members, all of which reflected immense weaknesses of the individual. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī believed that differences between sūfīs should be resolved immediately either by the parties involved or the elders of the *ṭarīqa*. It was necessary for him that sūfīs lead a pure life that constantly struggled to cleanse their hearts, which meant that all types of double standards or hypocrisy in any form in the *ṭarīqa* were not accepted.

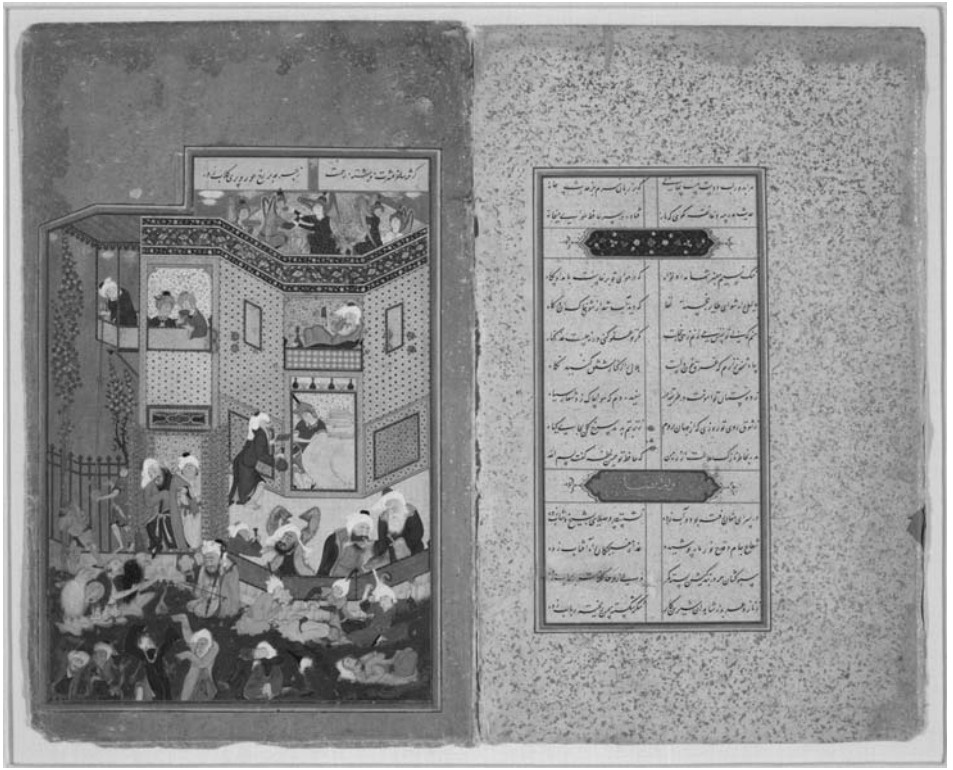
The merits of the sūfī khirqa

Shaikh al-Suhrawardī believed periodic retirements of sūfīs to retreats (*chilla*) to be a later innovation in the tradition, but considered the custom a positive practice for self-examination and meditation. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī divided the retreats for sūfīs into three groups: the weakest, who broke their fasts every evening; the above average sūfī who took nourishment on alternate nights and the strongest, who ate only on the third night. Shaikh al-

Suhrawardī stated that the wearing of the *khirqa* or sūfī robe was also an integral part of sūfī life and symbolic of adhering to the tradition, but some *khirqas* were an aberration from the tradition. According to Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, when a sūfī wore the *khirqa*, it identified the sūfī as one who was outside the mainstream of life, who did not indulge in fine garments and rich food. Within the *taṣawwuf* tradition, a transmission of *wilāya*, the granting of a *khirqa* to the disciple from the shaikh, was significant because the recipient had, according to his shaikh, reached a satisfactory spiritual level. To al-Suhrawardī the granting of the *khirqa* by a sūfī shaikh to his disciple was categorized as recognition of a disciple's personal spiritual achievement or the designation of the sūfī shaikh's personal blessings to a particular person. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī criticized the practices of sūfī shaikhs who designated their own *khirqa* which was believed to have blessings attached to it. But for al-Suhrawardī the problem was that many individuals were actively socially deviant, like the *Qalandars*, who did not observe *sharīʿā* and still wore the *khirqa*. Nevertheless, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī asserted that even after receipt of a *khirqa* individuals were able to accumulate blessings from it, which might lead to a total acceptance of the sūfī path.[87]

Plate 2
Heavenly and Earthly Drunkenness. Folio (recto) from a "Divan" (Collected Works) of Hazif, ca. 1527.

Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums. Promised gift of Mr and Mrs Stuart Cary Welch, Jr, 1988. Photo: Allan Macintyre.



3

SACRED IDENTITIES IN THE SUHRAWARDĪYYA ORDER

Religious identities and rituals

One of the most interesting aspects of sūfī literature is the way in which sūfīs have consistently throughout time created and recreated sacred identities from their religious convictions. To understand sūfī creations of sacred identities and how it is connected to their inner transcendental spiritual experience, one needs to move beyond Durkheimian functionalist and Marxist structuralist interpretations of identities. Religious beliefs are not merely a universal single dominant set of ideas and values that have been conceived to maintain the cohesion of a social system. Critics of the functionalist and Marxist schools of thought implement a dominant class perspective which is equally insufficient to the understanding of the impact of sacred identities that are rooted in religious ideologies. For instance, J.G. Merquior assumes that ideology is a one-way process and that ideologies are articulated by a self-conscious dominant class that works in a system of consent and negotiation with the masses.[1] This perspective breaks away from the belief that all ideologies are essentially monolithic and it has little to do with faith or beliefs, but more to do with consent between the dominant class and the subordinated classes.

Antonio Gramsci takes the notion of ideology as a consent and negotiation process one step further. For him, ideologies are hegemonic and constantly involved in a dialog between social classes. Gramsci asserts that the subjugated class negotiates for an acceptable version of ideology from the dominant class because there are no other alternative voices or ideologies.[2] Gramsci believed that inherently this ideology is less meant for the subjugated classes and more for the dominant classes to understand themselves. Therefore, to Gramsci, ideology is not a vehicle of unanimous legitimacy

beliefs, but an instrument for the appropriation of the rhetoric of legitimacy and identity of the elites.[3] Others have developed Gramsci's ideas, like Pierre Bourdieu and James Fernandez,[4] who support the idea of ideology in terms of class struggle, but also view the structuring of symbols and the appropriation of symbols as the main elements in the process of social integration and consensus. The problems with these interpretations of ideology is that they view ideology as a fixed and established set of ideas, statements or attitudes imposed on people who internalize them complacently without any conscious decision-making of their own. These scholars make the assumption that societies are single unitary systems and all behave in the same manner, or that all dominant classes have the same motivations to maintain their status. Also, that the identity of the subjugated class is universally the same everywhere at every point in history.

Ritual theories

The subject of religious ideologies, and a set of ethical values and ideas that determine the structural and mental patterns of rituals and their relationship to identity formation, is significant for the study of the Suhrawardī order. There are numerous theoretical approaches to ritual studies that need to be mentioned to understand where sūfī ritual beliefs fit in to formulating a sacred Suhrawardī identity. Catherine Bell's work points out that among scholars of ritual studies and sociologists of religion there has been a historical dichotomy in defining ritual in terms of either thought or action, and sometimes both. Bell demonstrates that early studies in the field defined rituals as thoughtless actions that are habitual, obsessive, purely formal, secondary and the mere physical expression of logically prior ideas.[5] According to Bell, this historical analysis is still influential in current ritual theories that attempt to understand cultural meanings, legitimate myths that surround rituals or suggest that rituals resolve contradictions in society.[6] On the other hand, Edward Shils believes it is impossible not to have ritual and beliefs intertwined and yet try to separate them because one might not accept the beliefs that are associated with ritual activities.[7] The first ritual pattern distinguishes actions from any thought and portrays rituals as mechanical practices. The second ritual pattern attempts to integrate thought and action into rituals and believes there are conscious decisions by participants in the rituals. Émile Durkheim's work is important to both

religious beliefs and ritual studies because he links both phenomena together. For him, religion consists of beliefs and rituals: beliefs embody representations of the sacred and rituals are the actions that represent the sacred object.[8] Durkheim's ritual theories highlight a functionalist perspective, where rituals reinforce the community's beliefs, and the rituals themselves generate and affirm the ideals of the community. For Durkheim, rituals in a society are "the means by which individual perception and behavior are socially appropriated or conditioned."[9] In this manner Durkheim's ritual model balances a dialectic relationship between the collective and individual or specifically between the first and second ritual patterns.

For many scholars Durkheim's models suggested real problems in the ways in which theoreticians approached rituals with or without the thoughts and actions of the individuals. For example, Marshall Sahlins felt Durkheim's approach did not adequately factor in the experiences of the individual and all of the complex social categories that affiliated with these individuals.[10] Claude Lévi-Strauss disagreed with Durkheim's ritual model for at least two reasons: first, his model did not include the immense importance of cultural factors that influence individuals, communities and ultimately their rituals; and, second, Durkheim did not view rituals as external representations of the inner spiritual world. According to Lévi-Strauss, for some individuals who take part in rituals they reflect the material world whereas for others they are living out an ideal world.[11] One of the main weaknesses for Lévi-Strauss was that Durkheim did not completely incorporate the use of symbols and all of the religious symbolic actions that bring meaning to rituals.

The early works by Gramsci and Durkheim reflected a concentration mainly on class tensions, ideology reinforcement and acceptance by the elite, and rituals as sacred representative objects, all of which opened the discourse for further ritual studies. As far as bringing more depth to the understanding of rituals and beliefs they were incomplete, because these interpretations belonged to either a mechanistic or functionalist category. One of the foremost scholars in this field, and in the study of religion in general, is Clifford Geertz, whose works expand into areas of sociology, of culture, religion, and myths. The Geertz model advances the theoretical models for rituals, while at the same time he is more concerned with explaining meanings of rituals as cultural phenomena. He makes a distinction between the terms ethos and worldview.

For him, ethos is the moral contents of the culture and the community's understanding of themselves and of the world. Whereas worldview is the cognitive beliefs of existential being which give people a sense of the order of existence.[12] Geertz is a strong advocate for rituals containing a combination of the thoughts and actions of individuals who participate in rituals. For him ethos and worldviews are either stored, synthesized, or fused in the symbols that are arranged in patterns or systems of rituals. Geertz stated that "any religious ritual no matter how apparently automatic or conventional involves this symbolic fusion of ethos and worldviews."[13] In his discussion of his symbolic systems and the fusion of ethos and worldviews he states that these are "cultural patterns that give meaning . . . by shaping themselves to it and shaping it to themselves."[14] For Geertz, rituals dramatize, enact, and materialize a system of symbols. By performing the symbolic system, the ritual is integrating two exclusive aspects of symbols, the conceptual worldview and moral ethos. According to Geertz, those rituals that work are designed to be forces of change, and create a balance in cultural and social systems.[15] Like Lévi-Strauss, Geertz's theories attempt to address the fundamental contradictions in society through the forum of rituals. For these individuals, opposing social forces, whether they be social relations, religious beliefs or economic disparities, are all resolved through the thought and action of rituals. It is their understanding that these social systems become congruent and conflicts become resolved with an orchestrated ritual.

Performing theorists

In response to these traditional ritual theories and categories, another school of thought evolved which emphasized ritual as drama, theatrical performances intended to be ceremonial plays. Performing theorists like Victor Turner, Ronald Grimes and Jack MacAloon believed that traditional ritual theories were more consumed with dichotomies of oral and written histories, public and private expressions, secular and sacred meanings, all of which removed the breathing human elements from their pedagogics.[16] Performing theorists think they are moving beyond the traditional definitions and categories that were used by the structural and functional theorists. According to performing theorist Milton Singer, it was necessary to revise and redefine culture as an "abstract category" or a subgroup encapsulated in ritual performances.[17]

Singer states that, just like all dramas, rituals similarly have a time span, a beginning and an end, an organized program of activity, a set number of actors, an audience, and a significant occasion and place for the performance. According to Singer, these rituals are intended to have two important types of audiences; the first type of audience belongs to the cultural rituals and are trying to understand themselves. The second type of audience member is the observer-theorist who is just as important as the actors, because they do not observe from an outside window but directly contribute to the actors' ability to integrate their performance for both audiences. For Singer, rituals are cultural performances and are a method for the "cultural content of a tradition to be organized and transmitted on particular occasions through specific media."[18]

Among the performing theorists there are disagreements over the nature of rituals and their roles as cultural performances. As one of the scholars in the performing theorist school of thought, Turner advocated that these cultural performances were representations of the deepest values of the culture. These rituals were "social dramas" that served as paradigmatic functions to maintain an organization or community, and each ritual unfolded a particular social drama.[19] For Turner, these social dramas temporarily suspend time and break rigid social barriers like class, ethnicity, and sectarianism and bring both actors and audience into a single communitas. He is a firm supporter of the thesis that these social dramas reflect the mental and spiritual attitudes of the actors and of the community. However, Stanley Tambiah takes exception to Turner's analysis, especially in the area where social dramas create a sense of unity. Tambiah believes that social dramas do not break social barriers but stress the formal social distinctions in society. These social dramas produce more of a distance effect between all of the players, i.e. actors, audience, observer, and authority members. For Tambiah, social dramas are essentially a vehicle to articulate the attitudes of institutionalized communication, which seem to reinforce the functionalist theorists.[20] Tambiah elucidates rituals as performative dramas: first, rituals involve doing something or being a part of some kind of action; second, rituals are usually conducted on a stage or a constructed area that serves as the main arena of performance which utilizes numerous mediums to intensify the experience for the participants; and third, it includes "indexical values" which are symbolic devices, a special site, recitation of sacred texts, all of which for Tambiah attest to the social hierarchy.[21]

Unlike Turner and Singer, Tambiah focuses on the opposing forces that are in rituals such as the cultural versus the universal, and form versus content. The diversity of opinions within the performing theorists' school of thought have contributed to ritual studies, particularly on metaphors of the acts of drama. But still there remain methodological problems that have not been resolved. For instance, every ritual is understood as a social drama and is viewed as a performance that contains symbolic acts meant for the audience and is open to any interpretation. The only criterion for rituals is described in terms of performances; essentially, the model of ritual activity classifies the criterion for what is or is not ritual.

Another deficiency for the performing theorists is that since every ritual activity is a performance, it is difficult to distinguish cultural rituals from dramatic theater or an entertaining sports event. One of the main criticisms of performing theorists is that they do not recognize that cultural and religious rituals have the potential to connect to another spiritual world. They refuse to accept that these rituals are channels to access a separate dimension, such as a request for intercession. For performing theorists, anything beyond the obvious characteristics of the actors and audience is open to speculation, even if the discussion comes from the actors themselves. On one level they are prepared to explain the symbolic meanings of ritual activities, but they do not progress to the next reasonable level of what the symbols mean to those who perform them.

The different studies on ritual activities by the functionalists, structuralists, and performing theorists have offered certain theoretical models, all of which center around the problems of the relationship between thought and action. This basic dichotomy in the field is pertinent as it affects the relationships of the observer-theorist and the actors. This fundamental division between thought and action differentiates a thinking subject from an acting object, or as some have concluded a thinking subject from a non-thinking object. In the same ritual discourse, rituals are an object to better understand the culture because they integrate the subject's thought and the object's activities. The issue of whether rituals are a part of conceptual classification or are the source for cultural expressions to be integrated through both thought and action is an important aspect on how theorists construct or deconstruct meanings from rituals.

The work of Marcel Mauss brings a refreshing balance to the field of ritual studies by explaining that "social systems are wholes,

where body, soul, society, everything merges."[22] Mauss' "total social phenomena" goes beyond models that are thematic in nature and beyond the systems of institutions that are divided up into economic, political, religious, and other parts. Mauss insists that one needs to view the smaller elements like rituals as operating living parts of the whole.[23] To return to the original relationships between rituals and religious ideology, it is therefore critical to view and interpret rituals as part of the whole of religious belief. One can not exist without the other, since each one is in constant dialog, being shaped and restrained by the other element. Rituals are the thoughts, actions, and spiritual expressions of people who use multiple forms of mediums to express a specific aspect of their religious ideology. It is as important to learn from their symbolic meanings as it is to understand how the actual participants perceive their meanings. Ritual is a living expression or in other words, a language of communication that is part of the whole.[24] This important aspect of ritual should not be ignored by observers who focus on hermeneutical problems and abstract theoretical constructions.

Characteristics of Suhrawardī sacred identities

For Muslims, the Prophet Muhammad has provided a paradigm for establishing legal, personal, spiritual and social norms for their societies. In the words of the *Qur'ān*: he is "a beautiful model" (*uswā hasanā*) (*sūrā* 33, verse 21) whose example is to be followed by the faithful. The *Qur'ān*, *sūrā* 4, verse 80, states: "To obey the Prophet means to obey God. But if any turn away We have not sent you to watch over them." According to the *Qur'ān* the nature of Muhammad's mission was explained as the following: "We have sent thee as an evidence of Our grace toward all the worlds" (*sūrā* 21: 107).

For the Suhrawardī sūfīs, and in general for most sūfīs, the Prophet's spiritual and mystical status, particularly the account of his night journey to heaven (*mi'rāj*), has been subject to much speculation. The love and devotion that is expressed for the Prophet in either literature or liturgy have commonly been present in sūfī theology. In order to understand the way Suhrawardī sūfīs expressed their transcendental experiences and deep devotion to the Prophet, it is important to examine the *taṣawwuf* poetry and rituals that bring them closer to the Prophet. The immense love for Muhammad is at the heart of the tradition and it is clear why

he is called God's beloved (*habib-Allāh*). One of the ways in which Suhrawardī sūfīs have shown their love and devotion to the Prophet is the recitation of the *salawāt*, or the formula for invoking God's blessing on him. In the *Qur'ān* it states in *sūrā* 33, verse 56, "Surely Allāh and His angels bless the Prophet; O you who believe, bless him and give yourselves up to his guidance in utter self-surrender!"

The innumerable poems dedicated to the Prophet were designed to bring about a spiritual and temporal communion with the Prophet. Whether these poems are sophisticated compositions of the literati or folk songs sung by villagers, the poems are equally filled with warm human and spiritual emotions. Frequently in these verses, Muhammad is addressed as if he were alive standing in front of the speaker and affectionately listening to his followers as they seek his help in solving every type of problem, no matter how seemingly mundane.[25]

Historical panegyric poetry

The origin of poetry dedicated to praising the Prophet's life and all of his radiant pious qualities existed during the lifetime of the Prophet. According to Ḥassan ibn Thābit, the Prophet's poet, the name of Muhammad is derived from one of the Divine attributes, *maḥmūd*: "Allāh derived for him, in order to honor him, part of His name, so the Lord of the Throne is called *maḥmūd*, and the Prophet is *muhammad*."[26] The earliest biography of the Prophet was written by Ibn Ishāq who explains that the Prophet was given the name *al-āmin*, the trustworthy one, by childhood friends when they were impressed with his admirable qualities.[27] In a similar manner, for sūfī poets the very name of Muhammad prefigures all the praises, and the blessings from praising the Prophet's name will be shared by his followers (*ummatan Muhammadī*) in this world and in the next. This name has existed from the beginning of time and will forever resound in Paradise. The famous panegyric sūfī poet, Abū'l Majd Majdūd Sanā'ī (d. 1131) states in one section of *Dīwān*:

> On the Throne of the revolving spheres, you see his place assigned; On the base of the Divine Throne you see his name![28]

In addition, sūfīs applied a method of *ishtiqāq kabīr*, the derivation of a certain meaning from each letter of a word, where the actual name Muhammad consists of: the first letter *mīm* as *majid* (glory),

the second letter *ha* as *rahma* (mercy), the third letter *mīm* as *mulk* (kingdom) and the final letter *dal* as *dawām* (everlastingness).[29]

The study of the symbolic characteristics of Muhammad's names was undertaken by both the *ʿulamāʾ* and sūfīs in early Muslim history. As early as the ninth century, the sūfī ascetic Mansūr al-Ḥallāj was one of the first to elaborate on the mystical meanings of the letters in the Prophet's name. For al-Ḥallāj the Prophet's Qurʾānic names represent more than having similar etymological roots with the divine names; but it was the physical shape itself that represented the beginning of humanity. He states, "Was not Adam, the prototype of humanity created from the name of Muhammad? His head is the round letter *mīm*, his hand the *ha*, his waist again a small *mīm*, and the rest a *dāl*, so the entire human race emerges, as it were, from the name of the Prophet."[30] This concept stressed that Muhammad's name was shaped in the form of a human figure to intentionally reflect a total and complete quality; first, he was the "seal of the Prophets," the last Prophet to be present to humanity and an end to future messengers sent by God; and second, he was able to complete this cycle of Prophets (*nubuwiyyā*) by actually being part of that moment when humanity was first created. This interpretation stressed the importance that the shape of Muhammad's name had mystical meanings for the sacred moment of creation. Accordingly, Prophet Muhammad's actual presence in creation was the reason for God to assign him this particular name in order to symbolize his unique quality to link these moments in time.

The symbolism of Muhammad's name as representing eternal qualities was further developed by Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1240) who interpreted the human forms in the name. Ibn ʿArabī viewed the letters in the name "Muhammad" as parts of the human body where the first letter *mīm* represented the head and consisted of the qualities of sight, hearing, and intellect. He states that:

> The first *mīm* is the head, and that is the world of the Supreme Sovereignty (*ʿālam al-malakūt al-aʿlā*) and of the Greatest Intellect (*al-ʿaql al-akbar*). The breast and the arms are under the *ḥa* and this is the Glorious Throne; its numerical value is eight, which is the number of the angels who carry the Throne. The second *mīm* represents the stomach, and that is the world of Kingdom (*ʿālam al-mulk*). The hips, the legs, the feet are from the *dāl*, and that is the stable composition by means of the eternal writ.[31]

For Ibn ʿArabī the name "Muhammad" takes on human forms to illustrate his human qualities when he was present in the world. But, these human forms are inherently connected to the other eternal world with the divine, where Muhammad resides with the creator. In other areas, Ibn ʿArabī discusses the calligraphic forms of Muhammad's name and interprets the name of Muhammad as representing a human being in prostration.[32]

Another great sūfī poet, Farīd al-dīn ʿAṭṭār (d. 1220), was largely responsible for further speculations about the names of Muhammad. In his works in the early thirteenth century there appear for the first time allusions to certain aspects of Prophetology[33] that became very popular in the following centuries. For example, in his *Musībatnāma*, ʿAṭṭār claims that both worlds are created from the two *mīm*s of the name of Muhammad. He asserts that even in the word *ʿālam*, "world," there is only one *mīm* and the two *mīm*s of Muhammad must refer to both worlds, the existential one and the eternal world.[34] That is to say ʿAṭṭār's interpretation of Muhammad's name meant that he had to exist in dual worlds and be a part of both worlds. For ʿAṭṭār, Muhammad's presence in the two worlds represented his uniqueness as a Prophet, and it reflected a distinct sacred position in God's universe.

Almost three centuries later another renowned sūfī poet, ʿAbdur Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 1492), continued with this idea but elaborated it in a more complicated reasoning. Jāmī understood the Prophet through one of his designated names, Aḥmad. Jāmī believed that the *alif*, the first letter of Aḥmad, came into existence from the "dot of unity." This *alif* is upright like the diameter of a circle and splits the circle of the hidden Divine Elements into two: one half is the world of uncreatedness, of the unknowable Divine Essence, and the other is the world of contingency. According to Jāmī, the Prophet is the juncture between the two worlds and is the crucial binding source, or what Jāmī calls the *ḥaqīqā muhammadiya*.[35]

The sacred identity and sacred place of *ḥadīths* with sūfī poetry

It is not unusual for Suhrawardī sūfīs to create and formulate a sacred identity surrounding the Prophet Muhammad's name, experiences, and *ḥadīths*. Before the institutionalization of the Suhrawardī *silsilā*, sūfīs had used panegyric poetry as a technique to inject mystical interpretations to bring greater meaning to

ontological existence. This method of recreating a moment where the individual disciple (*murīd*) emulates every detail of the Prophet's sayings and actions until the *murīd* actually envisions himself to embody the Prophet is an important identity building process in *taṣawwuf*. The *ḥadīth* collections of the Prophet have been a major source for panegyric poetry for sūfīs, especially the *ḥadīth al-qudsī* ("sacred sayings") which are extra-Qur'ānic revelations between God and the Prophet. The *ḥadīth al-qudsī* reports are symbolic of some of the basic tenets of *taṣawwuf* theology where there is a *zāḥir* (external meaning) and *bāṭin* (inner meaning) for each occasion. From sūfī poetry that alludes to various *ḥadīth al-qudsī* reports it is clear that for sūfīs these reports are viewed as more than a personal dialog between God and the Prophet, but also in terms of an exclusive symbolic moment in the life of the Prophet that reunited him with his creator.[36]

One example of *ḥadīth al-qudsī* and poetry is when ʿAṭṭār alludes to a famous report with the name Aḥmad. The *ḥadīth al-qudsī* states *Anā Aḥmad bilā mīm*, "I am Aḥmad without the *mīm*," that is, Aḥad, "One." ʿAṭṭār repeats this verse several times to illustrate that "Muhammad is One" and "Aḥmad is the messenger of Aḥad," all of which shows, for ʿAṭṭār, the very close relationship between the Prophet and the divine.[37] ʿAṭṭār stated that he knew when "The radiance of the light of manifestation became evident, the *mīm* of Aḥmad became invisible, that is only God the One remained."[38]

Sūfīs like ʿAṭṭār stressed the alphabetical association with the names of Aḥmad and Muhammad which is separated from God only by a single letter, the letter *mīm*. In addition to being separated by only one letter of the alphabet, sūfīs have pointed out that there is a numerical significance to the letter in Arabic numerology. The letter *mīm* is valued as forty and often recognized as the number of patience, maturing, suffering, preparation. Muhammad was forty years old when he received his first revelation, and there is a *taṣawwuf* practice for advanced sūfīs of complete retirement from the world for forty days (*arbaʿīn*).[39]

For a variety of sūfīs the combination of *ḥadīth al-qudsī* reports, the designated names of the Prophet and the numerical significance of the alphabet were not coincidental. For them, every possible aspect of the Prophet's sacred identity was orchestrated by the divine, and they were interested in imitating this exact identity, or at least achieving a glimpse of it through each *taṣawwuf* practice and ritual.

Naʿtiyya poetry as a source of imagery

Poetry written by sūfīs ranges from epic stories to short dedications to their sūfī shaikh. The specific genre of poetry that focuses only on eulogizing the Prophet is called *naʿtiyya*. In these *naʿtiyya* poems there is a great deal of information that reveals the author's personal dreams, which are often described as detailed conversations with the Prophet. The legends that surrounded Muhammad and the descriptions with which the sūfīs had glorified him were all integrated in the poetical praise of the "Seal of the Prophets" (*khātam an-anbiyāʾ*) and "Beloved of God" (*Habīb-Allāh*) to praise whom appropriately one selected the choicest expressions and most artistic forms.[40] In terms of popular Muslim piety and *taṣawwuf*, *naʿtiyya* poetry goes beyond praising the Prophet and simply expressing veneration for the Prophet; rather, it creates a longing to be as one with the perfect man (*kāmil al-insān*).[41] The Prophet's character, as determined in the *naʿtiyya* poetry, has multiple symbolic representations; one of which attempts to present an ideal example of submission to the will of God. On another symbolic level, *naʿtiyya* poetry has deep and intense spiritual values that resonate for the individual. These *naʿtiyya* poems are designed to take the reader or listener on a journey that crosses through time to recreate a specific moment of the Prophet's life.[42] In many ways *naʿtiyya* poetry represents a sūfī construction of a spiritual sacred identity of the Prophet. These poems are products of the popular imagination of sūfī poets and demonstrate the depth of the Prophet's impact on their consciousness. As Marcel Mauss stressed in his scholarship that rituals were part of the "wholes, where body, soul, society, and everything merges," in the same manner *naʿtiyya* poetry is illustrative of one aspect coalescing the total religious transcendental system.[43]

ʿAṭṭār's *naʿtiyya* poetry incorporates many thoughts and images of earlier well-known sūfī poets such as Abūl Majd Majdūd Sanāʾī. In many of the poems ʿAṭṭār gives an even deeper meaning to Sanāʾī's poetry and adds some novel and rich elements. For instance in ʿAṭṭār's forty chapters of the *Musibatnamā* he idyllically describes Muhammad as the wayfarer of the path toward the "ocean of his soul" where he will finally find his Creator, whom he has sought in vain in heaven and earth. The introduction to all of ʿAṭṭār's epic poems contains very colorful and vivid descriptions of the Prophet's qualities and experiences, particularly the extremely significant heavenly journey (*miʿrāj*). For ʿAṭṭār the

"Light of Muhammad" (*nūr Muhammad* or sometimes mentioned as *nūr al-anwār*, "Light of lights") plays an immense role in sūfī poetry and theology. In *sūrā* 33, verse 46, the *Qur'ān* calls Muhammad *sirājun munīr*, "A shining lamp," often interpreted as light from the divine. Or in *sūrā* 24, verse 35 (sometimes referred to as the "light verse"), it states: "God is the Light of the heavens and the earth; the likeness of His light is as a niche wherein is a lamp – the lamp in a glass, the glass as if it were a glittering star kindled from a Blessed Tree."

In Gerhard Böwering's work on Sahl at-Tustarī (d. 896) he demonstrated the way Tustarī interpreted *sirājun munīr* and the light verse as a divine light articulated during the time of pre-eternal existence.[44] For Tustarī the "likeness of His light," *mathalu nūrhi*, is really the likeness of the light of Muhammad, *nūr Muhammad*. He connects both Qur'ānic verses and believed that the *nūr Muhammad* existed at pre-eternity and took the shape of a luminous transparent column (*'amūd*) in front of God, which, for Tustarī, explains the background of the light verse. Tustarī explains Muhammad's presence in pre-eternity in the following passage:

> When God willed to create Muhammad, He made appear a light from His light. When it reached the veil of the Majesty, *hijāb al-'azamah*, it bowed in prostration before God. God created from its prostration a mighty column like crystal glass of light that is outwardly and inwardly translucent.[45]

Tustarī supports his theory from *sūrā* 53, verse 13, "And he saw Him still another time" to prove that the Prophet had to be present at the time of creation. For Tustarī, from the Prophet's luminous light God created the heavenly kingdom, *malakūt*, and the world was to come from this very light. Sūfīs like Tustarī understood that prior to the world's existence and before the world was inhabited, the *nūr Muhammad* was the primary component in performing the complete cycle of ritual prayer in the presence of God. Tustarī's theory goes one step further to state that God used the *nūr Muhammad* to create the first human being and Prophet on earth, Adam. Tustarī explains in the following passage:

> Finally when the emanation of the Prophets and spiritual universe in pre-eternity was completed, Muhammad was shaped in the body, in his temporal and terrestrial form,

> from the clay of Adam, which however had been from the pre-eternal column of *nūr Muhammad*. Thus the pre-eternal creation of light was perfected: the primal man was molded from the crystallized light of Muhammad and took the corporate personality of Adam.[46]

The *nūr Muhammad* concept continued to be a significant esoteric and aesthetic metaphor in sūfī poetry and is in *taṣawwuf* practices. The sūfī Prophetology which used the *nūr Muhammad* motif to designate the Prophet on a superhuman level is also present in twelver Shīʿī doctrines of the light of the imāms and in Ismāʿīlī theology. While there is no comprehensive historical study of this phenomenon, it appears that there are gnostic influences on sūfī poetry.[47]

Just like sūfīs before him who wrote on the mystical qualities of Prophetology, ʿAṭṭār continued the tradition of sūfī panegyric *naʿtiyya* poetry that incorporated the theme of *nūr Muhammad*. From the *Musībatnamā* he alludes to the *nūr Muhammad* in the following passage:

> Whatever is the radiance of both worlds,
> Is the reflection of his, Muhammad's heart.[48]

Like Tustarī and a host of other sūfī poets, ʿAṭṭār also writes on Muhammad's pillar of light that bowed down before God in pre-eternity.

