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# ZAYN AL-DĪN AL-KHWĀFĪ (757–838/1356–1435): THE LIFE AND WORK OF A *ṬARĪQA*-FOUNDING SUFI

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*For Nefise, Mina, and Murad.*

"The Messenger of God, peace be upon him, said that three communities will cause the ruin of this world: ignorant Sufis, dissolute scholars, and unjust rulers. Ignorant Sufis cannot distinguish true religion from fallacy, corrupting their own belief as well as that of others. And scholars are of two kinds: those who are literate and who have studied external sciences, and those who became scholars of internal sciences through the purification of the heart and the cleansing of the soul. Knowledge has been uncovered to them. Be it through acquisition or uncovering, both of these two classes belong to the *ʿulamāʾ*. But those who are deprived of both do not merit shaykh-hood."

*Ashraf-oghlu Rūmī (d. 874/1469–70)*

"The third group is that of those called Sufis, who devote themselves to meditation and spiritual exercises; their reputation is great and they are considered the successors of the prophets and founding fathers of this sect; they proclaim that their authority is superior to others. Their opinion is not based on anything but they say that it is the fruit of an ancient tradition."

*Fr. George of Hungary (d. 1502)*

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# ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study of the life and work of Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfī (d. 838/1435), a Suhrawardī Sufi of Herat active during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Besides providing a first detailed biography of Khwāfī, the current study subjects his life to a number of analyses from the perspectives, respectively, of the development of the Suhrawardī and Kubrawī lineages (*silsila*) and communities (*ṭarīqa*); the expansion of his network into the Mamlūk and Ottoman lands; the role of social and political circumstances in the evolution of Sufi communities; issues of controversy, divergence and differentiation among Sufi groups; and, finally, Khwāfī's contribution to Sufism and religious traditions, in his time and beyond.

The research is based on an array of contemporary sources, ranging from hagiographical sources, Khwāfī's own works, and independent chronicles, in Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Chaghatai to a limited number of modern studies, the criticism of which is a main concern of this dissertation.

The body of the dissertation, aside from the introduction and conclusion, consists of eight chapters, divided into two parts. Part I considers Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī's biography in five chapters, starting from his early formation in Herat until his return there at the end of his life. In these chapters, I examine his sources of influence, his spiritual lineage, the networks among religious and political notables, and the community he built.

Part II examines Khwāfī's path in a broader manner and is divided into three chapters. The first chapter is devoted to the study of the spread of his path to Ottoman Anatolia and is, in fact, an extension of Chapter IV. The next two chapters deal with Khwāfī's works and thought. Some of the important questions dealt with here are related to the spiritual handshake, dream interpretation, Sufi worship, and perspectives on Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ᶜArabī (d. 638/1240).

# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 The historical background

The period this dissertation concerns, namely the late-fourteenth and the early-fifteenth centuries, is part of a much longer era of dramatic change and rebuilding, yet in itself is nothing but remarkable. Modern scholarship agrees that a succession of watershed developments, including the Crusades, the arrival of the steppe peoples, and the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate had already culminated in profound social, political, and cultural transformations. Until this long period came to an end with the emergence of "Gunpowder Empires" and the Sunni-Shi'i political segregation, new political ideologies were conceived, the cultural landscape was rearranged, and certain agitated classes of the traditional order tried to negotiate change and cope with innovation.

In Egypt, the seat of the "slave sultans" and a surviving scion of the Abbasid house, relative stability was attained through cooperation between the religious and the military elite.[1] By the end of the fourteenth century, the line of the *Baḥrī* Mamlūks had come to an end with the accession of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (d. 784–91/1382–9 and 792–801/1390–99), ushering in the "Circassian era." The new sultan was able to suppress a counter-revolt and rule mostly peacefully; however, his death in 801/1399 triggered political turmoil as two major neighbors began to threaten the Mamlūks' political integrity.

The Ottomans, who, until that time had had limited but peaceful relations with the Mamlūks and with the Abbasid caliph in Cairo, embraced an aggressive military policy under Bāyazīd I (r. 791–805/1389–1403). Bāyazīd I, called *Yıldırım* ("the Thunderbolt") by later historians, had impe-

1. The religious elite, in addition to supporting the military caste, became particularly concerned with defending traditional Islam, which is indicated by the production of the unusually high number of treatises on the questions of orthodoxy and heresy. Jonathan P. Berkey, "The Mamluk as Muslims: The Military Elite and the Construction of Islam in Medieval Egypt," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 166–67.

rial ambitions and was not afraid of eastward political expansion. He invaded territories of Turkman principalities to establish political unity in Anatolia, in the meantime risking conflicts with his formidable rivals, the Mamlūks and the Tīmūrids. In addition to having been an energetic commander, he seems to have been determined to exert the power of his court over local administration by reforming the judiciary—much as Barqūq had been doing at the time.[2]

It was under these circumstances that Bāyazīd I, whom modern scholars have called the "first true Ottoman empire-builder," in 796/1394 sent a messenger to Barqūq, soliciting from the Abbasid caliph in Cairo the title of " the Sultan of Rūm."[3] However, this "hastily-built empire" of the sul-

2. Barqūq began to appoint officials himself in an attempt to bring provinces under Cairo's control and centralize authority. See Donald P. Little, "Mujīr al-Dīn al-ᶜUlaymī's Vision of Jerusalem in the Ninth/Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 2 (1995): 244. There are numerous indications of the fact that Bāyazīd wanted in fact to transform his *ghāzī* frontier state into an empire. His reign witnessed attempts to centralize the administration including reforms in the judiciary system, the adoption of the post of *qāḍī-ᶜaskar*, the expansion of the *qul* system, and the likely introduction of the cadastral surveys (*taḥrīr defterleri*). Judicial bureaucracy seems to have been overhauled under Bāyazīd I according to Ottoman sources, which ascribe it to the leadership of Chandarli ᶜAlī Pāshā. For a brief treatment of the Chandarli family of bureaucrats, see Dimitris J. Kastritsis, "Çandarlı Family," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Third Edition; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Çandarlı Vezir Ailesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1974); Franz Taeschner and Paul Wittek, "Die Vezirfamilie der Gandarlyzade (14./15. Jhdt.) und ihre Denkmäler," *Der Islam; Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients*, no. 18 (1929): 60–119 On ᶜAlī Pāshā, see Robert Mantran, "Čāndārli-Zāde," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Second Edition. Bāyazīd's relations with Western neighbors also demonstrate his ambitions: As a sign that he recognized no exception to his direct rule; he appropriated Thessaloniki, an autonomously ruled city that had been under Ottoman rule since its capture by Murād I in 789/1387. He had a fortress built in the city that housed the military garrison. Despite this, however, there was a great degree of tolerance towards the non-Muslim residents of the city. See Machiel Kiel, "Selanik," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. He moreover seized the city of Philadelphia, the last vestige of Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor by that time. He summoned all of his Balkan vassals to Serres in Greece in 796/1394 to receive their fealty and acted likewise as their suzerain overlord all throughout his reign, requiring them to join him in his campaigns. Bāyazīd also put pressure on the Byzantine Emperor, kept Constantinople under siege for eight years until Tīmūr forced him to abandon, and had a Muslim quarter established in the city with a *qāḍī* appointed by Bayazid. His intention seems to have been to eliminate the Byzantine Empire, seeing the Ottomans as its rightful heirs to rule the Balkans and Anatolia, and to revive the former Byzantine glory, albeit in an Islamic and *ghāzī* garb.

3. The expression is quoted from Dimitris Kastritsis' *Encyclopædia of Islam* (Third edition) article on Bāyazīd I. Many other scholars have expressed similar opinions though, including Halil İnalcık,

tan did not last long. His incorporation of Anatolian lands within Ottoman direct administration alienated Turkmen political powers, causing them to ally with Tīmūr instead and weakening the prospects of a possible Ottoman-Mamlūk alliance against the Central Asian conqueror. In the view of Tīmūr, who saw in Bāyazīd's incursions into eastern Anatolia a violation of the Chinggisid prerogatives, the Ottoman sultan was devoid of the legitimacy to act as an overlord and should have directed his powers to waging war against the "infidels."[4]

This conflict, which ended with the Ottoman defeat in 804/1402, caused the Ottoman territories to be divided among Ottoman princes and Anatolian claimants. The aftermath of the "Tīmūrid debacle" was a half-century of political experimentation and a quest for an ideological solution to renew empire-building ambitions. The search for a new language of political cohesion opened Ottoman society to intellectual influences from outside.[5] Emulating their more established eastern

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"Bayezid," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. Bāyazīd was not the first ruler to claim the sultanate of Rūm. For a discussion of the use of the term *Rūm* and Bāyazīd's relations with the Mamlūks, see Paul Wittek, "Le Sultan de Rûm," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientaleset Slaves*, no. 6 (1938): 361–90.

4. The Tīmūrid threat was not only the Ottomans' problem. Mamlūk relations with Tīmūr deteriorated under Barqūq, who beheaded the latter's emissary in Cairo and refused to acknowledge his superiority. At the last decade of the century, Mamlūks tried to safeguard their position by forming alliances against Tīmūr with Bāyazīd, Qāḍī Burhān al-Din of Sivas (r. ca 782–800/1381–98), and Tuqtamish, the Khan of the Golden Horde (r. ca 780–97/1378–95). In a campaign to Syria and southern Anatolia, reminiscent of Baybars's incursion more than a century ago, Barqūq sought to strengthen his grip over Mamlūk possessions and ameliorate defenses. These precautions proved futile when Barqūq's infant son Faraj (r. 801–815/1399–1412) acceded the Mamlūk throne in 1399, creating confusion and panic in the Mamlūk state eventually leading to Tīmūr's invasion of Syria.

5. The question of outside influences becomes extremely important in the case of the fifteenth century Ottoman history for a number of reasons. First of all, the century constitutes a time of ascendancy in Anatolia of divergent and antinomian pieties. This trend was paralleled by the contemporaneous proliferation of the established *ṭarīqa* in the same geography. Looking from the point of view of Ottoman political history, all of these developments took place in the background of the state-building activity in the Ottoman empire, which grew from being one of the frontier principalities to that of an empire with compelling interests in the religious and socio-economical circumstances of its subjects. To borrow Ira Lapidus' interpretation, this was the transformation from a conquest movement to an empire, which, in the Ottoman case, involved a breakup with the founding *ghazi* demographics, the subduing of the tribes, development of a loyal military in the form of the janissaries and the realignment of state and religion relations and sources of legitima-

and southern neighbors, Ottoman sultans increasingly turned to patronizing traditional Islam and Persianate culture, which served their need for dynastic legitimation. In broad terms, this came in the form of translations, such as Persian mirrors for princes, an influx of scholars and intellectuals from all walks of culture, and in the meantime, the influence of spiritual traditions. I will raise this point time and again when I explain the adoption of Zaynī *ṭarīqa* in Ottoman lands.

At the political level, Tīmūr's exploits brought about a change in the status quo in the central Islamic lands, revivifying Chinggisid political notions. On the cultural plane, however, the brief unification of the lands from eastern Anatolia to Turkistan in a second *Pax Mongolica* facilitated currents of intellectual exchange among Anatolia, Azarbaijan, and the Mamlūk and Tīmūrid lands. The Tīmūrid patronage of the religious and cultural life once again brought the Persianate world to prominence, elevating cities from Tabriz to Samarkand and Herat to greater prominence in a network of intellectual and religious connections. These cities became prominent hubs of learning and scholarship, rivaling Mamlūk cities like Damascus and Cairo, and fertile centers of a brilliant civilization of arts and letters.[6] In this highly creative and productive atmosphere, mystical trends also made new inroads in a geography that spanned the entire east of Islamdom.

Unlike the Mamlūk scholarly climate, however, the conditions of religious orientation in the Tīmūrid sphere were characterized by a higher degree of ambiguity and fluidity. The apparent political stability that marked the reigns of the first two Tīmūrid rulers essentially obscured significant experimentation and flux. At the background of Tīmūr's and Shāhrukh's struggles to impose their authority lay several major messianic uprisings, strong esoteric and shi'itizing undercurrents, and

tion in terms of post-Seljuk traditions of patronizing Sunni Islam. See Ira Lapidus, "Tribe and state formation in Islamic history," in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, ed. Joseph Kostiner and Philip S. Khoury (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 25–47. Surely, the political transformation and geographical expansion of the Ottoman state effectuated a realignment of its alliances and priorities. The priorities and concerns in the westward expansion were certainly different than those in eastern Anatolia, which had a sizable nomadic Turkoman population, with cultural, tribal and historic ties to the northwestern Iranian lands.

6. For a brief summary, see Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam, Volume 2: The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 371–3.

an increasing influence of mysticism over the whole culture. The central courts sought to patronize the traditional *Sharī$^{c}$a*- and *siyāsa*-minded piety, which favored a centralizing social and political order, while alternative ideologies were always attractive for the contending centers of power. Factors like cultural ambiguity, the availability of a multiplicity of patrons, and a strong spirit of creativity in the society paved the ground for new formulations that could appeal to a variety of audiences. In particular, the conditions of mainstream Sufism in Khorasan, the birthplace of Zayniyya, are worth noting, as the region enjoyed a long period of prosperity and growth under a *Sharī$^{c}$a*-minded ruler who called himself "the Emperor of Islam" (*Pādshāh-i Islām*).[7]

At the starting point of this dissertation is the question of how to make sense of the history of Sufism during this period, given these social and political developments. After all, the fifteenth century is an immensely crucial time in the history of Sufism, despite the lack of scholarly attention given to it and the abundance of modern assumptions. It stands in the middle of the evolution of communal Sufism from the stage of local convents to that of spiritual lineages and then to inter-regional *ṭarīqa* networks. It was a time when the influence of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī's teachings penetrated all the corners of thought across Islamdom, at the same time stimulating equally influential responses and rebuttals from the scholarly establishment. In the case of Anatolia, it was the period when the widely influential *Akhī* networks collapsed, to be overtaken by organized Sufi communities, as well as a period when, in broad terms, divergent pieties coalesced to form a common opposition against the Sunni piety of the centralizing Ottoman Empire. Equally if not less important is the conversion, at this point in history, of the Safavid piety into a militant activism of tribes on the other side of the Ottoman border to form a major political dynasty.

My conviction is that the above changes are all strongly related and deserve further research and inquiry in the form of case studies, as well as syntheses. The subject of this dissertation is someone whose life and work intersected with these intellectual and social developments in the Mamlūk,

7. On the use of the term in Anatolia in the fifteenth century, see Halil İnalcık, "Padişah," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. On Ghāzān Khān's appropriation of the term, see Charles P. Melville, "Pādshāh-i Islām: The Conversion of Sultan Maḥmūd Ghāzān Khān," *Pembroke Papers*, no. 1 (1990): 159–77.

Ottoman, and Tīmūrid lands of the period. Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Khwāfī (757-838/1356–1435), himself a Sufi of Herat, received his summative training in Mamlūk Egypt. It was thanks in no small part to the education and connections he acquired in the Mamlūk lands that he was able to transform a convent in Khorasan into the center of a major transregional *ṭarīqa*. His cautious approach to controversial issues of the time, yet unambiguous adherence to Sunni Islam, afforded him and his followers access to the highest echelons of the urban elite from the Nile to the Oxus. Part of Khwāfī's genius lay in his ability to recognize the evolution of Sufism and assess his own time: he tapped the resources of classical Sufism as he traveled through Islamdom and applied this knowledge to his context in a manner of his own, to become both the founder and eponym of the Zayniyya *ṭarīqa* (order).

Khwāfī spent his life in between not only parts of Islamdom, but also groups of Islamic society that came together thanks in part to the ambivalence of cultural traditions at the time. His time was a fateful one in terms of the larger history of the period, as it soon produced major transformations on both the political and cultural levels. An enterprising and commanding personality, Khwāfī was integral to the intellectual history of his time and beyond. Consequently, Zayniyya grew to become one of the major Sufi traditions in its birthplace of Khorasan and Central Asia, and, arguably, the most influential one in the fifteenth-century Ottoman lands. The virtual lack of studies on the subject, therefore, is surprising to say the least. Unlike other Sufi communities originating in Central Asia—such as Naqshbandiyya and Kubrawiyya—Zayniyya has not been able to draw the attention of scholars writing in European languages, while scholarship in Turkish and Persian have so far produced only superficial and partial treatments.[8]

8. More than two decades ago, Devin DeWeese lamented the fact that Yasawiyya received little attention, disproportionate to its historical significance: Devin DeWeese, "The Mashāʾikh-i Turk and the Khojagān: Rethinking the Links Between the Yasavī and Naqshbandī Sufi Traditions," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 7, no. 2 (July 1996): 180–81. The same is true, if not more so, in the case of Zayniyya.

## 1.2 Recent scholarship on Khwāfī

The meager amount of attention Khwāfī and his community have received in modern scholarship stands in contrast with his historical significance and influence on intellectual circles from Transoxania to the Balkans. As I will discuss in the following pages, the scholarship on the subject is not simply hampered by the lack of research, but perhaps more importantly, by the confusing state of the conclusions of the available research. To begin with, J. S. Trimingham's *The Sufi Orders in Islam*—the standard reference on the history of Sufism until very recently—mentioned Khwāfī only as "the founder of the Turkish branch of Suhrawardiyya," without elaborating on him, or on the Zayniyya.[9] This is in fact nothing but a reflection of the rudimentary state of scholarship on Khwāfī at the time of its composition. Trimingham's knowledge of Khwāfī was based on a very brief entry in the original *Enyclopædia of Islam*,[10] on several chance references to the Sufi in literary studies at the turn of the century, and to H.J. Kissling's 1964 article, which, to date, remains the sole Western language study dealing exclusively with Khwāfī's path. What is even more surprising is that only two more articles have appeared since then, namely, a translation of a small pamphlet of Khwāfī by H. T. Norris, and a partial examination of another work of Khwāfī by Bernd Radtke.

A general problem with these works is that, despite their contribution, most of them suffer from the lack of an in-depth analysis of the life and works of the Sufi himself. Among these, Kissling's article focusing on the Ottoman Zayniyya, probably the most influential offshoot of the community Khwāfī established, devotes more attention to Ottoman Zaynīs than to Khwāfī himself. While on one hand the article benefited from an extensive use of Ottoman sources particularly for the period after the mid-fifteenth century, and raised a very important question, on the other hand, based on

9. John Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 78, 149.

10. D.S. Margoliouth's compact entry on Zayn al-Dīn, published in 1927, summarizes the information found in *Nafaḥāt* and *Shaqāʾiq*, mentioning his travels to Egypt and names four of his disciples to include Maqdisī, Marzifūnī, ʿAbd al-Muʿtī and Saʿd al-Dīn Kāshgharī. David Samuel Margoliouth, "Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Khawāfī," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, First Edition. On the discipleship of the latter, see below.

the limited evidence available to Kissling regarding Khwāfī, it went on to propose an argument to the effect that Khwāfī and the Sufi school he established had significant heretical and Shi'i elements. This, however, is far from being tenable in light of all we know—as this dissertation demonstrates, Khwāfī's life was dedicated to the Sunnī-*shar*$^{c}$*ī* struggle against *ilḥād* and *bid*$^{c}$*a*. Because his article was regularly referred to by later studies, it is fair to say that the exaggerated conclusions Kissling had derived from meager evidence plagued later scholarship on Khwāfī and Zayniyya.[11]

Norris's article dated 1990, on the other hand, examines a small pamphlet Khwāfī wrote as a guide for "seekers in the path" in isolation of his other works and, as I mentioned above, without the benefit of a reliable study on his life. While the article provides a useful translation of the work itself, it does not attempt to situate it in the context of Sufi spiritual thought. Neither does it claim to

11. Kissling's article is rich in its utilization of sources—particularly in Ottoman—available to him and even more interesting in its inquiries on the reception of Zayniyya in the Ottoman Empire in general and that of Khwāfī in particular. However, the author is too readily inclined to adopt certain questionable positions regarding the "orthodoxy" of the order all the while without the benefit of any convincing evidence or explanation to many of his arguments. His arguments squarely to the effect that *i*) Tāshkubrīzāda's account portrays Khwāfī as a heretic; *ii*) Khwāfī may have been a religious libertine; *iii*) Zayniyya was known in the time of Tāshkubrīzāda as "bī-shar';" *iv*) the order was identified with Persianate traditions and therefore with irreligiosity; *v*) Shaqa$^{\supset}$iq's account of Zayniyya, in a rather sinister way, highlights the Shi'a imams in the Zaynī initiatic chain in an attempt to allude to the "heretical" nature of the order—-one needs to note that this *silsila* was actually found in Lāmi$^{c}$ī's translation derived from $^{c}$Abd al-Laṭīf Maqdisī's verse, from which Tāshkubrīzāda borrowed; and also that the indisputably Sunni Naqshbandī scholar Jāmī used the phrase *Silsilat al-Dhahab* to refer to the first eight of the imams that occur in his initatic chain, for this see Hamid Algar, "Jāmī and Sufism," in *Encyclopædia Iranica—vi*) the order, for the previous reasons, may be considered one of the deviant groups with Persianate impulses; *vii*) most of the early members of the network came to Anatolia from Iran; and *viii*) the tradition that some of the monks in Hagia Sophia converted to Islam by Khwāfī's disciple $^{c}$Abd al-Rahim al-Marzifoni (d. after 1450) kept their religion secret reminiscent of *taqiyya* (prudent dissimulation) practiced by some Shi'is, and therefore is an evidence to the Shi'i links in the *ṭarīqa*; (p. 154–57) among more general misinterpretations found in the article, are fairly disputable and fail to convince. The sixteenth-century circumstances of the order notwithstanding, in the face of all the available evidence, it is impossible to associate Khwāfī, or his major disciples in Anatolia like Maqdisī and Marzifūnī, with Shi'a or any "heretical" thought of the time. This is why I believe Kissling's work should not be consulted as a reliable treatment of Khwāfī's path today. See Hans Joachim Kissling, "Einiges über den Zejnije-Orden im Osmanischen Reiche," *Der Islam* 39, no. 1 (1964): 143–79. An *Enyclopædia of Islam* (Second edition) entry repeats the notion that Khwāfī's path was associated with Shi'a; see below.

offer a detailed biography of the Sufi, as it depends on a meager and incoherent body of information, particularly connected with Leonard Lewisohn's studies on Kubrawī Sufis. In terms of the state of scholarship, however, the article is noteworthy in attesting to the inconsistencies in earlier scholarship. Norris quite aptly admits that "[i]t may seem strange [...] that Zain al-Dīn al-Khawafī, in his works, whether in Persian or in Arabic, should have come to be associated with the *Ḥurūfiyya*."[12]

The source of Khwāfī's alleged affiliation with the *Ḥurūfī* and *Bektāshī* sects was E. G. Browne's article from the turn of the century, which identified the Sufi as a member of these groups, based on the fact that a "Persian tract by Zaynu'd-Dín al-Khwáfí on Ṣúfí ethics [*Ādāb al-Ṣūfiyya*]" was found in the collection of a *Bektāshī* dervish.[13] Despite Norris's aforesaid caution on Browne's classification,

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12. Harry T. Norris, "The Mir'āt al-Ṭālibīn, by Zain al-Dīn al-Khawāfī of Khurāsān and Herat," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 53 (1990): 59. Norris's article dated 1990 does not include Kissling's study among its sources but relies on Trimingham's *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, which, in turn, seems to have used Kissling's article as well as that of E.G. Browne for its treatment of the Zayniyya. In addition to repeating the same mistakes as Kissling, Norris essentially reintroduces E.G. Browne's—and, later also, W. Ivanow's—cursory classification of two of Khwāfī's treatises—one the subject of Norris's paper—among Ḥurūfī works. Noting Khwāfī's works "have come to be associated with the Ḥurūfiyya" (p. 59) Norris continues to argue this portrayal of Zayniyya does not stand a scrutiny of "Mirʾāt al-Ṭālibīn," Khwāfī's treatise on the manners of Sufi disciple examined in the same article, which was in no special way Ḥurūfī and whose message appeals to all the *ṭuruq* (p. 60). Norris helpfully adds the fact that, in spite of Browne's early categorization, J.K. Birge does not mention the work among the list of Bektashi and Ḥurūfī works given to him by an Albanian Bektāshī-.Hurūfī scholar (p. 60). One would expect that his discussion was more conclusive, in light of the fact that Browne's mention of Khwāfī's works in his 1907 article is part of an inventory list of books purchased in the sale of the effects of a Bektāshī dervish, without the benefit of an apparent review of the works mentioned. While bringing up this ambiguous Ḥurūfī suggestion, Norris's article presents other questionable claims without any convincing explanation, including, *i*) his conviction that Khwāfī's Sufism is heavily influenced by both Sīsī and Khujandī (for whom, see below) and *ii*) his argument that Nūr al-Dīn Shabarrīsī (see below) was, like Khujandī, "enjoyed the close company of young males and warrior slaves" (p. 59). In addition to logical problems, Norris's article lacks proper citation—some of his arguments are not referenced and some footnotes do not match the text and vice versa. Despite these apparent issues, it is disappointing to find that Norris's study, along with his re-introduction of the notion of Khwāfī's Ḥurūfī association was adopted uncritically by later scholars.

13. Edward G. Browne, "XXII. Further notes on the literature of the Hurufis and their connection with the Bektashi order of dervishes," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 39, no. 3 (1907): 553.

his conclusion was still confusing enough to influence a later *Encyclopædia of Islam* (Second Edition) author to write that "[a]lthough Kh$^{w}$āfī has originally been portrayed as orthodox, he came to be associated with the Ḥurūfiyya and Bektāshiyya" directly quoting Norris's article.[14]

Clearly, the works mentioned so far attempted to include Khwāfī in larger arguments on Sufism and piety without a reference to a single reliable work on him. Combining incoherent information and misleading arguments based on Browne's turn-of-the-century article, these studies still aimed to arrive at grand narratives on the general outlook and history of Zayniyya. One conclusion, among many others, to be derived from this is the fact that studies on Sufism in general far outpaced the state of scholarship on Zayniyya and Zayn al-Dīn himself.

The most recent work dealing with Khwāfī offers partial remedy to these problems. Bernd Radtke's study (dated 1995) on the sources of *Kitāb Rimāḥ*, a nineteenth-century Tijānī treatise, mentions *Al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya* among the direct sources of the work, proving that Khwāfī's scholarship permeated Sufi writing and thinking across continents and communities.[15] As I demonstrate in this study, Khwāfī's works, including his *Al-Waṣāyā* and *Awrād* and others related to Sufi piety and ethics, have been widely adopted by a variety of Sufi schools.

Turkish scholars of Ottoman Sufism accorded Zayn al-Dīn better attention on account of the fact that his successors ended up establishing in Anatolia an influential branch named after him. Apart from two encyclopedia articles, one of which is a translation from English, there are two monographs published in Turkish dealing with Khwāfī and Zayniyya, both of which stand out for their detailed use of sources of Sufism in Ottoman Turkish. Reşat Öngören's work focuses on the scholarly elite associated with Zayniyya in the Ottoman empire in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth

14. Florian Sobieroj, "Suhrawardiyya," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Second Edition.

15. Bernd Radtke, "Von Iran nach Westafrika Zwei Quellen für al-Ḥağğ $^{c}$Umars Kitāb Rimāḥ Ḥizb ar-raḥīm: Zaynaddīn al-Ḫwāfī und Šamsaddīn al-Madyanī," *Die Welt des Islams* 35, no. 1 (1995): esp. 43–49. In a later study published in English in the same year, Radtke provided further details on the sources of the al-Ḥajj $^{c}$Umar al-Fūtī's (d. 1864) *Kitāb Rimāḥ*. See Bernd Radtke, "Studies on the sources of the Kitāb Rimāḥ Ḥizb al-Raḥīm of al-Ḥājj $^{c}$Umar," *Sudanic Africa*, no. 6 (1995): 73–113.

centuries, and although it contains Khwāfī's biography, the author is more interested in the spread and branching of the community in the later period. His treatment of Zayn al-Dīn himself, therefore, is not as comprehensive as one might expect, and this may be the reason Bekir Köle later devoted a volume to him, the culmination of his MA and PhD theses. Köle's work is most helpful in its discussion of Khwāfī's writings, dispensing, however, with an examination of Khwāfī in his historical context.[16]

One of the recent treatments of Khwāfī's life consulted in the present study is Māyil Harawī's extended introduction in Persian to his edition of the *Manhaj al-Rashād*. Called an "antiquarian" and historian of Herat, Harawī contributed greatly to the historiography of Khorasan through editions of medieval Persian texts and annotations. However, as is the case with some modern researchers of

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16. The Turkish translation of the first Encyclopædia of Islam, known as "İslâm Ansiklopedisi," republished in 1984 Margoliouth's entry with modest supplementary information by Ahmed Subhi Furat, who seems to have used Lamiʿīʾs translation in addition to the *Nafaḥāt* and the *Shaqāʾiq*. David Samuel Margoliouth and Ahmed Subhi Furat, "Zeynüddin," in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. Bekir Köle's monograph, the culmination of his MA and PhD theses, is rich in detail mostly in terms of the disciples and representatives of Khwāfī and his works. The author is primarily concerned with interpreting the religiosity of Khwāfī, without maintaining a scientific attitude throughout and at times employing an affectionate tone towards the person of Khwāfī as well as some of the other shaykhs mentioned. This causes his narrative to run as a hagiography at times. Köle does not distinguish between his sources or subject them to any source criticism. Neither does he show an interest in identifying or resolving conflicts that often emerge from his uncritical and wholesale adoption of all the information in the sources. More importantly, translations and interpretations of Arabic and Persian texts include considerable number of errors. Köle's footnotes and citations of primary and secondary sources are also not accurate at all times, all of which hinder the suitability of the work for research on Khwāfī. Öngören's work extends the focus to the spiritual descendants of Khwāfī, almost exclusively in Turkey, although some of the above criticism is valid here as well. Sources are not critically utilized, the subjects seem to receive some kind of veneration and there is very little interest in the historical context. His almost exclusive focus on the individual members in the Turkish Zaynī networks comes at the expense of a concern in the inter-regional aspects of Khwāfī and Zayniyya, which might have helped both authors provide a holistic conclusion on the overall significance of the order itself.One final work that must be mentioned in the same group is Abdürrezzak Tek's study of Maqdisī, the foremost disciple of Khwāfī in Ottoman lands, which, by discussing a later phase of Khwāfī's work adds a welcome perspective to the life and thought of the latter shaykh. Reşat Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı Zeyniler* (Istanbul: İnsan, 2003); Bekir Köle, *Zeynüddîn Hâfî ve Tasavvufî Görüşleri* (Istanbul: İnsan, 2011); Abdürrezzak Tek, *Abdüllatîf Kudsî: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Görüşleri* (Bursa: Emin, 2007).

this period some of which are mentioned above, Harawī's studies, including that on Khwāfī, suffer from a lack of attention to chronology, source criticism and editorial accuracy. He occasionally provides unique information without providing any source, which I have duly noted in the following pages.

A recent surge in interest in the intellectual history of the period now affords a chance to situate Khwāfī and his work in the proper literary, religious, and intellectual historical contexts. The field of Mamlūk studies is enjoying a lively growth and the same can be said about the study of the post-Mongol Near East in the same period.[17] The fact that a number of recent dissertations and monographs mention Zayn al-Dīn, alluding to his influence in matters of religiosity and Sufism in his time, is an encouraging sign that more academic attention is forthcoming. A prominent feature found in this recent scholarship is its interest in examining Sufis like Zayn al-Dīn in active dialogue with their peers in the intellectual networks of the Tīmūrid fifteenth century, on a range of issues, the most prominent among them being attitudes towards Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ᶜArabī (d. 638/1240) and his doctrines.[18] This interest, promising as it is, has at the same time produced renditions of Zayn al-Dīn based on previous misinterpretations, all the more justifying the need for a detailed

17. An assessment is provided in Judith Pfeiffer, "Introduction. From Baghdad to Marāgha, Tabriz, and beyond: Tabriz and the multi-cephalous cultural, religious, and intellectual landscape of the 13th to 15th century Nile-to-Oxus region," in *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th-15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Brill, 2014), 1–11. The sudden surge of interest in Mamlūk history has been described as a booming, see Stephan Conermann, "Es boomt! Die mamlūkenforschung (1992-2002)," in *Die Mamlūken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur. Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942-1999)*, ed. Anja Pistor-Hatam Stephan Conermann (EB-Verlag, 2003), 1–69.

18. See Shahzad Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011); Ertuğrul I. Ökten, "Jāmī (817-898/1414-1492): His Biography and Intellectual Influence in Herat" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2007); İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran : Sharaf al-Dīn ᶜAlī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); İlker Evrim Binbaş, "The Anatomy of a Regicide Attempt: Shāhrukh, the Ḥurūfīs, and the Timurid Intellectuals in 830/1426–27," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 23 2013, 391–428; and Matthew Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Philosophy of Sā'in al-Dīn Turka Isfahānī (1369–1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timurid Iran" (PhD diss., 2012), among others.

analysis of his life. Building on their findings, and in no small measure offering correctives in some cases, the current study focuses on the emergence of a *sharī<sup>c</sup>a*-minded inter-regional *ṭarīqa* at a time of sectarian conflict and political instability in the early fifteenth century. The aims of this project are perhaps ambitious; however, as Islamic scholars used to say, the fact that one cannot attain the full truth of the matter should not lead to one's failing to try. It is hoped that the presentation in the following pages of Khwāfī and the path he built might constitute a useful contribution to this exciting literature.

## 1.3 How can I know what I am about to say?

Research on Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī involves two major problems.[19] To put it briefly, the first has to do with the fact that the secondary literature can at times be more confusing than helpful, which I pointed out above. This, in fact, may have to do with the interrupted and scattered state of the contemporary record of Khwāfī's life over a variety of languages. Incomplete and partial readings of Khwāfī's works have led some scholars to count him among non-conforming Sufis, while others have misunderstood the chronology to conflate his two trips to Egypt.[20] The only modern study dedicated to Khwāfī shows a surprising disregard for matters of chronology and is otherwise little concerned about the details and problems around not only this trip, but his whole life, which, disappointingly, renders its use very limited. The other recent study, by Najīb Māyil Harawī, relies significantly on sources in Persian, doing so without the benefit of a critical attitude. It is equally problematic as regards chronology and suffers from a number of ambiguous arguments, one of

19. The title is inspired by Marc Bloch's suggestion that "[e]very historical book worthy of the name ought to include a chapter, or if one prefers, a series of paragraphs inserted at turning points in the development, which might almost be entitled: 'How can I know what I am about to say?'" Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft: Reflections on the nature and uses of history and techniques and methods of the men who write it*, trans. Peter Putnam (New York: Vintage Books, 1953), 71.

20. Scholars like H.J. Kissling and H.T. Norris relied on limited research to arrive at highly questionable conclusions, while J.S. Trimingham's review of Sufi orders mentions Khwāfī only once as a "founder of the Turkish branch of Suhrawardiyya." On these, see chapter II.

which is that Khwāfī's second trip to the West was prompted by his quest to reclaim his lost license (*ijāza*) in an attempt to uphold his legitimacy.

The second problem is in part common to most researchers of medieval cultural history: the primary sources. Complaints about the scarcity, or the dearth, of reliable documentation on a given medieval subject constitute a typical refrain in modern treatments of the state of medieval sources. The particular problem one has with the study of a transregional and multidimensional personality like Khwāfī, however, is more complicated. We have to rely on sources from a variety of regions and languages, written for a variety of audiences and purposes. My research has shown that this at times can be a blessing as well as a curse.

Because the contemporary sources used in this study are not of a uniform nature, the problems they present are likewise not all the same. There are certain attitudes common to most, however. In regard to all the subjects examined in this dissertation, such as Khwāfī and those in his networks, the first realization is that the sources provide a limited amount of personal information on biographical details, family, and childhood. This can be taken as a consequence of the customs and biographical tradition of the time whereby certain common details were considered to be too standard and insignificant to report.[21] This attitude is so obvious that indirect primary sources, namely contemporary sources using earlier works, dispense with some of the details they find in the original account, possibly considering them useless or superfluous. Tāshkubrīzāda, who relied on Sakhāwī for Maqdisī's biography, omitted pieces of information on the latter's primary education, saying only that he occupied himself with holy knowledge (*al-ᶜilm al-sharīf*) from early on.[22] This omission of personal details also implies a typicalization of the lives of these figures, which, then, brings to mind the question of tropes. In the world of medieval biographers, highlighting

21. The inherent problems and uses of biographical, or, rather, prosopographical, sources of Islamic history have been briefly discussed in Michael Cooperson, "Biographical Literature," in *The New Cambrdige History of Islam*, ed. Robert Irwin, vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 458–63.

22. Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā Ṭāshkoprīzāda, *al-Shaqāʾiq al-Nuᶜmānīyah fī ᶜulamāʾ al-Dawlat al-ᶜUthmānīyah*, ed. Ahmed Subhi Furat (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1985), 66.

common features and trivializing distinguishing personal information may have had the function of creating convenience and familiarity.[23]

Another issue with most of the subjects of this research has to do with the fact that they lived their lives in different parts of the world, leaving their legacy and traces of their lives in the written and oral traditions of multiple provenances. Khwāfī traveled and stayed abroad for extended periods; likewise his disciple Maqdisī, whom biographers called a *raḥḥāl*, namely, a wanderer. Both of them lived for years in cities like Cairo, Damascus, and Tabriz in addition to their homelands. The ensuing problem is that biographers consequently have had to rely on partial information. Sakhāwī's knowledge of Khwāfī stems mostly from the latter's second time in Cairo and from their common contacts. The account by the historian of Tabriz, Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalāʾī, owed its information to local sources, which results in an isolated picture. Maqdisī's biographers write nothing about him after he left the Mamlūk lands and settled in Anatolia. In a much similar manner, Ottoman sources expatiate on his stay in Konya and Bursa, while seeming to be oblivious of the rest of his life. Because of the incompleteness and the fragmented nature of the available documentation on Khwāfī and others discussed in this study, it is not possible to ascertain some aspects of their biographies, which I note accordingly in the following pages.

Because Khwāfī and his contacts were considered members of the religious elite, the major sources of this study are biographical dictionaries of men of learning and piety. The nature of these sources has been discussed in detail in the scholarship. While there is a certain logic behind the selection of their subjects and their use of information, it is not possible to answer all questions around their choices. It seems in the end it has been a combination of adherence to tradition, the limitations of personal sources of information, and arbitrary preferences that have resulted in the information we do or do not have on a given personality. Contemplating what qualified an entry and what information merited preserving has been a constant yet fruitful exercise in the course of

23. The issue of literary tropes and extrapolations was raised by a variety of scholars. See, for example, Kissling, "Einiges," 150.

the writing of this dissertation.[24]

## 1.4 Arabic sources from the Mamlūk lands

It is to historical and biographical literature written in the Mamlūk lands (*Bilād al-Shām wa Miṣr*) that we owe the bulk of our information on Khwāfī and his networks in the West. It makes sense, therefore, to start with them to illustrate the point at hand.[25] With the exception of Ibn $^{c}$Arabshāh's

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24. This issue deserves a separate treatment and will not be dealt with in here. See below for general discussions on historiographical and bibliographical traditions, including hagiographies.

25. A vast body of contemporary information dealing with the religious elite of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has survived through the historical literature produced in the Burjī period. For general nature and circumstances of Mamlūk historiography, see Donald Little, "Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk epochs," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. Carl F. Petry, vol. 1, The Cambridge History of Egypt (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 412–44. In regards to modern scholarship on and publications of Mamlūk sources, Li Guo's meticulous study (Li Guo, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 15–43) is supplemented by a more recent volume, see Stephan Conermann, ed., *Ubi sumus? quo vademus? : Mamluk studies, state of the art* (Goettingen: V&R Unipress, 2013). For a general introduction to historiography produced in Arabic in the classical period, see Chase F. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Among the works produced under the Mamlūks, the following works have been particularly useful in dealing with the biography of Khwāfī: $^{c}$Abd al-Ḥayy ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-$^{c}$Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1931); Ibrāhīm ibn $^{c}$Umar Biqā$^{c}$ī, *$^{c}$Unwān al-Zamān bi-Tarājim al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Qāhirah: Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathā$^{\supset}$iq al-Qawmīyah, Markaz Taḥqīq al-Turāth, 2001); $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-$^{c}$Ulaymī, *al-$^{\supset}$Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa al-Khalīl* (Najaf, al-Maṭba$^{c}$ah al-Ḥaydarīyah, 1968); Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī, *As-Suyuti's who's who in the fifteenth century : Nazm al-$^{c}$Iqyān fi A$^{c}$yān al-A$^{c}$yān; being a biographical dictionary of notable men and women in Egypt, Syria and the Muslim world, based on two manuscripts, one in Cairo and the other in Leiden*, ed. Philip K. Hitti (New York: Syrian-American press, 1927); Aḥmad b. $^{c}$Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-$^{c}$Asqalānī, *Durar al-Kāminah fī A$^{c}$yān al-Mā$^{\supset}$h al-Tāsi$^{c}$ah*, ed. Aḥmad ibn Farīd ibn Aḥmad Mazīdī (Beyrut: Dār al-Kutub al-$^{c}$Ilmīyah, 1997); Aḥmad b. $^{c}$Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-$^{c}$Asqalānī, *Inbā$^{\supset}$ al-Ghumr bi-Anbā$^{\supset}$ al-$^{c}$Umr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo: al-Majlis al-A$^{c}$lā li al-Shu$^{\supset}$ūn al-Islāmīyah, 2009); Aḥmad b. $^{c}$Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-$^{c}$Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, ed. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Dhahabī (Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1987); Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt (1382-1469 A.D.); Translation of: al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah*, trans. William Popper (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954).

(d. 854/1450) History of Tīmūr,[26] Mamlūk sources used in this study fall into the category of either annals, like the *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr* and *al-Nujūm al-Ẓāhira*, or biographical dictionaries of prominent men, such as the *al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ* and *al-Durar al-Kāmina*. These sources conveniently list such information as the dates of his arrival in Cairo during his second trip to Egypt, the names of the people he met and studied with there, and the correspondence between him and other notables. The masterful biographer Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), for example, organizes his information chronologically, identifying his written and direct sources, more often than not with a helpful degree of source criticism that was not unusual among Mamlūk biographical authors.[27] Despite his competence on the Mamlūk side of the events, however, he was not knowledgeable about the aspects of Khwāfī's life that pertained to the latter's native lands. Khwāfī, on the other hand, in spite of his long stays, did not seem to have left an heir or a convent in Egypt that might have perpetuated his legacy there to continue the knowledge of his life and path.[28] Therefore, for a biographer like Sakhāwī, who did not seem to have met the shaykh in person, his sources consisted of contemporary authors like Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Fahd al-Makkī (d. 885/1480), a resident of Mecca, where Khwāfī had a significant presence through disciples and symphathizers, and, direct witnesses like his teacher Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), who appears to have had strong scholarly and family relations with the Harātī Sufi.[29]

26. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿArabshāh (791/1389–854/1450)'s *ʿAjāʾib al-Maqdur fī Nawāʾib Tīmūr* was finished in 839/1435 and is extremely important for the history of Tīmūr.

27. It was typical for Ayyūbid and Mamlūk historians to mention their sources. See Little, "Historiography," 415. On critical attitudes in Islamicate historiography, see Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 144.

28. While Sakhāwī notes that Khwāfī did give licenses to numerous people during this visit, there is no mention of a major "successor" (*khalīfa*) of the latter in Mamlūk lands. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992), ix/229–30. It is possible that Shabarrīsī had other disciples in the area, whose presence may have discouraged Khwāfī from proselytizing his school of Sufism here. Compare this to Anatolia, a country he never visited, where he had numerous successors.

29. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 2003), ix/230; Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn Taqiy al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Fahd, *Muʿjam al-Shuyūkh*, ed. Ḥamad Jāsir (al-Mamlakah al-ʿArabīyah al-Saʿūdīyah:

To all intents and purposes, what we get from these works in the end is a fairly reliable but decidedly fragmentary and localized sketch of an otherwise complex and transregional personality.

The edges of this portrait are where problems of reliability often surface. Many Mamlūk historians, like Taqī a-Dīn Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), Abū al-Maḥāsin Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470), Ibn Ḥajar, Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-ᶜAynī (d. 855/1451), Ibrāhīm b. ᶜUmar al-Biqāᶜī (d. 885/1480), and Sakhāwī, in particular the latter four, were trained in *ḥadīth*, which has important implications for our study. To begin with, they privileged aural learning over the analysis of written evidence and did not necessarily conduct exhaustive research in secular literature contemporaneous with them. As specialists of transmitted knowledge, they relied under normal circumstances on long-established conventions and their own intellectual instincts to faithfully impart and preserve their data. On the one hand, this means that the individual testimonies found in these biographical accounts may actually be regarded as close to genuine representations of truth—in the absence of contrary evidence. On the other hand, however, clear indications of the absence of an exchange of information with the outside world emerge in cases where they did not have direct access to knowledge through their peers. The resulting presentation of the eastern "news" is somewhat spotty and not on a par with that of the region from the Tigris river to northern Africa—an Arabophone culture dominated by Cairo. To give an example in the case of Khwāfī, the great historian Maqrīzī's *Durar al-ᶜUqad*, called a who's who of the fifteenth century, names Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī only once and confuses him with Zayn al-Dīn Tāyabādī, obviously because his account was exclusively derived from that of Ibn ᶜArabshāh's history of Tīmūr.[30] The information Sakhāwī was able to access through his relationship with Ibn Ḥajar and others is totally missing from Maqrīzī's work.

However, Sakhāwī's treatment of the subjects of this chapter reveal significant gaps and loose

Dār al-Yamāmah, 1982), 240; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa-al-durar fī tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, ed. Ibrāhīm Bājis ᶜAbd al-Majīd (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1999), 1/296, 1/556.

30. Aḥmad ibn ᶜAlī Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ᶜUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aᶜyān al-Mufīdah*, ed. Maḥmūd Jalīlī (Bayrūt: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2002), 1/514.

ends. His *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiᶜ* includes a biography of ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf al-Maqdisī (d. 856/1452), Khwāfī's foremost disciple in Ottoman lands, noting how he met the former in Jerusalem and later received a license from him. The presentation of Khwāfī in the same work, however, makes no mention of his relationship with Maqdisī, even when relatively unknown recipients of licenses and inculcations in the *dhikr* (the recollection of God) are enumerated.

## 1.5 Khwāfī's biography in *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiᶜ*

Clearly these biographical dictionaries were intended to function as documentaries of the networks of religious elite centered around Cairo. In that, they served to reinforce the status of this social group and perpetuate their vision. In this capacity, these authors did not necessarily seek to acquire complementary information on matters beyond their intellectual comfort zones and beyond that which their "chains of information" perchance addressed. They then selected from the information available to them and framed it in a way that served the needs of their prosopographies.[31] Khwāfī's biography in *al-Ḍawʾ*, for example, projects an image of continuity of scholarly traditions among the Sunni religious elite of Islamdom, anchored in the learned communities of the Mamlūk Egypt.

An analysis of Sakhāwī's treatment of Khwāfī reveals three major components. Sakhāwī, after providing Khwāfī's full name, enumerates in a quite orderly manner the names of the scholars Khwāfī studied under and those who studied under him, clearly in order to establish the latter's position within the links of a wide network of learning. These exchanges took the form of meetings (*ijtamaᶜa*), studies (*akhadha ᶜan*), licenses (*ajāzahu*), and handshakes (*ṣāfaḥahu*), all of which culminated in one or another form of transmission of religious knowledge and spiritual presence. All of the scholars and students mentioned in regard to Khwāfī here are part of the extended Mamlūk scholarly world. These links, at the nexus of which Khwāfī stood, served as his credentials for rightful participation in this scholarly world, which was the subject of the whole *al-Ḍawʾ*. They ensured

31. In Islamicate biographical literature, the selection of information and its organization were deeply influenced by *ḥadīth* scholarship. See Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 68–71.

that Khwāfī's life fit well with the rest of the biographical subjects to collectively create an ethos of the remarkable "people of the century." While his name, nickname (*kunya*), and relation (*nisba*) established his original credentials, it was these relationships that served as Khwāfī's main source of reputation.

The second element of Sakhāwī's treatment deals with Khwāfī's reception of inculcation and license from his Egyptian master ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm al-Shabarrīsī (d. ca. 822/1419–20), which was discussed in the first chapter. Here the biographer's attention centered on the standards and customs of the tradition of spiritual knowledge and the need to conform to these, no matter how erudite and well-educated Khwāfī was. Somewhat minifying the initial appearance of Khwāfī as a well-connected and integrated member of the religious elite, Shabarrīsī's repeated rejections of his future disciple establishes the idea that spiritual training requires a fresh beginning and the renunciation of previous accomplishments. The centrality of the Sunni scholarly ethos is once again evoked in the way Khwāfī was summoned to Cairo to account for his alleged involvement with the musical *dhikr* (*samāᶜ*) practices.[32]

This vision of cultural homogeneity across geographies is complemented finally by Sakhāwī's mention that contemporary religious and political elites from Cairo to Herat used to revere Khwāfī and have recourse to his spiritual authority for purposes of legitimation and peace negotiation. The paramount scholar of *ḥadīth* of the time, Ibn Ḥajar, for whose sons Khwāfī wrote a petition (*istidᶜā*), welcomed him in praiseful verse: "You arrived at Egypt, O Zayn al-Khwāfī, then peace and well-being filled it up / The caravans have not travelled since ages, like the pace of al-Khwāfī."[33] Scholars from the Mamlūk world from Cairo to Damascus testified to his profound learning (*dhu ᶜulūm kathīra*) and shared their memories of the Sufi from the latter's second visit. Sakhāwī recorded Khwāfī's close relationship with Shāhrukh, noting also that he helped avoided a conflict between the latter and Iskandar b. Qara Yūsuf Qaraquyunlu (d. 841/1438) in the course of his travels.[34]

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32. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, ix/229.

33. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, ix/230.

34. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, ix/230. I was not able to find any evidence of this anec-

For a historian like Sakhāwī, all these constituents of the received fragments of the biography of Khwāfī came together to form his *vita et gesta* in the collective life and ethos of the great tradition of the religious notables of his world. It was these bits of information that mattered for the purposes of his prosopography and deserved to be recorded. It seems clear he had other information he did not include, but one can only speculate as to what it might have been. Missing from this treatment are the miraculous feats of Khwāfī, which are simply alluded to in passing.

## 1.6 Sources in Persian

An equally important source of information on Zayn al-Dīn and his community is the contemporary Sufi literature produced in Persian. The nature of and issues around this literature have been discussed in detail in recent scholarship. Here, I would like to briefly describe these before noting some aspects of these works as they relate to Khwāfī and raising some issues around his image and historical record.

I have consulted four major types of contemporary Persian sources for the historical record of Khwāfī: *i*) Hagiographical works produced by Sufis—in particular Naqshbandīs; *ii*) works independent of the Sufi community, such as dynastic and universal histories written mostly under the Tīmūrids and geo-historical treatments of cities; *iii*) Khwāfī's own works, which offer very little in the way of autobiographical information but obviously essential to establishing his thought; and, *iv*) archival sources, including *waqf* (endowment) records, which is the only group that is not narrative in nature. Of these, the overwhelming majority of the information on Khwāfī's life comes from hagiographical works including collections of the biographies and sayings of saints, most of which originated from Khorasan and Transoxania.[35]

Archival sources including *waqf* records are few and far between, yet they have proved extremely valuable for the current study. Especially the endowment deed of Khwāfī's *Darwīshābād*

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dote on Khwāfī's intervention between Shāhrukh and Iskandar.

35. As of the time of this writing, I have not come across a hagiographical work devoted to Khwāfī.

convent, which I discuss in the following pages, is invaluable for it provides a unique window into the thought-world of the shaykh.[36] Khwāfī's own works—all of them on Sufism and piety—to the extent that I had been able to review, are of little value for to establish his biography and his historical context, the primary goal of this study. Needless to say, they are indispensable in the study of his thought and teachings. Bekir Köle counts close to 30 works of Khwāfī's pen, many of which are not extant. Because I have narrowed my analysis of his thought and writings in a way prioritizing some salient themes of his time, I did not venture a thorough examination of all aspects of his literary output. That being said, a close study of his body of writing and available manuscripts is necessary in order to better understand his thought.

The Tīmūrid period was notable in the number of chronicles produced, however, those that I used for this study offer little concrete information regarding Khwāfī's life. Among them, two works are particularly important because of their proximity in time and period to the reign of Shāhrukh, namely Ḥāfiẓ Abrū's (d. 834/1430) *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*[37] and Faṣīḥ-i Khwāfī's (d. after 845/1441) *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī*.[38] Although Khwāndamīr's (d. 941/1534-05)[39] *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* was written almost

36. Despite repeated attempts, I could not review the original of this deed, which is housed in the Ganj-bakhsh library in Islamabad.

37. Mawlānā Shihāb al-Dīn ᶜAbd Allāh Bihdādīnī, called Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, was born in Herat, probably in Khwāf, and educated in Hamadan. He joined Tīmūr's court in the 780s/1380s and accompanied him in several campaigns. Upon Tīmūr's death, he entered Shāhrukh's service and remained one of the most important historians of the Tīmūrid court until his death in 834/1430. *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* was the last part of a larger universal history up until 830/1427, dedicated to Shāhrukh's son Mīrzā Bāysunghur. John E. Woods, "The Rise of Tīmūrid Historiography," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46, no. 2 (1987): 96–97.

38. Aḥmad b. Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Naṣīr al-Dīn Yaḥyā, known as Faṣīḥ Khwāfī, was born in 777/1375 into a prominent scholarly and bureaucratic family of Khwāf, members of which included famous viziers in Shāhrukh court like Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr Aḥmad Khwāfī. He worked in the chanceries (*dīwān*) of Timurid courts, including that of Shāhrukh. His *Mujmal* is a concise history of Islam since Adam that is particularly important for Khorasan during the period. Beatrice Forbes Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 96–99.

39. Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwāndamīr was born around 880/1474 to a family firmly integrated in the Tīmūrid cultural and political circles. He grew up under the tutelage of his grandfather Muḥammad b. Burhān al-Dīn Mīrkhwānd (d.903/1498), the author of *Rawḍat al-*

a century after Khwāfī, the biographies of prominent people Khwāndamīr placed at the end of the Tīmūrid section is of considerable value for Khwāfī and the intellectuals in his world. Briefly speaking, these works are rich in detail in terms of the political history of the fifteenth century, however, when it comes to the men of religion like Khwāfī, the information they provide are limited to the instance when the latter entered into the realm of politics. Therefore, when Khwāfī intercedes before Shāhrukh on behalf of the Sīstānī rulers, we get an unambiguous record of the affair in the *Zubdat*. However, when *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* offers a necrology for Khwāfī, it treats him as a mostly nondescript saintly figure, with an apparent degree of respect reserved for the praiseworthy pious, lacking in substantial life details, prioritizing rumors over a concrete biography, and showing no interest in the aspects of Khwāfī that did not relate to the Tīmūrid sphere.[40]

## 1.7 Hagiographical and biographical literature in Persian

Biographical works produced for and by the Sufis of the Persianate lands comprise some of the most important sources for the current study. Generally speaking, these are mostly of a hagiographical nature, fronting such elements of spiritual *gesta* as saintly stories (*manāqib*) and discourses (*malfūẓāt*), while jettisoning the more tangible elements of his biography, including dates and locations, in most cases without any attention to the format or the structure.[41] With the exception of Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalāʾī's *Rawḍāt al-Jinān*, most of these works are concerned with Khorasan and

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*Ṣafā*, and spent most of his life in the Herat, first under the Tīmūrid court and later the local Ṣafawid, before leaving for India in 934/1528 to join Bābur (r. 932–7/1526–30). Khwāndamīr started writing *Ḥabīb al-Siyar fī Akhbār Afrād al-Bashar* in 927/1521 and finished in 930/1524. The work is a universal history beginning from the Creation and is particularly useful for the period of the life of the author. See İsmail Aka, "Hândmîr," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.

40. Khwāndamīr's biography of Khwāfī is of very little use for the Egyptian aspects of the latter's life. Ghiyāth al-Dīn ibn Humām al-Dīn Khwāndamīr, *Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-Siyar fī Akhbār Afrād Bashar*, Includes index. (Tehrān: Kitābfurūshī-i Khayyām, 1983), 4/13.

41. Despite being written in Chaghataid Turkish, Nawāʾi's *Nasāʾim al-Maḥabba* also belongs in this group.

Transoxania. In the order of composition, they include *i*) Aṣīl al-Dīn Wā$^{c}$iẓ's *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*;[42] *ii*) $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī's (d. 898/1492) *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*; Mu$^{c}$īn al-Dīn Muḥammad Zamchī Isfizārī's (d. after 899/1493)[43] *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt fī Awṣāf Madīnat Harāt*; and Fakhr al-Dīn $^{c}$Alī al-Ṣafī b. Wa$^{c}$iẓ-i Kāshifī's (d. 939/1532–33) *Rashaḥāt-i $^{c}$Ayn al-Ḥayāt* ("Tricklings from the Fountain of Life").

While these works do not offer detailed treatments of Khwāfī's life, the circumstantial information they provide through the biographies of others related to Khwāfī is immensely helpful in outlining his network and sphere of influence. *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl* is noteworthy in a number of ways. It is the earliest work I have consulted that treats Khwāfī's biography. Khwāfī's dervish colony is also first mentioned by Aṣīl al-Dīn. Clearly, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl* is independent of the *Nafaḥāt*, as can be seen in its introduction of some of Khwāfī's teachers not found in Jāmī's treatment, the lack of any information on Khwāfī's *silsila* (lineage) except the mention of his being in the path (*ṭarīqa*) of Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī.

The *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt* was a history and geography of Herat and Khorasan written between the years 897/1492 and 899/1494 and dedicated to the Tīmūrid vizier Qiwām al-Dīn Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 903/1498). The author Zamchī Isfizārī was a chancery official and, while it is difficult to tell if he belonged to any of the religio-political circles in the city, he certainly seems to have used the *Nafaḥāt*

42. $^{c}$Abd Allāh b. $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥusaynī, called Aṣīl al-Dīn Wā$^{c}$iẓ (d. 883/1478), wrote *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl al-Sulṭāniya wa Marṣad al-A$^{c}$māl al-Khāqāniyya* (also known as *Mazārāt-i Harāt*) in the name of his patron the Tīmūrīd Sulṭān-Abū Sa$^{c}$īd (r. 855/1451–873/1469). The work includes descriptions of the shrines and burials in and around Herat, as well as biographies of the people associated with them, until 864/1459–60. It is important particularly because it is the closest in time to Khwāfī and the author does not seem to have belonged to any of the religio-political groups in the city. See Māyil Harawī's introductory comments in $^{c}$Abd Allāh ibn $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥusaynī Aṣīl al-Dīn Wā$^{c}$iẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl-i Sulṭāniyah va Marṣad al-Āmāl-i Ḥāqānīyah*, ed. Māyil Haravī (Tehrān: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1972), xxiv–xxv.

43. There is little information available on Mu$^{c}$īn al-Dīn Zamchī Isfizārī. He arrived in Herat in 873/1468–9 to study and entered the Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqara's service afterwards as a court official. Some scholars note that he died in 915/1510. On him see Tahsin Yazıcı, "Muînüddîni İsfizârî," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* and Maria Eva Subtelny, "Esfezārī, Mo$^{c}$īn-al-Dīn Moḥammad Zamčī," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*.

for part of its treatment of Khwāfī, though it adds pieces of information not found in the latter.

Nūr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt al-Uns min Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds* dates from 884/1479 and, as such, is among the earliest sources on the life of Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī. The *Nafaḥāt* had a huge impact on the whole Sufi literature and the hagiographical tradition in Persian and Turkish, but for our current purposes, it offers a window on Khwāfī's life and work through his biography as well as those of others related with him. Jāmī spent most of his life in Herat and wrote his work as an active member of the Sufis and, in particular, the Naqshbandīs of Herat.[44] Some of his sources were students and acquaintances of Zayn al-Dīn in the region, which is why his work is often consulted in regard to Zayn al-Dīn. Common caveats typical of most hagiographical works apply to the *Nafaḥāt* as well: the author has no interest in presenting or establishing a chronology, takes little or no care to criticize his sources, does not attempt to provide full and comprehensive biographies, and never distances himself emotionally from his subjects. As with other biographical literature in premodern Islam, works like Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt* were not interested in the profane and trivial facets of life, such as childhood and ordinary details of education, which, to the modern reader, may seem an important omission. It is is worth noting to remember that some of these important shaykhs, such as Bahāᵓ al-Dīn Naqshband himself (d. 791/1389), went so far as to forbid their followers to record anything they did or said. As Hamid Algar noted, "The specifically 'human'—the whole stuff of modern biography—is trivial and profoundly uninteresting from a traditional viewpoint."[45]

*Nafaḥāt*'s treatment of Sufis in general and the Naqshbandiyya in particular, however, has become the subject of a number of critical studies. Being a disciple of Saᶜd al-Dīn Kāshgharī (d.

44. The best treatment of the *Nafaḥāt*, as well as other biographical works in Persian produced in the Middle Periods, see Jawid Ahmad Mojaddedi, *The biographical tradition in sufism : the ṭabaqāt genre from al-Sulamī to Jāmī* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001). For his relationship with Naqshbandiyya and its influence on his work, see Algar, "Jāmī and Sufism." Algar has recently written a short monograph on Jāmī, which I have not been able to review: Hamid Algar, *Jami* (New Delhi: Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies : Oxford University Press, 2013). My treatment of Khwāfī and his scholarship is based on Ertuğrul Ökten's recent dissertation, for which, see the bibliography.

45. Hamid Algar, "The Naqshbandī Order: A Preliminary Survey of Its History and Significance," *Studia Islamica*, no. 44 (1976): 134.

860/1450), Jāmī was one of the foremost representatives of the Khwājaganī tradition in Herat. The particular pro-Naqshbandī bias of the work has been noted since as early as Fuad Köprülü's work about a century ago on early Turkish mysticism.[46] More recently, J. Mojaddedī warned that the *Nafaḥāt* should not be used uncritically as a "convenient source for the facts of the period" because it is concerned first and foremost with projecting a collective image of continuity among Sufi circles, rather than providing historically accurate information.[47] In a more recent study, Denise Aigle compares *Nafaḥāt*'s presentation of a number of Sufis with that of Farīd al-Dīn $^{c}$Aṭṭār's famous *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā* and concludes that Jāmī was concerned about the "purity of orthodox Islam" and avoided discussing the scandalous utterings (*shaṭḥ*) and miraculous feats (*karāmāt*) of famous Sufis—all of which are expounded in considerable detail by $^{c}$Aṭṭār—while omitting "suspect" Sufis like Shāh Ni$^{c}$matullāh Walī (d. 1430) and Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 1464).[48]

Another major issue that concerns *Nafaḥāt* and later works influenced by it, including Fakhr al-Dīn $^{c}$Alī Ṣafī's *Rashaḥāt-i $^{c}$Ayn al-Ḥayāt* (written around 909/1504)[49] was the introduction of the *silsila* orientation as the most fundamental interpretive principle in the history of *ṭarīqa*s. In the case of the *Nafaḥāt* and *Rashaḥāt*, this applied primarily to the Khwājaganī masters, but successive hagiographical scholarship extended this approach to all Sufi groups. The authors' bias of essentially defining the history of the whole *ṭarīqa* from the standpoint of the dominating branch caused the history and work of countless Sufis to be reduced to footnotes in the very complex history of these movements.[50] J. Paul and D. DeWeese have recently noted how the *Rashaḥāt* manipulated

46. See Devin DeWeese's comments to the translated edition of Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, ed. Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff (London: Routledge, 2006).

47. Jawid Ahmad Mojaddedi, "Jāmī's re-contextualization of biographical traditions: 'The biography of Anṣārī' in the framework of the *Nafaḥāt al-uns*," in *Studies in Islamic and Middle Eastern Texts and Traditions in Memory of Norman Calder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 209–10.

48. See Denise Aigle, "'Aṭṭār's Taḏkirat al-Awliyā and Jāmī's Nafaḥat al-Uns: Two Visions of Sainthood," *Oriente Moderno* 96, no. 2 (2016): 306–10.

