

Islām and Sūfism

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Brief Overview (for more on specific persons, starting with Prophet Muḥammad, see next section)

[Note: The saying or writing of the names of Prophet Muḥammad and the other prophets [Jesus, Abraham, et al.] and certain eminent saints, but most especially that of Prophet Muḥammad, when spoken by pious Muslims are always followed by inclusion of the reverential saying, *Ṣall-Allāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam*, “God’s peace and blessings be upon him” (sometimes abbreviated in English as p.b.u.h.). For ease of readability, I have omitted that pious custom here.]

[Note: The official Muslim calendar, which I have also not used here, is based on the lunar year of 354 days, twelve months of 29 and 30 days, beginning with Prophet Muḥammad’s emigration from Mecca to Medīna in 622. To compute a year in the Common Era (C.E. / A.D.) from a Muslim year (h.), multiply the Muslim year by 0.969 and add this to 622. Example: 300 h.= 912-3 CE; 600 h.= 1203-4 CE; 1300 h.= 1881-2 CE.]

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Islām, meaning “submission to Allāh/God,” was founded by **Prophet Muḥammad** (571-632) and seen by his fast-growing community as God’s way of bringing a revealed religion to the Arabian people. It all began one day in the year 610 CE, when Muḥammad, who had been orphaned in youth and raised by a series of relatives to become a respected figure in the community, was with his wife **Khadija** on Mt. Ḥirā (Jebel al-Nūr, Mountain of Light), not far from their home in Mecca, Arabia. They were engaged, as was their custom, in deep meditation on Allāh. Muḥammad experienced an overwhelming presence of divine beauty and majesty which left him inspired but terrified. He saw an amazing vision, ostensibly of **Angel Gabriel**, appearing as a gigantic man, present wherever he looked, and this figure urged Muḥammad to “Recite.” Muḥammad, whose education apparently did not surpass that needed to become the overseer of Khadija’s caravan-business, began to receive revelations, which continued over the next twenty-two years. These ongoing revelations came to comprise the *Qur’ān*, the sacred scripture of Islam, held by Muslims to be the very word of God. Khadija, some years older than her husband, gave him tremendous emotional and spiritual support at this time, and through the subsequent years of self-doubt, trial, and tribulation.

The quality of these revelations was formidable, possessing a strange and powerful beauty in the original Arabic. The *Qur’ānic* utterances began to deeply impress a group of people—including extended family and many persons from the marginalized lower classes. But Muḥammad incurred the wrath of members of the dominant Quraysh clan. They deemed him a troublemaker who was “reviling” the way of their ancestors. Accordingly, they subjected Muḥammad and his small community of believers to all manner of persecution, harassment, threats of death and even executions. This continued for some ten years. It was toward the close of this period that, while sleeping one night in a corner of the Ka’aba, the sacred Arabian shrine housing the black stone, an ancient meteorite, Muḥammad experienced his famous Night Journey (*isra’*) and Heavenly Ascent (*mi’rāj*) above Jerusalem and up through the seven heavens. He was carried aloft by the mythical beast Burāq in the company of angel Gabriel, and met various prophets en route to the throne of Allāh. This was his major initiatory experience, a radical kind of ego-death and spiritual rebirth in God. (A famous later saying of Muḥammad, part of the *Ḥadīth* collection of the customs and sayings of the Prophet, is that “you must die before you die.”)

Finally, in 622, Prophet Muḥammad and his group of several dozen families made the momentous move to break away from the Arabian tribal structure. They fled north to the city Medīna, where the Prophet had been invited by warring factions to preside as arbitrator. This famous emigration is known as the *hijra*, and it marks the beginning of the era of **Islām**, from which **Muslims** (those who practice Islām) date the beginning of their calendar. Here in Medīna, Muhammad’s unique Muslim community, the *’umma*, the *first Arabian society based on religion*, not *tribal allegiance*, began to really flourish. The first mosque was built so

that the faithful could come together in prayer. It was here in Medīna that Muḥammad began to realize that Islām was a revival of the original monotheistic religion of Abraham, not merely the “poor cousin” to the current expressions of Judaism and Christianity.

Muḥammad and his followers, forced by the Quraysh clan into an adversarial, militant relationship, later won several battles over these forces trying to preserve the *status quo* in Arabia. In 630, two years before Muḥammad’s passing, his troops made a triumphant return to Mecca, casting out the pagan idols at the Ka’aba, and eventually winning over most of the town’s inhabitants to the new faith. Through it all, Prophet Muḥammad proved himself a consummate statesman as well as mystic visionary, a gracious, humorous man who eschewed fancy living and extended kindness and compassion, though he was the first to admit that he was prone to anger and occasional poor judgments. In a few decades, Islām spread through the Middle East, and, by 750 A.D., from Spain to Indonesia. It is now the second largest religion on Earth, at over 1.3 billion people.

Islām comprised a very forward-looking, egalitarian religion for its time. It had no priests, nor any cult of sacrifices or sacraments. It was distinctly monotheistic, and non-creedal. (Muḥammad was highly suspicious of how Christianity had not only turned God into a trinity, but also had virtually deified human thought in the form of theological dogmas and creeds.) The duties of all Muslims were to be the “**five pillars**” of Islām: 1) Simple confession of the *shahāda*: “There is no god but God (no reality but Spiritual Reality), and Muḥammad is His prophet (*La ilāha illa Llāh, Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*). 2) Fivefold **daily prayer** (*ṣalāt*), at dawn, noon, mid-afternoon, right after sundown, and early evening, involving a series of prostrations and recitations of lines from the *Qur’an* as well as the overall attitude of surrender of the ego to Allāh. 3) **Alms-giving** (*zakāt*) to those in need. 4) Observing the **fast** (*ṣawm*) during the lunar month of Ramaḍān—refraining from all food or drink from sunrise to sunset—in solidarity with those who have no food. 5) Making the *hajj* or **pilgrimage** to Mecca at least once in one’s life. (Concerning the Ramaḍān fast, scholar Michael Sells observes: “It would be hard to find a more rigorous practice than Ramadan enjoined upon an entire community of believers within a major religious tradition.” The five-times daily prayer, likewise, takes an amount of time surpassing the devout Jew’s thrice daily prayer/*tefillah* of the *‘Amidah* or the devout Christian’s daily ritual of mass.)

After Prophet Muḥammad’s passing, his sayings and customs were collected from those who had known him well, including a few of the women who had become his wives after the passing of Khadija in 619. Incidentally, almost all these women were presented to him in political alliances by his close friends and leading Arabian citizens. His favorite among these wives he accepted after Khadija’s death was young Ā’isha, who had been betrothed to the Prophet at age 9 before becoming his wife upon reaching acceptable age. The sayings of Muhammad gathered by his family and friends comprise the *Ḥadīth*, precious to all Muslims, and second only to the *Qur’ān* in spiritual authority as a guide to life.

Within a few decades, under the Umayyad dynasty (661-750), headquartered with pompous extravagance at Damascus in modern-day Syria, Islām was being undermined. Not only institutionalized, its basic practices and beliefs were being subverted by old cultural and ethnic habits falsely ascribed to the Prophet. The situation only continued to worsen under the Abbasid dynasty (750-1258), which based itself in Baghdad, Iraq. In response to this growing mediocrity, *a number of pious souls succeeded in not only preserving but also further developing the spiritual power of the faith*. This movement culminated in the rise of a distinct way of spiritual practice known as *taṣawwuf* or *Sūfism*, first emerging in Iraq, then spreading eastward to Iran and beyond (Central Asia, South Asia and Southeast Asia), northward into Anatolia (Turkey), and westward all the way from Arabia, Egypt and Sudan to Morocco and Spain.

The derivations of the words *taṣawwuf* and *Sūfī* are obscure. From the Arabic roots *sa-wa-fa* and *sa-fa*, some have argued it derives from *ṣūfiyya*, those who have been purified, or *ṣuffa*, the low ledge, bench or verandah outside the Prophet’s house in Medīna, where the good-hearted gathered to hear his counsel on God-realization; finally, some assume *Sūfī* comes from *sūf*, wool, referring to the coarse garments characteristically worn by the early ascetics. And at first this Muslim mystic trend, later known as Sūfism, was a small

movement of very ascetic souls going into relative isolation within certain quarters of the city or out into the desert, memorizing the *Qur'ān*, keeping long, meditative vigils through the night, fasting extensively, and keeping the heart/mind pure and undistracted, maintaining a strong remembrance or *zikr* of Allāh. They were attempting to deeply *interiorize* Muslim practice. Of course, this development of “desert spirituality” almost exactly mirrored what happened in Christianity four centuries earlier in Egypt, Palestine and Syria. Christian mysticism and Hindu/Buddhist mysticism coming down the Silk Road, were major influences in the rise of this Sūfī expression of Muslim mysticism. Eventually a strongly devotional, heart-centered element would soften Sūfism (as it had softened Christianity and the Eastern religions), and turn it into a lovely and quite powerful expression of the Divine within the world’s sacred traditions. Over the centuries, Sūfism has nurtured many thousands of saintly lives.

Sūfīs trace their origins back to **Prophet Muḥammad** himself, and even earlier to the other great prophets. Along with the mystical Shī‘a sect of Islam (which broke off from the Sunni branch of Islām), they trace their line, not through the Sunni or “orthodox” *kalīfas*/caliphs who came to preside over Islām—Abū Bakr, Umar, Uthman, et al.—but through Muḥammad’s younger cousin and adopted son, later his son-in-law, ‘**Alī**, and his two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusein (Muḥammad’s heirs). Sūfīs would say that Muḥammad, Khadīja, daughter **Fāṭima**, her husband ‘**Alī**, their sons (especially **Ḥusein**), and Muḥammad’s close friends, the so-called “**companions of the ledge**,” were the prototypical Muslim Sūfīs. **Ḥasan al-Baṣrī** (640-728), an ascetic from Baṣra, Iraq, who studied under ‘Alī and preached wonderful sermons at Baghdad, would be remembered by posterity as the “Patriarch of Sūfism.”

Since then, many remarkably holy souls emerged to carry on the development of Sūfism along various lines, including asceticism, devotion, intuitive, nondual wisdom, spiritual retreat, ecstatic trance states, sacred arts, and so forth. Especially prominent Sūfīs among the thousands of beloved saints and sages included **Ibrāhīm ibn Adham** (d. c790), who renounced the princely life in Balkh, Khurāsān (eastern Iran), to become the first Sūfī model of poverty, abstinence, and complete trust in God (*tawakkul*). The much-beloved Rābi‘a al-‘Adawiyya (717-801) of Baṣra, Iraq, blended strict asceticism with a tremendously sublime and heart-felt devotion. **Sayyida Nafīsa** (d. 824), great-granddaughter of Ḥasan, was a fervent and respected mystic. We also have **Dhū‘n-Nūn al-Miṣrī** (d. 859), an Egyptian miracle-worker, alchemist and author; the “Divinely-intoxicated” Persian saint, **Bāyazīd al-Biṣṭāmī** (d. 874), Sūfism’s first great ecstatic mystic who underwent his own astonishing *mi‘rāj* or heavenly ascent; Iraqi Sūfī **al-Kharrāz** (d. 899), who elaborated on Dhū‘n-Nūn’s and Biṣṭāmī’s notions of *fanā-baqā* (ego-death and rebirth in God) and *tauḥīd* (unity); the highly influential and “sober Sūfī” mystical writer of Baghdad, **al-Junayd** (d. 910); the celebrated martyr **Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj** (858-922) put to death by the orthodox over political intrigues and for openly declaring “I am the Absolute Reality—*Anā’l-Haqq*. A few generations later, the eminent orthodox theologian-turned-mystic, **Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī** (1058-1111), whose voluminous writings brought much credibility to Sūfism; wonderworker and preacher **Abdul-Qādir al-Jīlānī** (1078-1166) of Baghdad, one of the most popular Sūfīs of all time; the eminent itinerant Spanish theologian of “unity of Being” (*waḥdat al wujūd*), **Muḥyīuddīn Ibn al-‘Arabī** (1165-1240); the Persian poet-saints **Farīduddīn ‘Aṭṭār** (d. 1220), **Mevlana Jalāluddīn Rūmī** (1207-73), illustrious poet-saint who inspired the founding of the Mevlevi whirling dervishes; **Shabistarī** (d. 1320), **Ḥāfiẓ** (d. 1389) and **Jāmī** (d. 1492). Then come the great missionary Sūfī saints like **Mu‘inuddīn Chishtī** (d. 1236), a Persian who brought a highly musical Sūfism to northern India; and **Shāh Ni‘matullāhi Walī** (1331-1431), renowned miracle-worker and author from Aleppo, Syria, who settled in Persia and led hundreds of thousands of disciples.

Just a few others of note (see section below for many, many more figures): **Jahānārā Begum** (1616-83), daughter of Mughal Emperor Shāh-Jahān, who aided the poor and would have been selected to lead a major Sūfī order of India “had such a thing been possible” for a woman in those days; **Shaykh ad-Darqāwī** (1738-1818) and **Aḥmad al-‘Alawī** (1869-1934), two hugely popular saints of North Africa; Indian Sūfī musician, **Ḥazrat Ināyat Khān** (1882-1927), who brought Sūfism to the West; **Ḥazrat Bābājan** (1790-1931), a former Afghani princess who left home at an early age to become the long-lived, enigmatic wonder-worker of India; her spiritual son, **Meher Bābā** (1894-1969) brought a Vedantized Sūfism to Europe and America in a powerful way. Other modern-day Sūfīs highly esteemed in the East and West have been **Muzaffer Ozak**

Efendi (1916-87) of Turkey, Śrī Lankan mystic **Bāwā Muḥaiyaddeen** (d. 1986), London-residing Persian Ni‘matullāhi psychologist-poet-saint **Dr. Javad Nurbakhsh** (1926-), and **Naẓim al-Qubrusi al-Ḥāqqani** (b.1922), a Turkish master of the Naqshbandi order, and Grand Mufti of Turkish Cyprus, one of the most widely respected Sūfī *shaykhs* in the world today.

A number of different *ṭuruq* (singular: *ṭarīqa*) or Orders or spiritual ways of practice have evolved over the centuries, which take Sufis beyond observance of Muslim law (*sharī‘a*) and externalities (*zāhir*) related to the personality into the interior depths (*bāṭin*) of the transpersonal Reality, the Divine Truth (*ḥaqīqa*). These *ṭuruq* have entailed spiritual communities that in many cases led to offshoot branches, and so forth. (A list of such *ṭuruq* is to be found later in this handout.)

In contrast to the claims of some early Western scholars, Sūfism is still very much alive in many circles of West and North Africa, the Middle East, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, and now in the West. It has been estimated that 3% of the world’s 1.3 billion Muslims are Sūfīs—in countries like Egypt, Senegal, India, Pakistan, and several others, this figure is obviously much higher (20%-40%)—meaning that quite a large number of souls are endeavoring to perfectly remember Allāh and merge in Him, the Sole Reality, the Supernal Light.

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Notes on Muslim Sūfī Tradition—Persons, Movements, Terms, Places and Resources

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I. -- Prominent Muslim Sūfī Masters, Saints, Teachers:

(Most of the Sūfīs from the classical and middle periods of Sūfism [up to the 19th century] have their vitae and teachings presented in one or more of the following works: Annemarie Schimmel, 1975 (magisterial work), A.J. Arberry, 1970, Margaret Smith, 1972, Javad Nurbakhsh (several works), Michael Sells, 1996, S.A.A. Rizvi, 2002, and elsewhere. Where useful, another source for these Sūfīs’ lives or teachings is given, if not listed under their own name in the bibliography. With the maturing of the Internet, the reader can now find entries on many of these Sūfīs at the online anonymous encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_famous_Sufis)

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Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh (571?-632)—born in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, to the family of Banū Ḥāshim in the economically dominant Quraysh tribe, then orphaned in youth, Muḥammad was raised by different relatives. As a young man he distinguished himself as director of caravans; at age 25 he married his employer, the older widow **Khadija** (d. 620), said to be about 40 at their wedding. They had 6 children—two boys (neither survived into adulthood) and four girls. At age 53, a few years after Khadija’s death, political alliances with close friends led to his marrying other women: four widows and five other women, chief of whom was young **Ā‘isha** (d. 678). Muḥammad had the Divine scripture of Islām, the *Qur‘ān*, revealed to him in trance states by angel Gabriel from 610-632 C.E. Khadija would be of great emotional support to him, especially in the early days, when he felt he was going mad. Collections of Muḥammad’s sayings and customs, known as the *Ḥadīth*, are important for every Muslim. The Muslim lunar year (354 days) dates from his emigration (*hijra*) in 622 from Mecca (where he had been harassed and threatened with death for some years by the Quraysh tribe) up to Medīna. Here he founded the theocratic community (*umma*) of Islām in order to effect social justice and restore monotheism. Eight years later, he returned triumphantly to Mecca, and his compassion and power drew thousands to become Muslims. He died and was buried in Medīna. Considered to be “Seal of the Prophets,” Muḥammad appears in the sources as a kind, generous, humble, playful and contemplative man. He and his fourth daughter, **Fāṭima** (d. 633)—through whom came his only two heirs (**Ḥusayn** and **Ḥasan**)—were considered by later Sūfīs to have both been “sinless.” Muḥammad was succeeded by his two friends (and later fathers-in-law), **Abū Bakr** (d. 634) and **‘Umar** (d. 644), and then by his two sons-in-law, **‘Uthman** (d. 656) and **‘Alī** (d. 661).

Ā‘isha (c614-78)—married to Muḥammad at age nine; she was the one to whom Muḥammad directed his followers to go for counsel in his absence; he spent most of his domestic life with her, and said, “She is the only woman in whose company I receive my revelations.” Ā‘isha learned the text of the *Qur’ān* by heart. She is of crucial importance for also remembering 1,210 credited sayings (*Ḥadīth*) of Muḥammad. **Umm Salama**, another of Muḥammad’s later wives, was, along with Ā‘isha, considered a chief authority on Muḥammad’s life and teaching.

‘Alī ibn Abū Tālib (c600-661)—Muḥammad’s cousin and son-in-law, husband of Fāṭima, and the 4th and last of the “righteous” Caliphs of Islām. A distinguished, courageous warrior in the early battles, ‘Alī served as adviser to the first three Caliphs, playing a large role in the creation of the Islāmic state. He then split from the orthodox *Sunni* Muslims at the appointment by ‘Umar of his son ‘Uthman to the Caliphate. After the latter’s murder, ‘Alī was proclaimed Caliph by the Medinians, but he was opposed by the Quraysh elite at Mecca, including a group headed by Ā‘isha and one headed by the savvy Mu’āwiyya, governor of Syria, who succeeded in outmaneuvering the gentle, idealistic ‘Alī and taking over the Caliphate. A group of ‘Alī’s troops rebelled; they were put down. A remnant group became the Kharijites, one of whom in 661 assassinated ‘Alī near Kufa. ‘Alī is beloved as first of the *Imāms* in *Shī‘a* Islām, which moved away from the *Sunni* Muslims during this fractious early period of Islām. ‘Alī was one of the Prophet’s main scribes, collecting numerous *ḥadīth* sayings and customs. Sūfīs claim Muḥammad passed the esoteric wisdom to ‘Alī, not to the more legalistic Caliphs preceding him. By all accounts (both *Shī‘a* and *Sunni*) ‘Alī was indeed a very pious man and an inspired orator. His sermons, lectures and discourses were collected in the 10th century as the *Nahj al-balāghah*.

Fāṭima al-Zahrā (c.606-33)—youngest of Muḥammad’s four daughters, wife of ‘Alī, and mother of their two sons, **Ḥasan** and **Ḥusayn** (later martyred), and esteemed by *Shī‘a* Muslims and Sūfīs as a sinless saint.