> From his light are Throne and Footstool
> Cherubim as well as spiritual powers, and the holy ones,
> This world and the next are dependent upon him,
> And the world is cheerful through the light of his essence.[49]

In many ways ʿAṭṭār sees the Prophet at the end of the long chain of previous Prophets, the "seal of Prophets" (*khātam an-anbiyā'*) who could not read the human alphabets but was able to read from the tablet of the Lord. He states, like the *ummī* ("unable to read"), Muhammad is "silent in himself but speaking through the Lord."[50] ʿAṭṭār's *naʿtiyya* poetry is rich, because he successfully connects the themes of the light of *nūr Muhammad* from pre-eternity as well as the significance of esoteric alphabetology and numerology. For example, one section from ʿAṭṭār's poems states:

Paradise is one sip from his glass;
The two worlds are from the two *mīm*' of his name.[51]

ʿAṭṭār's *naʿtiyya* poetry is a perfect example of the ways in which Prophetology in sūfī poetry was a deep spiritual voice that expressed a desire to connect with the Prophet. While praising the Prophet is not a unique feature in Muslim religious beliefs or practice, the panegyric mystical poetry written by sūfīs is illustrative of the forms of praise that were everywhere and similar in nature. The differences are in the sūfī's specific elaboration and shifts of emphasis. But essentially sūfī *naʿtiyya* poetry stressed a peculiar mystical aspect of the Prophet and painted a colorful kaleidoscopic picture.

In the succession of Tustarī, Sanāʾī, and ʿAṭṭār, Maulānā Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī's work is full of allusions to the Prophet, such as the "caravan leader Mustafa." For Rūmī his poetical expressions are about his union with the pre-eternal, archetypal principle of Muhammad. Single verses inserted in Rūmī's poetry contain vivid and abstract descriptions of some of the Prophet's extraordinary qualities, often referring to his light (*nūr Muhammad*) and his glory. For example, in one of his passages, Rūmī alludes to a sūfī finding content from one of Muhammad's names and how they shine in the likeness of his light.

The dervishes find their happiness from "Mercy for the worlds,"
Their frocks are radiant like the moon, their shawls fragrant like roses![52]

One area Rūmī is enraptured with is Muhammad's migration from Mecca to Madina which becomes a model for the sūfī's journey because, as Rūmī states, "it is by leaving one's home and traveling constantly that one's soul becomes purified."[53] He also often mentions "Muhammad's wine," that permissible wine "which inspires mankind and can be found at the gate of Tabriz."[54] Rūmī describes that the Prophet Muhammad is not just the cupbearer but rather the very goblet that contains the wine of Divine Love – a fine allusion to his quality as the *ummī* receptacle of the Divine word.[55]

Rūmī writes: "Know that Muhammad is the guide, until a man first comes to Muhammad he cannot reach us." According to Rūmī, this information was revealed to him by divine inspiration, and one needs to understand that "all gifts are showered upon the Prophet first and then distributed from him to other people."[56]

> Then it is realized that Muhammad was the foundation . . . Everything that exists, honor and humility, authority and high degree, all are of his dispensation and his shadow, for all have become manifest from him.[57]

One of the areas that is interesting is when Rūmī elaborates on the difficulties of the Prophetic office, and devotes a talk to why the Prophet once sighed with the mission that was given to him. He describes that moment of hesitation in the following passage:

> He [God] occupied Muhammad first wholly with Himself; thereafter He commanded him, "Call the people, counsel them and reform them!" Muhammad wept and lamented, saying: "Ah, my Allāh, what sin have I committed? Why drivest Thou me from Thy presence? I have no desire for me!" But God consoled him: "Even in the midst of that occupation you shall be with Me. In whatever matter you are engaged, you will be in very union with Me."[58]

One other significant sūfī *naʿtiyya* poet who follows the same panegyric tradition is Shams al-dīn Ahmad Aflākī (d. 1356). In Aflākī's famous work *Manāqib al-ʿArifīn* there are numerous references to absorbed love for the Prophet. In the same tradition of Tustarī, ʿAṭṭār, and Rūmī, Aflākī also stressed that no one can reach God unless he comes first into contact with Muhammad, for the Prophet is the way through which the faithful can reach God. Aflākī writes in his poetry:

> When the form of Mustafa became annihilated,
> The world took the "God is greatest!"[59]

One of Rūmī's contemporaries and prominent Suhrawardī disciples was Shaikh Fakhr al-dīn ʿIrāqī (d. 1289), who spent over twenty-five years of his life in Multan with Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā. On one of his trips to Madina he was inspired to write a *naʿtiyya* poem that consisted of significant Qurʾānic verses along with references to the Prophet in pre-eternity. This is an effective technique of combining both the sacred words of the *Qurʾān* as well as the sūfī conceptions of the Prophet's experience before creation. Just like other sūfī poets who wrote *naʿtiyya*, ʿIrāqī uses light as a metaphor to underscore the Prophet's special status with the divine. A passage from ʿIrāqī's poem includes specific Qurʾānic verses that he incorporated:

The Mercy for the worlds, the messenger of God,
He, at whose gate the heavenly beings say: "At your service, God
revealed what He revealed!" (*sūrā* 53: 10)

Since in pre-eternity the style of addressing him was dictated as "By the Morning Light!" (*sūrā* 93: 1)

The fixed time came that the ceremonial drumming (*nauba*) of "Praised be He who traveled at night with His servant" (*sūrā* 17: 1) was exercised.[60]

When ʿIrāqī uses the verse "By the Morning Light!" he is indicating the divine oath referred to Muhammad from the very moment that light was created, when the official drums and pipes were played for him during his life on earth.[61] As with many other sūfī poets, ʿIrāqī points to the contrast of daylight and night as manifested in Muhammad. It is he who stands between the divine day and the darkness of the world of matter, who is the sun of existence and yet "travels at night."

Another sūfī who contributed to *nat*ʿ*iyya* poetry and represented Muhammad in his pure form was Shaikh Amīr Khusrau Dilawī (d. 1325). He was both a court poet and a disciple of a northern Indian Chishtī sūfī, Shaikh Nizām al-dīn ʿAuliyāʾ of Delhi. He uses several types of grand epithets for Muhammad to illustrate his personal attachment to him as well as his pleas for intercessory assistance. For instance, Shaikh Dilawī incorporates the technique of *nat*ʿ*iyya* poetry with *ḥadīth al-qudsī* to demonstrate how Muhammad completely encompasses the qualities of total perfection, even the angels and the moon are humble to him.

The King of the kingdoms of messengerdom,
The tughra of the page of Majesty.[62]

Shaikh Amīr Khusrau's passion for the Prophet is illustrated in the metaphor of the moon in the sky which gives witness to Muhammad's greatness: it becomes first a semicircular *nūn*, and then a circular *mīm*, in honor of the Prophet, thus forming the Persian word *nām*, "dew," which proves that the moon is nothing but "a drop of dew from Muhammad's ocean." It is the angels' wings that serve to sweep the road that leads to his sanctuary.[63] Shaikh Amīr Khusrau cleverly uses the *ḥadīth al-qudsī* "I am

Aḥmad without the *mīm*," a theme repeated during his lifetime and in the following centuries throughout Islamic devotional literature. Again, he sees the round *mīm* as the seal of Prophethood and claims that one who puts this sacred *mīm* around his neck like a collar will walk in full faith like the ringdove.[64]

The prophet as the intercessor in sūfī *naʿiyya* poetry

The idea of intercession by the Prophet was quite early in Islamic literary history. Ḥassan ibn Thābit wrote about the Qurʾānic verses that have Muslims' hope for the Prophet's intercession, but mainly there are stories concerning the Day of Judgment within *ḥadīths* which have abundant reasons for Muslims to believe in Muhammad's role as an intercessor. A popular *ḥadīth* from the Prophet states: "My intercession is for those from my community who have committed grave sins. And how few may have felt completely [safe] from grave sins!"[65] However, not every theological school agreed with the intercessionary concept, especially the ninth-century Muʿtazilites, who felt it contradicted God's absolute power.[66] For the sake of this discussion, the concept of intercession is the belief that God's mercy manifests itself in and through the Prophet; his intercession was attributed to him, and as a result he earned his Qurʾānic title "mercy of the worlds," *rahmatan lil-alimīn*. It is interesting to note that one of the main sunnī *ḥadīth* biographers, Shaikh Abū ʿAbdallāh at-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 932), wrote in his famous *Nawādir al-usūl*, that other historical Prophets were sent to their communities as a gift (*ʿatiyya*) and as a mercy from God because He sees his creatures weak and desperately in need. At-Tirmidhī continues in this section on the Prophet, stating that God sent Muhammad as a gift of love (*hadiyyā*) in order for His servants to honor him and to win their hearts. But in the case of the Prophet Muhammad, at-Tirmidhī stated that the first gift was to a community under a divine obligation, while the second gift is to only meant to please Him.[67]

Many sūfī poets claim to be the guest of the *khātam an-nabī* ("seal of the Prophet")[68] hoping for a sip from his blissful fountain, the *kauthar*.[69] In expressing their hope for Muhammad's intercession, sūfīs often use artistic rhymes to partake of his hospitality. While there are objections to this practice, at least in poetry it is common to bless the Prophet generously or implore his help or intercession. All of these poems are illustrative that sūfī

panegyric poems attempt to invoke a feeling or display their attitudes that the Prophet is close to them at one moment or another. Their love for him is another sacred relationship between the Prophet and the spiritual seeker that is usually protected from any external forces. The poet and scholar Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) said it clearly when he wanted nothing more than the Prophet's intercession in order to leave behind his offensive past experiences in the world. He stated:

> Grant me your intercession, for which I hope,
> A beautiful page instead of my ugly sins![70]

On the issue of blessings, whether it be in poetry or in reciting formulas (*tasliyā*) of benedictions for the Prophet, there is an important *ḥadīth* that is repeated in sūfī literature and states: "Whosoever utters the blessing for me, he is blessed by the angels as often as he utters the blessings, be it often or rarely."[71] Poets and scholars alike argued where the Prophet would have to be in order to really enjoy the blessings. For some believe that the Prophets are all alive in their graves and at any moment of time a Prophet can answer from the courtyard of their mausoleum to greet the visitors. This issue of how sūfīs and non-sūfīs understand the posthumous life of the Prophet is critical in believing whether the Prophet can intercede at all on behalf of his community (*ummatan Muhammadī*). For example, the reputable historian Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) stated that the Prophet Muhammad lives close to God and he has the ability to reply to the *salām* greeting from his grave and other places. For Ibn Ḥazm the recitation of the *shāḥāda* is indicative of Muhammad's very existence. He thinks that Muhammad's life is imagined in the present time because the *shāḥāda* proves he is still alive. Ibn Ḥazm stated that "Muslims recite that Muhammad is the messenger of God and not has been the messenger of God."[72] This firm belief in the living presence of the Prophet, whose ubiquity was felt by the believers, led to a further development of formula blessings, especially within sūfī communities that ensured that piety within *dhikr* was grounded in *tasliyāts*.

Suhrawardīyya *dhikr* rituals

As early as Shaikh Shihab al-dīn ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, the Suhrawardī *silsilā* has been based on maintaining a vigorous internal and external discipline. The Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* stressed the etiquette

(*ādāb*) of almost every aspect of life. Earlier Shaikh ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī's importance of *ādāb* was studied in his treatise ʿ*Awārif al-Maʿārif*, and he often stated that for each sūfī there is a proper *ādāb* for each *waqt*, *ḥāl*, and *maqām*.[73] The Suhrawardī emphasis on strict structure and the complete submission to the *silsilā*'s *ādāb* principles essentially instruct the disciple of his obligations at different times and situations of his sūfī journey.

One of the areas of structured behavior was in the ritual of remembrance (*dhikr*) which was understood to be a very important activity for disciples to spiritually mature and gain first-hand training from the sūfī shaikh. Shaikh Baha'al-dīn Zakariyyā adhered to his mentor's teachings very closely and taught them in his order in Multan. He insisted that the *murīds* follow the *ādāb-i dhikr* as instructed because their obedience to it was related to upholding God's law or the *sharīʿā*. The sūfī seeker of God must be prepared in every way, in all thoughts and in behavior.[74] This interpretation is identical to Shaikh ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī's treatise ʿ*Awārif al-Maʿārif* under the heading of proper etiquette. In a similar way Shaikh Zakarriyyā instructed his disciples for the proper *ādāb-i dhikr* in the following manner: first, the sūfī must come to the *dhikr* area in a pure mental and physical state, which means that the sūfī must perform ablution (*wudu*) and the clothes worn must adhere to the *sunnā* of the Prophet; second, the sūfī sits in his designated prayer position; third, at the time of *dhikr*, place your hands on your lap, empty out your heart of any ill will and close your eyes; fourth, begin by repeating after the sūfī shaikh "There is no God but God."[75]

Shaikh Zakariyyā's *dhikr* instructions explicitly tell the disciples to "maintain a soft voice and try to keep it as soft as possible because in order to allow God to enter the heart it must be peaceful and extremely pious."[76] After this phase of *dhikr*, Shaikh Zakariyyā instructs the disciples to break the recitation into smaller parts and concentrate on the section that says *ilāh-lāh*. He explains that this focus prepares the disciple to think truly that there is no one but God for the disciple, and all of one's love needs to be directed to *ilāh-lāh*. Shaikh Zakariyyā explains that for every part of the heart the disciple purifies, it creates more space for the love of God to rest in. According to him, each time a person conducts *dhikr* it brings the person closer to God and makes the heart progressively stronger.[77]

Shaikh Zakariyyā explained that a proper following of *ādāb-i dhikr* and the proper practice of purifying the heart will result in

a limitless amount of love with God. At this point, the mind, heart, body, and soul are united with that of the divine and the sūfī seeker cannot rewind the process of being in total love. According to Shaikh Zakariyyā, the sūfī seeker knows when *dhikr* truly affects him because the new state of "total love" is like fire. He explained that God's essence is so overpowering for the seeker that the only way to approach the union is through one of God's basic elements, fire. When the fire of the sūfī's *dhikr* meets with the fire of the divine, nothing in the universe can extinguish it.[78] Shaikh Zakariyyā supports these beliefs by quoting *ḥadīths* that state "those who seek me (God) I will return favors to him."

He continues this thought of *dhikr* with the following *ḥadīth* to support the significance of *dhikr*, "those servants that remember me I will keep them close to me and protect them."[79]

At the moment of union (*jam' al-jam'*), the sūfī seeker who is now a lover (*ʿāshiq*) needs to present the proper benedictions to God in order to be accepted by Him. Shaikh Zakariyyā compares this state to that of entering paradise. He explained that it is important to humbly recite the following in its proper order to the Beloved. First, the *ʿāshiq* should recite "Oh Lord protect me with your shelter." Second, "Oh Lord your are the poles of all the worlds." Third, "Please Bless me with your kindness." Fourth, "You are Lord of all Friends of God." And fifth, "Please Bless me with your kindness." With these proper salutations the *ʿāshiq* is enabled to sustain the fire of the union.[80]

Another Suhrawardī sūfī of Ucch, Shaikh Sayyid Bāqir ibn Sayyid Uthmān Bukhārī (d. ca. 1687), composed a work called *Jawāhir al-ʿAuliyā'*, ("Jewels of the Friends of God"), which dedicates two chapters to the virtues and blessings of God and the powers of Prophet Muhammad's ninety-nine names.[81] In his work Shaikh Uthmān Bukhārī cites the famous sūfī shaikh, ʿAbdūl Qādir Jilanī, who said "that any person who recites the ninety-nine names once every day and every night will be preserved from all kinds of affliction, and his faith will always remain undisturbed."[82] Shaikh Uthmān Bukhārī's ancestral lineage was from Shaikh Makhdūm Jahāniyān of Ucch (d. 1383), who is reported to have said "that the recitation of these names after the dawn prayer will cause all sins, great and small, open and secret, to be forgiven."[83] Shaikh Uthmān Bukhārī continues to demonstrate the importance of the Prophet's ninety-nine names by quoting another sūfī, Sultān Sayyid Mahmud Nāsir al-dīn Bukhārī, who is reported to have said "that whoever recites them seven times after the noon prayer will never

be harassed by birds or beasts."[84] While another unnamed sūfī asserted that their elevenfold recitation after the evening prayer would increase one's knowledge, mildness, and *taṣawwuf*. Shaikh Uthmān Bukhārī cites Suhrawardī sūfīs who reported that they had personal revelations from the Prophet or seen him in their dreams. For instance, Shaikh Makdūm Jahāniyān is reported to have met the Prophet personally when he was visiting Madina and was told that "the greatest reward is when the ninety-nine names are recited twelve times after the night prayer," and that the "pre-eternal Muhammad had promised that he would definitely bring that person to Paradise, and would not enter it without him."[85]

Like other sūfī orders, Suhrawardī shaikhs believed that repetition of the Prophet's holy names conveyed blessings upon the reciting persons. The names of the Prophet, which amount to ninety-nine, were collected from titles that were attributed to him in the *Qur'ān*. Some examples are in *sūrā* 33, verse 45, where the Prophet is called a warner (*nadhīr*) to his community; in *sūrā* 2, verse 119, where the Prophet announces glad tidings (*bashīr*), and in *sūrā* 53, verse 10, where he was sent as a mercy to the worlds (*rahamatan lil-alimīn*). These ninety-nine names represent numerous different qualities of the Prophet that allow individuals who recite his names to interact with him on multiple levels. For sūfīs, names like *bāṭin*, *zāḥid*, *ummī*, *wālī*, *aḥmad*, *ḥaqq*, and *'abdallāh* accentuate Prophet Muhammad's mystical qualities and undeniably support the *taṣawwuf* path. Which is not to say that certain names that reflect the Prophet's supreme political status, such as *sultān*, *fatīh*, and *tāj*, and seal of the Prophets (*khātam al-anbiyā'*), would not also have significant meaning for sūfīs. Other names like *imām*, *sādiq*, *ḥakīm*, and *azīz* are as important because of the ways in which sūfīs connected with the Prophet through the association of qualities like leadership, truthfulness, wisdom, and sincerity. On the other hand, some sūfī poets often expressed their pietistic fear of not being worthy even to pronounce the holy and pure names of the Prophet.[86] The following list is of the ninety-nine names assigned to the Prophet in Sayyid Uthmān Bukhārī's book.[87]

مُحَمَّد	اَحمَد	حَامِد	مَحمُود	قاسِم
عَاقِب	فَاتِح	خَاتِم	حَاشِر	مَاحِ
دَاعِ	سِرَاج	رَشِيد	مُنِير	بَشِير
نَذِير	هَادِ	مُهدِ	رَسُولِ	نَبِيّ

طٰهٰ	یٰسٓ	مُزَّمِّل	مُدَّثِر	شَفِیع
خَلِیل	کَلِیم	حَبِیب	مُصطَفٰے	مُرتَضٰے
مُجتَبیٰ	مُختَار	نَاصِر	مَنصُور	قَآئِم
حَافِظ	شَهِید	عادِلِ	حَکِیم	نُور
حُجَه	برهَان	آبطحِی	مُؤمِن	مُطِیع
مُذکِر	وَاعِظ	آمِین	مَدَنیِّ	عَرَبیِّ
مُضَرِی	امِی	عَزِیز	حَرِس	رَئوف
رَحِیم	یَتِیم	غَنِی	جَوَّاد	فَتّاح
عَالِم	طَیِّب	طَاهِر	مُطَهَّر	خَطِیب
فَصِیح	سَیِّد	مُنتَقٰے	اِمَام	بَآرّ
شَافِ	مُتَوَسط	سَابق	مُتَصدّق	مَهدِی
حَقّ	مُبین	اَوَّل	اَخِر	ظَاهِر
بَاطن	رَحمة	مُحَلِّل	مُحَرّم	اَمِر
صَادِق	مُصَدِق	نَاطِق	صَاحِب	
مَکّی	نَاةِ	شکُور	قرِیب	
مُنِیب	مُبَلّغ	طٰسٓ	حٰمٓ	حَبِیب
اَولٰی	ﷺ	خَیر	خَلقِه	

سَیِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَّعَلٰی اٰلِهٖ وَاَصحَابِهٖ اَجمَعِینَ

An interesting feature of Sayyid Uthmān Bukhārī's sūfī book is the section where he discusses what an individual needs to do and say at the time the Prophet presents himself. After an individual recites the proper *dhikr* formulas and repeats several benedictions on the Prophet, then the moment of "present and watching" (*ḥāzir o nāzir*) is available. According to Bukhārī at the moment of *salām*, which is concurrent to *hāzir o nāzir*, one needs to bow one's head and recite the words *Yā rasūl Allāh*, "O Messenger of God!" and *Yā Ḥabīb Allāh*, "O Beloved of God!" which are the most common methods to bless the Prophet and become closer to him.[88] Bukhārī elaborated on a special formula called the seal of the Prophethood

(*khātam an-nubuwwa*) that ensures the individual's sins to be forgiven and, more importantly, it moves the Prophet to act with a little more benevolence toward his servants. Bukhārī cites the first caliph and successor to the Prophet, Abū Bakr, as having said that "Whoever puts it (*khātam an-nubuwwa*) in his shroud or his grave will never experience the pain of the grave, and God will forgive all his sins, great and small, and will fill his grave with light."[89] According to Bukhārī, it is critical to read the *khātam an-nubuwwa* as it is listed below in order to receive the proper blessings and ensure the *ḥāzir o nāzir*.[90]

The remembrance of *ḥadīth al-qudsī*, and recitation of *Naʿiyya* poetry, *tasliyāts*, *khātam an-nubuwwa*, the ninety-names of the Prophet, and the practice of *dhikr salām* are at the core related to bringing about a *ḥāzir o nāzir* of the Prophet. These religious rituals attempt to deliver sūfīs to another spiritual state where the pre-eternal creation of *nūr Muhammad* can be accessed and, more importantly, completely experienced. These rituals are additional rites to the personal supplication (*duʿā*) of the regular prayers because the supplementary blessings on the Prophet are regarded as necessary to gain favors from him and God. According to Suhrawardī sūfīs, who are extremely *ḥadīth*-oriented, countless *ḥadīths* are cited to prove that these extra supplications are mandatory and should be seriously incorporated in daily affairs.

In many ways the Geertz model is appropriate to the point where sūfī *dhikr* rituals are a combination of the thought and action of individuals, and the recitation of names is a symbolic fusion of ethos. But what is absent in Geertz's model is that these rituals are more than examples of a cultural phenomenon; they are actually a living, breathing internal spiritual phenomenon that is interested in creating and connecting themselves to another spiritual force. All of the *tasliyāt* formulas, ninety-nine names of the Prophet, and seal of the Prophethood are what performing theorists would categorize as symbolic devices that are geared to intensify the experience and eventually unite sūfīs to the Prophet. However, the performing theorists do not acknowledge that these rituals are designed in any shape or form to link to a spiritual world. For Tambiah rituals are dramas that are only a vehicle to articulate the attitudes of institutionalized communication, and this ritual definition is insufficient because most of these sūfī *dhikr* rituals do not fit into any single institution.[91] It is necessary, if not responsible, to expand the scope of rituals by viewing these sūfī *dhikr* rituals as a combination of thought, action, and spiritual expressions that communicate deeply

rooted beliefs in a religious context. These particular sūfī *dhikr* rituals are aspiring to perform an action, which is to recreate a sacred time and space that reconnects them to the *nur Muhammad*. Against the background that sūfīs identify with the Prophet as their perfect guide, they are interested in achieving this union through ritual. As the *dhikr* ritual progresses to an advanced stage of *salām* and *ḥāzir o nāzir* of the Prophet, the ritual has moved the participants to another spiritual world. For sūfīs, these *dhikr* rituals are both expressions of their thoughts and actions, but the most important aspect is that it is a communicative process for them to achieve a spiritual union with the Prophet. These rituals construct their unique identity as sūfīs and a sacred identity with the Prophet.

Plate 3 The Muslim Conquest of Multan in India (from the 1425–1430 Hafiz-I-Abru), ca. 1425–1430.

Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums. Bequest of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller. Photo: Allan Macintyre. © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

4

THE SUHRAWARDĪYYA *SILSILĀ* IN MULTAN AND UCCH[1]

Suhrawardī sources

There is a vast amount of literature pertaining to sūfī orders and sūfī shaikhs in the Indian subcontinent, especially for the two largest *silsilās*, the Suhrawardīyya and Chishtīyya. Literature for both sūfī orders cross-references each other and often cites their sūfī shaikhs as contemporaries who maintained congenial relationships. Within sūfī literature there are at least three literary types that represent respective orders. First, sūfī literatures that deal with biographical and anecdotal collections of earlier sūfī shaikhs are called *tazkirāt*. Often *tazkirāt* contain detailed accounts of the most prominent sūfī shaikhs in the order and include their educational background, their mystical training, places of travel, and the description of certain valuable discussions with contemporary thinkers and politicians, their particular interpretation of mystical religious beliefs, teachers, and adherence to the sūfī *ṭarīqa*. Second, and considered by sūfīs to be very important sources, are the collections of the religious opinions of sūfī shaikhs which are called *maktubāt*. The *maktubāt* literatures were usually compiled by either a *khalīfā* designated by the sūfī shaikh or were written accounts by a reputable disciple known for maintaining written records. Within the *maktubāt* one reads lengthy recorded discussions and debates between particular leading sūfī shaikhs on the subjects of achieving *fanā'* or *baqā'*, ways of interpreting the *sharī'ā* and *ḥadīths*, and the importance of proper etiquette for the sūfī disciple to follow. Third, the actual conversations by various sūfī shaikhs concerning their order are collected in works called *malfūẓāt*. These conversations are primarily recorded by the appointed *khalīfa* of the *silsilā*, and cover the shaikh's method of leading a sūfī life, his ideas on subjects like *dhikr*, *ādāb*, *salāt*, *maqāmāt*, *ḥāl*, *fanā'*, and *baqā'*. *Malfūẓāt* are often organized

chronologically according to the time when the sūfī shaikh allowed his conversation with his *murīd* to be recorded, but there is no single customary format for writing *malfūẓāt* literature. Although mystical tales are associated with stories in the literature, these sūfī sources are still important for learning about the way sūfī shaikhs disputed and defended their own *taṣawwuf*. These recollected mystical stories, which are attributed to specific shaikhs, reflect a certain amount of spiritual hierarchy in the *silsilā*. These myths preserve stories of how the sūfī shaikh would instantaneously heal the sick and feed thousands of hungry persons in his *khānaqāh* at any given moment. Not every sūfī shaikh had these prodigious qualities, and being attributed a set of supernatural powers represents the shaikh's place in two hierarchies. On one level, if the shaikh displayed the phenomenal powers that he had obtained through his mystical experiences, it represents his ability to reach the divine in the present world. On another level, if a shaikh is attributed a few exceptional powers, such as exclusive dialogs with the divine, then he falls into a higher position within the historical hierarchy of the sūfī *silsilā*. For disciples, these stories are pertinent to their connection to the sūfī shaikh because they link the sūfī disciple with the achievements of their sūfī shaikh.[2] It is not only important which sūfī stories are recollected in sūfī literature, but the way they are understood, altered, and applied in the Suhrawardī religious beliefs.[3]

The *tazkirāt*, *malfūẓāt*, and *maktūbāt* literatures are more than literary sources that serve to describe a sūfī shaikh's genealogy, spiritual powers, education, and *taṣawwuf* path. It is an important source for social and intellectual sūfī history. While scholars like Nicholson, Arberry, Currie and Lapidus have all criticized the validity of the use of sūfī hagiographical literature as a source for sūfī intellectual history, one cannot ignore the richness of these sources for a deeper understanding of those sūfīs who were trained by leading sūfī shaikhs. If one was only concerned with the "origins" and "truths" of the facts within these texts, then the researcher will definitely encounter contradictory statements. However, the sūfī hagiographers of these works were not trained in historical studies that included modern scientific research methods, but more along the lines of recording what they found important to recollect about a particular incident or individual. In this respect, these types of works are extremely significant if one is interested in reconstructing the narratives of the Suhrawardī order, and the ways in which these narratives became a critical factor in the popular imagination.

Since this genre of literature focuses on individuals who were influential in shaping the philosophical and behavioral structure of the *silsilā*, it also contains partial views against other organizations or individuals. It is thus important in reconstructing the ways in which Suhrawardī shaikhs viewed Imāmī Shī'ites, Ismā'īlīs, *Jamā'at al-Sunnā*, *'ulamā'*, political activities, competing sūfī *silsilās*, class, gender, and ethnicity, the idea of obtaining an income, and local non-Muslim communities such as Hindus, Buddhists, and Zoroastrians. On the one hand these views represent the complex multi-relationships between various Muslim communities; and on the other hand they demonstrate how certain views were institutionalized as part of a Suhrawardī religious belief system.[4] Like most organizations that experience socio-political changes and all of the demands of making religious beliefs meaningful, the Suhrawardīyya also needed to adjust their views in most of the areas mentioned to meet the issues that confronted the *silsilā*. It is this process of adapting themselves to new environmental challenges that is present in the literature that suggests several qualities about the Suhrawardī *silsilā*. One clear characteristic of the order was its flexibility under the leadership of Shaikh Jalāl al-dīn Bukharī to incorporate eventually a wide range of members from different classes and ethnic regions. Even though this mixing was not favored by a prominent Suhrawardī shaikh like Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā, it demonstrates their shift from an exclusive to an inclusive membership policy.[5] It exemplifies a desire to lay down roots in the region by accepting the larger community into the sūfī order. Another example of how Suhrawardī shaikhs modified their ideas on particular issues that were pertinent to their order was when the son and *khalīfa* of Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā, Shaikh Sadr al-dīn 'Arif, rejected the popular Suhrawardī principle of accumulation of wealth.[6] Both examples are from *tazkirāt* and *maktubāt* literature, which not only highlights the unique contributions of major Suhrawardī shaikhs but, more importantly, demonstrates a continuous and versatile sūfī tradition to meet the challenges of the time.

An interesting feature of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sūfī literature is that more Chishtī *tazkirāt*, *malfūẓāt*, and *maktūbāt* sources are available while few Suhrawardī sources survive. One reason why Suhrawardī sources did not survive is the fact that Multan was the center of their *silsilā*, and the city experienced constant political and social instability during the Tughluq and Lodi periods. As administrations of these sultānates consolidated their control from Delhi, neighboring regions like Multan, Lahore,

Sind, Kashmir, and Gujarat became politically peripheral to the center. Although these regions remained important economic, military, and political areas for the Delhi Sultānate, sūfī records confirm that members were attracted to government service at the capital.[7] Another possible reason why Suhrawardī sources are not as common is because during the late fifteenth-century Lodi period, the Suhrawardī Multan *khānaqāh* lost immense financial endowments from the state, which may have caused either a poor maintenance of records or the inability to hire salaried chroniclers in the *silsilā*. The gradual Tughluq and Lodi political and religious domination of the Multan *khānaqāh* resulted in Suhrawardī shaikhs losing their independent control of their *khānaqāh*. The management was primarily under the control of designated state officials. These may be the reasons why primary Suhrawardī *tazkirāt*, *malfūẓāt*, and *maktūbāt* materials did not survive the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. While there is an ample amount of secondary sources about the lives of Suhrawardī shaikhs, it would be counterproductive to ignore Chishtī literature as an important source for illustrating common ideologies and relationships between Chishtī and Suhrawardī shaikhs, differences in mystical opinions, *sharīʿā* interpretation, Qurʾānic and *ḥadīth* exegesis, and, of course, recollected stories that illustrate the ways in which they were incorporated into each of their respective *silsilās*. Using Chishtī sources to reconstruct an intellectual and religious structure of the Suhrawardī *silsilā* is consistent with Suhrawardī hagiographers who also needed to research outside sources for their records.[8]

Shaikh Bahaʾ al-dīn Zakariyyā Multanī was Shaikh Shihāb al-dīn ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardīʾs primary *khalīfa* to establish the sūfī order in Multan.[9] Shaikh Zakariyyā successfully made his *khānaqāh* an important center for sūfī activities, as he laid out his religious instructions in his *Khulasāt al ʿArifīn* and in *Al-Awārd*. A book entitled *Wasiyāt Namā* is attributed to Shaikh Zakariyyā but since the dates of the book do not exactly match the shaikh's time it is incorrect to believe he had written it. His son and primary *khalīfa*, Shaikh Sadr al-dīn ʿArif, is supposed to have had his conversations recorded by his *khalīfa*, Shaikh Zia al-dīn, in a book entitled *Kanz al Fawāʾid*. A well-known poet and disciple of Shaikh Zakariyyā was Shaikh Faqr al-dīn ʿIrāqī who wrote on divine union in his book entitled *Lamaʿāt*. Another *khalīfa* immediately following Shaikh Shihāb al-dīn ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī was Qādī Ḥamīd al-dīn Nagaurī who was based in Delhi. He wrote on

the principles and practices of *taṣawwuf* in *Usūl ut ṭarīqāt*, which was widely used in most Suhrawardī centers in the Indian subcontinent. Qādī Hamid al-dīn Nagaurī served as *Shaikh-al-Islām*[10] for the Delhi Sultānate and was considered a leading scholar in his period; other works include *Lawā'ih* and *Tawali ʿShumus*. An extensive *tafsīr* is attributed to Qādī Nagaurī called *Tafsīr-i Para-i ʿAmma*. Works pertaining to Qādī Nagaurī's ideas on mystical experiences connected to the larger cosmos are *ʿIshqiā* and *Mulhamāt*. Shaikh Ḥamīd al Nagaurī's *malfuzāt*, *Sarur us Sudur* is not accessible. The *malfūẓāt* belonging to Shaikh Jalāl al-dīn Bukhārī is *Sirāj al Hidayāh* and discusses the establishment of the Suhrawardī order in Ucch. Most of this information is recorded by one of the major Suhrawardī chroniclers, Ḥamīd ibn Faẓl Allāh Jamalī (d. 1536), author of *Siyār al ʿArifīn*.