49. Fakhr al-Dīn $^{c}$Alī Ṣafī was the son of Ḥusayn b. $^{c}$Alī Wā$^{c}$iẓ Kāshifī (d. 910/1504–05), a prominent preacher in Herat and a member of Aḥrār's circle.

50. On the other hand, considering the importance of the spiritual connection with the master

its information on Yasawiyya to streamline the chains of transmissions, resulting in the subordination of the community to Naqshbandiyya. This has resulted in certain studies relying exclusively on this work to produce inaccurate depictions.[51] Needless to say, Mīr ᶜAbd al-Awwal Nīshābūrī's *Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār* should also be understood in terms of its dependency on the internal traditions of the followers of Khwāja Aḥrār. Its resemblance to the *Rashaḥāt*, in its gist and content, is quite remarkable.

Although separate from the above works in time and origin, Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalāᵓī Tabrīzī's (d. 997/1589) *Rawḍāt al-Jinān wa Jannāt al-Janān*, is not much different in style and content. While on the outside it is, like the *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, a guide to the shrines and saintly burials of Tabriz and its suburbs, in reality, the work is a treasure trove of the history of Sufism in the period as it preserves sayings, documents (such as *ijāza*s), and biographies of a large number of Sufis—in particular of those related to Tabriz and the Kubrawī tradition. Recent studies by Lewisohn, Losensky, and DeWeese highlight the profound value of the work for the history of the period.[52] As I argue in the following pages, the *Rawḍāt al-Jinān* is of utmost importance for the study of Khwāfī's biography.

ᶜAlī Shīr Nawāᵓī's (d. 906/1501) *Nasāᵓim al-Maḥabba*, finished in 901/1495–6, was, on the surface, a translation of the *Nafaḥāt* into Chaghataid Turkish. Despite being in Turkish, it should still be considered within the same group as the above works in Persian as it was, in terms of style and purpose, the product of the religious culture of the Timurid Herat. For the most part, the *Nasāᵓim*'s translated entries are shorter than their originals in the *Nafaḥāt*. However, the work is particularly

in Naqshbandiyya, and related practices such as the *rābiṭa*, it is understandable that the *silsila* as an active bond between the initiate and, through his immediate master, the Prophet has a more pronounced importance. It was probably not a coincidence that these Naqshbandi-affiliated authors chose to elevate the *silsila* in their works. On the significance of *silsila* in Naqhshbandiyya, see Algar, "The Naqshbandī Order: A Preliminary Survey of Its History and Significance." On the *silsila*-oriented bias in the *Rashaḥāt*, see, for example, Jürgen Paul, "Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ṣafī ᶜAlī b. Ḥusayn al-Wāᶜiẓ al-Kāshifī (1463–c. 1532)," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Second Edition.

51. DeWeese, "Mashāᵓikh," 191–93; Paul, "Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ṣafī ᶜAlī b. Ḥusayn al-Wāᶜiẓ al-Kāshifī (1463–c. 1532)."

52. See the works of the above authors in the bibliography. The *Rawḍāt al-Jinān* was finished in 975/1567.

valuable because of its additional biographies for the period after Jāmī finished his work. Especially relevant to the current study, Nawāʾī adds a number of biographies on the disciples of Khwāfī and, therefore, helps us better understand his impact in posterity.[53]

## 1.8 A note on Arabic and Persian sources

This anecdote- and utterings-laden approach of the majority of the Persian biographical works used in this study, as I mentioned above, is quite distinct from the factual discipline and precision of the Mamlūk biographical tradition. Whereas Mamlūk sources exude marked attention to detail, Persian sources from Azarbaijan and Khorasan, on the other hand, treat Khwāfī first and foremost as a "friend of God" (*walī*), who was a member of the saintly groups with spiritual and supernatural affairs, for an audience that is interested in hearing the miraculous acts in the lives of these personalities and drawing awe-inspiring lessons.

While these Timūrid—and in some cases, Safawid-era—sources do provide information on Khwāfī's relations with other Sufis and preserve a body of anecdotal knowledge on him, thus shedding light on his pedagogical and spiritual persona, their reports are of limited value in terms of chronology. Khwāfī's biographies in the *Nafaḥāt* and the *Majālis al-Nafāʾis*, as well as in the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, demonstrate little interest in chronology and geography. It is difficult to establish the historical context of the anecdotal reports, which were, it seems, intended to serve as timeless moral instruction to the monastically inclined audience.

The territorial scope and interest noted in the case of the Mamlūk sources are found here as well. They are quite evident in *Nafaḥāt*'s treatment of the "later generation" (*mutaʾakhkhirūn*), namely, Jāmī's near contemporaries, which is mostly based on his own information. The very short account

53. ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī was a famous man of letters and a patron of arts in Herat, known for his association with the Tīmūrid ruler Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (r. 875–912/1470–1506). On the work, see the editor's introduction in Alî Şîr Nevâyî, *Nesâyimüʾl-Mahabbe min Şemâyimiʾl-Fütüvve*, ed. Kemal Eraslan (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1979), xxxiv–xvvi. The work includes 770 biographies compared to 601 in the *Nafaḥāt*.

of Shabarrīsī, Khwāfī's Egyptian teacher, offers little in the way of establishing the identity of this shaykh.[54] It is void of the major elements of the capsule biographies found for other figures covered in the same work, such as his place of origin and the dates of his birth and death. The kernel of the account, that he was a disciple of Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Kūrānī, whose spiritual lineage in turn linked him to Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs Suhrawardī, establishes the essential significance of the Shabarrīsī within the Suhrawardī "cluster."

As I pointed out above, the authorial choices and personal positions of the authors further complicated the overall presentations in the biographies. Doubtless, all the authors consulted in this study had intellectual commitments, which must have influenced all stages of their compilations, including their selection of source material and the final presentation of the information. Remarkably enough, most of our authors themselves were active participants in the intellectual discourses of their time and, therefore, speakers for one brand or other of piety and truth. One has to constantly compare and contrast the variety of information with an eye at arriving at as fair and judicious a reconstruction of the past as possible, keeping in mind that it may not be possible to arrive at a picture of this distant past "as it actually happened."[55]

The issue of certainties and great possibilities is even more relevant considering that these authors lived in a time characterized by "confessional ambiguity." Because they spoke for their respective communities, therefore, their works reflect the fluidity and the ease with which they could move between intellectual and social neighborhoods. As I argue throughout this study, the puzzling

54. Shabarrīsī, whom Nafaḥāt calls as Miṣrī, is described in fairly broad and generic terms as "a very great shaykh who was the qibla of seekers, designated in training and guidance in the land of Egypt ..." Nūr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns min Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds*, ed. Maḥmūd ʿAbdī (Tehrān: Intishārāt Iṭṭilāᶜāt, 1996), 492.

55. Attaining a reliably clear vision of the past *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, as in the words of Leopold von Ranke, the goal of history-writing for some time, is an extremely elusive task in the case of the present subject. A useful summary of historicism and later traditions in historical studies is found in Martha C. Howell and Walter Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources : An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001), 88–116. Certainties and universal definitions, in the words of Marc Bloch, are matters of degree. Bloch, *The Historian's Craft: Reflections on the nature and uses of history and techniques and methods of the men who write it*, 17, 21, 138.

accounts they left make it impossible for us to typicalize their historical experience and assign to them categories and descriptions they probably never conceived of.

## 1.9 Sources in Chaghatai and Ottoamn Turkish

The remarkable—though not surprising—disconnect between these two linguistic groups of sources can be said to find a rather late resolution in Ottoman biographical writing which emerged in the early sixteenth century and was in full bloom towards its end. *Al-Shaqā$^{\supset}$iq al-Nu$^{c}$māniyya fī $^{c}$Ulamā$^{\supset}$ al-Dawla al-$^{c}$Uthmāniyya*, a compendium of the religious elite associated with the Ottoman Empire, inspired a succession of continuations and translations and is particularly noteworthy in its use of both Mamlūk and Tīmūrid sources. This is apparent in regards to subjects like Khwāfī and some of his disciples, such as Maqdisī and Marzifūnī, who had a presence in all three of these linguistic areas. The cultural elite of the fifteenth-century Ottoman Empire had strong relations with the elites of the Mamlūks and of the Timūrids as well as their successors in Iran. As discussed elsewhere in the literature, Ottoman culture and scholarship since the early fifteenth century were fairly well connected with the Persian-speaking lands, while the political culture also came under Tīmūrid influence in the same period. One example related to our subject is the impressive promptness of the Ottoman scholar Lāmi$^{c}$ī Chalabī (Shaykh Maḥmūd b. $^{c}$Uthmān) in translating Jāmī's Nafaḥāt into Turkish. Lāmi$^{c}$ī (d. 938/1532), the Ottoman translator of *Nafaḥāt* and famous poet, called *Jāmī-yi Rūm* on account of the diversity of his writing and his dependence on Jāmī, complemented the work by adding a significant number of biographies of Turkish saints, based on his own sources of information and works in Turkish available to him, such as the history of Kamālpāshāzāda (d. 940/1534). His very faithful translation, titled *Futūḥ al-Mujāhidīn li-Tarwīḥ Qulūb al-Musāhidīn* though more commonly known as the *Tarjama-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, was completed in 927/1521. It constitutes the major source of the Tāshkubrīzāda tradition for the biographies of early-period Sufis, among them the Zayniyya shaykhs in particular. Lāmi$^{c}$ī's translation is subject to the same historiographical and teleological problems as *Nafaḥāt*'s, which is especially evident in its treatment of the Zayniyya

*silsila.*[56] Lāmiᶜī's *Tarjama* does not provide unique information on Khwāfī himself, though it is extremely helpful in understanding the second generation of Zayniyya.

Equally suggestive in this regard is the surprising familiarity of the Ottoman Sufis of the early fifteenth century with news from the shaykhs of the East, to the extent that many of them knew that Khwāfī was on his way to the West in 822/1419. This is, of course, a testament to how fast information travelled across far-flung regions. But why, then, is Maqdisī's biography incomplete in Mamlūk sources, indicating the Mamlūk authors' total lack of information on the part of his life after he left the Mamlūk lands? The answer has to do with the networks of intellectuals whose information formed the main source for contemporary biographies. The Ottoman biographers, writing at least a century after these events, had the benefit of consulting recently compiled sources written in Persian and Arabic. As far as this study's sources go, Ottoman biographical tradition relied heavily on Mamlūk biographical dictionaries and Persian works like the *Nafaḥāt*—mostly through the translation of Lāmiᶜī, as can be seen in Tāshkubrīzāda's treatment of the Zayniyya. The end result appears to fall somewhere between the former two groups of sources: a mixing of factually oriented and chronologically organized information, with anecdotal stories establishing the spiritual *gesta* of the eulogized.[57]

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56. On Lāmiᶜī, see the following works: Barbara Flemming, "Glimpses of Turkish saints: Another look at Lamiʿi and Ottoman biographers," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 18 (1994): 62–64; Barbara Flemming, "Lāmiʿī," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Second Edition; Günay Kut Alpay, "Lāmiᶜī Chelebī and His Works," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, no. 2 (1976): 73.

57. Of special value for this examinationx are the following works: Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā Ṭāshkoprīzāda, *al-Shaqāʾiq al-Nuᶜmānīyah fī ᶜulāmāʾ al-Dawlah al-ᶜUthmānīyah; Wa-yalīhi al-ᶜIqd al--manẓūm fī dhikr afāḍil al-Rūm* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-ᶜArabī, 1975); Lāmiᶜī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns* (Istanbul: Maṭbaᶜa-i ᶜĀmira, 1872); Meḥemmed Efendi Mejdī, *Ḥadāʾiq al-Shaqāʾiq* (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989). Lāmiᶜī's work is particularly useful for the detail it adds on the disciples of Khwāfī, thereby shedding light on his travels and encounters.

## 1.10 "Fixing" the sources

The documentation problems discussed here necessitate vigilance, comparison, and critical scrutiny. Most modern scholars seem to have employed due diligence in their research, which sometimes led them to focus on the negative spaces in the writings (i.e., what has not been said) and suggest answers.[58] Ökten's dissertation, for instance, argues that Jāmī suppressed some of the information at his disposal to present a view of Sufism that was in conformity with his perspective of what Sufism should be.[59]Following this idea, one might ask what information Jāmī, as well as other authors, might have excluded from their narratives on Khwāfī. If they excluded or suppressed information, did that relate to Khwāfī's views on "subversive" piety and controversies around the Unity of Existence?[60] An equally valid question that I will keep in mind in the following discussions is whether Khwāfī chose to censor biographical information and, if he did, what his reasons might have been. These are questions impossible to answer at this point. In place of an answer, one should consider how much our understanding of Khwāfī would change if these authors had not, hypothetically speaking, suppressed this information. All of the sources at our disposal paint an extremely coherent picture of Khwāfī as a learned and *Sharīᶜa*-minded Sufi who paid utmost attention to training Sufis. With the exception of one single account, of his alleged excommunication of a disciple, which conflicts with all the other narratives, there is no evidence to support a polemical and invec-

58. Here, my purpose is not to discuss the technical issues in primary sources including copyist errors and physical damage.

59. Besides creating kind of classification that implies a historical evolution of Sufism ending in the *Naqshbandiyya*, Jāmī is seen as having sterilized the biographies of such people as Sayyid Qāsim, who was otherwise seen as an un-orthodox Sufi, directing the blame to his disciples instead. Ökten, "Jāmī"; Mojaddedi, *The biographical tradition in sufism : the ṭabaqāt genre from al-Sulamī to Jāmī*; Mojaddedi, "Jāmī's re-contextualization."

60. A counter-argument is that Jāmī's re-ordering of the information he had did not stem only from an ideological viewpoint to elevate certain communities within Sufism, but also, from a desire to describe the favorable and inspiring aspects of the lives of the friends of God and, therefore, to focus on positive details. The very name of the book, "The Breezes from Intimacy [with the Divine]," cannot be seen as bearing no relevance to the author's methodology at all.

tive image of him.[61] His renunciation of the various groups he considers *mulḥid* is arguably in line with what we have from Sunni authors of the time.

## 1.11 Chapter organization

In addition to the Introduction and Conclusion, this dissertation consists of eight chapters divided into two parts. The five chapters in Part I consider Khwāfī's biography, starting from his early formation in Herat until his return there at the end of his life. In these chapters, I examine his sources of influence, spiritual lineage, the political and intellectual networks he belonged to, and the community he built.

Part II, consisting of three chapters, examines Khwāfī's path in a broader manner. The first chapter is devoted to the study of the spread of his path to Ottoman Anatolia and is, in fact, an extension of Chapter IV, "Second Egyptian Travel." The next two chapters deal mainly with Khwāfī's works and thought. Some of the important questions dealt with here relate to the spiritual handshake, dream interpretation, Sufi worship, and perspectives on Ibn $^{c}$Arabī. I should note here that my in-

61. The narrative of Khwāfī's declaration of Aḥmad Samarqandī as an unbeliever stems from a single narrative originating from $^{c}$Ubayd Allah Aḥrār. *Rashaḥāt*, the earliest source to mention this, as Jo-Ann Gross put it, was an extended biography of Aḥrār. See her "$^{c}$Ubaydallāh Aḥrār" article in *Encyclopædia of Islam, Three*. The second most important source on Aḥrār, which similarly reports this episode, is the *Malfūẓāt* compiled by Mīr $^{c}$Abd al-Awwal Nīshābūrī, who was a son-in-law of the shaykh. Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and native religion in the Golden Horde : Baba Tükles and conversion to Islam in historical and epic tradition*, Hermeneutics, studies in the history of religions (1980-) (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 249. The fact that none of the earlier sources report this anecdote leads one to question its authenticity. In all these narratives, one can see an attempt to portray Aḥrār as a young and rebellious hero of Sufi solidarity. In other reports too, Aḥrār and his followers are depicted as spiritually and morally superior to Khwāfī and his circle. Narrations of Aḥrār's victorious confrontations with Khwāfī and his disciples like Tabādkānī, while setting the stage for the elaboration of the singular spiritual status of the former to form the basis of his *khawāriq al-a$^{c}$dāt*, serve indirectly also to support the idea that Khwāfī indeed was the greatest Sufi of Herat in his time. In addition to this anti-Zayniyya bias, Aḥrārī sources downplayed the importance of the Naqshbandī's of Herat. The rivalry between Naqshbandī branches in Samarqand and Herat and the ensuing bias and partisanship in the biographical and hagiographical narratives is discussed in Ökten, "Jāmī," 187–91.

terest in and examination of Khwāfī's works has been limited by design, but also by circumstances, and some of my analyses in these chapters are based on secondary literature, and not directly on Khwāfī's works themselves.[62]

## 1.12 A note on transliteration

Because this study involves the use of documents in four distinct linguistic sources that essentially use the Arabic alphabet, transliteration of proper names, terms, and expressions was a major concern. For purposes of consistency and reversibility,[63] I have opted to follow a single transliteration system, which is the one recently adopted by the editors of the *Encyclopædia Islamica*. Turkish sources printed in Latin in the twentieth century are transliterated according to their modern Turkish spelling. Some familiar words that have become part of modern English vocabulary, including well-known cities and territories (such as Herat, Baghdad, Khorasan, Bukhara, Tabriz, Bursa, Hejaz) and terms (such as dervish, imam, vizier, Sunni, Shi'i, Ramadan), were used without the transliteration marks and italics. For the most part, I have dropped the Arabic definite article that appears before personal demonyms (*nisba*); hence Ibn ᶜArabī rather than Ibn al-ᶜArabī.

The dates of movements, periods, and events are given in the AH/AD format, to the extent it was possible to ascertain both. I have provided the dates of death, or reign, on the first occurrence of the respective person's name in the dissertation.

Terms used in their original language are highlighted in italics and are for the most part accompanied by a translation, especially on their first appearance in the text. Some terms are translated variously throughout the text, such as *ṭarīqa* (path, tradition, community), in order to be faithful to the original text and to better reflect the shades of meaning.

62. Khwāfī's works are too numerous and voluminous to examine in detail in the span of time I had to write this dissertation. Secondly, due to my own circumstances at the time I was occupied with research, I did not have and could not get access to reliable manuscripts of all of Khwāfī's works, despite all attempts.

63. Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam, Volume 1 : the Classical Age of Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), i/4–6.

# Part I

# Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī

## CHAPTER 2

## THE SETTING: INTELLECTUAL MILIEU AND INFLUENCES

Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. $^{c}$Alī al-Khwāfī, also al-Harawī, was born in Burābād on March 16, 1356, (15 Rabī$^{c}$ al-Awwal, 757) in Khwāf, a district of Khorasan, and died on May 1, 1435, (2 Shawwāl, 838) in Mālīn, a village to the south of Herat. He was buried in Mālīn first, then in Darwīshābād, and finally in the $^{c}$Īdgāh area of Herat, in the vicinity of which city he spent most of his life, apart from his travels.[1] Khwāf was a district of Herat bounded by Mashhad and Nishapur to the west and Herat to the east.[2] It was known for the Sunni faith of its

1. Mu$^{c}$īn al-Dīn Muḥammad Zamchī Isfizārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt fī Awṣāf Madīnat Harāt*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Imām (Tehran: Tehran University Publications, 1959–60), i/207; Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 495; Nevâyī, *Nesâyimüʾl-Mahabbe*, 316–22; Ṭāshkoprīzāda, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, 45. Burābād is also spelled Barābād, likewise Mālīn is found with the alternative spelling Mālān. His *ism* and *nasab* are identified in Sakhāwī as Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. $^{c}$Alī, Abū Bakr; in Tāshkubrīzāda as Abu Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad; in the *waqfiyya* of 1409–10 as Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. $^{c}$Alī. I accept the second form which appears in his works in addition to the *waqfiyya* as the most reliable. Sakhawi's identification is rather puzzling as Abū Bakr rarely was used as an agnomen (*kunya*), it should, therefore, be taken as an *ism*. Yet Sakhāwī and other Egyptian historians like Ibn Taghribirdī were not used to the name *Abū Bakr* being used in Persian speaking lands; see below. His nickname (*laqab*, pl. *alqāb*) is commonly given as Zayn al-Dīn, sometimes coupled with Zayn al-Milla, and occasionally simplified by himself and others as *al-Zayn*. We do not know if this *laqab* was assumed or given. These kinds of *alqāb* sometimes were conferred on individuals by their superiors, in this case, by teachers and mentors. See Annemarie Schimmel, *Islamic Names* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989), 60–62 on the ways in which this tradition developed in the Islamic East out of the practice of conferring honorific titles (*khiṭāb*) to prominent people. A possible source of influence early in his life was named Zayn al-Dīn [Tāyabādī], as we will see below, and his initiatic master in the Suhrawardī chain was also called al-Zayn by at least one primary source [Sakhāwū], which leads one to consider a possible influence. Then again, names like Zayn al-Dīn and Nūr al-Dīn were fairly common among the members of the religious elite at the time. On the constitution of Islamic names in brief, see Alfred Felix Landon Beeston, *Arabic Nomenclature: A Summary Guide for Beginners* (Oriental Institute, 1971) and Schimmel, *Islamic Names*, 1–13. On compound names including "al-Dīn," see Albert Dietrich, "Zu den mit ad-dīn zusammengesetzten islamischen Personennamen," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 110 (n.F. 35), no. 1 (1960): 43–54. Zayn al-Dīn's is discussed in detail below.

2. On Khwāf and its subdivisions under the Tīmūrids, see Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *H̱orāsān zur Timuridenzeit nach dem Tārīḫ-e Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū (verf. 817-823 h.) des Nūrallāh $^{c}$Abdallāh b. Lutfallāh al-ḫvāfī*

denizens, with the *Ḥanafī* legal school forming the majority.[3] Narrative sources on the religiosity of the period, including ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's (d. 898/1492) *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, attest to a vibrant and highly creative mystical life in Khorasan, of which Khwāf was a part, with Sufi shaykhs belonging to different schools training disciples in every corner. Khwāf was no exception, for it, too, has been home to a remarkable number of religious and scholarly elite since early Islamic times. Although the area suffered in the aftermath of the Mongol conquest, it prospered quickly, thanks in part to lively economic activity in the proximity of the Tīmūrid capital. In this period, the region was prominent for its diverse economy and also on account of the number of bureaucrats and intellectuals associated with it, in addition to its holy men.[4]

The abundance of saints in the region was matched by the lavish patronage of Sufism by the

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*genannt Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū*, ed. Dorothea Krawulsky, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Geisteswissenschaften, Title on added t.p.: Tārīkh-i Ḥāfiẓ Abrū–mujallad duvvum, bakhsh-i jughrāfiyā-yi Khurāsān (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1982), i/37; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Jughrāfiyā*, ii/34, 35. At different points in history, Khwāf denoted the town of the same name and the region around it.

3. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Jughrāfiyā*, ii/34. Indeed, most of Khorasan including Herat, Juwayn, and particularly, Khwāf, were predominantly Sunni and Ḥanafī in the period. Maria Eva Subtelny and Anas B. Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning in Timurid Iran in the Light of the Sunni Revival under Shāh-Rukh," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, no. 2 (1995): 210. Also see Maria Szuppe, *Entre timourides, uzbeks et safavides : questions d'histoire politique et sociale de Hérat dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle* (Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, 1992), 122–23, where the author confirms that by the time of the Safavid conquest, Herat and its environment were predominantly Sunni. Krawulsky notes that the same was true even in the nineteenth century.

4. Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "Khwāf," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Second Edition; Manz, *Power*, 95–6. Khwāf, incidentally, was a prominent region also for contributing many bureaucrats and wazirs to the Tīmūrid administration. The upper echelons of the Tīmūrid central government was traditionally reserved for the Tajik people, whereas the Turkic element could only attain lesser scribal positions. The prominence of Khwāf in this regard has to do with its proximity to Herat certainly, but also is indicative of the existing cultural and intellectual traditions in the environment. For a discussion of the Khwāfī bureaucrats and viziers under the Tīmūrids, including the historian Faṣīh Aḥmad, the vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pir Aḥmad—who constructed shrines over the graves of Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī and Tāyabādī—and his son; Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwāfī (d. 908/1502-03), a powerful minister in the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century and a political opponent of ᶜAlī Shīr Nawāʾī known for being a centralizing bureaucrat against the Turkic element, Manz, *Power*, 96–100; Maria Eva Subtelny, "ᶜAlī Shīr Nawāʾī," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Third edition.

rulers, most notably under the Tīmūrids. It would be sufficient here to point out that during much of the fifteenth century, Herat was the political and cultural center of the Tīmūrids and enjoyed significant stability and prosperity especially under Shākhrukh (r. 811–50/1409–47).[5] While Tīmūr is credited for establishing a model relationship with the religious elite, his successor Shāhrukh, was known for favoring the *sharīᶜa*-minded shaykhs.[6] The same was likewise true in regard to the political elite under the Tīmūrids.

Khorasan's contribution to Islamic learning and piety did not occur in isolation from its geographical context. It was contiguous with regions of crucial significance for scholarship and religiosity. To its north lay the lands of Khwārazm and Transoxania (*Mā warāᵓ al-nahr*), with their great cities of Urganch, Bukhara and Samarqand, centers of science as well as mysticism, especially in the period under discussion. Further east was the Farghāna valley and Kāshghar. To the west lay the regions of Gīlān and Gurgān (Jurjān), with major centers of mysticism like Bisṭām.

In fact, during this period, Khorasan and its neighboring regions exerted considerable influence as home to a variety of mystical traditions. Around the same time the Baghdad school[7] was forming in the hands of masters like Sarī al-Saqaṭī (d. 253/867), Abū Saᶜīd al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899), Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907), and Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 297/910), albeit long before its spread to eastern Iran,[8] mystics and *ḥakīm*'s in Khorasan and Transoxania established extremely important schools—such as the Karrāmiyya and the Malāmatiyya—which continued to exert enormous influence on Islamic mystical traditions long after their demise as independent groups.

5. Zeki Velidi Togan, "Herat" in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.

6. Musa Şamil Yüksel, *Timurlularda Din-Devlet İlişkisi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2009), 200–1.

7. On the Baghdad school of Sufism in brief, see Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 43–67.

8. The spread of Baghdad school is discussed in detail in Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Sufism: The Formative Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 48–51 and Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History*, 83–98.

## 2.1 The shrines and saints of Khorasan

The city of Nishapur, the ancient capital of Khorasan and home to great past mystics like Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Farīd al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār (d. ca. 627/1229-30),[9] had lost much of its grandeur after successive destructions, while the shrine of ᶜAlī b. Mūsā b. Jaᶜfar al-Riḍā (d. 203/818), the eighth Shi'a Imam, near Tūs rose in importance, attracting pilgrims from afar and exerting influence on the religious culture of the area. Perhaps more characteristic for this period, the Mashhad shrine enjoyed significant patronage under the Tīmūrids. What one gets from the sources is that Sufis also made it a habit to visit the shrine, especially on their way to and from the Pilgrimage, though it is difficult to determine its importance for Khwāfī's own path.

Herat to the east was the home of great Sufis, foremost among them the Hanbalī mystic Khwāja ᶜAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (d. 481/1089).[10] He was trained by Ḥanbalī *ḥadīth* scholars before receiving mystical inculcation at the hands of an illiterate Sufi named Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kharaqānī (d. 425/1034), who is presented in later traditions as an *uwaysī* disciple of Abū Yazīd Tayfūr b. ᶜĪsā Bisṭāmī (d. 261/874-5 or 234/848-9). A charismatic preacher and a tireless polemicist, Anṣārī was outspoken in his repudiation of philosophers and theologians—both the Ashᶜārīs and the Muᶜtazila. He had little sympathy for intoxicated Sufis—as attested to by his justification of Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj's (d. 309/922) execution as an inevitable consequence of his carelessness.[11] Jāmī's adoption of Anṣārī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, a biographical dictionary of Sufis, as a model for his *Nafaḥāt* ensured that Anṣārī's view of Sufism and influence survived his own time into this period.[12] A more tangible

9. Recent studies seem to have adopted 627 AH for ᶜAṭṭār's date of death, as suggested by Muḥammad Riḍa Shāfiᶜī-Kadkānī, while previous works ascribe a date around the Mongol destruction of the city in the April of 1221. Aigle, "'Aṭṭār's Taḏkirat al-Awliyā and Jāmī's Nafaḥat al-Uns: Two Visions of Sainthood"; cf. B. Reinert, "Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*.

10. On Anṣārī see Beaureceuil's works, some of which are listed in the bibliography. Also see briefly Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History*, 136–40.

11. Serge de Laugier de Beaureceuil, "'Abdallāh Anṣārī," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*. Beaureceuil's research in illuminating Anṣārī's life and work is very important, see the bibliography of this entry for more sources on this Sufi.

12. Jāmī in the introduction to his work acknowledged the extent that his work owes to *Ṭabaqāt*

testimony, of course, was the lavish patronage Anṣārī's shrine in the Gazurgāh of Herat received from Shāhrukh, an act interpreted as a cornerstone of this ruler's religious policies.[13]

Khwāja Anṣārī's influence over Khwāfī was enormous. Outside of the people in his initiatic lineage (*silsila*), Anṣārī may be the single largest source of inspiration for his writing and thought. Besides frequently quoting from him and citing his work as among the most authoritative Sufi writings, Khwāfī commented on the former's *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn ilā al-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn* ("Steps of the Wayfarers Towards the Evident Truth"), and wrote a separate shorter commentary on the three closing verses of the book.[14] The *Manāzil* is one of the most important works in Sufism in terms of its reception and influence among a diverse variety of Sufi communities. Serge de Beaurecueil's study of the surviving manuscripts of the treatise shows the work's highly variegated chains of transmission and commentaries produced in a vast area stretching from North Africa to Central Asia, with the tradition initiated by Khwāfī standing as a distinctly important one among all.[15]

Although Anṣārī did not leave behind a particular initiatic lineage, his works and shrine exerted significant influence, particularly around Herat. It is within reason that Khwāfī himself at an early period came under the influence of Anṣārī's Sufism. Māyil Harawī, a modern historian of Herat, further argued that Khwāfī spent time as a youth in Herat and drew a stipend from Anṣārī's hospice. While this could in fact be the case, we do not have any sources to corroborate it. That being said, one need not look for individual evidence of influence in the case of such great a master as Anṣārī. As I argued, the influence of the "Sage of Herat," (*Pīr-i Harāt*) was so widespread that Khwāfī's Egyptian master Shabarrīsī used language borrowed from Anṣārī's pithy work.[16]

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*al-Ṣūfiyya*. See Mojaddedi, *The biographical tradition in sufism : the ṭabaqāt genre from al-Sulamī to Jāmī*.

13. Manz, *Power*, 219–20.

14. See below on Khwāfī's writings.

15. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Anṣārī al-Harawī, *Kitāb Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn ilā al-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn: Les étapes des itinérants vers Dieu: edition critique, avec introd., traduction et lexique*, ed. Serge de Laugier de Beaurecueil, Anṣārīyāt. (Cairo: Impimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1962), 36.

16. Long before Khwāfī, commentaries on this work were produced in Egypt and North Africa,

The close town of Turbat-i Jām housed the convent and shrine of Aḥmad-i Nāmiqī-yi Jāmī (d. 532/1141), a staunch proponent of *Sharīᶜa* and the *iᶜtiqād-i durust* (straight faith), known affectionately to his followers as the Colossal Elephant (*zhanda-pīl*) and more widely as *shaykh al-islām*. Aḥmad-i Jāmī made a further mark on the Sunni-Sufi paradigm through his relationship of friendship and patronage with the Seljuk sultan Sanjar (d. 552/1157). His life and exploits quickly became the subject of legends and hagiographies, though it was also the work of his descendants that ensured the lasting influence of his legacy and his shrine in Jām.[17]

It appears that devotees and descendants of Aḥmad-i Jām were particularly active in the Herat area during this period. It is often remembered in this regard that the famous Jāmī adopted his pen-name out of his devotion to this shaykh. Khwāfī appears to have been close to him in various ways. We know that he directed his disciples to perform solitary exercises in his tomb in Jām. In addition, biographical sources from the period list several members of Aḥmad-i Jām's cult as among the close circle of Khwāfī. This included, for example, Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Kusūᵓī (d. 863/1459), a religious luminary of the period and a descendant of Aḥmad-i Jām, who was an ardent proponent of Ibn ᶜArabī, an admirer of Bahāᵓ al-Dīn Jagharāᵓī—whose initiatic chain extended back to ᶜAlāᵓ al-Dawla Simnānī—and a follower of Khwāfī's "method" in litanies (*awrād*) and remembrances (*dhikr*).[18]

The later Sufi paradigm assigned Aḥmad-i Nāmiqī a mystical descent from Abū Saᶜīd b. Abī

most famously, by ᶜAbd al-Muᶜṭī al-Lakhmī al-Iskandarī (fl. late 6th/12th c.), ᶜAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (d. 690/1291), and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (751/1350), in addition to such eastern authors as ᶜAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī (d. ca. 730/1330) and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Tustarī. See Beaurecueil's introduction to Anṣārī al-Harawī, *Kitāb Manāzil al-Sāᵓirīn ilā al-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn: Les étapes des itinérants vers Dieu: edition critique, avec introd., traduction et lexique*.

17. A detailed study of his hagiography is Heshmat Moayyad and Franklin Lewis, *The Colossal Elephant and His Spiritual Feats : Shaykh Ahmad-e Jām: The Life and Legend of a Popular Sufi Saint of 12th Century Iran* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2004). Descendants of the family are still in the religious life of the region; see editor's note on Aḥmad-i Jām, *ᵓUns al-Tāᵓibīn : Matnī ᶜIrfānī va kuhan bih Pārsī-i ravān va shīvā*, Chāp-i 1., ed. ᶜAlī Fāḍil (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Tūs, 1989), 35.

18. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 497–98. The impression one gets from the *Nafaḥāt* is that Kusūᵓī was under the influence equally of Zayn al-Dīn and Bahā al-Dīn, the two greatest shaykhs of Herat in the period.

al-Khayr (d. 440/1049), one of the founders of the *khānqāh* Sufism in Persianate lands, who spent his life in those regions, between Nishapur, Sarakhs, and Maykhāna.[19] Abu Sa$^{c}$īd's legendary image was of one of those Sufi converts who abandoned learning after becoming initiated into the Sufi path. After a long period of severe asceticism and self-mortification (*taqashshuf*), he emerged with a public and vocal kind of Sufism that combined legalistic aspects of Islam with the antinomian tendencies of mysticism.[20] While his liberal attitudes towards *samā$^{c}$* and ecstatic *dhikr* earned him criticism from the religious scholars of his time and even from Sufis like Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayri (d. 465/1072-3) and Khwāja $^{c}$Abd Allah al-Anṣārī; his emphasis on dervish solidarity and *khānqāh* etiquette, along with his widely circulated quatrains—none of which he claimed for himself—won him an enduring legacy.[21] Besides *khānqāh* rituals, some recent studies have suggested, his social and public mode of dervishhood may have provided an inspiration for later movements like the Naqshbandiyya.[22] Firm evidence of his long-lasting prestige is the fact that, of all the hundreds of

19. The authenticity of the traditional accounts, like the one found in the Nafahat, to the effect that Aḥmad-i Nameqi was presented with a *khirqa* (Sufi habit) from Abu Sa$^{c}$īd, is questioned by modern scholars. The important thing for our discussion, however, is that this was accepted as fact by the Sufis of the time. For a detailed discussion of the historical and legendary legacy of Abu Sa$^{c}$īd, see Fritz Meier, *Abū Sa$^{c}$īd-i Abū l-H̱ayr (357-440/967-1049) : Wirklichkeit und Legende*, Acta Iranica. Textes et mémoires (Téhéran; Liège : Leiden: Bibliothèque Pahlavi ; Diffusion E.J. Brill, 1976). On his influence over Sufism in general and also the Sufi trends in Khorasan, see Terry Graham, "Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī'l-Khayr and the School of Khurāsān," in *The heritage of Sufism*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (Oxford ; Boston, MA: Oneworld, 1999). Also see Nicholson's much earlier study: Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Reprint (London: Kegan Paul International, 1998), 1–76.

20. Gerhard Böwering, "Abū Sa'īd Abi'l-K̲ayr," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*. In Mayhana, he witnessed the Seljuk take over of the city and apparently had an amicable encounter with Seljuk rulers, Tughril and Caghri. Legends also connected him to Niẓām al-Mulk, who allegedly told that everything he possessed was thanks to Abu Sa$^{c}$īd.

21. Although it is accepted that Abu Sa$^{c}$īd did not, strictly speaking, found the institution of *khānqāh*, the type of *khānqāh* piety associated with Persianate Sufism in the subsequent period is accepted to be in large part influenced by his example: "Although he founded no Order, the convent he presided supplied a model in outline of the fraternities that were established during the 12th century; and in the ten rules which he, as abbot, drew up and caused to be put into writing we find, so far as I know, the first Mohammedan example of a *regula ad monachos*." Nicholson, *Studies*, 76.

22. Omid Safi, "Abū Sa'īd b. Abī l-Khayr," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Third Edition. On his significance in the context of the history of Sufism, see Karamustafa, *Sufism*, 122.

Sufis, Jāmī allocated the largest entry to Abu Sa$^{c}$īd.[23]

It is difficult to exhaust the list of Sufis and scholars to which Khwāfī's works and thought are indebted. One final mention must be made, however, of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Kalābādhī's (d. 380/990), whose work stands out as one of several Khwāfī listed as trustworthy sources on Sufism.[24] Kalabādhī was a Transoxanian scholar of Islamic law and Prophetic tradition, famous for his work on Sufism titled *Kitāb al-Ta$^{c}$arruf li-Madhhab ahl al-Taṣawwuf*, a work noted for its dependence on the Baghdādī school of Sufism to the detriment of his contemporary Khurāsānī Sufis, which borrowed also from the tradition Manṣūr of al-Ḥallāj (d. 310/922). Kalabādhī, who belonged to the *Ḥanafī* school, interpreted Sufism as a branch of Islamic knowledge practicioners of which had to conform to the legalistic aspects of Islam, disapproving therefore of antinomian tendencies. His work was a major influence on Khwāja Anṣārī, and remained influential within mainstream Sunni Sufism.[25]

At the time of Zayn al-Dīn, the legacy of these Sufis, among others, was strong and its influence significant. In addition to their direct influence through the institutions they pioneered, and the compositions and hagiographies they engendered, their inspiration was a constant in the air. Their cults were active plants for the dissemination of Sufism, their shrines were meticulously patronized by powerful rulers, and their graves were visited by the common people for *baraka*, or, spiritual blessing. Sufi novitiates inhabited these sites for solitary mystical exercises like *khalwa* and often received spiritual guidance from these saints, while scholars and teachers drew stipends from the pious foundations (*waqf*) associated with them.[26]

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23. On the importance of Khorasan for Sufism and the relationship of masters like Ḥallāj and Abu Sa$^{c}$īd b. Abī al-Khayr to that region, see, for example Aigle, "'Aṭṭār's Taḏkirat al-Awliyā and Jāmī's Nafaḥat al-Uns: Two Visions of Sainthood," 272–73.

24. On this, see below in the discussion of Khwāfī's work titled *Manhaj al-Rashād*.

25. There is little information on his life in primary sources, and modern scholarship on him is equally thin. See Jacqueline Chabbi's related entry in the *Encyclopædia of Islam, Three* for a brief presentation and bibliography.

26. As discussed below, Maqdisi engaged in a *khalwa*, on the request of Khwāfī, in the tomb of Aḥmad-i Nāmiqī. It was the same shrine, in the first place, that Khwāfī's compatriot and possible

## 2.2 Abū Bakr Tāyabādī

While Khwāfī identifies a number of past Sufis in his works as trustworthy guides and authorities on Sufism, only one of these, namely Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Tāyabādī (d. 791/1389), seems to have been his contemporary, bringing up the possibility of a direct relationship. Tāyabādī, who was from the village of Tāyabād also of Khwāf, appears more importantly as the earliest of Khwāfī's teachers, according to Sakhāwī's *Al-Daw al-Lāmi$^{c}$*.[27]

Tāyabādī was not associated with any particular Sufi school in his time and seems to have been an uninitiated, rather, he is described as a *Sharī$^{c}$a* and *Sunna*-minded *uwaysī* Sufi who received instruction from the spirituality of Aḥmad-i Nāmiqī, whose shrine he dutifully served at for decades. Although he was to a certain degree knowledgeable in external sciences, his real learning came about as a result of a meticulous execution of the *Shar$^{c}$ī* and the Sunni living.[28] There is no surviving work from his pen, though we are relatively knowledgeable about his thought, thanks to a hagiography recorded by his descendants.[29]

Tāyabādī appears in Tīmūrid sources in three major ways: *i*) as an active advocate and successor of the cult of Aḥmad-i Nāmiqī; *ii*) as a fervent Sunni Sufi who was also a devout *Ḥanafī*;[30] and, *iii*)

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influence Tāyabādī served and, thereupon, became an *uwaysi* disciple of Aḥmad-i Nāmiqī. On this, see below.

27. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw$^{\supset}$ al-Lāmi$^{c}$ (2003)*, ix/230. To be precise, Sakhāwī refers to a certain *al-tābābādī* among Khwāfī's shaykhs whom he served. However, no other independent source confirms a direct relationship between Khwāfī and Tāyabādī. Studies in Turkish accept Sakhāwī's report as fact, see, for example Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 15; Köle, *Hâfî*, 29. On the Tāyabād spelling, see Vasiliĭ Vladimirovich Barthold, *Uluğ Bey ve Zamanı*, ed. Akdes Nimet Kurat (Tahiroğlu) (İstanbul: Türkiyat Enstitüsü, 1930), 19.

28. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 499. On Tāyabādī's relationship with Baha al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 1389), see below.

29. Sayyid $^{c}$Alā al-Dīn Gūsha-gīr, ed., *Maqāmāt-i Quṭb al-Aqṭāb Shaykh al-Islām Zayn al-Dīn Abā Bakr-i Tāyabādī* (Dazfūl: Intishārāt-i Afhām, 1389(2010)).

30. An early sixteenth-century source on the Sufis of Herat, the *Rashaḥāt*, reports Qāsim al-Anwār's testimony to the effect that Tāyabādī once rebuked an attending Sufi because he held his shaykh in higher esteem than Abū Ḥanīfa, the founder of the *Ḥanafī* school. Fakhr al-Dīn $^{c}$Alī ibn Ḥusayn Wā$^{c}$iẓ Kāshifī Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i $^{c}$Ayn al-Ḥayāt*, ed. $^{c}$Alī Aṣghar Mu$^{c}$īniyān (Tehran: Bunyād-i

as the object of Tīmūr's profound respect and reverence. Chroniclers of Tīmūr, including even Ibn $^{c}$Arabshāh who confuses the Sufi with Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī, record a peculiar visit Tāyabādī received from the *amīr* in March 1381 at the beginning of his Khorasan campaign.[31] In addition to providing a vignette of Tīmūr's relations with saintly figures, the story depicts a fearless and lofty Sufi, superior in status to this world-conquering ruler, who would later admit his indebtedness to the prayers of the shaykh.[32]

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Nīkūkārī-i Nūriyānī, 1977), 463.

31. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Sayyid Kamāl Ḥājj Sayyid Jawādī (Tehrān: Sāzmān-i Chāp va Intishārāt, Vizārat-i Farhang va Irshād-i Islāmī, 2001). Ghiyath al-Dīn Pir $^{c}$Alī, the ruler of Herat at the time, surrendered the city to Tīmūr and was subsequently exiled to Samarqand. İsmail Aka, *Mirza Şahruh ve Zamanı : 1405–1447* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), 12.

32. The story obviously might include tropes that were part of Tīmūrid chronicles, whose propensity to depict Tīmūr as a pious ruler in the service of religion was noted as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, due to the fact that it occurs more or less in the same manner in a variety of histories including those of Ibn $^{c}$Arabshāh, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, and Yazdī, it may well be seen as a fairly authentic description of Tīmūr's interest in saintly people, meriting a brief summary here: According to these sources, Tīmūr wanted to pay his respects to the famous shaykh on his way to Herat. When the shaykh was told of Tīmūr's intention to come to the village of Tāyabād to visit him, he indifferently responded by saying: "I do not have any business with Tīmūr." Tīmūr arrived at Tāyabādī's residence, got off his horse and entered his home. Seeing the shaykh in contemplation and prayer on his prayer rug, he waited for him to finish, and when he finished, Tīmūr bowed before the shaykh while the latter put his hands on his back. This caused Tīmūr to feel so weak that he later said if the shaykh had not removed his hands, he back would have broken. Tīmūr told Ḥāfiẓ-i Abru at another point that of all the shaykhs he visited, he could feel all tremble before him except Tāyabādī, who made him tremble in fear. Following the shaykh's pious counsels apparently regarding treating his subjects and conquered peoples with justice and fairness, Tīmūr politely asked the shaykh why he did not advise his king to uphold the *Sharī$^{c}$a* and refrain from transgressions and injustice. The shaykh responded to the effect that he did tell the ruler—of Herat, or rulers in general—but he would not listen, therefore Tīmūr was appointed to take care of his business. (Note that the reference to "your ruler(s)" in Yazdī and Ibn $^{c}$Arabshāh is ambiguous whereas Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's version is more specific in its allusion to Ghiyāth al-Dīn, the ruler of Herat, upon which Tīmūr's army was marching at the time of the visit.) And if Tīmūr also does not heed the same counsels of fairness and piety, someone else would take care of him. The word used in Ibn $^{c}$Arabshāh, *fa-sallaṭnāka $^{c}$alayhum*, can be interpreted both as "we inflicted you upon them" and "we set you up as overlord to them." The final detail of the exchange offers some spiritual legitimacy to the actions of Tīmūr. When the ruler asked the shaykh who would be inflicted on him should he stray from the straight path, the shaykh responded "Azrael!" Ibn $^{c}$Arabshāh's narrative seems to suggest that Tīmūr after this point believed that it was his mission to punish rulers who transgressed

Despite his lack of association with any contemporary or previous network, Tāyabādī was held in high esteem also by the Khwājagān community. Bahāᵓ al-Dīn al-Naqshband (d. 791/1389) himself, on his way to pilgrimage with his disciple Muḥammad Parsa interrupted his travel and changed his course to visit Tāyabādī, and he later asked his disciples to visit this venerable shaykh on their way to Hejaz, apparently because he admired his utmost attention to the matters of *Sharīᶜa*. More than thirty years later and long after both Bahāᵓ al-Dīn and Zayn al-Dīn had died, Pārsā on a visit to Tāyabād, remembered the incident and shared its memory with his companions.[33]

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the law (both *Sharīᶜa* and *yasa*) and no earthly ruler would prevail over him. Later on in his life, Tīmūr said his career proved the shaykh right.Yazdī's treatment in his Ẓafarnāma is very brief, while Ibn ᶜArabshāh, who incidentally identifies the shaykh as Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī, and Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū provide a little more detail about the event. All accounts agree that Tīmūr treated the shaykh with the utmost respect and was very much moved by the meeting. The shaykh was described by the *amīr* as a Godly person who turned his back to the affairs and the people of the world.See Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, ed. Sayyid Saʿīd Mīr Muḥammad Ṣādiq and ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī (Tehrān: Mūze wa Markaz–i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shūrāyi Islāmī, 2008–2009), I/492; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn ᶜArabshāh, *ᶜAjāᵓib al-Maqdūr fī Nawāᵓib Taymūr*, ed. Aḥmad Fāᵓiz Ḥimṣī (Bayrūt: Muᵓassasat al-Risālah, 1986), 70–71; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*, II/558–9; and also Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn ᶜArabshāh, *Tamerlane or, Timur, the Great Amir*, trans. John Herne Sanders, Includes index. (Lahore: Progressive Books, 1976), 22–23. A short list of primary sources on this incident is found in Yüksel, *Timurlularda*, 96, 102–3. The Tīmūrid elite continued to patronize Tāyabādī's cult posthumously. A mosque was built by the Tīmūrid vezir Pir Aḥmad Khwāfī over the tomb of Tāyabādī in Tāyabād. Lisa Golombek, "Ḡīāṯ al-Dīn Šīrāzī," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 600. This anecdote is reinforced by Tīmūr's later acknowledgment that "[w]hatever empire I have gained and whatever forts I have stormed, are due to the intercession of Sheikh Shamsuddin Fakhri and the zeal of Sheikh Zeinuddin Khwāfī, [sic] and I have not won success except by the aid of Said Barka." See Ibn ᶜArabshāh, *Tamerlane or, Timur, the Great Amir*, 5. Note, however, that "Zeinuddin Khwāfī" in this quote certainly refers to Zayn al-Dīn Tāyabādī.

33. In the year 1419, when Muḥammad Pārsā stopped at Tāyabād en route to his last pilgrimage and paid a visit to the tomb of Tāyabādī, he related the following incident: When he went on his first pilgrimage in the company of the great Khwāja, the caravan stopped at Marw. A group including Pārsā went to Mashhad to visit the shrine of the Imām ᶜAlā Riḍā, while another group including Bahāᵓ al-Dīn headed towards Herat to meet Tāyabādī, whom Bahāᵓ al-Dīn was fond of. Bahāᵓ al-Dīn, according to Pārsā, would ask his disciples to visit Zayn al-Dīn on their way to pilgrimage, because, he said, "[Zayn al-Dīn] attained the highest *maqāmāt* (spiritual stations) of the people of the *ṭarīqa* (spiritual path) and *ḥaqīqa* (truth) through the rigorous application of sharia.Another anecdote in the same source has a deceased saint tell a dervish in a dream that the closest to God among the living scholars is Tāyabādī. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 500, 501. *Rashaḥāt*'s account of the event notes that Bahāᵓ al-Dīn remained three days in *ṣuḥba* with Tāyabādī. Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥa-*

Besides Sakhāwī's brief note and Khwāfī's own mention of the shaykh in *Manhaj al-Rashād*, there is no independent evidence linking Khwāfī and Tāyabādī. The latter's hagiography does not contain a single reference to the former.[34] Jāmī's biographical dictionary of Sufis, which is known to categorize Sufis in clusters based on their initiatic chains, groups Khwāfī and Tāyabādī close to each other. Tāyabādī also appears as the only contemporary shaykh Khwāfī refers to in a long list of pious forebears, in his work titled *Manhaj al-Rashād*.[35] The relationship may have been no more than like-mindedness in several areas, including an interest in Aḥmad-i Jāmī and *sharī$^c$a* matters. There are other characteristics that clearly separate them, including Khwāfī's concern with *silsila* discipline, which is not seen in the *uwaysī*-trained Tāyabādī.

Recent studies have portrayed the two as sharing a common dislike towards Ibn $^c$Arabī. An anecdote concerning Tāyabādī is usually taken as indicative of his thought on the famous Andalusi mystic. An anonymous hagiography of the shaykh relates that Sa$^c$d al-Dīn, Tāyabādī's grandson, was rebuked in a dream after reviewing the "Fuṣūṣ."[36] Shahzad Bashir recalls this story in the context of "the tremendous hostility" generated toward Ibn $^c$Arabī's ideas, before naming Tāyabādī and Khwāfī among the prominent opponents of the *Akbarī* thought. In fact, more than anything, this seems to have been the conclusion of the Naqshbandī sources regarding Khwāfī. However, when one considers the personal attitudes of these Naqshbandī authors and the highly pro-Ibn $^c$Arabī cultural environment shaping their experience, stories like this can be proved to be partial and incomplete. As I try to demonstrate later in this study, the same Khwāfī labeled easily as anti-Ibn $^c$Arabī by the Naqshbandī circles, spent most of his life in very close friendship with devotees of Ibn $^c$Arabī. While he saw some of Ibn $^c$Arabī's pronouncements reprehensible, as he wrote in his work *Manhaj al-Rashād*, he still remained respectful of him, counting him among the great *sharī$^c$a*-minded shaykhs

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*yāt*, 97.

34. See Gūsha-gīr, *Maqāmāt-i Tāyabādī*. This work is completely oblivious of Khwāfī and his circle, which is quite interesting in itself.

35. See below, under "His thought" on this work.

36. Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 98–99.

of the past.[37]

A comparison of their thinking provides hardly any clues to the nature of the relationship between Khwāfī and Tāyabādī. Until better evidence becomes available, it is perhaps best to consider Tāyabādī as an influence on Khwāfī, someone whom he may have visited for a time and respected enough to quote in his work, though perhaps not necessarily in the capacity of a direct master.

### 2.3 Distant influences

A specific sort of inculcation that did not necessitate direct communication, called *Uwaysī* on account of an alleged companion of the Prophet named Uways al-Qarānī, was popularized by Persianate Sufi authors, the most noteworthy among them being Farīd al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār.[38] The *uwaysi* mode of training, part and parcel of Persianate Sufism at the time and particularly common in Khorasan, allowed the transmission of teachings with no instructor present, sidestepping the *silsila*s and *ijazā*s of the yet-to-crystallize *ṭarīqa* paradigm, ensuring, in the meantime, virtually unfettered posthumous influence for these charismatic saints.[39] In the words of a modern scholar of Sufism,

37. Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Khwāfī, "Manhaj al-Rashād," in *Īn barghāyi Pīr: Majmūʿa-i Bīst āsār-i Chāp Nashoda-i Fārsī az Qalamraw-i Taṣawwuf*, ed. Najīb Māyil Haravī (Tehran: Nashr-i Nay, 2002), 473–579.

38. ᶜAṭṭār's famous *Tadhkira* includes a section on Uways al-Qarānī, which ends with a summary description of this type of Sufis, which I would like to quote here in P. Losensky's translation: "Know that there is a group of people whom they call the Oveysians. They have no need for a spiritual guide, for prophecy nurtures them in its shelter without the mediation of another, just as it nurtured Oveys. Although outwardly he did not see the Master of Prophets (peace be upon him), Oveys was nevertheless nurtured by him. He was fosterd by prophecy and was in harmony with the truth. This is a great and lofty station. Who will be made to attain this station and to whom will this good fortune show its face? *That is the grace of God, which he will bestow on whomever he pleases [5:57]*. [Emphasis in original]" Farīd al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār, *Farid ad-Din ᶜAttār's Memorial of God's friends : lives and sayings of Sufis*, trans. Paul Edward Losensky (New York: Paulist Press, 2009), 63. ᶜAṭṭār's description by this time had become widely influential as can be seen by its adoption in *Rawḍāt al-Jinān*; see Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalāᶜī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān wa Jannat al-Janān*, ed. Jaʿfar Sulṭān Al-Qurrāī (Tehrān: Bungāh-i Tarjumah va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1965), 510–11.

39. Elizabeth Sirriyeh, *Sufi visionary of Ottoman Damascus : ᶜAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, 1641-1731* (London ; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 43–4.

*Uwaysī* Sufis "attained illumination outside the regular mystical path and without the mediation and guidance of a living sheikh."[40] The training and the transmission of spiritual blessings took place as a result of constant occupation with the spiritual works and contemplation of a deceased or distant Sufi, habitation in a site associated with the Sufi—such as his tomb—and encounters with the Sufi on a subconscious plane, such as in dreams. The mentor of Khwāja ᶜAbd Allāh Anṣārī (d. 1089) of Herat, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kharaqānī(d. 1033), was described as an unschooled *uwaysī* mystic who was instructed by Bāyazīd-i Bisṭāmī, a mystic of the ninth century. Aḥmad-i Nāmiqī was a spiritual descendant of Abū Saᶜīd, as referred to above, while Farīd al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār was a spiritual disciple of none other than al-Ḥallāj.[41] In a similar manner, many other Sufis claimed to have been taught by the immortal saint *al-Khiḍr*. This type of indoctrination allowed for an array of modes of intellectual and spiritual influence that was not necessarily limited to *silsila*s or in-person instruction.

Also underpinning this creative mystical environment was the remarkable ease with which Sufis of the time were able to have multiple masters or switch loyalties. Doubtless, it was seen as necessary for one to have only one instructor at a time, but it was common to study under several masters at different points in life. The historical conditions around Sufism at the time, on the other hand, increasingly favored an evolution into a more formalized and regulated mode of instruction, where lineages and competing collective identities tied to an eponym would become the most pronounced marker of differentiation among communities. As I will discuss in the course of this study, Khwāfī's Sufism, with its focus on *ṭarīqa* discipline, *silsila* awareness, and *Sharīᶜa*-mindedness applied to Sufism, and a group consciousness based on these ideas, was meant to offer a more structured mode of piety.

40. Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 28–29. This remote instructor could sometimes by al-Khiḍr himself, as it was claimed in the case of the Khwāja ᶜAbd al-Khaliq Ghujduwānī.

41. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions*, 89–90, 105.

## 2.4 Echoes of Malāmatiyya and Karrāmiyya

A cursory examination of available sources reveals that certain mystical currents and features were particularly strongly manifested in the Sufi groups of the region. The ethos of Sufism emphasizing its locus (i.e. the *khānqāh*), the connection between the master and the disciple, and attention to the dervish-like $^{c}$*aṣabiyya*, all with a considerable degree of *Sharī*$^{c}$*a*-mindedness, was especially prominent. Some Sufis were practicing an uneasy merger of the Sunni-*Shar*$^{c}$*ī* theory with occasionally deviant praxis, combining the Junaydī and Tayfūrī attitudes.

The missionary zeal and the cenobitic mode of Sufism, among other characteristics prevalent in the region, bring to mind the much earlier case of the *Karrāmiyya*, a predominantly Ḥanafī and fervently Sunni community that originated in Sijistān and Khorasan in the ninth century, that is, long before the spread of the Baghdad school of Sufism. The *Karrāmī* mystics avoided *kalām* and theosophical speculation and instead preferred to devote themselves to worship in *khānqāh*s, the spread of which some recent studies associate with them.[42] Their propensity for eremitism did not necessarily mean they were reserved in their ideas, as they frequently found themselves involved in sectarian polemics of the time, which was the major cause of their gradual decline in the eleventh century.

These traits, among others not discussed here, are reminiscent of Khwāfī's description of Sufism in his works, which will be discussed later in this dissertation. One easily finds echoes of some of Ibn Karrām's (d. 869) or Yaḥyā b. Mu$^{c}$adh's (d. 872) ideas in Zayn al-Dīn's writings. It is difficult to argue for a direct relationship between these two groups separated in time by five centuries, not to mention their incompatibility in some matters. However, the case of the *Karrāmiyya*, especially in their antagonism toward the *Malāmatiyya*, is worth remembering in order to understand the ways

42. See Aron Zysow's article "Karrāmiya" in *Encyclopædia Iranica* for a brief discussion of *Karrāmiyya* and a helpful bibliography. *Karrāmī* leaders were unapologetic about their path and did not have a problem with being very visible in the public life. They paid attention to visiting holy men, dead or alive, and keeping the company of the righteous while keeping away from the ignorant of the path.

Khwāfī's path distinguished itself from others in the region.

The Malāmatīs were the foremost of the rival group of the *Karrāmiyya* in the highly sectarian and polemical intellectual climate of ninth-century Khorasan. Their principles stood in stark contrast to those of the *Karrāmiyya* and, as some scholars argue, they seem to have emerged as a reaction to the latter. They avoided public visibility and refrained from preaching. They concealed their piety by not wearing the Sufi attire and by performing supererogatory acts out of the sight of others. Unlike the *Karrāmiyya*, they were not interested in disseminating their principles in writing. They attacked the *tawakkul* (utter reliance to God) of the *Karrāmiyya*, a key point in Khwāfī's teaching, and took up gainful employment instead of mendicancy which was characteristic of many Sufi communities.[43]

J. Paul and E. Ökten in their recent studies on the followers of Khwāfī and the Khwājagān in Khorasan noted the latter group's adoption of Ibn ᶜArabī's thought formed a major cause of divergence between them and Zayn al-Dīn's posterity.[44] A more detailed look at the life and works of Zayn al-Dīn suggests that the differentiation between the two groups may have been the result of a more profound incompatibility between these two contemporaneous movements. It appears that just as Zayn al-Dīn's Sufism embraced some key attitudes of the *Karrāmiyya*, the followers of the Khwājagān came to champion contrary ideas. Lending support to this perspective, some modern studies agree that an apparent revival of some *Malamatī* principles can be found in what would later be termed Naqshbandiyya.[45] As some scholars pointed out, the Sufism of the Khwājagān distinguished itself by rejecting certain typical Sufi attitudes like cenobitism, retreat (*khalwa* and *ᶜuzla*),

43. This last practice and their tendency to consort with the common people caused their ideas to be embraced by urban tradesmen, who continued it as *futuwwa* after the degeneration and demise of the original Malāmatiyya of Khorasan. Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History*, 94–95.

44. Jürgen Paul, "The Rise of the Khwajagan-Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order in Timurid Herat," in *Afghanistan's Islam: From Conversion to the Taliban*, ed. Nile Green (University of California Press, 2017), 79–80.

45. "A revival of some of the original Malamati ideals and practices, especially the avoidance of a distinctive garb and aloud *dhikr*, the prohibition of ceaseless voyaging and the cultivation of close ties with the people of the bazaar, is sometimes associated with the Naqshbandi brotherhood, which was active in Central Asia and India in the thirteenth/nineteenth centuries." Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History*, 98–99.

mendicancy, and absolute reliance (*tawakkul*), in addition to the practice of the loud *dhikr*—very evocative of the old *Malāmatiyya*. I shall end here by postulating that some key issues that mattered to the mystics of ninth-century Khorasan can be seen as crucial dividers in the intellectual climate of the region in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[46]

## 2.5 Philosophical and divergent trends in Sufism

An examination of writings by and about Sufis of the time leave no doubt that Ibn ᶜArabī's teaching permeated the intellectual climate. This influence was more than simply acknowledged, as most the learned people of the time were outspoken about their acceptance or rejection of the great Andalusian mystic.[47] Prominent Naqshbandis, who were close acquaintances of Zayn al-Dīn, including Muḥammad Pārsā and ᶜUbayd Allah Aḥrār were proud students of the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* and *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*.[48] It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ᶜArabī (d. 638/1240) in the history of Sufism, as it is likewise different to treat him fairly here. It should suffice to say that the diffusion of his ideas—and those of his disciples—on a number of issues, including sainthood (*walāya*), the perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*), and the unity of existence (*Waḥdat al-wujūd*) proved to be quite provocative and almost polarizing among Sufis and the intellectual elite. Declarations associated with his doctrine seem to have overshadowed many other polemical issues among Sufi circles, at least those discussed in this study, while historians of the period saw in an individual's devotion to or hostility against Ibn ᶜArabī a great utility for classifying and pro-

46. Paul notes the evidence of the existence of *Malāmatī* villages in Khorasan in the Tīmūrid period. Paul, "The Rise of the Khwajagan-Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order in Timurid Herat," 80.

47. In the words of Shahzad Bashir, Ibn ᶜArabī's teaching formed a watershed in the history of Sufism, and there was, especially in the "Persianate arena, nearly unconditional support for his ideas." Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 98.

48. The friendship between Pārsā and Khwāfī was such that the latter furnished the tombstone of the former after his passing in Madina. Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, 111, summarizing from Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*.

filing their subjects.[49] Sufis averse to theosophical speculation, like Khwāfī, cautioned their circles against studying Ibn ʿArabī out of fear that his teachings like the "Waḥdat al-wujūd" might degenerate into a form of pantheism that blurred the line between the Creator and the created. Others, like the Naqshbandī leaders of the fifteenth century, embraced the whole doctrine without reservation, causing a rift between themselves and people like Khwāfī.

In the midst of political upheavals shaking the very foundations of Islamic society, another intellectual current threatened to alter the established forms of theosophy and epistemology during this period. This consisted of a number of esoteric schools that differed from Ibn ʿArabī's thinking in their eclectic and extra-Islamic sources. These included occult and hermetic disciplines like numerology, astrology, prognostication, philosophy, and dream interpretation.[50] For *Sharīʿa*-minded Sufis and scholars, this new knowledge was most unwelcome, as it drew on other kinds of sources, and the arguments of these esoteric scholars were suggestive of those of the *Bāṭinī*s of the tenth cen-

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49. It is for this reason that I believe that the reader of these histories should not forget that adherence to or refusal of the doctrines of "al-shaykh al-akbar" was possibly one of the easiest ways to profile an individual, and one of the many other possibly more ambiguous ways that distinguished him. That a biographee is mentioned in the context of an Akbarian polemic should not obscure the likelihood that this may have been a minor detail in the larger picture of that biographee's personality. Because, during the fifteenth century—the period under discussion—attitudes towards Ibn ʿArabī were heated topics of debate from Egypt to Transoxania, it is very reasonable to think that most historians and biographers would *i*) have a personal opinion on the matter, which may have reflected on their treatment of their subjects, and *ii*) include some sort of information about their subject regarding their relation to Ibn ʿArabī's teaching. In other words, just because most Sufis and scholars of the time are described with a range of attributes in their perception of Ibn ʿArabī does not necessarily mean it was their most important concern. The frequent mention of Ibn ʿArabī in the sources used in this study, I believe, tells more about the authors and their milieu than on their subjects. Sakhāwī, like his teacher Ibn Ḥajar, evidently did not welcome Ibn ʿArabī's teaching, whereas Jāmī was a self-appointed exponent of the Andalusian mystic's works.