Ḥusayn (626-80)—son of ‘Alī and Fāṭima, much loved by the Prophet. During his youth he was devoted to serving his father. He grew to become a pious, humble, noble man, eloquent and generous. He often spent his nights in spiritual devotions. Later he fearlessly refused to acknowledge Yazīd as heir-apparent to the Umayyad dynasty and in 680 he escaped from Medīna with his family and relatives to Mecca, then headed for Kūfa to mobilize support for his cause. The Umayyads, however, intercepted him near Karbalā and annihilated Ḥusayn’s heavily outnumbered forces (4,000 to 92 men), then massacred his male children and infants (only one, Zayn al-Abidin, survived). This violence against the Prophet’s own descendants shocked the Muslim world and was memorialized in the *Shī‘a* tradition of Islām. Ḥusayn’s stand against the evil Umayyads became the prototypical example of the need to revolt against unjust (*zalim*) regimes.

Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī (d. c670)—the eldest son of ‘Alī and Fāṭima, also much loved by his grandfather Muḥammad. After his mother’s death, he grew estranged from his father, and spent most of his early adulthood making and unmaking scores of marriages, along with having 300 concubines. A peaceful man, he renounced the Caliphate after his father’s death, allowing Mu’āwiyya that role; the latter gave him a large pension and he retired to Medina, dying there of consumption.

Aṣḥāb aṣ-ṣuffah: the “companions of the ledge” or “people of the bench,” the mystical companions of the Prophet: they included not only **‘Alī and family**, but also **Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī** (d. 653), prototype of the true *faqīr*, the poor person possessed by God; **Salmān al-Fārisī**, Muḥammad’s Persian-born barber, the model for spiritual adoption and mystical initiation, also linking Arab and Persian cultures; **Uways al-Qaranī**, from Yemen, who never met Muḥammad but whose piety Muḥammad felt from a distance—Persians considered him the prototype dervīsh, who often prayed through the night for help/initiation. All these persons belong to the *Shī‘a* school of Islam, which traces its lineage to Muḥammad through fourth Caliph (*Khalīfa*) ‘Alī, not through Abū Bakr (the first Caliph).

Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (640-728)—from Baṣra, Iraq, the “Patriarch of Sūfism,” he studied under companions of Prophet Muḥammad, especially ‘Alī, practiced austerities, and went on to preach eloquent sermons at Bagh-

dad against the worldliness engendered in Islam by the Umayyad dynasty (661-750) at Damascus, which was mainly interested in conquest and luxury. Ḥasan spoke of the transiency of the world and urgent need for devotion to God. His disciple ‘**Abdu’l Wāḥid ibn Zayd** (d. 794) brought Ḥasan al-Baṣrī’s ideals to Syria, where **Abū Sulaymān ad-Dārānī** (d. 830) and his disciple, **Aḥmad ibn Abīl-Hawārī** (d. 851) carried on the Baṣrian ascetic movement.

Imām Ja’far aṣ-Ṣādiq (d. 765)—sixth *Imām* of Shi’ite Islam from c735 on, and one of the greatest teachers of early Sūfism and Islām in general, attracting to his home in Medīna large numbers of scholars, both Sunni and Shi’a, with the power of his learning and “exceptional insight into mystical phenomena.” He is considered the father of *jafr*, “secret knowledge.” He posited four levels of interpretation of the *Qur’ān*, the higher three being mystical. Sūfīs would interpret the *Qur’ān* according to his views. Ja’far speaks of the key Sūfī themes of *fanā’* and *baqā’*, “annihilation” (of ego) and “abiding” (in God). He allegedly introduced an authentic love-mysticism into Islām, and he preached an almost theosophical doctrine of Muḥammadan Light (*Nūr*). Something of a quietist, he eschewed involvement in the politics of his day, and thus helped position the Imām-ship as more of a religious leadership role. In his theological writings, he espouses a position between determinism and free will. An enormous set of alchemical and astrological writings are attributed to him, probably spuriously.

Ibrāhīm ibn Adham (d. c790)—renounced the princely life in Balkh, Khurāsān (eastern Iran), to become a model Sūfī of poverty, abstinence, and complete trust in God (*tawakkul*). He was associated with the circle of Imām Ja’far. Ibrāhīm is credited with making the first classification of the stages of *zuhd*, asceticism.

Rābi’a al-’Adawiyya (c717-801)—Iraqi Sūfī, kidnapped and sold into slavery as a child, her master set her free upon witnessing her holiness. She evidently never had a teacher, yet was venerated as an authority on Sūfism who enjoyed an amazing familiarity with God. According to ‘Aṭṭār, who over 400 years later collected the many orally transmitted tales of her, many disciples came to see Rābi’a at Baṣra, Iraq, and to hear her mystic teaching on single-minded sincere love for God alone, and obliviousness to desire for heavenly reward or fear of hellish punishment. In such love for the Beloved, even love for the Prophet Muḥammad and aversion to Iblis/Satan are distractions. (M. Smith, 1950, 2001)

Fudayl ibn ‘Iyād (d. 803)—a highwayman from Merw, Khurāsān, who converted to Sūfism. He was, though married, very ascetical. His disciple **Bishr al-Ḥāfi** (“the barefoot one”) (d. 841), also from Merw, came to Baghdad, the great capital of the Abbasid dynasty (750-1258), where he taught the Sūfī way, emphasizing *ikhhlās*, “absolute sincerity” in every thought/action.

Shaqiq al-Balkhī (d. 809)—from Balkh, Khurāsān, not only a Sūfī expert on *tawakkul*, but also first to discuss the “mystical states” (*hāl*) and, like Rābi’a, he emphasized “the light of pure love of God.”

Ma’rūf al-Karkhī (d. 815)—lived in Baghdad, esteemed for his mystical powers. A close companion of **8th Imām Ridā** (the last open, explicit link between Sūfīs and Shi’ites), al-Karkhī was one of the first to speak about divine love.

Sayyida Nafisa (d. 824)—the great-granddaughter of Ḥasan, son of ‘Ali and Fātima, was esteemed for her great devotion and energy. Nafisa made the pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca 30 times, fasted frequently, and knew the *Qur’ān* by heart; buried at Cairo.

Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Antākī (d. 835)—a Syrian Sūfī who lived and wrote on mystic asceticism.

Fāṭima of Nishāpur (d. 849)—a female teacher highly esteemed by Sūfī saints Dhū’n-Nūn and Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī (q.v.); she was married to Aḥmad Khidrūya.

Hārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibi (d. 857)—Iraqi theologian turned Sūfī, born in Baṣra but spending most of his life up at Baghdad, he had many disciples and wrote numerous works of moral psychology, chiefly con-

cerned with constant awareness and love of God, *ikhlas* (sincere purity of intention), *muḥāsaba* (conscientious analysis of the *nafs* or ego-self), ascertaining the source of inclinations (from ego, from Iblis/Satan, or from God), and ongoing awareness of death as coming sooner than later—so as to purify all egotism and worldliness. He gave Sūfism a good technical vocabulary.

Abu'l-Fayd Thawbān bin Ibrāhīm Dhū'n-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 859)—Egyptian Sūfī, condemned for his public teaching, though highly esteemed among Sūfīs of his time. Considered a great miracle worker and alchemist, Dhū'n-Nūn was the first to compose Sūfī poems and to formulate a theory of *ma'rifa*, Divine gnosis. Dhū'n-Nūn emphasized the majesty of God, and complete *fanā* (ego-annihilation) and *baqā* (life in God), teaching that God takes over the life of the 'ārif (gnostic) and acts through him/her. Unlike earlier ascetics, he valued nature as a “testimony to Thy Unity.” A black slave-girl, whom he met by chance, was his teacher.

Sarī as-Saqāṭī (d. c867)—al-Kharkhī's disciple at Baghdad, and a guide to many Sūfīs, he discussed the mystical stages and was the first to define mystical love as “real mutual love between man and God.” This was a scandal to the orthodox, who accepted “love of God” only in the sense of obedience to the transcendent almighty One.

Yahyā ibn Mu'adh ar-Rāzī (d. 871)—Persian Sūfī, honored as “*al-wā'iz*,” “the preacher,” gave eloquent sermons to the public on “real love.” His main disciples were **Abū 'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī** (d. 910), who emphasized purification of the soul, and **Yūsuf ibn Ḥusayn ar-Rāzī** (d. 916), who taught on sincerity and constant recollection of God.

Bāyazīd (or Abū Yazīd) al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 874)—a major exponent of early Persian Sūfism, one of Sufism's first “Divinely intoxicated ecstasies,” and a prime developer of a *nondual* Sūfī doctrine. Bāyazīd was born at Biṣṭām in northwest Iran, grandson of a Zoroastrian convert to Islām. He began his career as a promulgator of Ḥanafī law. A student turned him toward Sūfism. He later embraced solitude and the contemplative life, but allowed himself periods of teaching disciples at Biṣṭām. He evidently wrote nothing, but some 500 of his sayings (coming down to us only in fragments in later Sūfīs' works) stress the complete *fanā*-annihilation in God, and are filled with Divine devotion, nondual wisdom, and certain enigmatic utterances, like the much-discussed line, “Glory be to Me, how great is My majesty,” probably a bit of “Divine prophet-speak.” Of crucial interest is his account, variously re-told, of a mystical ascension beyond heaven to Allāh, similar to the *mi'rāj*-ascent of Prophet Muḥammad, Enoch, et al. Bāyazīd Biṣṭāmī early on came to symbolize one of two main trends in Sūfism, namely, the eastern, Khurāsān, Persian-speaking “(God-) intoxicated” variety, contrasted with the western, Arabic-speaking, Baghdad brand of more “orthodox” Sūfism represented by the more sober sage, al-Junayd. Biṣṭāmī's ecstatic Sūfism strongly influenced the later Persian-speaking Sūfī mystic love poets like Sanā'ī, 'Aṭṭār, Rūmī, Ḥāfez, et al., as well as the “mad” Malāmatī and Qalandarī dervīshes.

Sahl at-Tustarī (d. 896) of Baṣra, Iraq, and his disciple **Ibn Sālīm** (d. 909), taught about constant repentance and the need for combining *tawakkul* (complete trust in God's providence) and responsible work. Their teaching is known as the Sālimiyya school. Tustarī was influenced by Dhū'n-Nūn, and in turn influenced not only Ibn Sālīm but also al-Junayd and al-Hallāj.

Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad al-Kharrāz (d. 899)—Iraqī Sūfī, disciple of as-Saqāṭī of Baghdad, said to be the first to deeply and more formally discuss the doctrine of *fanā-baqā* (annihilation and subsistence in God), and to re-define the important notion of *tauḥīd* (God's unity) in strict nondualist terms: “Only God has the right to say ‘I.’” He emphasized *ishārāt*, subtle allusion to the highest spiritual truths, not speaking about them openly.

'Amr Bin 'Uthmān al-Makkī (d. 909)—Whereas others wrote of spiritual progression in terms of gnosis, al-Makkī of Baghdad wrote a systematic treatise on increasing degrees of love, intimacy, and proximity to God. With its clear intellectual focus, psychological rigor and interest in balancing orthodox Islām with

Sūfism, al-Makkī's book "Food for the Hearts" (*Qūt al-Qulūb*) was a major influence on the most famous theologian and mystic of medieval Islām, Abū Ḥamīd al-Ghazālī.

at-Tirmidhī (d. c932)—Iraqī Sūfī, surnamed al-Ḥakīm, "the philosopher," developed the notion of the *qutb* (pole) or *ghauth* (help), who is the leader of the Sūfī spiritual hierarchy, the Seal of the Saints. He sketched the various degrees of sainthood according to gnosis.

Abū'l-Qāsim Muḥammad al-Junayd (d. 910)—Persian-Iraqī Sūfī, "the undisputed master of the Sūfīs of Baghdad," a disciple of at-Tustarī and al-Kharrāz, and nephew of as-Saqāfī. Junayd kept only a small circle of disciples, but was a very influential author, much cited by later Sūfīs. He emphasizes constant purification and watchfulness against the wiles of egocentricity, and affirms the majesty and nonduality (*tauḥīd*) of God. He speaks relentlessly of the role of *balā'*, the trial and torment which is a Divine test of the aspirant, who must undergo the most thorough *fanā* annihilation of the subtlest and insidiously layered forms of delusion (which are ultimately Divine self-deception). Junayd thus outlined various stages to God, and developed major Sūfī doctrines, such as the value of *ṣahw* (sobriety or clarity) over *sukr* (mystic "intoxication"). He made great use of Arabic word play on the root *w/j/d*, as in *wajd* and *wujūd*, "finding," "existence," "ecstasy." He taught that man should return to that origin "as one was before he was" (cf. Jesus in *Gospel of Thomas*, 19) but that, in this return to the Real (*Allāh*), "you will not attain Him through yourself. You will attain Him only through Him." (Sells, 1996)

Ahmad bint Muḥammad Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 907)—great ascetic and teacher of Baghdad, disciple of as-Saqāfī; a clairvoyant spiritual director, persecuted for adhering to Sūfism. He was a model of brotherly love and emphasized pure, single-minded love for God. Considered a heretic (*zindīq*) by the orthodox for being a "lover of God."

Sumnūn (d. after 900)—of Baghdad, surnamed al-Muḥibb, "the Lover," highly praised for his extremely moving sermons on love for God, which love he considered superior to gnosis.

Abū Muḥammad Ruwaym ibn Aḥmad (d. 915)—an esteemed Sūfī teacher of Baghdad, a friend of Junayd's. He was noted for being more of a family man than a practitioner of great austerities.

Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (c858-922)—Persian-Iraqī Sūfī, imprisoned in 913 and finally put to a grisly death after flogging and mutilation, a willing martyr on behalf of a passionate Divine love (*'ishq*), and thus for some Sūfīs a Muslim analogue of Jesus. It is often said that al-Ḥallāj was executed for his declaration "*anā'l-Ḥaqq*" ("I am the Absolute Truth"), but the reason was more likely due to Abbasid-court animosities and political intrigues. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj was born in the Fars region of Iran, but his father soon took the family to Iraq. From age 16 to 40 the Arabicized al-Ḥallāj associated closely with ascetics and mystics, first with at-Tustarī of Baṣra then—after getting married and spending time at Mecca on two *hajjs*—with al-Makkī and Junayd of Baghdad. In 897 he broke with them and left Baghdad to set out on his own. He practiced more austerities at Mecca, and traveled extensively into the towns of Khurāsān (Herat, Merw, Balkh, Nishāpūr), Transoxania (Bukhara, Samarqand, Ush, Isfijab) and Turkistān. In 905 he wandered all the way east into India's Gujarat and Sind, likely hearing Vedānta and Buddhist lore. He spent two years again in Mecca before returning in 908 to the Abbasid capital of Baghdad where he drew a large number of disciples. He is said to have clairvoyantly "known their innermost hearts." Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj the author is often lost in preference for discussing al-Ḥallāj the martyr. He is said to have composed many works, but all we have today is a collection of sayings, the *Akhbār al-Ḥallāj*, and a collection of lovely poetry (a controversial attribution), and, most important, his *Tāwāsūt*, a unique collection of mystical hymns, "a truly remarkable work of Sūfī literature" (Michael Sells) in which, among other things, he defends Iblis/Satan as the archetypal "mad lover," more loyal to God's majesty and unity than obedient to God's command to bow down before Adam. In his teachings, we see al-Ḥallāj's theology is actually not pantheist, as many believe, but a *panentheist* expression of God's transcendent nonduality paradoxically and immanently expressing as everything. Some say it was God who spoke the "blasphemous sayings" through the selfless al-Ḥallāj; other Sūfīs like Junayd thought he erred in "openly revealing love's secrets." (Massignon/Mason, 1994)

Abū Bakr ash-Shiblī (859-945)—friend of al-Ḥallāj, an eccentric Sūfī (occasionally confined to an asylum) who was known for his paradoxical sayings. He urged contemplation of God alone, with no thought of His acts of grace, angels, etc. Considered to possess miraculous powers, he told his disciples that he would be always with them, protecting them.

Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī (d. 942)—Persian Sūfī, settled in Baghdad for a while, emphasized *tauḥīd* (God’s non-duality) and absolute concentration on God.

‘Abd al-Jabbār ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Niffarī (d. 965)—Iraqi Sūfī, a highly esteemed, paradoxical teacher and author who, like Muḥammad, claimed that God revealed the teachings through him. His most famous work is the *Kitāb al-Mawāqif* (Book of “Standings,” being riveted in God), perhaps compiled by his son from the scraps of paper on which Niffarī is claimed to have written all his Divine messages. Niffarī stressed prayer (as God’s great gift) and complete *fanā*, even beyond the “veil of gnosis.” He died in Egypt. (Sells, 1996)

Abū Sa’īd Ibn al-’Arābī (disciple of al-Junayd, d. at Mecca, 952) and **Abū M. al-Khuldī** (d. 959)—two of the early historians/compilers of Sūfism whose works, unfortunately, do not survive. (Note: this Ibn al-’Arābī is not to be confused with a more famous namesake, d. 1240)

Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāj (d. 988)—from Tus, Iran, was for a time a disciple of Ibn Khafīf of Shiraz (c882-982). He traveled widely, and was a spiritual director and esteemed systematizer of Sūfism. His *Kitāb al-Luma’* (Book of Flashes) is “the first systematic exposition of Sūfism as a way of life and thought. . . . If there is a guide who can take us back to those extraordinary early years of Sūfism, introduce us to the major actors, ease our way into their debates and conversations, and provide us with a theologically and psychologically sensitive interpretive framework, that guide would be Abu Nasr as-Sarraj.” (Sells, 1996).

Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Kalabādhī (d. c.990)—influential Afghani author of a widely-read if rather dry book on Sūfī doctrine, the *Kitāb at-ta’arruf*, which articulated a middle ground between orthodoxy and Sūfism.

Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 996)—of the Sālimiyya school, he lived and taught in Mecca, Baṣra, and Baghdad. His works include a very comprehensive manual of Sūfism, the *Qūt al-qulūb*.

‘Abdur’-Raḥman as-Sulamī (d. 1021)—influential biographer and teacher who wrote on the classes of Sūfī saints and different strands of Sūfism in his *Ṭabaqāt as-ṣūfiyya*.

al-Kharaqānī (954-1034)—Arabian Sūfī, an illiterate peasant, initiated by the spirit of Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī, he became a fervent poet; many miraculous tales were told about him.

Abū Nu’aym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1037)—compiled the *Ḥilyat al-auliya*, a 10-volume hagiography on Sūfī saints.

Abū Sa’īd bin Abi’l Khayr (d. 1049)—born in Khurāsān, he underwent very difficult ascetic practices, but later lived more comfortably with his Sūfī friends. Abi’l Khayr wrote many mystical quatrains, the first examples of Persian poetry. He delineated “40 stations” to God-Realization, and was the first Sūfī to draw up a preliminary monastic rule for his disciples. (Nasr, 1972; Smith, 1972; Schimmel).

Abū’-Qāsim ‘Abdu’l-Karīm al-Qushayrī (d. 1074)—Persian Sūfī, born near Nishapur in Khurāsān, was trained in the full Islāmic education of law and theology. He memorized the *Qur’ān* by heart (such a one is called a *ḥāfiẓa*). Qushayrī was a disciple of Sūfī master **Abū ‘Alī ad-Daqqāq** (d. 1021), a disciple of as-Sulamī. He authored many works, including a valuable reference book, the *Risāla*, a lucid, refined, and widely-read treatise on the theoretical structure of Sūfism; in chapter 3 of this work he delineates 45 stations

to God-Realization, based on an interdependent web of different psychological states. (Sells, 1996; Von Schlegell, 1992; Arberry, 1970).