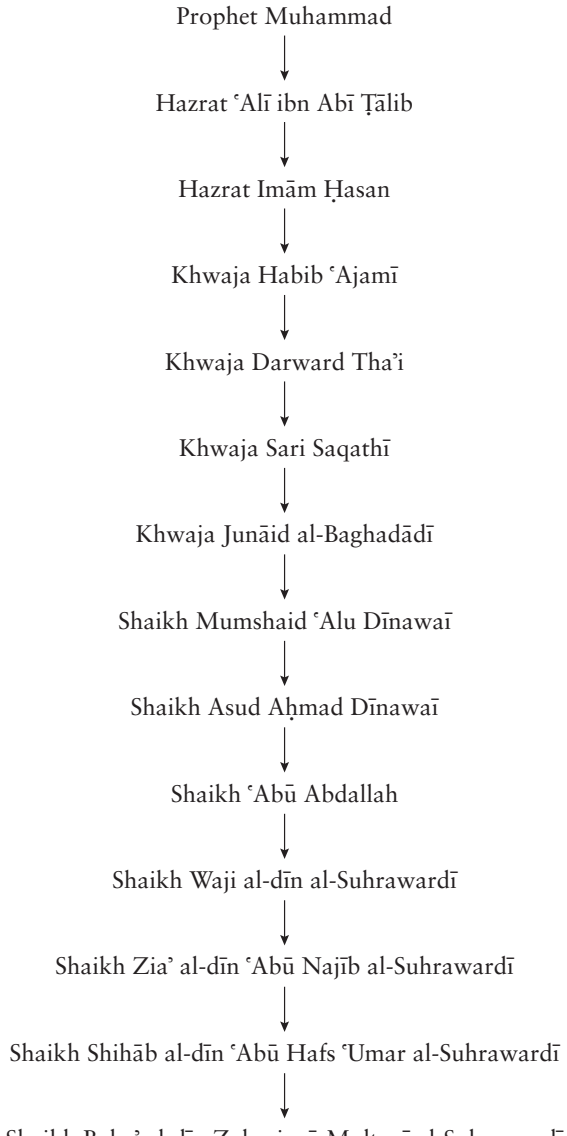
Siyār al ʿArifīn is a priceless *tazkirāt* because Jamalī organized the text by subject and then listed thematic subheadings on: family, birth, education, travels, mystical and legal training, persons encountered who affected the shaikh's worldview, Qur'ānic and *ḥadīth* interpretation, application of *sunnā*, views of various sūfīs like *Qalandars*, views on non-Muslims, discussions with other leading sūfī contemporaries, political affiliations, and income. Jamalī's *tazkirāt* compilation includes political works, Chishtī sources, and personal travels to Suhrawardī *khānaqāhs* to document earlier history.

After primary written works by Suhrawardī shaikhs, and Jamalī's *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, Chishtī *tazkirāt*, *malfūẓāt*, and *maktūbāt* sources are remarkably important because their works were well documented and have survived to the present. *Fawā'id al Fu'ād* is most cited in Jamalī's work and he believes these conversations of Shaikh Nizām al-dīn ʿAuliya' recorded by his disciple Amīr Hasan Sijzī were vital in reconstructing early Suhrawardī history. After *Fawā'id al Fu'ād*, Mīr Khūrd's (d. 1388) famous *Siyār al ʿAuliyā'* is often cited in Jamalī's research. *Siyār al ʿAuliyā'* documents Chishtī *silsilā* and *khānaqāh* life, and Mīr Khūrd comes from an important Chishtī affiliated family as well as being an important disciple of Shaikh Nizām al-dīn ʿAuliyā'. Another cited source in Jamalī's work is *Akhbar al-Akhāyr* by Shaikh ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Dihlavī (d. 1641).[11] Other Chishtī sources that are related to the Suhrawardī *silsilā* are: *Khair al Majālis*, conversations by Shaikh Nāsir al-dīn Chiragh Dihlavī, compiled by his disciple Maulana Ḥamīd Qalandar; *Tazkirāt al ʿAuliyā'* written by Shaikh Farid al-dīn ʿAṭṭār; *Jawahir-i Faridī* by ʿAlī Asghar Chishtī (d. 1623); *Wast al Hayāt* by Amīr

Khusrau, disciple of Shaikh Nizām al-dīn ʿAuliyā', and *Maktūbāt-i Imām-ī Rabbānī*, *malfuzāt* letters by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī. Sūfī sources, like Chishtī records, contain a considerable amount of miracle stories, sūfī theories on practices, ideas on social justice, proper methods in following etiquette, and famous sayings by Chishtī shaikhs. For many scholars, these sources are problematic because of the fact that disciples were not objective sources, and most likely recorded exaggerated accounts of their sūfī shaikh. Numerous historical contradictions in these texts, no doubt, reduce their reliability in terms of matching dates, places and events.[12] But if one were to dismiss these sources as useless, then one would fail to understand the wealth of social, religious, and intellectual information that was recorded by significant sūfī hagiographers.

Since its early history in Baghdad, the Suhrawardī *ṭarīqa* maintained the principle of balancing a world embracing sūfī order and practicing *taṣawwuf*. That is, the early theosophist of the sūfī order, Shaikh ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, emphasized the necessity of becoming politically active and building networking alliances in order to be active members of the community. Part of al-Suhrawardī's basic creed was to adhere to and fully recognize the caliph's rule, or perhaps to obey general state authority, because this authority was a manifestation of divine authority. The Suhrawardīyya in Multan and in Sind were as involved with the political machinery as their Baghdādī predecessors. Activities of Suhrawardī shaikhs are recorded in another genre of literature that deals with political theories, dynasties, elite ruling culture, personal anecdotes of sultāns and life in the court. Popular political works that refer to Suhrawardīyya activities in the Indian subcontinent include: Zia al-dīn Baranī's *Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhī*, and *Fatawa Jahāndarī*, which are classic works that legitimize the Delhi Sultānate's political authority in the Indian subcontinent. ʿAbdul Qadir Baduni's *Muntakhāb u't Tawarikh* consists of stories about ruling dynasties and of their military campaigns to maintain power. Minḥāj us Sirāj Jurjānī's masterpiece *Tabaqāt-i Nāsirī* has detailed social, cultural, and political accounts of sultāns and administrators. As a Chishtī disciple and court historian, Amīr Khusrau's *Tughluq Nāmā* is an insider's written account of the Tughluq administration. The written work of ʿIsamī entitled *Futuh-us Salātīn* is valuable for Lodi affairs. Later political writings towards the early Mughal period refer to sūfī orders, shaikhs and general religious life. Shaikh ʿAbdul Ḥaqq Dihlavī's *Tārīkh-ī Ḥaqq* covers the Muslim rule in the subcontinent and has interesting explanations as to what is lawful

Suhrawardī *silsilā* genealogy from the Prophet Muhammad[13]

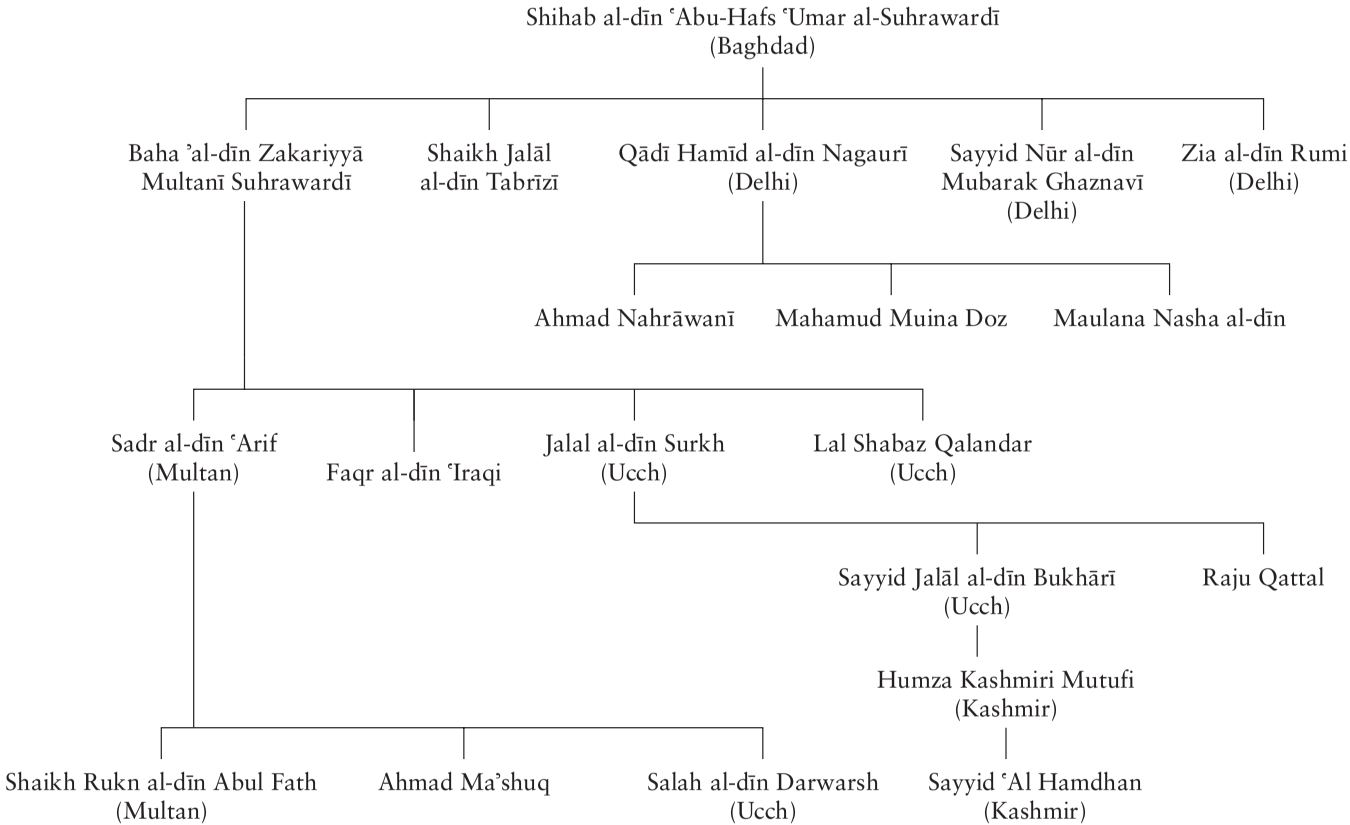


Suhrawardī shaikhs in Multan (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries)[14]

Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā
↓
Shaikh Sadr al-dīn ʿArif
↓
Shaikh Rukn al-dīn ʿAbū Fatḥ
↓
Shāh Yūsuf Ghirdez
↓
Ḥafīz Muhammad Jamāl
↓
Mūsā Pāk Shāhid
↓
Shams Subzwarī
↓
Shāh Dana Shāhid

and what is forbidden. Under Akbar, there were a number of salaried court historians, and ʿAbūl Faẓl ʿAllamī's *A'in-i Akbarī* and Nizām al-dīn Ahmad Bakhshi's *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī* cover important topics like Akbar's mystical religious views. ʿAlā al-dīn ʿAta Mālik Juwainī's thirteenth century work entitled *Tārīkh-ī Jahān Gusha* is also useful because it contains how certain sūfī shaikhs were active in policy-making. These works expose political relationships between particular sūfī shaikhs and sultāns, and the way sūfī orders worked in favor of or against an administration. In addition, sūfī shaikhs who affiliated themselves with government service or maintained a certain degree of political alliances illustrate their agenda to be at the center of the ruling elite. State endowments (*ʿawqāf*) to the *khānaqāh* also present the agenda of the state that desired to be surrounded by a particular group, whether it be a Muslim sūfī group or non-Muslim groups.

Multanī, Sindhī, and Delhi Suhrawardīs



State politics and Suhrawardī sūfīs

Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā's politics with Sultān Iltutmish

Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā (d. 1262) established a Suhrawardī *khānaqāh* in Multan at a critical period of Indian history. Aibek's sudden death created a political vacuum and led to a political struggle among the Turkish political elite and slave officers, and consequently India was divided into four principalities: Lakhanauti was ruled by Khaligi Māliks, Delhi and various territories were in the possession of Iltutmish; Sind was governed by Nāsir al-dīn Qubacha. Sultān Iltutmish's attempt to unify the empire brought him into conflict with other military contenders such as Shihāb al-dīn who challenged his claims to political rule.

Shaikh Zakariyyā lived under Qubacha's rule in Multan but openly supported Iltutmish's authority in Delhi. The shaikh conspired with Sharāf al-dīn, the *qazi* of Multan, to overthrow Qubacha's power and even wrote a letter to Sultān Iltutmish inviting him to invade Multan. The letter was intercepted by Qubacha who summoned both Shaikh Zakariyyā and Qādī Sharāf al-dīn. Qubacha asked the shaikh, "Have you written this letter?" The Shaikh responded without hesitation, "Yes, I have written this letter and this is my handwriting." Qubacha continued and asked the shaikh, "Why did you write it?" and Shaikh Zakariyyā replied, "Whatever I wrote was under divine guidance (*al-ḥaqq*). You do whatever you can do and what is in your means."[15] By this time, Qubacha understood Shaikh Zakariyyā's ability to assert religious authority in Multan, as well as the shaikh's political relationship in Delhi. To avoid further conflict between the two, Qubacha ordered a grand meal to honor the shaikh. In one way, Qubacha was testing the shaikh's loyalties, because in most instances, Zakariyyā made it a point not to eat a meal at any one else's home. Shaikh Zakariyyā made an exception at this time and joined Qubacha in the meal.[16] Sūfī biographers point to the shaikh's spiritual authority that allowed him to escape allegations of treason, but the fact is, like his predecessor, Shaikh Zakariyyā was both a popular spiritual and political leader in Multan. His execution or banishment would have contributed to tensions in most regions, especially in Multan and in Sind, which would have given Sultān Iltutmish more reason to take control. In many of the sūfī hagiographical sources, there is an emphasis on the shaikh's spiritual power and miraculous

abilities, which not only reflects their respect for the shaikh, but more importantly, it demonstrates their intense devotion to the shaikh and the way in which Shaikh Zakariyyā held a special place in popular sūfī imagination.

Jamalī asserts that Shaikh Zakariyyā's support for Iltutmish may have started when they first met each other in Suhrawardī circles in Baghdad. But Firishtah reported that Qubacha's failure to enforce the laws in Multan forced the shaikh to seek political support from Sultān Iltutmish. The shaikh's wide popular appeal and political alliances were significant for Sultān Iltutmish's annexation of Multan in 1227. Shaikh Zakariyyā was assigned the office of *Shaikh al-Islām*, and Jamalī asserts that this office continued in the shaikh's family until around 1535.[17]

The Suhrawardīyya *silsilā* under Sultān Iltutmish

Sultān Shams al-dīn Iltutmish had a long history of dealing with sūfīs of the Chishtī and Suhrawardī orders. As a young adult he visited Shaikh Shihāb al-dīn al-Suhrawardī's *khānaqāh* in Baghdad and apparently received his blessings.[18] His sympathy toward sūfīs is recorded by the historian Minḥāj al-dīn who stated that a promise was made to a *faqīr* by the sultān to support them for his entire life.[19] While Iltutmish was never an official disciple of Shaikh Zakariyyā, he clearly supported the Suhrawardī order and tried to appoint them to as many government positions as possible. Even as close he was to Shaikh Zakariyyā, there is no evidence as to whether he was officially given the symbolic cloak (*khirqa*) from the Suhrawardī *silsilā*.

Shaikh Jalāl al-dīn Tabrīzī

It is recorded by Jamalī that when Shaikh Jalāl al-dīn Tabrīzī reached Delhi from Baghdad, Sultān Iltutmish went out to receive him and "no sooner had he seen the shaikh that he got down from his horse and ran towards him."[20] The sultān brought the shaikh to his palace and honored him as a royal guest. When the *Shaikh al-Islām*, Najm al-dīn Sughra, found the sultān deeply respectful and considerate toward Shaikh Tabrīzī, he grew jealous and slandered the shaikh by accusing him of adultery. The sultān summoned a legal proceeding (*mahzār*) to discuss the charge, and while Shaikh Tabrīzī was acquitted of all charges, the shaikh was so deeply disturbed by this incident that he left Delhi for Bengal and stated:

"When I came to Delhi I was pure gold, now I am leaving being reduced to silver."[21] This is another example of fierce competition between sūfīs and *ʿulamāʾ* to maintain their sole alliances, and to undermine the other's attempt to become closer to the sultān. This anecdote reflects another dimension of sūfī literature, often ignored in scholarship, which is the use of literary exaggeration to emphasize the intense malevolence between the parties. Without the presence of legal evidence needed in Islamic law to accuse a person of adultery, there is a leap of logic in this story. It is difficult to assess whether the *Shaikh al-Islām* of the Delhi Sultānate (Najm al-dīn Sughra) was able to collect substantial evidence to accuse another leading shaikh (Shaikh Tabrīzī) of adultery. Even if Shaikh Najm al-dīn Sughra did not have the factual support to prove his allegations to be true, it reflects a profound level of risk that was involved in slandering another religious figure. Shaikh Sughra's allegations that led to legal proceedings risked his prestigious *ʿulamāʾ* position and general status in society. Regardless of the part of the story that records Shaikh Tabrīzī's acquittal and eventual departure from Delhi for Bengal, it illustrates a significant amount of indignation with Delhi's *ʿulamāʾ* politics, especially the tensions in *ʿulamāʾ*–sūfī relations.

Qādī Ḥamīd al-dīn Nagaurī

ʿIsamī reports that the Suhrawardī scholar Shaikh Zakariyyā was held in deep respect by Sultān Iltutmish. He stated that "whenever he visited the court, the sultān received him with the utmost cordiality and respect."[22] As a member of both communities, *ʿulamāʾ* and Suhrawardīyya, Qādī Ḥamīd al-dīn Nagaurī supported the controversial use of sūfī devotional music (*samāʿ*) and would often host grand *samāʿ* parties at his *khānaqāh*. *Sharīʿā*-minded scholars like Qādī Saʿd and Qādī ʿImād approached Sultān Iltutmish to put an end to this religious mockery and asserted that "the entire city has fallen victim to this mischief." Sultān Iltutmish ordered a conference to discuss the legal validity of *samāʿ* by leading scholars in the administration, and when Qādī Ḥamīd al-dīn Nagaurī entered the court, the sultān kissed his hands and made him sit by his side. When Qādī Nagaurī was pressed about the legality of *samāʿ* he stated that "*samāʿ* is prohibited for the outer-minded folks, but it is permitted for men who are spiritually connected to the God's universe." Quick witted as he was, Qādī Nagaurī reminded the sultān of the "time when he participated in

samāʿ in Baghdad with prominent sūfī shaikhs and it was their blessings and reward that gave him the control over Hindustan."[23] After recollecting the incident Sultān Iltutmish immediately fell to the feet of Qādī Nagaurī as a sign of humility. After the conference, the sultān accompanied Qādī Nagaurī to his *khānaqāh* to celebrate with a large feast and an all night celebration with *samāʿ*. While Sultān Iltutmish himself did not officially join the Suhrawardī order, his deepest respect and connection to the Suhrawardī *silsilā* was demonstrated when he later sent his nephew, Saʿd al-dīn to Qādī Nagaurī to be a Suhrawardī disciple.

This sūfī story is illustrative of Suhrawardī shaikhs like Qādī Nagaurī having a direct influence over controversial issues of the time, and of their keen communicative skills to change the attitudes of the sultān. Whether Sultān Iltutmish immediately prostrated himself to Qādī Nagaurī or shed more insight on the legality of *samāʿ* is not the heart of the issue, it is the symbolism of the act of the most powerful politician submitting himself to Qādī Nagaurī. This is significant because it is part of a recollected narrative in sūfī literature and it gives additional spiritual authoritative qualities to Qādī Nagaurī and to Suhrawardī sūfīs. It demonstrates how Suhrawardī shaikhs were capable of maintaining the power of the narratives in the sūfī order despite the validity of the action being questionable. It is the presence of these recollected narratives of particular Suhrawardī shaikhs that reinforces their distinct spiritual authority within the *silsilā*, their profound influence over political policies, and unequivocal contributions to the *taṣawwuf* tradition.

Sayyid Nūr al-dīn Mubarak Ghaznavī

Sayyid Nūr al-dīn Mubarak Ghaznavī (d. 1234), another *khalīfa* of Shaikh Shihāb al-dīn ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, was based in Delhi. Sultān Iltutmish continued his Suhrawardī patronage and appointed him as *Shaikh al-Islām* of Delhi. He was often called by his popular name *Mīr-i Delhi*. As a popular religious figure in his time, Sayyid Nūr al-dīn Mubarak frequently visited the court of the sultān, and would deliver his sermons (*khutbāh*) in the court mosque. Baranī preserved his sermons in his *Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhī*, which reveal a strong personality trying to convince the sultān to initiate a cultural inquisition in India. Sayyid Nūr al-dīn Mubarak Ghaznavī was bold to criticize the way the administration did not completely adhere to *sharīʿā*. Sayyid Ghaznavī spoke against the way they drank alcohol, ate excessively, neglected daily prayers and

the way visitors would prostrate themselves to them as they sat on a throne. His attacks were directed toward the rulers and how they made themselves superior to the rest of society. Sayyid Ghaznavī's denunciation of these principles were a direct threat to the political ideology, the ruling elite, and particularly towards the stability of Iltutmish's administration.

Sayyid Ghaznavī asked: "What effect, if any, has this admonition had on the life and thought of Iltutmish?" It appears that the fact that the sultān could not live up to the expectations of Sayyid Ghaznavī and these types of behavior personally affected the sūfī shaikh. As *Shaikh al-Islām*, he seemed bothered by managing political organizations and being affiliated with non-Islāmic institutions. He was disturbed that many wanted to learn *sharīʿā* theories, but were not concerned with the practice of it. The famous historian Zia al-dīn Baranī himself commented on this issue of "un-Islāmic" institutions in his *Fatwa-i Jahāndarī*, where he said, "sovereignty was never possible without practicing non-Islāmic customs."[24] Sayyid Ghaznavī was conscious of this contradiction and proposed to the sultān "ways and rules for protecting the faith" (*Chār ʿamal dīn plahi*). These four rules were outlined: first, the sultān should try to uproot the idolaters and the practice of idolatry. Second, immorality should be extirpated from all territories and life should be made impossible for criminals and bad characters. Third, God-fearing, pious, and religious-minded men alone should be employed in government service. And fourth, principles of equity and justice should prevail in the empire. The *Mīr-i Delhi* informed Sultān Iltutmish that if a sultān instituted these four principles he would be popular among the companions of the Prophet and sūfī shaikhs, even if his own morals were not high. "If, on the contrary, he offers daily one thousand genuflections of prayers, regularly fasts, abstains from things that are prohibited in *sharīʿā*, spends the whole of the treasury in the way of God – but does not enforce the above-mentioned four ordinances – his place cannot be anywhere but in hell."[25]

It is unclear whether this speech was edited by Baranī or was an authentic sermon by Sayyid Ghaznavī. Scholars like Khaliq Nizami felt that this speech was edited by Baranī to fit his own personal teaching and philosophy. According to Nizami, Baranī being a court historian, was interested in preserving a sense of historical harmony and cohesion for the political leaders of his time. In this way, Baranī did not have to confront the *ʿulamā'* on these issues during the Ilbarite regime.

Shaikh Sadr al-dīn ʿArif

Shaikh Sadr al-dīn ʿArif (d. 1286) was the eldest son of Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā and succeeded Sayyid Mubarak Ghaznavī as the leading shaikh of the Suhrawardī order in Multan. The most interesting public change for the Suhrawardī order was in Shaikh ʿArif's personal attitudes toward wealth and government service. As a member of the Suhrawardī family, he despised the accumulation of wealth because for him the accumulation of worldly gifts was a distraction from *taṣawwuf* spirituality. He felt that these beliefs were not a contradiction to Suhrawardī *silsilā taṣawwuf* because in the past the acceptance of wealth was conducted by shaikhs who were financial experts in managing the *silsilā*'s expenses. Unlike his father who had a strong character to control himself from the corruption of wealth, Shaikh Sadr al-dīn ʿArif felt that he did not possess such strength not to be absorbed by money.[26] Shaikh ʿArif's claims that wealth would lead him astray from spiritual purity were partly due to the fact that he may have agreed with the strong criticisms against the Suhrawardī *silsilā*'s emphasis on wealth. An interesting point of convergence is that Shaikh ʿArif's critical position against wealth and state services coincided with the opinions of the Chishtī shaikhs. While it is not clear if Shaikh ʿArif studied or interacted with contemporary Chishtī shaikhs that would lead to the influence of Chishtī religious beliefs, it is perhaps not coincidental that the recorded dreams of Shaikh ʿArif reflect his sentiments against state activities. That is, these records show that Shaikh ʿArif believed the state officials were negligent in enforcing *sharīʿā* and spent too much of the state's wealth on themselves. But it is not clear if Chishtī shaikhs were responsible in any way for convincing him of this turnaround.[27]

Shaikh Sadr al-dīn ʿArif's conflict with the state

It was not enough to oppose Suhrawardī ideas on accumulating wealth; Shaikh ʿArif also went against the governor of Multan, Prince Muhammad. Prince Muhammad was the eldest son of Sultān Balban and a talented military ruler who defended the borders of the north-western frontiers. Under Prince Muhammad, Multan became a cultural center for scholars, poets, and artists, who were displaced by the political instability in Baghdad and in Bukhara. The prince twice invited the great Persian poet Saʿdī to reside in Multan and offered to build him a grand *khānaqāh*. Prince

Muhammad was strongly connected to the Suhrawardī *silsilā*, as he would host majestic *samāʿ* auditions at the court. It is recorded that one time he invited the eminent Shaikh Qidwah, son of Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā, to honor a well-known sūfī shaikh, Shaikh Uthmān. During the spiritually intoxicated moments of *samā*' music with participants dancing freely in the court, Prince Muhammad stood up to publicly display his tears and emotional feelings.[28]

Shaikh ʿArif's relationship with Prince Muhammad became more complicated when the shaikh agreed to personal favors. In one hasty incident, Prince Muhammad divorced his wife. He understood that his action was not fair and desired to have his wife back. Legally the prince could not marry his wife unless she was married again to another man and then divorced. Prince Muhammad decided to find a pious man who would agree to this plan. Being the leading Suhrawardī shaikh in Multan, Shaikh ʿArif was approached and consequently agreed to the proposal. The day after the shaikh's marriage to the princess, he refused to grant a divorce on the grounds that she was not interested in one. Prince Muhammad could not believe Shaikh ʿArif's tenacity over the marriage but unfortunately the shaikh was murdered by a Mongol assassin and was unable to resolve this issue.

Shaikh Rukn al-dīn ʿAbūl Fatḥ

The next Suhrawardī shaikh was Shaikh Rukn al-dīn ʿAbūl Fatḥ, who was the son and *khalīfa* of Shaikh Sadr al-dīn ʿArif. As the grandson of Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā, Shaikh Rukn al-dīn ʿAbūl Fatḥ returned to the policies of active political involvement of his grandfather. It is more accurate to state that Shaikh Rukn al-dīn went further to make the Suhrawardī *silsilā* as much a part of the bureaucratic machinery as possible. He accepted the largest land grant ever given by the Sultānate and interceded to protect the family members of Sultān ʿAlā al-dīn Khāljī.[29] Jamalī reports that the shaikh twice visited Sultān ʿAlā al-dīn Khāljī in Delhi personally.

An interesting event that occurred between Shaikh Rukn al-dīn ʿAbūl Fath and Sultān Mubarak Khāljī would be an important reason for the decline in prominence of the Suhrawardī *silsilā*. During the reign of Sultān Mubarak Khāljī, Shaikh Rukn al-dīn was invited to the court to discuss issues involving building a *khānaqāh* in Delhi. In attempting to undermine the popularity of

Shaikh Nizām al-dīn ʿAuliyāʾ, Sultān Mubarak Khāljī called upon Shaikh Rukn al-dīn to make Delhi a dominant Suhrawardī center. It appears that Shaikh Rukn al-dīn had an enormous amount of respect for Shaikh Nizām al-dīn ʿAuliyāʾ and he would not compromise it for the political maneuverings for the sultān.[30] According to Chishtī sources, when Shaikh Rukn al-dīn came to Delhi he met with Shaikh Nizām al-dīn ʿAuliyāʾ first, because he told Shaikh Nizām al-dīn ʿAuliyāʾ that he met "him first because he was the best amongst the citizens."[31] However, according to Jamalī's records, Shaikh Rukn al-dīn first met the sultān to fulfill his obligations to the sultān and after that meeting he met with Shaikh Nizām al-dīn ʿAuliyāʾ. The difference between the two recorded statements is indicative of what certain sūfī hagiographers selected to concentrate on in their narratives. Aside from accentuating the cordial relations between Suhrawardī–Chishtī sūfī shaikhs, both records are interested in reminding readers of their prominent status; while one focuses on a relationship with the sultān, the other relationship stresses the ties with an eminent Chishtī sūfī shaikh.