50. The interest in these sciences was fueled by a number of factors: *i*) widespread messianic and apocalyptic beliefs in the period weakened society's trust in established forms of knowledge and drove them to look for alternative epistemologies; *ii*) most aspiring rulers in the fifteenth-century Near East wanted to make use of the increasingly available occult knowledge to improve their political prospects; *iii*) the existence of a republic of letters, in the presence of a far-flung and uninterrupted network stretching from Bursa to Cairo and from Isfahan to Herat, who supplied necessary services and knowledge—they probably called themselves the "brethren of purity."

tury, and, therefore, were considered reprehensible. However, it seems clear that the influence of this movement was extremely broad, as most mystical and intellectual groups in the post-Mongol era came under varying degrees of influence.

As far as non-conforming patterns within mainstream Sufism go, one final remark must be made regarding the Shīʾītizing and messianic influences of the time.[51] In this remarkably rich and creative period of Sufism many mystic communities flourished and became the objects of popular and courtly interest, which brought about a competition for resources and a need to distinguish one's path from those of others. As I note often in the course of this dissertation, this need for distinction and differentiation involved the emergence of specialized rituals and customized attitudes among the branches of spiritual genealogies, and thus helped to accelerate the pace of *ṭarīqa* segregation.[52] Needless to say, of all the markers of differentiation, the most distinctive ones were Shi'itization and messianism, which, in my view, often came about as a last resort for the survival of some groups that face annihilation due to inter-confessional competition and political oppression. Although Shi'itization was obviously the riskiest path, it was nevertheless helped by certain conditions in the Sufism of the period—such as the growing interest in the occult sciences and the knowledge of the unseen, and an increase in the adoption of non-conforming attitudes.

The last, but not least, problem was the Sufis' position vis-à-vis the ruler. It seems that most Sufis in the period followed, at least in theory, al-Ghazāli's predilection to refuse rulers' favor but

51. I have noted at different points in this dissertation the problems raised by such uses as "orthodox," "heterodox," and "mainstream" when discussing the conditions of attitudes within Sufism. Here, when I refer to "mainstream Sufism," I understand it as the main tradition that developed in the middle periods following the works of such authors as Ghazālī, Qushayrī, Ḥujwīrī, Sulamī, Anṣārī, among others. For a similar use of this term, see Daphna Ephrat, *Spiritual wayfarers, leaders in piety : Sufis and the dissemination of Islam in medieval Palestine*, 1st ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University by Harvard University Press, 2008), 70–71.

52. The same point has earlier been made by Devin DeWeese. See Devin DeWeese, "Intercessory Claims of Ṣūfī Communities during the 14th and 15th Centuries: 'Messianic' Legitimizing Strategies on the Spectrum of Normativity.," in *Unity in Diversity : Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam*, Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts: 105 (Brill, 2014), 197–9.

still maintain a rapport with them, so as to advise them in spiritual and ethical matters. On another level, this relationship had to do also with the increasing presence and power of the Sufis in the period and their assumption of social and religious roles traditionally seen as the domain of the *ᶜulamāʾ*. One example is the fact that many Sufi masters in the period, most of them owing to their extensive *madrasa* training, were able and willing to write repudiations against groups associated with *bidᶜa* and *ilḥād*, a role hitherto considered as the domain of the scholars of *kalām*. I argue in the following pages that for Zayn al-Dīn and his school, the issue of relationships with rulers and the issue of social responsibility were of paramount importance and it became defensible to sacrifice adherence to principles in the face of overriding practical exigencies.

# CHAPTER 3

# ZAYN AL-DĪN'S FORMATION AS A SUFI

## 3.1 Early life, family

Details about Khwāfī's childhood and personal life were mostly ignored by his biographers, as was the wont of the genre.[1] On his early life and family, this much can still be gathered from extant sources: His father was a notable man of religion identified as "Shaykh Muḥammad" by a contemporary source.[2] It must have been with his father that he started his education, a practice common among children of the religious elite. Māyil Harawī's claim—quoting from Saᶜīd Nafīsī—to the effect that a certain poet named Abū al-Wajd Harawī was his uncle is misplaced, as the note should be attributed to a grandson of the Sufi who lived under the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn (d. 1556).[3]

His wife, named Fāṭima Jāni Khān, was identified as the daughter of a certain Malik Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Salūmadī, apparently a local notable of Khwāf.[4] Khwāfī enumerates the names of all his children in an endowment document, as follows: Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, Shihāb al-Dīn Ismāᶜīl, Niẓām al-Dīn Yaḥyā, ᶜĀᵓisha, Fāṭima, and Mubāraka.[5]

1. See introduction on medieval biographers' attitude towards "trivial" aspects of the lives of saints.

2. *Mujmal-e Faṣīkhī*, a source close both in space and time to Khwāfī's life, identifies him twice as "Abī Bakr b. al-shaykh Muḥammad al-Khwāfī." Faṣīḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad Faṣīḥ-i Khwāfī, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī*, Chāp-i 1., ed. Muḥsin Nājī Naṣrābādī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Asāṭīr, 2007), iii/1048, 1130.

3. Najīb Māyil Haravī, ed., *Īn Barghā-yi Pīr : Majmūᶜah-ᵓi Bīst Aṯar-i Chāp-Nāshudah-ᵓi Fārsī az Qalamraw-i Taṣavvuf* (Tehrān: Nashr-i Nay, 2002), xxxiii; cf. Saᶜīd Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i Naẓm wa Nathr dar Īrān wa dar Zabān-i Fārsī tā pāyān-i qarn-i dahum-i hijrī.* (Tehran: Furūghī, 1965), i/655.

4. Khwāfī refers to his father-in-law as *al-malik al-marḥūm*. Maḥmūd Fāḍil Yazdī Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī," *Mishkāt*, no. 22 (1989): 197. Salūmad (sometimes spelled as "Salūma," is a village in Khwāf. I was not able to find further information on this person. I am not sure if the name of the citadel in the city of Herat, called *Arg-i Harāt* or *Qalᶜa-i Ikhtiyār al-Dīn* is related to this person. Saljūqī's recently published collection of his work on the city does not reveal the identity of this Ikhtiyār al-Dīn; see Fikrī Saljūqī, *Herāt-nāma* (Herat: Maṭbaᶜaᵓ-i Afghānistān Tāymz, 1390 SH/2011 CE), 12–16.

5. Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī," 197.

Some of his children followed Khwāfī's footsteps in religious learning and went on to become scholars or Sufis of some note. Sakhāwī, for example, noted that Ibrāhīm, Ismāʿīl and Muḥammad accompanied their father when he traveled to Egypt in 824/1421-22 for the second time, and some of them are reported to have exchanged poems with Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī.[6] One of his descendants, identified as Mawlānā Maḥmūd Khwāfī appears in ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī's collection (*muraqqā*) of correspondence as a scholar studying Islamic jurisprudence in the *khānqāh* of Khwāja ʿAbd Allah Anṣārī in Herat.[7] His fourth son, Yaḥyā, who apparently did not accompany his father to Egypt, was described by Nawāʾī as a highly ascetic person, who, however, was not interested in mystical instruction.[8]

None of Khwāfī's sons came close to possessing his status, however, which lead to the continuation of his spiritual line through disciples. This is worth noting for a variety of reasons, the least of which is the fact that it was common in Khorasan at the time for the descendants of a major Sufi to continue his spiritual line and maintain his material and spiritual legacy.[9] I will recall this point later when arguing that Khwāfī's proficient training and convent-building activity caused his

6. Among these, at least Muḥammad exchanged poems with the famous *ḥadīth* scholar when in Egypt. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, ix/253. Māyil Harawī noted that one of Khwāfī's sons, who was identified as Burhān b. Zayn al-Khwāfī wrote in 942 (1535-36) a copy of the Majālis al-Nafāʾis in the *nastaʿlīq* style. See Qāsim b. Yūsuf Fāḍil Harawī, *Risālah-i tarīq-i qismat-i āb-i qalb va mard juyī va arāẓī bulūkāt va vilāyāt kih mutaẓammin-i jughrāfiyā-yi Hirāt ast*, ed. Najīb Māyil Haravī (Tehrān: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1969), 131. This has to be a grandson of Khwāfī's as the date is too late to identify with any of Khwāfī's sons.

7. Gross's study identifies him as a son of Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī, though this has to be a mistake given Khwāfī did not have a son named Maḥmūd and the late fifteenth-century would be too late for any of his sons to be at the age of education. According to Gross's study, an otherwise unknown Muḥammad b. Amin al-Dīn, possibly one with administrative authority over the madrasas and *khānqāh*s of Herat, petitioned ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī to request a *waẓīfa* (stipend) from his endowment in Anṣārī's shrine to help cover living costs of Zayn al-Dīn's descendant so he may continue to study without distraction. Jo-Ann Gross and Asom Urunbaev, eds., *The letters of Khwāja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār and His Associates* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 301–2.

8. Nevâyī, *Nesâyimüʾl-Mahabbe*, 408.

9. Notable examples include Abu Saʿīd b. Abī al-Khayr, Aḥmad-i Jāmī, and even some Naqshbandī masters, despite their *ṭarīqa*'s professed aversion to spiritual descent through relations. Paul, "The Rise of the Khwajagan-Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order in Timurid Herat," 72–73.

follower base to grow quickly, with a significant number of able successors emerging in his lifetime.

Our sources report in a nondescript fashion that, once he completed his preliminary studies, Khwāfī left his hometown in search of masters and mentors. Beginning with Khorasan, he roamed through parts of the Islamic Near East, from Transoxania to Iraq, and to Azarbaijan, Damascus, Hejaz, and, most importantly, Egypt. The chronology of his travels and education is certainly elusive at best, and bits of information in the sources occasionally necessitate further verification.[10] While we have vague references to Tāyabādī as an early influence, as I discussed above, we currently have little to build on in the absence of supporting evidence. We do not know if Khwāfī had any other teachers in Khorasan at this point. I mentioned above that his father is identified as a shaykh, allowing one to presume that he may have been Khwāfī's first teacher, as was the custom of the times. Some researchers have suggested that he spent some time in Herat as a youth, and as much as this sounds plausible, it has yet to be corroborated. We know much more about the religious groups in the city in the fifteenth century, such as the presence of the followers of Khwāfī, the Khwājagān, as well as the followers of several successors of the Simnānī lineage.[11] Our knowledge of the conditions of the religious culture in the second half of the fourteenth century, however, is scant.

Khwāfī's core biography stems from the information found in three Persian hagiographical sources, namely the *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, the *Nafaḥāt*, and the *Risāla-i Mazārāt-i Harāt*, written in the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century. None of these sources is interested in chronology or biographical details. Their content is complemented by Tīmūrid histories by such authors as Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, Faṣīkh-i Khwāfī, and Khwāndamīr, independent sources shedding light on some aspects of Khwāfī's life. Sakhāwī's entry on him complements this body of information, especially as regards his connections in the Mamlūk lands. A second group of sources, mostly hagiographical, produced

10. This was the conclusion of all researchers of Zayniyya, including Kissling. See Kissling, "Einiges," 150.

11. Shahzad Bashir highlights the vigorous representation of lineages going back to Najm al-Dīn Kubrā by several shaykhs in the city during the fifteenth century, including Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿUmar Jagharāʾī. Shahzad Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nūrbakhshīya between Medieval and Modern Islam* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 59.

later in the sixteenth century, provide more clues about his networks and other aspects of his life. Questions about the accuracy of the information and copyist errors pose constant obstacles, and a fair number of anecdotes are related with a certain degree of prejudice and tropes common to these kinds of literature. Barring these and the occasionally necessary use of learned guesses, a scrutiny of these sources enables us to construct a partial biography of Khwāfī. Using these sources, I will try to outline in the following pages the contours of his intellectual persona, focusing on his associates and his mentors.

## 3.2 The Trajectory from Khorasan to Egypt

Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī left Khorasan at some point as a youth, possibly in his twenties as Māyil Harawī argued, and the next place we find him is Tabriz, where he met two major Sufis of that city: Kamāl al-Dīn Khujandī (d. ca. 803/1400) and Ismā$^{c}$īl Sīsī (d. 788/1386–87). The main question here is why and how Khwāfī ended up in Tabriz before these teachers. As this study will reiterate, the world of intellectuals in medieval Islam was one of connections. Journeys in search of knowledge would start with a generic purpose, but they had to progress along a specific course determined by the connections of the traveler. It would be amiss to assume that Khwāfī arrived in Tabriz without any prior consideration or arrangements. Sadly, biographical sources at our disposal, as well as Khwāfī's own works, do not offer any clues in this regard. Only if we gather together pieces of circumstantial information and utilize them critically can we attain such an interpretation as follows.

We know that Sakhāwī, who drew his information on Khwāfī from written sources as well as from people who met him, wrote that, before coming to Egypt, he had teachers in Transoxania and Khorasan, but did not name them.[12] In a rather recent treatment of Khwāfī's work, H.T. Norris claimed that Khwāfī was "a part-time student" of Khwāja Isḥāq al-Khuttalānī (d. 827/1424), a famous Sufi of the *Māwarā al-Nahr* region, which was ultimately implicated in a dramatic political

12. Sakhāwī wrote that he saw this in Khwāfī's handwriting. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw$^{\supset}$ al-Lāmi$^{c}$ (2003)*, ix/229.

scandal. [13] Khuttalānī was the foremost disciple of and successor to Sayyid $^{c}$Alī Hamadānī (d. 786/1384–85), whose initiatic chain, in turn, went back to $^{c}$Alā al-Dawla al-Simnānī (d. 736/1336), the spiritual mentor of Sīsī. Like Khwāfī, he was famous for dream interpretation. His alleged interpretation of the dream of a disciple, Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 1464), in messianic and revolutionary terms eventually put him at the epicenter of an upheaval around 1422. The violent suppression of the event and the ensuing persecution of Nūrbakhsh and his followers caused the Central Asian Kubrawiyya at large to fall from prominence, while the Nūrbakhshī offshoot was able to survive as an independent order, in part by assuming a Twelver Shi'i identity.[14] The reception of these events in Sunni-*shar$^{c}$ī* literary circles is evident in Jāmī's silent exclusion of both Khuttalānī and Nūrbakhsh from the selection of Sufis in his *Nafaḥāt*, notwithstanding their enormous influence at that time.

Ibn Karbalā$^{\supset}$ī, noted as the source of this claim by Norris, only says that a certain Shaykh Maḥmūd Kāmil Shirāzī, who was a jurist and traditionist that came under the instruction and protection of Khuttalānī, had also went to the *ṣuḥba* (circle of companionship) of Khwāfī.[15] In fact, there is no mention in the *Rawḍāt* so much as a direct connection between Khuttalānī and Khwāfī. This is highly indicative considering the fact that the author Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalā$^{c}$ī himself was an indirect follower of Barzishābādī (d. 872/1467-8), a disciple of Khuttalānī and, also, an opponent of Nūrbakhshī, which is to say that his proximity to Khuttalānī and other Kubrawī lineages lends a certain weight to his paucity in that regard.[16]

Certainly, these two contemporary shaykhs flourished in the same period, albeit in different regions of Central Asia. I will note time and again that Khwāfī's Sufism is marked by the influence of

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13. Norris, "Mir'āt al-Ṭālibīn," 58.

14. Manz, *Power*, 240. For the decline of Kubrawiyya in the period, see Devin DeWeese, "The Eclipse of the Kubravīyah in Central Asia," *Iranian Studies* 21, nos. 1/2 (1988): 45–83.

15. Karbalā$^{c}$ī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, ii/248.

16. See DeWeese, "Eclipse," 57, Devin DeWeese, "Sayyid $^{c}$Alī Hamadānī and Kubrawī hagiographical traditions," in *The Legacy of Mediæval Persian Sufism*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (London: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1992), 133–34, and Hamid Algar, "Nūrbakhshiyya," in *Encyclopædia of Islam* (Second edition).

Sufis in Najm al-Dīn Kubrā's chain *silsila*, in particular that of Isfarāyinī and Simnānī. Furthermore, as I mentioned earlier, Herat, at least in the fifteenth century, included a strong presence of the disciples of Simnānī, and Khuttalānī also is known to have had influential disciples in the city at a slightly later date.[17] As I argued above, and will occasionally remind the reader in the course of this discussion, this was still a time of freedom of choice and relatively fluid boundaries between groups of Sufis. Influences ran in all directions, therefore, as in the example of $^{c}$Abd Allāh Barzishābādī, a future Khuttalānī acolyte, who sought association with such Naqshbandī disciples of the Herat area as Ya$^{c}$qūb Charkhī.[18]

Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī's works are replete with references to the tradition to be called Kubrawiyya later on, in particular through $^{c}$Alā al-Dawla al-Simnānī (d. 736/1336), who was the initiatic predecessor of several prominent Sufis in the lands where Khwāfī traveled, including, Khuttalānī himself, Bahā$^{\supset}$ al-Dīn Jagharā$^{\supset}$ī of Herat, and Ismā$^{c}$īl Sīsī of Tabriz. Khwāfī's dependence on Simnānī is enormous, as I will show later, and his most famous work, *al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya*, to give an example, features clear references and borrowings from Simnānī's work. Khwāfī's Sufism also betray a marked interest in the interpretation of dreams as part of mystical instruction, which he apparently shared with Khwāja Isḥāq Khuttalānī.

One may argue that an early interest on the part of Khwāfī in the lineages going back to Simnānī and Isfarāyinī may have been responsible for his arrival in Tabriz to meet a "Kubrawī" shaykh there.However, this is merely a speculation until more evidence is available. The actual situation might have been quite different, given the volatile socio-political circumstances in the former territories of the Ilkhānids in the late fourteenth century. As Devin DeWeese noted, for example, members of this lineage, especially after Hamadānī, became increasingly entangled in local poli-

17. Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 869/1464–64) attached himself to Kubrawiyya first through a disciple of Khuttalānī in Herat. Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nūrbakhshīya between Medieval and Modern Islam*, 44.

18. DeWeese, "Eclipse," 83.

tics in Turkistan, which Tīmūr and his successors interpreted as a sign of disloyalty.[19] The fact that Khuttalānī was executed while Nūrbakhsh was spared any harsh punishment in the aftermath of the uprising is, therefore, seen as a consequence of the impatience of Tīmūrid central administration with the former shaykh's perceived political transgressions, rather than his complicity in a messianic uprising.[20]

This can at least help us understand the particular omission of a more contemporary reference in the specific Kubrawī *silsila* Khwāfī's endowment charter quoted. As I will elaborate below, Khwāfī's *waqf-nāma*) unambiguously embraces the Simnānī-Isfarāᵓinī-Raḍawī lineage designating members of this chain as among the two groups of dervishes his endowment should serve—the first being the disciples of his master Shabarrīsī. In other words, Khwāfī wrote that, if no one were to remain from Shabarrīsī's line, then the endowment would serve those from the *Raḍawī ᶜAlawī Lālāᵓī Isfarāᵓinī silsila*. This is, of course, an obvious reference to the spiritual lineage of ᶜAlāᵓ al-Dawla Simnānī.[21]

The issue of connections is extremely prominent in the subsequent travels of Khwāfī as well. As will be discussed below, Ismāᶜīl Sīsī recommended that Khwāfī serve ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Miṣrī [al-Shabarrīsī], an Egyptian shaykh of Suhrawardī lineage, noted in later sources also as an affiliate of Kubrawiyya and Rifāᶜiyya.[22] Khwāfī would go on to embrace a Suhrawardī initiation and return home to teach his master's path. Interestingly, we have further evidence from a Mamlūk source to the effect that Sīsī referred other students to the same Shabarrīsī, making it certain that the connection between the two shaykhs was not random.[23] Even more curious is the fact that Muḥammad

19. DeWeese, "Eclipse," 57–8.

20. DeWeese wrote that "Khoja Isḥāq's association with Nūrbakhsh was only a pretext used by his enemies at the Tīmūrid court to effect his destruction." DeWeese, "Eclipse," 60–61.

21. Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī," 197. See Chapter VI, "Final years in Herat."

22. Later Ottoman sources recorded Shabarrīsī's Rifāᶜī *silsila* as follows: Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī > ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Shabarrīsī > Ẓahīr al-Dīn ᶜĪsā Miṣrī > ᶜAbd al-Salām Kulaybī > Abū al-Fatḥ Ibrāhim b. ᶜUmar b. Abū al-Faraj Fāruqī Wāsiṭī > Sayyid Aḥmad al-Rifāᶜī. Köle, *Hâfî*, 126–27.

23. The source is a treatise of ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf al-Maqdisī, a Jerusalemite disciple of Khwāfī's. See below on this issue.

Nūrbakhsh, the well-known disciple of Khuttalānī, famous for his messianic Sufism,[24] defended his claims to *mahḍī*-hood by citing a prognostication of none other than Shabarrīsī, despite having no personal ties to the shaykh.[25]

In his journey for spiritual knowledge, Khwāfī apparently stopped at various stations but ended up receiving his initiation (*tasalluk*) and license (*ijāza*) from Shabarrīsī in the Suhrawardī lineage of Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Kūrānī.[26] One explanation is that at this point, the rigid *ṭarīqa* boundaries that would become the norm in the sixteenth century had not yet come into being. Furthermore, especially in the case of the future Kubrawī and Suhrawardī *ṭarīqa*s, the differentiation between these groups was still not clear. The eponym of the Kubrawī tradition, namely Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, was himself a Suhrawardī initiate. There is no indication that Najm al-Dīn Kubrā and his successors identified themselves as *Kubrawiyya*, until the second half of the fifteenth century. As DeWeese wrote, "there is no evidence, for the early part of Khwāfī's life, that any sort of "Kubravī" group-consciousness existed, in any community linked initiatically with Najm al-Dīn Kubrā" and "for groups that did pay attention to *silsila* bonds, those with *silsila*s going back to Najm al-Dīn Kubrā were also part of the larger Suhravardī world."[27] ᶜAlā al-Dawla Simnānī, one of the most important figures in the Kubrawī lineage and an important source of influence on Khwāfī, has been recently shown as having received two *khirqa*s from the Suhrawardī *silsila* through different chains.[28]

In other words, at the time Khwāfī was traveling in the last decades of the fourteenth century,

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24. On Khuttalānī and Nūrbakhsh, see below.

25. Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nūrbakhshīya between Medieval and Modern Islam*, 82–3. Nūrbakhsh

26. See below in the same chapter for more on Shabarrīsī and Kūrānī.

27. Devin DeWeese, private message to the author, August 2019. In an earlier work, DeWeese argued that true *ṭarīqa*-consciousness among some followers of Kubrawī lineage emerged around the middle of the fifteenth century. Internal schisms and competition with other traditions in the area, including Naqshbandiyya, were instrumental in this process. DeWeese, "Sayyid ᶜAlī Hamadānī and Kubrawī hagiographical traditions," 157.

28. Jamal J. Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of ᶜAlāʾ ad-Dawla as-Simnānī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 41.

there was as yet no sense of a distinctively Kubrawī order; instead, shaykhs were probably known by their affiliation with certain initiatic lines. The case with the Suhrawardiyya seems to have been different, for in a treatise that seems to have been edited by Khwāfī himself and thus dating from the early ninth/fifteenth century, we see Kūrānī described as "Suhrawardī by path (*ṭarīqatan*) and by investiture (*khirqatan*)".[29]

## 3.3 Tabriz

Kamāl al-Dīn was one of the greatest poet-Sufis of the time and a posthumous patron saint of that city. It seems that he belonged to the cohort of *zāwiya*-dwelling, un-affiliated Sufis reminiscent of Farīd al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār (d. 1231). Khujandī oversaw a lavish *zāwiya* in a suburb of Tabriz which attracted great crowds and enjoyed the patronage of the Jalayirid Sultan Ḥusayn (d. 1382) and, later, of the Tīmūrid prince Mīrānshāh (d. 1408).[30] This illustrious saint, whom God blessed with many *karāmāt*, in fact led a life of extreme austerity, according to his biography in the *Nafaḥāt*, and was involved with poetry only to conceal and overcome his profound plunge in the sea of God's love. Jami squarely described him as an *uwaysī* mystic—possibly on account of his lack of a *ṭarīqa* attribution and his apparent aversion to formalist Sufism.[31]

Acknowledging that his diwan of ghazals on divine love does not lend itself easily to a connection with any particular Sufi ṭarīqa or doctrine, modern scholars point out that his Sufism was evidently

29. Abū al-Maḥāsin Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. ᶜAbd Allah al-Kūrānī (al-ᶜAjamī), *Rayḥān al-Qulūb fī Tawaṣṣul ilā al-Maḥbūb*, MS Esat Efendi 1479 (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), 62b.

30. Leonard Lewisohn, "The life and times of Kamāl Khujandī," *Journal of Turkish Studies*, no. 18 (1994): 170. Ḥusayn ruled in Tabriz between 1374–82. His reign was marred by political instability, dynastic struggles, and the intervention of the Golden Horde and the Tīmūrids. For brief information, see J.M. Smith Jr., "Djalayir, djalayirid," in EI2. Miranshah b. Tīmūr (c. 1367–1408) was the third son of Tīmūr and the governor of Adharbayjan from 1393 to ca. 1400. He died during the wars of succession after Tīmūr's death in 1405 during his fight against the Qara Qoyunlu. He was famous for executing Faḍl Allah b. Astarabādī in 1394. For brief information on him, see B.F. Manz, "Miranshah b. Tīmūr," EI2.

31. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 409 and Paul Losensky, "Kamāl K̲ojandi," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*.

influenced by Ibn $^{c}$Arabī and Rumi.[32] Kamāl al-Dīn's self-professed *madhhab-i $^{c}$ishq* of the *rind* was meant to be an antidote to the sectarian and clerical religiosity of the *zāhid*.[33] On account of Kamāl's dismissal of the established and mainstream forms of religiosity, it is not difficult to see why the meticulously *Sharī$^{c}$a*-oriented Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī, after being initially attracted to the shaykh's charisma, decided to leave him for another master. According to Khwāfī's story recounted in the *Nafaḥāt*, while Khwāfī was a student under Kamal, the latter approached him and invited him to enter into his discipleship. Khwāfī responded negatively, by telling the shaykh that he had qualms about him.[34] What these concerns were, is curiously, not explored by Jami, whose own father was a devotee of the Sufi poet.[35] Ibn Karbalā$^{c}$ī's (d. 997/1589) *Rawḍāt al-Jinān wa Jannāt al-Janān*, a late-sixteenth-century hagiographical source familiar with Tabriz, explains that Khwāfī abandoned Kamāl to serve another master because he could not reconcile the latter's asceticism and piety with his tendency to gaze at beardless youth—*shāhid-bāzī*, or, *jamāl-parastī*, namely, the practice of contemplating the Divine beauty through the human form as in a mirror.[36]

32. M. Shaki, "Kamāl Khojandī," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Second Edition.

33. Losensky, "Kamāl K̲ojandi." In another study, Lewisohn identifies these two traits, namely the versification of the *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* doctrine, and the protest against ritualistic and ratiocentric religion in defense of the *madhhab-i $^{c}$ishq*, as common to the "school of Tabriz," members of which included such poet-Sufis as Mahmud Shabestari (d. 1339), Muḥammad Shirin Maghribī (see below), and Qasim Anwar (d. 1433). See Leonard Lewisohn, "The life and poetry of Mashreqi Tabrizi," *Iranian Studies* 22, nos. 2–3 (1989): 101, 111. "One of the most prominent features of the fourteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries is the growing allegorisation of the imagery of ghazal under the influence of the theosophical doctrines of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī."Quoted from Ève Feuillebois, "Ghazal in Persian," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Third Edition.

34. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 610. It must be noted that Khwāfī did not in principle reject him as a teacher, to the contrary, he acknowledged that Kamal al-Dīn possessed a degree of direction.

35. Jami relates that UbaydAllah Ahrar's father was able to convince the normally vegetarian poet to eat a beef dish that he prepared.

36. Karbalā$^{c}$ī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, 502–3. Karbala'i goes on to add that Nūr al-Dīn al-Miṣrī (al-Shabarrīsī), whom Khwāfī would meet eventually, was also inclined towards the company of youth, which I consider to be an attempt to vindicate Khujandī, a clear favorite of the author himself. On Karbalā$^{\supset}$ī and *Rawdāt al-Jinān*, see Leonard Lewisohn, "Ḥosayn Karbalā'i," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, where the work is described as "a medieval pilgrim's guide to the graveyards of Tabriz, providing detailed biographies of Sufi saints, scholars, poets, artists, and other notables, who flourished

To illustrate the difference between the two Sufis, sources like *Rawḍāt al-Jinān* and *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* report that Khwāfī, after leaving Khujandī, joined another Sufi circle near Tabriz, also competing for public attention, which was formed around the shaykh Majd al-Dīn Ismail Sīsī. Sīsī is described as a *zāwiya*-dwelling poet-Sufi not unlike ᶜAṭṭār, Muḥammad Shabestārī, Qāsim-i Anwār, and Kamāl Khujandī himself, although his poetry has not survived to our day. He was an initiate of the Kubrawī lineage, which was especially influential in the Tabriz area, through a direct or indirect discipleship of ᶜAlā al-Dawla Simnānī.[37] He was also known to have spent many years in Mecca in the service of several masters, including the enigmatic Khiḍr himself.[38]

Sources enumerate Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī, alongside others like Maghribī and Qāsim al-Anwār, but also Khujandī himself, among the people trained or influenced by him.A brief examination of the people around Kamal on the one hand and those around Sīsī on the other reveals mutual acknowledgment, but also an uneasy relationship among the Sufis of Tabriz. Shaykh Muḥammad b. ᶜUthmān Kujujī, known as "Khwāja Shaykh," is mentioned as a devotee of Sīsī and the *Shaykh al-Islām* of Tabriz—the highest religious authority in the city.[39] His magnificent *khānqāh* in the

in Tabriz and its outlying suburbs." On practices like *shāhid-bāzī*, see Erik S. Ohlander, "Early Sufi Rituals, Beliefs, and Hermeneutics," in *The Cambridge Companion to Sufism*, ed. LloydEditor Ridgeon (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 53–73.

37. Sīsī was born in 1268–69/667 and is said to have died at the age of 118. Even if this is true, the nature of his relationship with Simnānī is not clear. Simnānī, on the other hand, was a direct disciple of Nūr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Isfarāyinī (d. 1317), whose silsila, in turn, went back to Najm al-Dīn al-Kubra (d. 1221). See Devin DeWeese, "ᶜAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī's religious encounters at the Mongol court near Tabriz," in *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th-15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 37 and also Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of ᶜAlāʾ ad-Dawla as-Simnānī*, 52, which counts Sīsī among the disciples of Simnānī's. Jāmī's note that Sīsī was among the *aṣḥāb* of Isfarāyinī might imply his being a spiritual follower of the latter. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 409. In a reminiscent way, Ibn Ḥajar described Khwāfī as begin among the companions of al-Kūrānī; see below.

38. One of his masters there is identified as Jamāl al-Dīn Shirāzī. He reported to have met the "pole" of the time in the nearby town of Ṭāʾif.

39. Karbala'i mentions Kujujī a few times in his work. He belonged to famous scholarlay family of Tabriz, members of which came to occupy the *shaykh al-islām* position; see Leonard Lewisohn, "Palāsī's Memoir of Shaykh Kujujī, a Persian Sufi Saint of the Thirteenth Century," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 6, no. 3 (1996): 345–66. The use of this title should not be confused with the

city was a magnet of the learned, as well as the common, people. When Kamāl to Tabriz from his exile in Saray after 797/1395, Kujujī presented him with a *zāwiya* and a *madrasa*, which the latter rejected.[40] The reason is not clear; Lewisohn highlighted the inter-communal competition between various circles in Tabriz. The problem remains, however, that the mere fact that Kujujī was offering accommodation to Kamāl was a welcoming behavior suggesting an existing affinity between them. In terms of ideological differences, including positions on Ibn $^{c}$Arabī's thought—which was a way primary sources tagged Sufis to distinguish them despite its over-valorization in recent scholarship—it can be suggested that there must have been some proximity between them, for we know that at a much later date, Kujujī was among the Sufis Ṣaʾin al-Dīn Turka (d. 830/1427), a well-known proponent of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī in Isfahan, solicited help from during his exile.[41]

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrīn al-Maghribī (d. 1407–08) seems to have been more closely related to Sīsī as a disciple than was Kujujī. [42] Not unlike some other Sufis of Tabriz of the time, he was famous for his allegorical *ghazal*s and for being an adherent of the *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* philosophy, openly professing at the beginning of his *diwān* (collection of poetry) that his words were the same as those of the author of the *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq*. Leonard Lewisohn, who studied Maghribī's *dīwān* in his doctoral dissertation, notes that his disciples and contemporaries described Maghribī by saying that his *madhhab* was *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* and his *mashrab* was *ladhdhat al-shuhūd*.[43]

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*shaykh al-shuyūkh* in Mamlūk lands. A discussion of the shaykh al-islam under the Tīmūrids can be found in Yüksel, *Timurlularda*, 156–63. It was famously applied, in an unofficial capacity, to great Sufis like Khwāja $^{c}$Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History*, 137 and Abū Sa$^{c}$īd b. Abī al-Khayr. The Ottoman *shaykh al-islām*, of course, was a much different position than both of these.

40. Karbalā$^{c}$ī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, 500 and also Lewisohn, "The life and times of Kamāl Khujandī," 169–70.

41. Sain al-Dīn wrote to Muḥammad Kujujī around 1428–29 to express his appreciation for the help he received from an associate of the latter. Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest," 422.

42. Lāmi$^{c}$ī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 680 and Lewisohn, "The life and times of Kamāl Khujandī," 169–70.

43. "Madhhabish wahdat al-wujud ast wa mashrabish ladhdhat al-shuhud." Leonard Lewisohn, "Shīrīn Maghribī, Muḥammad," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Second Edition, quoting from the *Majmā$^{c}$-i Fuṣaḥā* of Riḍā-Quli Khān Hidāyat. Lewisohn, calling him one of the most important Persian

An exchange between Maghribī and Khujandī illuminates the nature of the relationship among the Sufis of Tabriz and sheds light on the conditions of Khwāfī's departure. Jāmī relates that Maghribī was agitated upon hearing the following verse by Khujandī, "If such is the eye and such is the eyebrow, and so is the coquetry / Farewell, O asceticism and piety, goodbye, O intellect and religion."[44] Obviously seeing in the poem an allusion to Khujandī's alleged interest in *shāhid-bāzi*," Maghribī criticized him, saying how could such a great poet as Khujandī write verses that would not lend themselves to allegorical explanation. Upon learning of this, Kamāl invited the shaykh to a meeting and provided him with a commentary on how the poem, in fact, referred to a Sufi vision of Divine attributes. As Lewisohn explained, Kamāl was fond of the literary deception (*īhām*). This kind of an ambiguity was particularly convenient for Sufi poets, and Jāmī explained that Kamāl's grandiloquence was meant to hide his profound mysticism.[45]

### 3.3.1 *The question of intellectual attachments*

At this point, it is necessary to take a broad look at the intellectual orientations in Tabriz, with an eye to understanding Khwāfī's intellectual profile. To reiterate, it is quite possible that it was these liberal accents of Khujandī's Sufism that drove the ardently *adab*- and *Sharīᶜa*-minded Khwāfī away. In a similar vein, Kamāl would acknowledge his impatience with the formalist *zāhid*.[46] Yet it is not easy

poets of the Ibn ᶜArabī school, argued that the central theme of his *dīwān* was *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, also noting that his *takhallus* "Maghribī" was adopted in honor of Ibn ᶜArabī, whom, many at the time, including Jāmī, called Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn Maghribī. Also see Leonard Lewisohn, "Moḥammad Shirin Maghrebi," *Sufi: A Journal of Sufism*, no. 1 (1988): 30–35. Lewisohn's PhD thesis, based on a critical edition of Maghribī's diwan is published: Leonard Lewisohn, ed., *Dīvān-i Muḥammad Shīrīn Maghribī : matn-i intiqādī bā muqaddimah, ḥavāshī va-fihrist-i iṣṭilāḥāt-i ᶜirfānī*, Tehran, 1993. Certainly, it is also possible that the pen-name "Maghribī" may have been a reference to his *riḥla*s in the Maghrib. See Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 410.

44. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 510.

45. On Kamāl's use of *īhām*, see Lewisohn, "The life and times of Kamāl Khujandī," 171. On Jami's defense of Kamal's *takalluf* in poetry, see Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 609. Cf. also Feuillebois, "Ghazal in Persian."

46. See Lewisohn, "The life and times of Kamāl Khujandī," 165.

to justify arguments that this parting of ways amounts to an absolute incompatibility between the two Sufis. [47] The fact that Khwāfī did not attach himself to Khujandī and instead sought another teacher does not necessarily indicate his total rejection of Khujandī. It was simply an indication that he did not want to be a disciple in Khujandī's style (*mashrab*). As we will see in the case of Sa$^{c}$d al-Dīn Kāshgharī and Khwāfī, it was not uncommon for a student to study with a master for a time and leave him without finishing and receiving an *ijāza*. Rededicating oneself to another shaykh, after being a disciple of a former one, was also not uncommon, as in the case of a former disciple of Khwāfī, who later pledged allegiance to another shaykh of Ṣafawī lineage.[48] More than anything else, these movements underscore the flexibility of the norms around discipleship and belonging, and the dialogue among various traditions. It appears that, at this point for most Sufis, the word *ṭarīqa* was synonymous with *ṭarīq al-qawm*, i.e., Sufism itself, and the common ground among Sufis was wide enough to reduce other communal or local identities to insignificance.

Khwāfī's refusal to remain with Khujandī did not amount to an utter rejection, on the contrary, the fact that he entertained the thought warrants a more nuanced reception. This is illustrated by a relevant anecdote found in the *Nafaḥāt*, which says that Khwāfī attended Khujandī's *ṣuḥba* in Tabriz, whereupon the latter invited him into his discipleship. Khwāfī responded by saying he had some concerns about the shaykh, which he did not specify. Long after he left Tabriz, when he was in Egypt, he would later acknowledge that he realized the true standing of Khujandī.[49] Karbalāʾī further reports a vision that vindicated Khujandī as a legitimate guide (*murshid*). According to this

47. To give an example representing the recent scholarship on this, see Paul, "The Rise of the Khwajagan-Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order in Timurid Herat," 80, where the author wrote that Khwāfī "left [Khojandī] out of disgust" quoting from H.T. Norris.

48. Burhān al-Dīn Wā$^{c}$iẓ-i Harawī of Tabriz received initiation in Khwāfī's path; his son Shihāb al-Dīn also followed him, however, the latter later dedicated himself to the path of $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulṭān Khwāja $^{c}$Alī Ṣafawī Ardabilī. Karbalā$^{c}$ī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, i/481.

49. "When I was a student in Tabriz, I attained his *ṣuḥba*. He invited me to this path and told me: "Devote yourself to us." I said: "I have some concerns about you." He said: "Tell us so we may solve them." I said none. But when I eventually entered this path, it became obvious to me that he had the level of spiritual direction and this is why it became possible to receive education from him." Lāmi$^{c}$ī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 679 and Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 610.

account, Khwāfī was sorry for not being able to experience any spiritual unveiling at the beginning of his solitary retreat in Egypt. Then Kamāl al-Dīn appeared to him in a vision and told him to recite the chapter *al-Qāf* after *al-Fātiḥa* in the morning prayer on Friday. Doing this helped Khwāfī to overcome the struggles in his metaphysical quest and to complete the retreat successfully. Later, when Khwāfī returned to Tabriz, he found the shaykh already passed away and saddened by his failure to meet him, although still received an abundance of spiritual favors while at his tomb.[50] It is therefore difficult to reconcile the available evidence with the representation found in modern scholarship, that Khwāfī, as well as the circle around the Kubrawī Shaykh Sīsī, was hostile towards Kamāl.

Clearly, despite their differences and the criticism they had of each other's path, the relationships among these shaykhs in Tabriz remained peaceful. Part of the explanation for this lies in the notion of the "School of Tabriz," a term used by literary historians to describe the particular environment in the city in the fourteenth century. As poet-Sufis of Tabriz with distinct understandings of piety, they eventually were part of the same prevalent intellectual climate, where they shared and exchanged influences, tastes, devotions, and poetry. Obviously, this intellectual community can not be fairly evaluated through the lens of discipleship, initiation, and tribal loyalty. Khujandī and Qāsim al-Anwār are routinely regarded in the primary sources as protégés of Ismāᶜīl Sīsī while Khwāfī appears as a student of both Sīsī and Khujandī. Maghribī's foremost disciple Mashriqī wrote chronograms commemorating the death of Khujandī, conferring on the shaykh the most lavish praise.[51] To further complicate the picture, almost all of these Sufis, with the notable exception of Khwāfī, were proponents of Ibn ᶜArabī's teachings—yet this did not stop Khwāfī from cohabiting and spending time with them. This leads us to the argument that the essentializing portrayal of Khwāfī as bitterly anti-Ibn ᶜArabī—which is based on a superficial reading of predominantly Naqshbandi sources—needs to be abandoned in favor of a more nuanced approach that takes into account

50. Karbalāᶜī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, 503.

51. Lewisohn, "The life and poetry of Mashreqi Tabrizi," 103.

the highly dynamic and personalized state of identities and influences among the learned elite.

Now we must turn to the nature of the relationship between Khwāfī and Sīsī. Without offering any evidence, some modern biographers of Zayn al-Dīn suggest that he became a disciple to Ismāᶜīl Sīsī.[52] In the absence of a reliable evidence otherwise, it is probably best to think of his relationship with Sīsī as one of service (*khidma*) and companionship (*ṣuḥba*), but not necessarily as discipleship. H. T. Norris argued without elaborating that Khwāfī's spirituality was under the significant influence of Sīsī's, which remains to be further explored.[53] It certainly makes sense to think of this influence in terms of Khwāfī's indebtedness to Simnānī as a prolific author of Sufism. As I discussed above, Khwāfī, both in his works and in his self-proclaimed spiritual lineage, was related to Simnānī and Isfarāyinī, alleged indirect teachers of Sīsī. However, aside from this and a passing reference in Karbalāᵓī's work to the effect that Khwāfī was connected indirectly to Khuttalānī, I am not aware of any reliable reference to his immediate pedigree in the Kubrawī tradition. There is no reason, on the other hand, to question the information that he was interested in associating with Ismāᶜīl Sīsī, yet this aging shaykh encouraged him to go to Egypt to study under Nūr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shabarrīsī al-Miṣrī, who would ultimately become his initiatic master in Sufism. The obvious question here is the relationship between these two shaykhs, about whom we unfortunately know very little. Through a mention in one of the works of a disciple of Khwāfī, we know that the Kubrawī shaykh of Tabriz referred other students to his Egyptian contemporary. ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf Maqdisī (d. 856/1452), Khwāfī's foremost successor in Anatolia, wrote that Sīsī directed a certain Muḥammad Shīrīn Iṣfahānī, who may be identified with Muḥammad Maghribī, to Shabarrīsī. According to this marginal report, Iṣfahānī refused the latter's request to throw away his books and did not attach himself to the Sufi, and instead followed none other than Ḥusayn Akhlāṭī.[54]

52. Köle, *Hâfî*, 30.

53. Norris, "Mir'āt al-Ṭālibīn," 58. Norris does not discuss the claim in the article. The reference cited in the footnote also does not offer any explanation to that effect.

54. ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghānim al-Maqdisī, *Kashf al-Iᶜtiqād fī al-Radd ᶜalā Madhhab al-Ilḥād*, MS Genel 1479–5 (Bursa: İnebey Kütüphanesi).

## 3.4 Establishing a timeline

Our sources offer meager information about the timing and duration of Khwāfī's travels and stays. Arriving at a basic chronology involves a comparison of circumstantial evidence and, afterwards, some correction. The fact that Khwāfī served at least two teachers in Tabriz might indicate a stay lasting anywhere from months to years. Since we know that he personally met both Ismāʿīl Sīsī and Kamāl Khujandī there, it cannot have been after 1385, as the former died in 1387 and the latter was taken to Saray by Tuqtamish following his sack of Tabriz in 1385-86 (787)[55]

The information regarding Khwāfī's investitute (*tasalluk*) of a number of people in Tabriz complicates the matter further. This is particularly important in the case of Khwāja ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khalwatī (al-Mashriqī) (d. 859/1454), a disciple of the aforementioned Maghribī, who is mentioned as having received *ṣuḥba* (spiritual blessing) from Khwāfī.[56] These doubtless indicates a second stay in Tabriz after he was invested and received his license. Regardless of when and how this teaching might have taken place, it nevertheless helps to establish Khwāfī's place in the intellectual networks of Tabriz, even at the beginning of the century.[57]

If Khwāfī left Tabriz sometime earlier than 787/1385, that is when he was younger than 30 years of age, when did he arrive in Egypt, his next stop in the itinerary his biographies provide? Did he visit and stay in other cities before arriving in Egypt? Did he perform the Pilgrimage on his way, which is extremely plausible? And, when he arrived in Egypt, did he immediately go to the discipleship of Shabarrīsī, or did he study under other masters beforehand? These are questions sources at our

55. DeWeese, *Islamization*, 249–53.

56. Karbalāʿī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, i/83–8. Mashriqī is reported to have been influenced both by Maghribī and Khujandī in his poetry. According to sources from the period, he studied under Sīsī, and, at one point also, under Khwāfī. Lewisohn wrote that his main themes included *i*) the internalization of the main tenets of the Islamic faith; *ii*) the poeticization of the Ibn Arabi school; and, *iii*) "the religion of love." See Lewisohn, "The life and poetry of Mashreqi Tabrizi," 108.

57. We know little on the actual details of Khwāfī's stay in Tabriz, however, Khwāfī was clearly a well-known figure in the early fifteenth-century Tabriz. In Ibn Karbalāʾī's entry on Sīsī, he is among the first people enumerated by the author as the latter's devotees. Karbalāʿī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, ii/98.

disposal do not readily answer, if they do at all.

A line of inquiry is offered by a brief note found in the *Nafaḥāt* to the effect that Khwāfī was a fellow student with Ya$^{c}$qūb-i Charkhī (d. 851/1447) under Shihāb al-Dīn Sayrāmī.[58] The first problem with this information is that we reliably know that Charkhī was back in Bukhara by 1380 to become a disciple of Bahā al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 791/1389). The more perplexing issue is that nowhere in the sources on Charkhī is there to be found a mention of Charkhī's stay in Egypt. Saidbeg Maḥmaduloev, in his recent study on Charkhī, notes that his own works also do not offer any information of an alleged stay in Egypt, including any indication of a firsthand knowledge or familiarity with men of letters and religion in Egypt.[59] This difficulty is overcome if we disregard the report about Khwāfī's and Charkhī's training under Sayrāmī in Egypt: it may be that both of them studied under Sayrāmī, however, not necessarily in Egypt or at the same time. Can it be that it was only Khwāfī who studied in Egypt under Sayrāmī and that Charkhī had studied with him elsewhere?

Following the last suggestion about Khwāfī's study under Shihāb al-Dīn Sayrāmī in Egypt affords us a chance to construct a tentative chronology. Ibn Taghribirdī's necrology on a certain Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abi Yazīd Sayrāmī, dated 1389 informs us that, Sayrāmī apparently was one of the several scholars the Mamlūk sultan Zahir Barqūq invited to teach in the *madrasa*-mosque complex he built in Cairo in 1386, and was the first to teach *ḥadīth* there.[60] This reading is helpful in reconstructing the timelines of Khwāfī's stay in Egypt, and indirectly, in Tabriz also.

The following is my broad reconstruction of the timeline of Khwāfī's travels culminating in Egypt. After studying in Khwāf and possibly in Herat, Zayn al-Dīn left his homeland to study with

58. See the following chapter on Ya$^{c}$qūb Charkhī.

59. Saidbeg Maẖmaduloev, *Mavlono Iaqubi Charḵī: Zindagī, Osor va Afkor* (Dushanbe: Donish, 2013), 26–27. Another report found in the Nafaḥāt and Rashaḥāt, casts doubt on the suggested camaraderie and close friendship between Charkhī and Khwāfī. According to this, Ya$^{c}$qūb inquired from his famous disciple $^{c}$Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār about Khwāfī's rather well-known talent for dream interpretation in such a way that clearly implies his lack of basic familiarity with Khwāfī's method. See Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i $^{c}$Ayn al-Ḥayāt*, 121.

60. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt (1382-1469 A.D.); Translation of: al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah*, 13/14, 106.

other masters. Sakhawi's note about his studying in Transoxania could very well be true and it is reasonable to think that this might have been his first destination outside of Khorasan, yet I do not have any evidence in this regard. He was probably in his twenties when he was in Tabriz. He was denied discipleship by Ismā$^{c}$īl Sīsī (d. 1387) and left the city when he was around 30 years of age, that is, sometime around 1385. His departure may have been related to Sīsī's aging and the sack of the city by Toqtamish in 1385. Sīsī directed him instead to meet Shabarrīsī in Egypt, though we are not exactly sure if he immediately went into the service of Shabarrīsī after leaving Tabriz. He seems to have been in Cairo, however, at some point between 1386, when Shihāb al-Dīn Sayrāmī was appointed as professor at Barqūq's *madrasa*, and the latter's death in 1389.[61]

## 3.5 Egypt

### *3.5.1 $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shabarrīsī "the Egyptian"*

At this point, we find Khwāfī subsequently in Egypt, on the recommendation of Ismail Sīsī, to meet his future shaykh and defining source of influence and authority, Nur al-Dīn Abd al-Rahman b. Muḥammad b. $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān b. $^{c}$Abd al-Salām al-Shabarrīsī al-Buḥayrī al-Misri al-Qurayshī.[62] Our knowledge of him is extremely limited. Research in the biographical and historical sources of

61. See below for more on Sayrāmī.

62. All secondary studies published in Latin script I was able to review spell his name as Shabrisi. I use in my study the Shabarrīsī spelling based on the specific vocalization the *Tāj al-$^{c}$Arūs* provides for the adjective of relation (*nisba*) for the Egyptian village of Shabrā Rīs, which source additionally associates Shabarrīsī with the village. See Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-$^{c}$arūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs*, ed. et al Farrāj $^{c}$Abd al-Sattār Aḥmad, vol. 16 (al-Kuwayt: Maṭba$^{c}$at Ḥukūmat al-Kuwayt, 1965), 163; also see below under "Reconstructing Khwāfī's Egyptian sojourn" for a reference to the village in one of Khwāfī's writings. Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791), the author of the *Tāj al-$^{c}$Arūs*, was a scholar and lexicographer who lived most of his life in Egypt and worked fourteen years to complete his encyclopædia. See C. Brockelmann, "Muḥammad Murtaḍā," in *Encyclopædia of Islam* (Second edition). Jāmī provides his *nisba* only as Miṣrī, while Sakhāwī and Lāmi$^{c}$ī Chelebi (and Tāshkubrīzāda who borrows from the latter) has only Shabarrīsī and not Miṣrī. According to Ibn Karbalā$^{\supset}$ī, his *nasab* is Nūr al-Dīn $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān b. $^{c}$Abd al-Salām al-Qurashī al-Buḥayrī al-Miṣrī. Karbalā$^{c}$ī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, i/162. Also see Köle, *Hâfî*, 30.

the time yields little. One can attain a partial portrait of this shaykh only through a combination of the *Nafaḥāt*'s stock entry, several passing references in Egyptian sources, random details in Khwāfī's and Maqdisī's works, and other bits of information that appear much later only in the works of the Ottoman Zayniyya. We do not know his birth and death dates, and nor is there any information on whether he traveled out of Egypt. Judging by the lack of any mention in sources, we can conclude that he did not compose any works.[63]

Jāmī assigned him a short entry among the cluster of the Suhrawardī shaykhs in the *Nafaḥāt* just before Zayn al-Dīn, where he describes the lofty stature of the shaykh. According to the *Nafaḥāt*, he was known in Egypt as "the *qibla* of the seekers," a designation commonly applied in the biographical literature of the time to great shaykhs, and he was appointed in that country to the position of spiritual education and guidance (*tarbiyat* and *irshad*). $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān used to accompany an Egyptian shaykh at the beginning, though this relationship did not come to fruition and the latter foretold him that his training would be completed instead in the hands of a shaykh from the *$^{c}$Ajam*. Therefore, when $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān heard of the arrival of the Persian Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Kūrānī (d. 768/1367) in Egypt, he went to his *ṣuḥba* to be initiated by him, and received his authorization in less than twenty days. Jāmī further noted that Jamāl al-Dīn Kūrānī referred to $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān as "brother" in his *ijāza* on account of his advanced age.[64] Jamāl al-Dīn himself, in turn, was an initiate of Suhrawardiyya, whose spiritual lineage connected him to $^{c}$Abd al-Ṣamad al-Naṭanzī through two

63. In his authorization letter to Khwāfī, Shabarrīsī allows the former to teach the work of his own teacher, namely the *Rayḥān al-Qulūb*, and anything else Khwāfī heard from. The conspicuous absence of the mention any work by him is a convincing evidence he was not an author. al-Kūrānī, *Rayḥān*, 80b.

64. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 492. The *silsila* found in the *Rayḥān* has Kūrānī referring to Shabarrīsī *al-akh*; see below on this. Kūrānī's *nasab* is quoted as follows: Abū al-Maḥasin Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Abū Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn $^{c}$Abd Allāh b. Abū Ḥafṣ $^{c}$Umar b. Abū al-Ḥasan $^{c}$Alī b. Ibn al-Ḥayāt Khiḍr al-Kūrānī al-Kalūrī baldatan al-Namlajī qabīlatan al-Suhrawardī khirqatan wa ṭarīqatan." al-Kūrānī, *Rayḥān*, 62b. According to this, he was from the Gūrānī tribe, possibly from the village of Kalhur between Tabriz and Ardabil. On al-Kūrānī, also see Ahmed El Shamsy, "Returning to God Through His Names: Cosmology and Dhikr in a Fourteenth-Century Sufi Treatise," in *Essays in Islamic Philology, History, and Philosophy*, ed. William Granara et al. (De Gruyter, 2016), 204–28.

masters at once, namely, Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan Shamshīrī and Najm al-Dīn Maḥmud Iṣfahānī.[65]

Indirect references in Egyptian sources emphasize $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān's spiritual learning and piety, yet one cannot immediately get a clear sense of where he was located. Sakhāwī mentions him as a God-fearing (*taqī*) Sufi and a disciple of Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-$^{c}$Ajamī (al-Kūrānī) in a biography devoted to a Cairene gnostic named Ibrāhim al-Atkāwī (d. 1430), a member of $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān's circle (*aṣḥāb*).[66] A few more details and some anecdotes appear in a later *ṭabaqāt* work, this time hinting at an Alexandrian presence: Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī's *al-Kawākib al-Sāʾira* mentions $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān Shabarrīsī in the biography of the Shafi$^{c}$ī Sufi Muḥammad b. $^{c}$Atiyya al-Iskandarī. Here, he is described as a leading gnostic, to whom Muḥammad b. $^{c}$Atiyya's father used to come for prayers when his wife was pregnant.[67]

Sources describing Khwāfī's discipleship with Shabarrīsī do not answer the when and where of this occurring. Most of the earliest sources on Khwāfī only mention his "arrival at *Miṣr*," which was sometimes used to mean Cairo, in addition to simply Egypt. A degree of relief is provided in Shabarrīsī's *nasab* given in the *Rayḥān al-Qulūb*, where the shaykh is presented—presumably in the context of Khwāfī's summarizing an *ijāza*—as a pious and learned member of a family of men of religion living in the village of Shabrā Rīs, in the Buḥayra district—hence his additional demonym al-Buḥayrī—of the Nile delta close to Alexandria.[68]

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65. Lāmi$^{c}$ī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 547. Jamāl al-Dīn Kūrānī seems to have made a significant impact on Sufi communities of his time through his writing and instruction. See below under "Khwāfī's writing activity."

66. Atkāwī was famously against Ibn $^{c}$Arabī, cautioning people against reading his books. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmi$^{c}$ (1992)*, i/114–15

67. Shabarrīsī gave him the good news that he would have a boy, blessed the soon-to-be-born Shabarrīsī with his prayers and named him Abū al-Fatḥ for, as Shabarrīsī said, "God should endow him with spiritual conquest (*fatḥ*)." As he grew up, Abū al-Fatḥ was introduced to Shabarrīsī's path, though when he wore his *khirqa* at the age of seven, this was by the hand of his disciples, and not by Shabarrīsī himself. These anecdotes depict Shabarrīsī as a charismatic, miracle-working *walī*-shaykh of Alexandria with significant following, active in 1415 but not in 1422. Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sā$^{c}$ira bi-a$^{c}$yān al-miʾa al-$^{c}$āshira* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-$^{c}$Ilmiyya, 1997), i/12–16.

68. The village was part of the Egyptian province of Buḥayra until the early twentieth century.

> The brother, the scholar (of law), the virtuous, the God-fearing, the hermit, the wayfaring, the gnostic, the verifying Zayn al-Dīn $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān, the son of the scholar (of law), the virtuous, the learned, the practicing Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of the shaykh, the imam, the learned, the practicing Sharaf al-Dīn $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qurayshī, the justice and orator in the county of Shabrā Rīs in Buḥayra.[69]

Granted, there is some ambiguity in the wording, as there are some nondescript adjectives that commonly occur in the honorifics of men of religion—such as "the learned" and "the practicing," which originate from the idea of putting into action what one has learned. However, certain things can still be inferred regarding Shabarrīsī, including the fact that he came from a family of religious leaders, but more specifically that he performed the duties of imam and orator, and possibly also judge, in the village of Shabrā Rīs. While this seems to be sufficient evidence that the shaykh was located in this village, additional passing references in Khwāfī's works and other sources seem to suggest that the shaykh had a presence and strong influence in Alexandria.[70]

At any rate, Sakhāwī relates that the shaykh declined to admit Khwāfī in the beginning, apparently because he saw the latter as being too developed a scholar for a simple dervish like him. The words Sakhāwī quotes clearly establish Khwāfī's superiority to his shaykh in intellectual standing:

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Le Prince Omar Toussoun, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque arabe*, ed. Société royale de géographie d'Égypte, Mémoires de la Société royale de géographie d'Égypte ; (Le Caire: L'Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'archéologie orientale pour la Société royale de géographie d'Égypte, 1926), i/208. The second part of the same work lists the village as "Shoubra Rīs," which is closer to modern colloquial pronunciation. Toussoun, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque arabe*, ii/340. The *Tāj al-$^{c}$Arūs* spells the name of the village as Shabarrīs; see below. The village today is listed as an administrative subdivision of the Gharbiyya province.

69. "Al-akh al-faqīh al-fāḍil al-khāshi$^{c}$ al-nāsik al-sālik al-$^{c}$ārif al-muḥaqqiq Zayn al-Dīn $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-faqīh al-fāḍil al-$^{c}$ālim al-$^{c}$āmil Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-shaykh al-$^{c}$ālim al-$^{c}$āmil Sharaf al-Dīn $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qurayshī al-$^{c}$adl al-khaṭīb bi-nāḥiyat Shabrā Ris bi-al-Buḥayra." al-Kūrānī, *Rayḥān*, 66b.

70. In addition to what is mentioned above, Khwāfī's allusion to his brothers in the path in Alexandria seem to suggest that Shabarrīsī's network in the city was significant. al-Kūrānī, *Rayḥān*, 80b-81a.

"You are a leader in sciences and advanced in the knowledge, whereas I am a dervish poor."[71] When Khwāfī insisted on being initiated into Shabarrīsī's path by asking him how he would respond on the day of judgment if he were asked why he refused to instruct a seeker, Shabarrīsī replied by asking what his purpose was in studying meticulously a multitude of sciences—a mundane pursuit for the seeker of Reality.[72] Yielding to the eminent shaykh, Khwāfī asked Shabarrīsī to lead him on the path that pleased God, acknowledging he was ready to abandon his past endeavors. Shabarrīsī then admitted Khwāfī as a student, and when he was ready to receive spiritual discoveries, he directed the latter to a seven-day *khalwa* (retreat), which he noted was his personal practice, at the conclusion of which he wrote the following *ijāza* (authorization):

71. The original reads "Anta imām fī al-funūn wa mutaqaddim fī al-ᶜulūm wa ana faqīr darwīsh." al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, ix/229. This is a curious point in that it may imply a possible prejudice against Persianate Sufis, though it may very well be due to the fact that Khwāfī, as I tried to show, was affiliated with the Barqūqiya madrasa, and Mamlūk benefactors favored Eastern Sufis over the locals. The Mamlūk elite's preference for Eastern scholars in the religious institutions they founded at this time coincided with an "exodus of Iranian intellectuals" to Syrian and Egyptian lands. Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in The Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), 63–66. The reverse was certainly true where Tīmūr had forcibly relocated the intellectuals of the lands he conquered to Transoxania. Ulūgh Beg during his father's reign permitted these scholars to return to their homelands. John E. Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," in *Intellectual Studies on Islam : Essays Written in Honor of Martin B. Dickson*, ed. Michel M. Mazzaoui and Vera Basch Moreen (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1990), 115.

72. Khwāja Anṣārī, in a similar manner, said that all of what he learned led him to nothing and had he not met the notoriously illiterate Abu al-Hasan al-Kharaqani, he would have no idea of the Reality. See above. The exchange between ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān and Khwāfī is worth quoting in entirety here as related by Sakhāwī: "[Khwāfī] had come to Cairo earlier and met with al-Zayn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Shabarrīsī. [Khwāfī] requested to accompany him (*ṣuḥba*) and to be inculcated (*talqīn al-dhikr*), but he refused, saying something to the effect of "You are prominent in arts and advanced in sciences while I am a poor *darwīsh*. [Khwāfī] reiterated his request and insistence more than once but he declined. Then [Khwāfī] said to him: "What would your answer be when, standing before God, I say 'O Lord, I asked from him to instruct and guide me towards you, but he avoided.' " The shaykh responded to him by saying "What would your answer be when you were asked what you intended to achieve by studying this or that person's scholarship?" while citing topics from various branches of science. [Khwāfī] then yielded and said "I came to you for that reason abandoning all ("munsalikhan"), so you may initiate me in the path that pleases God." Upon this, [Shabbarīsī] inculcated him [with the *dhikr*] and commanded him to perform a *khalwa* for a limited number of days after which he let him out and permitted him to instruct and inculcate [the *dhikr*]." See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, ix/229.