‘Alī ibn ‘Uthmān al-Hujwīrī or **Data Ganj Bakhsh** (d. c1071)—Afghani Sūfī, died in Lahore, Pakistan, the first major Sūfī after al-Ḥallāj to venture that far eastward. He wrote the oldest, best-known treatise in Persian language on Sūfism, the *Kashf al-mahjūb*. During his life he had shown major concern for the poor and needy; his large tomb-shrine-mosque complex is one of the largest and most popular of any saint in Pakistan, visited by Muslims, Hindus, Christians and others for the fulfilment of their prayerful yearnings. (Nicholson, 1959; Ernst, 1999; Rizvi, 2002)

‘Abdullāh Ansārī (1006-89)—a Persian Sūfī, disciple of Kharaqānī, he was persecuted by the orthodox and lived in destitution, but was a prolific writer. He was known especially for his short orisons in the *Munājāt*, which are “unsurpassed” in prayer literature. He flourished and died in Herat (eastern Iran/Afghanistan). (Thackston, 1978)

Abū Ḥamīd al-Ghazālī (or: Ghazzālī; 1058-1111)—a Persian orthodox theologian turned Sūfī, often called “the greatest Muslim since Muḥammad,” and most influential theologian of medieval Islam, even hailed as the *mujaddid* or renewer of the faith with the marriage of mysticism and law, ecstasy and intellect in his writings. He criticized both the legalist pedantry of scholars and excessively obscurantist esotericism of *Ismā‘īlī* sectarians. Born in Tūs in eastern Iran (near present-day Meshed) to a family of wool-spinners, Ghazālī was educated at Tūs and at Gurgān and, significantly, at the *madrassa* at Nīshāpūr, where he studied under al-Juwaynī, afterwards joining the retinue of *ulamā* scholars at the Seljuk court of vazir Nizām al-Mulk. In 1091, Ghazālī was appointed professor of philosophy at the most important of the Nizāmiyya *madrassas* in Baghdad. An inner crisis and nervous breakdown in 1095 over the absurdity of worldly ambition prevented him from eating and speaking/teaching but led him to adopt the mystical path of Sūfism. He read the works of the Sūfīs, especially al-Makkī of the Sālīmiyya school, then made the *ḥajj* pilgrimage to Mecca. Here and at Jerusalem, Damascus and other places, he met Sūfī mystics, performed austerities and preached to the public and a circle of disciples. Altogether he spent ten years in the dervīsh life. It was during this period that he wrote his tremendously influential, 4-part, 40-chapter book in Arabic, the *Iḥyā‘ ulūm ad-dīn* (“Revival of the Religious Sciences”), “a turning point for Islāmic spirituality” in balancing formal religious practice and mystic life. The *Iḥyā‘*’s Part 1 discusses “Acts of Worship/Service,” Part 2, “Customs,” Part 3, the vices “leading to hell,” and Part 4, the virtues “leading to Salvation” and diverse aspects of mystical life and attainment. Then Ghazālī returned home to Tūs. In 1105/1106, he was persuaded to return to Nīshāpūr to teach for three years before retiring again to Tūs. Ghazālī was a prolific writer, and his mystical theology gave Sūfism a new, long-sought respect among orthodox Muslims and did much to bring Sūfism to the fore of Islāmic life. His corpus includes over 80 works, featuring not only the *Iḥyā‘* but also an autobiographical account of the stages of his intellectual and spiritual search, the *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl* (“Deliverance from Error”), as well as a highly mystical little treatise *Mishkāt al-anwār* (“Niche for Lights”), and the *Kīmīyā‘ al-sa‘āda* (“Alchemy of Happiness”), a Persian synopsis of his Arabic *Iḥyā‘*. We also have a very interesting collection of 26 letters of guidance to Seljuk sovereigns and prime ministers, whom he did not hesitate to rebuke. Ghazālī’s “emphasis on the spiritual life and the possibility of harmonizing mystical practice with the regulations of the religious law guaranteed a place for the emerging Sūfī brotherhoods within the mainstream of Islāmic life. This, in turn, was to provide orthodox Islām with a source of spiritual and cultural vitality that remained influential down to [the present day].” (Dennis MacEoin, *Who’s Who of World Religions*). (See www.ghazali.org)

Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (d. 1126)—younger brother of Abū Ḥamīd, acknowledged by the latter as superior in the “path of love.” Aḥmad was a preacher, spiritual director, and author of mystical treatises, including the *Sawānīh*, his longest and most important work in Persian, and one of the greatest Sūfī works on chaste love for God. Indeed, Aḥmad al-Ghazālī is considered the first to write explicitly (if rather unsystematically) about the metaphysics of Love. Herein, Aḥmad says that when a mystic transcends the phenomenal world, he passes through three different levels: the Heart (*dīl*), the Spirit (*rūḥ*), and the Secret (*sirr*). The spirit or soul level in this schema is thus intermediate, and it is the proper domain of love. It is here that the mystic

becomes a lover of God, not merely a knower. Aḥmad al-Ghazālī's most famous disciple was 'Aynu'l **Qudāt Hamadhānī** (1098-1132), a young spiritual genius who wrote a popular work on love, the *Tamhīdāt*; he was executed in Baghdad, probably by a jealous rival.

Abū-Majd Majdūd "Ḥakīm" Sanā'ī (d. c1131)—pioneer author of mystical Sūfī love poems in Persian. Born in the latter part of the 11th century in Ghazna (eastern Afghanistan), Sanā'ī spent much of his life in the great cities of Khurāsān (eastern Iran). Sanā'ī left the security of his position as court poet while still in his youth to rely fully on Divine providence, adopting the dervīsh life and thereafter composing poems only for God on mysticism and love. Sanā'ī spiritually transformed the frivolous *ghazal* "ode to love" poetry sung at the Persian court and created "the first sizable collection of this kind of [ghazal] poetry known in the history of Persian literature." (de Bruijn) He turned the *qaṣīda* poetic form into a vehicle for religious instruction on asceticism and mysticism. He had written in his youth an entirely secular *mathnawī* poetic work of rhyming couplets, filled with panegyrics and satire; now he wrote a more spiritual *mathnawī* of less than 800 verses (often strongly allegorical) in honor of his patron and evident spiritual guide, Muhāmmad ibn Mansūr, a famed preacher of Sarakhs, Khurāsān. In his old age, back at Ghazna, now living in greater seclusion, Sanā'ī wrote his magnum opus, *Ḥadīqat al-Ḥaqīqa*, "Walled Garden of Truth," a *mathnawī* of over 5,000 couplets, rich with spiritual wisdom and interspersed with anecdotes, fables, parables, proverbs, etc. (It was originally known as the *Fakhri-nāma*, an honorific name for his patron, Ghaznavid Sultan Bah-rām-shāh.) It comes to us in several versions differing in arrangement and number of verses—apparently Sanā'ī died before fixing a final version of his poem. This last *Divān* collection of poems hugely influenced 'Aṭṭār and Rūmī. One can say that 'Aṭṭār's five *mathnawī* poems and Rūmī's single huge *Mathnawī* took up where Sanā'ī left off, with greater poetic flourish. Yet the *Ḥadīqat al-Ḥaqīqa* is more simple and direct in its wisdom counsels than the poetic works of 'Aṭṭār and Rūmī. (de Bruijn, 1983)

Yūsuf Hamadhānī (d. 1140)—from Central Asia, "the imām of his time," was influenced by Bistāmi and Kharaqānī. Two major Sūfī orders stem from him: the Yasawiyya Order in Central Asia (founded by his Anatolian disciple, **Aḥmad Yasawī** [d. 1166]); and the powerful and especially widespread Naqshbandiyya Order, which evolved from his other main disciple, 'Abdu'l-Khāliq Ghijduwānī (d. 1220).

'**Abdu'l-Qādir al-Jīlānī** (1078-1166)—Persian-Iraqi Sūfī, considered the founder of widespread Qādiriyya order of Sūfīs, the first and largest of the Sūfī brotherhoods. A tremendous ascetic in the first half of his life, the example of Prophet Muḥammad inspired him at age 51 to marry; he eventually fathered 49 children by his several wives. Al-Jīlānī was a great preacher of a sober, sincere Sūfism, hailed as a miracle worker by the crowds who came to see him. By number of followers, al-Jīlānī may be the most popular saint in Islam. His burial shrine is in Baghdad. (www.albaz.com)

Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī (d. 1168)—Sūfī philosopher, disciple of Aḥmad al-Ghazālī. His *Adāb al-murīdīn* handbook of Sūfism was widely read.

Shuhda bint al-Ibārī (d. 1178)—of Baghdad, she came to be called the "glory of womankind," with numerous disciples (mainly male) seeking her out for her degree of religious learning and expertise on the *ḥadīth*.

Shihābuddīn al-Suhrawardī Halabī al-Maqtūl (d. 1191)—originally from Iran, this Suhrawardī settled in Aleppo, Syria, where at age 38 he was executed for "Bāṭinite heresies." Called "master of the philosophy of illumination" (*shaykh al-shrāq*), he wrote nearly fifty books, emphasizing a Light-philosophy and angelology; he combined Hermetic and Platonic traditions into his Illuminationist, theosophical Sūfism, which rebukes the Aristotelianism of Avicenna. (See the various works of Henri Corbin)

Rūzbihān Baqlī (d. 1209)—another great Persian author of works on mystic love; he lived into old age in Shiraz. (Ernst)

Farīduddīn ‘Aṭṭār (d. 1220)—Persian Sūfī; a pharmacist by trade, he traveled widely in studying Sūfī saints, and later became himself a saintly contemplative recluse. He wrote not only a colorful and extensive collection of lives of the saints (*Tadhkirat al-auliya*), but also great mystical poems that express the theme of painful longing for God. These poems are contained in his *Ilāhīnāme* (Divine Book), *Muṣṭibatnāma* (Book of Divine Affliction), *Ushturnāme*, and his celebrated long allegorical poem, *Manṭiq ut-tayr* (Concourse of the Birds). He is famous—infamous among the orthodox—for the mystical saying, “*hama ūst*,” “everything is He,” expressing the utter nonduality of God. (M. Smith)

‘Abdu’l-Khālīq Ghijduwānī (d. 1220)—disciple of Yūsuf Hamadhānī, he taught the tarīqa-yi Khwājagān, “the way of the Khojas, or teachers” in the Transoxania region of Central Asia. He set up the “eight principles” upon which Naqshbandiyya Sūfī practice was later built.

Abū’l Jannāb Aḥmad al-Kubrā (1145-1220)—born in Khiva, Central Asia, he traveled widely before returning to Khwarizm in 1185. A prolific writer, al-Kūbra taught an elaborate mystical psychology of ecstatic experiences, miraculous powers, color symbolism, etc., and stressed an austere spiritual lifestyle. He founded the Kubrāwiyya order, which spread to Turkey and India. Disciple **Najmuddīn Dāya Rāzī** wrote the *Mirād ul-’ibād*, a popular mystical book.

Shihābuddīn Abū Hafs ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī (1144-1234)—Persian-Iraqi Sūfī; nephew of Abū Najīb Suhrawardī, he was main founder of the Suhrawardīyya order and an esteemed exponent of nondual Sūfī views. A great spiritual director and prolific writer, famous especially for his *‘Awārif al-ma’ārif*, he also served as Caliph Naṣir’s ambassador to other kingdoms (the Ayyubids and Seljukids).

‘Umar Ibn al-Fārid (d. 1235)—an ecstatic, mystic contemplative from Cairo who settled in Mecca, then returned home. Fārid is seen as the greatest Arab mystical poet. He dictated his poems after coming out of ecstatic trances, some of which lasted for days. The *Tā’īya*, his masterpiece, is thought by many Sūfīs to have magical qualities. (Homerin, 2001)

Mu’īnuddīn Chishti (d. 1236)—born in Sistan, eastern Persia, he came to Delhi, India, in 1193, settled in Ajmer, Rajasthan, and founded the musically oriented Chishtī order which has flourished in India. His tomb in Ajmer is attended by beautiful music and *qawwal* singing. After his death, his many *khalīfas*/successors spread his ideals of love, generosity, mildness, modesty and a classless brotherhood throughout India. A main line of succession is through his disciple **Quṭbuddīn Bakhtiyār Kākī** (d. 1235) of the Delhi area, succeeded by **Bābā Farīduddīn** (d. 1265 or 1280), a tremendous ascetic and mystical poet who settled in the Punjab area, where he and his disciples lived in great poverty but amidst the spiritual splendor of Divine fellowship, into which he included non-Muslims. Bābā Farīd had seven major disciples, chief of whom was **Nizāmuddīn Auliya** (d. 1325), a well-known theologian and mystic of Delhi, whose positive, spiritualizing influence on the people of Delhi became legion, and who helped make Sūfism a mass movement in northern India. It is with Nizāmuddīn Auliya that we have one of the first really reliable collections of discourses by an Indian Sūfī master. (Alas, his predecessors had utterly spurious works attributed to them.) **Amīr Khosrau**, a poet and founder of Indo-Muslim musical tradition, and **Hasan Sijzī Dihlawī** (d. 1328), who collected Nizāmuddīn’s teachings, were two of the master’s leading disciples. One of Nizāmuddīn’s successors was **Burhānuddīn Gharīb**, who settled in the Khuldabad region (near Aurangabad); his other successor, **Chirāgh-i-Delhi** (d. 1356), taught **Muḥammad Gīsādarāz** (d. 1422), a prolific writer of prose and poetry in Arabic and Persian who did much to popularize Ibn ‘Arabī’s theosophical and nondual views in Sind. (Rizvi, 2002; Lawrence 1993, 2006)

Bībī Fāṭīma Sam (flourished first half of 13th century)—came to Delhi between 1210 to 1236 as an impressive wandering spiritual teacher; little is known about her. Her burial site at Kaka Nagar, New Delhi, is a popular shrine.

Muḥyīuddīn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Arabī (1165-1240)—this “supreme theorist of philosophic Muslim mysticism” was born at Murcia, Spain. His father was a prominent state minister, and the family moved to

Seville, where Ibn ‘Arabī underwent a profound mystical opening at age 15. He was initiated into a Sūfī order at age 20, and studied Islāmīc sciences, soon gaining fame as a scholar. In the 1190s he left Spain, never to return. He traveled widely and taught from North Africa (Tunis, Fez, Marrakesh) to the Middle East (Mecca for a two-year sojourn in 1202-4, Mosul, Cairo, Baghdad, Aleppo, Quniya, Mecca again), then to Anatolia (Turkey) for nine years before settling in 1223 in Damascus, Syria, at the invitation of the governor, where he taught until his death in November 1240. He was generally well-received, though the ‘ulamā in Egypt had branded him a heretic, and he was almost assassinated. Ibn ‘Arabī became known as “the greatest teacher,” *shaykh al-akbar*, and served as a link between eastern and western Sūfism, synthesizing Muslim, Hellenic, Persian, and Indian thinking into his system. He was an original and most influential formulator of theosophical Sūfī doctrine with his *panentheist* (not pantheist) notion of *wahdat al-wujūd* or “unity / singleness of Being.” This *wahdat al-wujūd* teaching holds that a Single Reality emanates all beings and objects as modes of expression; all phenomenal existence is the manifestation of the Divine Substance. God, the Source and Cause of all, is neither wholly transcendent nor wholly immanent—really, God is the Only One, the Absolute Essence (*Dhāt / Zāt*) or Absolute Being (*wjūd al-mutlaq*). Says historian Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi (2002), “His God was not [merely] the transcendental God of the orthodox but the Absolute Being who manifested Himself in every form of existence, and in the highest degree in the form of the Perfect Man” (*al-Insān al-Kāmil*), the Prophet or Saint. Ibn ‘Arabī prolifically wrote an alleged 800 booklets and books (400 are said to survive), including works of Arabic poetry and explications. His philosophical works, the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (Bezels of Wisdom, a synopsis of his work) and the very long *Al-futūḥāt al-makkiyya* (Meccan Discourses), his *Tarjumān al-ashwāq* (Interpretation of Divine Love), and his *Dīwān* of Arabic poetry, are most important. His works are dense with symbols and metaphors, making them difficult to read. He promoted ecumenical love, tolerance, compassion and fellowship with all, and distrusted the narrow intellect as a veil promoting egotism. “Within my heart all forms may find a place, the cloisters of the Christian monk, the idol’s place a pasture for gazelles (love-objects), the Ka’ba of God, the tablets of *Torah*, the Prophet’s *Qur’ān*. Love is the religion I follow; whichever way its camels take, for this is my religion and faith....” His tomb at the foot of Mt. Qāsiyūn outside Damascus is a popular spot for pilgrims. His main disciple and stepson, **Ṣadrūddīn Qunawī** (d. 1274), initiated by the master at Quniya in 1210, began the line of influential commentators and popularizers of Ibn ‘Arabī’s treatises to make their ideas more accessible (a group that would come to include prominent Sūfīs like Jāmī of Herat and al-Jīlī of Baghdad). Ṣadrūddīn, who was also mentored by one of Ibn ‘Arabī’s favorite companions, Suhrawardī shaykh **Awḥadūddīn Kirmānī** (d.1238), wrote his own influential works, and served as chief *shaykh* of Konya, Anatolia. (Chittick)

Abū’l Ḥasan ‘Alī ash-Shādhilī (d. 1258)—a disciple of ‘**Abdu’s-Salām ibn Mashīsh** (a Moroccan mystic whose teachings survive in a number of Maghrebi orders), he went from Spain, via Tunis, to Alexandria where he settled and later died. Had great insight into men’s souls and transmitted great mystical fire; he advocated the householders’ life; his followers organized the Shādhilīyya Order in his name, the largest of the Sīfī orders along with the Qādiriyya.

Jalālūddīn Tabrīzī (d. 1244)—this Anatolian served Abū Hafṣ ‘Umar Suhrawardī at Baghdad for seven years before heading to India with Bahā’uddīn Zakariya (see below); they parted at Nishāpūr. Jalālūddīn Tabrīzī came to Delhi for a time, enduring the repeated plots against him by a jealous shaykh. Eventually he went all the way eastward to Bengal, successfully establishing the Suhrawardīyya order in that region.