Shaikh Rukn al-dīn's contacts with government services increased under the Tughluqs. During Ghiyath al-dīn Tughluq's reign, the shaikh stayed in Delhi for several years as a guest. It is reported that the shaikh accepted a grand donation of a hundred villages from Sultān Muhammad ibn Tughluq. The *khānaqāh* gradually came under the control of the sultān, and strict supervision became an issue so that even Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa reported that Shaikh Rukn al-dīn would not allow anyone to enter the *khānaqāh* until formal permission was obtained from the *wālī* of Multan.[32] Tughluq's control over Shaikh Rukn al-dīn's *khānaqāh* transformed the Suhrawardī *silsilā* into another government institution. Under Shaikh Zakariyyā the Suhrawardī *khānaqāh* attracted a combination of travelers, cultural elites, and lower-class members. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa reported that the Tughluq control of the *khānaqāh* forbade any traveler to stay there unless permission was granted by the sultān, and no traveler could continue past Multan unless they made India their permanent residence.[33]

The clash of Shaikh Rukn al-dīn and Aiba Kishlu's rebellion

The sultān also had some other considerations in adopting this policy towards the Suhrawardī shaikhs. Under the Tughluqs, Multan was full of seditious groups and internal state conspiracies. The

leader of the rebellion, Bahrām Aiba Kishlu Khān, was a serious threat to the state because his militia group was trying to overthrow the Tughluq administration. Sultān Muhammad Ibn Tughluq's expansionary policies included moving into the southern Deccan regions, but the sultān needed stability in the northern regions through the assistance of Shaikh Rukn al-dīn. The influential shaikh's *khānaqāh* was a strong center for pro-sultān propaganda and this had immense value to Sultān Muhammad ibn Tugluq. In 1328, Bahrām Aiba Kishlu Khān's rebellion against the sultān was an important test for Shaikh Rukn al-dīn to display where his loyalty lay. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Shaikh Rukn al-dīn's brother ʿImād al-dīn was sent out to impersonate the sultān and ʿImād al-dīn was killed during the rebellion.[34] After the success of surpressing Aiba Kishlu Khān's rebellion, the sultān donated a hundred villages to Shaikh Rukn al-dīn as a token of appreciation for his support. What complicated the tense political matter was when the sultān ordered a large-scale massacre of all rebel sympathizers which created a city-wide panic. As the *shaikh al-sūfīyyā* of the Suhrawardīyya order, Multanī inhabitants turned to Rukn al-dīn for shelter, protection, and general assistance. Shaikh Rukn al-dīn personally requested the sultān to implement a city-wide amnesty and restore peace in the city.[35] Shaikh Rukn al-dīn increased the influence of the Suhrawardī *silsilā* immensely, but he made it dangerously subservient to the government. Many contemporary shaikhs disagreed with his proactive alliances with the state, which to them appeared to be a serious concession that would endanger the control of the Suhrawardī institution.[36]

Shaikh Zakariyyā kept in close contact with the state, but he was completely independent in the management of finances and in the internal discipline and organization of his *khānaqāh*. Shaikh Rukn al-dīn accepted a *jagir* (donation) for the expenses of his *khānaqāh* and thereby subordinated himself financially to the state. By making it obligatory on every visitor to obtain permission from the *wālī* of Multan before putting up in his *khānaqāh*, he subordinated its organization and discipline to state supervision and control. Only one aspect was immune from government control and that was succession to the spiritual guide (*murshīd*). On Shaikh Rukn al-dīn's death this sacred sphere also came under the control of the government – partly through the incompetence of the descendants of the shaikh and partly through clever manipulation of affairs by the Tughluqs.

Shaikh Hud Suhrawardī and Sultān Muhammad ibn Tughluq

The death of Shaikh Rukn al-dīn started a succession conflict because he did not have a son nor directly chose a *khalīfa*. His nephew, Shaikh Hud, contested the position by requesting Sultān Muhammad ibn Tughluq to make the final decision. Sultān Muhammad ibn Tughluq convened a hearing in Daulatabad to decide the next leading Suhrawardī shaikh of Multan. Shaikh Hud was appointed as the *sajjādanishīn* ("leader of the prayer rug") of Multan by the sultān. The conflict over succession of a shaikh in the Suhrawardī *silsilā* was a common issue and it was often resolved among elder shaikhs and disciples. But the appointment of Shaikh Hud by Sultān Muhammad ibn Tughluq allowed for the state to extend itself into the internal affairs of the *silsilā*. Not only did the state-approved shaikh become a spokesperson for the sultān, his selection discontinued a tradition whereby the *shaikh al-sūfīyyā* or designated shaikh, *mashʿāikh*, inherited his rank based on spiritual excellence and sūfī knowledge (*irfān*). This was a very significant event in the career of Sultān Muhammad ibn Tughluq because it demonstrated his control and final word in the selection process for leadership within the Suhrawardī order, which was usually independent of the state's involvement. Just as caliph al-Nāsir issued a legal precedent which made himself the sole leader of all *futūwwa* organizations and ultimately allowed him to control the *futūwwa* institution in late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Muhammad ibn Tughluq was struggling for years to bring sūfī *khānaqāh* lodges under his control, so that he could be the center all sūfī activities. He met with uncompromising resistance from elder sūfī shaikhs of the Chishtī *silsilā*, but now, at last, there was a fulfillment of his desires, and the *khānaqāh* organization of at least one *silsilā* had come under his complete control.

Shaikh Hud's political conflict with Sultān Muhammad Ibn Tughluq

Shaikh Hud's position as the leading Suhrawardī shaikh of Multan opened a number of opportunities that required his services. Aside from overseeing the management of the *khānaqāh*, Shaikh Hud was available to give spiritual blessings, supply interpretations of dreams, ask for intercession on behalf of devotees, have physical illnesses cured, perform marriage ceremonies, and give advice on

business transactions. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa recorded his massive wealth earnings from government service and civil services. The governor of Multan, ʿImād al Muluk, confiscated the shaikh's property after the sultān learned of his luxurious lifestyle. Sultān Muhammad ibn Tughluq arrested Shaikh Hud so he could not flee from these allegations. The sultān stated, "I know of your intention to flee to Turkistan and tell everyone that you are a descendant of Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā of Multan, and the sultān has mistreated me, and it is important that the Turks take revenge on the sultān."[37] Sultān Muhammad ibn Tughluq ordered the execution of Shaikh Hud. Inevitably this was a pivotal point in relations between the Suhrawardī *silsilā* and the Delhi Sultānate. Shaikh Hud is also considered to be the first Indian sūfī to be persecuted at the hands of the state and is often associated with the martyrdom of Mansūr al-Ḥallāj.

Sultān Shāh Firoz Tughluq (1351–1388) appointed Shaikh Yūsuf Ghirdez to the position of *Shaikh al-Islām*.[38] Tensions between Shaikh Yūsuf Ghirdez and Shāh Firoz increased as the sultān took a stronger interest in the Chishtī *silsilā*. In his Thatta military campaign, the sultān did not pay tribute to even one single Suhrawardī *khānaqāh*, but he made it a point to visit all Chishtī centers. Shaikh Yūsuf Ghirdez was personally offended at the sultān's disregard for not visiting Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā's tomb and requested the sultān to pay his respects to the Suhrawardī *khānaqāh*. In many ways, this incident is indicative of the loss of influence by shaikhs in the Suhrawardī *silsilā*; even at times when they were designated as the *Shaikh al-Islām* they could not persuade the sultān to give his total support. The loss of influence by Suhrawardī shaikhs was not only a crucial displacement of the spiritual and political authority of Shaikh Yūsuf Ghirdez in the region, but it was a gradual shift in policy by the state toward other stable sūfī orders, such as Khwaja Mo'in al-dīn Chishtī's *silsilā* in Ajmer. Chronicles report that Sultān Muhammad ibn Tughluq personally displayed strong interest in the Chishtī *silsilā* because of his appeal to the spiritual authority that surrounded the tomb of Mo'in al-dīn Chishtī. His dedication to the order was public knowledge as he attended over twelve annual death celebrations (*ʿurs*) in later years.[39] It is documented that Sultān Shāh Firoz made his pilgrimage to Khwaja Chishtī's shrine with a prominent Chishtī *khalīfa*, Shaikh Zain al-dīn, as public as possible.[40] During the Mongol, Khāljī, and Tughluq administrations the Suhrawardī *silsilā* in Multan went through a number of political, social, and ideological transforma-

tions that influenced the outcome of their standing with the state as well as the larger community. Shaikh Zakariyyā's popular appeal in Multan gave him political legitimacy to cooperate with Sultān Iltutmish's annexation of Multan. From the climax of Sultān Iltutmish's patronage of the Suhrawardī *silsilā*, to the execution of Shaikh Yūsuf Hud by Sultān Muhammad Ibn Tughluq, the *silsilā* went from being an intensely government-affiliated order to an almost peripheral sūfī organization.

The Suhrawardīyya *silsilā* expansion into Ucch

Sayyid Jalāl al-dīn Bukhārī

During the Tughluq period the Suhrawardī *silsilā* in Multan experienced important transformations, but its sister *khānaqāh* in Ucch came to the forefront under Shaikh Sayyid Jalāl al-dīn Bukhārī. Shaikh Bukhārī declined the position of *Shaikh al-Islām* offered by Sultān Muhammad ibn Tughluq, and left for the *ḥajj* to avoid political activities. He remarked, "Had I not left these *khānaqāhs* behind, I would have become arrogant."[41] However, under Sultān Firoz Shāh the shaikh became an important religious ally to negotiate a peaceful settlement between the government and rebels. Under Sultān Firoz Shāh the regions of Sind and Sammas, and the borders of Gujarat and Punjab, were areas of rebel disturbances. In a second Thatta military campaign by Sultān Firoz, Shaikh Bukhārī successfully arranged a peace agreement between rebel leaders Jam Juna and Banbhina and the sultān.

Shaikh Bukhārī too had his share of conflicts with the minister of Sultān Firoz Shāh, Khān-i Jahān Maqbul. Evidence of conflicts is recorded by Jamalī, who stated that Jahān Maqbul would make disrespectful comments about the shaikh, and on one occasion arrested a distinguished person's son. On behalf of the son, Shaikh Bukhārī appealed to Jahān Maqbul to release the individual who had been mistaken for a criminal. After twenty visits, Jahān Maqbul was so impressed with the shaikh's persistence and concern for poor people that he released the individual and immediately became a disciple of the shaikh.[42]

Shaikh Bukhārī was one of the last great Suhrawardī shaikhs, and after him the *silsilā* lost its spiritual vigor, as it became a ruling dynasty in the thirteenth century. To understand the forces that transformed the Suhrawardī order into a ruling dynasty, there are important events after the collapse of the Tughluq empire and in Multanī politics.

The city of Multan was an important province for the Delhi Sultānate. During the later days of the Tughluq empire it became independent under Khizr Khān. Khizr Khān was temporarily turned out of Multan in 1395, but events changed with Tīmūr's invasion of India. Khizr Khān cooperated with Tīmūr's military campaign and became the governor of Multan and Dipalpur. Gradually he consolidated his power and conquered Delhi in 1414, making Multan a significant political center till the time of Mahmūd Shāh, the grandson of Khizr Khān.

Under the son of Mahmūd Shāh, ʿAlā al-dīn ʿAlam Shāh, the central authority of the government became weak and the empire began to gradually disintegrate. Ambitious chiefs began to compete for authority in Punjab, resulting in confusion. The Khokars ravaged the cities and villages mercilessly. The Lodi Afghans established a semi-independent dynasty at Samana under the leadership of Sultān Shāh Lodi; while the descendants of Tīmūr claimed their right over certain portions of Punjab. In Multan, Mughals and Afghans were both contesting for political supremacy. This was a critical phase of political transition, particularly in Multan, and in an attempt to bring more stability to the region the ruling elites elected Shaikh Yūsuf, a descendent of Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā, as their ruler in 1443. The emergence of a sūfī *silsilā* as a ruling dynasty was unprecedented in the Indian subcontinent. The forefront of Suhrawardī political activities is a systematic culmination of a process of subordinating to and even becoming a part of the political enterprise. The election of Shaikh Yūsuf was due to the enormous influence the Suhrawardī shaikhs had exercised over Multan and its adjoining territories. Nizām al-dīn Bakshī, author of *Tabaqāt-i Akbāri*, states that:

> As the greatness of the noble family of Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā Multanī had made such an impression on the hearts of the residents of Multan and of the *zamīndars* (petty landowners) that nothing greater than it could be imagined, all the people high and low, and all the residents of and inhabitants of that neighborhood elected Shaikh Yūsuf Zakariyyā Quraishī, to whom the superintendence of the *khānaqāh* and the supervision of the surroundings of the sacred tomb of Shaikh Zakariyyā appeared as the ruler of the country; and had the *khutbāh* read in his name from the pulpits of Multan and Ucch and some other towns. He then engaged himself in the administration of

> the government and made a beginning by increasing the number of his retainers and enlarging his army. He made the hearts of the *zamīndars* attached to him; and gave increased currency and splendor to the government of the country.[43]

By the late fifteenth century, the Lodis succeeded the Sayyid and Tughluq dynasties, and Bahlul Lodi had captured Dipalpur, Lahore, and Delhi in 1451. In order to maintain his own authority and keep the Suhrawardī *silsilā* in the center of Multanī politics, Shaikh Yūsuf involved himself in a matrimonial alliance with a Baluchi Langa tribe. Shaikh Yūsuf was used by the leader of the Langa tribe, Rai Sahrah, to establish his own dynasty in Multan. When the shaikh refused to take part in sabotaging the Delhi Sultānate, he fled to Delhi. Later on Shaikh Yūsuf did form an alliance with Rai Sahrah in Multan. With the Suhrawardī *silsilā* becoming a more ephemeral institution in Multan and Ucch, other regions such as Delhi and Gujarat developed a stronger infrastructure to sustain its success.

This section has examined the progression of the Suhrawardī sūfī order in Multan and Ucch. From the time of Shaikh 'Umar al-Suhrawardī in Baghdad to Shaikh Rukn ud-dīn Abu Fatḥ in Multan, the Suhrawardī *silsilā* had undergone a cycle of intense popularity, strong political affiliations with the central government and social institutions, involvement in state affairs, and eventually a decline of state patronage. The Suhrawardīs were not quietistic, world-rejectionist sūfīs; instead from the beginning their *taṣawwuf* embraced what the world had to offer and at the same time combined *taṣawwuf* practices with *sharīʿā* and their political activities. At certain times the *taṣawwuf* of the Suhrawardīs enabled them to enjoy the benefits of their close association with the state by receiving grants, official positions, salaries, and funds to build their *khānaqāhs*, and ultimately this sūfī–state relationship allowed the political leaders to have a certain amount of influence over Multanī Suhrawardīs.

The Suhrawardī political experiences in Multan and Ucch were, in many respects, continuation of the activities and religious ideologies of Shaikh al-Suhrawardī in Baghdad two generations earlier. The ways these beliefs were transferred to his disciples in Multan reflect a process of institutionalizing the sūfī order in a new and unknown region. In attempting to settle in new regions by adapting to foreign ethos and cultures, the Suhrawardīs had

undergone a process of assimilation. Multan and Ucch were considered to be new frontiers for Baghdad inhabitants; it meant understanding the boundaries that come with culture, religious practices, business ethics, and political relationships. In a new culture, or realistically the Indian Frontier, the Suhrawardīs needed to continue their tradition of building networks and support systems not to adapt to the local culture and be portrayed as sūfīs who are in exile.

In Baghdad, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's position as *Shaikh āl-Islām* allowed him to accomplish a number of critical objectives to consolidate his sūfī order. His successful model was used by Suhrawardīs to continue their order in Multan and Ucch. To reiterate al-Suhrawardī's model, first, by cooperating with *futūwwa* institutions he increased his networking system with a group that already incorporated many sūfī ideals in their beliefs and rituals. Second, as a diplomatic representative for caliph al-Nāsir he negotiated closer relationships between the ʿAbbasid administration and allies, and even endeavored toward ending political stalemates through peaceful resolutions. Third, as a sūfī statesman for caliph al-Nāsir, al-Suhrawardī worked toward institutionalizing a cohesive relationship between the caliph's rule and anarchistic and anti-state *fityān* groups. Fourth, there are reasons to believe that Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's cordial relations with the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community, in particular with *Imām* Ḥasan, influenced the direction of a common Suhrawardī–Ismāʿīlī coalesced tradition. And fifth, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's reformist attitudes in areas of *taṣawwuf* and politics were instrumental in unifying the caliphate and all of the social, religious, and political systems that belonged to it.

The process of unifying the caliphate required Shaikh al-Suhrawardī to design and advocate his *taṣawwuf* beliefs on a grand scale. According to him, in order for any pious person to enter paradise, they had to live their life as perfectly as possible in this world. To al-Suhrawardī this meant strict adherence to God's law or *sharīʿā*, which was equivalent to obeying the authority of caliph. His theory included a necessary relationship between the *futūwwa* institution, sūfīs and the caliph, and when the first two groups completely conformed to the leadership of the caliph, that created a perfectly harmonious society, living according to God's will. In this ideal world, which to Shaikh al-Suhrawardī was mandated by divine order, the caliph needed to be the supreme religious authority by mastering all of the Islamic sciences. With this in mind Shaikh al-Suhrawardī was the main proponent behind al-Nāsir receiving an

ijāza for transmitting *ḥadith* and becoming a certified legitimate *faqih* in all four *Jamāʿī-Sunnī* legal *madḥāb* schools. This contributed to the cohesiveness of caliph al-Nāsir's political legitimacy and solidified his religious authority; both were significant elements required in al-Suhrawardī's model of an ideal society.

A textual criticism of Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* demonstrated the ways in which he constructed an ideal sūfī world by organizing an intensely structured sūfī order. For al-Suhrawardī, sūfīs were practicing more than spiritual exercises; but in the larger scheme Suhrawardī sūfīs were attempting to unite with the divine, which required them to uphold the *sharīʿā*. According to Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, in order to be prepared to carry out this exceptional responsibility the individual must have his thoughts and actions controlled in every moment, at every place. This explained the reasons for al-Suhrawardī's strong emphasis on observing proper *ādāb*, worship rituals, *dhikr* sessions, fasting, paying *zakāt*, Qurʾānic recitation, *taṣawwuf* practices, *sabr* procedures, use of *ʿaql*, and complete submission to the hierarchy of the Suhrawardī order. This rigid structure had at least two purposes: first, it maintained a discipline within his sūfī order that did not allow any room for disobedience; second, al-Suhrawardī's strategy was designed to prepare Suhrawardī sūfīs for the moment of return to the divine, that special time when sūfīs envision complete tranquillity.

Once Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's religious beliefs and political activities were established as a precedent for the Suhrawardī sūfī order, it is clear how successive Suhrawardīs recollected, implemented, reconstructed, and interpreted Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* in another region and time. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's primary *khalifās* were Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā in Multan, Qadī Ḥamīd al-dīn Nagaurī in Delhi, and Jalāl al-dīn Tabrīzī in Delhi. The main source of reconstructing the Suhrawardī religious and political beliefs in Multan was using sūfī *tazkirāt*, *malfūzāt*, *maktūbāt* that were written by Suhrawardī and Chishtī hagiographers. These sources supported the idea that Shaikh Zakariyyā established a popular Suhrawardī *khānaqāh* in Multan and continued the legacy of his spiritual mentor. Just like al-Suhrawardī, Zakariyyā held the office of *Shaikh al-Islām* under Sultān Shams al-dīn Iltutmish's administration and was very involved in Delhi Sultānate politics. Jamāli's *Siyār al ʾArifīn* and other *tazkirāt* document Zakariyyā's intense political activities, his firm advocacy for adhering to the *sharīʿā*, the need to obey all *taṣawwuf* rituals, and his arguments about accepting material gifts from the state. Hagiographers dedicated a

considerable amount of written space to this controversial issue of accepting material gifts, which appeared to be less of an issue for Shaikh al-Suhrawardī in Baghdad. This controversy has to do less with Zakariyyā's accumulation of wealth and more to do with sūfī ideological conflicts of the Chishtī hagiographers.

The subsequent changes in Suhrawardī religious beliefs and practices were made by Shaikh Sadr al-dīn ʿArif, the eldest son and *khalifā* of Shaikh Zakariyyā. Shaikh ʿArif terminated the tradition of being involved with state politics and forbade his disciples to work for the state or receive any endowments. His son, Shaikh Rukn al-dīn ʿAbūl Fatḥ reversed his father's policies because he felt that the Suhrawardī order had declined without the financial patronage of the state and it had moved away from the principles of Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* tradition. The Suhrawardī *silsilā* experienced important political and authority changes during this time, especially under the rule of Muhammad ibn Tughluq who murdered the *shaikh al-sūfīyyā*, Shaikh Yusuf Hud, and took control of the sūfī order. The loss of authority by Suhrawardī shaikhs was in part due to their own internal conflicts of succession and the political aspirations of dominating the *khānaqāh* by the Khalji and Tughluq rulers. Unlike Shaikhs al-Suhrawardī and Zakariyyā, who successfully balanced the interests of both the sūfī order and state politics, Shaikhs ʿAbūl Fatḥ, ʿArif, and Hud were politically incapable of maintaining the sūfī order's independence from state domination and not compromising their *taṣawwuf* islam. The combination of inexperienced leadership on the part of Suhrawardī shaikhs and massive hegemonic state policies contributed to their decline in Multan. However, for the most part the Suhrawardīs did not sacrifice their *taṣawwuf* practices to political activities; those Suhrawardīs who felt the sūfī–state relationship was too intimate, like Shaikh Sayyid Ghaznavī and Shaikh Sadr al-dīn ʿArif, were able to negotiate political and religious authority by controlling their *khānaqāh*. The sūfī–state model established by Shaikh al-Suhrawardī in Baghdad continued in Multan and Ucch for Suhrawardīs. However, unlike in Baghdad, the Suhrawardīs of Multan and Ucch had factors like cultural assimilation, political rivalries, intense governmental control, unstable dynasties, internal enmities, and the direct involvement of politicians in the management of the sūfī organization and sūfī life. This said, the Suhrawardīs encountered far more challenging political, social, religious and economical circumstances than those experienced in Baghdad. To implement a sūfī–state model from Baghdad that was

grounded in another set of cultural and religious milieus proved that the Suhrawardīs of South Asia needed to develop another local system. A new culture and environment demanded more innovative ways for Suhrawardīs to live and flourish in a pluralistic society.

Plate 4 Sūfīs by a Mountain Spring, ca. 1590.

Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums. Bequest of Sarah C. Sears Collection. Photo: Photographic Services. © President and Fellows of Harvard College.

5

MULTANĪ SUHRAWARDĪ *TAṢAWWUF* SPIRITUAL EXERCISES

Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf*

The Suhrawardī silsilā *in Multan and Ucch*

The development of the Suhrawardīyya order in the Indian subcontinent was mainly due to the efforts of Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā, Shaikh Jalāl al-dīn Tabrīzī, and Qādī Ḥamīd al-dīn Nagaurī. Shaikh Shihāb al-dīn ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī instructed these selected *khalīfas* to establish Suhrawardī orders eastward into the Indian subcontinent. The way in which these Suhrawardī individuals and their disciples continued the Suhrawardī religious beliefs and institutionalized it as a popular form of sūfī piety is integral to understanding the continuity and changes in Suhrawardī sūfī theology. Balancing *taṣawwuf* and politics is crucial to the Suhrawardīyya order, it is as important to understand their emphasis on prayers, embodying the *sunnā* of the Prophet, and specific types of *dhikr* that were required for Suhrawardī sūfīs to follow. Often overlooked in Suhrawardī studies, Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* required sūfīs to greatly adhere to prayer and to additional recitations of the *Qur'ān* for prayer. The five daily ritualistic prayers were perceived as fundamental religious practice to surrender to Allāh and could not be neglected. The Suhrawardī shaikhs believed that prayer, which is God's way of implementing a habit of surrender in believers, need not be fixed to five times a day but several additional supplications were needed in *taṣawwuf*. There are elaborate concise instructions for Suhrawardīs to practice *dhikr al-Qur'ān* (remembrance of the *Qur'ān*) and specific prayers that were attached to ritual and place.

Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā

Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā was born at Kot Karor, near Multan, around 1182–1183. His father passed away when the shaikh was twelve years old and at that time he pursued Qur'ānic studies in Khurasan. After memorizing the *Qur'ān* (*ḥāfiz*), about seven years later he left for Bukhara. In Bukhara, he obtained a certificate in *ijtiḥād*. The people of Bukhara called him angel for his beauty and his sense of piety.[1] Afterwards, he left for Mecca where Shaikh Zakariyyā studied *ḥadīth* for five years under a prominent scholar, Maulana Kamāl al-dīn Muhammad. Afterwards he went to Jerusalem, then to Baghdad, where Shaikh Shihāb al-dīn ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī personally initiated him into his sūfī order and made him his *khalīfā*.[2] Many sūfīs in the Suhrawardī order were displeased to see Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā elevated to *khalīfā* after only seventeen days of spiritual training. Shaikh ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī sensed the discontent and responded to their dissatisfaction by stating that when they had first come to him they were like green wood which would not catch fire, but Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā had been like dry wood which had begun to burn with a single breath.[3] Shaikh ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī's sarcastic commentary here on Shaikh Zakariyyā illustrates a degree of internal competition within the Suhrawardīyya order, especially regarding the issue of becoming a closer companion to the leading shaikh. Since Shaikh Zakariyyā was personally invited and initiated by al-Suhrawardī, the *shaikh al-sūfīyyā*, this reveals Zakariyyā's ability to prove his knowledge of *taṣawwuf*, and his advance in the ranks of the *ṭarīqa*.

An interesting anecdote in *Fawaí'd al-Fu'ād* and *Siyār al ʿArifīn* states that Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā returned to Multan even though other religious figures in town requested him to settle elsewhere. Particularly, the *ʿulamā'* did not appreciate the presence of Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā in Multan because he belonged to the *taṣawwuf* tradition which contained both legal expertise and the sūfī path. For example, Maulana Qutb al-dīn Kashanī, a prestigious *ʿālim* in Multan, opposed Shaikh Zakariyyā and all forms of *taṣawwuf* religious expression.[4] The Multanī political leader Nāsir al-dīn Qubacha held Kashanī in great respect and even built a *madrasa* for him. Kashanī tried to persuade Zakariyyā not to come to his *madrasa* and ordered that he should pray at his own *khānaqāh*. While there were a number of areas of disagreement, the main point of contention was over the legal interpretations and meanings of

salāt – the daily ritualistic prayer. Shaikh Zakariyyā defended his understanding of prayers based on his inner light (*nur-i bāṭin*) and that of the *Shaikh al-Islām*'s teachings – Shaikh al-Suhrawardī. Kashanī rejected Zakariyyā's defense and stated that it was baseless and continued to state that, like most of the shaikh's opinions, they were not compatible with the *sharīʿā* nor was his theological understanding of *salāt* in adherence to the *sunnā* of the Prophet. After this incident, Shaikh Zakariyyā publicly vowed never to return to the *madrasa* again and to keep a reasonable distance from the *ʿulamā'* authority in Multan.[5]

The tension between Zakariyyā and Kashanī is not only based on different perspectives on the *sharīʿā* (though many of the discussions begin there), nor is it based on their adherence to a particular *madḥab*. The heart of Suhrawardī–*ʿulamā'* religious authority differences is in the ways Suhrawardīs were able to manage to balance their inner spiritual aspirations with the outer worldly demands of living according to the law. Multanī Suhrawardī shaikhs, like Shaikh Zakariyyā, were visible sūfī models who were experts of the *Qurʾān*, the embodiment of the Prophet's *sunnā*, defenders of the *sharīʿā*, and simultaneously, leading thinkers and practitioners of *taṣawwuf*. All of these combined were contentious issues for Multanī *ʿulamā'* who argued against the assimilation of *taṣawwuf* and *sharīʿā* religious expression. For some have argued that the true differences lie in religious authorities negotiating public approval, defending their authoritative status, and maintaining their position with their constituency.[6] On one level these theories may apply to any power struggle; however, there is little evidence to support that scenario with the Suhrawardīs in Multan. The Suhrawardīyya were facing another theological challenge; that is, how to enrich the faith of Muslims – sūfīs or non-sūfīs – with *taṣawwuf*, *Qurʾān*, *sunnā*, and *sharīʿā* combined as a total way of devotion and surrender to Allāh.

Against the criticism of Multan's *ʿulamā'*, Shaikh Zakariyyā established himself as the distinguished *khalīfā* of Shaikh Shihāb al-dīn al-Suhrawardī by claiming religious authority in sūfī theology, philosophy, *sharīʿā*, and in the Islamic sciences. According to Amīr Sijzī, merchants from Iraq and Khurasan were attracted to the shaikh's teachings in large numbers and it did not take long before a wide group of travelers from all corners of the Islamic world paid a visit to Zakariyyā. The statement, "Shaikh Zakariyyā's *khānaqāh* was filled with grain and was a popular place for merchants, religious scholars, and upper class dignitaries

to gather, while lower class members were not as visible in the *khānaqāh*"[7] must be viewed in its proper Chishtī context. Chishtī sources repetitively state lower class members or commoners were not visible in the Suhrawardī *khānaqāh* because their sūfī order branded itself as the sūfī order that had no social distinctions. These types of accusations and sūfī accounts reflect their intense criticism of Suhrawardīyya's acceptance of worldly gifts. While biases existed in all social organizations and in sūfī orders, the critical problem for Chishtī sūfīs against Suhrawardīs was their publicity of harmonizing *dūnyā* (world embracing) and *taṣawwuf*. Multanī Suhrawardī sūfīs were viewed as an elitist group of people whose brand of *taṣawwuf* consisted of part obedience to the law and some elementary understanding of the inner spiritual journey. For Chishtīs in the thirteenth century, Suhrawardī intimate connections to the state, global politics, and network of merchants represented the false type of religious piety and *taṣawwuf* practice.

There are accounts of Multanī individuals who paid their respects to Shaikh Zakariyyā, entered his *khānaqāh* and benefited from his theological discussions and insights of spiritual enlightenment. However, in his documentary records Amīr Sijzī claims that these upper classes were not only followers of the shaikh, but also contributed to the *khānaqāh*'s expenses and to the shaikh's personal expenses. While Zakariyyā's personal accounts are not extant, there is one particular event that shows how he was able to assist the governor of Multan financially. It is reported that during a difficult economic recession in Multan, the governor requested financial aid from Shaikh Zakariyyā; the shaikh responded with a storehouse of grain and a pot of silver coins for the governor, stating that he wanted the governor to have money to accompany the grain.[8]

Emulating his predecessor, Shaikh Zakariyyā's political alliances were straightforward and open to all; he did not conceal his contacts with any government official. Shaikh Zakariyyā's formal alliance with Sultān Shams al-dīn Iltutmish gave the sultān his personal support when he annexed the provinces of Multan and Sind for the Dehli Sultānate. The invasion of Chingaz, which weakened Qubacha, led him to write a letter inviting Iltutmish to defend Multan. After the annexation of Multan and Sind in 1228, Iltutmish invited Shaikh Zakariyyā to Delhi to be an observer at legal proceedings against his sūfī brother, Jalāl al-dīn Tabrīzī. After the acquittal of Tabrīzī, Shaikh Zakariyyā was appointed to the prestigious position of *Shaikh al-Islām*. To the sultāns of Delhi,

the position of *Shaikh al-Islām* was a transient position, and this title was often conferred on religious scholars, who then received a stipend and land grants.[9] Shaikh Zakariyyā continued in the footsteps of his predecessor, *Shaikh al-Islām* Shaikh Najm al-dīn Sughra, who was also active in Delhi's politics and benefited from financial support from the sultān. Shaikh Zakariyyā's position as a close advisor to Sultān Iltutmish enabled him to appoint his disciples to government positions and expand his *khānaqāh* in Multan. During the 1247 Mongol conflict with Suli Nuyin, Shaikh Zakariyyā successfully negotiated an important truce and peaceful resolutions with the Mongol army representative, Mālik Shams al-dīn.[10]

Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā had seven sons and a very large number of disciples scattered all over Multan and Sind. His son, Shaikh Sadr al-dīn ʿArif (d. 1285), succeeded him as his *khalīfā* and as *sajjadānashīn* ("keeper of the prayer rug") in Multan; whereas his primary disciple (*murīd*), Sayyid Jalāl al-dīn Surkh Bukhārī (d. 1291) established a strong Suhrawardī center in Ucch. Although Suhrawardī disciples traveled beyond the Punjab and Sind provinces, the center of their activities remained in Ucch and Multan.