> When he was ready to receive unseen messages and unveilings, I sought a good augury from God and then seated him in my *khalwa*, which is seven days. On the fourth night, God opened for him the doors of spiritual gifts and raised his station to the station of *tawḥīd*. And before the completion of the seven days, he was absolved of the bonds of separation in the witnessing of the gathering (*jam^c^*. After the completion of the *khalwa*, the actual flashes of true *tawḥīd* became evident, which, in the language of the people of reality (*ḥaqīqa*), is called the gathering of the plurality (*jam^c^ al-jam^c^*). He has the ability to grow spiritually. I pray that God take him from him to Himself completely and indefinitely, and make him a leader of the believers.[73]

*Ijāza* was an authorization acknowledging the recipient's readiness to instruct and guide after completing a spiritual training. At the same time, it made it incumbent on the student to return to where he came from and start teaching himself, which Khwāfī obeyed, returning to Herat, sometime around the beginning of the century. A *waqf* charter established in his name makes clear that in 1409 he was in the Herat area in charge of a considerably large Sufi complex consisting of two

73. The partial *ijāza* is found in Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 493; which was reproduced and also translated into Turkish in Lāmi^c^ī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 548. Mayil Harawī, a modern scholar of Sufism in Khorasan, finds the *ijāza* found in Nafahat suspicious. Harawī, first of all, writes that the wording and content of the excerpt invites questions. Although he does not elaborate, he seems to suggest that Khwāfī's spiritual ascent recorded in the *ijāza* is out of ordinary. I find this point extremely hard to prove or disprove. The other reason Harawī cites is the fact that Khwāfī left his *ijāza*. Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xxiv. There are a few logical problems with this argument: In addition to the unwarranted assumption that Jāmī's source could not have been the second *ijāza* he brought back after his second trip to Egypt—on which see below—this argument also contradicts Khwāfī's own claims that when he found the second copy of the *ijāza* in Shabarrīsī's convent in Egypt, it was word-by-word the same copy of the original, unequivocally implying Khwāfī had committed it in memory. Finally and more importantly, Harawī is not aware of the complete—yet undated—copies of Khwāfī's *ijāza*s found in manuscript collections on Zaynī writings. These *ijāza*s prove that the excerpt found in the *Nafaḥāt* was actually accurate. On this, see below under "Khwāfī's writing activity." Although this succinct description of spiritual progress includes expressions common to all Sufis, one cannot help but notice the references to Anṣārī's work, especially the last section titled "Qism al-Nihāyāt;" see Anṣārī al-Harawī, *Kitāb Manāzil al-Sā^ʾ^irīn ilā al-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn: Les étapes des itinérants vers Dieu: edition critique, avec introd., traduction et lexique*, 102–13.

convents and other facilities.[74]

### 3.5.2 *Khwāfī's connections in Egypt*

Before elaborating further on Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī's Sufi persona, we should take a brief look at his other scholarly pursuits in Cairo and attempt to understand the chronological outlines of his stay. We do not know for sure how long Khwāfī stayed in Egypt during what would become the first of his two visits to this country. The copy of the *ijāza* we have is not dated, nor does it provide an indication of the location where it was issued. The shaykh noted, however, that Khwāfī "accompanied me for a short time (*burhat min al-zamān*) when I was traveling and at rest," during which he observed Khwāfī's manners and piety up to the time when the shaykh concluded that he was ready to undertake a spiritual test.[75] It is difficult to reconcile this note on the short duration of time before Khwāfī was placed in the *khalwa* according to Sakhawi's account, to the effect that Khwāfī repeatedly asked to accompany him (*ṣuḥba*) and to be inculcated (*talqīn*),s yet the shaykh rejected him several times.[76] It may have been that Khwāfī had asked to accompany him first and that after a short period of companionship, realizing Khwāfī was ready, the shaykh might have directed him to conduct the solitary exercise (*khalwa*). In any case, we may surmise that Khwāfī's companionship of and training with ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Shabarrīsī took place over a period of months at least and possibly years.

Brief notes in Sakhāwī's entry, as well as a more detailed narration in his work on the spiritual handshake (*muṣāfaḥa*), reveals his other contacts in the Alexandria area.[77] It appears that he went to the port area (*thaghr*) of the city several times to visit holy men there including a Sharīf

74. Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 17 and Maria Eva Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition : Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 235–36. On Khwāfī's *waqf*, see below under Chapter 6.

75. al-Kūrānī, *Rayḥān*, 80a.

76. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, ix/229.

77. On this work and on the Prophetic handshake, see below under "Khwāfī's writing activity."

al-Ḥasan al-Iskandarī, a highly revered descendant of the Prophet who allegedly lived a hundred and thirty years, and Shihāb al-Dīn [ᶜAbd al-Ghaffār] Aḥmad al-Ghaznawī (d. ca. 797/1395), a centenarian saint who performed a *muṣāfaḥa* that connected him to one of the companions of the Prophet.[78] Al-Ghaznawī performed the "handshake" with an associate of Abū al-ᶜAbbās [al-Qūṣī] al-Mulaththim, who, in turn, did the same with an extraordinarily long-lived Ethiopian companion of the Prophet named Saᶜīd, thereby creating a chain of transmission of the presence of the Prophet down to Khwafi. Sakhāwī's own teacher, the well-known Ibn Ḥajar, also knew about the same Shihāb al-Ghaznawī and wanted to meet him during his trip to Alexandria in 1395. He was not able to do so because al-Ghaznawī had died shortly before his arrival.[79]

This handshake conferred a layer of legitimacy and spiritual authority on Khwāfī that is difficult to overstate. Sufis of Islamdom were people who were at odds with the present and tangible world, always seeking signs, communications, and blessings from the supernatural realm of the spirits which existed in the form of angels and the *jinn*, the ongoing spiritual activity (*taṣarruf*) of the deceased saints, rays of light constantly emanating from the Divine to shine on existence, which could be perceived only by those who were purest of heart and so on. While a lot of these experiences took place through dreams, inspirations, and wakeful visions (*yaqaẓa*), others were personal and corporeal. In the universal milieu of Sufism and piety, where episodes of spiritual maturation were explained in such tangible terms as *ṣuḥba*, *khidma*, *mulāzamat*, and *lubs al-khirqa*, it was normal for the mere handshake to become a major initiatic ritual that transferred presence and authority. The

78. Köle, *Hâfî*, 29; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiᶜ (1992)*, ix/230. Al-Hasan had a convent, in which he was succeeded by his son, whom Khwafi met later in his second time in Egypt.

79. al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa-al-durar fī tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, i/146. According to Ibn Ḥajar, the Ethiopian companion lived 400 years after the Prophet prayed for long life for him on account of his efforts at the Battle of the Trench in 627. Al-Mulaththim, who had met the famous Imām Shāfiᶜī in addition to the companion above, died around 1300. On these long-living people in the chain of muṣāfaḥa, see Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, nr267. This companion is described also as *muᶜammar al-ṣaḥābī*. It is not clear whether he was named Muᶜammar or was simply being identified as one of the people who were gifted with an extraordinary long life, that is, at least one hundred years. On the *muᶜammarūn* in Islamic history, see the bibliography for Goldziher's and Juynball's relevant works.

particular handshake that connected one to the Prophet was understood as tantamount to the presence of the Prophet himself, as stated by a *ḥadīth*. The spiritual authority granted to Khwāfī upon his handshake with Shihāb al-Dīn was so important that even his disciple Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabādkānī in 1474 was able to dispense this blessing to his own followers.[80]

While his Sufi training led Khwāfī to spend time in Alexandria, it is clear from certain references in contemporary sources that he was also present in Cairo, albeit for an unknown duration. The *Rashaḥāt*'s note to the effect that the Naqshbandī shaykh Ya$^{c}$qūb Charkhī and Zayn al-Dīn had been fellow students before Shihāb al-Dīn Sayrāmī in Egypt, although worth consideration, is not free of ambiguities, as I stated earlier.[81] Sayrāmī was a scholar of *Ḥanafī* law and Prophetic tradition whom the Mamlūk Sultan Barqūq summoned from the East to appoint in 788/1386 as the inaugural professor in his newly-established *madrasa-khānqāh*.[82] As I explained in the previous

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80. The issue of handshake in Persianate Sufism is recently discussed in some detail by Shahzad Bashir. See his Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 1–8.

81. Certainly based on $^{c}$Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār's oral testimony, the *Nafaḥāt* writes that "ham-sabiq būda and wa pīsh-i Mawlānā Shihāb al-Dīn Say Sayrāmī ki az kibār-i $^{c}$ulamā-yi zeman būda ast talmīdh mīkarda and wa bā-ham jihatī mīdāshta and." Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i $^{c}$Ayn al-Ḥayāt*, i/120. The report is suspicious since the source offers no elaboration on this claim and an examination of sources for Charkhī does not reveal any evidence of an Egyptian connection. I am inclined to view it a juxtaposition of separate but related information on these three people. While both shaykhs may have studied under Shihāb al-Dīn, this most probably did not take place in Egypt and, yet, quite possibly, Khwāfī studied under him in Egypt. The confusion is exacerbated by the uncritical adoption of these reports by researchers working on the biography of Khwāfī, such as Bekir Köle and Māyil Harawī. I should note here that Harawī's biographical study of Khwāfī confuses the chronology, placing this alleged fellowship in Khwāfī's second trip to Egypt around 1420, which is extremely unlikely—see below on this. Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xxv. As far as can be seen from his notes, Harawi seems to rely on Rashahat, which does not corroborate his argument. At least at one place, Rashahat has Ahrar mention Charkhī and Khwāfī's fellow studentship under Sayrāmī in the context of the latter's arrival to Samarqand, where he was to be rebuked by a rigorously sharī$^{c}$a-minded scholar for a bid$^{c}$a he performed the beginning of his sermon. See Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i $^{c}$Ayn al-Ḥayāt*, ii/491.

82. Ibn Taghribirdi in his *al-Nujūm al-Ẓāhira* dates the opening of the *madrasa-khānqāh* of Barqūq to July 12, 1386, Thursday. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt (1382-1469 A.D.); Translation of: al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah*, 13/ 14. The political and learned elite of the city gathered for the inauguration at the Ẓāhiriyya mosque. A splendid feast was prepared for the event, Sultan Barqūq and the elite ate first and the common people shared what was left of it. Shaykh $^{c}$Alā al-Dīn Sayrāmī, who the sultan had summoned from $^{c}$Ajam to be appointed as both

chapter, Sayrāmī taught hadith at the Barqūqiya on the invitation of the eponymous founder from its foundation in 1386 until his death three years later.[83] Mamlūk chronicles add that Sayrāmī was

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the *Ḥanafī* teacher and the shaykh of the new institution, gave the first sermon on the verse 3 (Al Imran), 26, which strikes one as a safe choice. Ibn Taghribirdi further notes that the sultan's respect for Sayrāmī was so great that he asked in his will to be buried at his foot. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt (1382-1469 A.D.); Translation of: al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah*, 13/ 171. Ibn Taghribirdi's history confusingly identifies two Sayrāmīs Sayrāmī, both named Aḥmad and both were inaugural Hanafi teachers at the Barqūqiya *madrasa-khānqāh* until their death a few years later. Shaykh Ala al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muhammad al- Sayrāmī al-ᶜ Ajāmī was the chief shaykh of the Barqūqiya, who died on May 10, 1388. He is described as "a good, religious, righteous man," and "a leading and versatile scholar scholar, the marvel of age in the science and jurisdiction and its branches, in rhetoric and lexicology and in theology." Before assuming the position at the Barqūqiya, Ala al-Dīn al- Sayrāmī studied and worked in Herat, Khwarazm, Saray, Qirim and Tabriz. When Barqūq built his madrasa, he summoned the shaykh to appoint him the chief shaykh of the institution. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt (1382-1469 A.D.); Translation of: al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah*, 13/ 58–59. Ibn Hajar, as quoted in Shadharat al-Dhahab, also provides a necrology for ᶜAlā al-Dīn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al- Sayrāmī, a scholar from "Eastern lands," who remained some time in Mardin before coming to Jerusalem, from where he would be summoned by the Mamlūk sultan al-Zahir to be appointed to the madrasa he built at the "Bayn al-Qasrayn." This is certainly the same person as above, judging by the name and the same date of death provided by Ibn Hajar. Ibn al-ᶜImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, vi/313–14. However, Ibn Taghribirdi lists another Sayrāmī, this time with the *laqab* Shihāb al-Dīn, who was also a Hanafi shaykh at the Barqūqiya during the same time, only, according to *al-Nujūm al-Ẓāhira*, to die next year. If this is not an error and these two references are indeed for two different scholars with very similar names who have taught the same subject at the same institution—which sounds unlikely—the one listed with the *laqab* Shihāb al-Dīn should have been Khwāfī's teacher. See the note below on him. I believe it is within reason that this may have been a clerical error on the part of the original sources for these reports who, providing biographical information on the same Sayrāmī, referred to him with different *alqāb*—it was common for people to be known by numerous *alqab*—in the meantime with conflicting details on his death and ancestry, also not unusual with such extremely comprehensive biographical collections. Sakhāwī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb* points out to the ambiguity in the *nisba* of the scholar, noting the first letter was either 's' or 'ṣ.' al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawᵓ al-Lāmiᶜ (1992)*, xi/208.

83. Sayrāmī's necrology in *al-Nujūm al-Ẓāhira* describes him as follows: "[t]he very learned Hanafi shaykh and imam Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abi Yazīd b. Muhammad, known as Mawlānāzāda al-Sayrāmī al-ᶜAjāmī, father of the very learned Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mawlānāzāda. Died in Cairo, Wednesday [January 20, 1389]. He was a leading and versatile scholar in many branches of learning, and the first to be appointed to teach the apostolic traditions in the Barqūqiya college, this position he held until his death." Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt (1382-1469 A.D.); Translation of: al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah*, xiii/106. See the note above on Ala al-Dīn al- Sayrāmī.

in Jerusalem when Barqūq invited him to Cairo, which the former teacher accepted, bringing his students with him. All sources agree that Khwāfī left the aging Kubrawī shaykh Ismā^c^īl Sīsī in Tabriz and, on the latter's recommendation, came to Egypt to attach himself to Shabarrīsī. Shabarrīsī's initial reluctance to accept Khwāfī as disciple on the grounds that he was preoccupied with scholarship and not spirituality may be taken as an allusion to the latter's being a student at the Barqūqiya then.

It makes sense, then, to suggest that Khwāfī departed Tabriz around 1385 and came to Egypt, possibly after a visit to Jerusalem. He may have been a stipend-drawing resident at the Barqūqiya *madrasa-khānqāh* sometime after its opening, but certainly between 1386 and 1389.[84] If we accept that he was studying at the *madrasa*, when was he initiated into Shabarrīsī's circle? As I wrote above, there is no clear indication in sources regarding this matter. Considering that Shabarrīsī asked him to abandon all else and devote himself to the Sufi path, I assume that Khwāfī's preoccupation with the religious scholars of Egypt preceded his discipleship with Shabarrīsī.

It seems certain that Khwāfī entered Shabarrīsī's circle after ending his formal studies, for two reasons: First, as Sakhawi's account of their first impression clearly suggests, Shabarrīsī rejected Khwāfī's repeated attempts at initiation, citing, apparently, his preoccupation with the "mundane" sciences, seeing in this attachment an impediment in the path of *faqr* and a waste of time that could be better spent. It also seems common in the Suhrawardī tradition, as found in Khwāfī's own work and those of the founders of the order, to set aside formal learning as a vocation—although not teaching—once entering the Sufi path.[85] Considering it was also common for aspiring dervishes to spend a period of *suhba* and *khidma*, when they served the shaykh and the convent and tried to absorb the ways of both, it is logical to assume that this relationship should have lasted over the

84. Safi wrote that Khwāfī, and also Charkhī, drew stipend as a student of Sayrāmī: "khidmat-i Mawlana Ya^c^qūb .. bā Mawlānā Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfī ... dar Miṣr ham-sabaq būda and wa pīsh-e Mawlānā Shihāb al-Dīn Sīrāmī ... tilmidh mīkarda and wa bā-ham jihati mīdāshta and..." Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ^c^Ayn al-Ḥayāt*, i/120.

85. ^c^Abd al-Qāhir ibn ^c^Abd Allāh Suhrawardī, *A Sufi rule for novices: Kitāb Ādāb al-murīdīn of Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī*, trans. Menahem Milson, Harvard Middle Eastern studies (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 7.

course of a few years during the last decade of the fourteenth century, culminating around its turn with the conferral of the *ijāza*.[86]

Then comes the question of when Khwāfī left Egypt, another matter left in the dark in the sources. The *waqf-nāma* of the Sufi edifices Khwāfī established in the vicinity of Herat, which is the only reliable datable evidence for this period of his life, beas the date of 812/1409–10 for the establishing of the *waqf*. We can assume with confidence that Khwāfī must have arrived at Herat considerably earlier than that. The only helpful clue is an anecdote provided by Ibn Karbalāʾī, a historian of the mystics of Tabriz. According to this account, Khwāfī, on his way back from Egypt, came to Tabriz to visit Khujandī, whom he once ignored but whose spiritual might he was able to realize only too late. To his surprise and dismay, he found the shaykh had already passed away by the time he arrived.[87]

The wording and interpretation of this report imply clearly that Khwāfī was traveling at the time and was not aware of the shaykh's passing, which would have been impossible had he remained in Egypt. Regardless of how the conflict between the Tīmūrids and the Mamlūks may have affected the means of communication between Cairo and the East, it is inconceivable that Khwāfī, before his departure from Cairo, could not have been aware of the passing of as great a mystic as Khujandī. The only reasonable assumption is that Khwāfī must have left Egypt shortly before or during 1400 and arrived at Herat shortly after the passing of Khujandī.

Whether or not he stayed in Tabriz for a considerable period of time, or another place for that matter, cannot be ascertained. Ibn Karbalai's account mentions Khwāfī's performing solitary devo-

86. Both Kissling and Kole quote the silence of sources on the issue, while Mayil Harawi puts forward the period "between 1392 and 1397, or slightly after 1397," corroborating my suggestion, albeit without the benefit of an explanation or citation. See Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xxiv. Also see, Köle, *Hâfî*, 31; Kissling, "Einiges," 150. By the fifteenth century, traditions in Sufi initiation has become fully developed. Even in the eleventh century, scholars of Sufism argued that disciples need to do service to the community and the shaykh for a couple of years before receiving the *ijāza* and the inititation. In some cases, this lasted more than ten years. Michel Chodkiewicz, "Rites of Initiation in Sufi Orders," *Sufi: The Magazine of Khaniqahi Nimatullahi* 26 (1995): 6–7.

87. See below, under "Second time in Tabriz" for more on this anecdote.

tional prayers at Khujandī's grave as part of his mourning.[88] Harawī also asserts, without explanation, that Khwāfī made haste towards Herat after performing solitary devotional prayers (*khalwa*) at Khujandī's grave.[89] In the absence of contrary evidence, and remembering that it was expected of disciples to return to their homelands and start teaching upon receiving the *ijāza* from their teachers, I presume that Khwāfī must have received the *ijāza* shortly before 1400, left Egypt afterwards, and arrived in Tabriz shortly later, and was in Herat in or shortly after 1401.[90]

## 3.6 Zayn al-Dīn's spiritual lineage

It might be helpful at this point to consider briefly Khwāfī's initatic chain.[91] The fact that he returned immediately to his hometown after receiving his *ijāza* from Shabarrīsī helps to identify Shabarrīsī as Khwāfī's formative teacher and single him out from among other influences. Of course, equally important were the chains of initiation preserved carefully by Zayn al-Dīn's masters and disciples. According to a recension of *Rayḥān al-Qulūb*, possibly edited by Khwāfī or someone in his circle, the initiation in the path involved three chains for three initiatic practices, namely, the *nisbat al-tawba* for the authority of the repentance ritual, the *nisbat al-khirqa* for the investiture of the habit, and the *nisbat al-talqīn* for the inculcation of the formula *Lā ilāha illā Allāh*.

88. Karbalāʿī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, i/503.

89. Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xxvi. It must be mentioned here that Harawi's treatment of Khwāfī's biography is marred by numerous conjectural or unspecified statements that cast doubt on the overall reliability of his work. For a similar criticism of Harawi's work, see Terry Allen, *Timurid Herat* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1983), xx. Köle's work, on the other hand, does not even attempt to establish a chronology of Khwāfī's biography.

90. The reason I believe Khwāfī received his *ijāza* shortly before his departure, in addition to the common practice for disciples to return to their hometowns after receiving their *ijāza*s, is the wording of Sakhawi's testimony which simply states that Khwāfī returned to Khorasan after receiving his *ijāza* from Shabarrīsī. See the reference in the footnote above.

91. I am here primarily concerned with the specific chain of submission connecting Khwāfī to Suhrawardī as it appeared in the earliest writings from and on Zayniyya in the early to mid-fifteenth century. Ottoman sources on Sufism produced in the sixteenth and later centuries offered various chains that connected Zayniyya to a variety of Sufi traditions. For a summary of these, see Köle, *Hâfî*, 122–31.

All of these three chains that Khwāfī inherited from Shabarrīsī, who, in turn, inherited them from Kūrānī, the author of *Rayḥān*, connected him to Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 1240) as the eponym of the *ṭarīqa*. Yet all Sufi traditions eventually had to attribute their origins to the Prophet himself for the ultimate verification of the fact that their praxis did not constitute an innovation (*bid$^{c}$a*). This was extremely important for all Sufi traditions, and Khwāfī's successors likewise paid great attention to the *silsila* of their spiritual athority. Zaynī masters in Ottoman lands, including $^{c}$Abd al-Laṭīf Maqdisī (d. 856/1452), the prominent *khalīfa* of Khwāfī, as well as Shaykh Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā al-Wafāʾ (d. 896/1491), the latter's disciple, preserved their spiritual genealogy in verse form. Accordingly, the following were the members of the Zayniyya chain from Maqdisī down to $^{c}$Alī b. Abī Ṭālib:

> $^{c}$Abd al-Laṭīf al-Maqdisī > Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī > $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shabarrīsī > Yusuf al-Kūrānī (al-$^{c}$Ajami) > Ḥasan al-Shamshirī > Maḥmūd al-Iṣfahānī > Nūr al-Dīn al-Natanzī > $^{c}$Umar al-Suhrawardī > Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī; > Aḥmad al-Ghazālī > Abu $^{c}$Alī al-Nassāj > Abū $^{c}$Alī Gurgānī > Abū $^{c}$Uthmān Maghribī > Abū $^{c}$Alī al-Kātib > Abū $^{c}$Alī Rūdbārī > Junayd al-Baghdādī > Sarī al-Saqaṭī > Ma$^{c}$rūf al-Karkhī > $^{c}$Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā > Mūsā al-Kāẓim > Ja$^{c}$far al-Ṣādiq > Muḥammad al-Bāqir > $^{c}$Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-$^{c}$Ābidīn > al-Ḥusayn b. $^{c}$Alī > $^{c}$Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.[92]

The *silsila* at this time seems to have served primarily to defend the veracity of the traditions involved. The method used was reminiscent of the *ḥadīth* reports, and identified all the links involved in the chain. The initiate's reception of the respective responsibility and spiritual authority from the shaykh was expressed in terms of the shaykh's reception of the initiate's offering of repentance (*akhadha min*), the initiate's inculcation in the recollection formula (*laqqana*), and the initiate's investiture by the shaykh with the frock (*labbisa* or *albasa*). In some cases, there were multiple lines in a chain, which augmented the claims of authority in question. Needless to say, some of the links in these chains are open to questioning, at the least for chronological reasons; however, as

92. Lāmi$^{c}$ī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 551.

recent students of Sufism have argued, the fact that the *silsila* was authentic for the authors of these manuscripts is reason enough to take them seriously.

One of our major sources for Khwāfī's genealogy is the above-mentioned work of Kūrānī, which explains these three initiatory practices, supports their reasoning, and answers criticism against them, before providing the ultimate verification, namely, their connection to the Prophet. The issue of these chains of submissions is an extremely important one; however, the constraints of this study makes it impossible to analyze them in detail. It must suffice here to consider the chain of inculcation of the remembrance formula (*dhikr*) *Lā ilāha illā Allāh*, the preferred *dhikr* of Jamāl al-Dīn Kūrānī. My source here is Kūrānī's treatise titled *Rayḥān al-Qulūb fī al-Tawassul ilā al-Maḥbūb*, where he discusses the conditions around some of the initiatic principles of his path.[93]

In the *Rayḥān*, Kūrānī cites a Prophetic tradition in which $^{c}$Alī b. Abī Ṭālib asked the Prophet Muḥammad to teach him a formula that is easy to perform but also valuable before Allah. The Prophet responded by saying that he would recite aloud the phrase *Lā ilāha illā Allāh* three times while $^{c}$Alī listened silently with his eyes closed, and then $^{c}$Alī would recite the same formula while he closed his eyes and listened to $^{c}$Alī. This form of *dhikr* became very popular among ascetics for it combined a number of spiritual exercises. On the one hand, it enabled the Sufi to perform both the aloud (*jahrī*, or *jalī*) and the silent (*khafī*) *dhikr*s. At the same time, it functioned as an act of spiritual listening (*samā*$^{c}$). By performing this remembrance, the Sufi would engage in what was called "the remembrance of the heart" (*dhikr al-qalb*) and "the remembrance of the tongue" (*dhikr al-līsān*) at once.[94]

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93. The chain is often found in the manuscript copies of this work, though some printed editions do not include it. See, for example a Tunisian edition apparently printed by the descendants of the author and lacking this *silsila*: Abū al-Maḥāsin Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. $^{c}$Abd Allāh al-Kūrānī (al-$^{c}$Ajamī), *Rayḥānat al-Qulūb fī Tawaṣṣul ilā al-Maḥbūb* (Tunis: al-Maṭba$^{c}$a al-Tūnisīyya, 1910). Also see below under Chapter 8 for a discussion of this work.

94. The same *Lā ilāha illā Allāh* formula was considered by $^{c}$Alā al-Dawla Simnānī as the ideal form of recollection, though in his case, the silent *dhikr* (*khafī*) was preferable to *dhikr* aloud (*jahrī*), whereas Khwāfī followed Kūrānī's aloud method. Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of* $^{c}$*Alā*$^{\supset}$ *ad-Dawla as-Simnānī*, 126–31. This matter, as I noted before, was one of the differences between followers of Khwājagān and those of Khwāfī. For a brief discussion on the silent

According to the *Rayḥān* as well as other contemporary sources, $^{c}$Alī instructed (*laqqana*) his son al-Ḥusayn in this *dhikr* as well as the ascetic al-Ḥasan al-Basrī (d. 728),who, in turn, instructed Ma$^{c}$rūf al-Karkhī, thereby forming two separate chains of transmission.[95] The full chain for this inculcation (*talqīn*) is given at the end of this chapter.[96] However, it is noteworthy that this chain differs significantly from the *talqīn al-dhikr* chains used for the early Suhrawardī lineages, as discussed recently by Erik Ohlander.[97]

### *3.6.1 Other attributions in primary and secondary literature*

Later Sufi-biographical traditions identify Khwāfī as an initiate of Kubrawiyya. However, there is no evidence, as I argued, supporting his investiture by a shaykh whose lineage goes back to Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, and even more important, at this period in the history of Kubrawiyya, there is no indication that these Sufis addressed themselves by the name of the famous eponym. The main problem in this regard is the ready acceptance of these post-sixteenth century reconstructions by modern students of Kubrawiyya and Zayniyya.[98] Khwāfī's thought is indebted to such Kubrawī authors as Simnānī, yet, as I argue above, he did not necessarily see these authors as alien to his thought-world, as all of their spiritual lineage eventually went back to Suhrawardī.

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and audible *dhikr*, see Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions*, 173–74. Note, however, the *samāʿ* in this case is not the same as emerged in Persianate lands especially after Abū Sa$^{c}$īd b. Abī al-Khayr, which involved mystical musics and prayers. Al-Shabarrīsī was supposedly against the ecstatic dance ceremonies involving music and *nāra-zadan*, as will be seen below. See above for sources on Abū Sa$^{c}$īd.

95. Al-Jawāhir, vol. 1, p. 117. (Manuscript from al-Maktaba al-Shāmila).

96. Trimingham explains that *talqīn al-dhikr*, alongside the *akhdh al-$^{c}$ahd* (taking the compact) and the *libs* (or, *lubs*) *al-khirqa* (the investiture of the Sufi habit), constituted part of the initiation into companionship. Trimingham, *Sufi Orders*, 182. It goes without saying that although the chronology in some links of the chain does seem impossible, Sufis believed in spiritual kinds of instruction that transcended temporal limitations and the discipleship of an initiate before an absent or even a deceased master. See above for my brief mention of the proliferation of the *uwaysī* doctrine.

97. Cf. Erik S. Ohlander, *Sufism in an Age of Transition : $^{c}$Umar al-Suhrawardī and the Rise of the Islamic Mystical Brotherhoods* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 71.

98. Norris, "Mir'āt al-Ṭālibīn," 57–58.

Bekir Köle mentions in his work a contemporary report that attributed Khwāfī a Rufāᶜī association, based on the fact that Shabarrīsī had an *ijāza* from a shaykh of Rufāᶜiyya in addition to his Suhrawardī attachment. In another report, he is identified as a node in Ṭayfūrī chains of transmission.[99] Even more interesting is his alleged Ṣafawī connection: Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791), an Indian scholar of the eighteenth-century Egypt, identified Khwāfī as a chain in various lineages of Safawiyya.[100]

All of these should be understood as retrospective constructions and possible fabrications by authors writing at a time when Sufism was understood first and foremost through the framework of *ṭarīqa* associations. Khwāfī's biographies, his endowment deed (which I will discuss in the next chapter) and his works do not allow us to relate him to any lineage other than Suhrawardiyya. The issue of influence, however, is another matter, as his work betrays the influence of a much greater variety of Sufism than simply the works of the authors in his initiatic chain.

## 3.7 Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, after Khwāfī's education in his birthplace, where he was immersed in the powerful legacies of such past luminaries as Aḥmad-i Jāmī and ᶜAbd Allāh Anṣārī, Khwāfī began traveling on the path of religious knowledge. He arrived in Tabriz and studied with the Sufi masters of the city, but, failing to receive a license, he traveled further West to Egypt. There, he met his ultimate teacher and was initiated into the path of Kūrānī, a Sufi of Suhrawardī tradition. The impression one gets from an examination of this part of Khwāfī's biography is that he was in search

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99. Norris, "Mir'āt al-Ṭālibīn," 58. Ṭayfūriyya was a Sufi tradition attributed to the legacy of Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī. Ḥasan Khumaynī argues that Ṭayfūriyya might be the oldest Sufi tradition. Ḥasan Khumaynī, *Farhang-i Jāmiᶜ-i Firaq-i Islāmī : bar pāyah-i dast-nivishtah-hā-yi marḥūm Āyat Allāh Sayyid Mahdī Rūḥānī*, Chāp-i 1 (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Iṭṭilāᶜāt, 2010), ii/935–6.

100. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī's *Itḥāf al-Aṣfiyā*, cited in Stefan Reichmuth, "The Quest for Sufi transmissions as Links to the Prophet," in *Performing religion : actors, contexts, and texts : case studies on Islam*, ed. Ines Weinrich, Beiruter Texte und Studien (Beirut: Orient-Institut, 2016), 89. On al-Zabīdī, see Stefan Reichmuth, *The world of Murtada al-Zabidi (1732-91) : life, networks and writings* (Cambridge, U.K.: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2009).

of spiritual guides, but was fastidious when it came to completely attaching himself to one. As can be seen in the example of his hesitation before Khujandī, he was guided by his reservations about matters of Sunni *Sharī$^{c}$a*, which his peers acknowledged was his foremost tenet. In the words of his contemporary the famous Naqshbandī teacher Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā, Zayn al-Dīn is described as a learned, observant, exemplar of a Sufi who fared the paths of spiritual knowledge and at the same time raised the standard of the Prophetic tradition, suppressing "innovation" and "misguidance."[101]

In the next part of his life, Khwāfī appears as an influential and highly-respected shaykh of Herat with a large following. The oldest source on him, namely the *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, describes him as a shaykh "in the path (*ṭarīqa*) of the Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī" with a crowded following of students."[102] His concern for *Sharī$^{c}$a* matters, the upholding of the Prophetic tradition, and the rejection of divergent pieties, formed the main thrust of his work during this next period of his life. My main concern will be to identify what really put him at the center of a transregional community of *Sharī$^{c}$a*-minded Sufis and pietist *$^{c}$ulamāʾ* that stretched from the Nile to the Oxus.

101. "Dhū al-$^{c}$ilm al-nāfi$^{c}$ wa al-$^{c}$amal al-rāfi$^{c}$, malādh al-jumhūr, shifā$^{c}$ al-ṣudūr, ṣafwat al-$^{c}$ulamāʾ wa al-$^{c}$urafāʾ, rāfi$^{c}$ a$^{c}$lām al-sunna, qāmi$^{c}$u aḍālīl al-bid$^{c}$a, nāhij manāhij al-ḥaqīqa wa al-ṭarīqa, al-dā$^{c}$ī ilā Allāh subḥanah $^{c}$alā ṭarīq al-yaqīn, sayyidunā wa mawlānā zayn al-milla wa al-dīn." Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 493.

102. Aṣīl al-Dīn Wā$^{c}$iẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*. The author of the work died in 883/1478. By the time he died, Jāmī had not yet completed his *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*: see Ökten, "Jāmī," 280.

Figure 3.1: Khwāfī's *nisbat al-tawba* (Kūrānī, *Rayḥān al-Qulūb*, 62b–63b.)

# CHAPTER 4

# THE FOUNDATION OF HIS BASE IN HERAT

## 4.1 In Baghdad

We may now turn to Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī's return journey to Herat. Judging from the information available to us, he seems to have stopped at a few places on his way. We know that he was in Baghdad because of two anecdotes reported by Jāmī. The first has to do with his leaving the *ijāza* he received from Shabarrīsī in this city, under unspecified circumstances, while on his way back to Khorasan.[1] He was able to retrieve another copy of the same *ijāza* from the convent of his shaykh in Egypt, around 821/1419, during his second journey there, which was occasioned, according to Sakhawi, by the fact that the shaykh was not happy with reports that his former disciple was attending *samā*$^{c}$ sessions.[2]

The second reference to his stopover in Baghdad stems from Jāmī's report that he had to give away, albeit begrudgingly, his dervish cap (*tāqiya* or *tāj*), which had been gifted to him by his master Shabarrīsī, after a dervish requested it from him while in that city.[3] Because of the rules of "poverty and dervishhood," which, in principle, forbade the ownership of worldly goods, Khwāfī said he had to give away the cap, despite its enormous symbolic importance for him.[4] After all, when Khwāfī went to meet Shabarrīsī first time, the latter rejected him, saying he was "a poor dervish" (*dar-*

1. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 493.

2. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmi*$^{c}$ *(2003)*, ix/229.

3. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 494. The investiture and gifting of the shaykh's *tāqiya*, also called the *tāj*, alongside the *khirqa*, was often part of the transmission of spiritual blessings (*baraqa*) from the master to the disciple. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions*, 234–35.

4. It may be necessary to remember the Sufi principle of *faqr,* namely renouncing worldly possessions and attachments that might hinder the spiritual ascent of the aspirant Sufi, which was considered one of the first steps in Sufi instruction. Abu al-Najib Suhrawardi's ethical rule for Sufi novices identifies its completion as the beginning of the Sufi path. Suhrawardī, *A Sufi rule*, 9, 30. Khwāfī felt compelled to follow the principles of *faqr* and dervish fellowship despite his meticulous following of the sharī$^{c}$a.

*wīsh faqīr*) while Khwāfī was "an illustrious scholar," implying that Khwāfī's ongoing attachment to scholarship, a distraction from spiritual activities, as an impediment to absolute submission to the path.[5].

It seems that Khwāfī's conscience was not clear in letting the cap go, because the dervish, identified as Pīr Tāj Gīlānī, was not applying himself to the observation of the *sharīᶜa* as Khwāfī would have liked.[6] After a dream in which the cap scolded and implored Khwāfī to save it from this lackadaisical Sufi, he went to reclaim the cap, only to find Gīlānī drunken in a tavern:

> When I was returning from Egypt and have arrived at Baghdad, I had with me the *tāqiya* that shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Abd al-Raḥman gave me and [which was] on the heads of other great shaykhs. I happened to meet with Pīr Tāj Gīlānī, who asked that *tāqiya* from me. Because of the requirements of poverty and dervishlikeness (*muqtaḍā-yi faqr u darwīshī*), I gave it to him. At night I saw in a dream that the *tāqiya* was imploring for help before me and enumerated the great [persons] on whose heads it arrived saying : I have been to the heads of so and so, and now you placed me on the head of a drunkard who is occupied with drinking wine? When it was morning, I went out with one of the companions to ask for it. I heard that he was in a tavern (*kharābāt*) busy with drinking wine.[7] We went there. They said: [He is] in so-and-so room. We entered that room. He had fallen [on the ground] drunken, and the *tāqiya* was on his head. My friend told

5. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawᵓ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, ix/22

6. Pīr Tāj Gīlānī was a merchant who later attended the circle of Ismāᶜīl Sīsī, having been referred to him by the latter's disciple Muḥammad Shīrīn Maghribī, who was Pīr Tāj's previous teacher, according to Tabrizi historian Ibn Karbalāᵓī. His lax morals and *sharīᶜa* discipline is noted by the historian who also said association with him brought blame on Qāsim Anwār. Karbalāᶜī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, ii/98–101. On Pīr Tāj's relationship with Aḥrār, also see Mīr ᶜAbd al-Awwal Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," in *Aḥwāl wa Sukhanān-i Khwājah ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (806 tā 895): Mushtamil bar Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār be Taḥrīr-i Mīr ᶜAbd al-Awwal Nīshābūrī, Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār (Majmūᶜa-i Dīgar), Raqaᶜāt-i Aḥrār, Khwāriq-i ᶜĀdāt-i Aḥrār, Taᵓlīf-i Mawlānā Shaykh*, ed. ᶜĀrif Nawshāhī, 241.

7. Karamustafa briefly discusses the use of *kharābāt* in pietistic literature and its juxtaposition with the *khānqāh* in Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Antinomian Sufis," in *The Cambridge Companion to Sufism*, ed. Lloyd Ridgeon (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 109–10, 113–4.

me: You stay outside and I will bring the *tāqiya*. I went outside. He took the *tāqiya* from his head. And closed the room's door on him and brought [the cap] to me.[8]

On a psychological level, the story implies obvious guilt and regret on the part of Khwāfī, which I am not able to discuss here. For our present purposes, it illustrates his attention to the memory of his teacher, which was common for most Sufis, and his loyalty to the idea of the fellowship and service of the wayfarer. While remaining loyal to the principles of the Sufi brotherhood, Khwāfī ultimately vindicated his *Sharīᶜa*-minded conscience. This is in agreement with the description of him in most primary sources as a scrupulous devotee of the outward aspects of the *Sharīᶜa* and the *Sunna*. In terms of his Sufi orientation, this reminds one of the very influential type of Persianate Sufism centered on the life of the *khānqāh*, which was enshrined in the lively memory of Sufis like Abū Saᶜīd b. Abī al-Khayr (d. 1049) and Aḥmad-i Nāmiqī Jāmī (d. 1141), both of Khorasan.[9]

The more intriguing question here is why such a meticulous follower of the *sharīᶜa* as Khwāfī was could cohabit with, and possibly befriend, a lax dervish of questionable religious morals. Admittedly, the dervish in this anecdote was probably the same Pīr Tāj Gīlānī who is identified by Ibn Karbalāʾī as a fellow member of Khwāfī in the Sufi circles of Tabriz. On the one hand, this incident

8. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 494.

9. Karamustafa, *Sufism*, 143–48. Abū Saᶜīd may not have been the founder of the first *khānqāh* and Sufi communities certainly existed before him, however, he is often associated with influential traditions of *khānqāh*-centered Sufism. Despite the fact that he clashed with other intellectuals and men of religion of his time, including, such as, Khwāja ᶜAbd Allāh Ansārī, his later legacy was absorbed by many pietistic traditions in the Persianate world. Recent biographies highlight the emphasis on serving dervishes and the *khānqāh* in his Sufism. Safi, "Abū Saʿīd b. Abī l-Khayr." He is considered as the initiator of the ten rules of conduct for the convent, which are the following: (1) to keep garments clean and be ritually pure, (2) to reside in a holy place or convent to engage in pious works and avoid pointless talk, (3) to perform prescribed prayers in group by the their beginning, (4) to pray much at night, (5) to pray for forgiveness at dawn, (6) to recite the Qur'ān and avoid talk until the sunshine, (7) to engage in *dhikr* and litany (*wird*) given by the master between the evening and night prayers, (8) to welcome the needy, the poor and whoever joins their company and to serve them, (9) to eat only in company, and (10) not to absent himself without consent. (Adopted from Karamustafa, *Sufism*, 123–24 and Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions*, 243.) An eloquent and penetrating review of the spiritual life in Sufi communities is provided in Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions*, 228–41. Khwāfī's respect for both Sufis is well-documented.

had to do with the life trajectory of Pīr Tāj, who was given to hyperboles and exaggerated behavior. Consumed by debauchery and restlessness, he died the death of an unbeliever according to his biographers.[10] On the other hand, this naturally brings up the issue of the boundaries of the *sharī$^{c}$a*-minded Sufism in relation to other types. I pointed out in the previous chapter that the diversity of the Sufi circles Khwāfī joined when in Tabriz did not support reductionist definitions of him as a mere antagonist of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī.[11] Khwāfī was acting out of respect for the common dervish bond, which he clearly regretted later. It is difficult to not attribute the following comment in *Al-Waṣāyā* to his encounter with Pīr Tāj:

> The first danger that fell on this poor one in this path (*ṭarīqa*) was because of association with sympathizers (*mu$^{c}$taqidīn*) from among merchants, for one who does not avoid the world never understands the faring of the path (*sulūk*).[12]

The notions of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, as well as high and low Sufism, in the middle periods of Islamic history have been fairly well questioned in a series of revisionist studies and need not be repeated here in detail.[13] It is clear, however, that certain profiling characteristics in contemporary biographical literature, such as claims of being critical of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī or favoring *dhikr* aloud over silent (or vice versa), when taken out of proportions and applied to the whole legacy of a given

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10. Karbalā$^{c}$ī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, ii/100–101.

11. See the previous chapter.

12. Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Khwāfī, *Al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya*, MS Feyzullah Efendi 1241 (İstanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), 44b.

13. A revisionist scholarship in the last decades questioned essentialist tendencies in the use of orthodox and heterodox Islam and Sufism, and the assumed dichotomy between a high and a low Islamic culture. See Karamustafa's following works Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200-1550* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994) and Karamustafa, *Sufism*. Judith Pfeiffer points out to the extreme fluidity in intellectual traditions in the later middle period, see her introduction to the edited volume. Pfeiffer, "Introduction. From Baghdad to Marāgha, Tabriz, and beyond: Tabriz and the multi-cephalous cultural, religious, and intellectual landscape of the 13th to 15th century Nile-to-Oxus region." Richard McGregor also questions timeless and permanent categories as highly misleading, see Richard McGregor, "The Problem of Sufism," *Mamluk Studies Review* XIII, no. 2 (2009): 69–83.

person by modern researchers, tend to lead to unintelligible depictions contradicting reality.

Defying easy descriptions of orthodoxy and heresy, this incident, to begin with, testifies to the fluidity of theological categories and the existence of a continual exchange among certain pietistic traditions, which, however, seem to have been depicted in contemporary sources as conflicting in addition to being further identified as downright hostile by most modern scholarship. The resulting gap between the historical reality on the one hand, and its presentation in modern academic treatments on the other, stems in part from rushed approaches to source criticism in modern historical literature. Certain manifestations of medieval Islam seem to have a strong appeal for the modern researcher, being a complete stranger to a phenomenon centuries away, that is directly proportional to its complexity by virtue of the many different layers of history that are compressed in a few sentences. For the student of historical texts in need of a "find," it is tempting to arrive at easily formulatable explanations to past social and intellectual relationships. In many cases, however, this involves partial and perfunctory readings of sources, void of attempts to question and deconstruct their mentality. To quote David Morgan, "Historians of the Middle East need to be more careful than they sometimes are in distinguishing between primary sources and very old secondary sources that happen to be written in Arabic, Persian or Turkish."[14]

In our case, this means that most biographical sources of the period, and especially those hagiographical texts, which were usually produced within the confines of certain religious circles and served to reinforce a particular view of intellectual authority and spiritual genealogies, should be regarded as secondary sources. This is the case, for example, for the works of Naqshbandī-inspired authors like Jāmī and Ṣafī, who were writing, in the context of the rise of *silsila*-sensitivity, relying on personal sources that came mostly from within their own circles.[15] It is not surprising, therefore,

14. David Morgan, "The "Great Yasa of Chinggis Khan" Revisited," in *Mongols, Turks, and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Brill, 2005), 306–7.

15. Mojaddedi, *The biographical tradition in sufism : the ṭabaqāt genre from al-Sulamī to Jāmī*, 151–75. This was especially true in terms of the religious culture of Khorasan in the period, where lineage and affiliation with a particular shrine was crucial for the attainment of worldly favors such

to sense hints of rivalry between the affiliates of different *ṭarīqa*s, and between those of different *silsila*s within a single Sufi community (*ṭarīqa*).[16]

It also serves to highlight a tendency in modern historiography, especially in intellectual history, to mine biographical dictionaries and necrologies for one-dimensional associations in order to produce textbook definitions. This practice inherits involves the above problems, as well as taking profiling identifications in "primary" sources at face value, to arrive at grand theoretical analyses of social and cultural orientations. The case we have here is not susceptible of such a solution: Just as he befriended Ibn ᶜArabī's followers and *shāhid-bāzī* defenders in Tabriz, Khwāfī easily shared his prized possession with a fellow Sufi, whose ways he certainly did not approve of. The fact that Jāmī's biography on Khwāfī mentions his devotion to *sharīᶜa* does not preclude his association with "lax" believers. Likewise, modern scholars who considered certain references in contemporary biographical narratives regarding his anti-*wujūdiyya* stance plain evidence of an ideological association have difficulty reconciling Khwāfī's own statements praising Ibn ᶜArabī as a great saint, and the existence of his disciples and associates who were students of the latter mystic's teachings. This modern scholarly attitude to prefer an instant formulaic profile in a biographical dictionary to a deeper examination of the life and works of a certain individual becomes all the more problematic when these

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as remunerative teaching and preaching posts. Sense of identity and of belonging with respect to a particular circle may have influenced the literature produced among Sufis. Manz, *Power*, 208–45. In her discussion of the shaykhs of Jam and Herat, Manz helpfully reminds the place of chance in the availability of a given information and reminds the reader that the information we have on these people was conditioned by the personal connections respective authors of these traditions had within their own fellowship. Manz, *Power*, 222–23.

16. One can commonly encounter references to power struggles between Khwafi and Ahrar, as well as between Khwafi's disciples and followers of Naqshbandiyya. Jāmī, for instance, wrote he got the best out of Mawlānā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabādkānī (d. 1486-87), Khwāfī's main successor (*khalīfa*) in Herat. Ökten, "Jāmī," 110. On Tabādkānī, see Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iv/334–35, whose source is the *Majālis al-Nafāᵓis* of ᶜAlī Shīr Nawāᵓī. Tabādkānī had many prominent disciples himself, listed among the graves worthy of visitation in Herat, see, in the continuation to *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, Aṣīl al-Dīn Wāᶜiẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, 116–35. Ökten's study on Jāmī also reveals a conspicuous lacuna or "silence" of information on the Naqshbandis of Herat in the works of those of Samarqand, which, he interprets, must be a relic of rivalry between the Sufis of this path of Samarqand and Herat. Ökten, "Jāmī," 191.

mischaracterizations begin to circulate among a closely-knit circle of unsuspecting authors.

This apparent dichotomy between the companionship of the *sharī$^{c}$a*-minded Suhrawardī and the *sharī$^{c}$a*-offending *malāmatī*-like Sufi is a reminder that the designations and adjectives in the typically brief biographical sources served a purpose to immediate audiences in their time, but may be misleading if taken literally today, after six centuries. I will return to this issue below in order to illustrate how some recent studies of the cultural life of the later middle periods extrapolate from such categorical designations in primary sources to arrive at directly proportional social analyses that are incomplete and inaccurate. For the moment, it should suffice to say that assessing Khwāfī's personality based on keywords is, to say the least, misleading scholarship.

## 4.2 In Tabriz again

It is perfectly reasonable to suppose that Khwāfī visited Tabriz on his way to Herat. Since the Ilkhānid period, Tabriz was a major overland commercial city, thanks in great part to the silk trade, and was a major stop on the caravan routes, as pilgrims mostly visited it on their way to and from the East.[17] It was common for travelers to spend some time there for business, recreation, and learning. To cite a pertinent example, Ṣadr al-Dīn Rawāsī (d. 871/1466–7), one of Khwāfī's own disciples, who later became a shaykh in his own right, stayed there long enough in the course of his pilgrimage journey that he was able train students and give them *ijāza*s.[18]

The most direct evidence of Khwāfī's visiting Tabriz at this time is found in a report in *Rawḍāt al-Jinān*, Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn b. Karbalā$^{\supset}$ī's work on the cemeteries of Tabriz. Despite writing about a

17. On the conditions of international trade between Anatolia and Central Asia in this period, see Halil Inalcik, *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 188–256.

18. Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Rawāsī was one of the foremost disciples of Khwāfī in Khorasan. He wrote the *ijāza* for the ascetic $^{c}$Imād al-Dīn, whom he met there and who later established a *khānqāh* in the chahar-minar neighborhood of Tabriz, in August 1444, six months before the Pilgrimage period. See Karbalā$^{c}$ī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, 160–62. Musa Ṣamil Yüksel's note to the effect that Rawāsī was a descendant of Khwāfī cannot be substantiated and must be a mistake. See Yüksel, *Timurlularda*, 134.

century and half after Khwāfī's visit, his work demonstrates thorough familiarity with the traditions of Sufism and poetry in and around the city, in particular the Kubrawiyya tradition in which the author was initiated.[19]

Without providing much details, multiple reports in *Rawḍāt al-Jinān* depict Khwāfī as part of the Sufi circle in Tabriz at the end of the eight/fourteenth century, which included Kamāl Khujandī, Muḥammad Shīrīn Maghribī, and others, and gravitated around the central figure of Ismāᶜīl Sīsī. In a fashion that perplexes modern historians, Ibn Karbala'i did not shy away from portraying some of these people as being in conflict with each other while still enjoying each other's company. The bonding element in this harmony of opposites seems to have been their active participation in the Sufi life of Tabriz. Khwāfī emerges in this depiction as closer to the allegedly Kubrawiyya-initiated Sīsī than to the indomitable, allegorizing Khujandī, yet Ibn Karbalāʾī's final verdict still had him deeply respecting the latter Sufi.

The entry on Khujandī, for whom the *Rawḍāt* author seems to have had the utmost respect and affection, depicts Khwāfī in front of the grave of the recently deceased Sufi, repenting of his failure to recognize the shaykh's true greatness when he had been in Tabriz during the latter's life.[20] This image is juxtaposed with a report that Khwāfī was saved from the travails of initiation during his first apprenticeship with Sisi in Egypt, through a vision, in which Khujandī instructed this former student of his to read certain passages from the Qur'an, which, in the end, led to his overcoming of his mystical struggle. It seems that Khwāfī had this trouble in the final stages of his *khalwa* (secluded spiritual exercise), where he was expecting to receive *fatḥ*, i.e. spiritual unveilings. The episode is told by Karbalāʾī, who is, as far as I know, the earliest source on this.

> …At any rate, he went to Egypt and arrived at the service of the aforementioned [Shabarrīsī]. After undergoing repentance, he sat in a *khalwa* upon the shaykh's indication. He did not have mystical visions, which made him sad until one night when he saw Shaykh

19. Lewisohn, "Ḥosayn Karbalā'i."

20. Karbalāᶜī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, 503.

> Kamal in a dream, appearing out of the wall of the *khalwa* cell in the qibla direction. Sympathizing with Khwāfī, the shaykh told him to recite the chapter *Qāf* after *Fātiḥa* during the morning prayer on Friday. After doing so, Khwāfī had spiritual visions and completed his progress.[21]

In my view, there is no reason to doubt the historicity of this visit, though one can question the more theatrical elements in the story, which may have been influenced by the author's own impressions. Karbala'i, after all, was a devotee of Khujandī, and the type of Sufism the latter typified, with his impatience for the bookish and legalistic Sufi—often reduced to the term *zāhid*—and with his deep appreciation for the contemplation of human beauty (*jamāl-parastī*).[22] The added interest in the post-Ibn ᶜArabī discourse on the part of bookish Sufis encouraged them to construct a rhetoric free from the epistemological obligations and categories of Sunni theology, something Khwāfī would come to oppose. It is understandable, therefore, to read Karbalāᵓī, writing a century-and-half later, cherishing the opportunity to confer legitimacy to the dogma-agnostic *rind* piety. However, viewing Khwāfī from a broader perspective, I am inclined to interpret this visit in terms of Khwāfī's view of the conduct of the Sufi fellowship. Khujandī was not Khwāfī's initiatic master; nevertheless, he was still a great ascetic, visiting and accompanying of whom would lead to spiritual rewards for the seeker.

## 4.3 Khwāfī's early years in Herat

Given that Khwāfī left Tabriz for Herat around the turn of the century, that is, shortly after the passing of Khujandī (d. 803/1400), what did he do afterwards? Primary sources provide vague yet consistent references to his immediate taking up of "Sufi duty" in Herat upon his arrival. As instructed by the very *ijāza* Shabarrīsī had given to him, he started his Sufi mission right away, preaching publicly at the same time as he was continuing his personal mystical quest. It was during this nearly

21. Karbalāᶜī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, 503.

22. Lewisohn, "Ḥosayn Karbalā'i."

decade-long period, between his arrival and the first construction of his convent in 812/1409–10, that he began to grow a reputation as an ascetic and *shari$^{c}$a*-oriented Sufi. The culture of Sufism and the phenomena associated with spirituality and mysticism were extremely prevalent in Khorasan. Especially in Herat, the strength of Sufism was combined with that of Sunnism.[23] There were various kinds of spirituality; however, the Tīmūrid court in Herat favored the *Sunnī-Jamā$^{c}$ī* Islam.

What we know about the early establishment and the eventual rise of Khwāfī in Herat can be understood in terms of how his practices and path related to the religious establishment of the city. According to sources from the period, he seems to have divided his days between his residence at Ziyāratgāh, situated in the southeast of Herat, and several tombs where he would go for spiritual retreats. We know of several of these: the mosque-tomb of Khwāja Nūr, a popular destination for the commoners as well as the learned, which had a fountain cult that predated Islam; the tomb of Shāh Abū al-Qays Ḥusaynī, where he often went for nightly retreats; and the sites associated with Imām Shīsh Nūr, all in Herat.[24] Khwāfī's rigorous schedules of retreats enhanced his fame and enabled him to gather followers and devotees in and around the city. Among other things, being able to spend nights at lonely graves was considered a feat of spiritual strength and high station.[25] Performing retreats and other spiritual exercises on one's own at the Khwāja Nūr shrine, for example, was considered a demonstration of a particularly strong spirit and heart.[26]

23. Herat remained a strong bulwark of Sunni Islam even at the time of the Safavid control of the city in 1510. Szuppe, *Entre timourides, uzbeks et safavides : questions d'histoire politique et sociale de Hérat dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle*, 122–23.

24. Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xxvi; Manz, *Power*, 189.

25. By this time, visitation of the graves of saintly people were considered as spiritually beneficial, even by the ulama. Manz, *Power*, 182. This fact is reflected in the growth of a particularly Persianate and Tīmūrid genre of grave visitation guides under the moniker *Mazārāt*. For a brief discussion of this, see Maria Szuppe, "Historiography V. Timurid Period," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*.

26. Manz, *Power*, 189. As a Suhrawardī Sufi, Khwāfī continued throughout his life to take solitary retreats and had his disciples do the same in some of these places. These retreats of forty (*chilla*) were a cornerstone of his teaching, which conflicted sharply with Naqshbandiyya's stance against *khalwa*. On this, see below.

As some point during that decade, we find Khwāfī reportedly leading congregational prayers and preaching at the chief mosque of Herat.[27] The appointment to the shaykhhood of this mosque seems to have been a prerogative of the political administration, rather than a matter of family inheritance, as was mostly the case with many shrines in Khorasan. In this case, this is an indication of the way Khwāfī was being accepted in the upper echelons of the Tīmūrid government, which acceptance would only grow stronger in time.

While his travels for learning in Iran and Egypt had certainly added to his status, there is some likelihood that Khwāfī was a rather well-known person in Herat before he left as a young man in his twenties. However, in no case could he be conceived to have been as famous as some historians seem to suggest. As discussed in the previous chapter, Ibn ᶜArabshāh's and Khwāndamīr's identification of him as the host of Tīmūr's visit to Tāyabād in 783/1381, is spurious and must be rejected on the grounds of possible copyist's errors or the conflated notes of authors.[28]Similarly, singular reports of Khwāfī's letters of advice on government to Tīmūr should also be attributed instead to Zayn al-Dīn Tāyabādī, if they are authentic at at all.[29] It is not rare to see the stories of these two shaykhs, who had the same names and lived around the same place in the same period, fused in contemporary sources based on indirect evidence, which eventually has seeped into the works of unsuspecting researchers. Māyil Harawī, for example, quoting from *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, reproduces, without any discussion, the

27. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iv/12.

28. Both Ibn ʿArabshah and Khwandamir almost certainly wrongly identify Tīmūr's interlocutor in Tāyabād with Khwāfī, instead of his namesake Tāyabādī, contrary to the reports in earlier chronicles of Hafiz-i Abru, Yazdi and Shami. Bekir Kole in his monograph on Khwāfī argues it was actually Zayn al-Dīn Abu Bakr Tāyabādī, and not Khwāfī that Tīmūr visited in 1381, based on the fact that Khwāfī at the time was 25 years old and a student of the more senior and famous Zayn al-Dīn Abu Bakr Tāyabādī. Köle, *Hâfî*, 21.

29. Köle's monograph, which is based on his dissertation and is still the only work in Turkish language dedicated to Khwāfī, quotes such a letter from Zayn al-Dīn (not further identified) citing a popular Turkish-language historical fiction on Tīmūr written, which, in return, does not cite any sources for the account. Köle, *Hâfî*, 19n.20; cf. M. Turhan Tan, *Timurlenk* (İstanbul: İnkilâp Kitabevi, 1960), 39–42.

report about the high regard Khwāfī was held by Amīr Tīmūr and his court.[30]

Regardless of whether or not he had any contacts with Tīmūr himself during this early period, we can accept Khwāfī's depiction in late-century sources as a growing presence in the spiritual and intellectual life of the city, whose activities were centered on the Jāmī mosque of Herat.[31] Particularly noteworthy is the interest in his path shown by the members of the *$^{c}$ulamāʾ* of Herat, on account of his steadfast *sharī$^{c}$a*-orientation and his avoidance of speculative and philosophical Sufism in favor of a more traditional kind.[32] We find a testimony to his increasing appeal and spiritual instruction, especially among scholarly groups, in an account with a rather dismissive perspective. As reported in a work dedicated to Khwāja $^{c}$Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār, Mawlānā Rukn al-Dīn Khwāfī (d. 834/1431), one of the scholars of Herat at the time, took issue during those years with the way Zayn al-Dīn was given to spiritual direction and shaykhhood. Rukn al-Dīn seems to have been a mentor to Khwāfī previously, and was knowledgeable about his spiritual progress. When Khwāfī emerged as a shaykh, he sent a messenger to object as follows: "From what we know of your states and experiences (*aḥwāl wa wāqi$^{c}$āt*), it is not befitting for you to hold the post of shaykh-hood and instruction (*irshād*). Why

30. Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xxvi. This report, alongside a similar note of Ibn $^{c}$Arabshāh's *History of Tīmūr*, seems to represent a conflation of the two Abū Bakr's of the Khwāf area, both of whom were known as Zayn al-Dīn. If, however, Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī was somehow know to Tīmūr and his court, than it makes sense to think that the shaykh won supporters easily in Shāhrukh's court as well. Considering how Shāhrukh simply retained precedents established by his father and continuing to patronize those favored under him, it might as well be that Khwāfī, on his return, found himself at a familiar cultural milieu ready to accept of him as a spiritual acolyte of Tāyabādī. With all similar cases, however, there still remains the question of the reliability of sources. After reviewing various accounts in primary sources of the relationship between Tāyabādī and Tīmūr, Barthold notes the difficulty in distinguishing historical facts from literary ornamentation and comments that despite the alleged importance of Tāyabādī in Tīmūr's court, the former never appears in Tīmūrid chronicles despite having lived for 8 more years after this meeting in 1381. Barthold, *Ulu[illegible] Bey*, 19–20. Aside from reports on his meetings with Tīmūr, we know that Tāyabādī's shrine became a major center of spirituality by Shāhrukh's reign. Manz, *Power*, 209.

31. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iv/12.

32. Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xxvi.

would you be occupied with this path?"[33] Zayn al-Dīn responded by saying "These were my states at the time. Afterwards, I have gone through ascetic exercises (*riyāḍāt*) and spiritual struggles (*mujāhadāt*). God Almighty bestowed help and brought me to this degree."[34] Khwāfī's response to this denunciation fits well with how I tried to depict him with respect to his nascent career as a Sufi master in Herat during the first decade of the fifteenth century—that his initial reputation relied on his rigorous asceticism, self-mortification, and religious orthodoxy. This exchange also reveals that, despite a growing interest in Khwāfī and an endorsement of his path by *sharīᶜa*-minded scholars, his social standing was still precarious and open to criticism.

Māyil Harawī, a modern historian and antiquarian of Herat, interprets this attack as evidence that Khwāfī's return from Egypt without Shabarrīsī's *ijāza* was hurting his Sufi credentials, eventually culminating in his decision to return to Egypt to retrieve it.[35] Originating from ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār, who in his life evolved from an admirer to an outspoken critic of Khwāfī, this tesimony warrants a critical examination before one can take it at face value. As I will try to demonstrate in the course of this study, the Naqshbandī circles, especially those around Aḥrār, despite producing a wealth of information on Khwāfī, seem to be the source of several historically problematic reports, which, at the same time, criticize and belittle Khwāfī and his circle. Aḥrār, after all, imagined himself as the better player in a competition between him and Khwāfī for spiritual dominance in the city of Herat.[36] Even if the above report were authentic, it is difficult to think, considering the temporal and cultural context, that Khwāfī's inability to produce a physical copy of his *ijāza* undermined

33. Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," 255–6. On Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwāfī, see Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iv/8–9. Another note in the *Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār* elucidates on the relationship between these two people, as Rukn al-Dīn is seen showing his dislike for both Zayn al-Dīn and his disciple Darwīsh Aḥmad; see Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," 187. Writing towards the end of the ninth/fifteenth century, Aṣīl al-Din Wāᶜiẓ noted that Rukn al-Dīn spent the last years of his life mostly in Khwaf, occasionally visiting the city of Herat, coinciding with Zayn al-Dīn's sites of activities. Aṣīl al-Dīn Wāᶜiẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, 78–79.

34. Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xxv.

35. Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xxv. See Allen, *Timurid Herat* for comments on Harawi's scholarship.

36. Köle, *Hâfî*, 100.

his claims to instruction. I believe Harawī's reasoning here is unjustified as the *Nafaḥāt*, a work of similar context which reproduced the partial *ijāza*, does not raise any questions regarding this issue. Rather, the exchange between Rukn al-Dīn and Zayn al-Dīn, both of Khwāf, testifies to the growth of the latter as a significant figure in the scholarly circles of Herat and to the resentment of the former for a variety reasons too obscure for us today to determine.

In addition to his spiritual accomplishments and acceptance among the political and religious elite of the city, what provided greater security to Khwāfī was the establishment of his convent in 812/1409–10, roughly a decade after his return. The building of the convent and the founding of his first waqf alone, feats that necessitate wealth, often derived from courtly patronage, makes one think that he must have been quite successful in establishing himself as a Sufi shaykh. Furthermore, as I shall describe below, the dating of *waqf-nāma* hints at the gradual growth of the the endowment from a single convent to a web of facilities surrounding Herat.

## 4.4 Khwāfī's colony of dervishes

Generally speaking, the convent, called variously a *zāwiya*, *ribāṭ*, *taqiyya*, or *khānqāh*, was the nucleus and heart of a Sufi community. Every Sufi brotherhood started out as a mystical congregation around a convent, which functioned as the locus for Sufi devotion and also as a *masjid* as a venue for worship, and which was also an extension of the house of the shaykh. This center could then blossom into a larger complex of structures, depending on the fortunes of the particular brotherhood. It was not rare for charismatic Sufi shaykhs to turn their convents into settlements that would grow into cities.[37]

37. Various aspects of the relationship between Sufi convents and urbanization have been discussed in the following works: Fatih Bayram, "Zâviye-Khankâhs and Religious Orders in the Province of Karaman: The Seljukid, Karamanoğlu and the Ottoman Periods, 1200-1512" (PhD diss., 2008); Ethel Sara Wolper, *Cities and Saints : Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003); and Zeynep Yürekli [Görkay], *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of Bektashi Shrines in the Classical Age* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012). Bayram's chapter titled "Sufi saint as city founder" is particularly informative with respect to our current discussion.