Bahā’uddīn Zakariya Multānī (1182-1262)—born in Multān, India (now in Pakistan), he studied in Khurāsān, Iran, for seven years, then Bukhara (becoming known as “the angel”), before making the *hajj* to Mecca. He studied *ḥadīth* for five years at Medina, then became the prime *khalīfa*/deputy of Abū Hafṣ ‘Umar Suhrawardī at Baghdad after a training period of only 17 days marked with visions and paranormal transmissions of power and authority. Bahā’uddīn returned home to Multān, praying and meditating in solitude along the way while his friend Jalālūddīn Tabrīzī visited Sūfīs. Initially resisted by local Muslim leaders, Bahā’uddīn Zakariya established the Suhrawardīyya order in India. For half a century, Shaykh Bahā’uddīn was the most celebrated Sūfī in the region, designated a “Shaykhū’l-Islām” by Sultan Iltutmish in the late 1220s. He became a prosperous family man, and kept court like a nobleman—all his wisely-saved wealth was then given away by his oldest son Ṣadrūddīn to the poor (who were wretched during this time of

repeated Mongol invasions). Shaykh Bahā'uddīn's most outstanding *khālīfa* was **Fakhruddīn Ibrāhīm 'Irāqī** (1213-89), who strongly amplified the Suhrawardīyya influence in India and elsewhere through his Persian poetry and prose. In his youth in the ancient city of Hamadān of western Iran, he memorized the *Qur'ān* at a precocious age and recited it before rapt local audiences, becoming famous by the time he was 8. 'Irāqī is said to have mastered all the Muslim sciences by age 17 and had begun to teach others. One day a band of wandering *qalandar* (unaffiliated) Sūfī dervīshes came to town, singing their verses of spiritual freedom and ecstatic love for Allāh; 'Irāqī was smitten with them, threw away his books, and left to join them. They wandered over Persia and then came east to Multān c1238, stopping for a time at Shaykh Bahā'uddīn's *khāniqāh* before moving on. Separated from his *qalandar* friends in a duststorm, 'Irāqī was drawn to visit the Shaykh again and to enter the Suhrawardīyya order. Two weeks into his 40-day meditation retreat, however, the Shaykh heard an ecstatic *ghazal* ode on Divine love by the gifted young 'Irāqī, in violation of the strict Suhrawardīyya rules. Deeply impressed, the Shaykh ordered 'Irāqī to stop his meditation retreat, get married to the Shaykh's daughter, and devote himself to a new vocation: composing *ghazals*. The move shocked the other disciples but the Shaykh retorted: "Such behavior may be prohibited to *you*—but not to him." 'Irāqī served the Shaykh for 25 years. After the Master's death, a few other disciples' jealous plots constrained 'Irāqī to leave Multān with some Sūfī friends. They went on *hajj*, 'Irāqī's renown bringing him a lavish welcome by the Sultan at Oman en route to Mecca. He then traveled widely with his friends and disciples and "wherever they went they were received with honors." He stayed in Konya, meeting **Jalāluddīn Rūmī** and joining in the music, poetry and sacred whirling sessions. At Konya, he was inspired to write his famous prose treatise on gnostic love, the *Lama'at* (Flashes), after learning the views of Ibn 'Arabī after meeting the latter's stepson, Shaykh **Ṣadruddīn Qunawī** (d.1274), with whom 'Irāqī remained in close contact even after 'Irāqī moved to Tuqat in Anatolia. The governor of Anatolia built a *khāniqāh* for 'Irāqī and his disciples there, a major center for their Sūfī musical gatherings, and later gave 'Irāqī all his wealth before the Mongols killed him. 'Irāqī took none of it but gave it all to the astonished Sultan in Egypt when 'Irāqī had to flee from a Mongol attempt on his own life. The Sultan made him chief shaykh of Cairo. 'Irāqī thus was able to promote more widely the views of Shaykh Bahā'uddīn and Ibn 'Arabī through his own ministry of love. 'Irāqī knew well his Muslim theology and the Arabic and Persian teachings and poetry of earlier Sūfīs, including not just Ibn 'Arabī, but also Bāyazīd, al-Ḥallāj, Kharāqānī, Sanā'ī and Aḥmad Ghazālī. 'Irāqī wanted to spend his last years in Damascus, where he was again lavished with honors and support. When he died, he was buried near the tomb of Ibn 'Arabī: the "ocean of the Persians" next to the "ocean of the Arabs." (Chittick & Wilson, 1982; Rizvi, 2002)

Jalāluddīn Rūmī (1207-1273)—hailed as **Mevlāna** (Maulāna), "Our Master," Rūmī was born in Vaksh, Afghanistan, 150 miles northeast of Balkh. About age 9 he left home with his father, **Bahā'uddīn Walad** (d.1231) and family, eventually coming to Konya, Anatolia (modern-day Turkey), where Bahā'uddīn, a mystical theologian, taught under the patronage of the Anatolian Seljuks. Rūmī married in his 17th year, and, while still a very young man himself, fathered two sons (and later another son and daughter by a second wife after his first wife died c1242). He was 24 when his father died; he went to Aleppo and Damascus, Syria, for further study. With the spiritual tutelage and help of his father's friend and disciple **Burhānuddīn Moḥaqqueq**, who took him much deeper into the path of Sūfism, Rūmī, now a contemplative veteran of several long solitary retreats, succeeded his father at the theology post in Konya as a full-fledged Shaykh. Then he underwent a radical spiritual deepening and triggering of his poetic outpourings under the mystical influence of the itinerant sober Sūfī, **Shamsuddīn Tabrīzī**, with whom Rūmī spent long periods alone. (Note: we now have a much better knowledge of the extent of the influence of these three mentors for Rūmī with translations of their writings and sayings.) Rūmī had a large circle of disciples and became the most famous of the Persian poet-saints. At the behest of his first successor, **Ḥusāmuddīn Ḍelebī** (d. 1284), Rūmī wrote his long, beautiful, influential *Mathnawī* of rhyming couplets (25,577 lines), filled with stories and the Sūfī lore gathered before him. This and his enormous *Divān* of poems (44,292 lines of *ghazals*, *qaṣīdas*, *rubā'iyāts* and *tarji-bands*) and many lectures (*Fihe mā fih*) and letters comprise the opus of this widely beloved and influential poet-saint. Rūmī's son **Sultan Walad** (1226-1312) set up the *Mevlevīyya* ("whirling dervish") order to carry on his father's work. Rūmī's tomb in Konya attracts many Sūfīs, especially for the *samā'* celebration of his passing (his *'urs*, or "wedding night" [with the Beloved]) on Dec. 17). (See Franklin Lewis, 2003, for the very best overall book on Rūmī's life and work.)

Muṣliḥ-uddīn Saadī (Sa’dī) Shīrāzī (c1184-1291)—orphaned in youth, Saadī left his hometown of Shīrāz (south-central Iran) for a traditional Muslim education at Baghdad’s Nizāmiya College, where he met ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī. The Mongol invasion led him to adopt the dervīsh life. He then embarked on a long journey that saw him in central Asia and India, then Yemen, Ethiopia and Mecca. Captured by the Franks in Syria, he worked at hard labor until ransomed. He then proceeded to North Africa and Anatolia (where he befriended Jalāluddīn Rūmī), before returning to his native Shīrāz in 1256. Rather than seek out the high and mighty for patronage (like Marco Polo), he “mingled with the ordinary survivors of the Mongol holocaust. He sat in remote teahouses late into the night and exchanged views with merchants, farmers, preachers, wayfarers, thieves, and Sūfī mendicants. For twenty years or more, he continued the same schedule of preaching, advising, learning, honing his sermons, and polishing them into gems illuminating the wisdom and foibles of his people.” (www.iranchamber.com/literature/saadi/saadi.php) Back at Shīrāz, lovingly received and supported by the people and by prince Sa’d ibn Zanki, he gratefully took the prince’s name as his *nom de plume* and in 1258 wrote his *Gulistān* (Rose Garden) of prose stories, maxims, admonitions and verses, his *mathnavī* verse-work *Bustān* (Orchard), and two verse collections: *Ghazaliyat* (“lyrics”) and *Qasa’id* (“odes”). His *Gulistān* is one of Persia’s most famed works and one of the first to come to wide attention among Europeans (with translations starting in 1651). Saadī apparently lived to be well over a hundred years in age, and allegedly performed miracles by Divine Grace. (Translations of Saadī’s *Gulistān* and *Bustān* can be found at the above website and elsewhere on the Net.)

Ḥamīduddīn Suwalī Nagōrī (d. 1274)—one of the early Chishti saints of India, noted for his poverty, vegetarianism, and a widely read Sūfī treatise, the *Surūr aṣ-ṣudūr*.

Aḥmed El-Badawi (c1200-76)—Likely from Fez, he came to Mecca with his family at age 11, and studied the *Qur’ān*. Later a preacher of a certain brand of Islām, he vehemently countered detractors. He then withdrew from society, refusing to talk, communicating by gestures. A vision ordered him to go to Tanta, Egypt. He went first to Iraq with his brother, Hassan, and, on his return to Mecca, fasted and deprived himself of sleep for 40 days. He came to Tanta where he preached in a rather frenzied style for long hours from the terrace of a house. Unmarried, he died several years later without an heir, but his postmortem reputation as a visionary quickly spread, and his followers founded the Aḥmadiya order. His burial shrine attracts thousands from all over the country every year at the time of his *moulid*, one of the most celebrated in Egypt.

Qazi Ḥamīduddīn Nagōrī (n.d.)—this Suhrawardīyya saint of the same name as the Chishti saint came from a family that migrated from Bukhara to Delhi before 1200. Ḥamīduddīn didn’t like the life of a *qazi* (scholar of Muslim law) and went west to Baghdad, becoming Suhrawardī’s most learned disciple, then staying for four years in Medina and Mecca before visiting a large number of towns. Back in Delhi, he befriended Chishti Sūfī saint Qutbu’d-dīn Bakhtiyar, and became a fan of the Chishtiyya Order’s *sama* ‘mystic music ceremony, defending it for years against the persecution of the Delhi ‘*ulamā*. He wrote several noted advanced works on Sūfism, including the *Ishqiyya*, wherein he says that although lover and Beloved appear as two entities, they are identical. One who is lost in Being is a part of God’s attributes. The extinction of “I” brings the predominance of “He.” The essence of all existent beings is Allāh.

Aḥmad Tājuddīn Ibn ‘Aṭa Allāh al-Iskandarī (1250-1309)—a leader in the Shādhilīyya order, he wrote the *Laṭā’if al-minan* and *Ḥikam*, the latter a book of 262 aphorisms very popular throughout the western and central Muslim world.

Yūnus Emre (d. 1321)—of central Anatolia (Turkey), wandered through the country, influenced by the Yasawiyya Sūfīs, and was the first to use the Turkish language to write beautiful mystical poems. Emre is often referred to as the “Turkish national poet.” He is a key representative of early Turkish mysticism, along with Rūmī and the Mevlevis. He can be considered founder of the Alevi-Bektashi literature, and his influence on later *tekke* poetry was huge. His *ilāhi* hymns have played a big role in Turkish Sūfī rituals. (Grace Martin Smith, 1993)

Shāh ‘Bu ‘Alī Qalandar (d. 1324)—an unaffiliated Sūfī saint of Pañjab, India, who authored many letters of guidance.

Bībī Fāṭīma Ḥajrānī (fl. early 1300s)—of Sind/Pakistan, was a *ḥafīza* (someone who knows the *Qur’ān* by heart) and Persian poetess who performed many miracles.

‘Alā‘uddaula Simnānī (d. 1336)—a Kubrāwiyya Order shaykh, a fine mystical psychologist/philosopher who questioned Ibn ‘Arabī’s nondual, panentheist views and emphasized the transcendental majesty of God.

Ḥājī Bektāsh (c1247-1338?)—came to Anatolia from Khurāsān in the 13th century; he stands as the legendary founder of the Bektāshi order, which became allied with the Janissary military corps (the corps fell in 1826). The order claims its second master to be **Bālim Sultan** (b. c1500).

Mahmūd ash-Shabistārī (1288?-1340?)—Persian Sūfī, educated and lived mostly at Tabriz; he became steeped in the symbolic terminology of Ibn ‘Arabī. His 1,000 verse *Gulshan-i-raz* (Rose Garden of Mystery), written around 1311 in the *mathnawī* style of rhyming couplets in response to 26 questions on Sufi metaphysics posed to him by Rukh al-Dīn Amīr Ḥusayn Harawī (d. 1318), is one of the best and more straightforward accounts of Sūfism in Persian. (Lewisohn)

Sharafuddīn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥya Manerī (c.1263-1381)—a very long-lived Indian Sūfī saint, disciple of Najibuddīn Firdausi of Delhi. Manerī brought the Firdausi Order to Bihar state. He lived for many years at the holy Rajgir Hills, but later was persuaded to come live and run a center at Bihar Sharif, where he wrote many influential teaching letters; he is beloved to both Hindus and Muslims. (Paul Jackson, various works)

Muḥammad Shamsuddīn Ḥāfīz (1319-89)—Persian Sūfī who, in his impoverished youth memorized the *Qur’ān* by heart (hence his title, *ḥāfīz*), as well as large portions of Saadi, Rūmī, and others. Ḥāfīz became a noted poet, addressing many of his poems to Shakh-e Nabat, a rare beauty he pined for in his youth. After apprenticing to Shaykh ‘Aṭṭār (not the famous ‘Aṭṭār), Ḥāfīz became a court poet and teacher of *Qur’ān* studies at the royal college, experiencing the favor, disfavor and then favor of changing political leadership. At age 60, he experienced full awakening to Allāh after a 40 day austere retreat and a blessing from his master. More than half of his poetic output of *ghazals* occurred after this breakthrough, and for these ten remaining years he also served as a spiritual director to a few disciples. His widely-read *Dīvān* collection of poems, compiled after his passing, holds that God is revealed through nature and humble, ego-free submission to a Shaykh. His verses are not especially numerous (a little over 500 *ghazals*, 42 *rubā‘iyāts*, and a few *qaṣīdas*), because they were composed only after he had experienced what he felt to be authentic Divine inspiration. These verses are beloved among the Persian people, seemingly quoted more often even than Rūmī’s.

Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī (1314-85)—a respected saint of the Kubrawīyya order, born in Hamadān, Iran, he establish this branch of Sūfism, with the help of a large number of disciples who came with him, in India’s Kaśmīr valley, beginning in 1381. He traveled extensively in Kaśmīr, leaving twenty Iranian Sūfī *shaykhs* in different parts of the region where they set up *khāniqāhs* and *langars* (Sūfī centers and canteens)—unfortunately, their searing missionary zeal had them demolish Hindu temples for their sites (this contrasts strongly with the peaceful Chistiyya Order Sūfī leaders). Hamadānī wrote some 50 short treatises on mysticism, ethics-etiquette, and a famous religio-political manual. He staunchly advocated Ibn ‘Arabī’s *waḥdat al-wujūd* nondual doctrine. He died en route to the *ḥajj* in 1385. (S.A.A. Rizvi, 2002)

Masud’ Bakk (d. 1387), **‘Alam Pandawī** (d. 1415), **Jahāngīr Simnani** (d. 1425)—three Chishti saints of India known for their letters of instruction.

Naqshband Bahā‘uddīn (d. 1390)—after whom the powerful Naqshbandiyya Order is named. Naqshband first taught at Bukhara, and then his order spread and grew wealthy by connecting with trade guilds and merchants; it later came to influence the Timurid court, during which time it became more politicized.

Ibn ‘Abbād ar-Rondī (1332-90)—a respected preacher and spiritual director of the Shādhilīyya who lived in Fez, Morocco; he is noted for his edifying letters of instruction, which emphasize gratitude, watchfulness, and sobriety.

‘Imāduddīn Nesīmī (d. 1417)—a great Anatolian mystical poet of the Shi’ite Ḥurūfī Sūfī order who was later flayed alive in Aleppo for his views.

‘Abdu’l Karīm Jilī (d. 1428)—Iraqi Sūfī of Qādiriyya order, lived and taught in Baghdad. A prolific, influential writer, especially of works popularizing Ibn ‘Arabī’s views, e.g., his work on the Perfect Man, *Al-Insān al-Kāmil*.

Shāh Nūruddīn Ni‘matullāh Walī (1331-1431)—born in Aleppo, Syria, the son of a Sūfī master, he had vision of Uways at age 5. Later he sought out and studied for seven years under the enlightened shaykh **‘Abdullāh al-Yāfi‘ī** (1298-1367) of the Shādhilī and Qādirī orders. Shāh Ni‘matullāh then traveled to Egypt, Persia, and into the midst of the Mongol forces (he became good friends with Shāh Rukh). His spiritual ministry flourished in Herat (now Afghanistan), Kerman and Mahan (S.E. Iran), where he started the Ni‘matullāhi order, allegedly with hundreds of thousands of followers. Emphasizing love and Divine nonduality, he wrote volumes of essays and poems. He taught that one should always dwell on the Name(s) of God, especially those signifying mercy and generosity, which would lead to expansion (*bast*) of the heart, rather than contraction (*qabd*). Eschewing elitism, he opened his movement to anyone who loved God wholeheartedly, and forbade followers from wearing special garb. A renowned miracle worker, in his later years he was never observed to sleep or eat. His tomb-shrine is in Mahan. His son **Shāh Burhānuddīn Khalīlullāh** (1373-?) succeeded him, moving to Bidar, India; here the Ni‘matullāhi order flourished for more than three centuries before returning to Persia, where it is now the most widespread Sūfī order and most prominent of the few Shī‘a Sūfī orders in Islām worldwide. (Pourjavady & Wilson, 1978)

Maulāna ‘Abdu’r-Rahmān Jāmī (d. 1492)—Persian-Afghani Sūfī, of the Naqshbandiyya Order, spent most of his life at Herat; a famous poet, hagiographer and clarifier of many Sūfī doctrines, especially those of Ibn ‘Arabī. (Whinfield, 1994)

Kaygusuz Abdl (15th cent.)—an eccentric, mystic Anatolian poet (Bektashi order) who settled in Cairo; used very paradoxical and/or crude phrasings.

‘Abdu’l-Quddūs Gangūhī (d. 1538)—a leading Indian Chishti saint and prolific writer, who expounded *wahdat al-wujūd* nondual doctrines of Ibn ‘Arabī.

Pīr Sultān Abdāl (d. c1560)—of the Bektashi Order, he is one of the best mystic poets writing in Turkish, later executed for his association with the Persian Shī‘ite Safawid dynasty.

Muḥammad Ghauth Gwaliori (d. 1562)—an Indian Sūfī for whom Emperor Akbar (d. 1605) built a magnificent tomb; he is the main representative of the Shattāriyya suborder in India; **Muḥammad Ghauthī** (d. after 1633), another member of this order, composed a voluminous book on saints, including 575 Sūfīs.

Shaykh Ṭahīr (16th cent.)—called Lāl Udero by the Hindus, he was an Indian mystic claimed as a saint by both Hindus and Muslims; he defended the “unity of being” (*wahdat al-wujūd*) mysticism of Ibn ‘Arabī.

‘Abdu’l-Wahhāb Sha’rānī (1493-1565)—“last great Muslim mystic of Egypt,” he founded the Sha’rāwiyya branch of the Badawiyya order; wrote on mysticism, love, and lives of saints.

Bāyezīd Ansārī Pīr-i Roshan (d. 1585)—founder of the Roshaniyya mystical movement in Afghanistan’s Pathan area. He was a staunch nondualist, and the orthodox cruelly drowned his sons for this “sin.” One of his later descendants, **Mīrzā Khān Ansārī** (early 18th cent.) was a leading mystical poet of the Pashto language. (Schimmel, 1975)

Aḥmad Sirhindī (1564-1624)—disciple of the Naqshbandiyya master, **Khawāja Bāqi-billā**, he was influential in India for his 534 letters and his books which, while very mystical, also criticize the Shī‘a tradition and Sūfism’s “misleading” *wahdat al-wujūd* doctrine of Ibn ‘Arabī. Sirhindī instead posits the more sober view known as *wahdat ash-shuhūd*, which precludes any ontological unity of God and man. (He appears to have misunderstood the *wahdat al-wujūd* idea that only God is real; “man” doesn’t ultimately, really exist.) Sirhindī and his son, **Muḥammad Ma’sūm** (d. 1668) as well as his next two successors, were considered by him to be the highest “elect” of God in the Naqshbandiyya order.