With the Suhrawardīyya historically affiliating themselves with the cultural elite, it is common to conclude that the Suhrawardīyya *silsilā* was an affluent sūfī order. This conclusion is not based only on records, since one needs to keep in mind the biases of scholars who assume that the sūfī way of life means the total withdrawal from the world (*turk-i dunyā*) and not earning any income. The problem with this narrow perspective is when the Suhrawardīyya sūfī order does not fit the definition, these sūfīs automatically fall under a category of government service sūfīs (*shughal kaam*). Many critics often emphasize the construction of the largest *khānaqāh* in Multan built for Shaikh Zakariyyā as a gift from the Delhi Sultānate. One of the leading scholars of Indian sūfī tradition, Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, asserts that Shaikh Zakariyyā was "probably the richest sūfī shaikh of medieval India," but no financial statements or ledgers were preserved to support this claim.[11] What is left in the records are assertions by Jamalī stating that there was an incredible amount of *futuh* (unsolicited charity) that "flowed into his *khānaqāh*."[12] Nizami measures the Suhrawardī order against the practices of the Chishtīs, which is valuable to a certain extent in comparing the two *silsilās*, but his partial statements reflect a one-sided perspective. He writes that the "Suhrawardī's wealth was not disbursed immediately among the needy and the

poor"[13] and quotes Jamalī's account "that Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā kept his wealth carefully and spent it with still greater care."[14] He further describes Shaikh Zakariyyā's wealth by stating that he owned a treasury (*khazanah*) containing boxes full of gold coins. And, again Jamalī's account is used as evidence to illustrate that the Suhrawardīs were wealthy sūfīs who were more interested in financial prosperity than the spiritual path. Nizami quotes Jamalī's text, "once a box of five hundred gold coins was found missing but he (Shaikh Zakariyyā) did not consider the loss to be a serious issue."[15] Nizami, like other scholars, assumes there is dichotomous worldview of sūfīs: if one group focuses on finances then they are world-embracing people who do not fall in the category of serious minded spiritual seeking sūfīs. However, if a group of sūfīs mirrors the intense spiritual practices of the Chishtīs, then these sūfīs embody the complete spirit of *taṣawwuf* philosophy. In cross-checking sūfī sources, the pattern of selecting certain passages and ignoring other accounts to prove an overexaggerated point or to dismiss the validity of other sources is a problem when one is illustrating shared features of sūfī orders. For example, later in Jamalī's text the author highlights Shaikh Zakariyyā's frequent benevolent contributions to the poor and needy people of Multan. In Jamalī's account, under the heading "On people of God," the shaikh does not have miserly qualities as described by Nizami. It is recorded accordingly:

> It is said that one day Shaikh Zakariyyā was sitting in his *khānaqāh* and ordered his *khadīm* (sūfī disciple or servant) to get the box of five thousand gold dinars. The *khadīm* went to the treasury and searched everywhere but could not find the treasury box. He went humbly to the shaikh and informed him that the treasury box was nowhere to be found. After some time, the shaikh responded with "*Alhamdulilah*." After a few days, the *khadīm* told the *Shaikh al-Islām* that the treasury box was found under some things. He told the *khadīm* to recover the treasury box and explained to the people present that he said *alhamdulilah* because, in front of the people of God, there are existential and non-existential things. The disappearance of this box does not bring sadness or the appearance of this box does not bring happiness. Afterwards, Shaikh Zakariyyā distributed the five thousand gold dinars to deserving poor people and never paid attention to it.[16]

Another reason the Suhrawardī sūfīs have been accused of not following a true sūfī path that is connected with traditional *taṣawwuf* theosophy is because of the models used to compare with other sūfī orders in the region. Not only did the Suhrawardīs follow the *sunnā* of earning an income, but also the perception by other sūfī chroniclers was that their wealth was accumulated aggressively and only shared within the boundaries of their sūfī members. These sūfī accounts about Suhrawardī wealth were problematic with Chishtī perspectives on money. This is why Jamalī made allegations against that Suhrawardī sūfī order regarding their lack of distributing wealth to the needy, because he was using the Chishtī practice of distributing charity as the standard for sūfī social work. The way poor people were allowed to stay in the Chishtī *jamā'at khāna*, and that a full-time kitchen was maintained for feeding the poor, was their idea of performing a particular social service.[17] Since the Suhrawardīyya *silsilā* did not fit this definition of social welfare, they are perceived as an order that did not provide social services to the larger community. However, Chishtī and Suhrawardī sources record several occasions when the municipal government of Multan, governors and administrators, would request Shaikh Zakariyyā to assist in resolving their financial burden. The shaikh's financial support not only helped the jobs of civil servants, but avoided a financial collapse of the city of Multan.[18] In another section, it is recorded that once the *wālī* of Multan borrowed some grain from the shaikh, and when the grain was being removed from the granaries, pitchers full of silver coins were found hidden inside it.[19]

Shaikh Zakariyyā's ability to spend his finances in areas of civil service, municipal governance, and supporting the Suhrawardī *khānaqāh* reflected, to some sūfī chroniclers, a certain degree of controlled spending. Even when Shaikh Zakariyyā's son, Sadr al-dīn Arif, was kidnapped for ransom, sūfī chroniclers focused on the huge ransom that was paid. These accounts hardly praise Suhrawardī *sililā*'s achievements in spiritual teachings, establishment of educational institutions, or contributing to regional peace, but instead there is an overemphasis on Suhrawardī shaikhs spending their personal finances.[20] In his final will and testament, the shaikh left each of his seven sons seven hundred thousand silver coins.[21] As *Shaikh al-Islām* for the Delhi Sultānate, the leading shaikh for the Suhrawardī *silsilā*, and one of the most prominent public servants in Multan, it is likely that Shaikh Zakariyyā's wealth was an important factor in establishing the sūfī order in

Multan. Suhrawardī's views on the state and accumulation of wealth are significant factors dividing his followers from their Chishtī counterparts. It is clear that the Suhrawardīyya order distributed their income to disciples and to the needy in an effective, but different way from their Chishtī counterparts. It is inaccurate to compare these two different methods and conclude that the Suhrawardīyya did not perform any social services.

The structural hierarchy in the Suhrawardī *khānaqāh* reflects, to some degree, their basic principles of organization and attitudes that guided their sūfī path. The Suhrawardī *khānaqāh* was, in many ways, a direct contrast to the Chishtī *Jamāʿat khāna*. While Nizami stated that "it was more decorated, better furnished and better organized for its members. It had an aristocratic air both as to its structure and its organization," it does not explain the connection of hierarchical order and Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf*.[22] Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā's *khānaqāh* covered an extensive area, and separate accommodations were provided for every member, as well as for numerous visitors who were attracted to it. Again, Nizami compares the Suhrawardī *khānaqāh* with the Chishtīs by stating that "unlike the Chishtī *Jamāʿat khanā* where all of the members and visitors lived and prayed together in one large area, members in the Suhrawardī *khānaqāh* were divided according to rank to the shaikh."[23] There is no clear evidence that members were ranked inside the *khānaqāh*, but we do know that towards the later part of Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā's life he "enjoyed sharing food with select visitors and would invite them to his personal eating area."[24]

According to the Chishtī source *Fawāʾid al Fuʾād*, Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā was not easily accessible to the average person and the shaikh ensured that common people could not disturb him.[25] This source reports to have heard Shaikh Zakariyyā say, "I have nothing to do with the generality of the public."[26] In other areas it is reported that the shaikh could not be contacted at any single moment, because he insisted on having specific hours set aside for interviews or discussions. These conversations need to be placed in their socio-political–religious context. These recorded conversations were documented by Shaikh Nizām al-dīn ʿAuliyāʾ's disciple Amīr Sijzī. Sijzī came from a family of dedicated Chishtī servants. Sijzī's father was one of the primary *khadīms* for Shaikh Ganj Shakr, in Pakpattan, predecessor to Shaikh Nizām al-dīn ʿAuliyāʾ. Sijzī belonged to a competing sūfī order, that professed strict anti-establishment beliefs, but more importantly, he resided

in the heart of Delhi, which perhaps contributed to his dislike for sūfīs involved in government service, or sūfī acceptance of state endowments. These biases against Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā and the Suhrawardī *silsilā* were in the forefront of debate about accumulating wealth. For the shaikh, wealth and devotion to *taṣawwuf* were not incompatible. Shaikh Zakariyyā defended his position against critics by explaining that it was not so much the wealth, but its improper use that was detrimental to spiritual progress. Opponents of Shaikh Zakariyyā's ideas would often state that, "Two opposites cannot meet at one single place."[27] In one situation, Shaikh Zakariyyā attended a court proceeding convened by Sultān Iltutmish and was questioned by a well-known opponent, Shaikh Ḥamīd al-dīn Sawalī, about the sources from which he acquired his wealth. The shaikh's response was: "Wealth is clearly a venomous serpent. But poison does not harm one who knows the antidote." Again the critic attacked Shaikh Zakariyyā in front of the sultān by asking, "Where is the necessity of keeping a dirty venomous creature and then depending on an antidote for safety." Shaikh Zakariyyā immediately replied by stating: "Your sūfī has no beauty or attraction. Our sūfī has immense beauty, and wealth is like a black dot averting the evil effect of jealous glances."[28] Shaikh Zakariyyā's response to Shaikh Sawalī's line of questioning reflects Zakariyyā's consistent need to defend himself on the subject of accepting financial or land endowments. On the subject of Shaikh Zakariyyā's views on wealth, there is an interesting historiographical dichotomy in the writings of various sūfī hagiographers. For instance, among the well-known Chishtī hagiographers like Amīr Sijzī and Mīr Khūrd, they consistently recollected the "negative qualities or controversial issues" of Shaikh Zakariyyā. Their accounts rarely discuss his personal piety, devotion to *taṣawwuf*, sūfī teachings and interpretations, and his generous donations to the community. But Jamalī, a devout Suhrawardī member and one of the first Suhrawardī hagiographers, recorded these "positive qualities" in response to Amīr Sijzī and Mīr Khūrd to refute what was recorded in Chishtī sources. Even when Jamalī concentrates on Zakariyyā's personal piety and *taṣawwuf* teachings, he does not dismiss or reduce the importance of Amīr Sijzī and Mīr Khūrd's works as historically inaccurate. It is important to remember that Jamalī does not include his personal opinions on the Chishtī order or attempt to slander them by suggesting that their records are politically motivated to degrade the reputation of Shaikh Zakariyyā. But instead, Jamalī is

extremely sensitive to their works and selectively applies certain passages that correspond to his subheadings. Jamalī demonstrates the importance of Chishtī sources in his work by quoting Sijzī's and Mīr Khūrd's records that refer to Shaikh Zakariyyā's education, political positions, and travels, all of which substantiate and reinforce the shaikh's prominent status.

Shaikh Zakariyyā's *khānaqāh* in Multan attracted a wide spectrum of visitors since it was on the trading routes of Khurasan, Central Asia, Sind and Delhi. It is recorded that *Qalandars* and *Jwalqis* would often appear at the doorsteps of the *khānaqāh* but were usually not successful in entering the grounds.[29] One incident involved the *Jwalqis* demanding gifts from the shaikh; at this particular time the shaikh refused to give any gifts to the visitors. The *Jwalqis* became rude, noisy and started throwing bricks at the *khānaqāh*. Shaikh Zakariyyā came to the entrance and stated that he did not decide to make Multan the center of the Suhrawardīyya *silsilā*, but he was personally a disciple of Shaikh Shihāb al-dīn al-Suhrawardī and was sent to Multan by the shaikh. Immediately the *Jwalqis* were speechless and left the *khānaqāh* peacefully.[30] This is another example of Shaikh Zakariyyā's impressive ability to use his networking contacts and background status to assert a certain amount of authority in Multan.

Taṣawwuf exercises

Shaikh Zakariyyā maintained a collegial relationship with other sūfīs in the region, including such Chishtī sūfīs as Quṭb al-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, and Bābā Farīd Ganj Shakr. Among themselves they had divided areas of respective spiritual influence to counter misunderstandings of which the sūfī shaikh controlled specific areas. An incident reflects this division when a musician called ʿAbdullah was traveling from Multan to Ajodhan. He asked Bābā Farīd to pray for his safe journey, to which Bābā Farīd replied that "his spiritual influence was at a certain water tank and beyond that began the area of Shaikh Zakariyyā and he should request his blessings. The musician acted upon his advice and completed his journey without any harm."[31] This division of space by sūfī masters is about their interest in not infringing onto spiritual and territorial spheres of the other. This anecdote reflects a great deal of sensitivity toward the other's sūfī order and toward the shaikh's religious authority over their disciples. These statements could be understood as unofficial legitimate separate spiritual spaces to

preserve their respective authorities, yet to sūfīs in this period the concept of space differed both temporally and philosophically. Sūfī spaces were not demarcated by strict lines drawn into the ground so that only selected members could cross these lines at certain times. The idea of spiritual and temporal space for sūfīs was about respecting and living according to the *ādāb* of one's shaikh and *ṭarīqa*, while appreciating the complete and total demands of the *taṣawwuf* path.

Shaikh Zakariyyā was strict with his *murīds* to respect divided space among leading sūfī shaikhs mainly because he did not wish his disciples to seek guidance from other sūfī shaikhs. For him, the spiritual guidance of other sūfī shaikhs (*al-ʿilm aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ as-samāʿī*) was not threatening in itself, but the reliance on different shaikhs for spiritual training would do more damage than good. It was better to learn and develop one's *taṣawwuf* from one master than to learn contradictory philosophies from many sūfī masters. By not having the Suhrawardī sūfī disciples confused with contradictory ideas and practices of other types of *taṣawwuf* has some validity to the shaikh's argument; for the most part, he was concerned with developing the Suhrawardī order and institutionalizing the core beliefs in Multan. By having an inconsistent number of *murīds* it would have been difficult for this to happen. The idea of shared spiritual spaces by sūfī shaikhs could serve the purpose of establishing distinct regional identities based on specific *taṣawwuf* beliefs; however, the underlying reason was to have disciples to completely follow the *ādāb* of the sūfī order and the sūfī shaikh, all of which was tied to their spiritual instruction.[32]

Shaikh Zakariyyā considered prayer as the highest form of devotion, and he credited all of his achievements to prayer. For him a disciple's development depended on his ability to master prayer with only one shaikh.[33] Shaikh Zakariyyā stated that missing prayers was an early form of death.[34] That is to say that missing prayers was like the death of spirituality and without prayers one does not know the meaning of completely surrendering to Allāh. For Shaikh Zakariyyā, *dhikr*, additional prayers, and increasing the number of sūfī disciples were secondary to perfecting one's prayer. One incident included his disciples performing ablutions for prayers; however, the shaikh had entered the room and his disciples rushed to pay proper respects except one disciple who remained washing himself. Shaikh Zakariyyā praised the lone disciple as outstanding because he chose to complete his ablutions first and he demonstrated greater respect to religious duties.[35]

Purifying the heart

In Shaikh Zakariyyā's sūfī treatise, *Khulāsāt al-ʿArifīn*, he expands upon sūfī ideas and the many ways sūfīs should obey them in order to live a steady path of inner enlightenment. Like his spiritual mentor, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, Shaikh Zakariyyā had written a section entitled "Interpretations of Knowledge," in which he explains ten specific ways one must follow to achieve higher levels of inner knowledge (*al-ʿilm al-majhūl*). He stated that "understanding knowledge requires a person to descend, just like water descends in a stream, there are various steps and stages for the individual to change his heart and behavior."[36] To descend is to create changes in form. Descending is symbolic of new motions of the body, both physical and spiritual. The shaikh's reference to "descending as water descends in a stream" is to prepare the sūfī seeker for new and unexpected challenges along the *taṣawwuf* path. Within the section "Interpretations of Knowledge," shaikh Zakariyyā listed these steps for his *murīds* to follow:

1 The knowledge of the heart is true and comes from the heart. Untrue knowledge or false truth is obvious and is distinct.
2 The true sūfī person (*zāḥid*) seeks to completely connect himself to the moment of reunion with God.
3 One must control oneself from temptation and any misfortune or calamity that may occur during life. Appreciate the blessings of peace.
4 One should seek solitude for the purpose of achieving peace.
5 The individual should not seek reward for his accomplishments.
6 One needs to be humble in front of the Creator at all times.
7 Beware of your actions and do not let go of your faith.
8 Do not allow your emotions or sensations to control your directions.
9 At all times, the heart should remain pure and not be attached to anything excessive.
10 Everything that comes from truth returns to it also, and that which is not from truth will obviously be strange to it.[37]

Shaikh Zakariyyā's interpretation of knowledge is a concise model for Suhrawardī sūfīs to emulate in their spiritual journey toward God. For him, sūfīs need first to identify the source of their knowledge, a type of epistemological inquiry into whether the type of knowledge is truly connected to the sūfī path. In step number

one, "the knowledge of the heart is true and comes from the heart" is a reference to deeper meaningful concepts that are tied to truth. Shaikh Zakariyyā is continuing the legacy of his spiritual teacher, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, who wrote that the "heart (*qalb*) was different from the rest of the human body although it was a part of it. The heart of a true believer (*mu'min*) was like a pure soul and was illuminated by a shining light."[38] Zakariyyā is building upon the lessons he learned from his predecessor by making the heart one of the main points of the Suhrawardī sūfī path. For him, and Shaikh al-Suhrawardī, the heart is more than a bodily organ that pumps blood to various parts of the body; it is the main organ for spiritual cleansing, inner awareness, and the primary place for sūfīs to understand the Creator's presence. Zakariyyā quotes from al-Suhrawardī's text, "for those who are not believers or are hypocrites, their hearts are made from a lowly substance and shrouded in a veil."[39]

The primary reason Shaikh Zakariyyā places a great deal of emphasis on the heart is because the Suhrawardī sūfīs are an order that is heavily rooted in the *Qur'ān* and *ḥadīths* of the Prophet. Primary Suhrawardī texts, *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, *Khulasāt al-'Ārifīn* and *Al-Awārd*, strongly advocate that the *taṣawwuf* path begins with proper understanding and cleansing of the heart (*ṭahāra*) and this is proven with Qur'ānic verses reminding believers that God gave humankind a heart for knowing God. Every person was given only one heart and so one can either use it for or against God's wishes. Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* repeats verses from the *Qur'ān* that remind believers of the constant presence of God in their hearts. For example, in *sūrā* 33: 51, "God knows what is in your hearts; God is All-Knowing" and again *sūrā* 8: 24, "Know that God stands between a man and his heart" are common quotations in the texts. Shaikh Zakariyyā taught his disciples that the problems of human weakness come when they fall to forgetfulness, but it is what is in their hearts and intentions that matters to God. He quotes from *sūrā* 33: 5, "There is no fault in you if you make mistakes, but only in what your hearts premeditate."[40] Shaikh Zakariyyā chooses a specific verse from the *Qur'ān* so that sūfīs will understand that the *taṣawwuf* journey is a long arduous path that requires constant struggle with purifying the heart in order to encounter God. The combination of continued spiritual exercises (*dhikr*), prayers (*salāt*) and pure intentions (*niyāt*) is a definite cure for the ills of the heart and to be on a *taṣawwuf* path toward reuniting with God.[41]

Shaikh Zakariyyā affirms to his audience who are cynical of sūfī religious exercises and beliefs that if they are truly concerned with actively living the life of the true message, then they should remember that the heart is not left alone but God inspires it. He cites *sūrā* 58: 22, "As for the true believers it is they in whose hearts He has inscribed faith and whom He has strengthened with inspiration from Himself." Shaikh Zakariyyā explains that verse 22 is specifically mentioning the ways sūfīs become spiritually strengthened and uplifted by inspiration. This spiritual inspiration is not a momentary emotional stimulation that comes from intense exhilaration, but it is of a different kind. This spiritual moment is the heart moving from a deep sleep and being awakened with the touch of divine illumination. When the heart is in prayer and in remembrance of Allāh, it begins to cleanse away its worldly concerns because it opens itself up as the divine presence (*ḥazarat al-ḥaqq*) and makes itself known to the spiritual seeker.[42] At this moment the heart is like a patient lover waiting for affection from a partner, and it can only receive the blessings of illumination if the sūfī understands the vulnerability of the heart. During these precious moments of contact those who let the heart oscillate, as if it is under severe duress, need to repeat the spiritual exercises of the heart. However, if the sūfī's heart is guided toward patience, the patience that he has been practicing in daily exercises, then real guidance is guaranteed as it was stated in *sūrā* 64: 11, "Whosoever believes in God, He will guide his heart."[43]

The teachings of Shaikh Zakariyyā are instructive for sūfī disciples to perform certain religious exercises, and at the same time they ensure a degree of spiritual and temporal comfort in their sūfī journey. For example, when Zakariyyā refers to the intentions of the heart, he is raising important mystical theological issues of inner and outer essences. To state that God knows the intentions of the heart could mean to the sūfī that one should have a sense of fear of God's knowledge of every single aspect of one's being. Instead, Zakariyyā quotes from *sūrā* 4: 63, "God knows what is in their hearts" to paint a picture where Allāh is waiting for the proper time to be invited to the heart of the sūfī to disclose His love to the seeker. The invitation comes from Allāh but the sūfī seeker needs to prepare for the glorious moment by specific cleansing exercises or *ṭahāra*. Especially in the case where Shaikh Zakariyyā makes a reference to the jugular vein, *warid*, from *sūrā* 50: 16, "We are nearer to him than the jugular vein" is a reminder that God is present at all times around you and actively present within your body.[44]

For Suhrawardī sūfīs, Shaikh Zakariyyā's analysis of Qur'ānic verses connected to the heart (*qalb*) is an important reminder that they are never left alone in this world. The world is not a place for intense ascetic practices where one is alienated from the community and neglectful of the *sharīʿā*. Instead, Shaikh Zakariyyā's teachings provoke his disciples to study the *Qur'ān* closely and to adhere to the essential teachings of *sharīʿā* by embodying the *sunnā* of the Prophet. The verses from the *Qur'ān* were divine illuminations to the Prophet who then recited them to the rest of the community. These verses came from the mouth of the Prophet who simultaneously contained all aspects of the spiritual message as humanly possible. Suhrawardī sūfīs are reminded that these verses referring to the heart maintain an intimate closeness to God (*uns*) and instill a constant sense of sūfī piety preparing for the moment of divine encounter.[45] In addition, any invitation by Allāh to disclose Himself into the hearts of sūfīs means that piety must be practiced in everyday living. The requirements of adhering to the *ādāb* of the order and the shaikh, following the *sunnā* of the Prophet, and obeying the *sharīʿā*, are the training of outer piety. All aspects of outer pietistic expressions are meant to gradually develop the inner piety of love. The "outer love is connected to the inner heart" are often statements in Shaikhs al-Suhrawardī's and Zakariyyā's texts.[46]

For Suhrawardīs the heart is the beginning place to concentrate on purifying their inner essence or *nafs*.[47] The heart can be used as a weapon to be self-destructive or it can be trained to remember God (*dhikr*). When a person decides to choose evil actions (*ʿammān*), then these actions directly affect the heart's receptivity to future blessings and invitations from God. Shaikh Zakariyyā expands on numerous Qur'ānic references to hearts being sealed. For example, in *sūrā* 7: 101, "So God seals the hearts of the unbelievers," in *sūrā* 2: 7, "God has set a seal on their hearts and hearing." According to Zakariyyā, verses that state "God has set a seal on their hearts" are not about a predestined life fixed by God.[48] Moreover, the sealing of the heart is a consequence of one's own choosing, of one's mindful action, and of persistent violation of God's wishes. To the Suhrawardī shaikh, *sūrā* 3: 167 "Saying with their mouths that which never was in their hearts" is a Qur'ānic example of hearts that were affected from misguided actions performed by dishonest intentions.[49]

For Shaikh Zakariyyā these Qur'ānic verses do not convert the believer to an unbeliever without there being a possibility of

returning to God's path. On the contrary, one has the ability to contribute to the development of the heart's personality by bringing together the cognitive and spiritual dimensions of the human experience. Again, he turns to the Qur'ānic verse 6: 25 "We lay veils upon their hearts but they fail to understand it" to demonstrate that understanding one's heart is critical in cultivating compassion, mercy and love. A sūfī seeker cannot bring about a change to their *taṣawwuf* or even expect spiritual progress if he or she does not understand the reasons behind the continual fault-making. These Qur'ānic *sūrās*, used by both al-Suhrawardī and Zakariyyā, are indicative of their own concerns that Suhrawardīs are theologically grounded in Allāh's instructions for the return. The "word of God," for them, is more than a book of divine guidance given to the Prophet; there are inner instructional messages that aid the sūfī seeker to reunion (*baṭn al-Qur'ān*). On one hand, for Muslims Qur'ānic references to the human body are metaphors for preserving an ethical and pious life. In some sections of the *Qur'ān*, the human anatomy is treated as a functional element for the body, such as listening, hearing, weeping, and the circulation of blood. For the most part, human anatomy in the *Qur'ān* is cited in conjunction with the faith of its believers and to ensure that there is a complete understanding between the workings of their body and the message of the *Qur'ān*.[50] The Suhrawardī reading of the *Qur'ān*, like other sūfī exegeses of the *Qur'ān*, takes the surface meaning as a passage to another area of deeper subtext. The surface text and subtext are not sitting on a separate two-tiered ladder with no connection, but they are directly related to the sūfī *taṣawwuf* practice and spiritual enlightenment.

To al-Suhrawardī and Zakariyyā, there are necessary stages required to counteract actions that are against the wishes of God and to cleanse the inner self. First, one needs to begin with sincere repentance (*tawba*); and second, one needs to completely work towards satisfactory inner cleansing (*mutma'īna*). It is understood that the combination of both steps gradually purifies the heart, which nurtures a new inner compassion that prepares a place for Allāh. Shaikhs al-Suhrawardī and Zakariyyā both quote Qur'ānic *sūrā* 57: 22, "We set in the hearts of those who followed him tenderness and mercy." Suhrawardī sūfīs were instructed that remembrance of Allāh is not an easy task because it requires individuals to move from a spiritual understanding of compassion to practical actions of daily mercy. For example, in *sūrā* 50: 37, "Surely in that there is a reminder to him who has a heart" illustrated to Suhrawardī

sūfīs that their pious hearts are granted forgiveness and in it there are signs that lead to Allāh.[51]

The ten principles outlined by Shaikh Zakariyyā were meant for disciples to understand the central teachings of the shaikh. Like his mentor al-Suhrawardī, Shaikh Zakariyyā emphasized balanced living in the material world and, at the same time, the need for the sūfī seeker to constantly guide oneself toward the union with God. He reminds his disciples of the danger of falling into a path of untrue knowledge, which in itself has distinct qualities that any pious follower in search of a divine union should be able to decipher. His ideas on training the heart to be invited by God and have His presence is supported by Qurʾānic verses. Suhrawardīs, like other sūfī thinkers, believed that the *Qurʾān* had an outer and inner meaning to each passage. The holy book needed to be both an instructional spiritual text for the believer and also instill a deeper understanding of scripture in returning to Allāh. Against the background of the controversy over the Suhrawardī order's acceptance of worldly materials, the shaikh includes in his ten principles, "Not to be attached to anything excessively." This conditional statement about accepting materials is indicative of the shaikh's sensitivity about keeping the sūfī order in a world of moderation. Shaikh Zakariyyā's model of moderation reinforces for his disciples Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* and is associated with balancing life on earth. While the shaikh's statements are not explicit, implicitly he is obviously linking himself with the lives of the Prophet, the companions of the Prophet and eminent sūfī shaikhs of the past, who also advocated a life of moderation.

Khulasāt al-ʿĀrifīn and *Al-Awārd* texts

Shaikh Zakariyyā's texts, *Khulasāt al-ʿĀrifīn* and *Al-Awārd*, continue the tradition of teaching sūfī disciples of proper *taṣawwuf* exercises. Just as in al-Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*, Shaikh Zakariyyā is interested in instilling the appreciation of the spiritual components of *taṣawwuf* and its fundamental connection to *sharīʿā*. Truth is attained through cleansing of the inner self in order that Allāh's presence can be encountered.[52] For Zakariyyā, the subject of *taṣawwuf* needs to be understood in its intricate details because so many writers in the tradition have tried to explain it with little or no *taṣawwuf* training. Shaikh Zakariyyā repeats in his texts that sūfīs need to be mindful of the premise of *taṣawwuf* to reach truth in our lifetime, which means to return to the original existence with

God, and by centering Allāh in life then everything else becomes insignificant. Shaikh Zakariyyā is interested in having Suhrawardī sūfīs move beyond the intellectual knowledge of *taṣawwuf* and its imprint on human history – even though there is great value in this knowledge – and to live contemplating every moment on bridging back to Allāh's rightful guidance. Like al-Suhrawardī, Shaikh Zakariyyā validates his *taṣawwuf* theology by using *ḥadīths*, *sunnā* accounts, and Qur'ānic verses; however, on the whole, his texts are definitive spiritual exercises for Suhrawardī sūfīs.

Shaikh Zakariyyā's sūfī texts do not try to duplicate the theological work of al-Suhrawardī by reaffirming the historical, religious, and legal legitimacy of *taṣawwuf*. At great length Shaikh al-Suhrawardī supported *taṣawwuf*'s roots in the *Qur'ān*, in the *sunnā* of the Prophet and in the lives of the Prophet's companions. Qur'ānic phrases "Those firmly rooted in knowledge" or *al rashikhūn fi l-'ilm* (3: 7 and 4: 162) were clear evidence for al-Suhrawardī that enlightened sūfīs were indeed the keepers of an inner knowledge rooted in divine guidance. As a Hanbalī jurist who used *fiqh*, *sharī'ā*, and *falsafā* in argumentation, it is not surprising to see al-Suhrawardī's *taṣawwuf* contain a variety of aspects of the Islamic sciences. It would be logical to think that Shaikh Zakariyyā as a disciple of al-Suhrawardī and as a sūfī trained in *fiqh* and *sharī'ā* would use similar patterns of *taṣawwuf* argumentation. This is not the case with Shaikh Zakariyyā because his texts contain less legal and religious jargon defending the legitimacy of the *taṣawwuf* tradition.[53] Zakariyyā's texts are specific and detailed spiritual practices for Suhrawardī sūfīs to incorporate into their life. For example, in Shaikh Zakariyyā's texts, unlike his predecessors, he does not have categories that attempt to prove the validity of the *taṣawwuf* or the Suhrawardī sūfī tradition. He does not have headings or subheadings entitled "the truth of *taṣawwuf*," "the excellence of *taṣawwuf*," "the importance of a sūfī," and "the way of the sūfī," as al-Suhrawardī had written in his treatise. These types of headings by al-Suhrawardī were meant to have disciples internalize the theosophical legacy of *taṣawwuf* before they immersed into self-examination and contemplation, and detached themselves for self-annihilation (*fanā'*) in God. He was concerned with balancing the two worlds of *sharī'ā* and *taṣawwuf* in order for the sūfīs in Suhrawardī *silsilā* to become law-obeying spiritual seekers. For Shaikh Zakariyyā laying down the rules of *sharī'ā* and linking *taṣawwuf* to the law was not of primary importance, because it had already been established by al-Suhrawardī's works.

Moreover, Shaikh Zakariyyā was working on another plane of institutionalizing the sūfī order in Multan, which meant that he knew that historical and legal arguments were not going to affect the spirituality of sūfīs, but that provision of specific spiritual models as exercises would be much more influential.