The *waqfiya* (endowment charter) of Khwāfī exhibits all of these elements of the formation of a large Sufi complex, which includes an impressive list of structures:[38] one *khānqāh*, two *ribāṭ*s, a congregation house (*bayt al-jamaā$^{c}$a*), a library (*bayt al-kutub*), meditation cells, and a *madrasa*, among others . These structures were located at various sites near Herat, such as at Burābad, Bākharz, and the village of Darwīshābad, which seems to have been the centerpiece of Khwāfī's foundation and included water fountains, irrigation canals, farms, vineyards, and mills. The income, from the land and from the use of the mills, which must have been substantial, was assigned for the resident dervishes, guests, and Sufis without means.[39] The remarkable agricultural nature of endowed properties was quite typical of the economy of the city of Herat, an oasis in a dry region devoid of substantial, long-distance trade income, unlike Isfahan, Cairo, or Bursa.[40] The climate of the city necessitated diligent human effort to irrigate plantations and, especially under the Tīmūrids, the economic growth of the city relied on ongoing agricultural construction projects, including the digging of canals to form an irrigation network around the Herat River (*Har-i Rūd*).[41]

The wording of the text of the endowment charter is not clear, and the whole document de-

38. The *waqfiya* was published in Iran by Maḥmūd Yazdī Muṭlaq. Despite several attempts, I was not able to access the original manuscript housed in the Ganjbaksh Library in Islamabad. As Subtelny pointed out, Mutlaq's article does not discuss the manuscript, hence the difficulty in getting a clear view of the development of the *zāwiya*. Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition*, 235–36 and Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī."

39. Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xxvii.

40. Allen, *Timurid Herat*, 37.

41. The broad topography of the city was amenable to the construction of canals that led the Har-i Rūd's water far. Under the Kartids and especially the Tīmūrids, irrigation was so closely tied to economic development that the location of these canals dictated the settlement around Herat. (Allen, *Timurid Herat*, 11–12.) The north of the intramural Herat along the Khiyābān road, particularly, became the subject of royal and elite architectural patronage and witnessed significant urban growth as a result, becoming the most vibrant part of the city, see, on this, Allen, *Timurid Herat*, 33. Khwāfī's grave "[j]ust northwest of the Pol-e [illegible]ūi-ye Nou and south of the $^{c}$Īdgāh" was also adjacent to this region, attracting scholarly and elite burials later, including those of Sa$^{c}$d al-Dīn Kāshghārī, Bahā$^{\supset}$ al-Dīn $^{c}$Umar Jagharā$^{\supset}$i, $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, and the patron of Khwāfī's mausoleum Ghiyath al-Dīn Pir Aḥmad Khwāfī. (Allen, *Timurid Herat*, 16, 20, 23, 33.) The scholar Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Jājarmī (d. 1459-60), a mudarris at Shāhrukh's madrasa and a teach of Jāmī's, was buried in Khwāfī's mausoleum. Manz, *Power*, 217.

serves an individual treatment; however, it seems that Khwāfī's web of *khānqāh*s surrounding Herat evolved over time between the original endowment of the *waqf* in 812/1409-10 and the drawing up of the text in 830/1427-8. One unequivocal message found in primary as well as secondary sources is that Khwāfī did not rely on patronage for his activities. He was never a courtier and there is no record of his seeking favors, for himself or else, from a patron. Unfortunately, we do not know whether he was a person of considerable means or simply relied on the revenues generated by his *waqf*'s properties for himself and his family. Unlike the unambiguous image of his contemporary ᶜUbayd Allah Aḥrār as someone who oversaw large plantations and possessed remarkable wealth, or scholars like Fanārī or Ibn al-Jazarī who were engaged in trade and whose wealth incited jealousy and intrigue, or the famous Ibn Ḥajar who was born into significant wealth, Khwāfī, judging by what we know about him, seems to have been devoid of such fortunes. This raises the question of how he was able to establish a major endowment consisting of a number of convents and other related structures. Although Khwāfī's endowment charter identifies his father-in-law as *Malik Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Salūmadī*, we do not know if he inherited any substantial income through his marriage.[42] It is very difficult to establish whether he sought courtly patronage for his mission, but there is evidence in contemporary sources that he was shown favors by Shahrūkh and his court, during and after his life.[43]

The apparent evolution of Khwāfī's Sufi complex from a single convent into a large agricultural settlement with income-producing property attests to the considerable means he commanded, which is hardly surprising given his status among the Sufis of Herat, particularly under Shāhrukh.[44]

42. Salūmad is a village in the district of Khwāf. It was called in earlier sources as *Salūma*, and today is called Salūmī. See Kitab Tarikh Nishabur. Ali Ashraf Sadiqi.

43. Ubayd Allah's comment on his receiving significant financial support from Shāhrukh's court, notwithstanding the tones of enmity, should not be disregarded. However, it is still impossible to paint him as a courtier or dependent on the court.

44. Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xxvii; Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī"; Subtelny and Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning." Historical sources from the period make it clear that he had enormous prestige and was considered a leading shaykh in the city. Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition*, 79; Paul, "The Rise of the Khwajagan-Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order

We know that Khwāfī would occasionally receive gifts from Shāhrukh's court, some of which was used for the maintenance of his convent.[45]

He claimed disciples and devotees from among the high-ranking scholarly and civilian elite, from the *ḥadīth* scholar Jalāl al-Dīn Qāyinī (d. 838/1435) to the vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr Aḥmad Khwāfī, one of the most prominent viziers under Shāhrukh, who built a large shrine (*ᶜimāra*) over Zayn al-Dīn's grave.[46] B. Manz suggests that Khwāfī and the vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn may be related, which, if true, can be taken to imply that Khwāfī belonged to a well-off family; however, as with the foregoing, it is difficult to tell if this contributed to Khwāfī's endowment.[47]

Khwāfī's influence rested in part on his personal charisma as well as his adeptness at attracting and training disciples in Sufism. As a representative of the Suhrawardi tradition, Khwāfī followed a path that was a collection of ideals and practices formed around the primacy of Sufi discipline and *khānqāh* life. As was the case with his predecessors in this school like Abū al-Najīb ᶜAbd al-Qādir Suhrawardī (d. 163/1168) and Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥafṣ ᶜUmar Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), his intellectual activity, such as his writing, was an extension of his preoccupation with training

in Timurid Herat," 73.

45. Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," 186.

46. Qāyinī was a scholar from Quhistan instrumental in Shāhrukh's policies of sunnī-sharᶜī enforcement. His *ijāza* is provided in Subtelny and Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 219–20; see also Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition*, 80.Qāyinī is credited as having founded two madrasas in and around Herat. Allen, *Timurid Herat*, 19. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr Aḥmad Khwāfī built a tomb for Tāyabādī as well; see Golombek, "Ḡīāṯ al-Dīn Šīrāzī"; Manz, *Power*, 206. Ghiyāth al-Dīn belonged to a prominent family of Khwāf noted for the number of bureaucrats and court officials it produced. For a brief cadastral description of his grave and its surrounding area, see Fāḍil Harawī, *Risālah-i tarīq-i qismat-i āb-i qalb va mard juyī va arāẓī bulūkāt va vilāyāt kih mutaẓammin-i jughrāfiyā-yi Hirāt ast*, 56. On a related note, however, one should mention that Tāyabādī and Khwāfī are commonly confused both in the primary and secondary literature. As mentioned above, Ibn Arabshah confused them by erroneously identifying Tīmūr's visit with Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī, rather than Tāyabādī. Bekir Köle, following another Turkish author, attributed Tāyabādī's letters to Tīmūr to Khwāfī. Mayil Harawi, modern historian of Herat, also pointed out the confusion among scholars on this issue, see Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xliii, footnote 4.

47. Manz, *Power*, 100.

novices.[48] It is not surprising, therefore, that Khwāfī's "door" in Herat actually consisted of many convents and structures designed for religious inculcation, housing many students from remote parts of Islamdom—more on which we will see below. Among his peers and the subsequent generation, he was known for his pedagogic prowess, more so than for scholarly output.[49]

Considered in terms of Tīmūrid and medieval Islamic land administration, it is highly probable that the estates making up Khwāfī's endowment were originally crown land or *mulk* belonging to the ruling elite acquired by Khwāfī through the *waqf* mechanism as favors in the form of land grants.[50] A tangential question that needs to be addressed is why Khwāfī chose to remain outside of Herat, despite the great fame he enjoyed and the loyal support of the Shāhrukhid elite. He certainly did not absent himself from the city totally, for, as we know from contemporary sources, he visited the city not infrequently, in addition to his occasional visitations to shrines around Herat.[51] To give an example, when he wanted to support his disciple Aḥmad Samarqandī, whom he had installed as preacher at the Friday mosque of the city, he stayed there for a few weeks and attended the latter's sermons, during which the pious of the city flocked to the mosque.[52]

48. Ohlander, *$^{c}$Umar al-Suhrawardī*; Suhrawardī, *A Sufi rule*. On Abū al-Najīb's Sufism, also see Ian Richard Netton, ""The Breath of Felicity:" *Adab, Aḥwāl, Maqāmāt* and Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī," in *The Heritage of Sufism*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (Oxford ; Boston, MA: Oneworld, 1999).

49. A disciple of Khwāja $^{c}$Ubayd Allah Aḥrār suggested it was time they adopted Khwāfī's methods of keeping disciples alert during meditation. See Ökten, "Jāmī," 83.

50. Allen, *Timurid Herat*, 34, 41. As with other Muslim societies in the period, the religious notables under the Tīmūrids represented the interest of the local population at the same time embodying the more universal traditions of Islam. On the one hand, they provided the ruler with religious and legal cadres including judges, professors, market inspectors (*muḥtasib*), and secretaries. On the other hand, their endorsement conferred legitimacy to the dynasty in Islamic terms. In the case of Herat, the mutually beneficial relationship and the cooperation between the $^{c}$ulamā$^{\supset}$ and the elite in the distribution of land income resulted in the building of religious structures far more than the needs of the $^{c}$ulamā$^{\supset}$ and the shaykhs. Allen, *Timurid Herat*, 38–40. Allen argues that the religious foundations were granted tax exemption in Tīmūrid Herat through the *waqf* system, and not through *soyurghals*, in which the *ṣadr* collecting the tax from the endowed property remitted the funds to the institution. See Allen, *Timurid Herat*, 42–43.

51. Manz, *Power*, 189.

52. "Qarīb-i haftah wa dah rūz dar shahr tawaqquf mīnumūdand wa ba-majlis-i way ḥāḍir mīshodand wa ahl-i shahr ba-wa$^{c}$ẓ-i way targhīb mīfarmūdand wa dar jam$^{c}$iyyat-i majlis-i way

From a theoretical point of view, Khwāfī's avoidance of Herat was based primarily on his nuanced understanding of the principles of *khalwa* (retreat from society) and *tark* (abandoning worldly attachments), namely, eschewing society and the world.[53] While it had been common for Sufis to avoid the sedentary life and its entanglements, based on the above two principles, individual shaykhs over the course of history implemented these ideas in various ways across a broad spectrum, which on one extreme culminated in absolute isolation from society. Khwāfī's idea of isolation from the elite, as well as from the common people, was based on the Suhrawardī doctrine of an independent but enterprising engagement with the society. Briefly put, this involved a commmunity-minded view of Sufism, which was in principle distrustful of this-worldly engagements, although it respected the perception that Sufis, as the elite of the men of religion, had a responsibility to perform the Islamic duty of commanding the right and forbidding the wrong (*al-amr bi al-ma^c^rūf*).

As we will see below, this was a prominent point of disagreement between him and the Naqshbandī Sufis, who categorically rejected both principles and advocated *khalwat dar anjuman*, a perpetual state of spiritual concentration that enabled the Sufi to occupy oneself with his daily dealings without sacrificing the proximity to God.[54] Khwāfī's opposite doctrine of withdrawal, summarized as "isolation is the rule," may be understood in terms of how some of the *^c^ulama^ɔ^* of the time avoided Herat and even forbade their students to visit the city. The traditional groups seem to have associated the Tīmūrid capital with the profligate and immoral ways of the court and the elite around it.[55]

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ihtimām-i balīgh dāshtand wa mardum rā amr mī kardand ki bar-dast-i way bī^c^at konīd." Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ^c^Ayn al-Ḥayāt*, i/179.

53. Some important sources in this regard are Abū al-Najīb Suhrawardī's *Kitāb Adāb al-Murīdīn*, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Hafs Suhrawardi's *^c^Awārif al-Ma^c^ārif*, and Khwāfī's *Manhaj al-Rashād* and *al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya*. On this, also see the previously mentioned works of Köle and Ohlander.

54. The maxims of *Tark-i tark* and *khalwat dar anjuman* have been part of the core Naqshbandi rules since Ghujduwani or at least Baha al-Dīn. See Hamid Algar's article on Naqshbandiyya.

55. Despite Shāhrukh's reported personal piety and occasional public demonstrations of attention to *sharī^c^a*, such as enforcing *shar^c^ī* prohibitions on debauchery, the Turco-Mongol elite of the court did apparently enjoy a culture of intense drinking. Manz, *Power*, 212. This situation was not endemic to Herat and could be understood as characterizing major cities the ruling elite inhabited in the post-Mongol period. This was interpreted, in the case of the Ottoman Empire, as a mixture of

Consequently, the meticulous *sharīʿa*-follower Khwāfī also maintained a guarded relationship with the life of the city, which he would visit perhaps only in his capacity as a guide (*murshid*).

## 4.5 Shāhrukh's religious policies

Almost all modern scholars agree that Khwāfī was one of the most powerful shaykhs of Herat under Shārukh. Moreover, there is a reliable historical basis for recognizing the mutual respect and occasional meetings between the two.[56] To further evaluate Khwāfī as a prominent figure in the religious life of Herat, it is necessary to digress from the examination of Khwāfī to contemplate the political background of religion and piety. Fortunately enough, there are several useful studies dealing with the issue of religion and learning in Tīmūrid Iran, particulary under Shāhrukh, and on the capital and the role of the political elite, and these constitute the basis of my analysis in this section.[57]

Specialists of Tīmūrid Iran generally describe Shāhrukh's attitude towards religiosity as similar to that of Tīmūr as regards the patronization of Sufis and religious scholarship, and therefore, as a continuation of it in some ways.[58] The remarkable difference, it seems, was that Shāhrukh's policy

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Turco-Mongolian and Persianate cultures of rulership by Inalcik. See Halil İnalcık, "Klasik edebiyat menşei: İrani gelenek, saray işret meclisleri ve musahib şairler," in *Türk Edebiyati Tarihi*, ed. Talat Sait Halman (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2006), 221–83. Ismail Aka in his work on the Tīmūrid history under Shāhrukh notes how some "ulama" prohibited their students from visiting the city. Aka, *Mirza Şahruh ve Zamanı : 1405–1447*, 210. It may be said that this may have been a reason for Shāhrukh to reinforce the religious function of urban *iḥtisāb* by appointing a scholar to it. Subtelny and Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 212. Turco-Mongol rulers' interest in mysticism and magic as well as their syncretistic tendencies have been highlighted in studies dealing with Mongols and Islam, see, for example, Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "Ghazan, Islam and Mongol Tradition: A View from the Mamlūk Sultanate," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 59, no. 1 (1996): 9 and Melville, "Pādshāh-i Islām," 168–69. On "ḥisba," see Cl Cahen et al., "Ḥisba," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

56. Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xxxvii.

57. See the following works: Manz, *Power*; Aka, *Mirza Şahruh ve Zamanı : 1405–1447*; Subtelny and Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning"; Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition*; and other Subtelny papers.

58. Manz's review of Shāhrukh's policies on religiosity concludes that continuity between the periods of Tīmūr and Shāhrukh was remarkable, yet each differed in their style of patronage. For

placed a clear emphasis on bolstering the Sunni-*shar$^{c}$ī* dogma and praxis against the background of the already widespread esoteric, messianic and shi'itizing currents.[59] Early on in his rule in 1411, he abandoned the Turco-Mongol *yasa* in favor of the *sharī$^{c}$a* and implemented a stric urban *iḥtisāb* to prohibit wine drinking and to shut down taverns.[60] Perhaps on a more intellectual level, an

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example, unlike his father who used to take scholars and Sufis with him on his campaigns and often had men of religion in his majlis, Shāhrukh never showed exclusive favors to a particular scholar or Sufi. In general, Shāhrukh showed respect to those members of $^{c}$ulamāʾ and their descendants who were elevated by Tīmūr. Manz, *Power*, 219, 243. On a personal level, Shāhrukh strove to show himself as a paragon of piety and adherence to sharī$^{c}$a. Manz, *Power*, 222.

59. Manz, *Power*, 28, It is difficult to describe the conditions in the rise of these currents. The post-Mongol political and cultural conditions certainly created an intellectual ferment that encouraged theological experimentations and blurred the boundaries of the dogma. These intellectual currents, with inspirations from hermetic, Alid and esoteric knowledges, found fertile home in the mystical discourse. A common revolutionary and messianic tendency may have been related to the perceived social and economic injustices under Turco-Mongol rulers, while apocalyptical themes certainly had to do with the end of the first millenium A.H. For a concise description of these conditions under the Tīmūrids, see Subtelny and Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 211. The main reason Ibn ʿArabi's theosophy caused concern among traditional piety was that it created a new rhetoric using Quranic and Sufi vocabulary that was not only supra-dogmatic but also potentially subversive for the traditional worldview of Sunni Islam. In the words of William Chittick, "[f]rom the standpoint of the in-betweenness that he highlights, Ibn ʿArabi's grand contribution to Islamic learning was to loosen and unhinge all the fixed points of reference to which [jurists and theologians] attach themselves in their beliefs and opinions." William C. Chittick, *Ibn $^{c}$Arabi: Heir to the Prophets* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005), 111–12.

60. While Shāhrukh's appointing of, Qāyinī, an esteemed member of $^{c}$ulamāʾ and a follower of Khwāfī—on whom see below—as the *muḥtasib* of Herat indicates how seriously he took the matter, as Manz argued, the success of the attempt cannot be known in the absence of detailed sources on everyday life in the city. Manz, *Power*, 210–11. Focusing on the immediate and observable outcome of Shāhrukh's policies, which also included the implementation of the offices of the *ṣadr* and the *shaykh al-islām*, Manz sees these as a clear indication that Shāhrukh wanted to have a more direct control over men of religion in his lands. Manz, *Power*, 214. Note also that Shāhrukh resorted to similar policies later in his reign to stem the increasing disorderliness in his administration, see Manz, *Power*, 48. Although these actions involved legitimation and public image purposes, from our perspective they amounted to a consistent policy of *shar$^{c}$ī-sunnism* that help explain other developments. The "Great *Yasa*" of Chinggis Khan as a code has been the subject of numerous studies recently, for an assessment, see Morgan, "Revisited." Contemporary sources from the period, including Ibn $^{c}$Arabshah, attest to the survival of Mongol *yasa* and *yarghu* under Tīmūr, which seems to have been abandoned by Shāhrukh. For an examination of the conflict between *yasa* and *sharī$^{c}$a*, see Denise Aigle, *The Mongol Empire Between Myth and Reality: Studies in Anthropological History* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 134–56. Also on the same issue see this brief note: Beatrice Forbes Manz,

emphasis on Sunni theological learning and a clear preference for the most *sharī$^{c}$a*-minded Sufis, along with the ostracizing of discordant Sufis under Shāhrukh, suggest a deliberate policy that some modern scholars have termed "Sunnī revival."[61]

Shāhrukh lent an unequivocal support to Sunni institutions of learning and piety in his domains. In a climate reminiscent of the emergence of the *madrasa-khānqāh*s under the first Circassian Mamlūks, he established an institution to bring together students of Sufism and *fiqh* in 1411, around the same time he began implementing the *iḥtisāb* functions.[62] The person he appointed

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"The Rule of the Infidels: The Mongols and the Islamic World," in *The New Cambridge History of Islam Vol. 3 - The Eastern Islamic World: Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. David O. Morgan and Anthony Reid (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 160. Reviewing reports on the prevalence of Mongol and pre-Islamic customs in Tīmūr's court and army, Barthold notes that Chaghatays were seen as heathen by the people of Khwarazm. In the year 1372, Husayn Sofi, the ruler of Khwarazm told Tīmūr's envoy that they considered Tīmūr's territories as *dār al-ḥarb*. Barthold, *Ulu□ Bey*, 27.

61. See, especially, Subtelny and Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 210–14. Manz writes that this renewed interest in sharī$^{c}$a-oriented policies under Shāhrukh, alongside the courtly commissioning of history writing, was firmly tied to Shāhrukh's legitimation needs, and is reminiscent of the Ilkhan Ghazan's conversion to Islam and his interest in Mongol historiography, as well as his use of the title *Pādshāh-i Islām*. Manz, *Power*, 28, 209. Also common between the two rulers was their insistence to provide a cover to Ka$^{c}$ba. On Ghazan's ambitious but failed quest to supply a veil (*sitr*) for this holiest shrine of Islam, see Aigle, *The Mongol Empire*, 284. It should be remembered, however, that while Ghazan reportedly remained loyal to the *yasa* even after his conversion, Shahrukh's rejection of "old pagan laws" seems to have been unequivocal. Morgan, "Revisited," 305. For an analysis of the circumstances of Ghazan Khān's conversion to Islam, see Melville, "Pādshāh-i Islām," where the author argues that the conversion was motivated in great part by political exigencies. Melville in this article highlights messianic undertones of the way the conversion developed and suggested that the title *Pādshāh-i Islām* may have been intended as a reminder of the Abbasid revolution and caliphate, see Melville, "Pādshāh-i Islām," 160, 164. The apparent Sufi-inspired rituals Melville discussed is an echo of the general predilection of the Mongol elite towards the mystical and magic. See, for example, Peter Jackson, "The Mongols and the Faith of the Conquered," in *Mongols, Turks, and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 275–77, 278, where the author argues mystical and magical skills may have been primarily responsible in influencing Mongol conversions or interest in other religions. Finally, on religious and political consequences of Ghazan Khān's conversion, see Amitai-Preiss's recent study disputing the former's common image as a pious convert. Amitai-Preiss, "Ghazan," 9–10.

62. On the *madrasa-khānqāh* of Shāhrukh, see Subtelny and Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 213–14. Subtelyn and Khalidov interpret the foundation of the madrasa along with the books studied by students in Herat as indicative of a shift from a philosophical and

to this extremely important post was the religious scholar Jalāl al-Dīn Qāyīnī (d. 838/1435), one of Khwāfī's leading students and his daughter's father-in-law.[63] One of the early sources described the appointment in the following words: "Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Qāyinī was one of the deputies (*khulafāʾ*) of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī. He rendered pleasing service and attendance to the shaykh and for a while was the *muḥtasib* (market inspector) of Herat."[64] Four years later, he sent the same Qāyīnī to the predominantly Shi'i Qūhistān, which was his hometown, to spread Sunni Islam there.[65]

Another symbolic feature of Shāhrukh's policy was his patronization of the cult in Herat of

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eclectic approach to Islamic scholarship to one that was more firmly grounded in the tradition. On the development of *madrasa-khānqāh*s in the late-fourteenth century Egypt, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Change in function and form of Mamluk religious institutions," *Annales Islamologiques* 21 (1985) and Leonor E. Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The khanqah* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1988), 33–46. The position of *muḥtasib* is a curious phenomenon that has roots in the Near Eastern traditions of policing the common areas of cities, such as the Byzantine *agoranomos* and the Roman *ae?*, with similarly important Islamic sources in the idea of *ḥisba*, i.e., one group or office's performing of the duty of *al-amr bi al-maᶜrūf wa al-nahy ᶜan al-munkar* in the public. The end result was the supervising and enforcing of the economic, religious and moral standards in markets, streets and other public places. Its evolution in the Ottoman Empire in the post of *iḥtisāb ağası* was merely an auctioned position of urban power and market regulation. The *muḥtasib* appears frequently in the medieval literature, especially in the Persianate world, as the nemesis of the *rind*, the drunkard and libertarian poet or dervish that rebelled against the norms of the state and religion.

63. Subtelny and Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 220. Like Khwāfī, he died during the plague that decimated the population of Herat in 838/1434–35. Note that Khwāfī in his *ijāza* to Qāyinī described him as having distinguished himself from other scholars by not accepting *waẓīfa* and *idrar*. This point is quite curious and deserves separate examination. Later on, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā appointed Qāyinī's son to the same office. Subtelny and Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 219. The relationship between Khwāfī and Qāyinī was more than simple discipleship, for Khwāfī's daughter married to Qāyinī's son. Manz, *Power*, 211. Qāyinī had two *madrasa*s built, one in the Khiyābān neighborhood of Herat. Allen, *Timurid Herat*, 19.

64. Zamchī Isfizārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, i/309.

65. Subtelny and Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 218–20, where the authors also cite a document describing Qāyinī using epithets emphasizing his keenness on the Sunna and the *Sharīᶜa*.

Khwāja $^c$Abd Allāh Anṣārī, who was a paragon of Sunnī-*shar$^c$ī* piety.[66] Granted, it is difficult to tell if Shāhrukh was indeed a devout Muslim himself, or whether he was simply interested in projecting a certain godly image; however, he was preoccupied with religious pursuits as a ruler as demonstrated by his numerous requests from the Mamlūks to allow him to furnish an inner cover for the Ka$^c$ba, which request the Mamlūk Sultan Jaqmaq accepted in 1439 on account of Shāhrukh's personal piety,[67] as well as his patronage of the famous shrines of Khorasan including Imām $^c$Alī al-Riḍā in Mashhad and Anṣārī in Herat. His larger policy ultimately served to support the dominant position of Sunni learning and piety in his lands. In a climate of Sufi diversity on the one hand and the increasingly powerful *Sharī$^c$a*-minded *ṭarīqa*s on the other, it is no surprise that such disturbances against Shāhrukh's socio-political order as the Nūrbakhshī messianic uprising in 826/1423 and the assassination attempt against him in 830/1427, left scholars perplexed as to the motives and agendas of the perpetrators.[68]

66. Subtelny and Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 212–13. Accepting that Shāhrukh's patronization of the Anṣārī shrine "could have been aimed at promoting a conservative religious revival", Manz casts doubt on the idea of "Sunni revival" under Shāhrukh, pointing out that there is little known about the people appointed to the institutions established under Shāhrukh. Manz, *Power*, 219, 221. On the construction projects patronized by Shāhrukh and his elite, see Allen, *Timurid Herat*, 21–22.

67. While some modern historians tend to view this event and Shāhrukh's self-projection as the *Pādshāh-i Islām* as part of a larger quest for dynastic legitimacy, some recent studies favor the view that the *kiswa* episode was more personal on the part of Shāhrukh than political image-making. Malika Dekkiche, "New Source, New Debate: Re-evaluation of the Mamluk-Timurid Struggle for Religious Supremacy in the Hijaz (Paris, BnF MS ar. 4440)," *Mamluk Studies Review* 18 (2014/2015): 247–71. At any rate, it is within reason to assume that Shāhrukh personally was a strict observer of Islamic law at the same time relying on religious policies to reinforce his authority. Manz, *Power*, 209. Also see above on Ghazan Khān's attempt in 1303 to furnish the *sitr* for Ka'ba.

68. Binbaş's detailed examination of the regicide attempt against Shāhrukh is quite incisive. Binbaş, "Regicide Attempt." It seems that the author's insistence on relying exclusively on the analytical framework of the intellectual networks sacrifices a more transparent view, diminishing the interpretive benefits of his discussion. It may be helpful to differentiate between the more philosophical intellectuals and the *sharī$^c$a*-minded Sufis, who had different agendas. For Sufis and scholars of religion, it was commonplace and not necessarily virulent to condemn transgressions against the *Sharī$^c$a*. Ruling elite and secular scholars generally do not seem to have been extremely alarmed by Hurufi-esoteric intellectual activism, as Binbaş shows in the case of Ulugh Beg and Qaḍīzāda-i Rūmī's impartial interest in Ḥurūfī thought (p. 16–21), as in the case of Barqūq's interest in Akhlati's

Shāhrukh pursued a guarded stance towards non-conforming piety, both in its organized form and its manisfestations as an intellectual attitude. It suffices for now to point out such relevant examples as his banishment of Sufis like Qāsim al-Anwār Tabrīzī (d. 837/1433) and Muḥammad Nūrbaksh (d. 869/1464), and his execution of Isḥāq Khuttalānī (d. 827/1424). Khwāfī, on his part, represented a Suhrawardī attitude that cooperated with the government, and established convents to train disciples not only from Herat but from more remote places, including Egypt and Anatolia. While Shāhrukh was occupied with the physical realm, Khwāfī, for his part, was working to serve the "correct" form of spirituality.

### 4.5.1 *Khwāfī's political stance*

As I point out in the course of this study, Khwāfī appears as someone mostly focused on the training of Sufis, and considered any association with the people of the material world a contamination and hindrance on the spiritual path. There are few—though certainly not insignificant—cases in sources of his direct relationship with the political elite. However, he was by no means totally apolitical and aloof from the matters of government. He noted in the *al-Waṣāyā* that it was permissible for Sufis to stay in buildings founded by rulers, and as I will show in the following pages, his *Manhaj* provides a clear testimony of his support for Shāhrukh's activities suppressing *bid*ᶜ*a* (religious innovation) and

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teachings and friendship, and as could also be seen in Mehmed II's interest in the subject several decades later. Neither were they hostile towards Ibn Arabi himself or his ideas. As the guardians of the material world order, i.e., the *mulk*, the political elite of the Nile-to-Oxus region were primarily concerned with the maintenance of the social and economic organization of their respective sultanates. They did not necessarily take action against non-conforming intellectual trends in this post-caliphal period. What is more, it was fairly common for the Turco-Mongol elite of the period to show genuine interest in esoteric and supernatural practices of knowledge such as divination, dream interpretation and magic. The fact that Shāhrukh resorted to "Sunnī revivalist" policies at the beginning of his reign stemmed from the same desire to maintain social order as did his responses to Aḥmad-i Lūr's assassination attempt and the Nūrbakhshī messianic uprising. The groups who opposed the disruptive effects of philosophical pursuits like the *waḥdat-i wujūd* and *ᶜilm al-ḥurūf*, were actually the orthodox scholars and Sufis, who in the void of a spiritual axis that would unite Islamdom, considered themselves to be the guardians of Islamic religion and culture. It was their ubiquitous presence in the same period and increased cooperation with the rulers of the time that estranged intellectuals and Sufis like Qasim Anwar and Sain al-Dīn Turka.

*ilḥād* (heresy).

Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār, a prominent figure of fifteenth-century Sufism and a proponent of the idea of active participation in the government, rebuked Khwāfī—and Bahāᵓ al-Dīn ᶜUmar—for not having personally pleaded with Shāhrukh to remedy injustices and promote Islamic law, despite the fact that Khwāfī would occasionally meet the ruler at the dawn prayer at the shrine of Khwāja Abū al-Walīd on Wednesdays.[69] Aḥrār further related that Khwāfī used to accept gifts from Shāhrukh brought to his convent by the tax collector (*tamghachi*).[70] This must have been all the more perplexing to Aḥrār, as the source of this money was the (*tamgha*) tax, which was against Islamic law.[71]

The following memory of Khwāja Aḥrār sheds light on Khwāfī's—and his circle's—view on Shāhrukh and *sharīᶜa*-minded kingship and help us better understand the previous anecdotes:

> Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Qāyinī was giving the sermon on the day of the Eid. Mīrzā Shāhrukh was in the attendance. He narrated a Prophetic tradition that he heard from Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn, who in turn heard it from another holy person, and so forth until the end of the chain of transmission. Its essence was that when people are blessed with the presence of a king who possesses straight conduct (*ū rā istiqāmatī bāshad*) and they do not acknowledge their thanks for this great blessing, an unjust ruler will soon be upon them.[72]

This anecdote can easily be taken as a gloss on Khwāfī's perspective on Shāhrukh and on the duties of a Muslim ruler. Qāyinī, who died in 838/1435 during the same plague as Khwāfī did, was not only a disciple but also a close relative as mentioned above. His firm place in Khwāfī's circle is

69. *Ba-rā-yi dafᶜ-i ẓulm wa tarwīj-i sharīᶜat pīsh-i Mīrzā Shāhrukh na-raftand.* Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," 246.

70. Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," 186.

71. Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 171. Aḥrār himself famously advocated for the removal of the *tamgha* tax.

72. Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," 276–7.

put in the clearest terms in a letter of request for license (*istijāza* or *istid*$^{c}$*ā*) he received from a student in 828/1425, where he was identified as *Zaynī* in ideology (*mashrab*).[73] His prominent status in the administration of Shāhrukh directly reflects upon Khwāfī's significance for the time and the policial context.

In Herat in the first half of the fifteenth century, Khwāfī represented the learned and *sharī*$^{c}$*a*-minded form of *ṭarīqa*, which lent itself to cooperation with the Muslim ruler for the well-being of the community, understood in terms of the *Sunnī-Jamā*$^{c}$*ī* theory of the post-Abbasid era. The military elite under the Tīmūrids, as well as many other governments at the time, were heavily invested, both in spirit and action, in the supernatural and the mystical phenomena and, therefore, strongly patronized teachers like Khwāfī.[74]

The relationship between Khwāfī and Shāhrukh's court becomes most clear in a political encounter between the rulers of Sīstān, a region south of Khorasan, and the Tīmūrids. When the rulers of Sīstān refused to accept Shāhrukh's authority over their land, the latter invaded in 811/1409 their lands laying waste to their fields and infrastructure, causing enormous economic damage to the country.[75] The following year, the rulers of Sīstān approached Khwāfī and asked him to mediate with the Tīmūrids. It is not clear to me why they chose Khwāfī, except for the fact that he was one of the greatest men of religion in Herat at the time. Khwāfī traveled to Sīstān and met with their administrators, advising them to accept Shāhrukh as their suzerains and have his name pronounced

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73. The petition provides the epithets of the scholar as Bukhārī by origin, Harawī by descent, Ḥanafī by *madhhab*, and *Zaynī* by *mashrab*. See Subtelny and Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 215–21.

74. Allen, *Timurid Herat*, 45. Allen adds that creating an economic activity in and of itself, this type of architectural patronage through waqf was motivated by tax exemption. The building of religious waqf was where the interests of the Turkish military elite and the religious elite coincided. Also see the following brief but lucid discussion of how shrines and graveyards became mediums of communication with the unseen and sources of spiritual healing in both urban and rural communities in the Persianate world: Manz, *Power*, 182–85. The same phenomenon in the context of Anatolia is brought up by various scholars. See, especially, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Alevî ve Bektaşî İnançlarının İslâm Öncesi Temelleri* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2000).

75. This episode is narrated in detail in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*, 334–36. The lands of Sīstān and Māzandarān were given by Tīmūr to Shāhrukh in 1397. Barthold, *Ulu⊠ Bey*, 32.

in the Friday sermons (*khuṭba*). Then the Sīstānid rulers, and Khwāfī alongside, came to Shāhrukh to pledge their loyalty and to promise they would never rebel against his authority.[76]

Khwāfī's active involvement in brokering peace between Shāhrukh and a local ruler, at the same time affirming the Sovereing's supreme status in Islamic terms, was not uncommon in the history of *Sharīᶜa*-minded Sufism and certainly was reminiscent of similar activities on the part of some previous shaykhs of the Suhrawardī and Kubrawī traditions. Yet, there is no similar record I know of situating a Sufi as a peace-maker at the highest echelon of government in the period. Sources I have been able to review did not indicate the reason the Sīstānid court chose Khwāfī and he was known for his utter rejection of mingling with the "sons of the world," one of the major difference between him and Khwāja Aḥrār as the latter pointed out.[77] The reason, therefore, must be sought in terms of his exceptional status in Herat at the time and his proximity to Shāhrukh.

## 4.6 Contemporary memory of Khwāfī

The *Nafaḥāt*'s account of Khwāfī begins with a description of the shaykh by Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 822/1420), in effect as an epigraph.[78] Pārsā's testimony on Khwāfī is significant for a number of reasons. The first has to do with the historical timeline of events in Khwāfī's life. It is difficult to

76. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*, iii/334–36; Zamchī Isfizārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, i/329; Faṣīḥ-i Khwāfī, *Mujmal*, iii/1048, 1062; Īraj Afshār Sīstānī, *Buzurgān-i Sīstān* (Tihrān: Nashr-i Murgh-i Āmīn, 1988), 44. Note that the author of the *Mujmal* seems to have confused the dates of the events.

77. Khwāfī advised his disciples to avoid associating with the people who did not shun the world.Khwāfī, *Waṣāyā FE 1241*, 44b–45a. Khwāja Aḥrār's attitude was to the contrary, as he encouraged his followers to participate in government. See Paul, "The Rise of the Khwajagan-Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order in Timurid Herat," 83–4.

78. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 493. Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā was one of the prominent Sufis of Central Asia at the time, designated as successor by the eponymous founder, Bahā al-Dīn Muḥammad Naqshband (d. 1389/791), although the dominant line of the Naqshbandī silsila followed another disciple of the latter, ᶜAlā al-Dīn Āṭṭār (d. 1400/802). On Pārsā, see Hamid Algar, "Muhammed Pârsâ," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*; Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 397–99; Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, 1/111. For Bahā al-Dīn Naqshband, see Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 389–94. For Khwāja ᶜAlā al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār, see Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 394–96. A useful summary of the historical development of the Naqshbandī tradition is found in Algar, "The Naqshbandī Order: A Preliminary Survey of Its History and Significance."

understand the precise nature of their relationship, and personal acquaintance, if any. Pārsā spent most of his life in Transoxania, especially in Bukhara, in the circles of Sufis and the learned around the personalities of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naqshband until the latter's death in 791/1389, and afterwards around ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār until the latter's death in 802/1400. He seems to have spend the later years of his life in the same city where he had a *khānqāh* and a vast library.

In the last years of Tīmūr's reign, Pārsā had cordial relations with Shāhrukh Mīrzā, then governor of Khorasān, which apparently provoked the ire of Khalīl Mīrzā, the Tīmūrid ruler of Transoxania. According to a story narrated in the *Rashahāt*, Pārsā is reported to have engaged in a scholarly debate with the famous religious scholar Muḥammad Ibn al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429) in the court of Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449), though this is impossible to reconcile with the latter's tenure in Samarqand and the former's departure from Transoxania before 1406.[79] Regardless, there is ample evidence to believe that Pārsā was a scholastically oriented Sufi with a formidable reputation in the courts of the Tīmūrid princes. Given the fact that he was a direct contemporary of Khwāfī, his 8 years junior, who did not seem to have come under Naqshbandī influence, and who shared numerous contacts within the intellectual networks of Central Asia and Iran, the strong possibility of a personal and non-confessional acquaintance needs to be borne in mind. Whatever the case may be, Pārsā knew Khwāfī well enough to combine aspects of the latter's intellectual personality in this address:

> The possessor of the profitable learning (*al-ʿilm al-nāfiʿ*) and the exalting practice; the refuge of people; the remedy of hearts; the choicest of scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*) and gnostics (*ʿurafāʾ*); the uplifter of the standards of the Prophet's practice (*Sunna*); the sup-

79. Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ʿAyn al-Ḥayāt*, 1:106–108. Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Khayr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Jazarī was one of the notable scholars of the period who lived a long life and was active in various parts of Islamdom including Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, Iran and Transoxania, in addition to five pilgrimages he performed. See v Tayyar Altıkulaç, "İbnü'l-Cezerî," in *Encyclo İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. Hamid Algar's entry in the Turkish "İslâm Ansiklopedisi" accepts the scholarly disputation between the two as a fact. Cf. Algar, "Muhammed Pârsâ." Manz's work on religion under the Tīmūrids mentions the event a few times and seems to accept it to offer a very confusing chronology. Manz, *Power*, 216. He was also one of the intellectuals from whom Khwāfī received license according to Sakhāwī. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, ix/229. See below for more on Ibn al-Jazarī and Khwāfī.

presser of the errors of innovation (*bid<sup>c</sup>a*); the pursuer of the paths of truth (*ḥaqīqa*); the traveler of the ways of the law (*Sharī<sup>c</sup>a*); the caller upon God via the road of certainty (*yaqīn*)...[80]

While it is true that the *alqāb* used in correspondence served sometimes to appease and eulogize the interlocutor, there is reason to believe that the above words amount to more than mere lip service. Immediately following this statement in the *Nafaḥāt* is Jāmī's description of Khwāfī, which reads as a gloss to the preceding lines. A disciple of Naqshbandī masters and himself an adept of the mystical path, Jāmī's evaluation of Khwāfī is all the more important, considering he grew up and spent most of his adult life in the social and cultural milieu of the same city that was home to a lively following of Khwāfī's path.[81] According to him, Khwāfī combined external and internal sciences, and from the beginning until the end was unswerving in the road of *Sharī<sup>c</sup>a* and in the following of the Prophet's *Sunna*, which is considered as the greatest of *karāma* (miraculous feats) by the scrutinizers (*muḥaqqiqān*) of this community (*ṭā<sup>ɔ</sup>ifa*).[82]

The wording and the context of this comment indicates that Jāmī was counting himself among the scrutinizers of the Sufis. The terms *muḥaqqiq* or *ahl-i taḥqīq* Sufi were used by scholarly and mystically oriented luminaries of the time to distinguish themselves from ordinary men of the path and their mundane trappings in the convent.[83]

One of the most famous Sufis of the time, Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, wrote in his *Silsilat*

80. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 493.

81. Jāmī was in his teens when Khwāfī was most active in Herat and there is no indication in sources regarding a meeting between the two. He may have come under Naqshbandī influence early in his life, though, since according to a tradition, the five year old Jāmī was taken by his father to Herat to see Muḥammad Pārsā on the latter's way to pilgrimage. See Algar, "Jāmī and Sufism." Losensky raises the possibility that this image of Jāmī may have been invented posthumously by his hagiographer Bakharzī, see Paul Losensky, "Jāmi: Life and Works," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*. A study of Jāmī's early education in Herat is found in Ökten, "Jāmī," 53–64, which argues that the scholar should have remained in the city in the period between 1419 and mid-1430s.

82. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 493.

83. From <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān Bisṭāmī to <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Laṭīf Maqdisī, authors of the time who had a stake in Sufism tried to show themselves among this most elite stratum of the mystics of Islam.

*al-Awliyā᾽* ("The Chain of God's Friends"), that he met Khwāfī and knew him as knowledgeable in Islamic sciences and the ethics of Sufism. Nūrbakhsh spent his early youth in Herat studying under various teachers, before he was recruited by a disciple of Khuttalānī and left for Khuttalān. While it is impossible to know for certain, their acquaintance must have taken place in the early decades of the fifteenth century. Nūrbakhsh's impression of Khwāfī is quite close to, for example, that of Jāmī, who famously excluded the former from his dictionary of Sufis:

> I met him, [he was] learned in external sciences and wise in manners of the path, treading the path, ascetic, with spiritual unveilings, observing, content, famous among the friends of God and spiritual trainers, zealous about protecting the *sharī$^{c}$a* and the commanding of the good (*amr bi al-ma$^{c}$rūf*).[84]

Mu$^{c}$īn al-Dīn Muḥammad Zamchī Isfizārī (d. after 899/1494), contemporary historian and geographer of Herat writing at the end of the century, likewise praised Khwāfī's erudition in "external and internal sciences," an obvious reference to scholastic religious education and spiritual illumination, adding that the loud voice of his guidance had reached all corners of the world and that he had 3,000 *madrasa* students among his disciples.[85] The mention of Khwāfī's broad appeal for the learned, not only from Khorasan but from around the world, might have been a summary of the author's impression half a century after the passing of the shaykh. Considering that Khwāfī actually recruited a large following from among the learned and notables of Khorasan and from other parts of Islamdom, as we shall see soon, this report, save for its figurative language, is certainly not exceptional.

The same account further includes an anecdote that accentuates Khwāfī's oft-mentioned steadfastness in *Sharī$^{c}$a* matters. It is narrated, wrote Zamchī Isfizārī, that one of the eminent men of

84. Nūrbaksh quoted by the editor in Karbalā$^{c}$ī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, ii/553.

85. Zamchī Isfizārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, 1/207. Zamchī Isfizārī came to Herat as a student in 873 (1468-69) and remained there for a few decades. Details about his life are scanty, on him see Yazıcı, "Muînüddîni İsfizârî." Subtelny's article on him accepts 915 (1509-10) as his death date, based on the report of a nineteenth-century source: Subtelny, "Esfezārī, Mo$^{c}$īn-al-Dīn Moḥammad Zamčī." Yazıcı notes that he finds this date suspicous.

religion saw the Prophet in a dream, with Khwāfī seated before him with utmost reverence. Putting his hands on Khwāfī's shoulder, the Prophet said: "This is a person that has never abandoned a single *Sunna* of mine." All the virtues highlighted in these and other contemporary treatments concur on the profile of Khwāfī as a *Sharīᶜa* and *Sunna*-abiding Sufi, guarded against transgressions, learned in Islamic sciences, and exercising a charismatic influence over broad segments of society.

## 4.7 Overview

Because contemporary records of Khwāfī's life skipped the sedentary and routine periods in favor of irregular and active moments, we know little else of his activities in Herat beyond what has been discussed above. To summarize what has been said: at the beginning of his career, Khwāfī is depicted as given to solitary spiritual exercises and instruction at various mosques and shrines around Herat.[86] Soon enough, it appears, Shāhrūkh and his court became his devotees as his reputation grew.[87] His unequivocal standing on *Sharīᶜa* matters and their intersection with the sultanic authority, especially in the way formulated under the rule of Shāhrukh, the "universal guardian of Islam," caused him to be seen as a supporter of the Tīmūrid policies on religion. Khwāfī's teachings were not groundbreaking by any means; he clung to a a traditional view Sufism influenced as much by the Suhrawardī view as by the local customs of *khānqāh* Sufism. His practice and theory stood in contrast to such "liberal" and innovative Sufis as Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbaksh and Amīr Qāsim Tabrizī. Even more telling, his practices of training dervishes and in-convent devotion were markedly old fashioned compared to the "divergent" and more synthetic formulations of Naqsh-

86. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, 4/13.

87. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, 4/13. Some historians of the period remarked that Tīmūr was fond of the shaykh, but this must be due to a confusion with Tāyabādī. To this anecdote, Ibn ᶜArabshāh devotes a section titled "Dhikr ijtimā dhālika al-jāfī bi-al-shaykh Zayn al-dīn al-Khwāfī": Ibn ᶜArabshāh, *ᶜAjāᵓib al-Maqdūr*, 70–71. Cf. Köle, *Hâfî*, 21–2, where the author seems both to question this and accept it at the same time.

bandī Sufism at the time.[88]

It may very well be that this adherence to the pillars of traditional piety helped Khwāfī gain recognition and respect, especially in the Shāhrukhid Herat, as opposed to the "free-thinkers" and experimenters who were also vying for recognition in the social and political planes. In addition to all of this, one must not forget Khwāfī's charismatic personality and intellectual standing, which were the main draw for the commoners and the learned alike. As a shaykh, he was known as a master trainer of disciples, possessing the knowledge both of the religious sciences and the mystical quest.

Above all, Khwāfī was noted for his prowess and interest in dream interpretation. While he was not a prolific writer by any means, his work on dream interpretation was among his mostly copied texts, as I will discuss below. Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Charkhī once asked his foremost student <sup>c</sup>Ubayd Allah Aḥrār, who we know visited Khwāfī often when they were both in Herat in the third decade of the century, about whether or not Khwāfī was given to interpreting dreams, including those of his disciples. When Aḥrār responded affirmatively, Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb Charkhī fell silent for some time, as was his wont, and when he awakened, he uttered an allusive line from the *Dīwān-i Shams*, rejecting Khwāfī's interest in the subconscious.[89]

As has been mentioned often in the recent scholarship on Tīmūrid religiosity, tapping the knowledge of the unseen and acting as a conduit between the world of witnessing and the world of mysteries was one of the most sought-after skills in the Tīmūrid world. Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī, a near-contemporary mystic similarly talented in dream interpretation, was able, several decades ago, to establish a lasting legacy of discordant piety, owing to the charisma arising from his claim to the

88. I will discuss the relationship between Naqshbandīs and the circle around Khwāfī later. This question was studied in brief in Okten's dissertation on Jāmī. "Divergent", Manz, 229, also see the footnote to Paul, Doctrine and organization.

89. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 404. Charkhī said the following line: *Chu ghulām-i āftābam heme z-āftāb gūyam / Na shabam na shab-parastam ki ḥadīth-i khwāb gūyam.* This is the opening line of *ghazal* no. 1421 in *Dīwān-i Shams*.

unique ability to interpret the symbolic language of visions and prognosticate the future.[90] In Transoxania close to Khwāfī, Isḥāq Khuttalānī was considered an expert in dream interpretation, and, as I discussed above, the two may have been indirectly related through Kubrawī inspirations.

90. Abdulbaki Golpinarli was one of the early scholars of the history of the Ḥurūfī ideology and compiled a list of manuscripts in Turkey dealing with the subject. Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, ed., *Hurûfîlik Metinleri Kataloğu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1973). Shahzad Bashir's brief work on Faḍl Allāh outlined his life and his ideas. Shahzad Bashir, *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005). Fatih Usluer's more recent study is the result of a comprehensive study of Faḍl Allāh's works. Fatih Usluer, *Hurufilik: İlk Elden Kaynaklarla Doğuşundan İtibaren* (Istanbul: Kabalcı, 2009). Both of these studies, alongside similar studies of the religious history of the period, need to be read in the context of the longer cultural history.

# CHAPTER 5

# SECOND EGYPTIAN TRAVELS

## 5.1 Introduction

### 5.1.1 *On Khwāfī's travels and its historical renditions*

Without a doubt, Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī's second travels to the West is of the utmost importance in trying to understand his historical significance. In the previous chapter, I pointed out that Khwāfī had already become one of the foremost Sufis and religious notables of Herat in the second decade of the century. Unlike his first time in central Islamdom, this time Khwāfī was visiting the Mamlūk lands as someone who was well established in his homeland and well-connected in terms of the intellectual and political networks of the Persianate lands, in particular Khorasan, the seat of the Tīmūrids under Shāhrukh.[1] The ways in which his authority and recognition in Herat penetrated the networks of Sufis and scholars in the central lands of Islam, in particular those of Anatolia, where he had never been, constitute my main subject in this chapter. Previous studies of Khwāfī's life also highlight these later travels as formative in terms of the establishment of his transregional network.[2] The pages that follow attempt to asses this in two ways: *i*) by examining the circumstances and significance of his meetings and acquaintances during this travel, which resulted in the dissemination of his mystical praxis; and *ii*) by studying the contemporary narratives for traces of the impressions he made on his peers.

That a majority of the acquaintances Khwāfī made during this trip belonged to the *ᶜulamāʾ* explains the nature of Khwāfī's appeal. Sakhāwī's account, our main source for the Egyptian aspects of

1. The stark difference between these two travels and its meaning is a recurring concern in this chapter. This time around, Khwāfī was in the central lands not for learning and for improving his standing, but as an accomplished teacher to complete the formation of his "hero" status. I will bring up this question below when comparing the travels of Khwāfī with those of Maqdisī and will refer to Joseph Campbell's discussion of the travel of the hero, which I find to be quite illuminating in this respect.

2. Kissling, "Einiges," 151; Köle, *Hâfî*, 35.

this travel, for example, pieces together the personal accounts—mostly written—of several scholars who seem to have met Khwāfī during this visit. These include Sakhāwī's own teacher Ibn Ḥajar, al-Ṭāwuṣī, ᶜAlāᵓ al-Dīn al-Bukhārī, among others, whom I will deal with in the following pages.

The primary sources of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that offer treatments of Khwāfī's life, and thus form my immediate sources for this chapter, provide meager data for establishing an itinerary and chronology for these travels.[3] Only through extensive research on the available material on the secondary and tertiary figures involved can one glean any information of substance that might enable one to establish his trajectory and his network of acquaintances and disciples. Therefore, given the limited information in dedicated treatments of Khwāfī, the wealth of information on these secondary and tertiary participants is not only complementary but also indispensable. In the following pages, I will try to gather together and harmonize the information on Khwāfī's travels I was able to harvest from primary sources on the secondary and tertiary figures associated with Khwāfī's movements. Before that, however, we need to examine the circumstances of his departure from Herat.

### 5.1.2 *Interpreting Khwāfī's motive*

It is difficult to ascertain what may have occasioned Khwāfī's departure from Khorasan. It is common to find a scholar leaving his homeland, or any post he might have held on the ostensible grounds of performing the pilgrimage. For exmaple, Mullā Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza Fanārī (d. 824/1431), a close associate of Khwāfī's whom I will discuss below, used the pilgrimage twice as an

3. Primary sources that offer direct and original biographical treatments of Khwāfī include such Persian sources as Aṣīl al-Dīn Wāᶜiẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*; Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*; Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*; Karbalāᶜī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*; and such historical and biographical works from Mamlūk authors as al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawᵓ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*; Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī, *Durar al-Kāminah*; Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī, *Tabṣīr al-Muntabih bi-Taḥrīr al-Mushtabih*, ed. ᶜAlī Muḥammad al-Bīgāwī and Muḥammad ᶜAlī al-Najjār (Cairo: The Public Egyptian Organization for Authorship, Translation, Printing / Publication, 1964); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt (1382-1469 A.D.); Translation of: al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah*; and finally the sixteenth-century Ottoman works by Lāmiᶜī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns* and Ṭāshkoprīzāda, *al-Shaqāᵓiq*. Later sources are derivative and often not as reliable as these early sources.

excuse to avoid political tumult in the Ottoman capital. Some religious notables used the Pilgrimage as an excuse to absent themselves from duties imposed by unintended patrons: The contemporary Qur'ān scholar Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429), Mullā Fanārī's kin, left the *qāḍī*-ship in Shiraz under Mīrānshāh, ostensibly for Pilgrimage, although he intended not to come back.[4] Examples abound: Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), who left his post in Tunis at a time of political uncertainty, asking for permission to go on the Pilgrimage, moved to Cairo instead. Another contemporary and related figure, Ibn ᶜArabshāh (d. 854/1450), immediately after the death of Tīmūr, fled the Tīmūrid lands, to which he had been forcibly brought.

Clearly, there are not many reasons to think Khwāfī's case is similar. As noted in the previous chapter, modern historian Māyil Harawī speculated that the fact that Khwāfī left his *ijāza* (license) in Baghdad and did not have it with him when he returned to Herat from Egypt caused him enough headaches that he felt obliged to return to Cairo to obtain another copy of his license from Shabarrīsī.[5] This is repeated in a similar manner in Hüseyin Vassâf's treatment of Khwāfī in his work titled *Sefîne-i Evliyâ*.[6] Although Vassâf interprets this issue slightly differently than Harawi, writing that Khwāfī lost the *ijāza* in Baghdad, then returned to Egypt to get another copy, and then returned to his country once finding his shaykh passed away. Here, Vassâf apparently has collapsed the chronology such that all of these events seem to occur before Khwāfī returns to Khorasan. This line of thought clearly stems from the dependence of these two authors on Jāmī, the unique reporter of a related anecdote revealing a miraculous act of the Egyptian master, which goes as follows:

> The *ijāza* that Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān had written remained in Baghdād on the return to Khorāsān. After a long time when return to the land of Egypt came to be, and the shaykh had passed away, I entered his *khalwat-khāna* (retreat room). I found there my own *ijāza* without any change except for a few words, despite the fact

4. Shady H. Nasser, "Ibn al-Jazarī," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Third Edition. Also see the previous chapter on Pārsā and al-Jazarī.

5. Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xxv. This was addressed at the beginning of the previous chapter.

6. Hüseyin Vassaf, *Sefîne-i Evliyâ*, ed. Ali Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2006).

> that the *khalwat-khāna* was not guarded and its door was open. I do not know whether that was an original draft from which my *ijāza* was written, or he himself knew out of the light of *walāya* (sainthood) that I had lost my *ijāza*, and would return there. He wrote it again for me and put it [there]. At any rate, the fact that it stayed a long time in a *khalwa* (retreat) in such conditions was pure *karāma* (spiritual feat).[7]

A careful examination of Harawī's argument and the information available lead one to believe that the above arguments are hardly possible. I tried to show in the previous chapter that Khwāfī's authority and status in Herat from the time he returned at the beginning of the fifteenth century until he left around 821/1419, seem to have been quite strong and that there is scarcely any evidence to argue to the contrary. A comparison of the anecdote above with another one involving his temporarily losing in the same city a cap originally belonging to Shabarrīsī, both of which occur in the *Nafaḥāt* and seem to have been recounted by Khwāfī, is helpful in this regard. In the case of the cap, Khwāfī was so anxious that he had a dream of cap scolding him and urging him to retrieve it from the person he had given it to. In the case of the *ijāza*, however, Khwāfī's testimony does not exhibit a similar sort of nervousness, which may be taken as an indication that this was hardly a concern for him. In all likelihood, Khwāfī's spiritual standing was simply too high for him to be concerned about not possessing the actual copy of his license, as can be recognized by the respect and interest shown in him by the religious and political notables alike.[8]

Sakhawī's note on the cause of Khwāfī's second visit to Egypt is quite interesting—if not absolutely illuminating in the absence of supporting evidence. According to Sakhāwī, Shabarrīsī learned that Khwāfī was attending *samā*$^c$ ceremonies in Khorasan, something Shabarrīsī's normative-minded Sufism could not tolerate:

> [Shabarrīsī] became aware that [Khwāfī] attended *samā*$^c$ (spiritual recollection with music) sessions; he was not pleased with and got angry at him. He wrote to [Khwāfī]

7. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 493.

8. On this, see the previous chapter.

asking him to come [to Egypt], intending to chastise him for what he had done. He then set out and returned [to Egypt] finding [Shabarrīsī] had passed away.[9]

Because this anecdote appears to be isolated from the rest of the text without any context or elaboration, it is difficult to judge its significance and value. Perhaps not surprisingly, it does not occur in the Persian sources. While it may be that Shabarrīsī had actually asked Khwāfī to return to the convent for discipline, Khwāfī was hardly the "intoxicated" and ecstatic Sufi type, as I argued previously.[10] His works and all the biographical information on him reveal a meticulous attention to *Sharīᶜa* matters, nevertheless the practice of *samāᶜ* was fairly common among Sufi communities by this time. Records of the lives of Sufis of Herat in this period reveal quite a few number of ecstatic performances in which Sufis would cry and lose consciousness. Especially considering the fact that Khwāfī preferred the audible *dhikr*, it would not be surprising if his *khānqāh* also hosted *samāᶜ* performances where dervishes chanted. It is impossible to know whether these involved musical instruments, however.

Regardless of whether these rumors about Khwāfī's participating in *samāᶜ* are true or not, this could still be read as a gloss on the fluidity of spiritual traditions and the ensuing anxieties and stereotypes it triggered among the norm-minded men of religion such as Shabarrīsī. As Khwāfī's own work demonstrates, the frivolity of some interpretations of Sufism and the ways it dispensed with the mainstream Sunni theology caused concern among the Sufis, too. The greatest asset a

9. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, ii/229.

10. Khwāfī's own work on Sufism, according to Köle's examination of his thought, does not reveal any ideas as to his perspective on this very widespread but at times controversial practice of Sufis. He clearly was quite alert regarding introducing something new into the body of devotional practices the pious Muslims had been engaged with since the forebears. However, one must keep in mind the fact that all of his works date from after his second Egyptian travel. One might argue that he turned gradually more intolerant of Islamic diversity, and that his thoughts in these works may not necessarily represent his earlier stance on *Sharīᶜa* orientation. As I tried to demonstrate previously, however, all of the information I believe to date from before his second travel, such as his distancing himself from Kamāl al-Dīn Khojandī and Muḥammad Pārsā's comments on him, indicate a scrupulous attention to a *Sunnī-Jamāᶜī* discipline. Having said that, it is worth noting that his foremost disciple in the Tīmūrid lands, Muḥammad Tabādkānī, was known for his predilection for the *samāᶜ* practice in *dhikr*. Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 34.

traveler of the way had against transgressions from "the straight path" was a strong and unswerving embrace of the Prophetic example, a trait Tīmūrid sources are unanimous in reporting that Khwāfī fully possessed. However, the fact that Mamlūk religious circles were more focused on traditional forms of devotion should not slip from our attention.

In short, it is helpful to take into consideration the amount of planning and coordination necessary for a trip of the magnitude Khwāfī was taking. Such a journey in medieval times was a daunting undertaking that required substantial financial means, human resources, and organization. This is why most of the overland travel took advantage of the Pilgrimage season when safety and oversight increased proportionately with the traffic of travelers. Especially an elder like Khwāfī, a sexagenarian by the time, who doubtless had to depend on personal help from family and disciples, cannot be expected to travel such a distance as from modern day Afghanistan to Egypt without careful programming in advance and significant logistical arrangements along the way. If we assume that he set out after 821/1419—his *ijāza* to Darwīsh Aḥmad Samarqandī was given in 821/1418–9 in Herat according to the *Rashaḥāt*, and Ibn Ḥajar recorded that he returned to Egypt in 823/1420–21—Khwāfī must have been about 63 years of age at the time.[11] Clearly, even if the shaykh Shabarrīsī sent a message to Khwāfī, it must have required considerable time and thought for the latter to engage in this journey.

It makes sense to think that the whole travel was planned and carried out as a Pilgrimage and an occasion to build scholarly and Sufi connections, and that Shabarrīsī's request was not necessarily the immediate cause. We find a clue in Sakhāwī's account of Khwāfī that seems to support this kind of thinking. Quoting from the Damascene Sufi Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-ᶜAjamī—not to be confused with Shabarrīsī's master al-Kūrānī—Sakhāwī reports that Shāhrukh b. Tīmūr told Khwāfī to take

11. Bekir Köle's monograph on Khwāfī adopts Kissling's dating of 822 for Khwāfī's arrival in Egypt; however, neither of the two authors cite any source for that. It seems that both interpreted the report regarding Khwāfī's sending a tombstone to Pārsā's grave as an evidence of his presence in Egypt during the same year. This is simply an oversight and cannot be corroborated with any evidence at my disposal. The earliest dating for his arrival in Egypt is listed by Ibn Ḥajar as 823. See Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī, *Tabṣīr al-Muntabih*, II:484. Cf. Köle, *Hâfî*, 35, who relied on Kissling, "Einiges," 150.

the Pilgrimage by sea for convenience.[12] Khwāfī responded by saying that he wanted to visit the lands of Shām to meet there the scholars and the righteous (*ṣāliḥīn*), whether alive or dead. Although they are not Prophets, Khwāfī seems to have thought, it was still worth the burden of extra travel. In the context of how Khwāfī's reputation grew during this trip, Sakhāwī notes that the narrator took this as an indication of his inclination towards appearances and worldliness, something unbecoming a Sufi. Sakhāwī rejects al-ᶜAjamī of Damascus by arguing it was the opposite and that Khwāfī's intention was not personal at all. Regardless of this criticism, this might be taken to mean that the Pilgrimage (*Ḥajj*) and pious visitation of holy men, i.e. developing a network among the religious elite, constituted at least the communicated purpose of Khwāfī's travel. This was how other contemporary sources interpreted it as well: Lāmiᶜī Chalabī, the Turkish translator of the *Nafaḥāt*, notes in his treatment of Maqdisī that "when Khwāfī set out for pilgrimage from Khwāf, he arrived at Quds and ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf [Maqdisī] took him to his house."[13] Whatever the actual reason might have been, these travels turned out to constitute e a very well-executed expedition, as I will illustrate below, that served to expand Khwāfī's personal network and influence beyond his native Khorasan.

## 5.2 The travels

### *5.2.1 In Fars*

Sakhāwī's *al-Ḍawᵓ al-Lāmiᶜ* reports that, as part of this journey, Khwāfī visited Tabrīz, Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Cairo and Alexandria. In addition, we know that he performed the Pilgrimage and visited the city of Medina. The significant amount of contact he had with scholars of Shirāz compels one to consider that city as another destination on his itinerary. Unfortunately, my research on his visit in Tabrīz, where, according to Sakhāwī, he was instrumental in averting a trouble between Shāhrukh and Iskandar Qaraquyunlu, did not yield any concrete evidence.