Miān (or Miyan) Mīr (1550 [possibly 1532]-1635)—part of a potent line of Sūfīs in western India to leave their careers to live as ascetics and hermits and yet still have great influence on the Mughal Court. Born in Siwistan, Sindh (Pakistan), to a family of *qazi* scholars of Muslim law, he studied the same, but influenced by his mother’s mysticism, he did austerities and long meditation in the jungle. Initiated as a Qādiriyya Sūfī under a hill-dwelling recluse, **Shaikh Khizr**, he came to Lahore where, with a few disciples, he began an ordered life of solitary meditation, group prayer and visiting the Sūfī tomb-shrines. Growing fame led him to become a recluse, meditating in the forest by day and a cell at night. Master of rigorous Qadiriyya breath excersises, he never slept at night and for several years allegedly used only one breath lasting for the entire night. He taught absolute trust in God (*tawakkul*), saying one could only pray free of anxiety (*namaz-i be khatra*) only when totally committed to God. Starting in 1620, Emperors Jahāngīr and then Shahjahān visited him when in the area, impressed by his wisdom and sanctity. Miān Mīr refused all entreaties to become a permanent court advisor. He lived simply and dressed like his fellow Muslims (he decried the Sūfī patched cloak as a “uniform” to get Sūfīs special treatment), and rejected the gifts people wanted to lavish on him, saying they had mistaken him for a beggar when he was rich with God. A sober Sūfī, never “indulging” in ecstasies, Miān Mīr drew many disciples among theologians and legal scholars. He taught that man’s *nafs* or “animality” needed taming by *sharī‘a* (to which he closely adhered his entire life), man’s heart (*qalb*) needed purifying by association with Sūfīs (*tarīqa*), and his spirit needed opening into *ḥaqīqa* or Divine Truth. Miān Mīr realized and promoted the truth of *wahdat al-wujūd*, that only God exists, the true essence of everyone, but he believed this nondual teaching so esoteric that he refused to divulge it to ordinary Muslims, preferring that they let go of ego and trust in God. He died of dysentery and was buried southeast of Lahore at ‘Alam Ganj / Dharampur, prince Dārā Shikōh building his elegant little tomb shrine. Miān Mīr is an especially honored Sūfī among the Sikhs for his interventions to save the fifth and sixth Sikh Gurus from Mughal harm; he was invited by Sikh leaders to lay the foundation stone for the Sikh Golden Temple at Amritsar in 1588. Miān Mīr had several really notable disciples. His favorite was the miracle-worker **Miān Nattha**, a student since 1599, and one often almost constantly immersed in meditation and austerities; it led to his having the ability to communicate with animate beings and even inanimate objects, thus, for instance, stopping rain and hailstorms; Nattha died young in 1618/9. Another disciple, who also spent much time training in the jungles like his master, was **Mulla Khawāja Bihārī**, who once demonstrated the truth of *wahdat al-wujūd* to a traveling teacher and to his own Sūfī friends gathered round a fire by jumping into the fire and remaining for some time without getting burnt or hurt! He remained unmarried his entire life and did not formally teach disciples, though in his gift for conversation, he shared great wisdom, among other things, he said the essence of *wahdat al-wujūd* was to not be pleased by praise nor get angered by abuse. Miān Mīr’s most prominent disciple was **Mullā Shāh Badakshi** (1584-1661), about whom we also have a fair amount of detailed information since he became *pīr* to the imperial family, Emperor Shāh Jahān and especially to his two most impressive children, Jahānārā Begum and Dārā Shikōh, who each wrote about him and his master, Miān Mīr, in their books. It was to Mullā Shāh that Miān Mīr seems to have entrusted the training of several prominent disciples in this lineage, including the two royal siblings. (S.A.A. Rizvi, 2002)

Bībī Jamāl Khātūn, younger sister of Miān Mīr, and a spiritual guide to Jahānārā and Dārā Shikōh (see below), was an outstanding saint of the Qādiriyya Sūfī order, though little is known of her life other than that she was trained in Sūfism by her parents, then by her older brother. She married, got permission to leave the marriage after ten years, and carried out great austerities in a life of ardent meditation. She is reputed by

Dārā Shikōh in his writings about the siblings to have been graced with paranormal powers. Miān Mīr frequently referred to her spiritual practices when conversing with his own disciples.

Dārā Shikōh (1615-59)—son of Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān, he was drawn to the Qādiriyya order as taught by Miān Mīr and Mullā Shāh Badakshi of Lahore, and became, with his sister Jahānārā, the two leading disciples of Mullā Shāh. Dārā wrote two early books about his masters and is especially famous for his remarkably open-minded ecumenism and for his hugely important translations into Persian of key Hindu Vedānta works—the *Upanishads*, *Bhagavad Gītā*, and *Yoga Vasistha*, the first two scriptures coming into European translations and greatly influencing the German Romantics and American Transcendentalists. Dārā’s sympathy and openness toward Hindus is remarkable for a Muslim, a big step even beyond the exemplary open-mindedness shown by his great-grandfather Akbar. The prospect of what he might have done had he ascended the imperial throne is fascinating. Unfortunately, he and his wife (who died on the way) had to flee when Shāh Jahān fell ill and the emperorship was perceived by his power-mongering younger brother Aurangzeb as up for grabs. When finally caught, Dārā was executed as a “heretic” by Aurangzeb. (S.A.A. Rizvi, 2002)

Jahānārā Begum (c.1613-83)—Indian Sūfī, daughter of emperor Shāh Jahān and older sister to Dārā Shikōh. She became a practicing Sūfī within the Chishtiyya Order, writing a biography of its founder in 1639-40, but later she became a disciple of Mullā Shāh Badakshi of the Qādiriyya, about whom she also wrote a book in 1641; she would have become this formidable saint’s *khalīfa* (successor) “had such a thing been possible” for a woman in those days. Jahānārā was revered in the Delhi and Agra areas as a great saint herself. Forever remaining celibate and unmarried, she served as a charitable, loving friend to children and the needy, and to her father, imprisoned by her other brother Aurangzeb, to whom she also ministered later in life, serving him as spiritual counselor. She sponsored the building of many mosques and gardens, especially those honoring Mullā Shāh. (M. Smith, 1972, and S.A.A. Rizvi, 2002).

Sarmad (d. c1657)—Persian Jewish intellectual who became an “intoxicated,” unconventionally behaving Sūfī poet; he flourished in Dārā Shikōh’s circle of Sūfīs in Delhi, India. He often went about stark naked. Martyred for his views and behavior by Aurangzeb, he was buried opposite the Jami Masjid, Delhi. (Behari, 1971; S.A.A. Rizvi, 2002)

Niyāzī Miṣrī (d. 1697)—a fine Anatolian poet and spiritual leader of the Khalvetiyya order.

‘Abdu’r-Rahmān Bābā (d. 1709)—a Pathan mystic of the Chishti order in southeastern Afghanistan, he led a life of seclusion; usually regarded as the best mystical Pashto poet. **Khwāja Muḥammad Bangash** (18th cent.) is another Chishti mystical poet of the Pashto language. (Schimmel)

Shāh ‘Ināyat Shahīd of Jhok (d. 1718)—a great Sindhi (Pakistani) Sūfī saint with a big following; they donated a large amount of land to their master, which he then distributed amongst the followers, making him, in the eyes of certain historians, a pioneer land-reformer. A pious mystic, he was accused of conspiracy against the Mughal throne and martyred. (Schimmel)

Shāh Sa’dullāh Gulshan (d. 1728)—a much-loved Naqshbandiyya master of Delhi, India; a prolific poet in Persian, and very fond of music. His disciple **Walī** was considered the greatest lyrical Sūfī poet of southern India. Gulshan was also friends of **Bedil** (d. 1721), a reclusive poet not associated with any order, whose mystical poetry, emphasizing longing for God, influenced Afghanistani and Central Asian literature.

Bulleh Shāh (1680-1752)—considered greatest of the Pañjabi mystical poets, he was born into a family of Sūfī dervishes, did austerities in his youth, and became a student of **Shāh ‘Ināyat** near Lahore (d. 1727). Thrown out of the latter’s circle for expressing his divine joy before the uninitiated, he later came in disguise as a dancing girl, apologized and was accepted back. A nondualist and transcender of sectarian differences, he lived in poverty and died in Lahore. Bulleh’s *kāfīs* or verse songs are famous over Pakistan. (Behari)

Laṭīf Bhitā'ī, Shāh 'Abdu'l (1689-1752)—Indian Sūfī born into a rich family, wandered with yogis in his youth, and later lived and taught a life of austerity and nondualistic devotion to God; Shāh Laṭīf is considered the greatest of the known Sūfī saints of Sind/Pakistan, and greatly expanded and enriched the Sindhi language through his works. (Behari; Schimmel). His disciple **Sachal Sarmast** (1739-1826) was a “God-intoxicated” Sūfī and a great poet, speaking about the “divine secrets” more openly than his master, who was quite fond of veiled allegory. (Behari; Schimmel)

Shāh Walīullāh (1702-62)—of both the Qādiriyya and Naqshbandiyya orders, he was a scholar and mystic who tried to bring more orthodoxy into Indian Sūfism; his descendants fought to defend Muslims from the Sikhs (who, in turn, had earlier been violently persecuted by certain Mughal and other Muslim leaders).

Khwāja Mīr Dard (d. 1721-85)—Indian Urdu poet and author, who became a sober mystic after a period of “intoxication”; he felt completely identified with his father, **Sayyid Muḥammad Nāsir 'Andalīb** (1697-1758) (a disciple of Sa'dullāh Gulshan and of Pir Muḥammad Zubayr of the Sirhindī line). Dard, sternly ascetic, flourished in Delhi, and founded the Muḥammadiyya *tarīqa*, which emphasizes Naqshbandiyya practices (but also a very musical *samā'*) and eschews the nondualist *wahdat al-wujūd* doctrine.

Jānullāh of Rohri (latter 18th cent.)—great Persian poet of Sind, a Suhrawariyya mystic.

Naẓīr (1735-1846)—Indian Sūfī poet, born in Delhi, he practiced poverty and supported his family on a small salary as a tutor (he once even refused large riches given to him); a nondualistic devotee of God, he came to transcend all sectarian differences, occasionally praising Lord Krishna as well as Muḥammad and 'Alī. He lived to be very old and witnessed the encroachment of the British. (Behari, 1971)

Aḥmad Ḥāṭif of Isfahān (d. 1784)—Persian Sūfī and famous writer of *ghazal* odes.

Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh (c1738-1797)—born in India to a wealthy family, he gave away his riches to friends so as to follow the Ni'matullāhi master, **Ridā 'Alī Shāh Deccāni** (d. 1799, either 104 or 120 years old). Ma'sūm brought the Ni'matullāhi Order back to Persia at his master's request, in spite of a prophecy that he would be martyred there. He arrived with his wife in Shiraz, Iran, 1775/6, and soon met his disciples **Fayd 'Alī Shāh**, the latter's son **Nūr 'Alī Shāh**, and **Mushtāq 'Alī Shāh** (a pre-eminent musician and charismatic *majdhūb* mystic). Persecuted for their brand of “intoxicated” Sūfism, emphasizing ardent Divine love (*ishq*), they left for Isfahan c1778, where their Order began to flourish. Persecuted again, they left in 1780/1 and came to Herat, 1782. Nūr 'Alī and Mashtāq were sent to Kirman to correct the worldly king; there, Mashtāq and a friend were martyred by the 'ulamā' (1792). Ma'sūm traveled to India, returned to Kerman, Persia, where he was joined by Nūr 'Alī. They had some 60,000 followers at the time; he was murdered by the 'ulamā' Bihbahāni around 1797. (Pourjavady & Wilson, 1978)

Nūr 'Alī Shāh (c1760-1797/98)—successor to Ma'sūm 'Alī, he was poisoned to death in Mosul by Bihbahāni's people after a life of traveling with his master all over Iran, bringing Sūfism to the masses (he also journeyed to Baghdad, etc.). A very insightful, original writer of prose and poetry, Nūr 'Alī is still famous in Iran as a beautiful, youthful archetype for the devotional orientation. Nūr 'Alī initiated and later married **Hayātī Kirmānī**, who became an eminent Sūfī poet. Her brother, **Muḥammad Husayn Rawnaq 'Alī Shāh** (d. 1815), another disciple of Nūr 'Alī, was noted for his generosity and many miracles. Nūr 'Alī's appointed successor, **Husayn 'Alī Shāh Isfahani** (d. 1818), onto whom fell responsibility for the entire Ni'matullāhi Order after the death of 'Alī Ridā Deccāni in India (1799), helped make the Order more “orthodox” in the public eye, as did his successor, **Majdhūb 'Alī Shāh** (d. 1823). After Majdhūb 'Alī, the Order branched and flourished all over Iran. (Pourjavady & Wilson, 1978)

Mast 'Alī Shāh (1776-1837)—most accepted of the successors of Majdhūb 'Alī, he traveled widely throughout the Muslim world and wrote accounts of various orders and religions he encountered, as well as some poems. He passed away in Jeddah, on making the *Hajj*-pilgrimage with his wife. He turned over the leadership of the Ni'matullāhi Order to **Rahmat 'Alī Shāh** (1793-1861), who was later made vice-premier

of Fars by **Muḥammad Shāh** (one of the few Sūfī dervīsh kings in Islam); Raḥmat was esteemed for his generosity and forgiveness toward those who had earlier persecuted him, and is generally considered the true leader in the line of succession down from Majdhūb ‘Alī Shāh. Raḥmat’s main successor was **Munawwar ‘Alī Shāh** (1809-1883/4), whose main successor was his son, **Wafā‘ ‘Alī Shāh** (1847-1918). (Pourjavady, 1978) (See more Ni’matullāhi figures below)

Mawlay al-’Arabī al-Ḥasānī ad-Darqāwī (c.1738-1818)—memorized the *Qur’ān* at an early age; he then met shaykh **Abū’l Ḥasan al-Jamāl** of Fez in 1767 and went on to found the important Darqāwī branch of the Shādhilī order in North Africa. He authored a famous collection of 228 letters to his disciples in which he stressed nondualism, *fanā* and love of God. An ascetic family man, it is said ad-Darqāwī trained 40,000 disciples to teach others. His main two *zāwiya* monasteries are at Banu Zarwal (Jabal az-Zabib), near Fez.

Aḥmad Ibn Idris (19th cent.)—famous Moroccan mystic teacher whose influence has spread widely.

Aḥmed Ziyāuddīn-i Gumush-khanewī (1813-93)—this dignified, ascetic, yet tender and very charitable Turkish Sūfī master of both learned-knowledge and inspired-knowledge, stood as the “shaikh of shaikhs” during the turmoil of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. Shaikh Ziyāuddīn was so advanced as to be regarded as having developed a new sub-branch in the Khalidiyya line of the Naqshbandiyya Sūfī *ṭarīqa*, yet he refused all luxury or pomp. An expert on the *ḥadīth*, *kalām* (theology), *fiqh* (jurisprudence) and *taṣawwuf* (Sūfism), he wrote nearly 60 books on these subjects, in Arabic. He emphasized love as the quintessence of Sūfism. His Gumush-khanewī Dargah was converted from an old abandoned mosque opposite the main government building in Istanbul. Its entry motto read, “This is the Naqshbandi Dargah, a joy-giving place, a square of love; my dear, come and join in peace!” It soon became an influential institute for Sūfism and *ḥadīth*, and from this center he produced 116 adept spiritual guides and educators. He urged them to uphold tolerance and not meddle in other Muslims’ ways of doing things. As a boy, he had read the entire *Qur’ān* at age five. At age ten he came with his family to Trabzon, where he worked in his father’s shop and also studied long hours with local scholars in Islāmic sciences. He ventured penniless to Istanbul for 13 years of education until 1844, then taught Islāmic lore at a few *madrāsas*. He had studied Sūfism since his youth, but in 1845 he began a 16-year Sūfī training under first one, then another, of the leading deputies of great shaikh **Khalid-i Baghdādī**. He was finally appointed a Shaikh with overseership not only of Naqshbandiyya but other Sūfī Orders as well. At a certain point in life he made the first of his two pilgrimages to Mecca and Medīna; after the first, he married. After his second *ḥajj* he and his wife and children stayed in Egypt for three years, where he taught and trained disciples. Here and back in Turkey, he loved to mingle among the people and serve them. Among his charitable projects was an interest-free Muslim credit union. A patron of education, he set up a print shop and had many books freely distributed to teachers and seekers; he founded four libraries, each with c18,000 books, in Istanbul, Bayburt, Of and Rize. Shaikh Ziyāuddīn lived an ascetic, God-conscious life and was evidently gifted with clairvoyance and remote influence. He talked little, slept little, ate little and would not eat any meal without a guest. He observed all voluntary fasts. Twice a week he held a *dhikr* chanting of the Divine Name(s). Tuesday nights he performed 70,000 Kalima-i Tauḥīd *dhikrs*. Twice a year he went into *khalvet* (retreat) and took any disciples wanting to do likewise.

Mama Sliman—a self-taught woman who in the 1920s became the leader of an association of holy women among the Mzab Berbers around Ghardaia in the Algerian Sahara; she wrote voluminously and assembled a civil and moral code which she and her sister saints imposed on men and women alike.

‘Isa Nūr ad-dīn Aḥmad Al-’Alawī (1869-1934)—Algerian Sūfī master, a disciple of **Sidi Muḥammad al-Būzīdī** in the Darqāwī Shādhilī order; a wonder-worker in his youth who later founded a new branch of the Darqāwī order, he came to have many disciples taking retreats under his spiritual directorship. He flourished at Mostaganem-Tigitt by the sea, where his burial shrine is now a pilgrimage spot, along with his famous *zāwiyah*, retreat center. Al-’Alawī taught a sophisticated nondual Sūfism. (Lings, 1973)

Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Shāfi'ī al-Naqshabandī (d. 1914)—a native of Irbil, Iraq, author of *Tanwir al-qulūb*. His successor, **Salāma al-'Azzāmī** of al-Azhar University in Cairo, notes that Shaykh Muḥammad worked miracles and was said to be dazzlingly luminous in his last days.

Muḥammad Iqbal (1876-1938)—an influential orthodox Indian Muslim Sūfī writer, disciple of **Shaikh Muḥammad Zakariya**.

Hazrat Ināyat Khān (1882-1927)—an Indian Sūfī and musician of the Chishti order, he gave up his musical career and was instructed by his master, **Abū Hashim Madānī**, to bring Sūfism to the West, which he did in 1910, teaching in Europe and then the United States for the next 17 years of his life until his passing. The 16 volumes published as *The Sufi Message* are his teachings as transcribed from lectures and talks given from 1914 to 1926. His Sūfī Order of the West was the first such organization in Europe and America. At his sudden death in 1927 (his tomb-shrine was built in the Nizāmuddin Auliya section of Delhi), leadership of the Sūfī Order passed to his female successor, **Rabia (Ada) Martin** (d. 1947), who had been initiated by Ināyat Khān in 1910. But European patriarchal rejection of her female status gave the successorship eventually to Ināyat Khan's son, **Pir Vilāyat Khān** (1916-2004), who in youth studied under **Abū Hashim Madānī**, given that his own father passed on when Vilāyat was only 1 year old. From the 1960s onward, working to synthesize spiritual traditions of East and West, Pir Vilāyat sponsored international interfaith activities, and promoted social action as an integral part of spiritual life, particularly with the creation of the Hope Project in Delhi, India. He wrote several books—most notable for Sūfīs is his evocation of the wisdom of the great Sūfī sages, *In Search of the Hidden Treasure: A Conference of Sufis*

Georges Ivanovitch Gurdjieff (1877-1949)—born in Russia, he traveled in Central Asia and the Middle East in his youth, studying under some Sūfī teachers. In Moscow, he began to teach students his unorthodox brand of Sūfism, which he termed “the Work,” emphasizing constant watchfulness and integration of the spiritual-psycho-physical centers, using interesting methods such as the “stop” technique.

Hazrat Bābājan (c1800?-1931)—born Gūl Rukh to a royal Muslim Pathan family of Baluchistan, in the eastern area of Afghanistan; she became a *ḥafīza* (memorizer of the *Qur'ān*). At age 18 she fled an arranged marriage and wandered deep into India, studying with both Hindu and Sūfī teachers. She attained to *fanā-baqā* around age 65; a great wonderworker, this long-lived, charismatic *qalandar* (unaffiliated Sūfī saint) lived her last decades in Poona, east of Bombay, living extremely austere under a neem tree, revered by many thousands of people for her power of *baraka* (divine influence). The newspapers announced her age as perhaps 125; but she might have been even older.