The main social challenges for Shaikh Zakariyyā were establishing the Suhrawardī sūfī order in Multan in the midst of *ʿulamāʾ* opposition to the *taṣawwuf* tradition, allying himself with Sultān Ilutmish and minimizing the political conflicts with Qubacha. It was important for him to ensure that members within his sūfī *khānaqāh* in Multan were loyal Suhrawardī sūfīs and law-obeying citizens. When Shaikh Zakariyyā was designated *Shaikh al-Islām* by Sultān Iltutmish his prominence as a scholar, sūfī leader, and religious authority did not require him to defend the legitimacy of *taṣawwuf* tradition. His *taṣawwuf* concentrated on distinguishing Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* from other sūfī theologies in the region by expanding on the real outer practices that touch the inner journey. Shaikh Zakariyyā's *Al-Awārd* is not a sūfī treatise with theological reasons to better understand the inner and outer elements of the *taṣawwuf* tradition. The text does not function in the same way as Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's treatise *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* or *Rāsail ʿIlm al-Hud wa ʿAqīdat* because *Al-Awārd* focuses on precise instructions for sūfīs to read certain prayers at fixed times and practice reciting other prayers at other times. For instance, Shaikh Zakariyyā insisted that his *murīds* perfect their patience for others by practicing unreserved love toward strangers.[54] One way to nurture patience and love in the heart is to practice all of the ritualistic prayers, to fast regularly, to give charity to the poor or to anyone in need, and most importantly, to make the spiritual exercises of remembrances of Allāh a regular habit. According to Shaikh Zakariyyā *dhikr* has had many definitions by different sūfī scholars within the *taṣawwuf* tradition. The differences in these definitions are not of any real significance because if the sūfī seeker finds himself in contemplating the presence of Allāh then the discrepancies of the definition are insignificant.[55]

Like al-Suhrawardī, Shaikh Zakariyyā avoids indicting any scholar or sūfī thinker as incorrect or absolutely useless in teaching some *taṣawwuf* lessons. For Zakariyyā, *dhikr* is a connection of the mind and spirit together; the moment when the heart is in movement by the spirit of Allāh. *Dhikr* can mean the actual practice of remembrances of Allāh, as in *dhikr-Allāh*, or it can generally refer to the daily spiritual exercises of reciting Qurʾānic *sūrās* and God's

majestic ninety-nine names. *Dhikr* is about cleaning the impurities of the heart by focusing on the beauty of Allāh or his last Prophet. Once the impurities have vanished from the heart, the words of the *Qur'ān* or God's marvelous names are imprinted on the heart. Shaikh Zakariyyā states that "any type of *dhikr* that moves the heart and then it changes the behavior of the sūfī so that he is now redirected toward Allāh's path, then that *dhikr* is the best kind."[56] The use of the word *dhikr* to mean the actual sūfī practice of remembering God is further categorized into *taṣawwuf* subjects in order that sūfī *murīds* would know which prayer to recite at what time of the day and month. For example, for each Islamic calendar month he has organized specific recitations for blessings and spiritual enhancement. For the sighting of the new calendar moon there is "*dhikr ma dedān*" and for each new month there are special salutations such as "*dhikr ma Muḥarram*," "*dhikr ma Rabiʿ Awwāl*," "*dhikr ma Rabiʿ Thānī*," "*dhikr ma Safar*," "*dhikr ma Ramadān*," etc. While these various types of *dhikr* recitations are connected with specific months of the calendar, there are additional practices of recitations and remembrances for prayer: *dhikr namāz* (recitations for additional prayers), *dhikr namāz roshnī* (recitations for illuminating prayers), *dhikr namāz jināza* (recitations for funeral prayers), *dhikr namāz taḥajūd* (recitations for pre-dawn prayers). In addition to the category of prayer there are particular supplications to be recited at various times of the day or night; for instance, *dhikr namāz khoftān* (recitations before sleeping), *dhikr ziyārat kardān* (recitations for visitation rituals) and *dhikr shab-e mirāj* (recitations on the evening of the Prophet's heavenly ascension).[57] These various types of additional recitations of prayers, salutations or Qur'ānic *sūrās* are Shaikh Zakariyyā's instructions for Suhrawardī sūfīs to purify their inner selves and to reunite with God.[58]

Dhikr is a lesson for sūfīs to learn to pay attention and to focus themselves on specific spiritual exercises. By repeating a set of words that praises Allāh before the dawn prayers, *dhikr namāz taḥajūd*, the sūfī disciple is learning to concentrate on the power of the inner meanings of those recitations (*baṭn al-Qur'ān*).[59] The constant repetition of words is not an irrational mindless religious practice but instead the process of cleansing the heart of the sūfī; *dhikr* instills a profound appreciation of the interconnectedness of language, sound, and spirit.[60] *Dhikr* makes use of all human senses to experience the love for God; it forces the sūfī to exercise many senses together – breathing, hearing, sensing, and seeing – for the

transcendental experience. For the sūfī disciple, in order for any real self-examination and contemplation to occur, the sūfī needs to remove the blinders that obstruct God's passage into the heart. Specific *dhikr* techniques like controlling the rate of breathing, directing particular Qur'ānic words toward the heart, and repeating the names of God cultivate the heart with *real* compassion. The *dhikr al-Qur'ān* or the concentration of reciting Qur'ānic verses not only allows the heart to hear God's words as a call for His incoming presence, similar to the call of the daily prayers (*adhān*), but rather the repeated Qur'ānic words leave an imprint on the heart with real knowledge (*maṭlaʿ al-Qur'ān*). With these imprinted Qur'ānic verses on the heart, the heart is the custodian of these Qur'ānic words and is in charge of the inner cleansing (*ṭahāra*) process and ensuring complete protection from outer impurities. For Shaikh Zakariyyā, the nurturing of the heart means to teach it to prostrate away from worldly pleasures (*hawā*) and only in front of Allāh's love and mercy. This can only be achieved by proper and daily spiritual exercises that include *dhikr al-Qur'ān*.[61]

The practice of spiritual exercises – *dhikr*

The remembrance of prayer – dhikr-e namāz

Shaikh Zakariyyā believed that God established the daily Islamic ritualistic prayers (*namāz*) so that creation would worship Him and that they may also understand the connection between the outer world and spiritual realm. Ablution – or the cleaning of oneself with water before prayer (*wuḍūʾ*) – and bowing down in prostration is a parallel action done by the heart. Just as the legs are bent, hands are placed on the ground and the forehead is firmly placed on earth, the heart is also moving with these motions by bending itself to open and releasing the impurities that have been stored for so long. The movement of the forehead back and forth to the ground with the rest of the outer body in prostration allows the heart to simultaneously prostrate to God and prepare a clean purified place for His presence.[62] As the forehead leads the rest of the body in prostration before God, Shaikh Zakariyyā commented that this action is similar to the sūfī preparing to be mentally alert and be physically strong for the *taṣawwuf* path.[63]

Shaikh Zakariyyā instructed sūfī disciples to perform *dhikr al-Qur'ān* of s*ūrā Baqara*, 2: 255 or commonly referred to as *Ayāt-al Kūrsī* or the "Throne verse." For the Shaikh, the *dhikr* of this

particular verse did not at all substitute the daily prayers, but instead in between prayer times the sūfī seeker should continue to focus on Qur'ānic verses. The repetition of *Ayāt-al Kūrsī* forces the sūfī disciple to pay attention to Allāh and to His omnipotence (*ʿālam al-jabarūt*) over all worlds – known and unknown. Reciting this verse focuses on the power of divine words, His throne over all realms, and the impact of these words on purifying the heart. The shaikh stated that time should be used in remembrance of Allāh by repeating His words, especially the recitation of *Ayāt-al Kūrsī* because this verse has numerous blessings attribute to it.[64]

> God, there is no God but He,
> The living, the eternal, self-subsisting, ever sustaining.
> Neither does somnolence affect Him, nor sleep.
> To Him Belongs all
> That is in the heavens and the earth;
> and who can intercede with Him except by His leave?
> Known to Him is all that is present before human beings
> and what is hidden – in the past and future –,
> and not even a little of His knowledge can grasp
> except what He will.
> His throne extends over heavens and earth,
> and He tires not protecting them:
> He alone is all high and supreme.

After the recitation of *Ayāt-al Kūrsī*, the sūfī needs to perform two *rakʿah* or cycles of prayers. The two *rakʿah* prayers are similar to the daily ritualistic prayers where one bows and prostrates oneself to Allāh but the only difference is that it is not tied to any of the specified prayer times. Completing the two *rakʿah* the shaikh then instructs sūfī disciples to continue reciting *sūrā al-Fātiḥa* and then proceed with the following supplication or *duʿā*:

> Allāh you are the Creator of the Heavens and the Earth,
> There is no God but the One God present, the Praised One,
> The One living, eternal, and never dying,
> The Majestic and Blessed One,
> He is the Power of all Things.

In the evening, after sunset prayers (*maghrib*), one needs to continue the *dhikr al-Qurʾān* by reciting the following *sūrās* in order: first, *sūrā al-Kāfirūn* (*sūrā* number 109); and, second, *sūrā*

al-Ikhlās (*sūrā* number 112). After the completion of these recitations, Shaikh Zakariyyā stated that the sūfī seeker should continue reciting this *duʿā*:

Peace be on you Oh Master of the night,
Peace be on you Oh Master of the universe,
You are the Most Generous, the Supreme source of Knowledge,
I testify that there is no God but only a single God, and like no other,
I testify that Muhammad (s) is the servant of Allāh,[65]
I testify that Heaven and Hell are true places,
And that your Magnificence is true and your healing powers are true.
I testify that the path is truth,
Allāh, accept our prostrations and prayers to you only,
Allāh, please take our sincere love for you and increase our faith,
Allāh, please forgive my shortcomings and bring me past the veil that separates us,
You are the Praised One, the Merciful and the Compassionate.[66]

Dhikr Namāz Khriftan

Between the late evening prayer and night prayers, the sūfī needs to continue the spiritual exercises by reciting *sūrās* from the *Qurʾān*. This *dhikr al-Qurʾān* involves two *rakʿāt* prayers where again the sūfī begins by reciting *sūrā al-Fātiḥa* and then proceeds with the second *sūrā*, *sūrā Baqara*. Since the second *sūrā* is the largest chapter in the *Qurʾān*, containing two hundred and eighty-six verses, Shaikh Zakariyyā states that at this time one should read the first twelve verses.[67] It reads as the following:

In the Name of Allāh, the Most Benevolent, Ever-Merciful.
1 *Alif Lām Mīm*.
2 This is a book free of doubt and involution, a guidance for those who preserve themselves from evil and follow the straight path,
3 Whoever believes in the Unknown and fulfil their devotional obligations, and spend in charity of what We have given them;

4 Whoever believes in what has been revealed to you
and what was revealed to those before you, and are
certain of the Hereafter.
5 They have found the guidance of their Lord and will
be successful.
6 As for those who deny, it is all the same if you warn
them or not, they will not believe.
7 God has sealed their hearts and ears,
For them is a great deprivation.
8 And there are some who, though they say:
"We believe in God and the Last Day," (but in
reality) do not believe.
9 They try to deceive God and those who believe,
yet deceive none but themselves although they do
not know.
10 Their hearts are sick and God adds to their malady.
11 When asked to desist from spending corruption in
the land they say: "Why, we are reformers."
12 Yet they are surely mischievous persons, even though
they do not know.[68]

Dhikr al-Qurʾān allows the heart to be imprinted by the words of the *Qurʾān*. Shaikh Zakariyyā instructed sūfīs to contemplate the inner meanings (*baṭn al-Qurʾān*) of these verses now that divine words have touched the heart. He is concerned that sūfīs may perform *dhikr al-Qurʾān* without any real understanding of *dhikr* and its place in the heart. To appreciate the new state of being that has been achieved, the sūfī disciple needs to discover the heart's new identity with the *Qurʾān* and its message. *Dhikr al-Qurʾān* is a process of eliminating layers of polluted elements that have for so long corrupted the heart. Shaikh Zakariyyā is interested in having Suhrawardīs sustain a daily *dhikr al-Qurʾān* habit of remembrance in order to ensure that sūfī hearts are purified and are prepared for God's presence at all times. This habit of remembrance is derived from Allāh, who ordered His believers to surrender themselves in prostration for five daily prayers, in fasting, in giving charity, and embodying the *sunnā* of the Prophet. In the same way, Shaikh Zakariyyā believed that sūfīs needed to further develop a more refined habit of surrendering themselves to Allāh, and this is the practice of *dhikr al-Qurʾān*, modeled after the Prophet (s).[69]

Shaikh Zakariyyā categorizes the set times to recite *dhikr al-Qurʾān* with special types of remembrances. For example, for

"*Namāz Noor*" (Prayer of Light) and "*Namāz Rooshnī*" (Prayer of Enlightenment), both have specified Qur'ānic verses that need to be recited with these prayers. He additionally provides the order in which the verses need to be recited. For *Namāz Noor*, after completing the two *rak'ah* prayers, the seeker for divine love should proceed to reciting *dhikr al-Qur'ān* in the following order: *sūrā al-Fātiḥa*, *sūrā al-Burūj* (*sūrā* number 85), *sūrā at-Ṭariq* (*sūrā* number 86), and *sūrā az-Zumar* (*sūrā* number 39). Afterwards, one should prostrate oneself and recite the following:

> Oh the Living, the Eternal, the Gracious
> You are the Magnificent, the Dearest, the Wisest of all,
> You are the most Generous, truly Muhammad is the
> Messenger (s),
> There is none but You,
> You are the Greatest of all.

After prostrations and recitations, continue to pray two more *rak'ah*, recite *sūrā al-Fātiḥa*, *sūrā al-Kafirūn* and five repetitions of salaams.[70] Return to *dhikr al-Qur'ān* by reciting verse 35 from *sūrā* number 24 (*sūrā an-Noor*).

> God is the light of the heavens and the earth.
> The semblance of His light is that of a niche
> in which is a lamp, the flame within a glass,
> the glass a glittering star as it were, lit with the oil
> of a blessed tree, the olive, neither of the East nor of
> the West, whose oil appears to light up even though
> fire touches it not, – light upon light.
> God guides to His light whom He will.
> So does God advance precepts of wisdom for humankind,
> for God has knowledge of every thing.

Namāz Rooshnī – prayer of enlightenment – is recited with Qur'ānic verses that pertain to light, enlightenment, and unveiling the darkness from the heart. The sūfī is required to complete two *rak'ah* of prayers, and afterwards recite *sūrā al-Fātiḥa* two thousand times and *sūrā al-Ikhlās* seven times. After the *dhikr al-Qur'ān* return to two *rak'ah* of prayers and then recite the following consecutively:

> Oh the Living, the Eternal,
> There is no God but God, the Courageous

Oh the Living, the Eternal,
There is no God but God, the Merciful
Oh the Living, the Eternal,
There is no God but God, the most Compassionate.

Shaikh Zakariyyā instructed sūfī disciples to continue the *dhikr* by reciting the following five times with full concentration on the meaning and sounds of the words:

Creator of the heavens and the earth,
You are the everywhere, in this world and in the hereafter,
You provide truth to your followers.
Glory to Allāh!
All Praise is to Allāh,
There is no God but God,
And God is the Greatest, the Most Exalted.[71]

Dhikr fī'l Sha'ban

The eighth month of *Sha'ban* precedes the holy month of fasting, *Ramadān*, and many remember the famous *ḥadīth* by the Prophet who stated that "*Ramadān* is a month for God, while *Sha'ban* is my month." Shaikh Zakariyyā commented that the *dhikr* activities in this month support disciples in their *taṣawwuf* practices of fasting and charity. He instructed sūfī disciples that, on the first night of the month, they should perform two *rak'ahs* of prayers that include *sūrā al-Fātiḥa* and *sūrā al-Ikhlās*. To ensure the blessings from Allāh during this month, repeat the above *sūrās* as often as possible in between the five prayers each night until the last night of the month. While sitting on your prayer rug, continue to do your *dhikr* by reciting the following *du'a* on the rosary beads.

Allāh, you are the Creator of light,
Allāh, Glory to you, the Master of the Universe,
The soul's breath comes from you.[72]

Dhikr shab-e barāt

The *shab-e barāt* (in Arabic *laylat al-barā'a*) is the night of the visible full moon of the eighth lunar month, *Sha'ban*. On this evening special sweets are prepared and it is an evening of celebration and of additional prayers. The amount of additional prayers that are

recommended vary from sūfī orders and *madḥābs*, but some *sunnī* Muslims will pray an additional fifty to one hundren *rakʿahs* of prayers with ten recitations of *sūrā* 112 in each *rakʿah*. On this evening it is understood that God decides the fate of humanity and, especially, his believers for the next year. Shaikh Zakariyyā instructed his sūfī disciples to pray two hundred *rakʿahs* of prayers that include *sūrā al-Fātiḥa*, one recitation of *Ayāt al-Kūrsī*, *sūrā al-Ikhlās* five-hundred times. Completing the *rakʿahs*, the sūfī disciple should proceed to reciting *sūrā al-Fātiḥa* one thousand times, and return to reciting *sūrā al-Ikhlās*. After the completion of the *rakʿahs* and the recitation of the *salaams* five times, proceed to the prostration position and recite the following *duʿa*:

> There is no God but God
> the One and only One,
> the Creator of the Universe
> and deserving of all Praise,
> It is He who is Master of all things.
> All Glory is to Allāh,
> All Praise is to Allāh
> There is no God but God
> God is the Greatest, and
> Allāh is Magnificent of all things.[73]

Dhikr fiʿl Ramadān

The ninth month of *Ramadān* was prescribed as the month of fasting in the *Qurʾān*: from dawn to sunset Muslims abstain from all food, drink, worldly pleasures.[74] Shaikh al-Zakariyyā stated that this month should be viewed as a gift to sūfī seekers of Allāh, because He has specified a set time of reciprocal love. The month, which marks the beginning of revelations to the Prophet (s), illustrates Allāh's involvement with his beloved seekers. It is a month where God Himself is inviting His seekers to come closer to Him. The shaikh said that this is a month of complete *dhikr*. Abstaining from food, drinks, and physical pleasures, the month of *Ramadān* requires sūfī seekers to immerse themselves into complete concentration on spiritual exercises. "It is recommended, if possible, that Suhrawardīs cease working and sleep, and do nothing but read the holy *Qurʾān* and recite *dhikr al-Qurʾān*."[75] In addition to the daily ritualistic prayers, sūfīs must partake in the late evening prayers of *Tawarih*, post-midnight prayers, and pre-dawn prayers. In each

of these prayers, one should attempt to incorporate as many *sūrās* from the *Qurʾān* as possible. The prayers, fasting, charity, and *dhikr* in this month are like no others in the year – so any sūfī seeker who desires a real understanding of union should concentrate as much as possible at this time.

Salutations for Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's death celebration – *ʿurs*

The annual *ʿurs* celebration, or death festival, of Shaikh ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī is a time when Suhrawardī sūfīs rejoice over the shaikh's union with God. The physical death and departure from this world marks the complete return to Allāh, the ultimate reunion of the beloved seeker with the Lover. For sūfīs who participate in the celebration it is not only a time for remembering the shaikh's reunion with God (*al-mawt al-ikhtiyārī*); rather the *ʿurs* is a moment of sacred pilgrimage. Sūfīs welcome the presence of Shaikh al-Suhrawardī and celebrate his spiritual company in every act of the rituals performed.[76] Since the shaikh is among the beloved friends of God, or *Walāya-Allāh* (sing. *walī*), the shaikh returns to the arena (*maḥfil*) where he is being praised by his community of disciples.[77] As a *walī* he does not enter the *maḥfil* alone; instead his presence is a gift from God, and whenever the shaikh is being praised Allāh too is present and is pleased to hear the salutations.[78]

Once sūfīs gather at the *maḥfil*, the *ʿurs* celebration lasts for ten to fifteen days. At the *ʿurs* there are the daily ritualistic prayers, all-night prayers, Qurʾānic recitations (*talawat*), poetry dedicated to God (*hamd bare-taʿla*) and to the Prophet (*naʿtiyya*), all types of *dhikr* sessions led by various Suhrawardī shaikhs, and most importantly, *taṣawwuf* guidance to sūfī pilgrims (*al-ʿilm aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ as-samāʿī*).[79] Suhrawardī pilgrims first and foremost praise God for all blessings at the *maḥfil*. They are grateful for all of God's blessings and pray for their own reunion with Him. Afterwards, sūfīs will praise the Prophet and then the shaikh because of his invitation to the *maḥfil*. While all deeds begin and end with God, in *taṣawwuf* tradition God grants special favors to individuals who are connected to his friends. For Suhrawardī sūfīs these blessings or divine favors are mediated through the sūfī shaikh who then distributes God's knowledge (*maʿrifa*) to all of his disciples. At the *ʿurs*, Shaikh al-Suhrawardī is posthumously remembered; however, it is believed that he returns to the *maḥfil* and provides more *maʿrifa* to the leading shaikhs and disciples of the sūfī order.[80] To comprehend the

early stages of divine knowledge, sūfī disciples must be invited by Shaikh al-Suhrawardī to the *ʿurs* and then undergo a series of Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* instructions by the mediating shaikh to witness the divine face (*mushāhdat al-wajh*).[81]

The Suhrawardī texts give specific instructions to disciples to remember and perform spiritual exercises for the union of Shaikh al-Suhrawardī. The *taṣawwuf* lessons are mainly concise excerpts from the shaikh's treatise *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*. It contains Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's interpretations of the *Qurʾān*, *ḥadīths*, *sunnā* accounts, and the way all of them are intertwined in the spiritual path toward God. *ʿUrs* manuals for Suhrawardī pilgrims are meant to assist them in encountering the shaikh (*taṣawwur maʿshaikh*) and earn his favor for continuous blessings. It is a meeting point, too, for sūfī pilgrims to dialog with Shaikh al-Suhrawardī and request spiritual and temporal favors. These requests could range from curing illnesses to improving one's attention in *dhikr* to requesting Allāh's self-disclosure.[82] For the sūfī disciple, the Suhrawardī *ʿurs* is a communal event that brings together tangible *taṣawwuf* instructions, Qurʾānic readings, high-spirited poetry that brings alive the Prophet and the Suhrawardī shaikhs, passionate all-day and all-night prayers, and a variety of emotional *dhikr* sessions.

The manuals refer to Suhrawardīs as "seekers of Allāh" or "lovers in quest for Allāh" whose pilgrimage is based on true knowledge and practice.[83] The *ādāb* of pilgrims at the *ʿurs* is mentioned again as a major theme for their success in meeting Shaikh al-Suhrawardī or the divine. These manuals for sūfīs are designed to accompany them in taking part in *ʿurs* rituals and to simultaneously aid in remembering the core ideals of Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf*. The synopsis of unveiling obstacles that are between the sūfī seeker and God needs to be kept at the heart of one's thinking. The heart cannot be filled with worldly desires (*tajrīd*), that is the excessive indulgence of materialism, if it wants to meet the Creator. Purifying the self needs constant and persistent self-cleansing (*ṭahāra*) exercises of the inner and outer worlds. To earn Allāh's attention, the individual sūfī needs first to focus on repentance, the path of purification, love, self-sacrifice, *dhikr*, and adherence to the *ādāb* of the guiding shaikh. One such example in *ʿurs* manuals is for sūfī pilgrims to remember and embody these basic ten Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* ideas:

1 Repentance (*tawba*)
2 Living as a true sūfī (*zaḥīd*)

3 Complete trust in Allāh (*tawakūl*)
4 Gratification (*qanāʿāt*)
5 Purification (*ghazalat*)
6 Attention (*tawajo*)
7 Patience (*sabr*)
8 Consent (*razā*)
9 Remembrance exercises (*dhikr*)
10 Mindful meditation (*murāqaba*)[84]

Repentance (*tawba*): The type of intense repentance that is required is one that makes the seeker understand that death is near and one needs to constantly prepare to meet the Creator. In order for the sūfī to be received with compassionate love from Allāh, the seeker should have all actions (*ʿaʿmāl*) and thoughts with complete concentration on *tawba*. With each moment of life asking for forgiveness, Allāh will also forgive the sūfī seeker. *Fanāʾ*, or the state of annihilating the self, can only be reached by understanding and implementing true *tawba*. Real repentance for the sūfī seeker brings on a new consciousness; it means loving others unconditionally and striving for death.[85]

Living as a true sūfī (*zaḥīd*): The true sūfī seekers are those who mirror the lives of eminent Suhrawardī shaikhs who tasted divine love (*dhawq*). These elders were the ones who knew what it meant to direct all of their human concerns toward the reunion with God. They were not concerned with worldly and human relationships (*tajrīd*) nor were they interested in the acceptance of others. It was God they wanted to please in every moment of their lives. All they desired was to return to the Creator. True sūfīs were human examples of the word "*faqir*," i.e. they embraced poverty as if it was their only friend. One must remember the Prophet's famous *ḥadīth* that stated "poverty is my pride." Sūfīs who do not remember this in their *taṣawwuf* are forgetful of the Prophet who leads a life as a *faqir*, the original sūfī. To become a true sūfī in every possible way does not happen immediately; it takes a long time to understand each and every facet of *taṣawwuf* and then it takes another lifetime to act upon divine knowledge.[86]

Complete trust in Allāh (*tawakūl*): This trust is not the same type of trust one finds in human relationships. Individuals live in a society and everyday they depend on many elements to live life: for example, they have friends, parents, employers, family, neighbors, etc. However, complete trust in God means that the sūfī seeker's heart is connected with Allāh. There are no worries at all; neither

during severe distress nor in calamity, the sūfī is not disturbed by the reality of the world. The only one reality that matters is the heart's contentment with Allāh and that the heart's mission is to work for uninterrupted blessings from God. At this stage of *tawakūl* the sūfī has no other human desires. The sūfī is capable of detaching from any person or any thing that causes the separation of this union.[87]

Gratification (*qanā'āt*): This *taṣawwuf* practice is for sūfīs who keep their senses in tune with God's benevolence. It means that the sūfī seeker maintains at all times the importance of concentrating on God. In particular, the sūfī should direct all energy to obtaining divine knowledge or *ma'rifa* and divine love (*muḥabat*). For receiving God's gratification means that the sūfī's body and faith are working in unison. This step ensures that the sūfī seeker does not get distracted from the *taṣawwuf* path. For even a moment of being lost in other pleasures means that the sūfī was weak in being attentive to God. One cannot display gratification toward Allāh if you yourself are not directed toward the Creator.[88]

Purification (*ghazalat*): The *taṣawwuf* journey is the path of purification. It is comprehensive, both inner and outer, since it is dedicated to meeting God (*ḥulūl*). No sūfī will be able to reunite with Allāh if his inner or outer worlds do not match the requirements to move up the spiritual stations (*maqāmāt*) to meet Allāh. There are many books on the subject and Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* is based on purification exercises set by the holy Prophet (s). Essentially, all purification exercises are designed to keep the Creator at the center of focus. Relationships are not easy to maintain. But a spiritual quest toward Allāh is not difficult, because He is waiting for the arrival of the sūfī.[89]

Attention (*tawajo*): For many sūfī scholars and shaikhs, full attention toward Allāh is understood as one of the most difficult *taṣawwuf* spiritual exercises. This is due to the fact that the sūfī needs to direct all human attention to nothing but Allāh's presence. *Tawajo* is the heart of *taṣawwuf*; if the sūfī cannot master this practice then he will stay a novice (*mubtadī*) or remain in the human realm with *taṣawwuf* (*'ālam an-nāsūt*). To give one's attention to God makes the sūfī prioritize the critical aspects of practicing and understanding *taṣawwuf*. By being able to pay attention to the demands of Allāh, whether loving or bitter, the sūfī can meticulously develop himself for the challenges that are tied in with reunion.[90] This means that sūfīs should work toward advancing their mystical knowledge (*'irfān*) in order to be promoted in the

different rankings of the tradition (*ahl at-taṣawwuf*). This ability to gradually move up in the levels of the tradition will allow sūfīs to sustain the manifestation of God's essence (*tajallī ad-dhāt*).

Patience (*sabr*): Patience is a cornerstone sūfī practice for the Suhrawardīyya order. While other sūfī orders have it as part of their *taṣawwuf* path, the Suhrawardīs believe it is essential in all aspects of living a sūfī life. The prominent sūfī shaikhs of the past have discussed already that the patience of the holy Prophet (s) was a divine gift. It is this gift of patience we seek to emulate and embody. We must keep in mind that *sabr* is not something to talk about with your sūfī guide, and it is crucial that sūfī disciples truly practice it. Once they have tasted true patience, only then will the sūfī reach reunion. *Sabr* is extremely important in treating other human beings with care and love; it is also critical in deserving God's love in return.[91]

Consent (*razā*): The sūfī seeker must allow himself to depend on Allāh for all things, especially placing the destiny of the soul with God. If the seeker desires to make contact with God's oneness (*waḥdāt al-wajūd*), then the sūfī needs to move forward toward this encounter (*ḥulūl*) with complete consent. Allāh's truth entails mysterious meetings and personal challenges for the seeker. No sūfī should think that this meeting could take place without full consent from Allāh. All meetings in the *taṣawwuf* journey depend on Allāh's consent. Once the sūfī surrenders the self to be with Allāh alone, and the surrender is accepted by Allāh, then there are possibilities of *fanā*'.[92]

Remembrance exercises (*dhikr*): The Suhrawardī sūfīs practice many types of *dhikr* for the sake of remembering Allāh. There is no better way of having Allāh's love in the heart of the sūfī than constant passionate remembrance. For many sūfī shaikhs have stated that those who are capable of performing *dhikr* all the time with little sleep should then commit themselves to it. But for the majority of sūfī seekers *dhikr* is a process of linking human time with the divine order. *Dhikr* transcends us away from a reality we think is true; it moves us in every shape and form to a realm of divine presence (*ḥazarat al-ḥaqq*). It cleans the heart and mind from any impurities and replenishes the soul with Allāh's wishes. It is when the heart changes from being an anatomical organ to being the source of nourishment for Allāh's encounter (*ḥulūl*). If one believes that *dhikr* is an insignificant spiritual exercise, then that person is incorrectly practicing *dhikr* and will not proceed in the *taṣawwuf* path. For remembrance of Allāh is the center of Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* and it prepares for reunion.[93]

Mindful meditation (*murāqaba*): This is one aspect of Suhrawardī exercise that determines whether the sūfī seeker will achieve *fanā'* and meet Allāh. As one practices breathing control during *dhikr*, *murāqaba* is concerned about completely focusing on every morsel of the body (*al-badan al-insānī*) and of breath (*rūh*) toward *fanā'*. *Taṣawwuf* exercises inherently are about mindful meditation and detaching oneself from all of those things that distract the sūfī seeker from reuniting with God. A sūfī disciple should view *murāqaba* as a method of bringing closer the day of judgment, because this day is a beautiful encounter for lovers. Accurate and attentive meditation removes the longing for Allāh, because the sūfī bridges the gap with intimate conversations (*munājāt*). This is when the hearts meet and are content.[94]

Salutations to *Shaikh as-Sūfīyya wa Shaikh al-Islām* – Shaikh ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī

At the end of the *ʿurs* festival, the elder Suhrawardī shaikhs will lead the *Katam Sharif Khajghān*, or salutations for the Shaikh al-Suhrawardī. These salutations are recited out loud with sūfī disciples repeating them collectively. The salutations are mainly *sūrās* from the *Qur'ān* and the recitation of God's beautiful names, as well as eulogies to Shaikh al-Suhrawardī. The praises first and foremost begin with Allāh and his revelations of the Qur'ān. There is never a moment of doubting that Allāh is to be praised for all gifts endowed and it is to Him that they turn for guidance and to express their deepest love. All sūfī disciples are trained to direct their devotion to God as the Creator of all things and the source of all existence. Once these benedictions are completed, Suhrawardī sūfīs will continue the eulogies to Shaikh al-Suhrawardī to demonstrate their love and commitment to his *taṣawwuf* guidance and to seek his protection in the sūfī path. The difference in salutations to God and to the shaikh vary tremendously. Suhrawardī sūfīs are seekers of Allāh's love and desire reunion with Allāh; whereas disciples practice the *ādāb* of demonstrating their deepest respect for God's friends, "*Walāya-Allāh*." By reciting the praises for al-Suhrawardī and his death reunion with God (*al-mawt al-ikhtiyārī*), sūfīs are celebrating his presence at this sacred moment in time.[95] Their pilgrimage to the *ʿurs* celebration is not a means to an end but merely another step in the *taṣawwuf* journey because it is here that they gain access to the spiritual presence of the shaikh of the sūfī order and of Islām, *Shaikh al-Sūfīyya wa shaikh al-Islām*.