12. "*Ḥijj fī al-baḥr, ashal ᶜalayk.*" al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawᵓ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, ii/230.

13. Lāmiᶜī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 551.

In the way of speculation, however, this much can be noted: Around the same time Khwāfī was traveling to Egypt, Shāhrukh began his first Azarbaijān campaign in Rajab 823/August 1420. Three months later in Shawwāl 823/November 1420, Qara Yūsuf died unexpectedly, leaving his army in chaos and allowing Shāhrukh to occupy his lands. Shāhrukh arrived at Sulṭāniya at the end of the year and captured Tabriz early next year.[14]

The obvious similarity between the progression of the Tīmūrid army and that of Khwāfī is worth noting; unfortunately, however, we do not know if he accompanied the ruler or not. But the wording and the bits of available information in Sakhāwī's treatment make it possible to continue this argument. Accordingly, Shāhrukh told Khwāfī to take the sea route for the Pilgrimage, to which the latter responded saying he wanted to go by land and see the shrines and the holy people beyond Euphrates. Here, one gets the feeling that Khwāfī and Shāhrukh was on the other side of the river—perhaps in Sulṭāniya or Tabrīz—at the time, and instead of taking the Basra route and crossing the Persian Gulf, Khwāfī took the more toilsome Damascus route to the west of the Euphrates, so he could visit cities like Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem. As I demonstrate in the following pages, these were the places where his future disciples were waiting to meet him.

The situation of documentation in the case of Mamlūk cities, however, is much better thanks to the immense biographical literature produced on the religious notables of the Mamlūks. It appears that after possible stops in Tabriz and Shiraz, Khwāfī followed the *ṭarīq al-Shām*,from Aleppo to Damascus and to Jerusalem, from where he arrived in Cairo in 823/1420–21.[15]

What we get from Sakhāwī is that people, both from among the elite and the commoners, flocked to Khwāfī to receive spiritual blessings, gain his *ṣuḥba* (friendship), and at times receive initiation in his path. Inspecting the names of the people mentioned with him, one can see that he had considerable contacts in Shiraz. We could argue he visited and stayed for some time there, but it is difficult

14. İsmail Aka, *Timur ve Devleti* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 60–63.

15. The Damascus route was one of the major Pilgrimage, and travel, routes from the East to the Mamlūk lands. For a map of the Pilgrimage routes in the Arabian peninsula, see Andrew Blair and Brain Ulrich, "From Iraq to the Hijaz in the Early Islamic Period," in *The Hajj : collected essays*, ed. Venetia Porter and Liana Saif (London: British Museum, 2013), 45.

to guess whether this took place on his way to the West or during his return to Khorasan. Judging by the evidence we have, ti seems highly likely that he stopped by this city on his way to the Mamlūk lands.

Several people of Shiraz are mentioned as being among Khwāfī's contacts in the context of this trip. These include Sayyid Ṣafi al-Dīn al-ᶜĪjī (d. 864/1450) of Shirāz, who, together with Manṣūr b. al-Ḥasan al-Kāzarūnī , visited Khwāfī and undertook *khalwa* before him.[16] Their relationship with Khwāfī also is not clear: While Ṣafī al-Dīn may have received the whole course of Sufi education (*takharraja bihi*), it seems that Manṣūr's training was only partial, for we do not have any mention of a rite of initiation besides the *khalwa*. Sakhāwī writes that the former's nephew, ᶜAlāᵓ al-Dīn b. ᶜAfīf al-Dīn al-ᶜĪjī did receive *ijāza* from Khwāfī.[17] Another scholar of Shirāz, Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ṭāwusī, accompanied Khwāfī for a while and read his Persian poetry with him.[18]

16. Ṣafī al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh alManṣūr b. al-Ḥasan b. alᶜĪjī, the brother of ᶜAfīf al-Dīn, was a Persian *Shāfīᶜī* scholar of Ḥusaynī Prophetic descent. He traveled in Persianate an Mamlūk lands to meet teacher and received various subjects from them. In *taṣawwuf*, he was a student of Khwāfī's, from whom "he graduated." It is difficult to tell whether their meeting took place in Herat, where Ṣafī al-Dīn also studied under Rukn al-Dīn Khwāfī, in Shiraz, Egypt, or Mecca where he settled twice. Ṣafī al-Dīn died in Mecca and was buried near his brother's grave. Ibn Fahd, *Muᶜjam al-Shuyūkh*, 131–2. al-ᶜImād al-Qurashī al-ᶜAdawī al-ᶜUmarī was a Shāfiᶜī scholar who studied under Ibn al-Jazarī and Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī. According to Sakhāwī, he accompanied Ṣafī al-Dīn al-ᶜĪjī to Khwāfī. The two printed editions of *al-Ḍawᵓ* has it as "al-Khwājā," which I believe is a spelling error and should be understood as Khwāfī, due to the context of the sentence that continues to mention the latter. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawᵓ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, x/157. He wrote, among other subjects, against Ibn ᶜArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*. He settled in Mecca in 858 where he died in 860/1456.

17. I should note here that both Öngören and Köle unequivocally consider Ṣafī al-Dīn as a *khalīfa* of Khwāfī, without citing any reliable source. See Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 60–62 and Köle, *Hâfî*, 107–8. This another example of the rampant number of cases of unsubstantiated extrapolations and blind dependence to secondary sources—in particular that of Köle towards Öngören—found particularly in these two monographs.

18. Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ᶜAbdAllah b. al-Ḥakīm al-Ṭāwusī (d. ca. 861/1456–7), is another name Sakhāwī mentions in respect to Khwāfī's travel. In a biographical entry on Ṭāwusī, Sakhāwī writes that he wore the Sufi cloak (*al-khirqa*) from various people including Rukn al-Dīn al-Khwāfī, which is likely a misspelling of Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfī. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawᵓ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, I:301. A later biographical dictionary, which, incidentally, is independent of Sakhāwī for its information, describes that Ṭāwusī wore the cloak of Suhrawardiyya from Zayn al-Dīn al-Khwāfī, who,

If we take into account the fact that Sakhāwī's entry on Khwāfī lists the scholars named together in referring to these travels, Khwāfī must have met them either in Shiraz or when he was in Hejaz for the Pilgrimage. We know that Muḥammad b. al-Jazarī (d. 833/1429), who, Sakhāwī notes, wrote a poem in praise of Khwāfī, having spent part of 808/1405 in Herat, lived in Shiraz beginning with the next year onwards, until he set out for Pilgrimage, interestingly enough, in 822/1419 and ended up performing it in the following year. He was in Hejaz and the Mamlūk lands until at least 829/1426 and died in Shiraz in 833/1429.[19] It seems worthwhile, though unfortunately not possible within the scope of this study, to delve further into Khwāfī's connections to this Shīrāzī circle of Sufi scholars and their relationship with each other, especially given the facts that Khwāfī himself had also studied from Ibn al-Jazarī and the latter's son was married to Fanārī, on whom more will come below.

### 5.2.2 *Aleppo*

As I will discuss below in more detail, Ottoman sources of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries report that, Muḥammad b. Ḥamza Aq-Shams al-Dīn (d. 863/1459), one of the famous Anatolian Sufis of the time, and a descendant of Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, who would later rise to great prominence as the spiritual mentor of the Sultan Meḥemmed II, traveled as far as Aleppo to meet

in turn, wore it from Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qurayshī al-Shabarrīsī. See Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir wa Bahjat al-Masāmiʿ wa al-Nawāẓir: Mutaḍammin ʿalā Tarājim ʿUlamāʾ al-Hind wa Aʿyānihā*, First (Ḥaydarābād: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1931), III:23. Reșat Öngören, and Bekir Köle following him, attribute Ṭāwusī a Medinan residence, which, however, cannot be inferred from these primary sources. See Köle, *Hâfî*, 106 ("Hâfî'nin Medîne'de faaliyet gösteren halîfelerinden birisi de …") and Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 50 ("Zeynüddin Hâfî'nin halîfelerinden…"). However, Ṭāwusī is described both by Sakhāwī and al-Ḥusaynī as a Sufi scholar of Shiraz, who never entered Egypt and Syria. It may actually be that Khwāfī met him in Shiraz on his way to Egypt. Also, the fact that the former two modern authors both consider him a *khalīfa* of Khwāfī is misleading in this regard. Ṭāwusī seems to have worn cloaks from at least six *ṭarīqa*s including Kubrawiyya, Naqshbandiyya and Niʿmatallahiyya. On his *ṣuḥba* with Khwāfī, see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, IX:229–30.

19. Altıkulaç, "İbnü'l-Cezerî." On Ibn al-Jazarī's poem for Khwāfī, see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, IX:230, X:157.

Khwāfī, alongside his companion $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥīm al-Marzifūnī al-Rūmī (d. after 865/1460). We do not know if they actually met, but the tradition includes his having a dream at that point, in which he was urged to apprentice instead the Malāmī shaykh Ḥājī Bayram. Abiding by this vision, Aq-Shams al-Dīn returned to Ankara to attach himself to Ḥājī Bayram.

If this anecdote can be taken as historical, it brings to mind a frustration seen also in the case of Sa$^{c}$d al-Dīn Kāshgharī (d. 860/1456), who, wanted to attach himself to Khwāfī while he was also initiated and rendering "service" (*khidma*) to the Naqshbandī Niẓām al-Dīn Khāmūsh (d. ca. 853/1449). In order to resolve his qualms and unease, Khwāfī suggested that he ask for an augury from God in a dream (*istikhāra*) to settle the matter. That night, Kāshgharī saw a group of Khwājagān, entering the residence of Khwāfī and razing the place to the ground, which he took as a sign of aversion to mixing his Naqshbandī affiliation with another path. In the morning, without Kāshgharī's even mentioning the dream, Khwāfī allowed him to return: "The path is one. And all shall return to the same. Return now and occupy yourself with your own path (*ṭarīqa*)! If you happen to see a dream or a problem, come tell me so I can help as much as possible."[20]

The similarities are striking: Khwāfī's propensity for recruiting disciples is demonstrated in both instances, along with his lack of resentment in letting a bright student go, and his latitudinarian vision of harmony between Sufi communities—elsewhere he is depicted as having warm relations with other Sufis of his time and commanding their respect. Perhaps more important is the mention of dream interpretation and the reliance on it, for which Khwāfī was uniquely renowned. In the anecdote, it was actually Sa$^{c}$d al-Dīn's Naqhsbandī mentor Niẓām al-Dīn who told the former to go relate his dreams to Khwāfī.[21] It sounds within reason, therefore, to suggest that, in a similar vein, Aq-Shams al-Dīn sought to become a disciple, after which Khwāfī asked him to perform the spiritual consultation of *istikhāra*, which directed him to subscribe himself to another shaykh.

20. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 410. Also on Kāshgharī, see Aṣīl al-Dīn Wā$^{c}$iẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, 90.

21. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 410.

## Ibn al-Ḥumām

More reliable evidence of Khwāfī's Aleppine stay is found in the biography of a distinguished and well-known member of the Mamlūk religious elite. Sakhāwī notes that the *Ḥanafī* scholar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. al-Ḥumām (d. 861/1457) also received *ṭarīqa* from Khwāfī and accompanied him to al-Quds.[22] Ibn al-Ḥumām was born in Alexandria in 790/1388 to a family of Anatolian descent. Besides his glorious academic accomplishments, he was noted for his association with a student of Ibn ʿArabī's teachings.[23] Sources suggest that he had been in Aleppo since 814/1411-2, to which city he had gone with Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū al-Walīd b. Shiḥna to study with him and that he stayed afterwards after the latter's death a short while later.[24] Apparently when Khwāfī came to Aleppo, Ibn al-Ḥumām initiated with him and accompanied him to Jerusalem afterwards. Even more important for our discussion, the Mamlūk sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay (r. 825–41/1422–38) appointed Ibn al-Ḥumām to assume the shaykh-hood of Ashrafiyya, his *madrasa-khānqāh* in Cairo, in 829/1426, shortly after Khwāfī left Egypt. He resigned four years later, due to an intervention by the sultan's treasurer, and did not resume his post despite the insistence of the sultan, who appointed to the position none other than Amīn al-Dīn Yaḥyā Aqsarāyī (d. 880/1475), another scholar to initiate with Khwāfī when the latter was in Cairo in 824/1421–2.[25]

On one hand, this seems to prove the notion that Mamlūk sultans offered Sufi posts (*mashīkha*) in their *madrasa*s and *khānqāh*s to people of Persian or Turkish origin and to those from the *Ḥanafī* school. More relevant to our discussion, however, is the timing of these events. In regard to the

22. See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, VIII:108–13 and Ibn Fahd, *Muʿjam al-Shuyūkh*, 240–41 on Ibn al-Ḥumām. Sakhāwī in the same place mentions that he was initiated with al-Adkāwī, who was a *khalīfa* of none other than Shabarrīsī.

23. Sakhāwī, who was himself a student of Ibn al-Ḥumām, as well as Ibn Fahd, wrote that he studied with Naṣr Allāh for a while. This person can be identified as Naṣr Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī, who was known as a teacher of the *Fuṣūṣ*. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, VIII:110; Ferhat Koca, "İbnü'l-Hümâm," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.

24. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*.

25. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, VIII:110.

sequence from Ibn al-Ḥumām's discipleship with Khwāfī in Aleppo to their traveling together, to his appointment as the head of a sultanic institution immediately following Khwāfī's Egyptian stay, and afterwards his substitution with another Khwāfī-affiliated scholar, in addition to other issues discussed here, questions arise concerning Khwāfī's appeal over the learned men of religion, as well as the proclivity of Mamlūk courtly patronage to favor a Tīmūrid scholarly Sufi.[26]

### 5.2.3 *Damascus*

We know that the well known *Shāfiᶜī* jurisprudent Ṭaqī al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Shuhba (d. 851/1448) was one of the people he met in Damascus. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba said that he saw Khwāfī as a venerable old shaykh—80 years of age, to be precise, which is not accurate and may have been a result of his own impression. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba also mentioned that he found Khwāfī to be a great scholar who possessed vast knowledge. At the time they met, he noted, it had been a year and four months since Khwāfī had left his homeland.[27] This is a clear testimony to the fact that Khwāfī's visit to Egypt, above all other purposes, including the Pilgrimage and the reunion with his teacher, was a meandering journey primarily intended to build networks and spread his path.

ᶜAlāᵓ al-Dīn al-Qābūnī al-Bukhārī (d. 841/1438), another remarkable Ḥanafī jurisprudent of the time, known for his controversial bent and refutations of both Ibn ᶜArabī and Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), also met Khwāfī and found him very knowledgeable in the intricacies of Arabic.[28] The Damascene Sufi Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-ᶜAjamī, not to be confused with Shabarrīsī's teacher of the

26. Another point of concern is, as I will bring up below, Zayn al-Dīn's Jerusalemite disciple ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf was in Cairo around late 1430s when Jaqmaq, who befriended ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf and promised to build a *khānqāh* for him, ascended the throne. It was the same Jaqmaq, as the *amīr ākhūr* (i.e. the supervisor of imperial stables) of under Barsbay, that tried to convince Ibn al-Ḥumām, on behalf of the sultan, to return to his position. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawᵓ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, VIII:111. On ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf and Jaqmaq, see below.

27. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawᵓ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, IX:230. Ṭaqī al-Dīn Abu Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Qāḍī Shuhba was the well-known author of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiᶜiyya*.

28. Abū ᶜAbdAllah ᶜAlā al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī was a well-known Ḥanafī jurist and Sufi who was quite influential in his time through his works and instruction activity. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawᵓ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, IX:230.

same name, like ᶜAlā al-Dīn al-Bukhārī, praised Khwāfī's knowledge. For the purpose of understanding these travels, it is worthwhile to remind here ᶜAjamī's note that Khwāfī declared, before he set out for travel, his intention to visit the men of religion in the Syrian lands.

### *5.2.4 Egypt*

Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī arrived in Egypt in 823/1420–21 according to Ibn Ḥajar and was in Cairo the next year according to Sakhāwī. We know that he first went to see his shaykh Shabarrīsī near Alexandria, possibly sometime during the year 823, only to find he had passed away. That he was not aware of the passing of the shaykh, who had written a letter asking him to come to Egypt, can be taken as an indication that Shabarrīsī had died shortly before Khwāfī's arrival. This suggests a date of Shabarrīsī's death around 822/1419–20, which is supported by other evidence regarding his activities. If this is true, it is possible that the cause of Shabarrīsī's death may have been the plague, which was particularly destructive in Egypt in the year 822.[29]

Although he did not meet his shaykh, Mamlūk sources report that Khwāfī met the religious elite of Egypt and initiated many disciples. Among his famous acquaintances was Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), perhaps the most well-known *ḥadīth* scholar of his time, who greeted Khwāfī with a *qaṣīda*, to which the latter responded in kind with his own.[30] Ibn Ḥajar, who may have been acquainted with Khwāfī from an earlier time when the latter spent more than a decade in Egyptian lands at the end of the previous century, mentions him in a compendium of *ḥadīth* scholars, titled *Tabṣīr al-Muntabih*, calling him a Sufi and a follower (*min aṣḥāb*) of Shaykh Yūsuf al-ᶜAjamī (d. 768/1376).[31] In another place, Sakhāwī quotes three responses by Khwāfī's sons Ismāᶜīl, Ibrāhīm,

29. R. Kevin Jaques, *Ibn Hajar* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 80–82.

30. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawᵓ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, IX:230.

31. Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī, *Tabṣīr al-Muntabih*, II:484. It is interesting that Ibn Ḥajar relates Khwāfī not to Shabarrīsī, but to the latter's teacher Yūsuf al-Kurānī, who is credited as having introducing in Egyptian lands a new kind of Suhrawardiyya. Also noteworthy is how the author understands Khwāfī in terms of his relationship to Egypt: "He was in Cairo, left it, and then came back in the year 823." On Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Kurānī al-ᶜAjamī, and his thought, see El Shamsy, "Return-

and Muḥammad, all addressed to the famous scholar, which fact, among other things, indicates that they too were with Khwāfī during this journey and took part in his meetings.[32] Finally, we learn also that Khwāfī wrote an *ijāza* on the petition (*istid*ᶜ*ā*) of Ibn Ḥajar's son Aḥmad, in which the former is described, interestingly, as an educator (*al-murabbī*).[33]

We do not know when exactly the meeting between Ibn Ḥajar, Khwāfī, and their sons took place. It makes sense to believe it was in 823/1420–21, the year Ibn Ḥajar wrote that Khwāfī returned to Egypt, or in 824/1421–2 when, according to *al-Ḍaw*ʾ, he wrote *ijāza*s to several in Cairo including the *Ḥanafī* scholar of Anatolian origins, Amīn al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Aqsarāyī (d. 880/1475), and ᶜIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī.[34]

### *5.2.5 Hejaz*

In 825/1421–2, we find Khwāfī in Jerusalem, and then traveling to Hejaz for the Pilgrimage at the end of the year. He brought to Medina a white tombstone he had fashioned in Egypt, which he installed at the grave of Muḥammad Pārsā, who had died there at the Pilgrimage two years ago, when Mullā Fanārī was also present. As I will discuss below, the apparently intimate friendship between Fanārī and Pārsā, both Ibn ᶜArabī followers, on the one hand, and Khwāfī on the other, is a case that disproves certain modern interpretations that find in the affiliation with Ibn ᶜArab's teachings a universal litmus test for the "classification" of medieval *ᶜulamā*ʾ, or, Islam's intellectuals.On a different note, the mention of the tombstone's being installed by Khwāfī in a distinct fashion is also noteworthy, especially considering the predilection of Zaynī Sufis, at least in the Ottoman lands, for

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ing to God," 205–15. On a related note, Erik Ohlander's work on ᶜUmar al-Suhrawardī identifies him as al-Jurjānī instead, which must be a typo. Ohlander, *ᶜUmar al-Suhrawardī*, 316.

32. al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa-al-durar fī tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, II:799–800. Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary includes a separate entry on Muḥammad, see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw*ʾ *al-Lāmi*ᶜ *(2003)*, IX:253.

33. al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa-al-durar fī tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, I:296.

34. Both of these Sufis were instrumental in the continuation of Khwāfī's legacy in Egypt. On them, see Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 68.

a particularly distinct style of headstone. Although he returned to Jerusalem after performing the Pilgrimage, Khwāfī's brief presence in the two holiest cities of Islam also left a visible mark in the literature. Two sources by members of the scholarly Meccan family Ibn Fahd, namely the *Muᶜjam al-Shuyūkh* and the *Laḥẓ al-Alḥāẓ* mentioned him as the teacher of a number of prominent people.[35]

As regards the transporting of the tombstone from Egypt to Muḥammad Pārsā's grave in Medina, although we do not exactly know when it took place, in the absence of a contradictory evidence, it may be assumed that it was during the Pilgrimage season in 825/1422. Khwāfī returned from Hejaz to Jerusalem, as he promised his future disciple Maqdisī. He must have left Jerusalem soon afterwards, presumably around the beginning of 826/late 1422, with his pupils Maqdisī and Marzifūnī, and possibly with others, and headed back to Khorasan. Around the beginning of 826/late 1422, he was already in the vicinity of Herat, starting his commentary on Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī's *ᶜAwārif al-Maᶜārif*. He began writing his commentary in Rabīᶜ al-Thānī 826/March 1423 in Darwīshābād and finished it in the same place two years later.[36]

The remarkable number of religious elite Khwāfī is recorded as having come into contact with is an indication of how constructive this trip was, in terms of the recognition of his intellectual and pedagogical persona. Although he had stayed in Egypt earlier and possibly also in Hejaz for a considerable time—as discussed earlier—it seems that it was this second trip that left an indelible impression, particularly, on the scholarly circles of Egypt, Syria, Hejaz, and Anatolia, in the fifteenth century. As far as historiography is concerned, his earlier stint there as a disciple of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Shabarrīsī and otherwise during the last decades of the fourteenth century, as well as the acquaintances that ensued from it, including those within the circle of his teacher Shabarrīsī, did not seem to have culminated in a lasting body of knowledge about him. Nevertheless, both the students he recruited and the impression he left ensured that his legacy would endure.

35. Ibn Fahd, *Muᶜjam al-Shuyūkh*, 240; Taqiy al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Fahd, *Laḥẓ al-Alḥāẓ bi-Dhayl Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāẓ* (nl: Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmiyya, 1998), I:201.

36. Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Khwāfī, *Ḥāshiya fī al-Taṣawwuf*, MS Genel 1156 (Manisa: İl Halk Kütüphanesi), 92b.

To conclude, the first impression one gets from contemporary accounts of Khwāfī's travels is that he had a formidable reputation in Islamic learning and *taṣawwuf*, which the learned wanted to take advantage of. It is remarkable that the description of Khwāfī in sources as a learned person is almost as prominent as that of him as a spiritual instructor. He emerges as a shaykh that inculcates the *dhikr*, as a poet worthy of respect, at the same time as someone learned in the traditional sciences. It was not only the elite who valued him; *al-Ḍawʾ* notes that common people flocked to him to become his students during pilgrimage as his fame and recognition grew.[37]

## 5.3 The appeal of the charismatic Sufi shaykh from the Tīmūrid lands

It becomes clear that Khwāfī's appeal went beyond his ability to impress religious scholars. That certainly earned him well-decorated entries in the biographical dictionaries (*ṭabaqāt*) of the time and the personal compendiums of teachers (*muʿjam al-shuyūkh*), but there is a far greater facet of his travels than was highlighted in these sources. This becomes apparent only after delving into the additional information provided in Ottoman sources, which preserved the cultural history of the foremost spiritual descendants of Zayniyya, as Khwāfī's mystical path would soon be called. Elaborating on the attraction his visit exerted on the future disciples of Zayniyya, these sources underline the need to consider the dissemination of Khwāfī's mystical thought and praxis, and the formation of his transregional Sufi network, as the most seminal aspects of his travels at this stage of his life.

Based on what we know of Khwāfī, I would argue that his fame had already spread to such corners of Anatolia as Amasya and Bursa, when he recruiting his major disciples during these travels. The reasons for, and circumstances of, the spread of Khwāfī's teaching are worth considering in detail. The simple answer lies in his reputation and spiritual presence in lands as disparate as Herat and Egypt and Tabriz and Rūm. The lands of the Ottoman rulers, aspiring empire-builders imitating the great Sunni rulers of Islamdom, were extremely open and welcoming to intellectual

37. *Ṣāra lahū ṣaytan wa shuhratan.* al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, II:230.

influences from both the East (*Bilād-i ᶜAjam*) and the South (*Bilād-i Shām wa Miṣr*). The absence of strongly-established traditions in culture and scholarship allowed room for experimentation and, moreover, there was no strong scholarly establishment that opposed theosophical mysticism. The fact that Khwāfī was able to install himself at the intersection of several intellectual and mystical routes must be responsible for the mesmerizingly fast spread of his recognition.

While he was a shaykh of the highest reputation in Herat, there is no question that by the end of these travels Khwāfī qualified as a masterful shaykh whose impact far exceeded those of his teachers. Far from being a mere link in the Suhrawardī chain, he deserves to be considered the founder of a community of Sufis, namely a *ṭarīqa*, that bore his name and outlived him by centuries. His representatives (*khalīfa*, pl. *khulafāʾ*) in these lands called their path *Zayniyya* after him and established convents that influenced Sufism for generations to come.[38] This is why I believe that this visit and the ensuing travels, during which Khwāfī laid the groundwork of his transregional Sufi network, are so important in terms of his biography and broader impact. While the founding and subsequent development of his Sufi practice in Herat can be understood as the embodiment of his theory and practice, it was this trip and its consequences that made Khwāfī the nexus of far-flung network of Sufis and sympathizers that span lands from the Danube to the Oxus. To better understand the Khwāfī's significance in the intellectual networks of the time, I further examine this journey and highlight its salient aspects in the chapter titled "The Formation of the Ottoman Zaynī community" below, using contemporary and near-contemporary sources from Mamlūk, Ottoman, and Tīmūrid authors. To avoid repetition, therefore, I offer instead the following interpretation of his travels and contacts, and their immediate impact.

Khwāfī's journey allegedly began as a response to a calling-to-account by his own shaykh Shabarrīsī. Whether or not this is true is neither easy to ascertain and nor very relevant for this chapter. A close reading of Khwāfī's itinerary, in comparison with the lives and work of several other prominent Sufis he met, reveals that he was able to transform his Herat-based Sufi school (*mashrab*) to

38. The Ottoman successors of Khwāfī, chiefly through his two disciples Maqdisī and Marzifōnī, never referred to themselves as *Suhrawardī*.

an actual transregional collective of convents and a networks of disciples and devotees across Islamdom dedicated to his teachings, namely, a *ṭarīqa*. His travels coincided with a time of fluidity and instability, one of tradition-making in culture and society, which made it easier for his *mulk*-oriented and *Sharī$^{c}$a*- and *siyāsa*-minded philosophy, to gain adoption among the urban elite. The emerging image of Khwāfī as a Sufi shaykh loyal to his own shaykh, as well as to the Sunni-*shar$^{c}$ī* sociopolitical order and to a classical Sufism grounded in the pursuit of the Book and the Prophetic custom, was quite potent in terms of the way it related to the intellectual conditions of the scholars and Sufis of these lands.

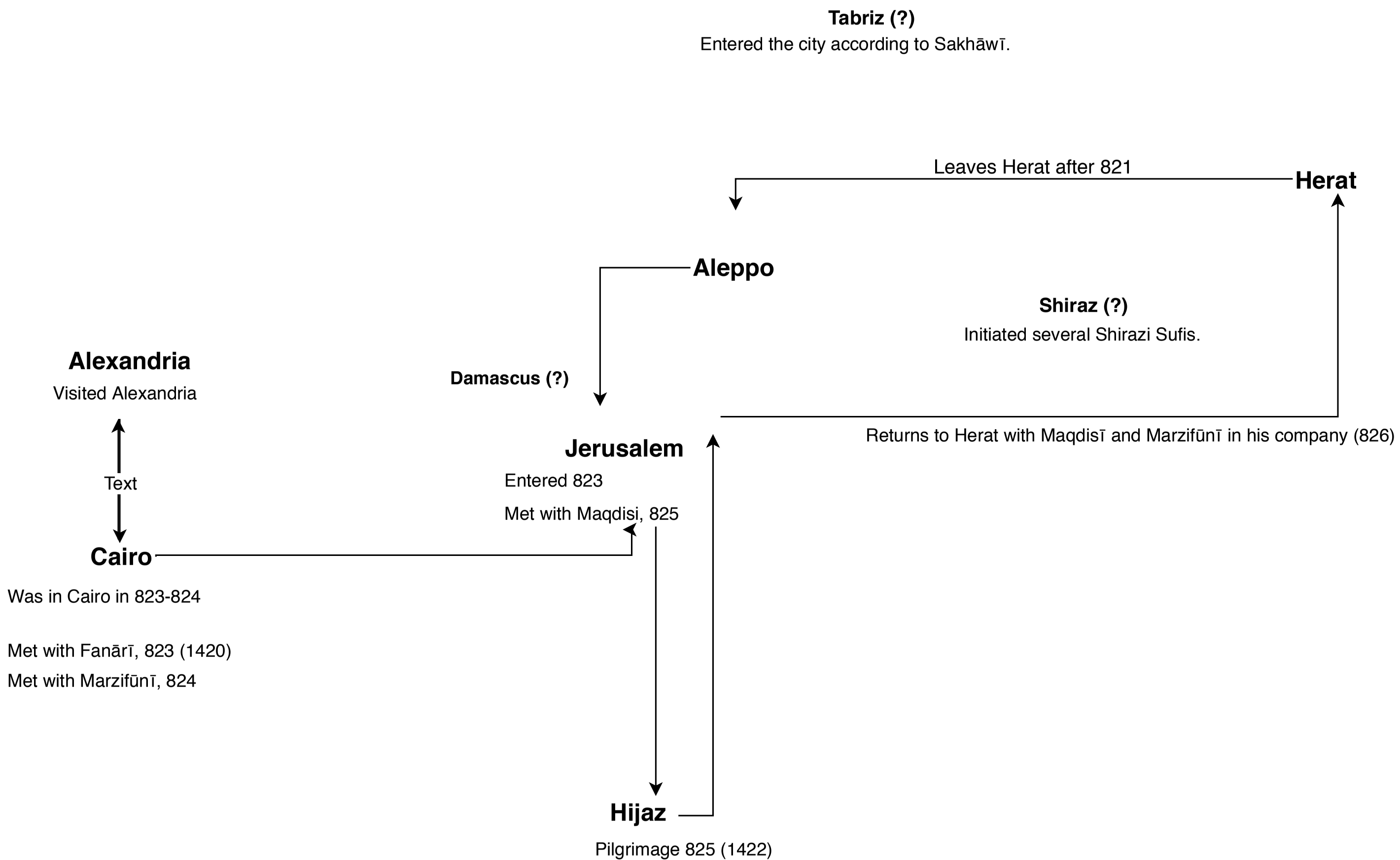


Figure 5.1: Second travel of Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī to Mamlūk lands

# CHAPTER 6

# FINAL YEARS IN HERAT

## 6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on Khwāfī's travels to the Mamlūk lands in the years that took place between 821/1418–9 and 826/1422–3, using the historical narratives found in Mamlūk, Ottoman, and Persian sources of the ninth/fifteenth and tenth/sixteenth centuries. The examination made it clear that these travels were of seminal importance in terms of his career as the master of a Sufi path, and it was because of the connections he established that his path transformed from a Khurasānī *ṭarīqa* to a transregional one of major importance. In addition to initiating and investing with the *khirqa* (Sufi habit) numerous disciples who would carry his path to distant lands on his behalf, he established solid relations with the scholarly elite and the notables of not only Mamlūk territories, but Ottoman lands as well.

I argued in the previous chapter as well as below in chapter 7 that Khwāfī's extraordinary appeal rested on a number of features related to his personality and the Sufi doctrine he preached. All contemporary statements before and after this trip point to the attention Khwāfī paid to the Sunni *Sharīᶜa*, both as a sociopolitical vision and a guiding principle of everyday conduct and devotion. The fact that his path was built around intense prayer and supplication is clear from his own works, as well as from reports on him. Furthermore, he was also famous for his attachment to classical Sufism, his privileging solidarity among members of the path, and his adherence to strong discipline as far as activities related to the *khānqāh* go. It is certainly no coincidence that his writing activity began around this time and addressed the rules of conduct for the spiritual journey (*sulūk*). A final component of his image was his particular appeal for the scholarly and the political elite. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which his proximity to Shāhrukh, one of the greatest patrons of Islamic culture during the first half of the fifteenth century, have contributed to his authority. One might list many other aspects of his persona that played a role in his success as a leading Sufi, though,

his renown for dream interpretation must have played a key role in his ability to appeal to both the common people and the notables, as uncovering the *ghayb*, i.e. the unknown and the future, was a constant preoccupation for all.

As far as mystical doctrines and currents go, Khwāfī seems to have followed a moderate path, as long as it did not involve *bidᶜa* (pernicious innovation), *ilḥād* (infidelity), or *rafḍ* (heresy). He was on extremely good terms with the disciples of the Khwājagānī teaching, including, most importantly, Muḥammad Pārsā. Juding by the people who used to visit him, his circle was open to disciples of other Harātī shaykhs like Bahāᵓ al-Dīn ᶜUmar Jagharāᵓī; Abū Yazīd-i Pūrānī, Niẓām al-Dīn Khāmūsh. As far as Ibn ᶜArabī's teachings are concerned, he adopted a balanced approach, without rejecting or embracing them, and arguing that this kind of metaphysical speculation had the potential to mislead novices of mysticism. I will discuss this point in more detail later in this chapter.

Looking at the cultural and political context of the early fifteenth century, one can understand how such a combination of dutiful piety, guarded mysticism, and universalist consciousness drew the attention of the notables of the Middle East. There was, among the men of learning, a growing interest in Ibn ᶜArabī's teachings as well as in other esoteric pursuits, but at the same time an obvious desire to discourage non-conforming doctrines from producing rebellious social patterns. The memory of Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī's (d. 796/1394) rise and fall was still alive—even more so that of Shaykh Badr al-Dīn of Simāwnā (d. 819/1416 or 823/1420)—a reminder of the volatile boundary between occult studies and antinomian piety.[1] However, clearly, these events had not prevented people from pursuing these types of learning. Scholars like ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī (d. 858/1454) continued to articulate a worldview in a language informed not only by classical Is-

1. On the rebellion around Badr al-Dīn, see the following two recent treatments: Dimitris Kastritsis, "The şeyh Bedreddin uprising in the context of the Ottoman civil war of 1402–1413," in *Political Initiatives 'From the Bottom Up' in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete 7*, ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos (Crete: University of Crete Press, 2012); Saygın Salgırlı, "The Rebellion of 1416: Recontextualizing an Ottoman Social Movement (English).," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55, no. 1 (2012): 32–73.

lamic learning, but more important, by an eclectic epistemology drawing on the Hermetic tradition, Greek philosophy, and "lettrism" (*ᶜilm al-ḥurūf*).[2] Khwāfī's Sufism offered these intellectuals a satisfactory combination of rigorous devotion and a type of mysticism that was sufficiently sophisticated in its dependence on the post-Ibn ᶜArabī notions of Sufi piety—including *dhikr* and prognosticative discourse—at the same time steering clear of any *fitna* (civil strife) associations.

I have argued, therefore, that Khwāfī's travels transformed him into a widely recognized and respected master of Sufism, with his initiates carrying his path into disparate lands. Whether this alone qualifies him as a *ṭarīqa* founder or not is a question I will raise in the following pages. It appears that he was aware of his powerful appeal and, building on this, he proceeded to broadcast his message and mission widely. I will follow up this subject below in chapter 8 titled "Khwāfī's writing activity and the foundation of his *ṭarīqa*.

Building on this foundation, the current chapter is devoted to Khwāfī's last years in Herat between the years 826—838/1423—1435. There is little to be gleaned from biographical sources regarding this period of Khwāfī's life. They mention that he increasingly withdrew from society in his last years and gave himself to training disciples until he passed away during a bout of the bubonic plague that ravaged the population of Herat in 838/1434–35. Yet we know that in these years Khwāfī was a quite active septuagenarian, authoring a number of works and continuing to build his settlement of Sufis in Darwīshābād. These writings present us with opportunities to study his Sufi discourse and on certain intellectual problems of his time. Examining the content—albeit briefly—and the purpose of the body of work by a Sufi who is against speculation in principle, enables us to contemplate their import and significance to understanding not only Khwāfī's personality, but also the

2. Scholars like Bisṭāmī were interested in mathematical and biological sciences and freely drew upon non-Islamic sources. They expounded Ibn ᶜArabī's metaphysical discourse for they found it intellectually liberating as opposed to more traditional and conservative sciences of *kalām* and the conventional *tafsīr*. On Bisṭāmī, see the works of the following scholars: Cornell Fleischer, İhsan Fazlıoğlu, Denis Gril, Evrim Binbaş, and, more recently, Noah Gardiner. A network of like-minded Islamic intellectuals, described as *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā* first by Fleischer and Fazlıoğlu, has attracted recent scholarly attention, including the following works: Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks*; Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest."

intellectual and Sufi history of Khorasan and beyond. In the following pages, I will re-visit Khwāfī's Darwīshābād colony and discuss his last years before analyzing his writings in a separate chapter.

## 6.2 The Darwīshābād Sufi colony

A remarkable clue regarding the above question on Khwāfī's status as a tradition founder is to be found in the *waqf* he established in the suburbs of Herat. I mentioned before that earliest Harātī sources on Khwāfī's life, such as the *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl* and the *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, highlight the fact that he used to have countless disciples from all corners of the world. In the third decade of the century, these included, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, such successors of his in Anatolia as Maqdisī and Marzifūnī. Apparently, Khwāfī possessed the means to establish not only a convent, but a network of convents and properties which he united under a *waqf*.[3] According to the charter, the original establishment of the endowment was in 812/1409–10, but there is no way to tell whether or how much he expanded the *waqf* until the date of the eventual preparation of the charter in our hand, namely, 830/1426–7. A short note in the *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl* tells us that Khwāfī, in his later years, built a *zāwiya* on the side of the mountain in the vicinity of *Gudharah* and called it Darwīshābād.[4] However, based on references to Darwīshābād in the colophones of Khwāfī's writings dated 826/1423 and in an undated license (*ijāza*) that was written between the years 830–34/1426–30, we can assume the convent was being used long before Khwāfī's last years.

The endowed properties include plantations, windmills, water canals, and baths between Khwāf and Herat.[5] The charter stipulated that the endowment was for the benefit of the family of the benefactor, namely Khwāfī, who was to be the first trustee (*mutawallī*. After his death, his mail

3. For the central asian *waqf* in the period, see R. D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia : four hundred years in the history of a Muslim shrine, 1480-1889* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991).

4. Aṣīl al-Dīn Wāᶜiẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, 81. Gudharah is a town and a district about 10 km south of Herat.

5. Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī," 194–96.

descendants would supervise the endowment, and if none remained, then the female descendants of the endower, and subsequently the most righteous Sufi at the time, and if no Sufi remained, then the endowment would be overseen by the just ruler (*sulṭān ᶜādil*) of the time.[6]

Apart from the needs of the family, the income from the endowed properties was to be used to cover the expenses of Khwāfī's dervish colony, which he named *Darwīshābād*; it consisted of a complex that included facilities like a library and locations for spiritual and devotional activities. Needless to say, some parts of the charter, such as the clauses regarding Khwāfī's family and descendants, are quite typical of the *waqf* institution. Furthermore, in establishing a Sufi campus, Khwāfī was not novel and here may be noted the curious resemblance between Khwāfī's Darwīshābād and the *Ṣūfī-ābād* convent constructed by ᶜAlā al-Dīn Simnānī in a suburb of Simnān.[7] Moreover, a comment in *Al-Waṣāyā* may be taken as reflecting on an unease with the material aspects of this enterprise:

> The lasting harm is that the shaykh pays attention to the maintenance of the affairs of the disciples in terms of eating, drinking and dressing, after which he needs to control farms, tools, and works. Thus he inclines towards the world after avoiding it, spoiling the purity of his worship. Yes, it is true that our shaykh—may God sanctify his secret—had no business with such things out of a lack of interest in them; however, whatever is destined, takes place—there is no power and strength except with Allah.[8]

Yet, this is exactly the reason why, I believe, Khwāfī was more than a link in the Suhrawardī lineage. Such a fully-fledged settlement, alongside his manuals on Sufi etiquette and worship, belonged to the same pedagogic vision that led him to write a manual of dining etiquette for Sufis.[9]

6. Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī," 197.

7. Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of ᶜAlāʾ ad-Dawla as-Simnānī*, 28. On Simnānī's convent, also see below. If Manz's suggestion that Khwāfī and the Shāhrukhid vizier Pīr Aḥmad Khwāfī might have been related is correct, then Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī and Simnānī can also be considered similar in their relationship with bureaucratic families. Manz, *Power*, 100.

8. Khwāfī, *Waṣāyā FE 1241*, 44b–45a.

9. Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Khwāfī, *Risāla dar Ādāb al-Sufrah*,

The *waqf* was designed to serve three main groups of people: dervishes, guests, and the family of the founder. The charter, which is sure to be from Khwāfī's pen, is clear in the conditions of the kind of dervish to be admitted to the convent:

> [...] for the dervishes, occupied with the obedience of god in conformity with the tradition (*Sunna*) of the Messenger of God [...] and in conformity with the course (*maslak*) of our shaykhs of Suhrawardiyya [?] [...] who entered in the discipleship of my shaykh, the pole of spiritual instruction, the succor of the servants [of God], [...] Nūr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qurashī al-Shabarrīsī al-Miṣrī [...], through me or, through whom he appointed to guide disciples and initiate the disposed, or through another from this circle and so on in line with this chain (*silsila*). And if there is no one from this circle, then from that of the *Raḍawī ᶜAlawī Lālāʾī Isfarāʾinī silsila*. And the leader of these dervishes should be acquainted with the knowledge of the *Sharīᶜa* as much as needed by the dervishes for worship, be on the path of *ṭarīqa* with the understanding of the [spiritual] states (*aḥwāl*) and the knowledge of dream interpretation.[10]

This statement is extraordinary in many ways and deserves a detailed examination. In place of an extended discussion, it should suffice here to raise a few important points. First, Khwāfī's dedication of his endowment to his own circle with a specific reference to his teacher is remarkable. This is a clear sign of how intentional he was in distinguishing his community from others. While the very act of establishing a convent and personally naming it indicates a significant intent and plan for the practical aspects of Sufi training, the specific stipulation regarding the kinds of Sufis to be admitted into the *zāwiya* is a convincing evidence of Khwāfī's *ṭarīqa*-consciousness. We are

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MS Coll. 12286 (Islamabad: Ganjbakhsh Library), 1499–503.

10. Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī," 197. There are a couple of problems with the edition of this endowment document. I replaced the last word of the phrase *bi-waṣāʾiṭ ākhar min hādhihī al-dīn* in the original with *al-dāʾira*. I also changed the last word of *ᶜalā mashāyikhinā al-hurūfī* in the editor's rendering to *al-suhrawardī*. Muṭlaq also noted his confusion on the reading of this word.

fortunate because an evidence of this attitude has survived in the form of a contemporary anecdote. Muḥammad Asad, a prominent Sufi of Herat and an associate of Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿUmar's, described the following experience in Khwāfī's convent:

> Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī had a village near Ziyāratgāh. He wanted to teach his disciples about spiritual retreat (*khalwa*) and to deliver a homily (*waʿẓ*). It was crowded and busy. At the end of the homily, he said: "It is requested from the honorable ones [i.e. guests] that whoever has found my path (*ṭarīqa*) agreeable and joined it should stay here. And those that have not joined this path, let them show generosity and leave so that their unfamiliarity and foreignness would not cause division among dervishes."
> I found these words of the shaykh to be very good. Because I was not in his path, I got out.[11]

This seems to indicate a number of things: First of all, Khwāfī's popularity went beyond merely his circle, as dervishes associated with other masters also visited him. As I mentioned often, the Sufis of Herat at this point freely participated in the congregations of a variety of masters. However, Khwāfī realized that the paths had differentiated enough by this time for any unfamiliarity to prompt a conflict. Furthermore, both in the literal and the figurative senses, Khwāfī's convent, despite its size, could not accommodate all the Sufis of Herat: In the first half of the century, thanks to the Tīmūrid patronage, the city had offered a refuge for a variety of groups flourishing. This overcrowdedness and the competition led, naturally, to differentiation among the traditions (*ṭarīqa*s), which, in the case of Khwāfī, was certainly deliberate and intended. On one hand, this was necessary to avoid collision and conflict among increasingly diversifying traditions. On the other, interconfessional rivalry was not the cause of this separation. What Khwāfī seems to have intended was to implement his own teaching and protect his dervishes from external interference as they were preparing for spiritual exercises. Any outside influence at this point would lead to confusion.

11. Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," 181.

### 6.2.1 The Kubrawiyya-Suhrawardiyya connection

An equally remarkable piece of evidence in the same regard is Khwāfī's acknowledgment of a particular Kubrawī *silsila* as an alternative to the Suhrawardī. The formula *Raḍawī ᶜAlawī Lālāᵓī Isfarāᵓinī* refers to the spiritual lineage of ᶜAlā al-Dawla Simnānī, namely, Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221) > *Raḍī* al-Dīn *ᶜAlī Lālā* (d. 642/1244) > Jalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad Jurfānī (d. 669/1270) > Nūr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān *Isfarāᵓinī* (d. 717/1317) > ᶜAlā al-Dawla Simnānī (d. 736/1336).[12] This line of Kubrawī Sufis was important for a number of reasons. Simnānī himself may have been the initiator of the most influential branch within this tradition, not to mention his enormous literary output, the wider influence of which remains mostly unknown to us. Furthermore, as Elias noted in his work on Simnānī, the shaykh was reportedly the recipient of the *khirqa-i hazār-mīkhī*, literally "the robe with one thousand pins," which originally belonged to Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, and which was consecutively passed on to Majd al-Dīn Baghdādī, Raḍī al-Dīn ᶜAlī Lālā, and Isfarāᵓīnī.[13] It should suffice here to remember again how influential Simnānī's works were on Khwāfī's thought and, perhaps more interestingly, that the former also was a convent-founding shaykh in that he had established the similarly-named *Ṣūfī-ābād-i Khudādād* near Simnān.[14]

Clearly, Khwāfī was referring to a lineage that he respected and was indebted to, yet he did not see this as a Kubrawī path that was separate from Suhrawardiyya. As I discussed earlier in this dissertation, most recent scholarship on the Kubrawiyya argues that it is difficult to claim that a distinctly Kubrawī identity had come into being at this time, and it seems that Sufis with Kubrawī initiation may not necessarily have seen themselves as separated from the lineage of Abū al-Najīb

12. DeWeese, "Eclipse," 51.

13. Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of ᶜAlāᵓ ad-Dawla as-Simnānī*, 41.

14. Simnānī's extremely interesting construction of the *Ṣūfī-ābād* convent-village is discussed in detail in Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Simnānī, *ᶜAlāᵓ al-Dawla al-Simnānī Between Spiritual Authority and Political Power : a Persian lord and intellectual in the heart of the Ilkhanate : with a critical edition and translation of* al-Wārid al-šārid al-ṭārid šubhat al-mārid *and a critical edition of its Persian version* Zayn al-muᶜtaqad li-zayn al-muᶜtaqid, ed. Giovanni Maria Martini (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 61–73.

Suhrawardī, to which both Kubrā and Simnānī were related. On the other hand, we have evidence that Suhrawardiyya was being referred to as a *ṭarīqa* then. Still, Khwāfī referred to his immediate predecessor, instead of simply specifying the Suhrawardī lineage. This, too, is another indicator that the Sufis of the time were not thinking in terms of broad and exclusive *ṭarīqa* affiliations. Khwāfī was a Suhrawardī Sufi by initiation, albeit his devotion was primarily to his own *silsila*, and not to the larger community of Suhrawardīs of all branches. The additional mention of the Isfarāʾinī *silsila*, in this case, might imply some sort of affinity Khwāfī's own path had with it.

Acknowledging one's lineage was obviously an intellectual attitude inherited from the narrated sciences of Islam, most importantly the *ḥadīth*, and was meant to project an image of authority and authenticity. I discussed above how Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī was of crucial importance to Khwāfī's discourse and practice, and how the earliest sources, such as the *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, described him as a follower of the Suhrawardī path. For Khwāfī, however, a mere reference to his own teacher supplants the necessity to identify any previous figures in the chain,[15] and, ultimately, the reference to his spiritual genealogy allowed him to connect his activity, including the investiture of the habit as well as the inculcation of the *dhikr*, to none other than the Prophet, who is implied to be the actual originator. The mention of the larger community under the name of the eponym, however, would become the norm in the subsequent century. If we can think of this as an evolution of the *silsila*-consciousness, it is possible to see what Khwāfī established as an intermediary step in the eventual development of communal Sufi identities.

One remaining question concerns Khwāfī's suppression of an immediate mentor in Kubrawiyya, assuming he had one, in this specification of the lineage. The most recent person in the formula *Raḍawī ʿAlawī Lālāʾī Isfarāʾinī*, namely *Isfarāʾinī*, died in 717/1317, more than a century before the compilation of this document. Was this how Kubrawiyya was known at the time? Or did Khwāfī intend to include any Sufi initiated in Simnānī's lineage? Or was he trying to avoid controversy by

15. One should remember that the same work had become by then a staple of Sufi instruction not only among the Suhrawardiyya, but others as well including the Chishtiyya. See briefly Sobieroj, "Suhrawardiyya."

excluding the more contemporary representatives of this community?—because, as some scholars have argued, Kubrawiyya was regarded with suspicion in Herat during this time.[16] Further complicating the situation is the note that Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿUmar Jagharāʾī, a prominent shaykh of the city, was an initiate of Kubrawiyya through the lineage of Simnānī and enjoyed the close patronage of the Tīmūrid court especially after Khwāfī's death. These are important issues deserving elaboration and further exploration in future studies.

At any rate, it seems that, at least in the cases of Suhrawardiyya and Kubrawiyya of Khorasan, the notion of *ṭarīqa*s as brotherhoods and confessions, segregated and often in competition with others, had not yet emerged by the early fifteenth century. All evidence indicates that lineages and initiations mattered, yet that Sufis were free to rededicate themselves and borrow from other traditions in their thought and work. What Khwāfī did in the endowment was remarkable, in that he emphasized initiation as a condition for convent service, which, in itself, is a concrete step in the evolution towards segregated *ṭarīqa* orders.

### *6.2.2 The Darwīshābād endowment and its implications for Khwāfī's path*

From their emphasis on the Suhrawardī *silsila* through Shabarrīsī, as well as on the Isfarāʾinī-Kubrawī lineage, to their requirement to follow a spiritual direction that combined *Sharīʿa*, *ṭarīqa* and dream interpretation, these conditions are hardly ordinary, and combined they attest to Khwāfī's originality. Immediately afterwards, Khwāfī laid out other requirements for the dervishes, including, that *i*) they would reside at the Darwīshābād colony; *ii*) they would adhere to the *Ḥanafī* or *Shāfiʿī* school; *iii*) they would perform the *dhikr* at three designated times of the day; *iv*) they would stay together, except when they are undertaking the forty-day spiritual retreat; *v*) and a *mudarris* (instructor) would be appointed over them who would be learned and pious, from this circle or

16. Following the Nūrbaksh affair, Bashir wrote that the Kubrawī tradition remained the talk of the town during the fifteenth century. Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nūrbakhshīya between Medieval and Modern Islam*, 61. Ökten's study of Jāmī shows clearly that the Nūrbakhshī offshoot of Kubrawiyya was a major concern in Herat in the second half of the century. Ökten, "Jāmī," 276–300.

another, and who would not reject the spiritual states of the dervishes nor discourage them from their devotional practices.[17]

To summarize the foregoing discussion on the Kubrawī reference, it is not possible to give a definitive explanation to Khwāfī's use of the above formula. We do not have any evidence of his formal initiation in any lineage belonging to Najm al-Dīn Kubrā. At this point, it is best to take this as a testimony, first, *i*) of his indebtedness to Simnānī's heritage; secondly, *ii*) of the fact that Simnānī was not considered by Suhrawardī Sufis as someone distinct from their own tradition, thirdly, *iii*) of the still forming Kubrawī *ṭarīqa*-conscsiousness, and, finally more broadly for Sufism in general, *iv*) of the tendency of certain lines to subsumed under more dominant ones. We know that Simnānī's line was the most influential one among the disciples of Najm al-Dīn Kubrā.[18] However, Kubrawī shaykhs several generations after him began to change the outlook of the tradition, giving it a more defined identity, albeit, within non-*Sunnī-Jamāᶜī* terms. Obviously, Khwāfī lived, and wrote the endowment charter, at a time of such transitions. Bringing up Simnānī's genealogy may have been another way of alluding to the most recent influential shaykh whose Sunni credentials were not in question. From the opposite perspective, this furnishes an example of this illustrates how such movements within Kubrawiyya as Nūrbakhsh's ensured the tradition independence by moving it away from the *sharīᶜa*- and *siyāsa*-oriented Sunnī-Jamāᶜī path.

It is easy to draw parallels between this charter and those that Mamlūk sultans prescribed for the *khānqāh*s they built in Egypt, in one of which Khwāfī appears to have been a resident at the end of the 1380s. The similarities between the emphasis on *Sharīᶜa* matters as well as on "Sufi duty"

17. Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī," 197.

18. Most of the well-known Sufis of the Kubrawī tradition traced their lineage to ᶜAlāᵓ al-Dawla Simnānī. The two Shi'i communities of Nūrbakhshiyya and Dhahabiyya, which originated from within the Kubrawī tradition during the fifteenth century, also claimed descent from Simnānī. Those Kubrawī lineages that did not Shi'itize in this period later on were absorbed by other groups, most notably, the Naqshbandiyya. Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1033/1624), for instance, claimed Kubrawī descent through three different lines, two of which included Simnānī in the chain of transmission. Simnānī, *ᶜAlāᵓ al-Dawla al-Simnānī*, xv–xvii.

(*waẓīfat al-taṣawwuf*) are remarkable.[19] The extent to which Khwāfī was influenced by Mamlūk Sufi *waqf*s is a matter to be explored separately. The clear difference, however, is the fact that the whole facility was dedicated to a group of Sufis limited by initiation, rather than by origin or legal school.

Considering Khwāfī's writings on the practical aspects of *ṭarīqa* Sufism, as well as the implication of this *waqf*, which he wrote towards the end of his life, it is obvious that Khwāfī had an easily distinguishable view of Sufism.[20] That he further limited the focus of this mystical project to his own path provides undeniable evidence that he was a thoroughly *silsila*-conscious Sufi and that he reserved his project for his community only. If one takes into account the fact that his successors in different lands, and not his descendants, disseminated the path in Khwāfī's name, it becomes clear that Khwāfī was establishing a new *ṭarīqa*, building on the authority of Suhrawardiyya foundations.

## 6.3 Darwīsh Aḥmad Samarqandī and the "anti-Ibn ᶜArabī" controversy in primary sources and modern works

While some of Khwāfī's works give the impression of design and planning, one particular piece of writing catalogued in various manuscript collections under Khwāfī's name seems to have been of the unintended kind I discussed above,[21] where the work was not initially intended for public circulation, rather its codification and eventual dissemination were the work of a network of followers and admirers. The work in question, whose title is given as *Man kāna ᶜaliyy al-ḥimma* using the first few words of the text, was in fact an extended *ijāza* written by Khwāfī to a disciple he deeply valued and considered to have great potential for spiritual growth. The small essay outlines the four

19. Emil Homerin, "Saving Muslim Souls: The Khanqah and the Sufi Duty in Mamluk Lands," *Mamluk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 59–82.

20. In the long introduction to the endowment deed, Khwāfī writes that after his long travels in distant lands he returned to Khorasan and was motivated by the burden of his contemporary plight and of his family. Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī," 192–93.

21. See above for my brief discussion on the purpose of publishing.

requirements for Sufis aiming to attain the ranks of the *ṣiddīqūn*—i.e., the most truthful—which include inner and outwardly detachment from worldly affairs and absolute adherence instead to the principle of God-consciousness (*taqwā*), and dedicating oneself to the company of God so as to dissociate oneself from other objects. This short essay on asceticism and God-oriented living apparently exists in at least three copies, all of which are found in manuscript libraries in Turkey.[22]

The disciple the above work is addressed to is named as Darwīsh Aḥmad Samarqandī, who is said to have received *ijāza* from Khwāfī in 821/1418.[23] Darwīsh Aḥmad had a particularly eventful career in Herat, both as a disciple of Khwāfī and as an influential member of the religious elite. According to a narrative found in contemporary sources, he rose to prominence under Khwāfī's protection and lost his prestige in the city by falling out of Khwāfī's favor. His story, to the extent that we can gather it from sources, has to do with the later years of Khwāfī's life in Herat and is illustrative of the relations of power, status, and clientage among the religious elite of Herat, and therefore merits a brief visit here.

We are not sure when the two met. Aḥmad is uniformly described in primary sources as a peerless preacher who was installed by Khwāfī at the *Masjid-i Jāmi*ᶜ—namely, the Friday mosque—of Herat .[24] Māyil Harawī, in his introduction to Khwāfī's *Manhaj al-Rashād*, claims, without any

22. Köle, *Hâfî*, 61. I should note that in my interpretation of this work, I rely on the notes found in Köle's work. Despite all my attempts, I was not able review a copy of this work. Moreover,here, as with many other manuscripts Köle used, I have been unable to access any of these copies using the cataloguing information he provided. Another equally problematic issue is that here and elsewhere in his book, Köle seems to rely on the information provided in the text and footnotes of Öngören's work, rather than on his direct knowledge of the sources related to Khwāfī. Cf., for example, Köle, *Hâfî*, 61 and Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 41, 42.

23. On this, see Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, i/174, where Khwāfī is quoted as saying he wrote these words to "the son" *sayyid* Aḥmad Samarqandī in a suburb of Herat in Rajab 821/August 1418. Ṣafī in the same place provides his full name as "Abū al-Mayāmin Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī." Note that the "son" address was commonly used in *ijāza*s and other works by shaykhs to refer to their disciples and was tantamount to "a loyal disciple." Öngören argued that this text is a piece of spiritual advice from Khwāfī to Darwīsh Aḥmad and not technically an *ijāza*; see Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 41–42. For a review of its surviving manuscript copies, see Köle, *Hâfî*, 60–61. We do not know the dates of birth and death of Aḥmad; on this see below.

24. For a detailed description of the mosque and its history, see Saljūqī, *Herāt-nāma*, 16–85.

substantiation, that Aḥmad's tenure at the mosque began shortly after Khwāfī vacated that position in 812/1409–10.[25] The idea that Khwāfī preached there and was somehow associated with such religious functions as the *khiṭāba* (Friday sermons) and *wa*$^{c}$*ẓ* (preaching) seems to find support in primary sources, although there is no evidence that I am aware of confirming the date provided by Harawī.[26] At any rate, according to the *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, a source dating from the late ninth/fifteenth century, Aḥmad's fondness for his shaykh led him to declare at the pulpit of this mosque that "just as the Prophet Muḥammad was the seal of prophethood, so is Zayn al-Dīn the seal of sainthood."[27] For his part, Khwāfī used to attend his disciple's sermons and encouraged his followers to do the same, causing Darwīsh Aḥmad to rise to prominence and fame in the city.

An examination of all available information on Darwīsh Aḥmad leads one to the conclusion that while this loyalty marked most of their relationship, a contention emerged between the two, and there was a period when Aḥmad was estranged from his shaykh and his circle. In various references, he is portrayed as one of Khwāfī's prominent disciples, and the unusually long and elaborate *Man kāna* $^{c}$*aliyya al-ḥimma*, which is considered by *Rashaḥāt-i* $^{c}$*Ayn al-Ḥayāt* to be an *ijāza*, written in 821/1418, may be an indication of the confidence the shaykh placed in his disciple despite an awareness of his spiritual volatility.[28] Despite this trust of the shaykh, Darwīsh Aḥmad was interested in metaphysical speculation of the sort associated with Ibn $^{c}$Arabī's teachings and became more so over time. Knowing this predilection in his student, early tenth/sixteenth century sources tell us that Khwāfī cautioned him, and when his disciple did not heed to his warnings, Khwāfī renounced him and had him removed from the *Jāmi*$^{c}$ of Herat. Most of the details of these events come to us

25. Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xxvi.

26. Partially confirming Harawī's note, Khwāndamīr wrote that Khwāfī at the beginning was associated with preaching and *imāma*, however, not in Herat but in its suburbs. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iv/12.

27. Zamchī Isfizārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, i/207. I noted in the previous chapter that these words are similar in meaning to a poem Maqdisī wrote for Khwāfī during the latter's visit to Jerusalem.

28. Jāmī noted that Aḥmad was one of the accomplished (*kār-karda*) disciples of Khwāfī with an interest in the writings of Sufis, most notably, of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī, whose work he used to study even in *khalwa* under Khwāfī. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 494–95.

from sources by Naqshbandī authors, and, in most cases, the source is Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 895/1490) himself, who was a young student in Herat around this time. These sources describe the plight of Aḥmad, how he met with Aḥrār and how the latter decided to help him, seeing he was being persecuted by one of the most powerful Sufis of the city. According to the same tradition, Aḥrār's eventual aiding of Aḥmad and his circumventing Khwāfī's boycott of him led to an angry exchange between Khwāfī and the young Aḥrār, who would go on to become the most prominent representative of Naqshbandiyya in his generation.

This rise and the fall of Darwīsh Aḥmad was a popular subject in the Naqshbandiyya-related sources of the period, as it is in the work of recent scholars working on the intellectual controversies of the period. These recent studies dwell on the contemporary sources and tend to focus on two aspects of the events as they are presented in the primary sources: *i*) Khwāfī's disowning of Aḥmad and his declaration of him as an unbeliever (*takfīr*) according to the *Aḥrārī* sources, and *ii*) the way attitudes toward Ibn ᶜArabī played out in this event. In short, some scholars have interpreted this quarrel as an extension of the conflict in the Tīmūrid period over the epistemology of mystical knowledge and its authority, in which the legacy of the "greatest shaykh" figured heavily. Because of its significance in terms both of Khwāfī's life and of the broader intellectual history of the period, it is necessary at this point to delve a little further into this problem. In the following pages, I will first look at the presentation of the events in primary sources, and then in recent scholarship, and finally offer an assessment.

### 6.3.1 Darwīsh Aḥmad's image in primary sources

*Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, the earliest work treating Khwāfī's biography, was penned by Aṣīl al-Dīn Wāᶜiẓ (d. 883/1478), a resident of Herat who came to the city after Khwāfī's death. According to what we know of him, Asīl al-Dīn was involved with neither Khwāfī nor any of the Naqshbandī circles in

the city. [29] Interestingly, he lists several of the prominent disciples and associates of Khwāfī, who is described as the master of the age in training disciples, but does not mention Darwīsh Aḥmad.[30] This fact may indicate that Aḥmad was still alive at the time of writing, and, possibly, that he was not considered a prominent member of Khwāfī's circle at the time Aṣīl al-Dīn was writing.

The second earliest of these sources is the *Nafaḥāt* (finished around 884/1479), whose author Jāmī, unlike Asīl al-Dīn, was an initiate of the Naqshbandī Saᶜd al-Dīn Kāshghārī (d. 860/1456) in addition to being a close friend of ᶜUbayd Allah Aḥrār. The *Nafaḥāt* begins by noting three important things about Darwīsh Aḥmad; namely, that *i*) he was one of the competent disciples (*murīdān-i kār-karda*) and representatives (*khulafāᵓ*) of Khwāfī; and *ii*) he had seen the sayings of Sufis (*sukhanān-i ṣūfiyya*);[31] and *iii*) he expressed these beautifully from the pulpit. While Jāmī points out that Aḥmad busied himself with the study of Ibn ᶜArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, the mention of any disagreement with Khwāfī is completely absent from his treatment.[32]

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29. Our current knowledge on Aṣīl al-Dīn Wāᶜiẓ-i Harawī is extremely limited. See the brief description of his life in the Introduction.