Meher Bābā (born Merwin Sheriar, 1894-1969)—Indian God-man of Persian Zoroastrian ancestry; Merwan's father had wandered as a Sūfī-style dervīsh for years in Iran, then in India. Merwan was initiated in 1914 by the powerful Sūfī matriarch, Hazrat Bābājan, after which he fell into such a deep state of God-awakening that he did not eat or sleep for fully nine months, but was seen often beating his head against the stone floor or stone wall trying to have a “body experience” again. Meher was “brought down to his mission as *avatāra*” under a Hindu guru, Upāsani Bābā Mahārāj of Sakori, under whom Meher Baba spent a seven year-long apprenticeship while still mainly living in Pune. From Upāsani, Meher Baba gained a strong orientation toward Hindu Advaita Vedanta to go along with his Sūfī outlook. By the early 1920s, Bābā was already attracting many disciples, for whom he created a life of delightful Divine activity combined with unpredictability in location and activity and great demands on their stamina. Bābā observed complete silence from 1925 onwards, but via an alphabet board and later only hand gestures he communicated many discourses, emphasizing nondual love and wisdom. Meher went on to travel widely in Europe and America from 1952 on. One of his major and highly unusual works was going all over India with his disciples to search out and find *masts*, persons so God-intoxicated as to be largely or completely oblivious of their bodies and society, and to help “give a push” to their souls toward greater clarity and God-realization. Meher Bābā's tombshrine and Pilgrim Center are in Meherabad, Maharashtra state, India. The late **Murshida Ivy Oneita Duce** (1895-1981) is one of his disciples who have carried on his work, with her organization, Sufism Reoriented, a rein-

carnation of the Sufi Order in the West that was earlier led by Murshida Rābia Martin (d. 1947).

Shams al-'Urafā' (1871-1935)—an outstanding master of the Persian Ni'matullāhi Order, after whom one of its branches (the Shamsiyyah) is named; a disciple of 'Abd al-Quddūs Kirmānshāhī (d. 1892), his *khāniqāh* in Teheran was very popular; at his time of passing, he apparently wanted his disciples' allegiance transferred to Mūnis 'Alī, but some of them have continued the order independently. (Pourjavady & Wilson, 1978; Nasr, 1972)

Mūnis 'Alī Shāh (1873-1952)—son of Wafā' 'Alī Shāh (1848-1918) of the Ni'matullāhi Order, in his youth he became a master of both the *sharī'a* and *tarīqa* (Islamic law and the Sūfī way), and was later esteemed for spreading science and supporting education, the arts, and service activities. His tomb is in Kirmanshah, western Iran. (Pourjavady & Wilson, 1978)

Javad Nurbakhsh (1926-)—a leading master of the Ni'matullāhi Order who has, since age 26, directed the Mūnisiyyah branch since the death of his master, Mūnis 'Alī in 1952, the same year that Nurbakhsh received his diploma as a medical doctor. For many years Nurbakhsh headed the Teheran University's psychiatry department and teaching hospital before moving to London in the wake of the 1979 Islamic Revolution. By that point he had established over a hundred *khāniqāhs* or Sūfī centers in Iran. He and his disciples have founded a few dozen more centers in Europe, America, Africa and Australia (the first one outside Iran was in San Francisco, set up in 1975). Nurbakhsh is a gifted poet and a prolific author of many books on Sūfism (and on psychiatry). He and his disciples publish a very fine journal, *Sufi*, with many articles on the great mystic saints of Islam and important topics in Sūfism.

Ni'mat 'Alī Shāh (20th cent.)—made a shaykh of the Ni'matullāhi Order by Mūnis 'Alī in 1933; he has many devotees in Isfahan, Iran. **Nāsir 'Alī Shāh** (20th cent.)—a disciple of Maḥbūb 'Alī Shāh (1862-1955), he is head of the Kawthariyyah branch of the Ni'matullāhi Order, lives in Rayy, Iran, with disciples in America as well as Iran. **Ridā 'Alī Shāh, Sultan Ḥusayn Tābandah** (1914-)—present head of the Gunābādī branch of the Ni'matullāhi Order, which traces its lineage back to a disciple of Rahmat 'Alī; it is numerically one of the largest Sūfī orders in Iran, and is characterized by strict adherence to the *Sharī'ah* (Law); the Gunābādī masters have all been farmers, in addition to serving as mullās, and so forth.

Seyyed Ḥossein Naṣr (1933-)—a highly respected scholar and also a practitioner of Sūfism, Naṣr is descended from a line of physicians to the royal Iranian court, who helped him receive a thorough education in the best of East and West. He had been brought to the USA at age 12 and was valedictorian at the Priddie School in New Jersey before going on to get a B.S. in Physics at M.I.T. (where he clearly saw that science cannot answer the ultimate questions) and a Ph.D. in Science at Harvard, completed in his 25th year. During these years he also traveled in Europe, meeting the deeply spiritual Traditionalists and converts to Sūfism, Frithjof Schuon and Titus Burkhardt, also traveling to Morocco where he adopted the practice of Sūfism in the line of the illustrious Shaykh Aḥmad Al-'Alawī of Algeria (d.1934). He taught as a professor of philosophy and the history of science at Teheran University from 1958 on (in 1963 becoming the youngest full-fledged professor in the history of the institution), during which time he also furthered his education with an intense training in Islamic and Sūfī studies under some of the best masters in Iran. In 1973, the Queen of Iran appointed Naṣr to establish under her patronage the Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, soon to become one of the most important centers of philosophical activities in the Islamic world. The Islamic Revolution in 1979 led to his moving his family to the USA, where he became professor of Islamic Studies at Temple University in Philadelphia from 1979 to 1984 and then at George Washington University from 1984 to present. Naṣr is a major figure, along with predecessors like Frithjof Schuon, Rene Guenon, A.K. Coomaraswamy, Titus Burkhardt, Marco Pallis, Huston Smith, Martin Lings, et al., in the promotion of the Perennial Wisdom of the "Great Tradition." The Foundation for Traditional Studies, which disseminates the Traditionalist view (e.g., via its journal *Sophia*), was established in 1984 under the direction of a board presided over by Naṣr. Naṣr has written and edited many important volumes on Sūfism and Islām, philosophy, science, nature and the arts, and trained many American and European students. Among many other

awards and honors, Naṣr was the first non-Westerner to be invited to deliver the prestigious Gifford Lectures, at Scotland's University of Edinburgh in 1980-1981.

Muẓaffer Ozak Efendi (1916-87)—a leading Turkish Sūfī master of the Halveti al-Jerrāhi Order, with many students in Turkey and the West; a masterful dream interpreter and author of many books on Sūfism, his primary successor is **Sheikh Sefer Dal Efendi** of Istanbul. Their Western disciples-teachers include **Lex Hixon** (Nur al-Jerrahi, 1942-95), **Tosun Bayrak**, **Shems Friedlander** and **Robert (Ragip) Frager**.

Idries Shāh (1924-96)—controversial Afghani author, raised in England from early childhood. After writing a few non-Sūfī books such as the occultist *Oriental Magic* (1956) and *Secret Lore of Magic: Book of the Sorcerers* (1957) and *Gerald Gardner: Witch* (1960, about the occultist whom Shāh served as secretary), in his 40s Shāh sought to “exploit a niche” by becoming known as a Naqshbandī Sūfī teacher and collecting disciples. He succeeded in this, coming to fame in the 1960s with pseudonymously-written works and later works of dubious authorship published through his own Octagon Press that lavishly praise himself as “Grand Sheikh” and “Quṭb/Axis of the Age,” his fame also resting on his books of Sūfī stories (concerning the character Mulla Nasruddin) and Sūfī wisdom (the latter deeply flawed), written in his own name, which sold millions of copies. Shah's disciples, such as Doris Lessing, regard him as chief teacher of “60 million disciples” in the “worldwide Mu'assisa” (Sūfī network), but this is sheer hyperbole. James Moore has written a more critical assessment of Shah and his humanistic “neo-Sufism” in an article, posted at several places online, which concludes: “his is a ‘Sufism’ which Baha’ad-Din Naqshband would find unrecognizable and repugnant; . . . a ‘Sufism’ without self-sacrifice, without self-transcendence, without the aspiration of gnosis, without tradition, without the Prophet, without the *Quran*, without Islam, and without God.”

Aḥmed Murad Chishti Samuel Lewis (1896-1971)—the “first American-born Sūfī master,” a disciple of Indian master Hazrat Ināyat Khān, he later traveled to the East and Middle East, where it is claimed he was “recognized by eight Sūfī brotherhoods,” and received teachings from Sūfī, Zen, and Vedāntā teachers. Began the American Sufi Dances and Sufi Choir in the late 1960's in the San Francisco area. The Sufi Islamia Ruhaniat Society, headed by Moineddin Jablonski, carries on his work.

Bawa Muhaiyaddeen (d. 1986)—a long-lived Sinhalese Sūfī master, “born well before the turn of the [20th] century,” who spent his early years traveling through the Middle East and India, examining the world's religions and a myriad of spiritual practices. Around 1914 pilgrims traveling through the jungles of northern Sri Lanka first saw him. Awed by his sanctity, they asked him to return to their village as their teacher. Much later [early 1940s] he fulfilled their wish, thereby beginning a life of public service—feeding, healing, and uplifting the lives of all who came to him, including Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, and Christians. He came on invitation to the U.S. in 1971 and several times thereafter, establishing a Sūfī community in Philadelphia, PA, where he lived until his death on December 8, 1986. “Speaking in person on university campuses, in churches, meetinghouses, and private homes, as well as on numerous radio and television programs, he reached audiences around the globe, from the United States and Canada to England and Sri Lanka. He was interviewed by *Time* magazine, *Psychology Today*, *Harvard Divinity Bulletin*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, and numerous other publications. Over 20 books of his discourses and songs were published, as well as scores of audio/ video cassettes.” Bawa taught the path of wisdom and devotion, transcending any particular religion, and was esteemed as a healer, clairvoyant, storyteller and sage. Interestingly, when Sheikh Bawa first came to the U.S., he taught as a “universalist” holy man from the Asian subcontinent; his disciples actually called him “Guru,” the term for a Hindu sage. Slowly, over the years, he shifted his community into an appreciation and participation in the rituals and customs of Islām as an exoteric context for the esoteric Sūfī teachings of the Qādiriyya Sūfī lineage that he had been giving from the start (this is in reverse order compared to the way most other Muslim Sūfīs teach). In 1983 Bawa consecrated a good-sized mosque in Philadelphia, which now draws immigrant Muslims/Sūfīs and African-American Muslims in addition to the Anglo-Americans who primarily formed his initial community. His *mazar* shrine at their farm in Coatesville, PA, draws pilgrims who see him as not having perished but continuing to guide disciples from beyond.

Sheikh Naẓīm al-Qubrusī al-Ḥāqqānī (b.1922)—this widely traveling Turkish master of the Naqshbandī order is Grand Mufti of Turkish Cyprus and one of the most respected Sūfī *shaykhs* in the world today, with many thousands of disciples; he emphasizes a sublime, sober Divine unity. The Sheikh conducts popular *zikrs*, open to all, some of which have been filmed and are available for purchase. His prominent western emissary, the Lebanon-born **Hisham Kabbānī**, has helped open over two dozen Naqshbandī centers in North America alone.

Shaykh Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yusuf al-Hirari, a.k.a. **al-Habashi** “the Ethiopian” (1920-)—saintly founder and spiritual leader of the important *Aḥbāsh* movement of decidedly anti-fundamentalist, moderate Muslim Sūfīs, headquartered in Lebanon, also known as the *Jam’iyya* (*Jam’iyyat al-Mashari’ al-Khayriyya al-Islāmiyya* or Society of Islamic Philanthropic Projects; see their western Association of Islamic Charitable Projects; www.aicp.org). Shaykh Habashi’s peaceful yet very assertive *Aḥbāsh*/Jam’iyya stands as a bulwark against the rigid, violent forms of Islām, chiefly the anti-Sūfī, puritannical Wahhābīya (of Saudi Arabia), the Muslim Brotherhood (al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn, based in Egypt), and the Jamā‘at-i-Islāmīya (Islāmīc Society, Pakistan), all of which have expanded beyond their land of origin (the Wahhābīya and Jamā‘at-i-Islāmīya richly endowed with Saudi petrodollars) to create a widespread ideology of rigidity, narrow-minded bigotry, and occasional violence, branded by moderates as “Islamofascism.” The *Aḥbāsh*, not just opposing these groups’ ideology and their aim to establish an Islāmīc order, have also taken a public stand against superstition masquerading as forms of Sūfism. Born in al-Hirara, near Somalia, in 1920, Shaykh Habashi studied Shāfi‘a jurisprudence and became a *mufti* in the Oromo tribal region. In 1947, he came to the Hijaz after he deportation from Ethiopia when his progressive teachings were judged a threat by Emperor Haile Selassie. In 1948, he came to Jerusalem, then to Damascus, Syria to study with the Rifā‘iyya and Qādiriyya orders. In 1950 he settled in Beirut, Lebanon and was made a shaykh by al-Azhar University’s Lebanese branch. His followers in 1983 peacefully took over the Jam’iyya (founded by Shaykh Aḥmad al-‘Ajuz in 1930). By the late 1980s, *Aḥbāsh* had become a large Lebanese Islāmīc movement; during the civil war, it grew from a few hundred members into a large organization by infiltrating the Sunni militias and schools. When ‘Abd al-Hafiz Qasim’s militia disbanded in 1984, *Aḥbāsh* recruited its members but abstained from creating its own militia and from involvement in intersectarian violence and fighting Israel; its main aims were recruitment and a paradigm of moderation. In the early 1990s, *Aḥbāsh* began to win seats in the parliament. It continues to grow, maintains good relations with most Arab governments, is conciliatory toward the West (USA and Europe), and has dozens of branches in over a dozen countries. Shaykh Habashi’s approach blends elements of Sunni and Shī‘a theology with deep Sūfī spirituality, and an open-minded respect for Muslim pluralism, and has won the support of leaders within many Sūfī orders, especially the Qādiriyya, Rifā‘iyya and Naqshbandiyya. The administrative president of *Aḥbāsh*, **Shaykh Nizar al-Halabi**, was assassinated in August 1995 by a radical Islāmīst group; vice-president **Shaykh Husam Karakira** took the reins as president.

Celeleddin Celebi (1926-96)—the 21st generation grandson of Mevlana Jalaluddin Rumi and head of the Mevlevi Order which had moved its center of operations to Aleppo, Syria after all Sūfī orders were banned in Turkey by Atatürk in the early 20th century. Celeleddin was born in Aleppo, Syria, son of **M. Bakir Celebi**, the *Postnishin* (head of the religious order) of the Mevlevi Dergah in Aleppo, and grandson of **Abdulhalim Celebi Efendi**, the last Postnishin of Konya Mevlana Dergah and vice-president of the parliament of the new Turkish Republic, Celeleddin was given a good education at Beirut American University and French schools in Syria. He studied law, engaged in agriculture and trade for a period, then turned over his business to his son, Faruk Hemdem Celebi, and devoted himself to Rumi and Sufism. After World War II, his all property was nationalized by the Syrian government when he refused to abandon his Turkish citizenship for a Syrian identity. He became head of the Aleppo-based Mevlevi Order after his father’s passing. Back in Turkey, at Konya, he joined the cultural activities of Konya Selcuk University and went on to become a prominent lecturer in Turkish, Arabic, French and English languages, on behalf of Rumi and his universalist spiritual message of love in many countries at many venues, including UNESCO. Among other things, Celeleddin explained to his audiences the significance of the beautiful Mevlevi *samā’* “whirling dervish” ceremony, which was led at Konya and abroad by his friend **Suleyman Dede**, permitted by the government as a “cultural activity.” Celeleddin died in Istanbul.

Suleyman Dede (d. 1985)—a beloved Turkish Sūfī adept and successor in the Mevlevi Sūfī lineage of Rūmī who lived at Konya, and endured the long oppression of overt Sūfī activities by the secular Turkish government, helping to keep the Mevlevi tradition alive. His son **Jelāluddīn Loras** (1950-) has, since 1981, resided either in Marin County, California, or in Konya, leading *zikrs* and *samāʿ* ceremonies, and training students—both men and women—as part of his Mevlevi Order of America.

Hassan El Shennawi (n.d.)—a professor of religious philosophy at the prestigious Al-Azhar University, which is as close to a central authority in Islām as its decentralized nature allows. Shennawi took over from the late **Abul-Wafaʿ El-Ghunaymi El-Taftazani**, dean and professor of philosophy at Cairo University, as head of Egypt’s Supreme Council of Sūfī Orders, the government body composed of 15 members elected every three years that oversees the 75+ Sūfī orders and sub-orders, regulating their affairs and ensuring the propriety of their doctrine and practice. Egypt is the only Arab country where mysticism has a solid legal basis, supported by the government. This government sponsorship of Sūfī Orders, explains scholar Valerie Hoffman, goes back to the time of Saladin, who founded a Sūfī retreat centre called *Said Al-Saada* and gave its sheikh preeminence over other sheikhs, with the title *sheikh al-shūyukh*, head of the Sūfī Orders. “This position remained in [the sheikh’s] family until 1946, when **Ahmed Murad El-Bakri** died and the position was taken over by **Ahmed El-Sawi [El-Imrani]**.” After 1982, the head of the Sufi orders was Taftazani, followed by Shennawi.

Shaykh Hassan Cisse—Imam of the Grand Mosque in Madina Kaolack. An eminent leader of the Tijani Order; he brought this lineage to the U.S. in 1976 and has gained substantial recognition from the UN. Senegalese statesman **Shaykh Abdoulaye Dieye** (1938-2002), inspirer of lovely *dhikrs* and ecstatic dancing, headed various Sufi associations in the Khidmatul Khadim, a sub-branch of the Mouridiyya Order of engaged spirituality founded by illustrious **Shaykh Ahmadou Bamba** (1854-1927). (Senegal’s new president, **Abdoulaye Wade**, belongs to the same order.) Shaykh Abdoulaye Dieye and his followers are very open-minded, progressive Sūfīs, and promote public *zīkr* ceremonies using beautiful African melodies.

Irina Tweedie (1907-99)—this Russian woman was educated in Vienna and Paris; after World War II she married an English naval officer, whose death in 1954 propelled her onto a spiritual quest. With a background in Theosophy, she traveled to India in 1959, at the age of fifty-two, where she met an Indian Naqshbandi Sūfī teacher (now deceased) of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujadiddiyya tradition, known only as “Bhai Sahib.” After her five-year apprenticeship, she moved to London where she quietly taught a circle of disciples. *Daughter of Fire* (1986), her account of the arduous, strict training under her teacher, has been widely read (it was first published in 1979 in abridged form as *Chasm of Fire*). **Llewellyn Vaughan-Lee** (b.1953), a British disciple of Tweedie, moved to northern California in the 1990s where he promotes Sūfism through his Golden Sufi Center.

The Sabri Brothers—a name for an especially adept Qawwali singing band of the Sabriya order, an offshoot of the Chishti order. Descending from a family of musicians allegedly going back to **Miān Tansen**, who inspired the Mughal court in the 13th century, the Sabri Brothers came onto the scene in 1958 with their first of many recordings, led by **Ghulam Farīd Sabri** (1930-94) and his brother **Maqbool Ahmed Sabri** (b.1945), both taught by various teachers including their father, **Ināyat Sen Sabri**, who had moved the family from India to Pakistan after the Partition in 1947. The Sabri Brothers traveled the world, giving their famous mystical concerts of ecstatic, highly rhythmic devotional Qawwali music, which is designed to induce divine trance states in the listener. The Sabri Brothers, now led by Maqbool and his cousin **Mehmood Ghesnavi Sabri**, have always emphasized the bringing of Sūfī authors (Khusrau, Rūmī, Bulleh Shāh) and Sūfī themes into their work.