Katam Sharīf Khajghān silsilā Suhrawardīyyā (*raḥmat Allāh alāh*)

1 *Bismillāh*: "In the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate." (To be recited consecutively 786 times.)
2 *Darūd-Sharīf*: "Peace and blessings upon God's beloved and peace upon his companions." (To be recited consecutively 511 times.)
3 *Sūrā al-Fātiḥa*: "All praise is due to the Lord of the worlds. The Most Beneficent, and Ever-merciful. The King of the Day of Judgment. You alone we worship, and to You alone we turn for help. Guide us to the straight path, the path of those You have blessed, not of those who have earned Your anger, nor those who have gone astray." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
4 *Sūrā al-Inshirah:* "Have we not opened up your breast and removed your burden. Which had left you devoid of hope, and exalted your fame? Surely with hardship there is ease. With hardship indeed there is ease. So when you are free work diligently, and turn to your Lord with all of your love." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
5 *Sūrā al-Ikhlās:* "Say He is God the one the most unique. God the immanently indispensable. He has begotten no one, and is begotten of none. There is no one comparable to Him." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
6 *Darūd Sharīf Hazare*: "Allāh, bless our Seyyed and Master Muhammad and on the home of our Seyyed and Master Muhammad. And upon the Companions of our Seyyed and Master Muhammad. And upon all the thousands and thousands of days may peace be upon him." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
7 "Oh Supplier of needs." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
8 "Oh Exalter of all." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
9 "Oh Healer of the sick." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
10 "Oh Resolver of all problems." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
11 "Oh Protector of the heart." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
12 "Oh Resister of misfortunes." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)

13 "Oh Listener of all things." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
14 "Oh Granter of wishes." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
15 "Oh Cause of all causes." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
16 "Oh Key to all gates." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
17 "Oh Merciful and Compassionate." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
18 "And Allāh is triumphant over all." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
19 "Oh the eternal, the ever self-subsisting, we ask for your blessings and justice." (To be recited consecutively 111 times.)
20 "There is no one but you, all praise is upon you and from you comes all justice." (To be recited consecutively 313 times.)
21 "The answer for hearts that are tied to Allāh. The person, Shaikh Shihāb al-dīn ʿUmar." (To be recited once.)
22 "All praise is on you God, my dear God, and peace upon all messengers and all praise is due to God, the God of all worlds." (To be recited once.)

These spiritual exercises for Suhrawardīs are important practices because they instill a habit of remembrance of God and simultaneously purify the heart for God's presence. These various types of spiritual exercises force the sūfī disciples to completely surrender themselves to Allāh just as one prostrates the body in the five daily ritualistic prayers. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's and Shaikh Zakariyyā's spiritual instructions were consistent with the *sharīʿā*, *sunnā* of the Prophet, and defended with Qurʾānic and *ḥadīth* evidence. As the body bows down in prostrations to surrender itself to Allāh, the sūfī disciple must also prostrate his entire being to release impurities for Allāh's self-disclosure. Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf* consisted of the basic Islamic tenets of *tawḥīd*, incorporating the *sunnā* of daily prayers, charity, fasting, social justice, aid to the poor, obeying the *sharīʿā*, vigorously following all forms of *ādāb*; with *dhikr al-Qurʾān* as its cornerstone.

Suhrawardī spiritual exercises are the connection of the mind and spirit in union, where the heart is being moved by Allāh's invitation. *Dhikr* exercises move the sūfī disciple from remembering Allāh to actually redirecting the sūfī's temporal senses toward the divine. *Dhikr* breathing exercises control the seeker's desire to move abruptly and make hasty decisions in seeking Allāh's love.

Dhikr al-Qur'ān imprints the heart with God's words so that the heart is purified and is the custodian of Allāh's path. In all circumstances, *dhikr* makes the sūfī seeker pay attention to every single detail of his spiritual and physical behavior; it ensures that the seeker is able to focus on mindful meditation and the contemplation of meeting Allāh. The constant recitation of the *Qur'ān*, the focus on Qur'ānic words and verses and their impact on the heart, the repetitive recitations of *Qur'ān* verses, as well as benedictions to the Prophet, his companions and to Suhrawardī shaikhs, are all integral to *dhikr* spiritual exercises. Suhrawardī *taṣawwuf*'s emphasis on these series of exercises was in conjunction with following the *sharī'ā*, embodying the *sunnā* of the Prophet, and at all times adhering to the *ādāb* of the sūfī order.

Striving for divine union required Suhrawardī sūfīs to be committed to the Creator at all stages of life and gradually to devote full attention at all times. The spiritual exercises, the *sunnā* of the Prophet and obeying the law were integrally linked together in the journey toward the divine. Suhrawardī spiritual exercises forced the spiritual seeker to pay more attention to relationships: whether it was to your shaikh, family members, employer and co-workers, or neighbors. With a greater focus on conditioning the heart for a more purified state, Suhrawardī sūfīs were preparing for the ultimate moment of reuniting with the divine.

Appendix A

PRAISES FOR GOD; REMEMBRANCE OF PRAYERS

نودونه نام باری تعالی

یخواندهوا اللّٰه الذی لا اله الا هو الرحمٰن الرحیم الملک القدوس السلام
المؤمن المهیمن العزیز الجبار المتکبر الخالق البارئ المصور الغفار القهار
الوهاب الرزاق الفتاح العلیم القابض الباسط الخافض الرافع

المعز المذل السمیع البصیر الحکم العدل اللطیف الخبیر الحلیم العظیم الغفور الشکور
العلی الکبیر الحفیظ المقیت الحسیب الجلیل الکریم الرقیب المجیب الواسع الحکیم
الودود المجیدالباعث الشهید الحق الوکیل القوی المتین الولی الحمید
المحصی المبدی المعید المحی الممیت الحی القیوم الواحد الماجد الواحد
الاحد الصمد القادر المقتدر المقدم المؤخر الاول الآخر الظاهر الباطن الوالی
المتعالی البر التواب المنعم المنتقم العفو الرؤف مالک الملک ذوالجلال والاکرام
المقسط الجامع الغنی المغنی المانع الضار النافع النور الهادی البدیع الباقی
الوارث الرشید الصبور الذی لیس کمثله شئی وهوالسمیع البصیر غفرانک ربنا
والیک المصیر نعم المولیٰ ونعم النصیر۔

اللّٰهُمَّ انت خلقتنی وانت هدیتنی وانت تطعمنی وانت تسقینی وانت تمیتنی وانت تحیینی انت ربی لا رب لی سواک ولا اله الا انت وحدک لاشریک له یک بار بگوید اللّٰهُمَّ انت ربی لا اله الا انت خلقتنی وانا عبدک وانا علیٰ عهدک ووعدک ما استطعت اعوذ بک من شر ما صنعت ابوء لک بنعمتک علی وابوء لک بذنبی فاغفرلی ذنوبی فانه لا یغفر الذنوب الا انت، اللّٰهُمَّ انی ضعیف فقوّنیُ فی رضاک ضعفی واجعل الاسلام منتهیٰ رغبتی وبلغنی برحمتک التی اجور من رحمتک وخذ الیٰ الخیر بناصیتی واجعل لی وذا فی صدور الذین آمنوا وعهدا عندک یا ارحم الراحمین

اللّٰهُمَّ جنبنا منکرات الاعمال والاخلاق والاهوآ والاوداء اللهم انی اعوذبک من اشرک بک شیئًا وانا اعلم واستغفرک لما لا اعلم سه بار رب رب اعوذبک السمیع العلیم من الشیطان الرجیم سه بار رب اعوذبک من همزات الشیطان واعوذبک رب ان یحضرون وه بار سوره اخلاص با تسمیه بخواند.

سی و سه بار سبحان الله سی و سه بار والحمد لله سی و سه بار والله اکبر ویکبار لا اله الا الله وحده لا شریک له له الملک وله الحمدی

ذکر نماز

چوں وقت نماز در آید چهار رکعت سنته ظهر بگزار و چهار قل بخواند درهر یکے قلی بعد سنته ظهرصد بار استغفار گوید و ایں دعاء بخواند:

اللهم انی اسئلک رحمة من عندک تهدی بها قلبی و تجمع بها شملی وتلم بها شعثی وترد بها الفتی وتصلح بها دینی وتقضی بها دینی وتحفظ بها نمائیبی وترفع بها شاهدی وتزکی بها عملی وتبیض بها وجهی ولتهمنی رشدی و تعصمنی بها من کل سوء

اللهم اعطنی ایماناً صادقاً ویقیناً لیس بعده کفر ورحمة انال بها شرف کرامتک فی الدنیا والآخره' اللهم انی اسئالک الفوز عند القضاء ومنازل الشهداء وعیش السعداء ونصراً علی الاعداء ومرافقة الانبیا برحمتک یا ارحم الراحمین'

ومستحب در نماز آنست که درتابستان تاخیر کند تا خنک شود و در زمستان تعجیل و قرأة در فرض ظهر از سی تاچهل آیة بخواند آیة از سلام بگوید لا اله الا الله وحده لا شریک له له الملک وله الحمد یحیی ویمیت وهو حی لا یموت ذوالجلال والاکرام بیده الخیر وهو علیٰ کل شئی قدیر ☆

شرح اخبار الستمار قوله عليه السلاممن رزق من شئی فيلزمه' يعنی اذا رزق الانسان من وجهه من الوجوه.
لا اله الا الله اهل النعمه و افضل و الثناء الحسن لا اله الا الله ولا نعبد الا اياه مخلصين له الدين

(1) ولو كره الكافرون پس دست بردار و صلوات گويد و اين دعاء بخواند اللهم انک لعلم ذنوبنا فاغفرها وتعلم عيوبنا فاسترها وتعلم حوائجنا فاقضنيها وتعلم مهماتنا فاكفهار بنا توفنا مسلمين و الحقنا بالصالحين و صل علیٰ محمد و علیٰ جميع الانبياء و المرسلين

(2) و الملائكة و المقربين وسلم تسليماً كثيراً بعده دو ركعت

(3) سنته بگزار در اول الكافرون و رووم اخلاص بخواند دو ركعت ديگر برائے حفظ ايمان گزارو دو ركعت اول بعد فاتحه ان ربكم الله الذی خلق السموات والارض فی ستة ايام ثم استویٰ علی العرش يغشی الليل والنهار..... يطلبه حثيثاً والشمس والقمر والنجوم مسخرات بامره الا له الخلق والامر تبارک الله رب العالمين' ادعوا ربكم تضرعاً وخفيةً انه لا يحب المعتدين ولا تفسدوا فی الارض بعد اصلاحها وادعوه خوفا و طمعاً ان رحمة الله قريب من المسلمين

Appendix B

PRAYER FOR ENLIGHTENMENT; PRAYER FOR *SHAB-E BARĀT*

نماز روشنی گو

دو رکعت بگزارد در هر رکعتے فاتحه و اخلاص شش بار و معوذتین بار بخواند، بعد از سلام بگوید اللهم اجعل هٰذه الصلوة سراجاً و مونساً فی قبری وفی جمیع واللّٰه اکبر ولا حول ولا قوة الا باللّٰه العلی العظیم پنج بار بعد از سلام درود فرستد و این دعاء بخواند. اللهم انی اسألک أیماناً دائماً و أسألک قلبا خاشعاً و اسألک علماً فافعا و أسألک یقیناً صادقاً

دعاء شب براة

اللهم یا ذا المن ولا یمن علیک یا ذالجلال والاکرم یا ذا الطول والانعام لا الٰه الا انت یا ظهر اللاجین ویاجار المستجیرین ویا صریح المستصرحین ویا امان الخائفین ویا دلیل المتحیرین ویا غیاث المسغیثین ویاارحم الراحمین' اللهم ان کنت کتبتنی فی ام الکتاب عندک شقیاً فقیراً فامح عن اسم الشفاء واثبتنی عندک سعیدا غنیاً وان کنت کتبتنی فی ام الکتاب عندک محروماً مقتراً علی رزقی وامح عنی حرمانی ورزقی والکتبنی عندک سعیداً غنیاً موفقاً للخیر موسعاً علی رزقی فانک قلت فی ام الکتاب "یمحو الله ما یشاء ویثبت وعنده ام الکتاب" سه بار سوره یٰس بخواند. اول برائے طول عمر' دوم غنا' سوم ایمنی ازبلایا.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 See Carl Ernst, *The Shambhala Guide to Sufism* (Boston: Shambhala, 1997); William Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God: Principles of Ibn al-ʿArabī's Cosmology* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1998), and Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

2 See Maulana Mawdudi, *Sunnat'u Bid 'at ki Kashmakash* (The Struggle between Tradition and Innovation) (Lahore: Idarah-I Tarjumanu'l Qur'ān, 1950) and, John Esposito and John Voll (eds). *Makers of Contemporary Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

3 See L.P. Elwell-Sutton, "Sufism and Pseudo-Sufism" in *Islam in the Modern World,* Denis MacEoin and Ahmed al-Shahi (eds) (New York: St Martin's Press, 1983).

4 See Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967); Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973); and Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

5 See Mehmed Fuad Koprulu, *Islam in Anatolia after the Turkish Invasion*, translated and annotated by Gary Leiser (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993).

6 Rahman, p. 153.

7 Th. Emil Homerin, *Arab Poet to Egyptian Saint: Ibn al-Farīd, His Verse, and His Shrine* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994); Valerie Hoffman, *Sufism, Mystics, and Saints in Modern Egypt* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995); Vincent Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998); and Stephen Hirtenstein, *The Unlimited Mercifier: The Spiritual Life and Thought of Ibn ʿArabī* (Ashland: White Cloud Press, 1999).

8 Some examples are Hamid Dabashi, "Historical Conditions of Persian Sufism During the Seljuk Period," in *Classical Persian Sufism: From its Origins to Rumi*, edited by Leonard Lewisohn (New York: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1993), 137–74, and idem, *Truth and narrative: the untimely thoughts of ʿAyn al-Qudat al-Hamadhani*

(Richmond: Curzon, 1999); Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Relationship between Sufism and Philosophy in Persian Culture," in *Hamdard Islamicus* 6/4 (1983): 33–47.

9 Lapidus, p. 106.

10 Richard M. Eaton, *The Sūfīs of Bijapur, 1300–1700* (Madison: University of Madison, 1972).

11 See Omid Safi, "Bargaining with Baraka: Persian Sufism, 'Mysticism,' and Premodern Politics," in *Muslim World* 90 3/4 (2000): 259–87.

12 Coleman Barks, *Feeling the shoulder of the lion: poetry and teaching stories of Rumi* (Boston: Shambhala, 2000); Camille Helminski and Edmund Kabir Helminski, trans., *Rumi-daylight: a daybook of spiritual guidance* (Boston: Shambhala, 1999); Amin Banani, Richard Hovannisian, and Georges Sabagh (eds). *Poetry and mysticism in Islam: the heritage of Rumi* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Roy C. DeLamotte, *Jalaluddin Rumi, songbird of Sufism* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1980).

13 See Otto Spies, *Three Treatises on Mysticism by Shihabuddin Suhrawerdi Maqtul* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1935); John Walbridge, *The Leaven of the Ancients: Suhrawardī and the Heritage of the Greeks* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000); Mehdi Amin Razavi, *Suhrawardi and the School of Illumination* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997); Hossein Ziai, *Knowledge and illumination: a study of Suhrawardi's Hikmat al-ishraq* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990); and Henry Corbin, *Suhrawardī d'Alep (1191) fondateur de la doctrine illuminative* (Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve, 1939).

14 Shihāb al-dīn al-Suhrawardī, *Risālat Maqāmāt al-Ṣūfīyya – The Sūfī Stations*, edited by Emile Maalouf (Beirut: Dar el-Mashreq Sarl, Editeurs, 1993).

15 William M. Thackston's *The mystical and visionary treatises of Shihabuddin Yahya Suhrawardī* (London: Octagon, 1982).

16 Menahem Milson, trans., *Kitāb ādāb al-Murīdīn of Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī* (1975); Richard Gramlich, *Die Gaben der Erkenntnisse des ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī – ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1978); and Aishah Yusuf Manai, *Abū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī: hayā tuhū wa-taṣawwufu* (Cairo: Dar al-Thaqafah, 1991).

17 Angelika Haartman, Al-Nāsir li-Din Allāh (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975) and ʿUmar Al-Suhrawardī, *Rasa'il a'lam al-huda wa 'aqidāt arbāb al-tuq* (Damascus: Dar al-Anwar, 1996).

18 See Muhammad din Kalam, *Suhrawardī ʿAuliyā'* (Lahore: Maktaba Tarikh, 1969); Nūr Aḥmad Khān Faridi, *Shaikh Baha' al-dīn Zakariyyā Multanī* (Multan: Qasar al-Adab Jagawalah, n.d.) and idem, *Tazkira of Sadr ad-din ʿArif* (Multan: Qasar al-Adab Jagawalah, n.d.); Muhammad Yusuf Suhrawardī, *Taṣawwuf wa Sūfī Ijamāhī zedeen fī Shāan-e Qalandarī* (Lahore: Din Muhammadi Press, n.d.); Seyyed Abū Fez Qalandar ʿAlī Suhrawardī, *Anwar-e Suhrawardīyyā* (Lahore: Markarzi Majlis Suhrawardīyyā, n.d.), idem, *Tazkirāt Suhrawardīyyā* (Lahore: Markarzi Majlis Suhrawardīyyā, n.d.), and idem, *Taʿrif Suhrawardīyya* (Lahore: Markarzi Majlis Suhrawardīyyā, n.d.); see also Bibliography.

19 Abū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*, 85–6.

20 Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad is the Messenger of God* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985).
21 Frithjof Schuon stated that these sacred biographies are meant "to perfect truthfulness in deeds and thought, which is a way of realizing a certain unity for the sake of the One and Only." In *Islam and the Perennial Philosophy*, translated by J. Peter Hobson (London, 1976), 78–9. For more, see Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Sufi Essays* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1977) and idem, *Knowledge and the Sacred* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1981).

1 THE LIFE OF SHAIKH ʿABŪ HAFS ʿUMAR AL-SUHRAWARDĪ

1 For further information on the Junāydī school of "sobriety," see Alī Hassan Abdel-Kader, *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd* (London, 1962) and David Martin, *Al-fanāʾ and al-Baqāʾ of Abū al-Qasim al-Junāyd al-Baghdādī*. PhD dissertation (UCLA, 1984).
2 See A.J. Arberry's translation, *A Sūfī Martyr: The Apologia of ʿAin al-Qudāt al-Hamadhāni* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969) and Hamadānī, *Tamhīdāt*, edited by ʿAlī ʿUsayran (Tehran: Manuchihri, 1962).
3 For information on Ibn al-Jawzī's works see ʿAbdu'l Hamid al-'Aluji's *Muʾallafat ibn ul-Jawzī*, (Baghdad, 1965), and Carl Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* (Leiden, 1943).
4 See D.S. Margoliouth for Ibn al-Jawzī's translations and "The Devil's Delusion, by Ibn al-Jauzi," *Islamic Culture* vols 9–12, 19–22 (Hyderbad Deccan, 1935–1948).
5 In the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edition, Louis Massignon defines *ṭarīqa* as a common life based on a series of special rules in addition to the ordinary observances of Islam. Since this ambiguous definition of *ṭarīqa* could apply to a wide range of organizations, either heretical or mainstream, the term *ṭarīqa* will specifically mean the mystical way of sūfī orders whose members have common beliefs, rituals, and interpretation of *taṣawwuf*.
6 For a discussion on *waqf* endowments for the *khānaqāh* institution, see Muhammad Amin, *al-ʿAwqāf wal-hayāt al-Ijtimāʿiyya fi Misr 1250–1517* (Cairo, 1980); Muhammad ʿAbū Zahra, *Muhadarāt fi al-Waqf* (Cairo, 1959); Ulrich Haarmann, "Mamluk Endowment Deeds as a Source for the History of Education in Late Medieval Egypt," *al-Abhath* 28 (1980): 31–47.
7 Leonor Fernandes, PhD dissertation, *The Evolution of the Khānqāh Institution in Mamluk Egypt* (Princeton University, Princeton, 1980), 133–6. See also J.S. Trimingham, *The Sūfī Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 204–6.
8 Al-Mawardi, *al-Ahkām as-sultānīya*. R. Enger (ed). (Bonn, 1853) and Henri Laoust, "La pensée et l'action politique d'al-Mawardi (974–1058) *Revue des Études Islamiques* 36 (1968): 11–92.
9 Angelika Haartmann, *An-Nāsir li-dīn Allah* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), 111–13.

10 ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Cairo, 1973), 199–200.
11 In order to make the distinction between the spiritual aspects of faith versus the larger institutional forces, a lower case "i" will be used for islam for the former and a capital "I" will be used for the latter.
12 The subject of the *futūwwa* (literally "young manhood") institution as an urban lower-class men's organization that had strong idealistic principles and emphasized unconditional loyalty among members and to the institution has been studied by scholars. See Franz Taeschner, "Futuwwa-Studien, die Futuwwabünde in der Turkei und ihre Literatur," *Islamica* 5 (1932): 285–333; Louis Massignon, "La Futuwwa ou pacte d'honneur artisanal entre les travailleurs musulmans au Moyen Age," *La Nouvelle Clio* 4 (1952): 245–50; G. Salinger, "Was the Futūwa an Oriental form of Chivalry?" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 94/5 (1950): 481–93; C. Cahen, "Sur les traces des premiers Akhis," *Mélanges Fuad Köprülü* (Istanbul, 1953), 81–91; for an interesting comparative *futūwwa* study, see Speros Veyonis, "Byzantine Circus Factions and Islamic Futuwwa Organizations," *Byzantinische Zeitchrift* 58 (1965): 46–59.
13 Herbert Mason, *Two Statesmen of Mediaeval Islam* (The Hague: Mouton and Company, 1972), 126.
14 *Ibid*., 127.
15 Marshall G. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 131.
16 Abū al-Falah ʿAbd al-Hayy Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Muntazam fi't-Ta'rīkh al-Mulūk wa'l-Umam*, vol. 9 (Hyderbad Deccan, 1937–1940), 488.
17 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi at-Tarīkh*, edited by C.J. Thornberg, vol. 8 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1862), 83.
18 Mason, *op. cit*., 129.
19 *Ibid*., 283.
20 *Ibid*., 120–1
21 C. Cahen, *op. cit*., 81–91.
22 Ibn al-Miʿmar, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muhammad ibn Abī al-Makārim, *Kitāb al-futūwwa*, edited by P. Kahle, "Die Futuwwah Bündnisse des Kalifen an-Nāsir in Opera Minora" (Leiden, 1956). Al-Khartabirti, Ahmad ibn Ilyās an-Naqqāsh, *Tuhfāt al-Wasaya*. Abdulbaki Golpinarli in *Iktisat Fakultesi Mecmuasi* (Istanbul University II, no. 1–4, 1949/1950).
23 Anne Breebaart, PhD dissertation, *The Development and Structure of the Turkish Futuwah Guilds* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1961), 69–77. She explores the use of language in these two books as a way of understanding the *futūwwa* ritual and structure, also as a form of Islamic expression.
24 P. Wittek, "Deux chapitres de l'histoire des Turcs de Rum; I. Les traits essentiels de la période selkjoukide en Asie Mineure; II. Les Ghazis dans l'histoire Ottomane," *Byzantion* 6 (1936): 215–319.
25 *Ibid*., 300.
26 Franz Taeschner, "Futūwwa-Studien, die futūwwa-bünde in der Turkei und ihrer Literatur," *Islamica* 5 (1931–1932): 285–333.
27 Taeschner, "Islamisches Ordernsittertum zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge," in *Die Welt als Geschichte* 4 (1938): 382–402.

28 G. Salinger, "Was the Futuwwah an Oriental Form of Chivalry," in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 94 (1950): 488–9.
29 Breebart, 70.
30 al-Khartabirti, 209.
31 *Ibid*., 210.
32 *Ibid*., 211.
33 Ibn al-Miʿmar, 257.
34 *Ibid*., 165.
35 There is little information on the Bayt ar-Rahhāsiya *futūwwa*, only that they trace their lineage to a Shaikh ʿUmar ibn ar-Rahhās.
36 Muhammad Umar Memon discusses this subject of contemporary scholarship on Ibn-Taymīya, some of which has been useful or damaging to our understanding of this prolific thinker. See Memon's *Ibn-Taymīya's Struggle against Popular Religion* (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1976). For works on Ibn-Taymīya see, Henri Laoust, *Essai sur les Doctrines Sociales et Politiques de Taqi-d dīn Ahmad b. Taymiya* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale) and "La Biographie d'Ibn Taymīya d'après Ibn Kathir," *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas* 9 (1942): 115–62; Muhammad Abū Zahra, *Ibn-Taymīya Hayātuhū wa ʿasrahū, ārāʾuhū wa fiqhuhū* (Cairo, Dar al-Fikr al-ʿArabi, 1952). Donald Little, "The Historical and Historiographical Significance of the Detention of Ibn-Taymīya," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4 (1973): 311–27. On Ibn-Taymīya's thought and the influence of sūfī thinkers, see George Makdisi, "Ibn-Taymīya: A sūfī of the Qādiriya Order," *The American Journal of Arabic Studies* I (1973): 118–29 and "The Tanbih of Ibn-Taymīya on Dialectic: The Pseudo-ʿAqlian Kitāb al-Farq," in Sami A. Hanna (ed.), *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972).
37 Ibn-Taymīya, *Kitāb iqtidāʾ as-sirāt al-mustaqīm mukhālafat ashāb al-jahīm*, edited by Muhammad Hamid al-Fiqi (Cairo: Matbaʿat as-Sunna al-Muhammadiya, 1950), 3–8.
38 Ignaz Goldziher, "Veneration of Saints in Islam," *Muslim Studies*, edited and translated by S.M. Stern, vol. 2 (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), 255–341.
39 *Ibid*., Chapter 15, 155–62. For a general discussion of Ibn-Taymīya's interpretation of *biḍa*, see Muhammad Memon, 350–60.
40 Although Ibn-Taymīya criticized popular acceptance of visiting gravesites and tombs of sūfī shaikhs, he also considered it a problem for the widespread cult that paid tribute to the city of Jerusalem and the Dome of the Rock. See his *Risāla fī qaulihī lā tashuddaʾr-rihāl illā ilā thalātha masājid wa fī ziyārat Bait al-Maqdis*, vol. 2, 53–63, edited by C.D. Matthews "A Muslim Iconoclast on the Merits of Jerusalem," *Journal of American Oriental Society* 56 (1936): 1–21.
41 Ibn-Taymīya, *Majmūʿat ar-rasāʾil waʾl-masāʾil*, edited by as-Sayyid Muhammad Badr ad-dīn (Cairo: al-Matbaʿat al-Husainiya, 1905).
42 *Ibid*., 77.
43 Ibn-Taymīya, *op. cit*., 388.
44 There are no clear dates for Ibn Bidqīn, except that he lived in Syria in the late thirteenth century.

45 See Joseph Schact, "Zwei neue Quellen zur Kenntinis der Futuwwah," *Festschrift Georg Jacob* (1932): 284–6.
46 Ibn al-Miʿmar, 169–72. For a brief discussion on professional and class distinctions in *futūwwa* groups, see Breebaart, 72–3.
47 Claude Cahen, "Baghdad au Temps de ses Derniers Califes," *Arabica* 9 (1959): 300–2. It is here that Cahen states that "c'est al-Suhrawardi qui est en maints endroits le propagateur simultane de toutes ces réformes . . .,' 301.
48 Cahen, "Note sur les débuts de la futūwwah d'an-Nāsir" *Oriens* 6 (1951): 20–1. For a detailed account of Cahen's work on *futūwwa* groups see *Mouvements et Organisations Populaires et Autonomisme Urbain dans l'Asie Musulmane au Moyen Age* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959).
49 I did not find support for whether caliph al-Nāsir used the term "*qibla*" to describe himself in *futūwwa* activities, or whether Cahen took the liberty to apply the term to the caliph. *Qibla* is used to indicate the direction of Muslim prayers that faces Mecca and if the caliph used this term to describe his position in *futūwwas* then it demonstrates his aspirations to connect himself to the sacred center of Islam.
50 Angelika Haartmann, *op. cit.*, 235–6. She cites Sibt ibn al-Jawzī's famous hagiographical work, *Miʾrāt az-Zaman*, to elaborate on the way audience members would cut their hair off and become sūfīs on hearing al-Suhrawardī speak.
51 *Ibid.*, 246.
52 *Ibid.*, 246–7.
53 *Ibid.*, 245–6. This story is cited from Sibt ibn al-Jawzī's *Miʾrāt az-Zaman* which documented some of al-Suhrawardī's trips.
54 *Ibid.*, 248.
55 Herbert Mason, *Two Statesmen of Medieval Islam* (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1972), 122–3.
56 Hartmann, *op. cit.*, 249.
57 Breebaart, *op. cit.*, 109–11.
58 A. Siddiqi, "Caliphate and Kingship in Mediaeval Persia," *Islamic Culture* 1 (1937), 53–65.
59 Marshall Hodgson, *op. cit.*, 280.
60 The Sunnī definition for *qiyāma* is the day of Resurrection, when human kind would be judged and committed to either Paradise or Hell. In *Ismāʿīlī* doctrine it is used in reference to the end of any partial cycle in the history of humankind. But within the Nizārī Alamut period, *qiyāma* was interpreted as the spiritual manifestation or true essence of the current imām. For further discussion see Farhad Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Chapter 6. Also in Henry Corbin, *Temps cyclique et gnose Ismaélienne* (Paris, 1982). English translation by R. Manheim and James Morris, *Cyclical Time and Ismaili Gnosis* (London, 1983). For a personal Ismāʿīlī account of doctrines and history see Zahid Ali, *Hamare Ismāʿīlī madḥāb ki ḥaqīqāt aur us ka nizām* (Hyderbad Deccan, 1954).
61 The idea of *naṣṣ* is a central Shīʿī belief that is rooted at the time when the Prophet designated ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib at Ghadir Kumm as his successor. As the Shīʿī doctrine of *naṣṣ* developed, the transfer of the imāmate to a sucessor was under divine guidance and it was to be an explicit

designation. For further information see S. Husain M. Jafri, *Origins and Early Development of Shīʿā Islam* (London, 1979), 58–79. In the year 1094 internal Ismāʿīlī conflicts were at their height when the caliph-*imām* al-Mustansir died in Cairo in 1094 and the younger brother al-Mustaʿlī became the *imām* instead of the older brother Nizār. This was influential in the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī concept of *naṣṣ* to be a kept and unchangeable designation as it was designed by the preceding *imām*, and it could not be transferred between brothers. See Daftary, *op. cit.*, 348–54.

62 *Ibid.*, 405.

63 For further information on al-Tūsī's theories on *satr* see Marshall Hodgson, *The Order of Assasins: the Struggle of the Early Nizari Ismāʿīlī against the Islamic World* (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1955) and W. Ivanow, "An Ismailitic work by Nasir uʿd dīn Tūsī," *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (1931): 527–37.

64 *Satr* generally refers to concealment or veiling. In *Ismāʿīlī* doctrine it is used specifically in reference to an era or period, called *dawr al-satr*, when the *Ismāʿīlī imāms* were physically hidden from their followers, or when the *Ismāʿīlī imām* were immersed in truth (*ḥaqāʾiq*). For more information see Nāsir al-dīn al-Tūsī, *Rawdat al-taslīm, ya tasawwurat*, edited and translated by W. Ivanow (Leiden, 1950).

65 *Ibid.*, 410–11.

66 For more on Shīʿī theology and the development of the Shīʿī *imām* see Abdulaziz Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism: the Idea of the Mahdi in Twelver Shiʿism* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1981).

67 See Ivanow, *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1952).

68 See Al-Nasafi, *Kitāb al-insān al-kāmil*, edited by Marijan Mole (Tehran, 1962).

69 Daftary discusses particular figures such as Fadl Allāh, and ʿAlī al-Aʿlā as Ismāʿīlī missionaries (*daʿis*), and in other places stresses Ismāʿīlīs like Mahmud Pasikhānī and Shāh Qāsim Faydbakhsh as significant sūfī shaikhs of the Nurbaksh and Niʿmat Allāhiyya orders, *The Ismāʿīlīs*, 452–82.

70 *Ibid.*, 466.

71 *Ibid.*, 467.

72 Pīr Hasan Kabīr al-dīn's dates are not clear and his death is recorded between the years of 1449 and 1491.

73 ʿAbd al-Ḥaq Diḥlawī, *Akhbar al-akhyar* (New Delhi, 1891), 204–5.

74 Mason, *op. cit.*, 121. For more information on al-Nāsir's connection with the *Ismāʿīlīs* see Ibn at-Tiqtaqa, *Al-Fakhrī fīl Adab as-Sultāniyya waʾd-Duwāl al-Islāmiyya*, French translation by E. Amar (Paris, 1910), 343–4.