30. "In the science of the wayfaring (*sulūk*) and the instruction (*irshād*) of the students of the path of the Truth, no one reached him." Aṣīl al-Dīn Wāᶜiẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, 80. Among Khwāfī's protégés listed in the work are Jalāl al-Dīn Qāyinī who, like Khwāfī, died during the plague in 838, Sirāj al-Dīn Multānī (d. 841/1437–8), Saᶜd al-Dīn al-Kāshgharī (d. 860/1456), and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Kūsūᵓī (d. 863/1458–9).

31. This expression is interesting and can be taken to indicate several things. It might be a reference to Aḥmad's familiarity with theosophical Sufism, which is raised in the following line, or, among others, it might also have to do with the fact that Aḥmad appears to be the scribe of a copy of Khwāfī's commentary on Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī's *ᶜAwārif al-Maᶜārif*. See above on this.

32. For more on the *Fuṣūṣ*, see below. It is impossible to go into detail on the importance of this work for the Sufis and scholars of the period under discussion. For a brief understanding of the kind of mystical interpretation of the Qurᵓān *Fuṣūṣ* offers, see the Introduction (especially pp. 18–20) to the following work: Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-ᶜArabī, *The Bezels of Wisdom (Translation of Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam)*, ed. R. W. J. Austin (New York: Paulist Press, 1980). That Aḥmad studied Ibn ᶜArabī, and not taught it in the strict sense of the word, is my interpretation of Jāmī's phrase *ba dars wa muṭālaᶜa-i fuṣūṣ ishtighāl mī numūd*. Note that some recent works have interpreted this phrase as an evidence of Aḥmad's teaching the *Fuṣūṣ* as a subject. On this matter, more will come below when I examine modern scholarly perspectives. My interpretation stems also from the fact never in the sources Darwīsh Aḥmad is depicted as any more than someone interested in Ibn ᶜArabī's thought and I have yet to see any allusion to his teaching and preaching any of the latter shaykh's works. See

Jāmī's work is the earliest source that mentions a dream Aḥmad had when he was in solitary spiritual exercise (*khalwa*) in Khwāfī's convent in Darwīshābād, in which the Prophet affirmed the controversial conclusions of Ibn ᶜArabī in the said work.[33] Jāmī was based mostly in Herat and must have had access to unfiltered and direct knowledge on the life and work of Khwāfī, who is the subject of much praise and adulation in the *Nafaḥāt*.[34]

Allusion to a dispute, let alone an apostasy claim, is absent from the account of Zamchī-Isfizārī (d. after 899/1494), a chancery official under the Tīmūrids of Herat, whose *Rawḍāt al-Jannāts* was written between 897–9/1492–4, does not mention any hostility between the two. On the contrary, his account is a source for the high praise Aḥmad voiced for his shaykh from the pulpit, although it is admittedly mentioned in a very short note.[35] Like Aṣīl al-Dīn Wāᶜiẓ, Isfizārī seems not to have belonged to any of the intellectual circles in and around Herat at the time.[36] Apart from the apparent similarities with the *Nafaḥāt*'s treatment, his personal contacts must have constituted major sources

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below for more on this.

33. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 494–95.

34. One must remember again, as several scholars pointed out, that Jāmī is known to have edited his subjects in order to project his vision of an exemplar piety. See below on a brief assessment of the approaches of these sources to the event. For general reference on the *Nafaḥāt*, see Aigle, "'Aṭṭār's Taḏkirat al-Awliyā and Jāmī's Nafaḥat al-Uns: Two Visions of Sainthood"; Algar, "Jāmī and Sufism"; Mojaddedi, *The biographical tradition in sufism : the ṭabaqāt genre from al-Sulamī to Jāmī*; Mojaddedi, "Jāmī's re-contextualization."It would not be surprising if Jāmī had left out a possibly problematic episode that might interfere with the author's intended presentation of Khwāfī, though this remains a speculation. In a similar vein of speculation, one might argue if Aḥmad had really been the subject of a claim of disbelief (*takfīr*), Jāmī would have excluded Aḥmad in his treatment of Khwāfī.

35. Zamchī-Isfizārī's note that Darwīsh Aḥmad called Khwāfī as the "seal of saints," was discussed above. This claim is clearly reminiscent of the *khatm al-awliyāʾ* idea, which occurs, among other works, in Ibn ᶜArabī's writings, which Aḥmad used to study despite his shaykh's guarded stance against the author. On the issue of "the seal of the sainthood," see Michel Chodkiewicz, *Seal of The Saints : Prophethood and Sainthood in The Doctrine of Ibn ᶜArabī* (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1993).

36. Zamchī Isfizārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, i/207. On the author, see Maria E. Subtelny, "Esfezārī, Moᶜīn-al-Dīn Moḥammad Zamčī" in *Encyclopædia Iranica* and Tahsin Yazıcı, "Muînüddîn-i Isfizârî" in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.

of information for the *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*.

Fakhr al-Dīn ᶜAlī Ṣafī (d. 939/1532–33), who spent much of his life in Herat and was a pupil of Aḥrār's and the brother-in-law of Jāmī, finished the *Rashaḥāt-e ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt* (Tricklings from the Fountain of Life) in 909/1503.[37] *Rashaḥāt*, which adds more detail to the historical imprint of Darwīsh Aḥmad, begins by adding to *Nafaḥāt*'s brief silhouette the note that Aḥmad, despite being a disciple of Khwāfī's on the surface, in disposition was a follower of the doctrine of *tawḥīd-i wujūd*. Another important addition in the *Rashaḥāt* is the information that, before coming to Herat to be Khwāfī's student, Aḥmad attached himself to the *khwājagān*, that is, the shaykhs of Naqsbhandiyya.[38]

Other details the *Rashaḥāt* adds to *Nafaḥāt*'s treatment of Aḥmad include Aḥrār's assessment that his orations were so brilliant that many shaykhs who attended found them worthy of such great masters of early Sufism as Junayd (d. 297/910) and Shiblī (d. 334/945), in addition to his note that his speeches were often too complex for many people to understand. In one occasion, learning some in his audience criticized the incomprehensibleness of his sermons caused him to chastise the attendance saying just because they cannot understand, they should not consider all others as base and obtuse as themselves.[39] While Aḥrār suggested that it was not Aḥmad's fault that he had

37. Ṣafī visited Samarqand twice to accompany Aḥrār in 889 and 893, and stayed with him for four months and eight months, respectively. According to Ali Shir Nawai, he received an *ijāza* from him. See Necdet Tosun, "Fahreddin Safî" in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. On the *Rashaḥāt*, see among others, H. Beveridge, "The Rashahat-i-ʿAinal-Hayat (Tricklings from the Fountain of Life)," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1916, 59–75. On Kāshgharī, see Hamid Algar, "Kāšgari, Saʿd-al-Din," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*. On Ṣafī's father Wāᶜiẓ Kāshifī, who is the most important source of the *Rashaḥāt*, see Maria Eva Subtelny, "Husayn Vaᶜiz-i Kashifi: polymath, popularizer, and preserver," *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 4 (2003): 463–67 and Maria Eva Subtelny, "Kāšefi, Kamāl-al-Din Ḥosayn Wāᶜeẓ," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*.

38. After noting the Darwīsh Aḥmad used to miss his former shaykh ᶜAlā al-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār (d. 1400), who was the successor of Bahā al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 1389), a lot, Ṣafī quotes a letter from him to the shaykh. The later is dated 822/1419, however, which is impossible to reconcile with the life of the shaykh. Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, i:174–179. This same concern is raised also by Öngören; see Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 42.

39. Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, i/182, 183.

to speak so harshly, one can gather an idea about his zeal for eloquent at the same time intricate discourses on Sufism, to which I will need to return shortly.

More important for our present question is the fact that the *Rashaḥāt* is the earliest work to discuss the controversy between the shaykh and his disciple.[40] Relating from Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh, the book's main source of information, Ṣafī narrates that in the beginning, Khwāfī was very supportive of Darwīsh Aḥmad, securing him a preaching position at the main mosque of Herat, personally attending his sermons and encouraging others to do so as well.[41] This naturally helped Aḥmad's rise to fame and his audience to swell. However, some time after, Khwāfī was bothered by his disciple, and according to the Rashaḥāt, declared him an unbeliever (*ū rā takfīr kardand*) and caused people to turn away from him. This was due to the fact that Aḥmad had developed the habit of reciting the poetry of Qāsim al-Anwar Tabrīzī (d. 837/1433), a figure who appears to have been a major opponent of Khwāfī in Herat. Khwāfī's hostility towards his disciple was ruinous for Aḥmad's career, as his sermons could no longer attract more than a handful of listeners.[42]

Aḥrār, who used to spend time in Herat in those days, felt sorry for the plight of Aḥmad. One day, they met at Aḥrār's cell in the Ghiyāthiyya *madrasa* in the city, and Aḥmad told his story about with frequent tears in his eyes, asking for Aḥrār's help in this matter. Aḥrār consoled him and told him to give his sermons at a certain mosque where, he promised, he would find an even larger audience than at the main mosque where he was installed by Khwāfī.[43] Soon, under the guidance of Aḥrār, Darwīsh Aḥmad began to give sermons at several mosques, where it would be so crowded that people could hardly find a place to sit. This came to Khwāfī's attention, and he tried to put a stop to it, but in vain. In the words of the *Rashaḥāt*, apparently quoting from Aḥrār, it was the talk of the town that a youth from Turkistan got into a struggle with Khwāfī and got the best of him. Aḥrār,

40. Another interesting detail in this respect is that both the author of the *Rashaḥāt* and Darwīsh Aḥmad were famous preachers of the mosque of Herat in their own time. Subtelny, "Husayn Vaᶜiz-i Kashifi: polymath, popularizer, and preserver," 466.

41. Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, i/179.

42. Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, i/180.

43. Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, i:181.

who was typically proud of his victories in quarrels against other masters, fondly remembered this episode as his first victory.[44]

The same episode is found with minor changes in *Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār*, a later hagiographical source on Aḥrār, where the author elaborates a bit further, saying that Aḥmad had begun the habit of ending his sermons with poetry, which, most of the time, was that of Qāsim al-Anwār.[45] We know that Khwāfī's circle was incompatible with that of Qāsim and it is difficult to speculate on what prompted Aḥmad to grow a propensity towards Qāsim's poetry; however, there is evidence that Aḥmad's interest in Qāsim may have involved more than a mere taste in poetry. Nishabūrī, the compiler of the *Malfūẓāt*, further relates from Aḥrār an interesting encounter between Aḥmad and Qāsim: One day, Aḥmad went to Qāsim's gathering (*majlis*). Qāsīm and others in his company continued their conversation as they did not recognize Aḥmad's presence. Once their conversation finished, Aḥmad stood up angrily, waving his hand, said "Where are you still, O fool!" before storming out. Realizing it was Aḥmad, Qāsim and others felt sorry, and Qāsim sent his son after Aḥmad, which was not enough to convince the latter to return. Aḥrār later said of this event that Aḥmad never met Qāsim afterwards.[46] This fervent reaction of Darwīsh Aḥmad reminds one of another incident when he scolded his audience for their simplemindedness. It may be possible, in an admittedly cursory manner, to draw a connection from these incidents to Aḥrār's assessment, as recorded by Nishābūrī, that Darwīsh Aḥmad was an intrepid, and perhaps reckless, person who did not care about his outward manners.[47]

Based on the descriptions in primary sources, it appears that Aḥrār had firm confidence in Darwīsh Aḥmad on account of the latter's eloquence in the pulpit and his command of the subtleties of Sufism, so much so that, Aḥrār and other members of Aḥmad's audience would draw comparisons

44. Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, i:182.

45. Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," 175–76.

46. Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," 241.

47. To quote the *Malfūẓāt*: *Mī farmūdand ki Darwīsh Aḥmad mard-i bī parwā būd wa dar luqma iḥtiyāṭī ne-dāsht.* See Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," 175.

to the greatest masters of early Sufism like Abū Bakr Shiblī and Junayd.[48] On the other hand, while Aḥrār as generally depicted as being protective of Darwīsh Aḥmad, some of the less flattering anecdotes stemming from the former's narration seem to cast a shade on the former's admiration of this disciple of Khwāfī.[49]

### 6.3.2 *A brief look at recent scholarship*

It is not possible to offer a detailed critical analysis of this anecdote here. To do this, one must begin with an examination of the rhetoric of Aḥrār, the major source of these anecdotes, which is beyond the scope of this study. In lieu of a wider argument, a couple of points on aspects of Darwīsh Aḥmad's alleged condemnation might still be raised here. Given the fact that some recent scholarship on the mysticism and intellectual currents of the period rely on this anecdote to arrive at the conclusion that Khwāfī was hostile to Ibn ᶜArabī, it is necessary to offer a brief review, which should begin with a look at modern treatments.

One of the works in question is a recent study by Shahzad Bashir, who has taken this episode as an evidence of Khwāfī's "anti-Ibn ᶜArabī" stance.[50] The reading Bashir offers is open to objection, however. In the same treatment, Bashir writes that "Jami reports that Samarqandi used to teach the *Fusus*, basing his practice on the claim that the Prophet had asked him to do so directly during mystical encounters," whereas the *Nafaḥāt* simply reports that Aḥmad was occupied with the study

48. Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, i/182.

49. See Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, i:183–84, where Aḥrār embarrasses Aḥmad during a sermon reacting to the latter's pride; also Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, i/184, where Aḥmad is depicted as cursing scholars and students on the pulpit on account of their lack of discipline in devotional matters.

50. "Zayn ad-Din Khwāfī is shown to have held a similarly harsh view of Ibn al-ᶜArabi, as evident from the story of his falling out with a man named Aḥmad Samarqandi whom he initially regarded as his foremost disciple." Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 99 I must note that I was not able to find a single source to prove the argument here that Khwāfī regarded Aḥmad as his foremost disciple. The *Nafaḥāt* and other sources that follow it describe Aḥmad as a prominent devotee and a representative of Khwāfī; see above.

of *Fuṣūṣ*: *bā dars wa muṭālaᶜa-i fuṣūṣ ishtighāl mī numūd.*[51]

Bashir then takes literally the report about Khwāfī's denunciation (*takfīr*) of Aḥmad ("He then proceeded to declare him a nonbeliever..."), which I object to, apparently attributing this condemnation to the idea that Qāsim was a "well-known proponent of Ibn al-ᶜArabi." Bashir, moreover, jumps from Khwāfī's criticism of pantheism to an "intense antipathy toward Ibn al-ᶜArabi," which is verifiably contrary to what survives from Khwāfī, withdrawing from a potentially rich analysis in favor of a reductionist binary.

A close reading of Bashir's treatment of this case reveals that he arbitrarily combines several narratives into one, without any visible attempt at a criticism of his sources, in order to arrive at an image that is probably harmonious with his view of the matter. The resulting portrayal of an "anti-Ibn ᶜArabī" Khwāfī is incompatible with what we find in contemporary literature, including in writings by Khwāfī himself, and owes more to the vision of Bashir than to the sources. The truth of the matter is that Khwāfī never directly criticized, let alone laid a claim of unbelief on, Ibn ᶜArabī, and none of the sources enables one to argue that the conflict between Khwāfī and Aḥmad was caused by the latter's interest in Ibn ᶜArabī. To the contrary, the *Nafaḥāt* reports that Aḥmad used to study the *Fuṣūṣ* when he was in *khalwa* under Khwāfī's supervision, and it would be unreasonable to assume that Khwāfī would have approved had Khwāfī been an unequivocal enemy of Ibn ᶜArabī, as Bashir imagines.[52] This image is adopted uncritically by Melvin-Koushki in his dissertation,

51. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 494. The word *dars* here is taken to mean as studying, rather than instruction (*tadrīs*), in the contemporary Ottoman and Chaghatay renderings of the *Nafaḥāt* respectively by Lāmiᶜī and ᶜAlī Shīr Nawāʾī. See Lāmiᶜī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 549 and Nevâyī, *Nesâyimüʾl-Mahabbe*, 318. A recent Arabic translation also understood this as the individual study and perusal of the text; see Nūr al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns min Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds*, trans. Muḥammad Adīb Jādir (Bayrūt: Manshūrāt Muḥammad ᶜAlī Bayḍūn, Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmīyah, 2003), ii/665. Ökten's dissertation, on the other hand, interpreted the note in as "studying and teaching." Ökten, "Jāmī," 323. The context of this reference, especially the mention that the Prophet directed him to study the *Fuṣūṣ*, makes it clear that Aḥmad was interested in and occupied with the study of the text, rather than its instruction. Furthermore, we do not have any evidence to ascribe Darwīsh Aḥmad an instructional role of any capacity.

52. Cf. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 494; Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 99.

who directly quotes Bashir's above-mentioned work.[53] Binbaş, who examined Khwāfī's *Manhaj al-Rashād* in light of the assassination attempt on Shāhrukh, diverges slightly from this perspective to describe Khwāfī more moderately than the previous two authors, saying he had "strong anti-Ibn $^{c}$Arabī beliefs."[54]

### 6.3.3 *Returning to Darwīsh Aḥmad*

Having argued in detail that Khwāfī did not stage a virulent attack against Ibn $^{c}$Arabī, as some scholars have suggested he did, I will no re-examine the Darwīsh Aḥmad controversy. It may well be possible that Aḥmad used to recite Qāsim al-Anwār's poetry from the pulpit, the accession to which platform he seems to have owed to Khwāfī. It follows naturally that Khwāfī was offended by this. That Aḥmad continued to quote Qāsim despite his shaykh's warnings sounds strange, given his alleged loyalty to Khwāfī, yet, if true, it must have considerably exacerbated the situation. The information that sources provide about these Khwāfī and Qāsim unequivocally reveals an incompatibility between their approaches in terms of their interpretation of the implication of the *Sharī$^{c}$a* for Sufism: Khwāfī was a thoroughly *Sharī$^{c}$a*-abiding Sufi, which sources uniformly report, who was not simply a mystic and ascetic, but also a Sufi who did not distinguish between the mystical path (*ṭarīqa*), and the Islamic law (*Sharī$^{c}$a*), and saw it as the duty of every Sufi to advocate for the *Shar$^{c}$ī* vision of ethics in the society. Sayyid Qāsim's view of Sufism, on the other hand, centered more on personal pleasure (*dhawq*), with "insufficient" attention to outward observances.[55]Qāsim's interest in the *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* doctrine, and his rumored affiliation with the Ṣafawī Sufism, may

53. "Even Aḥmad Samarqandī ... the sometime chief disciple of Zayn al-Dīn Kh$^{W}$āfī, was disowned, declared an unbeliever and persecuted by the latter when he would not desist from teaching the *Fuṣūṣ* or reciting the verses of Qāsim-i Anvār, also a proponent of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī." See Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest," 420, which references Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 98–99.

54. Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks*, 249.

55. Beginning from Jāmī's entry on Qāsim, most reports from the time, even those from the circle of Aḥrār who was sympathetic towards the Tabrizī shakyh, highlight the lack of *Shar$^{c}$ī* discipline within the circle of Qāsim, which was unlike most other Sufi groups of Herat at the time.

have constituted part of the incompatibility between the two.[56] As some contemporary observers summed up, Khwāfī subscribed to the view that "All things are from God," (*hama az-ū ast*) while Qāsim believed that "All things are [the same as] God" (*hama ū ast*).

The crux of the matter lies in Khwāfī's reported condemnation (*takfīr*) of Aḥmad as a result, which is problematic on many levels. It is quite difficult to accept that Khwāfī, as someone deeply knowledgeable about Islamic jurisprudence and theology, would easily level against such a close disciple this grave a condemnation. Complicating the problem even more is Jāmī's report that the same Darwīsh Aḥmad was by the side of Khwāfī, apparently as an intimate of sorts, during the latter's final illness.[57] As a Sufi shaykh, Khwāfī was by no means in a position to pass judgment on matters concerning the belief and unbelief of a person, which was the domain of legal scholarship.Equally important is the fact that the *takfīr* references in the biographies appear only after the sources concerning Aḥrār's life began to be put in writing, that is, after the turn of the tenth/sixteenth century. As I noted above, we do not see this issue being brought up in the earlier sources.

### 6.3.4 Situating the events in the chronological context

Accentuating this image of an excommunication, and perhaps providing a more reliable interpretation, is the chronological structure of events. We know, according to the *Rashaḥāt*, that Khwāfī wrote the spiritual advice, or the *ijāza*, to Darwīsh Aḥmad in 821/1418.[58] Aḥrār thankfully provides a pretty precise date for when this episode took place, when he said that this embittering of relations

56. Some of the details here, especially those of Qāsim's attachment to Ṣafawiyya and possible Shi'i influences, are difficult to confirm and it is beyond the scope of this study to verify the truth of the matter.

57. Khwāfī during the last years of his life, experienced a debilitating stroke and lost consciousness for a few days. He seems to have never been fully recovered from this until his death, and spent the rest of his life being able to speak little. Possibly shortly after this event, he asked Aḥmad if he ever witnessed such a long-lasting seizure (*wārid*), to which the latter replied by saying he had not. Khwāfī and others seemed to have interpreted this state of unconsciousness a spiritual trance (*jadhba*), rather than a health problem. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 495.

58. As I noted above, Māyil Harawī's report that Darwīsh Aḥmad succeeded Khwāfī at the Mosque of Herat after 811/1408–09 cannot be substantiated using the available sources.

between Khwāfī and his disciple took place during the three months when Aḥrār left Herat to meet Yaᶜqūb Charkhī (d. 851/1447) in Chāghāniyān, a district of Transoxania north of Tirmidh, which must have taken place either in 833/1429–30, or in 834/1430–1.[59] Therefore, we may safely assume that Aḥmad remained a close disciple of Khwāfī at least in the period between 821/1418, the year he received *ijāza*, and ca. 833/1430, roughly when Aḥrār was away from Herat, and he may as well have held the post of preacher at the Friday mosque of the city during part of this period. Judging by two references in the *Nafaḥāt* and the *Rashaḥāt*, he is likely to have spent some of this time in spiritual retreats in Darwīshābād, Khwāfī's dervish colony in the suburbs of Herat.[60] If he was as close to Khwāfī as contemporary sources implied, we may assume that it was the same Darwīsh Aḥmad who was identified as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, the scribe of Khwāfī's marginal annotation (*ḥāshiya*) on the *ᶜAwārif al-Maᶜārif*, compiled in 826/1423.[61]

Scholars of Tīmūrid history highlight the late 820s/1420s as a particularly turbulent period of Shāhrukh's reign. In regard to Sufis, the messianic turmoil around Khuttalānī and Nūrbakhsh in 826/1423 must have certainly put pressure on religious groups at the Tīmūrid capital, while the regicide attempt on the ruler in 830/1427 is pointed out as the climax of a long-lasting political and

59. See Jo-Ann Gross "ᶜUbaydallāh Aḥrār," in *Encyclopædia of Islam, Three*; Hamid Algar, "Ahrâr," in *Encyclopædia of Islam, Second edition*; Necdet Tosun, "Ubeydullah Ahrâr," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. Aḥrār came to Herat in 830/1426–7 and remained there for five years. In his fourth year, he visited Charkhī and after receiving his license, he returned to the city again for another year. See Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," 186.

60. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 495 notes Aḥmad received direction from the Prophet to study the *Fuṣūṣ* during a *khalwa* there. Ṣafī relates in Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, i/185 two semi-conscious visions (*yaqaẓa*) Aḥmad had in Darwīshābād, as well as in Jerusalem. It is tempting to think that Darwīsh Aḥmad accompanied Khwāfī to Jerusalem, but there is no source that can corroborate this I am aware of.

61. The copy of *ḥāshiya* was begun in in Darwīshābād in 826 and finished in Burābād the following year, written by the hand of a disciple named Aḥmad b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. Darwīsh Aḥmad's father is also named Muḥammad in the *ijāza* preserved in the *Rashaḥāt*; see above. The manuscript bears a record of ownership by Khwāfī himself in addition to a recitation record (*qirāᵓat*) dated three years later, in Ramadan 829. Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī," 188. Another manuscript copy of the same work, though not by the pen of the said Aḥmad, is in the collection of Manisa Public Library.

intellectual crisis. In a recent study, Evrim Binbaş notes that the episode of the failed regicide ushered in a period of further political instability, as many scholars and Sufis came under government scrutiny and suspicion of espousing rebellious religious ideas. Among those intellectuals, Qāsim al-Anwār was the single Sufi shaykh whose life and career were most negatively impacted.[62] Because of his alleged association with non-conforming discourses of Sufism, Qāsim came under attack and was interrogated and forced to leave Herat in the aftermath of the regicide attempt.[63]Considering Khwāfī's frequently mentioned dislike of Qāsim, it is plausible that Aḥmad's insistence on quoting Qāsim from the pulpit of the Friday mosque of Herat aroused the ire of the shaykh. It must be remembered that this was a time when Khwāfī found it necessary to write the *Manhaj al-Rashād*, a treatise defending the legitimacy of *Sharī*ᶜ*a*-minded Sufism and criticizing "harmful" mystical discourse. One might argue that Khwāfī did not actually object to Aḥmad's studying Ibn ᶜArabī, judging by the fact that Samarqandī used to study *Fuṣūṣ* in Khwāfī's convent, but rather, to his pre-occupation with Qāsim, a rival shaykh of Herat whom he actually disliked.

When it comes to the use of the word *takfīr* in sources, what seems to be the most reasonable interpretation is that it was used in the *Rashaḥāt* to mean condemnation and excommunication from Khwāfī's circle of trust, rather than being a verdict on apostasy, as several recent studies have understood after taking the word literally. If this is so, then we should take this episode as another case of a once beloved disciple falling out of favor with his shaykh, examples of which one can often come across in medieval Sufi literature.

### *6.3.5 Conclusion to Aḥmad Samarqandī discussion*

In summary, a critical reading of available sources does not support the way some recent studies have presented Darwīsh Aḥmad Samarqandī's case. Khwāfī and Aḥmad had a falling out, but this clearly had much to do with anxiety concerning the image of Qāsim in the aftermath of the execution of

62. Binbaş offers a very helpful summary of the socio-political context as well as a penetrating analysis of the regicide attempt itself in Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks*.

63. Binbaş, "Regicide Attempt," 14.

Khuttalānī in 826/1423 and the attempt on Shāhrukh's life in 1427. That Darwīsh Aḥmad was still by the side of Khwāfī during the latter's last years casts significant doubt on an exact rendering of the term *takfīr*. Likewise, no evidence can be gathered from sources regarding the allegation that Aḥmad's interest in Ibn ᶜArabī was the cause of Khwāfī's ire.

Darwīsh Aḥmad's image in sources emerges as one of a fairly remarkable and fiery preacher installed in the pulpit of the congregational mosque of Herat by Khwāfī. He had teachers before Khwāfī, and he was strongly inclined towards theosophical Sufism, under the influence of Ibn ᶜArabī's works and the poetry of Qāsim al-Anwār. He was, furthermore, close enough to Ṣāᵓin al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (d. 835/1432) for the latter to send a copy of his book to him.[64] His utterance of Qāsim's verses as part of his sermons was one of many episodes where he fell prey to the charm of his own oratorical talent, a fact he himself lamented.[65]

It remains to be seen whether it was because of his falling out of Khwāfī's favor that we do not see him as Khwāfī's successor. Aḥmad's historical record does not survive Khwāfī's death and we do not know what he did afterwards or when he died.[66] At least concerning the Zayniyya community in Herat and beyond, he did not have a lasting legacy. His legacy survived, instead, in the hagiographical literature on the life of Aḥrār, thanks to the exchanges between the two. Clearly, Aḥrār saw this episode and his ensuing victory against Khwāfī as a foundational point in his career as a shaykh, and he occasionally remembered Aḥmad afterwards. Thanks to Aḥrār's recollections, the memory of Darwīsh Aḥmad endured. The anti-Zaynī proclivities of Naqshbandī sources from Herat and Samarqand led to the transmission of information on an otherwise unremarkable disci-

64. Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest," 421.

65. Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, i/185. Another source from Aḥrār's circle describes Darwīsh Aḥmad as an intrepid orator.

66. Aḥmad Samarqandī's grave is reported to be in Herat, but I was not able to ascertain his date of death. See ᶜĀrif Nawshāhī's note in ᶜĀrif Nawshāhī, ed., *Aḥwāl wa Sukhanān-i Khwājah ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (806 tā 895): Mushtamil bar malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār be taḥrīr-i Mīr ᶜAbd al-Avval Nīshābūrī, Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār (majmūᶜa-i dīgar), Raqaᶜāt-i Aḥrār, Khwāriq-i ᶜādāt-i Aḥrār, taᵓlīf-i Mawlānā Shaykh* (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Dānishgāhī, 2001), 405.

ple of Khwāfī.[67] That Aḥmad Samarqandī featured prominently in the contemporary works that is disproportionate to his historical role has in part to do with this bias. Aḥmad may have survived Khwāfī, but clearly, he was not a major successor, let alone the "once-foremost disciple," as some recent treatments have him, judging by the fact that he does not appear to be among a number of *khalīfa*s, such as Tabādkānī, Rawāsī, Multānī, and others who continued Khwāfī's path in Khorasan.

## 6.4 Khwāfī's last years

There is little Khwāfī's biographers have to report on the last part of his life; what we know relies partly on circumstantial information. Khwāfī spent the last years of his life as a recluse, in constant spiritual retreat in Darwīshābād.[68] Towards the end of his life, he was struck by a paralyzing ailment, identified as a seizure (*wārid*) in the source material, which made him unable to speak for three days. After he regained consciousness, he asked Darwīsh Aḥmad, who was by his side, if he ever witnessed this kind of a seizure, which kept occurring again and again. Aḥmad responded in the negative.[69] For Khwāfī and his contemporaries, this was a *jadhba*, a state of spiritual attraction and rupture, and the ensuing loss of consciousness. Khwāfī spoke little during the following year. He died about a year later, during a plague outbreak on a Sunday night on Shawwāl 2, 838/May 1, 1435.[70]

Most biographers agree that Khwāfī's death was caused by a plague that struck the city of Herat, for whose protection he customarily used to pray. The outbreak is recorded to have occurred during

67. Pointing out to the bias in Naqshbandī sources towards the circle of Khwāfī, Ökten noted that "the Herat based Naqshbandiyya circle was at this point in unison with certain other Naqshbandiyya circles in situating the Zayniyya or its representatives in relatively inferior position to themselves."Ökten, "Jāmī," 109.

68. Aṣīl al-Dīn Wā$^{c}$iẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, 81; Fikrī Saljūqī, *Khiyābān* (Kābul: Anjuman-i Jāmī, Vizārat-i Maṭbū$^{c}$āt, 1964), 82.

69. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 494.

70. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 494. Zamchī Isfizārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, i/208. Khwāndamīr also has the same date, Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iv:12. Sakhāwī has his date as Shawwāl 1 (April 30); see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmi$^{c}$ (2003)*, ix:230. The date Ibn Taghribirdī provided, namely Ramadan 3, must be wrong. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt (1382-1469 A.D.); Translation of: al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah*, xviii/206.

Jumādā al-Ākhira and Rajab of 838, corresponding to the first few months of 1435.[71] According to the historian Khwāndamīr, people came to Khwāfī during the plague to ask him to pray for the lifting of the disease. This was after they went to another prominent shaykh of Herat, Bahāᵓ al-Dīn ᶜUmar Jagharāᵓī, who refused to pray, arguing it was a time of God's wrath and prayers would not be heard. Khwāfī, however, responded affirmatively and prayed with them.[72] Khwāndamīr narrated this on the authority of his grandfather, who was a devotee of Bahāᵓ al-Dīn, presenting the story as an evidence of the spiritual superiority of Bahāᵓ al-Dīn over Khwāfī.

Khwāfī's burial was also quite interesting, in that there was a contest over where to bury him. He was first buried in Mālīn (or Mālān), where he died, and from there he was transferred to Darwīshābād. This must have been done by his followers and the overseers of his *waqf*, as its deed includes the mention of a tomb, possibly envisioned by the founder as a burial place. Shortly after, however, his remains were transferred and buried again, this time in Herat. A large shrine was built in the same year by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr Aḥmad, a powerful member of the Tīmūrid court and a major patron of religious culture in Khorasan at the time, to the north of Herat's city center in an area called *Īdgāh*, which functioned as a place of gathering and celebrating religious festivals.[73] In the

71. The plague of 838/1435 was devastating for Herat. We know of several notables who died during this plague, including Khwāfī's disciple Qāyinī and Taftazānī's son. Harawī lists a number of the religious elite who died in this plague in his notes to *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*: Aṣīl al-Dīn Wāᶜiẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, 80–82. For a list of prominent deaths during 838, most of which was related to the plague, see Faṣīḥ-i Khwāfī, *Mujmal*, iii/1130–35. Also see Subtelny and Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 219; Manz, *Power*, 46–47, 215; and C. P. W. Gammell, *The Pearl of Khorasan: A History of Herat* (London: C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 2016), 93. Plague was a major part of life in the time of Khwāfī. His travels was conditioned by the outbreaks and recessions of the disease. Khwāfī's teacher Shabarrīsī seems to have been a victim of another major plague outbreak that decimated the population of Cairo in 822/1419. On this, see Jaques, *Ibn Hajar*, 80–82.

72. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iv/13.

73. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iv/12. As I noted previously, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr Aḥmad was a devotee of Khwāfī and Manz further suggested that they may have been relatives. Manz, *Power*, 100. Sources of the period note the ways the area developed and became a major center of social and cultural activities in the city. The *ᶜĪdgāh* area and the so-called *Muṣallā* complex it housed declined over time, as the city's fate declined too. The area unfortunately suffered from neglect and natural destruction. The worst came when the British convinced their Afghan client in 1885

late fifteenth century, his shrine was so crowded that people started to offer Friday prayers there.[74]

The progression of his three burials, from the humble village he died to his dervish colony and then to a glorious tomb in the capital echoes the development of his mission—from a traveling disciple to a Sufi leader. That his ultimate resting place was decided by the Shāhrukhid elite, rather than his own will, resembled the in-betweenness of his path, which called for avoidance of "the men of the material world" without forgoing support for the Emperor of Islam. Needless to say, this is a testimony of the fact that Khwāfī was "useful" for the political elite even in death.[75] This new shrine quickly became a center of visitation in town and, shortly after, a site for the burial of the religious elite—not only those in Khwāfī's circle, but others as well.[76] Among the prominent Sufis of the time to be later buried there were Saᶜd al-Dīn Kāshgharī, a devotee—though not a disciple—of Khwāfī, who asked to be buried there,[77] Kāshgharī's disciple ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, and Bahāᵓ al-Dīn ᶜUmar Jagharāᵓī, a contemporary of Khwāfī who was equally influential in the city.[78]

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that demolishing the larger buildings would help defend the city against possible Russian incursion. British engineers razed several standing mosques and *madrasa*s of the area using dynamite. Today only 5 minarets and the cupola of Gawhar-shād's tomb remain. *Muṣallā* was a common prayer space, where denizens of the city offered congregational prayers like the Eid prayers. On the historic and modern Īdgāh, see Rasūl Pūyān, *Jughrāfiyah-i ᶜUmūmī-i Harāt*, Chāp-i 1. (Mashhad: Tarānah, 2009), 175, 257–60. On the destruction of the *Muṣallā* area, also see Gammell, *The Pearl of Khorasan: A History of Herat*, 243–45.

74. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 495. For a photograph of Khwāfī's grave, see Fāḍil Harawī, *Risālah-i tarīq-i qismat-i āb-i qalb va mard juyī va arāẓī bulūkāt va vilāyāt kih mutaẓammin-i jughrāfiyā-yi Hirāt ast*, 130.

75. Aḥrār complained that Khwāfī would never go to the side of Shāhrukh to request a favor on behalf of people. (Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," 246). Yet he asked people to be respectful to and grateful for the existence of a ruler like Shāhrukh, who was in the right path. For if it was not for Shāhrukh, another ruler who might have been tyrant may have reigned. (Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," 276–77.)

76. On the vicinities of shrines of deceased saints becoming preferred burial site for men of material means or religious aspirations in a similar context, see Harald Einzmann, *Religiöses Volksbrauchtum in Afghanistan : islam. Heiligenverehrung u. Wallfahrtswesen im Raum Kabul*, 1. Aufl., Originally presented as the author's thesis, Heidelberg, Summary in English, Includes brief index (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977), 82–3.

77. Aṣīl al-Dīn Wāᶜiẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, 90.

78. Allen, *Timurid Herat*, 33.

### *6.4.1 After Khwāfī*

The significance of Khwāfī's legacy in Herat can immediately be seen in the way his burial site was moved. While he was buried in his place of death, as was the case with most Muslims, his disciples, and possibly also his descendants, transferred his grave to the Darwīshābād convent, where he had a tomb built for himself. However, his importance for the Tīmūrid capital must have been significant enough that the powerful Shāhrukhid vizier Khwāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr Aḥmad Khwāfī brought Khwāfī's remains there and interred them, for the third time, in a shrine he built at a prominent location in the city.

Khwāfī may have been the most influential Sufi shaykh in Herat during his lifetime, and some of his disciples also rose to prominence after his death, keeping his influence alive. There is little we know of the activities of his sons. Only one of them is mentioned in later biographical sources. $^{c}$Alī Shīr Nawā$^{\supset}$ī's continuation of the *Nafaḥāt* described one of them, Shaykh Yaḥyā, as an excessively ascetic person who died before 901/1495–6.[79] His three sons, who accompanied him to Egypt and identified by Sakhāwī as Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm and Ismā$^{c}$īl, do not appear in any of the sources I consulted.[80] A number of his grandsons and descendants appear in the works of the sixteenth century as among the religious and cultural elite, notably, of the Mughal India.[81]

It is extremely important to remember that Khwāfī was not succeeded by his descendants, but by his disciples. This is despite the fact that he established an endowment, the charter of which required the appointment of a member of his descendants as the head of the convent. Nevertheless, Khwāfī's children do not appear as a prominent element of his posterity comparable to his disciples. It is important to note at this point that the survival of Zayniyya via disciples is another indication

79. Nevâyī, *Nesâyimü$^{\supset}$l-Mahabbe*, 396.

80. On these three sons, see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw$^{\supset}$ al-Lāmi$^{c}$ (2003)*, ix/253.

81. Khwāndamīr mentions two grandsons named Muḥammad Agāhī and Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iv/460, iv/356. Sa$^{c}$īd Nafīsī's history of Iranian literature makes mention of three descendants, one of which is the same Agāhī Khwāndamīr above, who was a grandson also of Qāyinī. See Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i Naẓm wa Nathr dar Īrān wa dar Zabān-i Fārsī tā pāyān-i qarn-i dahum-i hijrī.*, i/321, i/419, i/615.

of the institutionalizing tendency in this group, as opposed to other major forms of legitimacy valid in the region including *uwaysī* sainthood and *hereditary* custodianship of a tradition. The people identified as devotees and successors are simply too numerous to discuss here.[82] For now, I shall suffice with mentioning some of the more frequently mentioned of his disciples in Khorasan.[83]

One of Khwāfī's major successors in Khorasan was Ṣadr al-Dīn Rawāsī. He must have been so widely known that Maḥmūd Gawan (d. 1481), the famed chief minister of the Sultanate of Deccan invited him to settle in Bidar in these words: "Had our heart not been waiting for meeting you, it would have got burnt in despair."[84] Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad was born in the town of Shūqān in 793/1491. Khwāndamīr wrote that he spent a long time in Medina and the "lands of Egypt and Damascus" before returning to his homeland Isfarāʾin, where he seems to have settled for some time. His stay there is evident in that Biqāʿī reported on him, saying he met the shaykh in Makka in early 849/1445.[85] Further supporting this, Ibn Karbalāʾī's dictionary of shrines in Tabriz includes an entry on a Sufi, who received his initiation from Rawāsī when the latter was on his way to Pilgrimage in 848/1444.[86] Some time after, he seems to have moved to the

82. Zamchī-Isfizārī wrote that "thirty thousand *dānishmand* (students) [from all around the world] were [Khwāfī's] disciples." Zamchī Isfizārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, i/207. His use of the word *dānishmand* is extremely interesting, as anecdotes from contemporary sources lend support to the idea that the attendees of Khwāfī's *majlis* were typically those studying in the *madrasa*s of Herat. See the case of Shaykh Muḥammad Asad (d. 864/1460), a follower of both Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿUmar and Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 458. On Muḥammad Asad, also see Nevâyī, *Nesâyimüʾl-Mahabbe*, 295–6.

83. Ibn Karbalāʾī mentions a few direct disciples of Khwāfī who lived in the Tabriz area; see for example, Karbalāʿī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, i/114.

84. Richard Maxwell Eaton, *The new Cambridge history of India, A social history of the Deccan, 1300-1761 : Eight Indian Lives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 66.

85. Ibrāhīm ibn ʿUmar Biqāʿī, *ʿUnwān al-ʿunwān, aw, al-Muʿjam al-ṣaghīr*, al-Ṭabʿah 1, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah, 2003), 324. Biqāʿī wrote that he received a license from him, and never heard of him afterwards. It is further interesting that Rawāsī is described by Biqāʿī as a Suhrawardī and Qādirī in Sufism. Sakhāwī reproduced the same information in Biqāʿī in his own report, see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, ix/139.

86. Karbalāʿī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, i/160–162. The whole *ijāza* is also included in this entry on Shaykh ʿImād al-Dīn.

capital during the reign of Sulṭān-Abū Sa<sup>c</sup>īd (d. 873/1469). When Ṣadr al-Dīn died in 871/1467, the sultan attended his funeral prayer and walked with the coffin.[87] Nawā⁾ī noted the favor shown to him by the Tīmūrid elite as well as by the public before mentioning his influential *samā<sup>c</sup>* sessions and his talent in dream interpretation.[88]

It seems that Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabādkānī (d. 891/1486) was his successor in the truest sense in terms of his instruction and scholarship:[89] In addition to succeeding Khwāfī in his convent, he translated several of his teacher's works and continued his interest in commentating on and teaching the works of Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī and <sup>c</sup>Abd Allāh Anṣārī.[90] Tabādkānī was patronized by devotee <sup>c</sup>Alī Shīr Nawā⁾ī, who built a *khānqāh* for him, which is listed in Khwāndamīr's history as among the major Sufi convents of Tīmūrid Herat.[91] He reportedly served in the function of Sufi instruction for forty years, and, as mentioned above, also continued his shaykh's *muṣāfaḥa* tradition. Unlike his shaykh, however, Tabādkānī seems to have interceded with the Tīmūrid court on behalf of his followers, as shown by the many letters he exchanged with Nawā⁾ī.[92] Upon Tabād-

87. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iv/03. Khwāndamīr wrote that he was buried in Juwayn by his son Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad Riḍā. According to Nawā⁾ī, he died in Herat and was buried in Shūqān, north of Juwayn, which was his hometown. Note that Sakhāwī spells the name of the town precisely as "Shiqqān." Ali Shir Nevā⁾ī, *Tadhkirah-⁾i Majālis al-Nafā⁾is*, Array, ed. <sup>c</sup>Alī Aṣghar Ḥikmat, In Persian (Tehran: Kitābfurūshī-i Manūchihrī, 1984), 27.

88. Nevâyī, *Nesâyimü⁾l-Mahabbe*, 406. Nevā⁾ī, *Tadhkirah-⁾i Majālis al-Nafā⁾is*, 202. Nawā⁾ī wrote that he was close to eighty years of age when he died, though this must have been an estimate.

89. Nevā⁾ī, *Tadhkirah-⁾i Majālis al-Nafā⁾is*, 202. See Harawī's notes on him: Aṣīl al-Dīn Wā<sup>c</sup>iẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, 109–10.

90. His works listed in *Nasā⁾im al-Maḥabba* are a commentary on the names of God, a commentary on *Manāzil al-Sā⁾irīn*, a *mukhammas* on the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*, another work called *Tadhkirat al-Ḥabīb*, a translation of Khwāfī's *al-Waṣāyā*, and a translation of 40 *ḥadīth*. Nevâyī, *Nesâyimü⁾l-Mahabbe*, 397.

91. Allen, *Timurid Herat*, 27. A list of the major convents Khwāndamīr noted in his chronicle is provided in Fārūq Anṣārī, *Harāt, Shahr-i Āryā* (Tihrān: Markaz-i Chāp va Intishārāt-i Vizārat-i Ūmūr-i Khārijah, 2004), 206, 207. For a list of religious architecture in the Tīmūrid Herat, also see Allen, *Timurid Herat*, 30–31, 63–70.

92. On Tabādkāni and Nawā⁾ī, see Gross and Urunbaev, *The letters of Khwāja <sup>c</sup>Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār and His Associates*, 81–2.

kānī's death, his son Ḥamīd al-Dīn (d. 917/1511-2) succeeded him in the convent.[93]

Perhaps not as significant as the above two was Khwāfī's "deputy" Sirāj al-Dīn Multānī (d. 841/1437–8), who immediately succeeded Khwāfī in his post and passed away shortly after his master.[94] Another also called a *khalīfa*, Shaykh Ṣūfi $^{c}$Alī died at the beginning of the sixteenth century, becoming apparently the longest surviving of the direct disciples of Khwāfī. Khwāndamīr remembered him as among the greatest of Khwāfī's disciples, while we further know that he corresponded with Nawāˀī to request favors for fellow Sufis.[95]

Jalāl al-Dīn Qāyinī, a scholar and preacher who was appointed to the post of *iḥtisāb* by Shāhrukh, was also among his disciples, as I discussed above. Like Khwāfī, he is recorded as having passed away during the plague in 838/1435. But his case is extremely important in understanding the perception of Khwāfī as someone initiation a tradition. Subtelny and Khalidov's study on the authorizations (*ijāza*) and petitions for authorizations (*istijāza* or *istid$^{c}$ā*) for from the period shows a document dated 828/1425, in which he is addressed with the epithet *al-Zaynī* to describe his Sufi school (*mashrab*).[96] This is reminiscent of the way Khwāfī's Aleppan disciple $^{c}$Abd al-Karīm reportedly called himself *Khwāfī*, on account of the demonym (*nisba*) of his master. Doubtless, this constitutes evidence to Khwāfī's recognition during his lifetime as a shaykh who has established not only a convent, but also a community and a school of *taṣawwuf*.[97]

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Kusūˀī (d. 863/1459), a descendant of Aḥmad-i Jām, was another

93. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iv/334–5; Muḥammad Ma$^{c}$ṣūm Shīrāzī Ma$^{c}$ṣūm $^{c}$Alī Shāh, *Ṭarāˀiq al-ḥaqāˀiq*, ed. Muḥammad Ja$^{c}$far Maḥjūb (Tehran: Kitābkhāna-i Bārānī, 1960), iii/110; Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i Naẓm wa Nathr dar Īrān wa dar Zabān-i Fārsī tā pāyān-i qarn-i dahum-i hijrī.*, i/326.

94. On Multānī, Asīl al-Dīn Wā$^{c}$iẓ wrote that he "was [Khwāfī's] viceregent (*qāˀim-maqām*) after him and the guide of his disciples." See Aṣīl al-Dīn Wā$^{c}$iẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, 88.

95. Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iv/347; Gross and Urunbaev, *The letters of Khwāja $^{c}$Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār and His Associates*.

96. Subtelny and Khalidov, "The Curriculum of Islamic Higher Learning," 218.

97. Another similar term contemporaries to refer to members of Khwāfī's circle was *Zayn al-Dīnīyān*. (From Devin DeWeese, unpublished study on Khwāfī.)

person described as following Khwāfī in matters of Sufi exercise, though perhaps not as an actual disciple.[98] Taftazānī's son, also among the influential members of the religious notables of Herat, seems to have been a devotee (*murīd*). But the one person, although not an initiate, that was ultimately the most significant of all the Sufis connected to Khwāfī was Ṣadr al-Dīn Kāshgharī (d. 860/1456).[99] As I mentioned before, he fell short of entering Khwāfī's path, though remained a devotee and a member of the shaykh's network and, on his death, asked to be buried at his foot. That he was close to Khwāfī, as well as the fact that he trained Jāmī, are indicative of the close connections between Zayniyya and Naqshbandiyya of the time.

To sum up the foregoing, Khwāfī's legacy was continued by his influential successors in the city, including Saʿd al-Dīn Tabādkānī, Ṣadr al-Dīn Rawāsī and Ṣūfī ʿAlī, as well as those outside of Khorasan. I will discuss the spread of his path into Ottoman lands in a separate chapter, which sheds light on the stunning adoption of his *mashrab* there. Among the Sufis mentioned above, both Rawāsī and Tabādkānī, for example, continued Khwāfī's tradition of the handshake (*muṣāfaḥa* and served as transmitters of the Prophetic presence and blessings in the region. His successors from Bursa to Herat not only translated Khwāfī's writings into other languages and wrote commentaries on them—we have a commentary on his *Awrād* produced in Anatolia in the middle of the fifteenth century—but also continued his tradition of teaching and commentating on such well-known works as *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* and *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn*.

The sheer amount of activity among the first generation of Khwāfī's disciples is concrete testimony to his success as a transregional *ṭarīqa*-builder. Khwāfī seems not to have called himself a Suhrawardī despite the fact that the epithet was clearly in use in his time to denote a Sufi community, yet his disciples addressed each other as Zaynī. His disciples were termed "Zaynī-oriented" (*Zaynī-*

98. Kusūʾī was among the devotees of Khwāfī that embraced Ibn ʿArabī's teachings. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 497. He was famous for his states of *jadhb* (ecstasy) and *wajd* (losing consciousness), in which he was influenced by Khwāfī. Also see Aṣīl al-Dīn Wāʿiẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*; Nevâyī, *Nesâyimüʾl-Mahabbe*, 319–20; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iv/60.

99. Aṣīl al-Dīn Wāʿiẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, 90; Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 410; Nevâyī, *Nesâyimüʾl-Mahabbe*, 254–6.

*mashrab*) in Persian sources at the end of the fifteenth century. The fact that the people in such a short time began to recognize a community acting around the principles and practices of Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī is extremely interesting and, moreover, this is not true only for Khorasan. Equally striking is the fact that the most influential offshoot of Zayniyya was established by his descendants in Anatolia, a land he never visited personally. The Zayniyya of Bursa quickly established a community, and even a neighborhood, around a few edifices: a convent, the tomb of ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf, a mosque, and a special graveyard with a specific headstone design. More important, most of these were built by two Ottoman sultans, Meḥmed II and Bāyazīd II, and their dignitaries.

The recipients and transmitters of Khwāfī's work were not simply the members of the community that identified with him. His manuals on supplications and Sufi manners circulated so widely that various groups from North Africa to India made them a part of their convent routines. This was done to such an extent that some *Bekṭāshī*s of Albania adopted Khwāfī's works in their libraries, causing first modern students of Zayniyya to assume that Khwāfī was a *Ḥurūfī* author. In the late nineteenth century, long after his community had dissipated, manuscripts of his works were still being copied. In other words, the extent of Khwāfī's influence went further in time and space than that of the Zayniyya community he established. In a cultural geography dominated by the idea of hereditary succession in sainthood, Khwāfī's posterity was carried on by a community named after him. To understand the significance of this, one needs to consider that even his disciples Tabādkānī and Rawāsī were succeeded by their own descendants who replaced them in their convents.

# Part II

# Zayniyya

# CHAPTER 7

# THE FORMATION OF THE OTTOMAN ZAYNĪ COMMUNITY

## 7.1 Mullā Fanārī

### *7.1.1 Mullā Fanārī's pilgrimage*

In the chapter titled"Second Egyptian travels," I followed Khwāfī's return to the West, examining his connections in the Mamlūk domains and its significance. Most of his Anatolian network came into being in the course of this travel too; however, on account of its significance, I believe this subject needs to be dealt with separately. As I remind often in the course of this study, Khwāfī's followers in Ottoman lands were able to turn their path into the most influential *ṭarīqa* in the second half of the century. In this chapter, I closely analyze his contacts with three major Sufis of Anatolia, who came to be associated with Zayniyya.

In terms of chronological aspects of this travel, I noted previously that Khwāfī's teacher Shabarrīsī must have died shortly before the former's arrival in Alexandria, which suggests a date close to 822/1419–20. That the actual trip took some planning and organization seems also to be quite certain. It finds support in reports on several Anatolian Sufis' undertaking travel to meet Khwāfī in Egypt, Aleppo, or Jerusalem, suggesting that news of his intended travel had already reached the circles of Sufis in Ottoman Anatolia. The first of these that I would like to to bring up here was the scholar Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza, known as Mullā Fanārī (751–834/1350–1431), scholar and judge under Ottoman sultans Bāyazīd I, Meḥemmed I, and Murād II.[1]

Although he was a scholar of the highest caliber, Fanārī has obscure family origins. He was

1. A concise but well-researched study of the life of Fanārī in English is found in Richard C. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul: A Study in The Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy* (London: Ithaca Press for the Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Oxford University, 1986), 73–98. Halim Çalış's recent dissertation on Mullā Fanārī provides an excellent review of the secondary literature on the scholar's life and works; and an equally helpful biography; see Halim Çalış, "Akbarī Hermeneutics in Shams al-Dīn al-Fanārī's Qur'an Commentary on the Chapter Al-Fātiḥa" (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2018).

probably a native of Anatolia and had studied first in Anatolia and then in Egypt in the last decades of the fourteenth century. It is worthwhile to keep in mind that these years broadly overlap with the period when Khwāfī was also in Egypt for education. While he spent the majority of his life in the Ottoman capital as a scholar and a judge, he came to Egypt and undertook the Pilgrimage several times during the first half of the fifteenth century. The first decades of the century were years of political instability and social strife in Anatolia, while the late 1410s were particularly turbulent, with devastating consequences for the Ottoman state, which was still recovering from the Tīmūrid debacle at the beginning of the century. As a consequence of a rebellion vaguely associated with Shaykh Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Simāwnā, the religious elite of Ottoman Anatolia suffered intense scrutiny and ordeal, in which many had to leave their posts in self-imposed exile, or risk becoming subjects of polemics, accusations, and even interrogations at the court.

### 7.1.2 *The Fanārī-Khwāfī hypothesis*

It seems that Mullā Fanārī, who was then the *qāḍī* of Bursa found himself at the intersection of political and intellectual conflict in the early 820s/late 1410s: The Ottomans clashed with the Qaraman principality in 820/1417, overrunning their country and taking their rulers captive.[2] Mullā Fanārī, who was related to the Qaramanid family through marriage, interceded on behalf of his in-laws and former patrons aiding in their being pardoned by Sultan Meḥemmed I (r. 816–24/1413–21). The twentieth-century historian of the Ottoman Empire, Hüseyin Hüsameddin argued that the release of the Qaramanid ruling family drew the ire of certain Ottoman statesmen against Fanārī.[3]

2. Rudi Paul Lindner, "Anatolia, 1300–1451," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. Kate Fleet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 133; Halil İnalcık, "Mehmed I," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.

3. [Amasyalı] Hüseyin Hüsameddin [Yasar], "Mūnlā Fanārī [Part 1]," *Türk Tārihi Encümeni Mecmūᶜası*, no. 18 (95) (1926): 382–83. Hüsameddin's tendency to fill in the gaps in sources was ascribed to a very active imagination by Zekî Velidî Togan, who added that Hüsameddin's otherwise valuable works are compromised in reliability due to apparent falsification in his works. My experience with this work has been the same: Hüsameddin cites sources for almost all his information, quoting his sources, except in cases where he can clearly be seen extrapolating. Although I use his work in this

The upheaval around the person of Shaykh Badr al-Dīn[4] ultimately exacerbated the situation for the students of Ibn ᶜArabī's thought, including Fanārī himself, resulting in his departure from the land of Rūm. Hüsameddin, apparently speculating, wrote that an ostensible reason for Fanārī's departure was his desire to meet Khwāfī.[5] At the beginning of the year 821 (early 1418), therefore, leaving a son as his deputy at the post of the qāḍī of Bursa according to Hüsameddin, Fanārī left and went straight to Egypt to wait for the arrival of Khwāfī.[6] He then goes on to argue that Fanārī and Khwāfī left Jerusalem together in 822/1419–20 for Hejaz for the *Ḥajj*. After completing their religious duties as Hüsameddin argues,, they again returned to Jerusalem together, at which point

study, I try to note when the author makes a unique claim without offering any evidence.

4. For a recent treatment of the rebellion that tries to focus on the material conditions as opposed to the ideological motives, see Salgırlı, "The Rebellion of 1416: Recontextualizing an Ottoman Social Movement (English).," 33–5, which includes a useful bibliography on the subject. The author utilizes mostly Byzantine sources to argue that "Neither what [Badr al-Dīn] has done nor what he has written explains why and how he became a rebel leader." (p. 55) Dimitris Kastritsis's contemporaneously published article relies on Doukas's account in addition to the hagiography of Badr al-Dīn written by his grandson. Kastritsis attempts to examine the revolt as a social, political, and economic phenomenon at once (p. 238), tying Badr al-Dīn, at the same time, to the Ḥurūfī sect based on an incipient secondary scholarship on the issue—as an example of his objectionable attitude, see his calling the execution of several Ḥurūfīs in Edirne in 1444 as "uprisings," which is quite common in the scholarship. His juxtaposing Badr al-Dīn's revolt with that of the "Düzmaja" Muṣṭafā and situating it in the context of the disruption of Ottoman administration in the wake of the Tīmūrid invasion, on the other hand, is quite helpful. Kastritsis, "The şeyh Bedreddin uprising." Both of these studies are written without the benefit of a proper examination of the spirito-intellectual trends of the time—especially the latter study considering it claims to approach the issue from a religious point of view among others—hence their inability to offer a coherent analysis.

5. [Yasar], "Mūnlā Fanārī [Part 1]," 383.

6. Hüsameddin writes that Fanari left his younger son Sinan al-Din Yusuf Chelebi as deputy qadi in Bursa and took his elder son Muhyi al-Din Mehemmed Shah Chelebi with him. [Yasar], "Mūnlā Fanārī [Part 1]," 383. The date estimate is based on the reproduced copy of a *waqf* document dated Jumādā II, 821 (c. July 1418) that indicates the above younger as the officiator of the document, instead of the regular office-holder Fanārī. [Yasar], "Mūnlā Fanārī [Part 1]," 383. Repp rightfully questions the adequacy of this *waqf* record to support the argument that Fanārī left his son in his stead in the office of *qaḍa* in Bursa, also pointing out the fact that Yūsuf Bālī was too young to serve at the post at that time. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, 89. That his son accompanied him in this travel is not reported in other sources. Ibn Ḥajar wrote that his son-in-law Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Jazarī (son of the previously mentioned Muḥammad b. al-Jazarī who was related to Khwāfī) was with him when he departed Cairo. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, 90.

Fanārī was invited to Cairo by the Mamlūk sultan.[7] I should add here that, in line with such a view, most Ottoman sources project a close affinity between Khwāfī and Fanārī, despite the lack of a clear evidence to support any direct and personal communication. They furthermore argue that Fanārī was initiated into Khwāfī's circle either through the latter or through his disciple Maqdisī.

Some Ottoman historians of Sufism interpreted the relationship between Maqdisī and Fanārī as one of discipleship or at least of common membership in the circle of Khwāfī, though there is no piece of information in terms of his initiation or reception of an *ijāza* from either Maqdisī or Khwāfī.[8]The unanimous agreement in contemporary Ottoman sources in addition to several other evidence I will mention below seem to lend credibility to the idea.[9]

### *7.1.3 Questioning the hypothesis*

The absence of evidence in this depiction of Fanārī's connection to Khwāfī and his circle during this time or any other time led subsequent researchers to question the veracity of Hüsameddin's hypothesis. It is indeed difficult to support his argument that Fanārī met Khwāfī in Egypt and that they performed the pilgrimage together in 822/1419. Most of the sources are unanimous in indicating that Fanārī was in Hejaz at the time of Pārsā's death and participated in his funerary prayers during the Pilgrimage in 822/1419, and also that Khwāfī later brought a gravestone for him from Egypt, and distinguished it from other graves, in the Nafaḥāt's peculiar wording. The clear image emerg-

7. [Amasyalı] Hüseyin Hüsameddin [Yasar], "Mūnlā Fanārī [Part 2]," *Türk Tārihi Encümeni Mecmūᶜası*, no. 19 (96) (1928): 148.

8. Here, it is worth noting briefly that Maqdisī's first Anatolian visit took place only a handful of years after Maqdīsī's meeting with Khwāfī in Jerusalem in 825/1422 and his reception of the latter's *ijāza*, something I will discuss below in more detail. See Tek, *Kudsî*, 36–37.

9. This line of thinking is accepted by most modern researchers. Öngören seems to interpret the relationship as one of a discipleship, see Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 92. Tek accepts the strong possibility of a meeting during these years, though does not believe it necessarily was one of a discipleship, see Abdürrezzak Tek, "Molla Fenârî'nin Tasavvufî Kimliği," in *Uluslararası Molla Fenârî Sempozyumu (4-6 Aralık 2009 Bursa) : Bildiriler (International Symposium on Molla Fanārī : proceedings)*, ed. Tevfik Yücedoğru (Bursa: Bursa Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2010), 455; Köle, *Hâfî*; Tek, *Kudsî*; Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, 87.

ing from these reports is that Khwāfī was not in Hejaz at the time. None of the sources allow us to establish a date earlier than 823/1420–21 for Khwāfī's arrival in Egypt. While Ibn Ḥajar notes that he returned to Egypt in 823, Sakhāwi's entry has him arrive at Cairo in 824/1421–2.[10] Granted, this does not necessarily mean that Fanārī could not have waited for Khwāfī in Egypt or also they could not have met before the former left for the *Ḥajj*. As Repp also concedes, because of other evidence implying a connection between the two, the hypothesis that the two met during these years cannot be dismissed as mere fiction.[11]

To further scrutinize the possibility of a meeting between the two, it is necessary to delve into the chronology and itinerary of Fanārī's Pilgrimage in 822/1419. He traveled to Hejaz by way of land through Syria and Jerusalem. Mamlūk sources report that Fanārī was in Jerusalem on his return to Anatolia at the beginning of 823/1420 when the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (r. 815–24/1412-1421) asked him to come to Cairo with the intention of inquiring about the affairs of Rūm.[12] Accepting the invitation, Fanārī entered Cairo in early 823/1420.[13] He left after less than two months and returned to Anatolia by way of Jerusalem, with his son-in-law Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Jazarī in his company.[14] Arabic sources are consistent in emphasizing the great respect shown during this visit for his scholarship and personality, at the same time without failing to mention his pomp and grandeur.[15] Yet none of these sources report anything of his arrival before the year 823/1420. Therefore, it seems unreasonable to accept Hüsameddin's argument that he

10. See Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tabṣīr al-Muntabih*, II:484; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, IX:230.

11. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, 87.

12. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, iii/465. Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd*, 349.

13. Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, 81.

14. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 3:465; Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, 88. Khwāfī's and Fanārī's common connection with Muḥammad b. al-Jazarī warrants further consideration.

15. The narrative on Fanārī's 823 visit to Cairo is not altogether clear and consistent in Egyptian chronicles. There are details, such as Ibn Taghribirdī's statement that Fanārī's son lead *tarawīḥ* prayers in the Ramadan of 823, that are difficult to reconcile with the overall description. See Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, 89–90.

waited in Cairo for Khwāfī for about a year, having gone unnoticed and unrecorded. Neither it is possible to accept his argument that the two performed the *Ḥajj* together and returned to Jerusalem afterwards.[16]

It is within reason to assert that the paths of the two may have intersected, by purpose or design, during the period between 822–823, perhaps at another place on the Pilgrimage route, such as Aleppo, Damascus or Jerusalem, instead. Based on what we know, Mullā Fanārī's itinerary can be reconstructed in the following way: He left Bursa in 821, travelled to Hejaz by way of Damascus and Jerusalem, and performed the pilgrimage in 822/December 1419, and on his way back to Rūm stopped in Jerusalem in early 823. Fanārī entered Cairo, as Mamlūk sources report, in Rabīᶜ al-Awwal 823/March 1420, which means he remained in Jerusalem only for a few months at the most. Fanārī stayed in Cairo for about a month before departing for Anatolia, by way of Jerusalem and Damascus. Mamlūk sources do not provide any information regarding his return other than noting his son-in-law was with him.