Nusrat Fateh ‘Alī Khān (1948-97)—before his death this Pakistani was hailed as the “greatest living exponent of Qawwali music.” In 1965 he was given leadership of his family’s longstanding Qawwal troupe with the inner inspiration of his late father, **Ustad Fateh ‘Alī Khān** (d.1964). Nusrat, singing in his native Panjabi as well as Persian and Urdu, and often incorporating into his long pieces the intense style of

classical scale-singing (*sargam*), proceeded to tour and record extensively, becoming one of the first South Asian singers to perform before large Western audiences, thanks to his friendships with several prominent western rock stars. He holds the world record for the largest recorded output by a Qawwali artist—a total of 125 albums. His extremely talented brother **Farrukh Fateh ‘Alī Khān** (d.2003) played the harmonium and contributed vocals; his son **Rahat Nusrat Fateh ‘Alī Khān** now leads this Qawwal troupe.

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II. -- IMPORTANT TERMS:

(Note: there is no single common system for transliteration from the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, so some of these terms may be spelled differently in different Muslim / Sūfī circles; most of the following have been taken from Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Univ of N. Carolina Press, 1975.)

Allāh: God. Allāh has 99 Names (*asmā*) as His nondual aspects, qualities, functions, divided into *jamāl / luṭfiyya*, those connected with His beauty/lovingkindness, and *jalāl / qahriyya*, those connected with His wrath/majesty. The 99 Names start with *Yā Raḥmān*, *Yā Raḥīm*, “O Merciful, O All-Compassionate,” and end with *Yā Ṣabūr*, “O Patient.” Other Names include *Yā Akbar*, “O Great”; *Yā Wadūd*, “O Loving-Beloved”; *Yā Ḥāfiẓ*, “O Preserver”; *Yā Rāziq*, “O Nourisher”; *Yā Muḥyī*, “O Bestower of Life”; *Yā Jamāl*, “O Beauty”; *Yā Karīm*, “O Generous.” Sūfīs utilize these Names to promote corresponding spiritual traits. Yet there are specific rules for when and how certain names should be used—for instance, the name *al-Fā’iq*, “the Overpowering,” should never be used by a beginner, but only by a highly adept gnostic; the name, *al-Laiṭf*, “the Subtle,” should be used by a contemplative in seclusion to make his nature more subtle.

tawḥīd / tauḥīd: Divine affirmation that God Alone IS, God is the only One, the sole, nondual Reality (the goal of Sūfism is to completely realize the truth of *tauḥīd*, the nonduality of Divine Being)

Islām: complete “submission” or “surrender” to God; *Muslim*: one who practices Islām.

Ka’bah / Ka’aba: the sacred, ancient Arabian shrine at Mecca, which contains the hallowed Black Stone. Prophet Muḥammad consecrated this site for Islām, claiming it was originally built by Abraham. All Muslims orient their fivefold daily prayer in the direction (*qibla*) pointing toward the Ka’bah.

Qur’ān / Koran: “recitation”—the name of the Muslim scripture recited by angel Gabriel to Prophet Muḥammad, the various *suras* (chapters) received in trance states from 610-632 C.E.

Ḥadīth: “tradition”—Prophet Muḥammad’s sayings and customs, each saying having its own witness or chain of witnesses to guarantee its authenticity; over the years there appeared many *ḥadīth* of dubious authenticity; collections of such sayings are known as *aḥadīth*.

sunna: tradition, customs of the Prophet after which orthodox Sunni Muslims have modeled their behavior and policies; related to these are the *ijmā*, the consensus of the doctors (the ‘*ulamā*’) of the law on various legal points, based on the *Qur’ān* and the *sunna* (there were four orthodox schools of legal interpretation, founded by Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik ibn Anās, ash-Shāfi’ī, and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal of the 8th-9th centuries, the Ḥanbalī being the most conservative of the four).

mi’rāj: the famed mystical “ascension” (or *isrā’*, “night journey”) of Muhammad in 620 over Jerusalem, through hell, up through the seven heavens and meetings with the Prophets, astride Buraq and accompanied by Gabriel; finally he went beyond all created forms into utter aloneness with God. There was a tradition of such “heavenly ascents” in the Near East, including earlier works like the Enoch texts and later works, like the accounts of Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī’s *mi’rāj*.

hijra: Muhammad's emigration from Mecca to Medina in 622 C.E., where he first organized Islām as a religion with his community (*umma*) which transcended all tribal connections.

nūr muḥammadī: “Muhammad's pre-existent Light”; a doctrine central to the veneration of Muhammad as incarnating the Light of God (this is *not* to be confused with Christian or Hindu notions of a God-man).

arkān ud-dīn: the “five pillars” of Islām: 1) the *shahāda*, the Muslim witness to faith; 2) prayer (*ṣalāt*; *namaz* in Persian and in Turkish); 3) almsgiving (*zakāt*); 4) fasting (*ṣawm*) during the month of Ramaḍān; and, if possible, 5) the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) to Mecca.

shahāda: the Muslim profession of faith; the first of the “five pillars” (*arkān ud-dīn*) of Muslim practice.

Lā ilāha illā Allāh: the first half of the *shahāda*: “There is no god but God” or, as the Sūfīs say, “There is no being/reality but the [Absolute] Being/Reality.” *Lā ilāha* indicates negation of everything worldly, while *illā Allāh* indicates affirmation of God as the Sole Reality.

Muḥammad rasūl Allāh: the second half of the *shahāda*: “Muḥammad is God's Prophet”

ādhān: the call to prayer, issued in a riveting voice by the *mu'adhīn* (*muezzin*), traditionally from the *manāra* (minaret) before each of the five daily times of ritual prayer, *ṣalāt*

taṣawwuf: Sūfism (the word “Sūfī” probably originates from “those who wear wool [*sūf*]”); Sūfīs were also called *al-qaum*, “the Folk”

zāhir: the Outward (a Name of God), used to refer to the outer personality or ego-self and/or exoteric religious practices and *Qur'ān* interpretations of orthodox Islām

bāṭin: the Inner (a Name of God), used to refer to the inner, subtler self or even the transpersonal Self and/or esoteric spiritual practices leading to the Sūfī ideal of full annihilation (*fanā*) in God; the term also refers to the esoteric practices and *Qur'ān* interpretations of Shī'ite Islam

sharī'a: Divinely given laws of Orthodox Islām; the first stage of Sūfism

ṭarīqa: the Way, the second stage of Sūfism (also refers to the various Sūfī orders/fraternities that arose from the 12th century on—these are, when using the plural, called *ṭuruq*, also called *silsilas* or spiritual lineages)

ḥaqīqa / *al-Ḥaqq*: the Divine Truth, the Absolute Truth, the third and final stage in the Sūfī way of God-Realization

1) *sunna*: the orthodox customs of Islām; 2) *īmān*: faith, a second, more interior stage of Muslim mysticism, contrasted with *sunna* of Islām; 3) *iḥsān*: excellence, mysticism—the third, most interior stage in this particular schema of Muslim mysticism, beyond *īmān*; herein one is only concerned in seeing God everywhere as the Sole Reality.

ma'rifah / *'irfān* (equivalent to *ḥaqīqa* and *iḥsān*): gnosis, the Divine knowing by God of God through a human being.

'arīf: the gnostic

shaykh (*sheikh*) / *murshid* / *murād* / *pīr*: the Sūfī teacher (master)

al-insān al-kāmil: the Perfect, Complete Man of God-Realization (Ibn al-'Arabī's term)

quṭb: the “pole, axis,” the highest member in the hierarchy of saints; also designates the leading saint of a time and place; *ghauth*: the “help,” another name for the *quṭb*

Khidr: the legendary guide of the Sūfī mystics, who appears out of the imaginal realm from time to time

Mahdi: the hidden Imām of Shi’a Islām, the “Guided” one, destined to reveal himself at the appointed time in the future

Hādī: the Guide or Herdsman of the flock, a Name of God, also sometimes given to Muḥammad or a great saint

mujaddid: the “renewer” of spirituality prophesied by Muḥammad for every century after him

sayyid: a bloodline descendant from Muhammad through ‘Alī and Faṭīma; such sayyids (there are hundreds of thousands of them) have great prestige in their local communities

walī (pl. *awliyā*): saint—literally, “friend” (of Allāh); early Sūfīs called themselves *awliyā Allāh*, the “friends of God”

walāyah / bay’ah: initiation

wilāyah: sanctity, initiatic power

silsilah: the chain of initiation down from the Prophet; a Sūfī order/fraternity

baraka: an oft-heard term referring to the blessing-power/grace communicated to the aspirant by the *shaykh*, the Prophet, the community of Sūfīs, or holy places, especially Mecca and the tombs of saints

himma: the spiritual power of the *shaykh*

irshād: spiritual guidance of the *shaykh*, operative even after his passing

taṣarruf: the power of the *shaykh* to bring about events

tawfīq: Divine grace

sakīna: the Divine presence (similar to the Jewish notion of *Shekinah*)

karāmāt: the miracles of saints, which are wrought by God through these pure instruments

muqaddam: representative of the *shaykh*

khalīfa: “successor,” or “deputy” appointed by the *shaykh* to teach others and to succeed him after his passing; sometimes a Sūfī saint is called a *khalīfa*, in that he/she executes God’s will

murīd: disciple, novice

sālik: a wayfarer (aspirant)

faqīr (pl.: *fuqarā*; Persian: *dervīsh/darwīsh*): “the poor,” the Sūfī practitioner(s)

zāhid: ascetic; *‘ābid*: devotee; *‘āshiq* or *yar*: lover; *‘ārīf*: gnostic—various other names for the Sūfī

qalandar: a wandering dervīsh who performs only the minimum in religious duties and is known for a more free, expressive spirituality

khāniqāh (Turkish: *tekke*): the meeting place for a Sūfī *tarīqa* (the *shaykh* usually lives here, perhaps with his family; and he is usually buried here)

kāwiya: “corner”; a smaller meeting place, or the *shaykh*’s dwelling place

dargāh: “door, court,” a dervīsh convent

ribāṭ: a dervīsh meeting place or convent

khirqā: the frock worn by Sūfī initiates

tāj: the cap or headdress worn by Sūfī initiates

tasbīh: rosary used for *dhikr* (remembrance of God)

adab: correct behavior or courtesy in the presence of the brethren and *shaykh*

khidmat: service

tawajjuh: concentration by the disciple on the *shaykh* or by the *shaykh* on the disciple

rabita kurmak: to “establish a tie” between master and disciple

maulid: the birthday of the Prophet or of a celebrated saint

‘urs: the “wedding night,” the date of a saint’s passing, usually celebrated each year with a special *samā‘* (sacred poetry recitation / musical prayer ceremony, often involving the meditative dance—such as in the Mevlevi tradition; in Pakistan and India the ecstatic *qawwali* music is sung)

‘ālam an-nāsūt: world of the human senses (in Ibn ‘Arabī’s schema, the lowest plane of existence)

‘ālam al-malakūt: world of the Dominion (will and power)

‘ālam al-jabarūt: world of the Domination (life)

‘ālam al-‘Izzah: “world” of Sovereign Power, the Ultimate Reality and transcendental Source of all worlds/realms

sūrah: phenomenal aspect of a thing

ma’nā: the inner essence of a thing, referring to the One Noumenonal Essence

nafs: lower soul, carnal self, egocentric tendencies

an-nafs al-mutma’inna: the soul at peace

an-nafs al-qaddīsa: the sanctified soul

asfal sūfilīn: worldly passions and heedlessness

ḥadath: defilement; *ḥudūth*: ephemeral existence

‘aql: reason, intellect

‘ilm: (ordinary) knowledge

qalb / dil: heart

sirr / lubb: innermost heart

rūh: spirit

ṣalāt (Arabic) / *namāz* (Persian, Turkish): Islām’s formal ritual prayer, held five times daily (dawn, noon, midafternoon, right after sunset, and early part of the night), with Friday noon prayer being the only required congregational prayer. Each prayer session involves a fixed number of bowings (*rak’ah*) (two in the morning, four at late-night prayer); the bowing itself consists of seven movements and concomitant recitations: 1) “*Allāhu akbar*” with hands open on each side of the face; 2) recitation of *Qur’ān*’s opening *sura* and other passage(s), while standing upright; 3) bowing from the hips; 4) straightening up; 5) gliding to the knees and a first prostration with face to ground; 6) sitting back on haunches; 7) a second full prostration. The second and later bowings begin with the second of these movements and at the end of each pair of bowings and the conclusion of the whole prayer one recites the *shahāda* and ritual salutations.

[See sequence of ritual prayer, outlined and illustrated by Farah Michelle Kimball and Imam Bilal Hyde, below:]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Prayers

(Connector to Allah)

• Place of prayer, body, and clothes should be clean • Clothes should be loose and modest. Traditionally men and women cover their heads during prayer • Face the direction of Mecca • While praying generally focus your gaze on the ground where forehead touches the ground • Stand in reverence, and put the world behind you •

Ablution (Wudu) (Business Purification)
Before the prayers, using clean water in your hands, wash over the following areas three times: Top of the hands (right hand first) • Face (also rinse mouth and nostrils) • Forearms (right arm first) • Top of the head, back of the head, and neck • Feet (right foot first) to the ankles •

Arabic Transliteration	English
1  "Allahu Akbar"	God is most Great
2  (Al-Fatehah) (Al-Tauhid)	The Opening Unity
3  "Subhanallah Subhanallah Subhanallah"	Glory be to God Glory be to God Glory be to God
4  "Sami' Allahu lman hamida"	God listens to those who praise Him
5  "Subhanallah Subhanallah Subhanallah"	Glory be to God Glory be to God Glory be to God
6  "Allahu Akbar"	God is most Great
7  "Subhanallah Subhanallah Subhanallah"	Glory be to God Glory be to God Glory be to God
As and	
"Ash hadu allahu ilaha ilallah Wa ash hadu anna Muhammad ar-Rasoolullah"	I affirm that there is no God but God And I affirm that Muhammad is the Messenger of God
 "Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullah"	Peace and Blessings of God be upon you
 "Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullah"	Peace and Blessings of God be upon you

Al-Fatehah	The Opening
Bismillah ar-Rahman ar-Rahim.....	In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate the Merciful
Alhamdu lillah rabbi 'alamin.....	Praise be to Allah, Lord of all the worlds
Ar-Rahman ar-Rahim.....	The Compassionate, The Merciful
Maliki yomid deen.....	Master of the Last Day
Iyyaka na'budu.....	You alone do we worship
wa iyyaka nasta'een.....	You alone do we ask for help
ihdinaa sirat al-mustaqim.....	Guide us on the straight path
Sirat aladheena an'anta 'alaitim.....	The path of those who have received your loving grace
Ghair almaghdubi 'alain.....	Not the path of those who walk in anger
wa ladhalleen.....	nor of those who wander astray
Amin	Amen
Al-Tauhid	Unity
Bismillah ar-Rahman ar-Rahim.....	In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful
Qul huwallahu ahad.....	Say: Hu, Allah is One
Allahu as-Samad.....	Allah is the Eternal
lan yulid wa lan yuulad.....	Allah does not conceive, nor was Allah conceived
Wa lan yakun lahu kufwan ahad.....	And there is nothing like Allah

For: **Sunrise** do the sequence 2 times
Noon " 4 times
Afternoon " 4 times } May be combined
Sunset " 3 times }
Evening " 4 times } May be combined

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* Essentials of the prayers 11/11/97

wudū / ṭahāra: the ritual purity required for prayer, symbolically achieved via washing face, arms, and feet

dhikr / zikr: recollection, remembrance of God, silent or vocal repetition of the Divine Name(s), the crux of Sufism and the basic communal practice of most Sūfī orders, emphasizing the first part of the *shahāda*, sometimes just the affirmative part “*illā Llāh*” or, more simply, “*Allāh*”

khalwah: extended spiritual retreat

ḥizb / *wird* (pl. *aurād*): special (longer) prayer litany

du'ā: the type of prayer entailing personal entreaties and petitions to Allāh

munājāt: devotional conversational prayer between the lover and Divine Beloved

fard, *mandūb*, *mubāh*, *makrūh*, and *ḥarām*: behaviors which are, respectively, 1) obligatory, 2) recommended, 3) permitted, 4) strongly discouraged or 5) forbidden

tawājjud: night vigils and prayer, practiced by Sūfīs to deepen their spiritual state and reach ecstasy

qillat al-kalām: little speech; *qillat aṭ-ṭa'ām*: little food; *qillat al-manām*: little sleep (ascetic practices)

futuwwa / *muruwwat* / *maḥāsīn* / *fadā'il*: different terms for virtue

ḥāl (pl. *aḥwāl*): temporary special states of consciousness, usually due to the grace of God

maqām (pl. *maqāmāt*): stations (abiding stages or traits of consciousness, lasting virtues on the way to full God-realization (a number of these are listed among the following terms:))

tawbat: repentance; *inābat*: conversion; *zuhd*: renunciation; *tawakkul*: the total trust or confidence in and reliance upon God; *tajrīd*: equanimity, detachment; *muwāfaqat*: agreement or equanimity under all situations; *wara'*: abstinence; *riḍā*: contentment; *salām*: peace; *ṣabr*: patience; *jahd*: effort; *ṣafā*: purity; *shauq*: longing (for God); *ikhhlās*: sincerity; *shukr*: gratitude; *qabd*³: contraction (the “sadness” or “fear of God” felt by ascetic Sūfīs); *bast*: expansion (the more joyful or hopeful way of Sūfī practice); *maḥabbat* / *ḥubb*: love; *wudd*: love, charity; *'abada*: worship; *qurb*: proximity or nearness to God; *muḥāsaba*: self-examination. (Note: many schemas are presented by Sūfī sages over the centuries articulating various *aḥwāl*/states and *maqām*/stages; all these are interiorized versions of Allāh's 99 Names; moreover, these virtues are to be in equilibrium, so that one does not succumb to imbalance)

nazar bar qadam: Naqshbandi discipline of watching over one's steps

niḡāh dāsht: Naqshbandi discipline of watching one's thoughts

yād dāsht: Naqshbandi discipline of concentration upon God

tafakkur: meditation; *fīkr*: forms of meditation

murāqaba: (preliminary) meditation, contemplative attention, vigilance

shuhūd: contemplation or witnessing

mushāhada: direct contemplative “vision” (or sense of God's presence)

'iyān: “face to face,” direct vision of the divinity

'ilm al-yaqīn: knowledge of certitude

'ayn al-yaqīn: vision of certitude

ḥaqq al-yaqīn: real certitude (achieved only in *fanā*, see below)

dhawq: “tasting”; direct experience

tawājud: the attempt to “find” (ecstasy); or, alternatively, a general term for all Sūfī practices

wajd: the ecstasy of “finding” (God);

sukr: intoxication (ecstasy); *istilām*: uprootedness (similar to *sukr*)

shatḥīyāt: ecstatic utterances (of one in the intoxicated state)

majdhūb: “attracted,” one lost in the ecstasy of God, often oblivious of the world

ṣaḥw: sobriety (a more mature, integrated spiritual stage, said by the sober Sūfī Junayd to be beyond *sukr*)

tajallī: mystical revelation, illumination

rujū ‘ikhtiyārī: voluntary return to God through ego-death and virtue; contrasted with *hawā*, egotistic caprice

fanā: annihilation (of the separate-self ego-sense); this is the aim of every Sūfī. Sometimes this is spelled out further as *fanā fī ‘sh-shaykh*: annihilation in one’s teacher; *fanā fī ‘r-rasūl*: annihilation in the Prophet(s); and *fanā fī Allāh*: annihilation in God

baqā: the “remaining” or “subsistence” in God (the “resurrection” which comes after *fanā fī Allāh*) (perfect God-realization)

jam’: unification, collectedness (somewhat equivalent to *fanā*)

jam ‘al-jam’: “the gathering of gathering” (equivalent to *baqā*)

hikmat-i yamanī: intuitive wisdom

ḥikmat al-ilāhi: divine wisdom

wisāl: union with God

ittihād: union of lover and Beloved (sometimes considered a heretical term, since there is not really a distinct self separate from God)

uns: intimacy with God

‘ishq: passionate love for God, from God; *‘ishq-i majāzī*: “metaphorical love” for God via creation’s beauty

aḥadiyya: transcendent oneness, the pure nonduality of formless Noumenon, absolute awareness.

wāḥidiyya: immanent oneness, embraces and unifies all apparent diverse phenomena

al-wāḥid al-kathīr: One/Many, God’s nonduality as Sole Reality and apparently multiple Names and phenomena

al-ḥadrat al-ilāhiyya: the Divine Presence, that which comprehends everything that exists

shirk: “associating something with God”; polytheism (not having fully realized *tauḥīd*, unity)

alif: the first letter of the Arabic alphabet, symbolizing God’s unity

wahdat al wujūd: unity of being (Ibn ‘Arabī’s term, signifying that everything “found” is Allāh)

wāḥid al-wujūd: the Only Being, the One Who Alone Is

wahdat ash-shuhūd: unity of vision, a notion posited as antidote to the “pantheistic” (*sic*) idea of Ibn ‘Arabī as some interpreted his thought; it holds an ontological distinction between God and man in the subjective experiencing of unity

dhāt: essence (a female term, used by Ibn al-‘Arabī to indicate a feminine aspect of God)

al-Ḥaqq: the Absolute Truth; *anā ‘-l Ḥaqq*: “I am the Absolute Truth” (cf. Vedanta’s “*Aham Brahmasmi*”), Mansūr al-Ḥallāj’s “heretical” statement—or God’s statement through al-Ḥallāj—of nondual identity as the Sole Reality

III. -- USEFUL PHRASES:

Bismi ‘Llāh ir-Raḥmān ir-Raḥīm: “In the Name of God the most Merciful, the most Compassionate”—the great invocation of Islām and Sūfism, uttered at the beginning of any discourse or action.