2 *ʿAWĀRIF AL-MAʿĀRIF*

1 Karl Mannhiem. "The Problem of Generation," in *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (London, 1952), 276–85.

2 Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Cambridge, 1992), 91–6.

3 Karl Mannhiem, *Ideology and Utopia* (London, 1936).

4 For further information on the Junāydī school of "sobriety," see Alī Ḥassan Abdel-Kader, *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd* (London, 1962) and David Martin, *Al-Fanāʾ and al-Baqāʾ of Abū al-Qasim al-Junayd al-Baghdādī*. PhD dissertation (UCLA, 1984).
5 For translations of Ainu'l-Quzat's work see A.J. Arberry translated as *Apologia* in *A Sūfī Martyr* (London, 1969).
6 For information on Ibn al-Jawzī's works see ʿAbdū'l Ḥamid al-'Alujī's *Muʾallafat ibn ul-Jawzī* (Baghdad, 1965) and Carl Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* (Leiden, 1943).
7 See D.S. Margoliouth for Ibn al-Jawzī's translations and "The Devil's Delusion, by Ibn al-Jawzī," *Islamic Culture* vols. IX–XII, XIX–XXII (Hyderbad Deccan, 1935–1948).
8 For more on al-Sarrāj's use of sūfī see *The Kitāb al-lumāʿ fi 'l-Taṣawwuf*, edited by Reynold Nicholson (London: Luzac and Company, 1914), 21–2.
9 Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sūfism in India*, volume 1 (New Delhi: Manshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1975), 88. Al-Suhrawardī does not specify what branch of Buddhism.
10 See *Qurʾān*, 3:7 and 4:162.
11 *Ibid*., 89.
12 ʿAbū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, ʿ*Awārif al-Maʿārif* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Cairo, 1973), 202–68. Hereafter cited as *AM*.
13 Rizvi, 89.
14 This issue as to which audience al-Suhrawardī intended his treatise is not discussed in any primary or secondary source. Shaikh al-Suhrawardī does not address any one group or organization, but in ʿ*Awarif al-Maʿārif* it is clear from his social, religious, and political commentaries that it was meant for anyone interested in his ideas on *taṣawwuf* and other subjects.
15 In ʿ*Awārif al-Maʿārif* al-Suhrawardī practices the *sunnā* of writing *salā allāh ʿalaihī wa sallam* for the Prophet Muhammad, and *raḥmat allāh alaihī* for companions, members of the family, and for respected sūfī shaikhs. For the purpose of simplicity I will use the letters 's' and 'r' respectively, in parentheses, to abbreviate Shaikh al-Suhrawardī's benedictions.
16 *AM*, 54.
17 *AM*, 54–5.
18 *AM*, 55.
19 *AM*, 56–7.
20 *AM*, 56.
21 *AM*, 56.
22 *AM*, 57.
23 *AM*, 57.
24 *AM*, 57.
25 *AM*, 57.
26 *AM*, 57–8.
27 *AM*, 57–8.
28 *AM*, 58.
29 *AM*, 59.

30 *AM*, 61.
31 *AM*, 62.
32 *AM*, 64.
33 *AM*, 273.
34 *AM*, 275.
35 *AM*, 273.
36 *AM*, 272.
37 *AM*, 272–3.
38 *AM*, 453.
39 *AM*, 454.
40 *AM*, 454.
41 *AM*, 455.
42 *AM*, 411.
43 *AM*, 412.
44 *AM*, 412.
45 *AM*, 413.
46 *AM*, 60.
47 *AM*, 250.
48 *AM*, 250.
49 *AM*, 250.
50 *AM*, 251.
51 *AM*, 252.
52 *AM*, 251. These *ādāb* descriptions are similar to Gerhard Böwering's study "The ādāb Literature of Classical sūfism: Ansari's Code of Conduct," in Barbara Metcalf's *Moral Conduct and Authority* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 62–87.
53 *AM*, 252.
54 *AM*, 252.
55 *AM*, 253.
56 *AM*, 254.
57 *AM*, 366.
58 *AM*, 367.
59 The quote from the *Qur'ān* is from *sūrā Hijrāt*, verse 26. *AM*, 363.
60 *AM*, 364.
61 *AM*, 363.
62 *AM*, 365.
63 *AM*, 365–6.
64 *AM*, 366.
65 *AM*, 367.
66 *AM*, 258.
67 *AM*, 258.
68 *AM*, 259.
69 *AM*, 258–60.
70 *AM*, 441.
71 *AM*, 442–3.
72 *AM*, 443.
73 *AM*, 443.
74 *AM*, 444.
75 *AM*, 444.
76 *AM*, 444.

77 *AM*, 444–6.
78 Ahmed Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 13–24.
79 *Ibid*., 34.
80 *AM*, 356–9.
81 *Sūrā al-Isrā*, verse number 85. Coincidentally this *sūrā* later discusses the Prophet's journey to heaven, a fundamental symbolic paradigm for sūfī theosophy.
82 *AM*, 255–64.
83 Rizvi, 92–3.
84 *AM*, 266–9.
85 *AM*, 280–9.
86 *AM*, 460–5.
87 *AM*, 220–9. For more information on the *khirqa* see Qushairi, *Al-Rasā'il al-Qushairīyyā* (Karachi, 1964) and D.B. Macdonald, "Emotional religion in Islam as affected by music and singing," *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (1901): 195–252.

3 SACRED IDENTITIES IN THE SUHRAWARDĪYYA ORDER

1 J.G. Merquior, *The Veil and the Mask: Essays on Culture and Ideology* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 102–3.
2 Antonio Gramsci, *The Modern Prince and Other Writings*, translated by Louis Marks (New York: International Publishers, 1957), 55–61.
3 *Ibid*., 62.
4 See Pierre Bourdieu, *Symbolic Power*, translated by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) and James Fernandez, "The Performance of Ritual Metaphors," in J. David Sapir and J. Christopher Crocker (eds). *The Social Use of Metaphor: Essays on the Anthropology of Rhetoric* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), 100–31.
5 Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 19–24.
6 *Ibid*., 37.
7 Edward Shils, "Ritual and Crisis," in *The Religious Situation: 1968*, edited by Donald Cutler (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), 736.
8 Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, translated by J.W. Swain (New York: Free Press, 1965), 51–4.
9 *Ibid*., 463ff.
10 Marshall Sahlins, *Culture and Practical Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 111–13.
11 Claude Lévi-Strauss, "French Sociology," in *Twentieth Century Sociology*, edited by George Gurvitch and Wilbert Moore (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945), 518.
12 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 89–91.
13 *Ibid*., 113.
14 *Ibid*., 92–3.
15 *Ibid*., 164.

16 For studies by performing theorists see John MacAloon, *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984); Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theater: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982); Richard Schechner and Willa Appel, eds, *By Means of Performance: Intercultural Studies of Theatre and Ritual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); and Ronald L. Grimes, *Ritual Criticism: Case Studies in its Practice, Essays on its Theory* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990).
17 Milton Singer, *Traditional India: Structure and Change* (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1959), xii.
18 *Ibid*., xiii–xiv.
19 Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, 82.
20 Stanley Tambiah, "A Performative Approach to Ritual," in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 65 (1979): 124.
21 *Ibid*., 153–4.
22 Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, translated by Ian Cunnison (New York: Norton Press, 1967), 77–9.
23 *Ibid*., 80.
24 For further studies on rituals as communication see Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols* (New York: Random House, 1973) and Jack Goody, *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
25 For a collection of diverse Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Sindhi poetry see Ali S. Asani and Kamal Abdel-Malek, *Celebrating Muhammad: Images of the Prophet in Popular Muslim Poetry* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995).
26 Ḥassan ibn Thābit, *Diwān*, no. 152, edited by Walid Arafat (London: Luzac and Company, 1971).
27 Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 106–10. For further studies on works on Muhammad's attributes in Muslim literature see, Constance Padwick, *Muslim Devotions* (London: SPCK Press, 1960) and Zaki Mubarak, *Al-madā'ih an-nabawiyya fi'l ādāb al-ʿarabī* (Cairo: Mustafa al-babi al-halabi wa auladuhu, 1943).
28 Abū'l Majd Majdūd Sanā'ī, *Dīwān*, edited by Mudarris Razawi (Tehran: Ibn-i Sina, 1962), 363–4.
29 Abū Bakr Ahmad al-Baihaqī, *Dalā'il an-nubuwwa*, edited by ʿAbdur Rahmān Muhammad ʿUthmān (Medina: Al-maktaba as-salafiya, 1969), 121–2.
30 Mansūr al-Ḥallāj, *Kitāb at-tawāsīn, texte arabe avec la version persane d'al-Baqli*, edited by Louis Massignon (Paris: Geuthner Press, 1913), 14.
31 Roger Deladrière, *La Profession de Foi d'Ibn-ʿArabī* (Paris: Michel Allard, 1978), 128.
32 *Ibid*., 145.
33 The term Prophetology is generally used to mean the deep veneration and devotion to the Prophet Muhammad, and the ways in which all

Muslims developed a meaningful spiritual model to emulate his existence. In this course of making a spiritual connection to the Prophet, it is important to remember that all acts of worship are still directed to the submission to one God.

34 ʿAṭṭār, *Musībatnāma*, 20.
35 Jami, "Tufat al-ahrar," in *Haft Aurang*, 376, *naʿtiyya* no. I.
36 For more on *ḥadīths* see Willem Bijlefeld, "A Prophet and More than a Prophet? Some observations on the Qur'anic Use of Terms 'Prophet' and 'Apostle'," *Muslim World* 49 (1959): 1–28; Earle Waugh, "Following the Beloved: Muhammad as Model in the sūfī Tradition," in *The Biographical Process*, edited by Frank Reynolds and Donald Capps (The Hague: Mouton Press, 1976); and Hilmi al-Qaʿud, *Muhammad salla-llāh ʿalayhi wa sallam fi sh-shiʿr wa al-ḥadīth* (Al-Mansūra: Dār al-Wafā', 1987).
37 ʿAṭṭār, *Mantiq ut-tair*, 24; cf. *Musībatnāma*, 22.
38 ʿAṭṭār, *Ushturnāma*, 95, Chap. 12, para. 7.
39 Other symbolic references to the number forty that are often referred to are: the Prophets Idrīs, Hud, and Sālih were called to act as Prophets at the age of forty; the children of Israel spent forty years in the desert; Jesus spent forty days in the desert; and there are forty days during the time of Lent. See Irène Mélikoff, "Nombres symboliques dans la littérature épico-religieuse des Turcs d'Anatolie," *Journal Asiatique* 250 (1962): 435–45.
40 *Khātam an-anbiyā'* is from *sūrā* 33, verse 40. *Ḥabīb-Allāh*, "God's Beloved Friend," is a common popular epithet for Muhammad.
41 Ghulam Dastgir Rasheed, "The Development of naʿtia Poetry in Persian Literature," *Islamic Culture* 39 (1965): 56–60.
42 Schimmel, 178.
43 Mauss, *op. cit.*, 79.
44 Gerhard Böwering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam* (New York: Walter De Gruyter, 1980), 147.
45 *Ibid.*, 148.
46 *Ibid.*, 149.
47 See Ignaz Goldziher, "Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Hadīth," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 22 (1908): 317–44.
48 ʿAṭṭār, *Musībatnamā*, 20.
49 ʿAṭṭār, *Mantiq ut-tair*, 18.
50 ʿAṭṭār, *Ilahinamā*, 11–12. It is important to note that *ummī* is one of the Prophet's names and it is mentioned in *sūrā* 62, verse 2.
51 ʿAṭṭār, *Musibtanamā*, 20.
52 Rūmī, *Diwān*, no. 2
53 Rūmī, *Diwān*, no. 1142.
54 *Ibid.*, no. 1732.
55 Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, vol. 5, line 2734.
56 Arberry, *Discourses of Rūmī*, 232.
57 *Ibid.*, 117.
58 *Ibid.*, 178.
59 Aflāki's *Manāqib al-ʿArifīn*, 281.
60 ʿIrāqī, *Kulliyāt*, edited by Said Nafsi (Tehran: Sanai, 1959), 74.

61 This verse is from *sūrā* 17, verse 1, and also has an alternative subtle significance in that it is the actual Qurʾānic verse that mentions the Prophet's heavenly night journey (*miʿrāj*).
62 Amīr Khusrau, *Majnūn Laila*, 14.
63 *Ibid*., 15
64 Amīr Khusrau, *Diwān*, 596.
65 Badiʿuzzaman Furuzankfar, *Aḥādīth-i Mathnawī* (Tehran: University of Tehran, 1955) no. 225.
66 For works on the Muʿtazilites see Richard MacDonough, *Beings and Their Attributes: The Teaching of the Basran School of the Muʿtazila in their Classical Period* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1978); Ismail al-Faruqi, "The Self in Muʿtazilah Thought," *Internationational Philosophical Quarterly*, 6 (1966): 366–88; and Albert Hourani, "The Rationalist Ethics of ʿAbd al-Jabbar," in S.M. Stern, A. Hourani and V. Brown, eds, *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition; Essays presented to Richard Walzer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 105–15.
67 Abū ʿAbdallah at-Tirmidhī, *Nawādir al-usūl*, 294.
68 A common quotation from *sūrā* 33, verse 40.
69 Another Qurʾānic reference to *sūrā* 108, *sūrā al-Kauthar*.
70 Yūsuf ibn Ismāʿīl an Nabhanī, *Al-majmūʿa an-nabhāniyya fīʾl madāʾih an-nabawiyya*, volume 1 (Beirut, Al-Matbaʿa as-adabiyya, 1903), 457.
71 Ahmad al-Ghazālī, *Ihyaʾulum al-dīn*, vol. 1, 278–80.
72 Abū Muhammad ʿAlī Ibn Hazm, *Al-fasl fīʾl milal waʾl waʾn- nihal*, volume 1 (Cairo, 1899), 88–90.
73 *AM*, 55.
74 Nur Aḥmad Khān Faridī, *Bahaʾ al-dīn Zakarriyā* (Multan: Gugarwala Publications, n.d.), 226.
75 *Ibid*., 227.
76 *Ibid*., 227–8.
77 *Ibid*., 228.
78 *Ibid*., 233.
79 *Ibid*., 233–4.
80 *Ibid*., 240–1.
81 Shaikh Sayyid Bāqir ibn Sayyid Uthmān Bukhārī, *Jawāhir al-ʿAuliyāʾ* annotated by Ghulam Sarwar (Islamabad: Iran–Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, 1976), 105–229.
82 *Ibid*., 221.
83 *Ibid*., 221–2.
84 *Ibid*., 222.
85 *Ibid*., 223.
86 See Muhammad ʿUrfi's poetry in Sajid Siddiqui and Wali ʿAsi, *Armaghān-i naʿt* (Lucknow: Maktaba-i dīn o Adab, 1965).
87 Sayyid Uthmān Bukhārī, 223–4.
88 *Ibid*., 228.
89 *Ibid*., 228–9.
90 *Ibid*., 229.
91 Tambiah, *op. cit*., 124.

4 THE SUHRAWARDĪYYA *SILSILĀ* IN MULTAN AND UCCH

1 The word *silsilā* ordinarily refers to the "spiritual chain" within the sūfī organization, and the word *ṭarīqa* is commonly used for the sūfī order. Since *silsilā* is used in the original text to describe the general larger sūfī order, this term will be used to be consistent with the text.
2 On the meanings of esoteric language see Steven Katz (ed.), *Mysticism and Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). According to Mircea Eliade, myths are paradigmatic models that guide the believer's attitudes and actions that make the myths sacred, real, and significant. See Eliade's *The Sacred and The Profane*, translated by Willard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1959) and P. Mairet, translated, *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries* (London: Collins Press, 1972).
3 See Marcia K. Hermansen, "Religious Literature and the Inscription of Identity: The Sūfī Tazkira Tradition in Muslim South Asia," in *Muslim World* 87/3–4 (1997): 315–29; Carl Ernst, "The Textual Formation of Oral Teachings in Early Chishti Sufism," in *Texts in Context: Traditional Hermeneutics in South Asia*, Jeffrey Timm (ed.) (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), 271–97; and Nisar Ahmad Faruqi, *Naud-e Malfūẓāt* (New Delhi: Maktabah-e Jamiʿah, 1989).
4 For the social history of sūfī literature see S.H. Askari, "Malfuzāt: An untapped source of Social History – Ganj-i Arshadi of the Jaunpur school – A case study," in *Collected Works of S.H. Askari* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1985).
5 *Malfūẓāt* of Shaikh Bukhārī, *Al-Darar al Manum* (Lahore: Sang-e-Mahal Publishers, n.d.), 245.
6 Ḥamīd ibn Faẓl Allāh Jamalī *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, translated by Muhammad Qadiri (Lahore, 1967), 121.
7 See *Fawā'id al Fu'ād*, 78, *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 124, and *Tabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, 227
8 Jamalī, author of *Siyār al ʿArifīn* consistently refers to Chishtī sources such as *Fawā'id al Fu'ād* and *Akhbar al-Akhyār* to support his statements. In order to legitimize his records he often begins his descriptions as "The respected Chishtī Shaikh Hazrat Nizām al-dīn ʿAuliyā' recorded . . .'
9 Jamalī, *op. cit*., 150.
10 The use of the term *Shaikh-al-Islām* refers to an official state position and not to an honorific title. During the Delhi Sultānate the *Shaikh-al-Islām* position was designated to a leading sūfī shaikh to be a liaison between the state and the community and in charge of distributing charity to various heads of orders, see Khaliq A. Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13th century*, 159–64. For further discussion on the development and diversity of the position of *Shaikh-al-Islām* either as the jurisconsultant for the government, a judicial official, or as a superintendent for educational affairs see R.W. Bulliet, "The Shaikh Al-Islām and the evolution of Islāmic society," *Studia Islāmica* 35 (1988): 53–67; Shiro Ando, "The Shaikh Al-Islām as a Timurid Office: A Preliminary Study," *Islāmic Studies* 33 (1994): 253–79.

11 For interesting articles on Chishtī literature see Mohammed Habib, "Chishtī Mystic Records of the Sultānate Period," *Mediaeval Indian Quarterly* 3 (1950): 1–42; R. Islam, "A Survey in Outline of the Mystic Literature of the Sultānate Period," *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society* 3 (1955): 200–8; and M. Salim, "Reappraisal of the Sources on Muʿin al-dīn," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 16 (1968): 145–52.
12 For a discussion on historical contradictions in Chishtī literature see Paul Currie, *Muin al-dīn Chishtī of Ajmer* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), 20–65.
13 Shaikh Bahaʾ al-dīn Zakariyyā, *Khulāsāt al ʿArifīn*, edited by Shamim Zaidi (Rawalpindi: Iran–Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, 1974), 10.
14 Farhat Multanī, *ʿAuliyāʾ-i Multān* (Multan: Ayaz Publications, 1980), 17–91.
15 Nizami, 120.
16 *Fawāʾid al Fuʾād*, 119–20 and *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 173.
17 *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 175.
18 *Fawāʾid al Fuʾād*, 212.
19 Minhaj al-dīn, *Tabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, 167.
20 *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 177.
21 *Ibid*., 179.
22 ʿIsāmī, *Futuh al-Salātīn*, 117.
23 *Ibid*., 119 and *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, volume 1, 63–4.
24 *Fatwa-i Jahāndarī*, f. 159a.
25 *Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhī*, 41.
26 *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 180 and *Firishtah*, volume II, 409.
27 *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 185.
28 *Siyār al ʿArfīn*, 188.
29 *Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhī*, 249.
30 *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 196–7.
31 *Siyār al ʿAuliyāʾ*, 136.
32 Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥlah*, 20.
33 *Ibid*., 21.
34 *Ibid*., 157.
35 *Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhī*, 470.
36 *Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhī*, 348.
37 Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihala*, II, 145.
38 *Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhī*, ʿAfif, 96–8.
39 ʿIsāmī, *Futuh al-Salātīn*, 460.
40 ʿAbd al-Majid, *Rawzāt al-ʿAuliyāʾ*, 101–2, quoted in Simon Digby, *Early Pilgrimages*, 3.
41 Shaikh Sayyid Jalāl al-dīn Bukhārī, *Al-Durar al Manum*, 245.
42 *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 212
43 *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, volume III, 788–9.

5 MULTANĪ SUHRAWARDĪ *TAṢAWWUF* SPIRITUAL EXERCISES

1 *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 144.
2 *Ibid*., 145–6.
3 Amīr Sijzī. *Fawaʾid al-Fuʾād*, 49, and *Siyār al ʿArifīn,* 148.
4 *Fawāʾid al Fuʾād*, 248.
5 *Ibid*., 248.
6 See Frederick De Jong (ed.), *Shīʿā Islam, Sects, and Sufism: Historical Dimensions, Religious practice and methodological considerations* (Utrecht, 1992); S.M. Stern, *History and Culture in the Medieval Muslim World* (London, 1984); Jacques Waardenburg, "Official and popular religion in Islam," *Social Compass* 25 (1978), 315–41; and Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, volume 1, New Delhi, 1978.
7 Rizvi, 151.
8 *Ibid*., 236–7.
9 Under the Delhi Sultānate, *Shaikh al-Islām* was a distinguished position that was ranked higher than the *Sadr us-Sudur* position. The *Sadr us-Sudur* was considered to be chief director of religious affairs and was responsible for overseeing laws in agreement with the *sharīʿā*.
10 Saif ibn Muhammad Yaʿqūb Harawi, *Tārīkh Namā-i Hirat* (Calcutta, 1944), 157–8.
11 Khaliq A. Nizami, "Suhrawardi Silsila and Its Influence in Medieval Indian Politics," *Medieval India Quarterly* 3 (1957), 118. Dr Nizami was professor emeritus at Aligarh Muslim University and his works are indispensable to Indian sūfī studies. Some of his impressive works include: *Tārīkh Mashʾāikh Chishtī, Khayr al-Majālis: Malfūzāt-i Hazrat-i Shaykh Nāsir al-dīn Maḥmūd Chiragh Delhi* and *The Life and Times of Ganj Shakr* (see bibliography).
12 *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 148.
13 Nizami, *op. cit*., 119.
14 *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 149.
15 *Ibid*., 149–50.
16 *Ibid*., 159.
17 *Fawāʾid al Fuʾād*, 201. Also in Nizami, *Tārīkh Mashʾāikh Chishtī*, 290–310.
18 *Fawāʾid al Fuʾād*, 223 and *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 162.
19 *Fawāʾid al Fuʾād*, 223; *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 163.
20 Mīr Khud, *Siyār al ʿAuliyāʾ*, 159.
21 *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 164.
22 Nizami, 118.
23 *Ibid*., 118–19.
24 *Fawāʾid al Fuʾād*, 223.
25 *Ibid*., 5.
26 *Ibid*., 136.
27 *Siyār al ʿAuliyāʾ*, 158.
28 *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 113 and Nizami, 119.
29 *Qalandars* and *Jwalqis* were an ascetic antinomian renunciatory Muslim movement that was based on uncompromising poverty, itinerancy,

radical interpretation of doctrine, celibacy, and self-mortification. See ʿAbd Allah Ansari Haravi, *Risalah-i Qalandar nāma*, in *Rasaʾil-i jamīʿ-i ʿarif-i qarn-i chaharum-i hijri Khvjah* (Tehran, 1968); Muhammad Tagi Ahmad, "Who is a Qalandar?" *Journal of Indian History* 33 (1955): 155–70; Simon Digby, "Qalandars and Related Groups: Elements of Social Deviance in the Religious Life of the Delhi Sultānate of the 13th and 14th Centuries," in *Islām in South Asia,* Yohanan Friedmann (ed.) (Jerusalem, 1984), 60–108.

30 *Fawāʾid al Fuʾād*, 56.
31 *Ibid*., 153–4.
32 See Bashir Hussein Nasam, *ʿAuliyāʾ Multan* (Lahore: Sang e-Meel Publishers, 1971) and Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī, *Kitāb Adāb al-Mūridīn*, Menahem Milson (ed.) (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Academic Press, 1978).
33 *Ibid*., 240.
34 *Ibid*., 248.
35 *Siyār al ʿArifīn*, 121.
36 Zaidi, *op. cit*., 99.
37 Zaidi, *op. cit*., 100–1.
38 ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*, 267.
39 *Ibid*., 268.
40 Bahaʾ ud-dīn Zakariyyā, *Khulasāt al-ʿĀrfīn*, 92–93 (hereafter *KA*).
41 *Ibid*., 95.
42 Bahaʾ ud-dīn Zakariyyā, *Al-Awārd*, 22–5 (hereafter *AA*).
43 *Ibid*., 26.
44 *KA*, 94.
45 For more information on mystical language see Steven Katz (ed.), *Mysticism and Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Annemarie Schimmel, *As Through a Veil: Mystical Poetry in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), and Moshe Idel and Bernard McGinn (eds). *Mystical Union in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (New York: Continuum Publications, 2000).
46 See *AM*, 280; *KA*, 95 and *AA*, 26.
47 The word *nafs* has been described by many scholars as the soul, inner life, or as the breathing life system of the body. In accordance with al-Suhrawardī terminology, *nafs* can be used as the inner essence or the real being. This is not to be confused by the lower appetitive soul or the substance that resembles the animal spirit (*laṭīfa-yi rūḥ-e ḥaywānī*).
48 For more Qurʾānic verses referring to sealed hearts see *sūrās* 6:46, 9:87, 9:93, 10:74, 16:108, 30:59, 40:35, 42:24, 45:43, 47:16, and 63:3.
49 *KA*, 97.
50 See Fazlur Rahman, *Health and Medicine in the Islamic Tradition: Change and Identity*, Martin Marty (foreword) (Chicago, 1998) and Qamar-ul Huda, "Anatomy in the Qurʾān" in *The Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, Jane McAuliffe (ed.), volume I (Leiden: Brill Publications, 1999).
51 See *AM*, 281 and *KA*, 96.
52 *KA*, 100.

53 This does not mean that Shaikh Zakariyyā does not incorporate Qurʾānic *sūrās*, *ḥadīths*, *sunnā* accounts, and *fiqh* as evidence in his texts. There are plenty of references to all of them in the texts; however, he does not use these accounts as the way a *muḥaddith* and an *ʿalīm* would apply them as evidence to a legal argument.
54 *AA*, 21.
55 For works on *dhikr* see Abū Ḥamīd al-Ghazālī, *Kitāb al-Adhkār waʾl daʿawāt*, translated by K. Nakamura as "Book of Invocations and Supplications" (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1990) and *Kitāb Dhikr al-mawt wa mā baʿda*, translated by T.J. Winter, "The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife" (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1989).
56 *AA*, 23.
57 Shaikh Zakariyyā's use of *dhikr* mainly refers to the practice of remembrance of God. But, in certain places of the text it could be understood as instructional guidelines for the sūfī to follow or proper conduct in reciting the *Qurʾān*.
58 For various types of *dhikr* see the following texts: Abu Bakr Muhammad al-Kālābadhī, *Kitāb al-taʿarruf li-madḥab aḥl al-taṣawwuf* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanjī, 1934); Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-lumaʿ fīʾl taṣawwuf*, edited by Reynold A. Nicholson (London, 1914); and Abūʾl-Qasim ʿAbdūlkarīm al-Qushāyrī, *Al-risāla al-qusharyriyya fī ʿilm al-taṣawwuf*, 2 volumes, edited by ʿAbdūlhalīm Muhmūd and Mahmūd b. Ash-Sharif (Cairo: Matbaʿt al-Hassan, 1974).
59 *AA*, 30.
60 See Jonathan Z. Smith, *To take place: Toward theory in ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
61 *KA*, 102 and *AA*, 82.
62 *AA*, 86; Suhail Iqbal and Nafis Ibtisam, *Multān aur Silsilā Suhrawardīyya* (Lahore: al-Fasal, 1998), 111–13.
63 *AA*, 87.
64 *AA*, 88.
65 The abbreviation of "s" after the Prophet's name is the benediction *salā Allāh alahī wa salaam* or "May peace and blessings be upon him." I am continuing to use "s" and "r" as stated in the notes to Chapter 2.
66 *AA*, 92.
67 *AA*, 94.
68 *AA* does not state why Shaikh Zakariyyā asked sūfīs to stop at the twelfth verse of *sūrā Baqara*.
69 *AA*, 95.
70 *AA*, 97.
71 *AA*, 98.
72 *AA*, 174.
73 *AA*, 174–5.
74 See *Qurʾān* 2: 185–7.
75 AA, 176.
76 For sūfī ritual activities see P. Lewis, *Pirs, Shrines, and Pakistani Islām* (Rawalpindi: Christian Study Centre, 1985); Farhan Nizami, "Madrasahs, Scholars, and Saints: Muslim Response to the British

Presence in Delhi and the Upper Doab 1803–1857" (unpublished PhD dissertation, Oxford University, 1983); Harald Einzman, *Ziarāt und Pir-e Muridī* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1988), 115–38; Liyaqat Hussein Moini, "Rituals and Customary Practices at the Dargarh of Ajmer," in *Muslim Shrines*, edited by Christian Troll (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), 72. Also in the same book, Tahir Mahmood, "The Dargah of Sayyid Salar Masʿud Ghazi in Bahraich: Legend, Tradition, and Reality" and Carl Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1985), Chap 2.

77 For sūfīs, to celebrate the shaikh's unique status with God "The Friend of God" argument is supported in a few places in the *Qurʾān*, for example in *sūrā* 10:63 it states, "The friends of God – for them there is no fear, neither do they grieve." For more see Carl Ernst, "Mystical Language and the Teaching Context in the Early Sūfī Lexicons," in Steven Katz (ed.), *Mysticism and Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); Michael Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints: Prophethood and Sainthood in the Doctrine of Ibn ʿArabī*, translated by Liadain Sherrard (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1993); and Bernd Radtke, "The Concept of Wilāya in Early Sufism," in Leonard Lewisohn (ed.), *The Heritage of Sufism* (London: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1993).

78 Seyyed Abū Fez Qalandar ʿAlī Suhrawardī, *Taʿrif Suhrawardīyya* (Lahore: Markarzi Majlis Suhrawardīyyā, n.d.), 48–9 and *Tazkirāt Suhrawardīyyā*, 37.

79 For a similar *ʿurs* study see Qamar-ul Huda, "Celebrating Death and Engaging in Texts at Data Ganj Bakhsh's ʿUrs" in *The Muslim World* 90 3/4 (2000): 377–94.

80 Muhammad din Kalam, *Suhrawardī ʿAuliyāʾ* (Lahore: Maktaba Tarikh, 1969).

81 For studies on this subject see Nur Ahmad Maqbul, *Khazīna-yi karam* (Karachi: Kirmanwala Publishers, 1978); Shan Qalandar, *Taṣawwuf was Sūfī*, translated by Chaudhry Muhammad Yusuf Suhrawardī (Lahore: Muhammadi Press, n.d.); Simon Digby, "The Sūfī Shaikh as a Source of Authority in Mediaeval India," in *Islām et Société en Asie du Sud*, edited by Marc Gaborieau (Paris: L'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1986), 57–77; Ahmad Siddiq, *Dhikr-i-Maḥjūb* (Gujranwala: Bazm-i Tawakuliyya, 1977) and Arthur Buehler, *Sūfī Heirs of the Prophet* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 29–54.

82 See Muhammad Yusuf Suhrawardī, *Taṣawwuf wa Sūfī Ijamāhī zedeen fī Shāan-e Qalandarī* (Lahore: Din Muhammadi Press, n.d.).

83 Seyyed Abū Fez Qalandar ʿAlī Suhrawardī, *Anwar-e Suhrawardīyya* (Lahore: Markarzi Majlis Suhrawardīyyā, n.d.), 33.

84 *Ibid*., 34–7.

85 *Ibid*., 34.

86 *Ibid*.

87 *Ibid*.

88 *Ibid*.

89 *Ibid*.

90 *Ibid*., 35.
91 *Ibid*.
92 *Ibid*.
93 *Ibid*.
94 *Ibid*., 36.
95 Seyyed Abū Fez Qalandar ʿAlī Suhrawardī, *Tazkirāt Suhrawardīyyā* (Lahore: Markarzi Majlis Suhrawardīyyā, n.d.), 28–30.

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