Allāh hu Akbar: “God is great”—a very oft-used phrase, especially by the *muezzin/mu’adhīn*, the person who calls the Muslim community to the five daily times of prayer with his soulful calls from the mosque’s minaret / *manāra*.

inshā ‘Allāh: “if it please Allāh” or “God willing.” Used whenever one expresses an intention, expectation, or hope. So, for example, “Hopefully we will meet again, *inshā ‘ Llāh*.”

salām alaikum: “Peace upon you”; the common Muslim/Sūfī greeting; when greeted with this, one always responds: *wa-laikum as-Salām*, “And God’s Peace be upon you.”

al-Ḥamdu li ‘Llāh: “Praise/thanks be to God.”

ma sha ‘ Llāh: “it is as Allāh has pleased,” used whenever one feels admiration for a person or thing.

jazā-ka-Llāh: “May God reward thee,” or *jazā-ka-Llāh u khairā*: “May God give you good reward”; when receiving a gift from another or receiving any good, one thanks the bestower of the gift with this phrase.

subḥāna-Llāh: “Glory to God,” a general phrase of praise to God, also used when one has to give expression to the fact that one is not free from imperfections or has made an error. This phrase is also used when one sees another person making a mistake, thus bringing the attention to the all-good God.

yarḥamu-ka-Llāh (“May God have mercy on you”) is a prayer for someone in distress. *Innā li-Llāhi wa innā ilai-hi rāji ‘un* (“Surely we are God’s and to Him we shall return”) is said when one is informed of the death of a person or anyone’s major loss.

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IV. -- SYMBOLIC POETIC TERMS:

It is helpful to know that in Persian Sūfī poetry (Sanāʿī, ʿAṭṭār, Rūmī, Ḥāfīz, Shabistārī, et al.), many of the following nouns have fairly consistently encoded certain symbolic meanings. For example:

Wine: spiritual love and/or knowledge, which brings about a spiritual rapture (symbolized as drunkenness or intoxication) in which all but the formless God is transcended and forgotten

Wine-seller: the beloved spiritual guide (*shaykh, pīr, murshid*)

Saki: the cupbearer, also symbolizing the spiritual guide

Cup: the human body or the spiritual heart, a receptacle for the overwhelming divine love/wisdom

Tavern: the *khāniqāh* (Sūfī meeting-place) or the world as a whole

Rind: the people of the tavern (i.e., the Sūfī dervīshes)

Sleep: God-absorption via deep meditation or contemplation

Beauty: the glory of God

Lips: usually red, as if wine-stained; lips give the “kiss” of Unity in God-intoxication

Curls and tresses: the plurality veiling the Unity of God; also signifies the attractiveness of God, who is seducing the lover (the dervīsh)

Cheek: the Divine essence of Names and qualities

Mole: the beauty spot, the primordial blackness symbolizing the divine origin of all phenomena

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V. -- HETERODOX MOVEMENTS (dissenting from the mainstream body of Sunni Islām):

Shīʿa / Shīʿites: a major faction of Islam which developed at the start of Islām by ʿAlī, now dominant in Persia/Iran and eastern Iraq, which opposes “orthodox” Sunni Islam. Shīʿa will sometimes admit that Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī were all “rightfully guided” Caliphs after Muḥammad, but accepts only the authority of ʿAlī and his descendants. Thus, Shīʿa repudiates the validity of the traditions (*ḥadīth*) collected by those who opposed ʿAlī, proclaiming the validity only of traditions derived from ʿAlī and his supporters. Whereas orthodox Sunni Islam mainly emphasizes the exoteric law, or *sharīʿa* (and note that Sūfism arose within Sunni Islam to emphasize the inward way of *ṭarīqa* and the ultimate spiritual truth, or *ḥaqīqa*)—Shīʿa Islam from the start recognized not only the *sharīʿa* but also emphasized the esoteric interpretations of the *Qurʿān* and instructions of the Prophet, the *asrār*. Whereas the Sunni believe that Muslims are to be governed by consensus (*ijmaʿ*) through an elected head of state, the *khalīfa*, the Shīʿa believe that the leader of Islām (whom they call the *Imām*) must be a *sayyid*, a descendant of the Prophet. For Shīʿa Muslims, the first six Imāms are ʿAlī, Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn al-Bāqir, and Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq. The Imāmi Shīʿites (dominant in Persia and with followings in India, Iraq, and Syria) posited a succession of six more Imāms, totaling twelve infallible Imāms as incarnations of the Divine Light (*Nūr*) who were representatives of Islāmic esotericism. The last of the Twelve disappeared in 873 and his return is still awaited; he is Mahdī, the Guided, who is concealed now, but is to openly reveal him-

self at the Last Day. Shī'ites also differ from the Sunni Muslims by having a clergy, and by interpreting the *Qur'ān* according to the esoteric spirit of the law, rather than the letter of the law. A less extreme form of Shī'ism is the *Zaidi* sect, still dominant in Yemen highlands, who ascribe no infallibility to the Imāms. Sūfism is considered to have first developed under the influence and writings of the early Shī'a Imāms, and the Sūfīs were openly linked with these Imāms until the 8th Imām, Ridā. However, almost all the major Sūfī orders that arose, except the Ni'matullāhi and Nūrbakhshi of Persia, are Sunni. Shī'ism has influenced Sunni Islam with its veneration of Prophet Muḥammad and 'Alī, and its doctrine of Divine Light (*Nūr*) and of the Imāms' sinlessness (attributes which are applied to Muḥammad).

Mu'tazilā: a group of Muslims who stayed neutral during the struggle between 'Alī at Kufa and his enemies in Syria; they were later condemned by orthodox Muslims and Sūfīs alike as heretics for believing in the created origin of the *Qur'ān*, belief in free will, and rationalism.

Ismā'īlīs: an extreme branch of Shī'a Islām which broke away from the majority after the sixth Imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq's eldest son Ismā'īl predeceased his father, and the Imāmship passed to third son Mūsā al-Kāzim. The majority of Shī'a (the so-called "Twelvers") followed Mūsā's lineage, whereas the Ismā'īlīs ("Seveners") took off on their own direction. The Ismā'īlīs, out of which arose many subsects (e.g., Qarmatians, Nizārīs, Assassins, Musta'līs, Druzes and Muqann'ah), were dominant in Persia in the medieval period, waging political conquest against orthodox Muslims and, later, against the Crusaders. This was the powerful Fāṭimid dynasty, which the Ismā'īlīs established in North Africa in the early 10th century, extending its control in the 11th century to Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Hijāz, Yemen, and Sind (Pakistan), until its power was curtailed by the orthodox Sunni Muslims near the end of that century. The Ismā'īlī principle of *ta'wīl*, allegorically interpreting the *Qur'ān*, was effectively criticized by the great medieval mystical theologian, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī. The Ismā'īlī form of Islām still thrives, its largest surviving group the Nizārīs, numbering some 20 million, found in communities from East Africa to Syria, Lebanon, Iran, Pakistan and India, where they are known as the Khojas, their Imām being the Aga Khān.

Safavids: a Shī'a group headed by Shāh Ismā'īl Safawī (d. 1504), whose conquests made Shī'a Islam the official creed of Persia/Iran.

Sālimiyya: a strain of Sūfism which, in contrast to many of the ascetics who relied totally on trust in God (*tawakkul*) for their provisions, praised work as legitimate livelihood.

Malāmatiyya: the "blameworthy"—an oft-criticized proto-Sūfī movement whose exponents "hid their sanctity" from the public through unorthodox or contemptible "mad" behaviors to bring scorn and wrath as a test of equanimity. Groups of early Christian mystics had done the same.

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VI. -- SUFI ORDERS (*Tarīqa*, singular; *Turuq*, plural; also known as *silsilas*):

(Sufi brotherhoods are, on the whole, not antagonistic toward each other, but simply represent different aspects of spiritual practice or a different emphasis on stages toward God, like different Catholic monastic orders. In 1960 it was estimated that 3% of Muslims were Sufis, roughly 30 million people, in 70 *turuqs*. Note that not all Sufīs belong to the following major orders.)

Qādiriyya: founded on the influence of the highly esteemed Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 1166), it is a fairly "sober," "orthodox" and tolerant order, the most widespread Sūfī order of Islam, especially popular in India. Baghdad is the main headquarters, to which the various lineages are loosely attached.

Rifā'iyya: founded by al-Jīlānī's nephew, Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī (d. 1182), a sub-order of the Qādiriyya, known for its "howling dervishes" who loudly chant the *dhikr*; they are more fanatical, self-mortifying and thaumaturgical (fire-swallowing, glass-eating, serpent handling) in their practices. Dominant in Iraq, with branches in Syria and Egypt.

Shādhilīyya: founded by the disciples of Abū Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 1258) (who himself eschewed monasteries, etc.), it is, along with the Qādiriyya, probably the largest *tarīqa*, yet is more extravagant in ritual and more ecstatic than the Qādiriyya; it has spread over N. Africa and into Arabia and beyond. Many sub-orders arose, like the austere, orthodox *Darqāwīyya* (flourishing in Morocco and Algeria the last two centuries), and *Isawīya* (with its sword-slashing ritual).

Suhrawardīyya: f. by Shihābuddīn Abū Hafs 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 1234) in Baghdad, this order branched into many lines, spreading to Iran, Afghanistan, India and Africa; its practices vary from the wildly ecstatic to meditative.

Mevlevīyya: organized by Jalāluddīn Rūmī's son, Sultan Walad (d. 1312), this order was based in Konya, Turkey (underground in Turkey since Atatürk abolished all Sūfī orders in 1925) and survives in Aleppo, Syria, and a few other towns; now also represented in the U.S.; it is famous for its whirling dervishes and musical *samā'*.

Chishtī: founded in India by Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī of Syria (d. 1236), and carried on by different lineages of his disciples, the wandering dervishes of this order specialize in music; the order has flourished only in India, where it has in some circles been "Hindu-ized" to a great extent. The Sufi Islamia Ruhaniat Society of America is a kind of non-Muslim suborder of the Chishtī movement.

Shattāriyya: a suborder of the main Chishtī and Suhrawardīyya which is restricted to India and Indonesia, its main representatives were Muḥammad Ghauth Gwaliori (d. 1562), and Muḥammad Ghauthī (d. after 1633).

Naqshbandīyya: named after Khwāja Bahā'uddīn Naqshband (d. 1389), this is a sober, highly orthodox school, which arose in Turkestan, Central Asia under the influence of Yūsuf Hamadhānī (d. 1140) and his disciple Ghijduwānī (d. 1220); it came to be associated with trade guilds and merchants, and became highly politicized, influencing the Timurid court; it is now propagated widely, from the Near East to central Asia, China, Indonesia, and especially from India and Pakistan, where it opposes syncretistic and ecstatic tendencies in Sūfism. It emphasizes an austere, eightfold spiritual practice and an intimate master-disciple relationship.

Bekdashīyya: founded by Hājji Bekdash of Khurāsān (14th cent.), and influenced by the Yasawiyya Order of Central Asia (founded by Hamadhānī's disciple, Aḥmad Yasawī), this "rustic" and very secret order, fully established by the late 15th cent., combines Shī'a and Sunni elements; it went further than most orders in regarding outer ceremonies of Islām as unnecessary, also neglecting *dhikr* in favor of a Christian-style confession and communal meal with bread, wine and cheese; once prestigious due to its association with the Ottoman Empire, it now survives only in Albania. It is noteworthy for treating women as equals (women have fared well since ancient times in Turkey).

Kubrawīyya: founded by Abū'l Jannāb Aḥmad al-Kubrā (d. 1220) of Khiva, central Asia, this order spread to Turkey and India (Kashmir).

Khalvetīyya: a branch of the Suhrawardī order, originally in Khurāsān, it has been propagated in Turkey, Egypt and Syria since the 18th cent. by the Anatolian, Mustafā al-Bakri (d. 1749); it is an influential, orthodox order; the Jerrāhi Order is an important sub-order, recently spread to the West by the late Shaikh Muzaffer Ozak Efendi (d. 1987).

Badawīyya: founded by Aḥmad al-Badawī from Tanta (d. 1278), an Egyptian “rustic” order. The most noteworthy representative of this order was al-Sha’rānī (d. 1565), who founded the Sha’rāwīyya suborder.

Tijānīyya: founded by Aḥmad al-Tijānī (1737-1815) from Tahmut, Algeria; emphasizes submission to the government and more sober, orthodox practice; it flourishes in West Africa (where almost every Muslim is a Sufi belonging to the Tijānīyya), North Africa and Sudan.

Ni’matullāhi: a Shī’ite order descending from Qādiriyya, founded by Shāh Ni’matullāhi (d. 1431) of Persia, it flourished in India for 3 centuries after his son/successor moved there, but was brought back to Persia and spread to the masses by Shāh Ma’sūm (d. 1797) and his disciple Nūr ‘Alī (d. 1798). It is now the most widespread Sūfī order in Persia/Iran, with many centers also in the West. A relatively sober, quiet order, in contrast to the “intoxicated” orientation of its 18th cent. Indo-Persian leaders.

Nūrbakhshī: founded by Muhammad ibn ‘Abdallāh, of Persia, who sought to create a bridge between and combine Sunnism and Shī’ism.

Qalandarīyya: very loosely organized, this order is the most famous of the many *beshar* (irregular) orders flourishing in India; it is comprised of wandering dervishes, who emphasize music and poetry.

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VII. IMPORTANT PLACES:

Mecca, Saudi Arabia: site of the Ka’bah and Mt. Arafat; one of the five pillars of Islām is to make the pilgrimage (*ḥājj*) to the Ka’bah and Mt. Arafat at least once. (Mecca and Medina are off-limits for non-Muslims.)

Medina, Saudi Arabia: the center of incipient Islam, before Mecca was acceded to Muḥammad. At the Baqī’ cemetery are the tombs of Muḥammad, daughter Fāṭimah, and others.

Jerusalem, Israel: the Mosque of the Dome of the Rock; third most important shrine in Islām.

Baghdad, Iraq: site of the capital of the Abbasid dynasty [750-1258], which succeeded the degenerate Umayyad dynasty and marked the high point of Muslim culture; many early Sūfīs flourished here, such as Ḥasan al-Baṣṣī, al-Muḥāsibī, al-Nūrī, al-Junayd, Qādir al-Jīlānī, and a great number of pious women saints.

Damascus, Syria: tomb of Ibn al-Arabī (miraculously found by Selim II) is here at Salihiyya. This was the old capital of the Umayyad dynasty; many saints lived and taught here through the centuries

Konya, Turkey: a flourishing Sūfī/Muslim center especially during the time of the Mongol conquests; some beautiful mosques and the tombs of Rūmī and other Mevlevi teachers are here.

Meshed (Mashhad), Iran: tomb of 8th Imām of Shī’a Islām, Alī al-Ridā, to whom Persians pray for help in finding a spiritual master.

Ṭūs, near Meshed, Iran: tomb of Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī, Islām’s great medieval orthodox theologian turned Sūfī.

Mahān, Iran (southeastern): grand tomb of Shāh Ni’matullāh Walī (1331-1431).

Shiraz, Iran: a large Sūfī center, the tombs of Shāh Dā‘ī Shīrāzī and Raḥmat ‘Alī Shāh of the Ni’matullāhi Order are here.

Fez, Morocco: a major centre for N. African Sūfī groups.

Cairo, Egypt: Muqattam Hill—tombs of many Cairo Sūfī saints.

Giza, Egypt: tomb of early mystic Dhūn-Nūn al-Miṣrī.

Ajmer, Rajasthan, India: tomb of Mu’īnuddīn Chishtī and other Chishtīyya Order saints. Great *qawwāl* music is sung every Thursday night.

New Delhi, India (S.E. section): tombs of Nizāmuddīn Auliya, Jihānārā Begum, Hazrat Ināyat Khān, et al. Tomb of Chishtī’s disciple, Qutbuddīn Bakhtiyār Kākī is in Merauli section, near the Qutb Minar in (south) New Delhi. Another great site for *qawwāl* music on Thursday nights.

Khuldabad, India (north of Aurangabad, near Ellora): tombs of Burhān-al-Dīn Gharīb and many other early Chishtī saints and Muslim rulers

Hyderabad, India (outskirts): tomb of Ridā ‘Alī Shāh, of the Ni’matullāhi Order, who lived to be 120 years old.

Lahore, Pakistan: first site in Pakistan of Persian Muslim influence. Many saints lived and died in or around Lahore, so one finds here the tomb shrines of Data Ganj Baksh (Hujwūrī, d. 1071), Miān Mīr (d. 1635), Bulleh Shāh (d. 1752), and many others. Thursday nights are the primary night for these shrines in Lahore and other parts of Pakistan and India to host ecstatic *qawwāl* music.

Multan, Pakistan: tomb of Bahā‘uddīn Zakariya Multānī (d. 1262), a Suhrawardīyya saint.

Bhit-Shah, near Hyderabad, Pakistan: tomb of Shāh ‘Abdu’l Laṭīf (one of the most beautiful tombs in all Islam, to Pakistan’s most popular of poet-saints).

Jhok, Pakistan: tomb of Shah Ināyat Shāhīd (early 18th cent.).

Tatta, Pakistan: Makkli Hill—tombs of many Sindhi saints.

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--The finest overall online networking site for Islām and Sūfism, with hundreds of links to other webpages, is **Professor Alan Godlas' website, "Islam and Islamic Studies Resources"**: www.uga.edu/islam/home.html. See especially the Sufism section (www.uga.edu/islam/Sufism.html), and specific subsections like "Sufi Orders and Their Shaykhs."