Meeting and companionship between him and Khwāfī seems plausible, considering what we know about the latter's itinerary: We know that Khwāfī was in Herat in 821/1418–9 and in Cairo in 823/1420–21. On his way to Cairo, he stopped in Aleppo, taking Ibn al-Ḥumām in his company, and then proceeded to Jerusalem, all of which must have taken sometime between 821 and 823. He was in Cairo in 824/1421 as well, and it was probably between 823–824 that he visited Alexandria. He appears in Jerusalem in 825/1421–2 again before proceeding to Hejaz for Pilgrimage in the same year. In 826/1423, we finally find him having returned to Herat.

A piece of circumstantial evidence that later Ottoman historians often quoted in this regard is an ode (*qaṣīda*) Fanārī wrote to Maqdisī to celebrate the latter's arrival in Anatolia in 828/1425. Maqdisī, the most successful disciple of Khwāfī in Anatolia, responded with a poem of his own which is recorded in contemporary biographical sources as well as in a treatise of his own.[17] Here,

16. [Yasar], "Mūnlā Fanārī [Part 2]," 148. Although Hüsameddin apparently uses abundant original material in his study, his extrapolations such as this one are clearly not based on any evidence.

17. The poem is reproduced in Ṭāshkoprīzāda, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, 27. A Turkish translation is provided

Fanārī addresses ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf b. Ghānim, expressing his desire to meet in Jerusalem.[18] While this does not necessarily constitute evidence for the suggestion that Fanārī was acquainted with Khwāfī, it still is a concrete proof of the former's relationship with the latter's acolyte.

### 7.1.4 *Fanārī and Sufism*

There is compelling evidence in Ottoman sources to the effect that Fanārī had a strong interest in Sufism, describing him as a scholar who merged various intellectual traditions in the early empire, maintaining strong relations with Anatolian shaykhs, and wearing the customary *tāj* of Sufis. A treatise on Sufi attire—which, incidentally, includes a reference to Khwāfī's work—is attributed to him though not without disputation.[19] Equally noteworthy is the fact that the Turkish translation of the *Nafaḥāt*, which is also the earliest biographical dictionary of Sufis produced in the Ottoman lands, includes an entry on him. Ottoman historical tradition tends to squarely identify him as a student, though never a teacher, of a number of Sufi paths.[20] It is difficult to accept all of these claims at face value given the absence of any evidence of initiation, such as an *ijāza*, and the ambiguity of sources.

Despite this ambiguity, it seems plausible to assume that he did have a relationship with Zayniyya, at the least because of another piece of evidence, namely, that his tombstone was carved in the custom of Zaynī tombstones (See Figure 4).[21] This tombstone is now lost thanks to the reckless

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in Tek, *Kudsî*, 316–18.

18. Tek, *Kudsî*, 318; Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*, 90.

19. Öngören seems to accept the work as belonging to Fanārī, apparently because of the specified author's name of "Muḥammad b. Ḥamza," see Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 93. Cf. Tek, "Molla Fenârî'nin Tasavvufî Kimliği," 456, where the author argues the work belongs in fact to Aq-Shams al-Dīn, a famous Sufi of the century, whose name was also Muḥammad b. Ḥamza.

20. For a review of the various *silsila* associations alluded to in Ottoman literature, Tek, "Molla Fenârî'nin Tasavvufî Kimliği."

21. Tek, "Molla Fenârî'nin Tasavvufî Kimliği," 458. For the Zaynī Cemetery in Bursa, see Bedri Mermutlu and Hasan Basri Öcalan, eds., *Tarihî Bursa Mezar Taşları* (Bursa: Bursa Kültür A.Ş., 2011), 45–58.

cultural experimentation of the early republican period, however, historians of the late Ottoman period who visited the grave personally, including the twentieth-century historian of Sufism and the city of Amasya Hüseyin Vassaf, who visited Fanārī's grave at the beginning of the century, confirmed that his tombstone was actually in the style of Zaynī tombstones.[22] These and the overwhelming consensus in contemporary or near-contemporary Ottoman sources comprise, in the absence of any contrary information, lend credibility to his close association with Khwāfī and his circle.

### 7.1.5 *Fanārī's path*

If Fanārī and Khwāfī were indeed related as the Ottoman tradition holds, what does this mean? It is very difficult to give a satisfactory answer based on the meager information available. It would require a separate study to compare the works of the two intellectuals for traces of mutual influence or any resemblance. For our purposes here, it would be reasonable to make a case in terms of Khwāfī's appeal over the mystically inclined, transregional scholars of Islamdom—as I brought up in the previous chapters. This relationship might pose a conundrum for some researchers of the period: Mullā Fanārī was a scholar who was closely influenced by Ibn ᶜArabī's teaching, especially in his exegetical works as recently demonstrated by Halim Çalış. Khwāfī, meanwhile, is commonly depicted in recent studies, based on a reading of the Naqshbandī sources of the period, as a staunch opponent of the *Fuṣūṣ*, for example.

The easiest and possibly the best explanation involves actually letting the sources speak, that is, that one's scholarly interest in Ibn ᶜArabī's teaching renders little help to understand their persona. Clearly, the intellectuals—definitely not to be understood the modern sense of the word—of the time did not necessarily conform to one type: they had several affiliations at once and sometimes subscribed to lines of thought that were seemingly competing. Fanārī was a pragmatic scholar

22. "Bursa'da bulunduğum sırada bi'l-hâssa türbe-i münevverlerini ziyâret ettim. Bursa'nın üstünde dağ cihetindedir. Pek rûhâniyyetli ve münşerih bir mahall-i mübârektir. Kabr-i şerîflerinin üstü açık olup, Zeynîlere mahsûs mezâr taşı vardır…" Vassaf, *Sefîne-i Evliyâ*, 1:327. It is interesting that several other graves in the Fanārī graveyard in Bursa are also in distinctively Zaynī style. See Mermutlu and Öcalan, *Tarihî Bursa Mezar Taşları*, 247, 253–54.

who was happy to change patrons several times during his career and abandon his post in order to avoid turmoil. When in Egypt, as Ibn Ḥajar and al-Maqrīzī noted, he hid his Akbarian tendencies and refrained from scholarly debates. At a time of cultural ambiguity and political chaos at the Ottoman capital, it makes sense that he left his position in Bursa, did not openly confess his intellectual orientation, and associated with a Sufi who was a strict adherent of the sunnī-sharᶜī social and political order. In Fanārī, Khwāfī found a powerful ally that would facilitate the adoption of his Sufism among the Ottoman elite. It may well have been thanks to Fanārī's singular authority in the Ottoman capital that Zayniyya gained extraordinary acceptance among the scholars and Sufis of Anatolia. As recent studies demonstrate, Khwāfī's Sufism, with its theoretical emphasis on the *dhikr* influenced by Ibn ᶜArabī's ontology, had the ability to appeal the learned men of religion.[23]

In order to further elaborate this issue, it is necessary first to incorporate another line of inquiry, that is, the correspondence with Khwāfī and Fanārī of the lives of two well-known disciples of Zayniyya, namely, the Anatolian ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm al-Marzifūnī (d. after 865/1460–611), otherwise known as al-Rūmī, and the Jerusalemite ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf al-Maqdisī, known to his contemporary Ottomans as Qudsī.

## 7.2 Marzifūnī, "the torch of love"

Our knowledge about ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm b. Amīr ᶜAzīz al-Marzifūnī, another of Khwāfī's disciples who met him in this trip, is even scantier than about the other figures involved in the present discussion. His assumed name was Niẓām al-Dīn and his father was a local notable of the Rūm region,[24] called

23. On this, see El Shamsy, "Returning to God."

24. Here, the toponym "Rūm"' refers to the province that comprises north-central Anatolian territories and should not to be confused with "Rūm" in the sense of Asia Minor. This was an extremely important part of Ottoman Anatolia, with its center in Amasya, responsible for much political and cultural activity. The Ottoman Sultan Meḥemmed I launched his political career from this region, the cultural resources of which he carried to the capital with him. İnalcık, "Klasik edebiyat."

"Sārū Dānishmand," possibly of a local household.[25] There is little the primary sources offer in the way of a chronology, yet this much can be gleaned: He studied in his own land and became a mystic with missionary zeal in the pre-conquest religious climate of Ottoman Anatolia. Together with his close friend Aq-Shams al-Dīn (d. 863/1459), a disciple of Hāji Bayrām (d. 833/1430) who would later become famous as the spiritual mentor of Meḥmed II, they engaged in religious disputations with Christian theologians in Constantinople, eventually succeeding in clandestinely converting some of them.[26] At some point, the Tāshkubrīzāda tradition argues, he learned of the arrival of Zayn al-Dīn, and left his homeland for Egypt to become his disciple.[27] He followed Khwāfī to Khorasan, where he remained until he received his authorization (*ijāza*) in a suburb (*ba$^{c}$ḍ nawāḥī*) of Herat in early Muḥarram 832/October 1428. The Arabic authorization, a copy of which is provided in the work of Lāmi$^{c}$ī Chelebi, himself associated with Zaynīs, indicated that he studied with the shaykh the following works: *$^{c}$Awārif al-Ma$^{c}$ārif* and *I$^{c}$lām al-Hudā* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī; the *Arba$^{c}$īn* compilation of Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī—a subject he studied from Zayn al-Dīn al-$^{c}$Irāqī; [28] in addition to Khwāfī's own works *Al-Wasāyā al-Qudsiyya* and the *Manhaj al-Rashād*.[29]

It was shortly after this that he was assigned by the reigning Sultan Murād II a stipend from the *waqf* of the late Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed I in Marzifūn, in the year 835. The stipend, which was originally five *dirham*s daily in addition to 10 *mudd*s of grain annually, was raised in 843 (1439–40)

25. "Bu ḥaqīr ānlarıñ milk-nāmesinde gördüm ki şöyle yazmuş: «al-Shaykh $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-marḥūm Amīr $^{c}$Azīz al-mashhūr abūhu bi-Ṣārū Dānishmand.»" Lāmi$^{c}$ī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 555.

26. Kissling, "Einiges," 157–58; Ṭāshkoprīzāda, *al-Shaqā$^{\supset}$iq*, 226–32; Mejdī, *Ḥadā$^{\supset}$iq al-Shaqā-$^{\supset}$iq*, 240–6. Aq-Shams al-Dīn and $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥīm appear to have been childhood friends, see [Nizameddin] Berin Taşan, *Merzifonlu Şeyh Abdürrahim Rumi* (İzmir: [Taşan], 1975), 12.

27. It must be noted that, separately from this, Aq-Shams al-Dīn himself is also described as having travelled as far as Aleppo to meet Khwāfī, only to be dissuaded at that point by a dream urging him to attach instead to the *Malāmī* shaykh Hāji Bayrām (d. 833/1430) of Ankara. It is worth noting that, according to Sakhāwī, Khwāfī went to Aleppo during his travels at this time to initiate Sufis. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw$^{\supset}$ al-Lāmi$^{c}$ (2003)*, ii/230.

28. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw$^{\supset}$ al-Lāmi$^{c}$ (2003)*, ix/229.

29. Lāmi$^{c}$ī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 554–55; Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 73; Taşan, *Merzifonlu Şeyh Abdürrahim Rumi*, 26–30.

to eight *dirhams*.[30] The income he drew from a sultanic source made him a subject of criticism, to which he responded by saying that it was a necessity for him to secure his family's living, and it would be better to be indebted to only one person than to different people at once.[31] Recent studies suggest, judging by the fact that he finished his *ᶜIshq-nāma*, a prose work that was famous in the period, in 865, that he must have died after 1460.[32]

Although sources are mostly silent on most details of his life, there is no question he made a significant contribution to the spread of Khwāfī's path. He raised many disciples who themselves occupied prominent convents in Anatolia.[33] Among his disciples was the scholar Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 875/1470), known by the pen-name Ḥayālī, who was initiated by Marzifūnī in Edirne and later went on to become a prominent member of the late ninth-/fifteenth-century intelligentsia. ᶜĀshiqpāshā-zāda, the famous dervish and historian of the Ottoman house and the representative of a household well-known for its influence over vernacular Sufism, who is unanimously identified in later sources as a convent-holding shaykh of Zayniyya in late fifteenth-century Istanbul, may have come under his influence.[34] Another indicator of how influential he was in the dissemination of the teaching and works of Khwāfī was the fact that the majority of the manuscript copies of Khwāfī's works in Anatolian libraries seem to have originated from around the area of Merzifon.[35]

30. Ṭāshkoprīzāda, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, 70. *Dirham* was a unit of weight (around 3 gms) and also of currency, mostly of silver. One *mudd* in this period in Ottoman Empire was estimated as more than 500 kgs. See Inalcik, *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, i/988–91.

31. Mejdī, *Ḥadāʾiq al-Shaqāʾiq*, 89–90; Lāmiᶜī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 555; Taşan, *Merzifonlu Şeyh Abdürrahim Rumi*, 33.

32. Nihat Azamat, "Abdürrahîm-i Rûmî," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*.

33. His spiritual influence and disciples are discussed in the following works: Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 71–6; Azamat, "Abdürrahîm-i Rûmî"; Tek, *Kudsî*, 31–2; Köle, *Hâfî*, 81–91.

34. He called himself "Darwīsh Aḥmad ᶜĀshiqī." Halil İnalcık, "How to Read ᶜĀshık Pasha-zāde's History," in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V.L. Ménage*, ed. Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (İstanbul: Isis Press, 1994); Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 126–30.

35. See the section on the copies of Khwāfī's works in Turkish libraries in Köle, *Hâfî*, 36–69 and Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 19–23.

### 7.2.1 From Marzifūn to Herat

The precise conditions of Marzifūnī's discipleship under Khwāfī is difficult to establish. Contemporary narratives indicate that he travelled to Mamlūk lands[36] to meet Khwāfī, but they do not provide any indication as to when this took place. The timing of his *ijāza* and the mention of Khwāfī's pilgrimage as occasioning Marzifūnī to depart, make us believe that he must indeed have been one of the several Anatolian personalities who are reported to have taken the journey to the South during the period between 821–826, roughly the period when Fanārī was also in the Mamlūk lands.

Nizameddin Berin Taşan, the author of the only work—to my knowledge—devoted to Marzifūnī, argued that this meeting took place around the year 824/1421–1422, based on the date found on a poem Marzifūnī wrote.[37] Himself a descendant of the shaykh, Taşan writes that he inherited the handwritten and framed copy of the poem from his father as a family heirloom. The last lines of the poem in particular clearly indicate the poet's leaving his homeland to meet the *murshid*, i.e. the teacher. The fact that 824/1421–2 is reported by Sakhāwī as the year when Khwāfī was in Egypt, it is plausible that the poem may actually allude to the occasion of Marzifūnī's travel to meet Khwāfī.[38] It is equally important to remember here the fact that Khwāfī is reported to have visited Aleppo shortly before arriving in Cairo, and therefore around 822–23, seems to support the references in hagiographical sources to the effect that Marzifūnī's companion and fellow traveler Aq-Shams al-Dīn did journey as far as Aleppo to meet Khwāfī before being dissuaded from proceeding further

36. Ṭāshkoprīzāda, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, 69, Mejdī, *Ḥadāʾiq al-Shaqāʾiq*, 89.

37. The poem is given in Taşan, *Merzifonlu Şeyh Abdürrahim Rumi*, 16–17 as follows:

Yine deryā gibi cūş itdi aşkın / Başımı aşk ile hoṣ itdi aşkın.
Kadeh sundı elime içdim ānı / Delirdim, beni ser-hūş itdi aşkın.
Gehī aklım getirip virdi idrāk / Gehī bī-ᶜakıl bī-hūş itdi aşkın.
Giderdi levh-i dilden nakşı gayri / Muhabbetnāme menkūş itdi aşkın.
Bu dünyanın yuvasında öterken / Uçurub bir acīb kūş itdi aşkın.
Sürüb Abdürrahīm'i himmetiyle / İletdi mürşide tūş itdi aṣkın.

38. Öngören rejects Taşan's argument; see Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 72–75.

by a dream imploring him to meet the Malāmī Hāji Bayrām of Ankara instead.[39]

Their meeting around 824/1421–22, probably in Egypt, is in agreement with how his *ijāza* (license) describes the beginning of their relationship.[40] Here, Khwāfī describes at the start of the license their initial meeting and his impression:

> The respected and loyally intended son, who withdraws from [the things] ordinary people seek, Mawlānā Niẓām al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Amīr al-Azīz is one of the people who takes the path of the friends of God and turns away from all else and is serious in his work in the treading of the path.—May Allah make him steadfast in the necessities of the path so he may surpass the people of the Truth!—He [Marzifūnī] had thought highly of this poor one when [I was] in the Egyptian lands. He abandoned whatever he was upon at the time, repented to Allah and received the *dhikr* of *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, and turned his face from all else. He then travelled with me to the Khorasanian lands, under the condition of the strictest of submission and firm obedience. He sat in *khalwa*s with the renunciants in Darwīshābād and the doors for the people of proximity [to God] were opened to him....[41]

This *ijāza* reveals that Marzifūnī met Khwāfī in Egypt and surrendered himself to his instruction and guidance, and undertook the rites of initiation by offering his repentence (*tawba*) and receiving the *talqīn al-dhikr* from him in Egypt. Because of his continued sincere devotion to Khwāfī, the latter agreed to take him to Khorasan, where he continued to engage in Sufi devotional practices like *khalwa* with other dervishes under the supervision of the shaykh. He studied a number of books with him, before finally receiving his *ijāza* and returning to his homeland.

Last but not the least piece of information we have on this relationship is Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār's eyewitness account of the ceremony when Marzifūnī, along with another disciple of Khwāfī,

39. Taşan, *Merzifonlu Şeyh Abdürrahim Rumi*, 14.

40. Lāmiᶜī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 552–55.

41. Lāmiᶜī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 554.

received their *ijāza*s after which they were sent to their homelands.[42] We know that Aḥrār was in Herat in the years between 830–835, and was on good terms with the shaykh at least during the first four years, therefore, it is possible that Marzifūnī received his license between 830–34/1426-7–1430-31.

Regardless, we are still in the dark regarding how Marzifūnī learned about Khwāfī's arrival, as we are not certain whether or not he travelled with Aq-Shams al-Dīn.[43] Yet, it is clear that he was one of the prominent Sufis Khwāfī recruited during this trip. Lāmiᶜi's translation narrates that when Khwāfī wrote the license for Marzifūnī, he said: "We lit a log of fire and and cast it on Rūm."[44] He trained, as was asked of him in his license, many disciples himself, traveling as far as Istanbul and Edirne to proselytize and initiate Sufis in what would come to be called the *Zayniyya*. Despite his work and influence, Marzifūnī's line within Ottoman Zayniyya tradition is not considered as the dominant one, as another disciple of Khwāfī was even more successful in winning over the hearts and minds of the Ottoman learned elite.

## 7.3 Maqdisī

In the following pages I will shift my focus to the examination of ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf Maqdisī, who was a close associate of Fanārī in addition to being Khwāfī's foremost disciple in Anatolia. Judging by the presentation of the fifteenth-and sixteenth-century Ottoman sources, Maqdisī was one of the foremost Sufis active in the Ottoman lands in the first half of the fifteenth century.[45] The times he arrived and settled in Anatolia were particularly important in terms of the development of the scholarly and religious traditions under centralizing Ottoman sultans. The ways he emerged as a

42. *Rūzī khidmat-i shaykh Zayn al-Dīn, mawlānā ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm-i Rūmī wa mawlānā Maḥmūd-i Ḥiṣārī rā ijāzat farmūdand wa har yak rā ba-wilāyat-i īshān firistādand, ba-rasm-i irshād man būdam.* Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," 319.

43. Traveling to Egypt for scholarship was a very common trope associated with many figures in the history of Ottoman intellectuals in this period.

44. Lāmiᶜī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 555.

45. ᶜĀşıkpaşa-zāda, *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i ᶜUthmān* (Istanbul: Matbaᶜa-i Āmire, 1913), 318.

leading representative of Khwāfī's path and earned powerful friends and followers in the Ottoman court, among other issues related to his life and work, invite a host of questions on the problems of orthodoxy and piety politics in the fifteenth century. Like his teacher Zayn al-Dīn, little work has been undertaken on Maqdisī despite his significance for the period. Short of engaging in an examination of his life, I will devote the following pages to his emergence as a prominent Sufi, his relationship with Khwāfī, and his connections in Anatolia, all as a gloss on the spread of *Zayniyya* in the lands west of Euphrates.[46]

$^{c}$Abd al-Laṭīf b. $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Ghānim al-Maqdisī was born on Rajab 20, 786/September 7, 1384 in Jerusalem to the Banū Ghānim, a family deeply entrenched in the religious culture of the city since its re-conquest from the Crusaders by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn about two centuries earlier.[47] According to the tradition, the conquering sultan assigned several prominent scholars to

46. Initially, this dissertation aimed at focusing on Maqdisī and contemplating on the significance of his presence for the political and intellectual trends in the fifteenth-century Ottoman Empire. By scrutinizing his biography, extensive travels, and connections among the learned elite in the Ottoman Empire as well as under the Mamlūks, I originally intended to shed light on the intellectual transformation that was taking place in the fifteenth century and its relationship with the Ottoman political vision. However, the absence of reliable treatments of Khwāfī's life and work led me to consider him first. I hope to be able to return to Maqdisī in the future.

47. Majdī Afandī's account adds that this fell on the night of Friday, however, the date occurs on Wednesday. Mejdī, *Ḥadāʾiq al-Shaqāʾiq*, 87. Also see Ṭāshkoprīzāda, *al-Shaqāʾiq*, 66; Biqā$^{c}$ī, *$^{c}$Unwān al-Zamān*, 154. The latter work by the outspoken Shāfi$^{c}$ī scholar and historian Biqā$^{c}$ī, who knew Maqdisi personally, offers information on his early life, which Sakhāwī then made use of. Biographers including Biqā$^{c}$ī and Sakhāwī provide Maqdisī's full *nasab* that includes his descent from the Banū Khazraj. He was referred to as Ibn Banāna, or more commonly as Ibn Ghānim, referring to his family name. He used the pen name al-Ghānimī, especially in poetry. The *Maqdisī nisba*, implying his family roots in Jerusalem, is sometimes substituted with *Qudsī*, possibly as a reflection of the increasing tendency in the later period to call Jerusalem *al-Quds*. My use of the spelling *Maqdisī* stems from a vowelized spelling found in a manuscript of one of $^{c}$Abd al-Laṭīf's works; see $^{c}$Abd al-Laṭīf b. $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ghānim al-Maqdisī, *Tuḥfat Wāhib al-Mawāhib fī Bayān al-Maqāmāt wa al-Marātib*, MS Sultan Orhan 651–2 (Bursa: İnebey Kütüphanesi), 38b. Also worth noting is that the same page provides Maqdisī's *alqāb* as "Zayn al-Dīn," just like his teacher Khwāfī. On al-Biqā$^{c}$ī, see Waled Saleh, "al-Biqā$^{c}$ī," in *Encyclopædia of Islam, THREE*; Suat Yıldırım, "Bikai," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*; Li Guo, "Al-Biqā$^{c}$i's Chronicle: A Fifteenth Century Learned Man's Reflection on His Time and World," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800)*, ed. Hugh Kennedy (Brill, 2001), 121–48. Note, however, that Yıldırım's excellent entry on Biqā$^{c}$ī was

functions such as judgeship, Friday prayers and sermons, and the supervision of the religious institutions he himself established, the foremost being the Khānqāh Ṣalāḥiyya.[48] Several families claimed quasi-hereditary rights over these positions, to be recognized for the most part. Ghānim b. ᶜAlī b. Ḥusayn (d. 632/1235)s, the eponym of the Banū Ghānim, was appointed in Ramadan 585/October 1189 by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī as the shaykh of this hospice, which came to be considered as the chief of all Sufi institutions in the city.[49] The conditions of scholarly culture that later developed in the city enabled his descendants to claim privilege over important religious functions and exert considerable degree of control over the religious and spiritual life in the city.[50]

This central position the members of the Banū Ghānim held in the religious affairs of the city necessarily may have led the male members to seek professional avenues within religious scholarship.[51] ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf apparently pursued the same path, studying elementary sciences first under his father.[52] He then studied Shāfiᶜī jurisprudence under other teachers in his hometown before

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regrettably removed from the online *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, because Yıldırım is currently considered by the Turkish government—which publishes the encyclopedia—as *persona non grata*.

48. [ii/99]al-ᶜUlaymī, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*.

49. al-ᶜUlaymī, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, ii/240–41.

50. Ephrat, *Spiritual wayfarers, leaders in piety : Sufis and the dissemination of Islam in medieval Palestine*, 112–4. The Banū Ghānim was prominent enough in the history and culture of Jerusalem to have the street they lived named after them, namely, the *Ghāwānima* street. Karl R. Schaefer, "Jerusalem in the Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras (Palestine, Cities, Crusades)" (PhD diss., 1985), 328. On Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's use of *waqf* in his religious policies, see Yehoshuᶜa Frenkel, "Political and Social Aspects of Islamic Religious Endowments ("awqāf"): Saladin in Cairo (1169-73) and Jerusalem (1187-93)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 62, no. 1 (1999): 1–20. On the patronage of Islamic life under the Ayyubids, consult the following studies: Mahmoud Hawari, *Ayyubid Jerusalem (1187–1250): an architectural and archaeological study*, Oxford 2007; Bernard Lewis, "Egypt and Syria," *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, 175–230; Donald P. Little, "Jerusalem under the Ayyubids and Mamluks, 1187–1516 A.D.," in *Jerusalem in History*, ed. K.J. Asali (New York: Olive Branch Press, 1990), 177–99; Anne-Marie Eddé, "Bilād al-Shām, from the Fatimid Conquest to the Fall of the Ayyubids (359-658/970-1260)," in *New Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. Robert Irwin, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 161–200

51. Huda A. Lutfi, *Al Quds al-Mamlûkiyya : a history of Mamlûk Jerusalem based on the Ḥaram documents*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Includes index. (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1985), 387; al-ᶜUlaymī, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*.

52. Maqdisī later wrote in an autobiographical note that his father Zayn al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān

engaging in a study of *ma^c^qūlāt*,[53] i.e. intelligible sciences, as opposed to transmitted knowledge, under a certain shaykh ^c^Abd al-^c^Azīz al-Ghaznawī.[54] This last aspect of his education apparently was accompanied by his taking *ṭarīq al-qawm*, that is, the path of *taṣawwuf*.[55] The noteworthy thing is that his initiation into Sufism was also in the hands of ^c^Abd al-^c^Azīz, to whom he apprenticed for a decade.[56]

died in 805/1402–03, the same year ^c^Abd al-Laṭīf began his first marriage. al-Maqdisī, *Tuḥfat*, 66b. Biqā^c^ī and Sakhāwī wrote that Maqdisī studied *nakhw* (Arabic grammar), *balāgha* (rhetoric), and *fiqh* (jurisprudence) under his father. This bit of information is important because it attests to the intellectual standing of his family and more to the fact that Maqdisī's father was a learned person who could teach at least preliminary lessons in the Islamic sciences. My research on his father in contemporary sources did not yield any results.

53. The curious denomination of *ma^c^qūlāt* denotes rational sciences such as geometry, algebra, astronomy, logic, philosophy, and theology. It should not be confused with *al-māqūlāt*, or *al-kāthigūriyya*, which was the Islamicate counterpart of Aristotle's *Categories*.

54. "Wa baḥatha ^c^alā al-shaykh ^c^Abd al-^c^Azīz al-Farnawī fī al-ma^c^qūlāt, wa salaka ^c^alā yadihi ṭarīq al-qawm, wa lāzamahu ^c^ashara sinīn…" Biqā^c^ī, *^c^Unwān al-Zamān*, 154. This information is replicated with few changes in al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw^ɔ^ al-Lāmi^c^ (2003)*, iv/288–90. Both authors render the *nisba* of the shaykh as "al-farnawī," but this is clearly a spelling mistake as Maqdisī in his own work titled *Kashf al-I^c^tiqād* spells out the *nisba* as "al-ghaznawī," further identifying the shaykh as a descendant of the famous sultan Maḥmūd b. Sabuktagin al-Ghaznawī (d. 1030). al-Maqdisī, *Kashf*, 339. It is also noteworthy that Ibn Ḥajar and Sakhāwī also spell the same *nisba* of Shihāb al-Dīn Ghaznawī, Khwāfī's dispenser of *muṣāfaḥa* in Alexandria, as *farnawī*. The curse of this Khorasanian shaykh, further wrote Maqdisī, was responsible for the downfall of Ḥusayn Akhlāṭī, "one of the greatest heretics." Lāmi^c^ī Chelebi, who relies on his Zayniyya sources on Maqdisī, gives this teacher an important place in the formation of Maqdisī's ideology. He writes: "Daf^c^-i ḍarar wa jalb-i naf^c^ ichun wa mu^c^āwanat-i ikhwān wa muqābala-i ^c^udwān ichun shul tawajjuh-i aḥwāli ki bu ṭarīqda mashhūrdur shaykh ^c^Abd al-^c^Azīziñ ṭarīqasidir ki shaykh ^c^abd al-laṭīfdan baru ẓuhūra galmishdur, shaykh Zayn al-dīn Khāfī [sic] ṭarīqasinda yoqdur." Lāmi^c^ī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 552. This is an extremely interesting point; however, I will not be able to discuss it here. My research for further information on ^c^Abd al-^c^Azīz has not yielded any results so far.

55. *Ṭarīq al-qawm* is used in sources interchangeably with *ṭā^ɔ^ifa* to denote Sufism and Sufis. Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥafs Suhrawardī regularly called his path as *ṭarīq al-qawm*. Sakhāwī in Ibn al-Ḥumām's biography uses the same term to describe his initiation with Khwāfī: *wa tasallaka fī ṭarīq al-qawm bi-al-adkāwī wa al-khwāfī*. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw^ɔ^ al-Lāmi^c^ (2003)*, viii:110. Maqdisī himself uses the term *ṭarīq al-qawm* as a substitute for *ṣūfiyya*.

56. Biqā^c^ī, *^c^Unwān al-Zamān*, 154; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw^ɔ^ al-Lāmi^c^ (2003)*, iv/288. The sequence of these events in Biqā^c^ī's treatment of Maqdisī is quite confusing, but one can surmise that Ghaznawī was responsible for the mystical turn during his youth. It is impossible, based on the information available to us, to determine whether his discipleship to ^c^Abd al-^c^Azīz, as Ottoman sources describe

He can be seen, therefore, as a Shāfiᶜī Sufi who was thoroughly educated in the *Sharīᶜa*-related sciences. He is additionally specified as *raḥḥāl*, i.e. itinerant—whether by choice or out of necessity in an increasingly competitive market for scholarly talent.[57] Presumably after his education in his hometown finished, Maqdisī found himself in the first of a number of journeys he would be undertaking in his lifetime when he left in 815/1412–13 for the Islamic West. He seems to have travelled in North Africa for five years, with the exception of a Pilgrimage in 817/1415, meeting and associating with a number of prominent scholars and Sufis in places like Alexandria, Misrata, Tunis and Tlemcen.[58]

It would be reasonable to assume that Maqdisī may have received several *ijāza*s in the course of his travels and studies in the West, yet we do not have any evidence for that. His biographies and the works he wrote testify clearly to his impressive learning, which he continued until very late in his life. Those sources that provide information on his travels in the West mention many teachers, both sufis and scholars, though there is no discussion of a mystical initiation and neither of a particular Sufi orientation. Some of the famous people Maqdisī associated with included scholars and ascetics like Abū Yaḥyā al-Sharīf, Aḥmad b. Zāghū, Muḥammad b. Marzūq, and al-Ḥasan Abrikān.[59]

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the relationship, had any impact on Maqdisī's travel to the Western Islamic lands.

57. See Lutfi, *Al Quds al-Mamlûkiyya : a history of Mamlûk Jerusalem based on the Ḥaram documents*, 39, 42.

58. Biqāᶜī, *ᶜUnwān al-Zamān*, 154; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawᵓ al-Lāmiᶜ (1992)*, iv/289. Pilgrimage from the Maghrib usually took more than 15–18 months and included innumerable stops on a very lively route. Abderrahmane El Moudden, "The ambivalence of rihla: Community integration and self-definition in Moroccan travel accounts, 1300-1800," in *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and The Religious Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 75. Traveling in search of knowledge and teachers, called in the contemporary sources *al-riḥla fī ṭalab al-ᶜilm*, was a very common part of the scholarly vocation.

59. Abū Yaḥyā ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Tilimsānī (d. 826/1423) was a scholar of Qurᵓānic exegesis and Mālikī law who was born and died in the city of Tlemcen. He was from a scholarly family claiming descent from the Prophet. He received training in Islamic sciences first under his father and brother, memorized the Qurᵓān, and become so famous later as to read his works in the presence of the sultan of Maghrib. See Muḥammad al-Ḥifnāwī Ibn al-Shaykh, *Taᶜrīf al-Khalaf bi-Rijāl al-Salaf*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Ajfān and ᶜUthmān Baṭīkh (Bayrūt : Tūnis: Muᵓassasat al-Risālah ; al-Maktabah al-ᶜAtīqah, 1982), 2:208–209; ᶜĀdil Nuwayhiḍ, *Muᶜjam Aᶜlām*

It is impossible to know exactly why and how his Western sojourn concluded. Equally difficult it is to assess the impact of this episode on his intellectual and spiritual formation. Sakhāwī noted that he went to great lengths to praise the religiosity and magnanimity of the scholars of the Maghrib.[60] There is no denying that he came under the influence of Mālikī learning, not to mention the particularly Western type of piety where Mālikī *sharīʿa*-mindedness and asceticism (*zuhd*) fused in the physical monument of *ribāṭ*.[61] Somewhat different than the Sufi networks in the East where charismatic personalities and their cults dominated mysticism and *silsila* traditions were beginning to take root, the ways of Maghribi Sufis, otherwise called *murābiṭūn* (cf. marabout), were anchored in the life of piety and devotion in the *ribāṭ*. This might, certainly, account for the absence of direct references to *silsila* and *ṭarīqa* affiliations in the West.

In short, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Maqdisī, who grew up as someone steeped in the scholarly and religious traditions of Mamlūk society, which by that time was able to amalgamate the *madrasa* curriculum

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*al-Jazāʾir : min ṣadr al-Islām ḥattā muntaṣaf al-qarn al-ʿishrīn*, al-Ṭabʿah 1 (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Tijārī lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 1971), 70. Aḥmad b. Zāghū (d. 845/1441–2), was an ascetic Sufi (*al-ṣūfī al-zāhid*) and scholar famous for his unparalleled learning in *tafsīr*. Besides *Sharīʿa*-related sciences, he would regularly teach on a range of subjects Arabic grammar, rhetoric, geometry (*handasa*), arithmetics (*ḥisāb*), and Sufism. He taught at the Yaʿqūbiyya *madrasa* in Tlemcen. The explicit inclusion of Sufism among the regular subjects indicates the degree that it was integrated into the madrasa curriculum alongside tradition-based and rational sciences. It is noteworthy that this list reads quite like Maqdisi's own study program, down to the omission of a *ṭarīqa* association.On him, see Ibn al-Shaykh, *Taʿrīf al-Khalaf bi-Rijāl al-Salaf*, 1:46–48. Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. Marzūq al-Ḥafīd (d. Tlemcen, 1439) was the grandson of the likewise-called Sufi; see Ibn al-Shaykh, *Taʿrīf al-Khalaf bi-Rijāl al-Salaf*, 1:128–40. On other members of the Ibn Marzūq family, see Maria Jésus Viguera Molins, "Ibn Marzūq," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Third Edition. Al-Ḥasan Abrikān (d. 807/1404–05), like Ibn Marzūq, is described as an extremely saintly person, however, he seems to have been less of a scholar. He is given lavish titles like *al-ghawth* and *al-quṭb*, who performed miraculous acts like taming lions and having disputations with the Satan. On him, see Ibn al-Shaykh, *Taʿrīf al-Khalaf bi-Rijāl al-Salaf*, 2:138–39. Biqāʿī, and subsequently Sakhāwī, misspelled his name as Abī al-Rikāb. See Biqāʿī, *ʿUnwān al-Zamān*, 154 and al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, iv/289. Sources include several other scholars Maqdisī studied with during his travels in the Maghrib.

60. *Wa aṭnaba fī wasf ʿulamāʾ al-maghrib al-jamīla min al-dīn wa al-karam wa al-awṣāf al-ḥasana wa kadhdhaba al-shāʾī bayn al-nās…* al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, iv/289.

61. Jacqueline Chabbi, "Ribāṭ," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Second Edition.

with Sufism,[62] returned home having explored the spiritual climate of the Maghrib and its particular traditions. The transregional connections and possible licenses he acquired must have certainly increased his reputation and credibility. Considering the importance attributed in medieval Islam to the journey of the student, this was quite an accomplishment for Maqdisī, who must have been in his early thirties at the time.[63]

As I have said regarding episodes in the lives of other people discussed in this study, one needs to remember that precise chronology is not the purpose, neither it is attainable in the case of so many events described here. We learn that Maqdisī had returned from North Africa to Jerusalem after 820/1417–18. In his core biography found in Biqāʿī's *ʿUnwān*, which was then quoted by Sakhāwī and reproduced with significant additions in Ottoman sources, when Zayn al-Dīn arrived in Jerusalem the two met and developed a close friendship.[64]

Ottoman sources including the *Nafaḥāt tarjamasi* and the *Shaqāʾiq*, add that Maqdisī hosted the Harātī shaykh in his home. While this could be true, one wonders if he lodged Khwāfī instead in the *Ṣalāḥiyya khānqāh*, which was supervised by members of Maqdisī's family, and which, moreover, was intended by its founder to serve primarily Sufis visiting Jerusalem from out of town.[65] While we do not know if Maqdisī was associated with the convent at the time, however, it makes sense to think that, based on his family connections, he might have had a privilege over its use.

Ottoman sources further tell us that when it was time for pilgrimage and Khwāfī began to prepare, Maqdisī asked to go with him. Khwāfī did not consent on the grounds that ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's ailing mother, identified as Fāṭima who had Prophetic descent (*sharīfa*), needed his attention and it

62. On the fusion of *madrasa* and *khanqāh* under the Circassian Mamlūks beginning in the late fourteenth century, see Fernandes, *The Evolution*; Behrens-Abouseif, "Change in function and form."

63. The issue of transregional networks is a crucial part of this dissertation and will be brought up accordingly.

64. Lāmiʿī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 551–2; Biqāʿī, *ʿUnwān al-Zamān*, 154; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, iv/289. Note that *al-Ḍawʿ* here identifies Khwāfī as "Nūr al-Dīn Khāfī."

65. Ephrat, *Spiritual wayfarers, leaders in piety : Sufis and the dissemination of Islam in medieval Palestine*, 114.

was more important than his pious responsibilities.[66] Leaving his future disciple to care his mother, Khwāfī proceeded to Hejaz to perform the Pilgrimage and returned to Jerusalem before heading towards Khurāsān, Maqdisī—and also Marzifūnī—in his company. Judging by the date on the colophon of Khwāfī's work *al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya*, which he specified he completed in Jerusalem in 825/1422, he must have been there for some time in that year. A marginal note in another manuscript of the same work states that Khwāfī took the pilgrimage after finishing this work. A third piece of information found in yet another manuscript has that the book was given its final form after some additions in Herat in 826/1423.[67] All of these lead one to assume that they met on—or shortly before—825/1422 and departed for Khurāsān following Khwāfī's return from pilgrimage.

### *7.3.1 Maqdisī and Khwāfī in Jerusalem*

It is intriguing to speculate upon the ways this meeting might have come about. Biographical information for the two Sufis does not clearly indicate any common acquaintances.[68] Lāmiᶜī Chalabī wrote that at the time when Khwāfī stopped in Jerusalem on his way to *Ḥajj*, Maqdisī was occupying a shaykh-post (*sajjāda-nishīn*) in Jerusalem with an *ijāza* at hand from Shaykh ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz.[69] We do not have a way of confirming this information, yet neither can it be easily dismissed for there

66. Lāmiᶜī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 551; Ṭāshkoprīzāda, *al-Shaqāᵓiq*, 66–7. Maqdisī's *ijāza* from Khwāfī also includes a reference to the former's mother, where the shaykh asks him, among other things, to attend her. Tek, *Kudsî*, 309–13.

67. On a review of Khwāfī's works and their extant manuscripts, see Köle, *Hâfî*, 36–69.

68. The interesting question of common contacts between Khwāfī and Maqdisī is not immediately clear and needs to be dealt with separately. There are three personalities that could be further explored in this regard: *i*) the Ḥasanī Sharīf of Alexandria, which occurs in Khwāfī's biographies, but also in the case of Maqdisī as well; *ii*) The shaykh ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-Ghaznawī—whose *nisba* Ibn Ḥajar, Biqāᶜī and Sakhawī have as al-Farnawī—Maqdisī's first teacher in Sufism and the Shihāb al-Dīn al-Farnawī, who is noted in Sakhawī as one of the acquaintances of Khwāfī in Egypt from his first visit; *iii*) Muḥammad al-Maghribī al-Asmar, whom Maqdisī met in Tunis and the Muḥammad al-Magribī, a member of Sīsī's circle in Tabrīz, whom Khwāfī befriended presumably when he was there during the 1480s.

69. Lāmiᶜī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 551.

can be found several cases where Lāmi$^{c}$ī reliably reports information on Khwāfī's circle not found in Mamlūk sources. We know that it was fairly common for a Sufi with an *ijāza* in hand to go through a second initiation and get involved in another path. Also, Maqdisī might indeed have been holding a position of instruction, whether at a convent or a mosque. However, it may very well be that Lāmi$^{c}$ī Chelebī was extrapolating based on the information he had, which was not uncommon for the historians of the time. I am inclined to think of this as information Lāmi$^{c}$ī reported based on his own sources within the Ottoman Zayniyya, rather than unfounded extrapolation.[70]

However, a few brief points could be raised in terms of Maqdisī's trajectory towards Khwāfī's discipleship. Sources on the learned elite of the early fifteenth-century Jerusalem indicate an intense competition for scholarly positions in and around city. On a larger scale, at least in the case of the central lands of Islam, the exodus from among the *madrasa* graduates to the ranks of Sufis emerges as a major phenomenon deserving further attention. The lack of sufficient positions for all *madrasa* graduates (*sukhta*s) in the countryside, as opposed to the ubiquitous convents in both the rural and urban areas, may have had a hand in this exodus. A very obvious reason had to do with the inability of the traditional scholarly vocation, and in particular theology, to satisfy the intellectual thirst of many a well-educated scholar in the post-Abbasid era.[71] More pertinently for the case at hand, the

70. There are two reasons why I understand this as a report rather than author's speculation. First of all, it seems that Lāmi$^{c}$ī Chalabī did not rely at all on Sakhāwī's or Biqā$^{c}$ī's treatments of Maqdisī, which is apparent both in the organization of the information and the strikingly little overlap between the information provided by the *Nafaḥāt Tarjamasi* and the Arabic sources. Secondly, the author at one point clearly states that he had reliable sources within the Zayniyya. Lāmi$^{c}$ī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 552. This is not surprising because we know that one of the masters of Lāmi$^{c}$ī, namely Mawlānā Muḥyī al-Dīn, a *mudarris* at the *Ṣaḥn-i Thamān* known also as Akhawayn, had become a disciple of Shaykh $^{c}$Abd al-Mu$^{c}$ṭī (d. 904/1498–9), one of the *khalīfa*s of Zayn al-Dīn in Mecca. Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 49; Ṭāshkoprīzāda, *al-Shaqā$^{\supset}$iq*, 188.

71. I understand al-Ghazali's personal crisis and renunciation of the status quo of the several major paths of intellectual pursuit in his time as indicative of a broad and long-term phenomenon, a widespread attitude among scholars of the period following the demise of the Caliphal social order. This passage from his *al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl*" is a summary of what I believe to be representative of many a *Sharī$^{c}$a* scholar of the period: "Theology was not adequate to my case and was unable to cure the malady [the inability to attain a certain knowledge of the relationship between men and God] of which I complained. It is true that, when theology appeared as a recognized discipline and

dual charisma of the Sufi shaykhs with their prowess and interest in mystical sciences like dream interpretation, astrology, divination, and other esoteric sciences, in addition to their ability to appeal to the student of the transmitted sciences of *Sharīᶜa*, seem to have been too potent to resist for many learned men.

Having explored the traditional knowledge of his time during travels that took him to the Western edges of Islam, it seems that Maqdisī was willing to undertake another episode of travel to another corner of the world when he met Khwāfī. He must have certainly heard of Khwāfī, who by 825/1421–2 had been in the "Egyptian lands" for nearly four years. Ottoman sources mention that Maqdisī hosted Khwāfī in his house and a strong affinity developed between them.[72] We can surmise that Maqdisī's family heritage and proximity to the *Khānqāh Ṣalāḥiyya* must have certainly played a role in this relationship, but no certainty can be submitted in the absence of further details.[73] Based on the assumption that Khwāfī spent some time there—not to mention the possibil-

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much effort had been expended on it over a considerable period of time, the theologians, being very earnest in their endeavors to defend orthodoxy by the study of what things really are, embarked on a study of substances and accidents with their nature and properties. But since that was not the aim of their science, they did not deal with the question thoroughly in their thinking and consequently did not arrive at results sufficient to dispel universally the darkness of confusion to the different views of men." Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazālī*, ed. William Montgomery Watt (London: G. Allen / Unwin, 1953), 28–9.

72. "…muṣāḥabet idicek temām-ı irādet-i ṣādıqa göstermişlerdi." Lāmiᶜī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 551.

73. A considerable amount of attention has been devoted in modern scholarship to the importance of Jerusalem for the Sufis of medieval Islam. Ṣalāh al-Dīn's hospice, which was the foremost and largest center of Sufism, must have played an unmistakable role in pietistic traditions of the historic Jerusalem. Since Khwāfī most certainly traveled with a group of Sufis, most of which can be assumed to have been his students, his party may have even lodged at this hospice. If this is true, then we can assume that Maqdisī's proximity to the hospice might have given him a vantage point from which he could build relationships with Sufis and scholars visiting the city. This is extremely important as it also speaks to the possible ways Fanārī and Maqdisī got to know each other. Indeed, it is common to find traces in the primary sources of memorable shaykhs spending time at the *khānqāh*, such as the following: "Shaykh Muḥammad Fulādh b. ᶜAbd Allah (d. 1440) also came to the holy city and devoted himself to worship at the Aqṣā mosque. He performed sixty major pilgrimages to Makkah and is said to have been endowed with miracles and revelations. He enjoyed extraordinary prestige with the Sufis at the Ṣalāḥiyya community, where he worked as a gatekeeper, and was buried in Jerusalem." Shamsuddin Al-Kilani, "The Muslim Fascination with Jerusalem: The

ity that he may have visited the city a couple of times during the period between 821/1418–9 and 825/1421-2—this relationship may have lasted a considerably long time. Indeed, Biqāʿī's wording clearly indicates that Maqdisī was initiated there by Khwāfī.[74] This seems to be in line with the *ijāza* Khwāfī gave to him three years later, where he wrote that Maqdisī heard of him and had a high regard (*ḥusn al-ẓann*) of him that led him to submit himself to Khwāfī, upon which the latter received his *tawba*', inculcated in him the *dhikr* of *lā ilāha illā allāh*, and put the *khirqa* of Sufism on him, before taking him to Khorasan.[75] It may come as natural that the wording here is quite similar to the license Khwāfī wrote for Marzifūnī. It becomes apparent that Khwāfī remained in these cities long enough, perhaps on purpose, to initiate several people, and he took them with him only after they were initiated in his Sufism.[76]

His contemporary biographers note that Maqdisī was an accomplished poet in addition to being a globe-trotting Sufi, and quote two lines he addressed to Khwāfī, which sound as if written around the time they met. Biqāʿī quoted the lines, upon which Sakhāwī incorporated them into his account, not without adding a commentary of his own with a dose of cynicism. The lines read as follows:

> "Rise and take best advantage, it is a rarity in our time,
>
> and submit to him the states, secret and open.
>
> Although I have traversed the quarters of the world and then the six millenia,

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Case of the Sufis," *Islamic Studies* 40, no. 3 (2001): 625.

74. "Fa ijtamaʿa bi al-shaykh zayn al-dīn al-khwāfī wa ṣaḥibahu wa salaka ʿalā yadihi wa raḥila maʿahu ilā bilād al-sharq." Biqāʿī, *ʿUnwān al-Zamān*, 154. Cf. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, iv/289, who follows Biqāʿī word-for-word except when he conspicuously replaced *zayn al-dīn* with *nūr al-dīn*. Sakhāwī can also be seen to alternate the names *nūr al-dīn* and *zayn al-dīn* in Khwāfī's biography when describing the relationship between the latter and his teacher in Egypt. It should be remembered again that the note about Khwāfī's asking Maqdisī to wait and attend his mother until the former returns from the Pilgrimage does not occur in Mamlūk sources. It first appears in Lāmiʿī Chelebī's translation of Nafaḥāt; see Lāmiʿī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 551.

75. Tek, *Kudsî*, 309–13.

76. This is another reason I argue that any travel of the Sufi shaykhs were bound to be one of a campaign of initiation and proselytization. A *khalīfa* of Khwāfī, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Rawāsī, according to Ibn Karbalāʾī, used to initiate people as he traveled through Tabrīz on his way to pilgrimage. Karbalāʿī Tabrīzī, *Rawḍat al-Jinān*, 160–62.

such as the like of Zayn al-Dīn none has ever appeared."[77]

Sakhāwī's astonishment at Maqdisī's exaggeration notwithstanding, we found the reminiscence of the latter's sentiment for Khwāfī in Darwīsh Aḥmad Samarqandī's description, around the same time, of the shaykh as someone sealing sainthood (*walāya*), just as the Prophet Muḥammad was the seal of the prophethood.[78]

### 7.3.2 *Khurasān and* ijāza

Thus after returning to Jerusalem from pilgrimage presumably around the beginning of the year 826/late 1422, Khwāfī departed for Khorasan, with Maqdisī and Marzifūnī, among others, in his company. Maqdisī spent three years in Khorasan, where he was requested by Khwāfī to undergo a spiritual retreat and struggle (*khalwa*) at the shrine of Aḥmad-i Jām, during which he would write about his dreams and states to his teacher. When finally the verse of *Naṣr* was revealed to him during his retreat of spiritual struggle, Khwāfī brought him out of *khalwa* and wrote him an *ijāza*. In the three years he spent there, he travelled around Herat and met the religious elite in the city including, according to Biqā$^c$ī, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Wā$^c$iẓ, the shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qāyinī, and the son of the shaykh Sa$^c$d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī.[79] It is worth remembering that these people are described in sources as scholars who were disciples or admirers of Khwāfī in Herat.

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77. My translation from Biqā$^c$ī, *$^c$Unwān al-Zamān*, 154. Sakhāwī provides a summary interpretation on al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmi$^c$ (2003)*, iv/289–90.

78. In the second *Mazārāt-i Harāt* written by $^c$Ubayd Allāh b. Abū Sa$^c$īd Harawī, Darwīsh Aḥmad is reported to have recited the following poem on meeting Khwāfī: "Na-dīdam dar jihān mardī ki bāshad in chanīn kāmil." Aṣīl al-Dīn Wā$^c$iẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, 138.

79. Biqā$^c$ī, *$^c$Unwān al-Zamān*, 155. Sakhāwī apparently misred Biqā$^c$ī's work, which led to the misspelling of Qāyinī's name in Turkish sources. Cf. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmi$^c$ (2003)*, iv/289; Tek, *Kudsî*, 38 n.13, who relied solely on Sakhāwī for their study of Maqdisī. At this point, it is worth noting the disturbing resemblance in information and wording between some of the secondary sources I consulted. Tek's work on Maqdisī published in 2009 sometimes replicate verbatim the information found in Öngören's work on Zayniyya published in 2003. Cf. Tek, *Kudsî*, 37 and Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 79. This is one of the reasons I did not consider as reliable majority of the secondary literature on the issue. For more on this issue, see the Introduction.

Following his reception of the license, Maqdisī first returned to his hometown, where he stayed for a limited period. It is interesting to examine Maqdisī's biography in light of the contents of this license.[80] Khwāfī wrote here, among other things, that he allowed Maqdisī *i*) to return to his homeland, but not to his former life, and to tend to his mother; and *ii*) observe such principles and rules of the *ṭarīqa* as *taqwā*, *tawakkul*, modesty, constant *dhikr* and withdrawal from unnecessary socializing with the public, for, as "our shaykh" Suhrawardī said, "isolation (*al-ᶜuzla*") is the principle."[81] If he were to find a sincere seeker who denounced the world, Maqdisī was permitted, after subjecting the candidate to numerous tests and trials, to receive from him the repentance, inculcate in him the formula of *lā ilāha illā allāh*, and clothe him with the Sufi vest (*khirqa*).[82]

According to Mamlūk sources, he returned to Jerusalem after receiving the *ijāza* and remained there for a while before proceeding to Rūm. Based on an autobiographical note found in one of his works, we know that his mother died in 832/1428–9.[83] This is four years after his presumed date of return from Herat in 828/1424–5. He clearly was attending his ailing mother as Khwāfī instructed, and once she passed away, we find him again traveling, rather than continuing whatever he used to do in Jerusalem before he met Khwāfī.[84] An original copy of one of Maqdisī's works, which exhibits the impression of a direct copy from the original manuscript, was finished in Rajab 833/March 1430 in Bursa.[85] In the three years he spent in Anatolia, he initiated many people, though he took great care not to mingle with the public and attract attention. Biqāᶜī wrote that during his time in Anatolia he never went to visit anybody, although people of the elite and the common folk flocked to him. This included the sultan Murād II himself, whom the shaykh avoided despite the sultan's repeated

80. A copy of the license with a Turkish translation is provided in Tek, *Kudsî*, 304–13.

81. Tek, *Kudsî*, 312.

82. Tek, *Kudsî*, 313.

83. A quite detailed chronological family autobiography provides the date of death of Maqdisī's mother as 832; see al-Maqdisī, *Tuḥfat*, 66b.

84. The remarkable difference from his earlier travels is that this time was not for the purpose of learning, rather for instruction, just as Khwāfī's second Western travel was different than his first.

85. Tek, *Kudsî*, 38.

attempts. In the activities of Maqdisī's as a Sufi shaykh, one sees clear echoes of Khwāfī's advice not to make himself a center of attraction and avoid needless socialization with "the people of the world," which polluted Sufi's heart and clouded his vision.[86]

Maqdisī later returned to Jerusalem, then lived in Cairo and Damascus for a while before returning to Anatolia once again around the mid-century, where he was to die and be buried. It was not very common for scholars and Sufis from the Mamlūk lands to settle in Anatolia. Carl Petry demonstrated that, while the mobility of the learned elite helped maintain a universal culture across Islamdom, scholars from the Mamlūk lands usually did not settle abroad, preferring the stability and protection provided by the Mamlūk military-patronage system to the occasionally turbulent societies in the other lands.[87] This was especially true in the case of Anatolia, which was a frontier land constantly in need of religious scholars, but which lacked, however, the attraction of the more sophisticated centers.[88]

Remarkably enough, Sufis of the time seem to have been at ease in substituting religious scholars to fill in this gap. An obvious motive was the inverse proportion between scholarly sophistication and speculative Sufism, in particular in the Mamlūk lands. Here A. Zeki Velidî Togan's characterization of the dominant religious and intellectual tendencies in Anatolia, Mamlūk lands and the

86. Tek, *Kudsî*, 312.

87. Carl F. Petry, "Travel Patterns of Medieval Notables in the Near East," *Studia Islamica*, no. 62 (1985): 53–87.

88. Anatolia had been part of the Islamic world since the end of the eleventh century although never developed a culture that was on equal standing with the older sites of Islamic civilization until the intense efforts of the Ottoman court in the fifteenth century. See, for example, Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire : The Historian Mustafa Âlî (1541-1600)* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), who called Asia Minor the "wild west" of Islamdom. Anatolia was notorious for the lack of its scholars and the abundance of superstition (*ᶜurf*), as Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī famously claimed that the sun of knowledge rose in the Arab lands, reached its apex in Persian lands and finally set in Asia Minor. Ahmed Zeki Velidî Togan, *Umumî Türk Tarihine Giriş: Cild 1, En Eski Devirlerden 16. Asra Kadar* (İstanbul, İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1946), 362. Ross E. Dunn, *The adventures of Ibn Battuta, a Muslim traveler of the fourteenth century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Abū ᶜAbd Allah Muḥammad Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb (London: G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd, 1929).

Tīmūrid lands in the period—despite the generalization—might be helpful. Togan suggested that the Mamlūk lands, with Cairo and Damascus as main centers, produced scholars that were particularly opposed to the religious trends the Mongol and Tīmūrid rule engendered in Persianate lands and Central Asia. Rūm, as mentioned above, was seen by others as a land of *ghazā* in flux and constant chaos. He highlights the influx of *Sharīᶜa*-minded scholars and Sufis to Ottoman lands, especially during the reign of Murād II that spanned the second quarter of the fifteenth century.[89]

Considering the increased activity in *madrasa* construction under this sultan, I argue in this dissertation that this may have been the result of a deliberate policy of patronizing "orthodox" Islam. The facility with which the *Sharīᶜa*-abiding and scholarly disciples of Khwāfī gained acceptance and found admirers within especially the higher echelons of the learned and the administrative elite may also be interpreted in these terms. A stated reason for Maqdisī's second and final visit to Anatolia was that he and his companions were being disturbed by the scholars of the external sciences (*ẓāhir*"), when they were in *khalwa* in Damascus.[90] If this is true, it means that even a strongly *Sharīᶜa*-minded, thoroughly *madrasa*-trained Sufi like Maqdisī did not feel safe from the attacks of the legalistic scholars. This may help explain why most Sufis, including those who, as a principle, remained aloof to politics, sought princely patronage. The case at hand of Maqdisī helps illustrate this point: After spending a short time in Jerusalem, Maqdisī settled in Cairo for an unspecified reason, where he went on to develop a close relationship with a Mamlūk *amīr* named Jaqmaq (r. 842–57/1438–53).[91] When he foretold the *amīr*—almost certainly through a dream interpretation—that he would one day become the sultan, the latter promised to build a convent for him if that turned

89. Togan, *Umumî Türk Tarihine*, 364.

90. Maqdisī spent the late 840s/1440s in Damascus with his family and departed for Anatolia in Shawwāl 851/December 1447. Tek, *Kudsî*, 38–40. The terms *ᶜulamā-yı ẓāhir* and *ᶜulamā-yı rusūm* were used interchangeably in Ottoman sources.

91. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*, iv/289. On the Burjī Mamlūks in general, see Jean-Claude Garcin, "The regime of the Circassian Mamlūks," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. Carl F. Petry, vol. 1 (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 290–317. Jaqmaq was the same *amīr* sent by Barsbay to convince Ibn al-Ḥumām to return to the Ashrafiyya *madrasa-khānqāh*, as I discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

out to be the case. When in 842/1438 Jaqmaq ascended the Mamlūk throne without delivering on his promise, Maqdisī took offense and withdrew from the public. This was followed by his move to Damascus, where, as I wrote above, he eventually felt troubled by the "externalistic" scholars. This may explain why, at the age of 63, Maqdisī was forced to return to a country he shunned earlier, where all Sufis, in particular those of Zayniyya, were in high demand.

### 7.3.3 Inter-regional Sufism

Maqdisī in his two stays in Anatolia seems to have trained quite a number of disciples. Sources indicate that he remained for prolonged periods in Konya, Bursa and Edirne. A great number of the third generation representatives of Zayniyya in Anatolia are indeed related to these places.[92] The presence of scholars like Fanārī who may have been familiar and supportive of Khwāfī's teachings, must have facilitated the adoption of Zayniyya among the learned and the political elite. Equally important was the work of another of Khwāfī's representatives in central Anatolia, namely, ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm Marzifūnī. The latter was from Amasya, an extremely important town in terms of Anatolian political and cultual history, as well as the seat of Meḥemmed I's principality in the aftermath of the Tīmūrid invasion. He returned there after receiving his license and, just as he was permitted in his *ijāza*, occupied himself with disseminating Khwāfī's path and work. There he was allocated a post in the endowment of that sultan by his son, Murād II, a clear testimony to the strong relationship between Zaynī Sufis of Anatolia and the Ottoman dynasty during this period. On the other hand, however, as I mentioned above, Marzifūnī was criticized on the grounds of drawing an income from a sultanic source. To this he responded by saying he preferred indebtedness to one hand, rather than to multiple hands for the sustenance of his family. The efficacy of the Sufi's work clearly depended on an extremely delicate balance between a degree of financial stability and a healthy distance from the strong arm of the political authority.

92. For a detailed examination of Ottoman sufis belonging to the Zaynī path, the following works should be consulted: Köle, *Hâfî*, 69–97; Tek, *Kudsî*, 26–32; Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 69–168.

It was Sufis like these, who combined *Shar$^{c}$ī* scholastic rigor that appealed to the learned with a mastery in the ways of traditional Sufism that drew masses, and maintained a mutually beneficial relationship at a measured distance with the ruling elite, that succeeded in transforming Khwāfī's teachings into an independent *silsila* to be called Zayniyya.[93] Thus less than half a century after his death, Khwāfī's path became one of the most influential *ṭarīqa*s in Anatolia, a land he never set foot in. Powerful representatives of the path especially during the second half of the fifteenth century attracted members of the Ottoman court, scholars and men of letters, which led to the remarkable growth and patronage of Zaynī convents in numerous cities, but most importantly, in Istanbul, Bursa and Edirne.[94]

Although this chapter dwelled on three personalities, primary sources identify many other disciples that received their licenses at this time. An extensive study of all of the convents and disciples associated with Zayn al-Dīn is impossible to offer here and must be undertaken separately. There are many Sufis, disciples of Khwāfī that contributed in the dissemination of his line, that I had to exclude from this chapter for various reasons. $^{c}$Abd al-Mu$^{c}$ṭī al-Maghribī, for example, an initiate of Khwāfī's in Mecca, and his convent there, must have been extremely influential in the survival of Khwāfī's spiritual legacy not only in Hejaz but in all parts of Islamdom through Pilgrimage. Ottoman sources identify him as one of the three most influential *khalīfa*s of Khwāfī alongside $^{c}$Abd

93. These representatives of Khwāfī in the West were responsible for transforming Khwāfī's line from a branch to an independent *ṭarīqa*. In addition to those in the Ottoman lands calling themselves as Zayniyya, Shaykh $^{c}$Abd al-Karīm, a disciple of Khwāfī in Aleppo mentioned above in the context of Shaykh Junayd, was known to have adopted the name *Khwāfī*, for the *nisba* of his shaykh. Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-Sā$^{ɔ}$ira bi-A$^{c}$yān al-Mi$^{ɔ}$a al-$^{c}$Āshira*, ed. Jibrā$^{ɔ}$īl Sulaymān Jabbūr (Beirut: al-Maṭba$^{c}$a al-Amīrkānīya, 1945), i/309, ii/60. Also see Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 58. On the other hand, Khwāfī himself was known to Ibn Ḥajar as a *Suhrawardī* Sufi. Ibn Ḥajar al-$^{c}$Asqalānī, *Tabṣīr al-Muntabih*, ii/484. The later biographer al-Ḥusaynī also identifies Khwāfī as a representative of Suhrawardiyya. al-Ḥusaynī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, iii/23. Sakhāwī identifies, citing Biqā$^{c}$ī, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Rawāsī a Suhrawardī—and a Qādirī—Sufi. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw$^{ɔ}$ al-Lāmi$^{c}$ (2003)*, ix/139.

94. For an extensive review of the representatives of Zayniyya under the Ottomans, see Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 69–168.

al-Laṭīf and ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm, conferring on them the nickname *ᶜabādila-i thalātha*. [95] ᶜAbd al-Muᶜṭī garnered such respect that his miraculous knowledge of Aḥrār is used in contemporary Naqshbandī literature as a pretext to elevate the spiritual authority of the latter shaykh.[96]

The emphasis of this chapter on Khwāfī's ability to attract followers from distant lands and his influence over the religious elite both of the Mamlūk and the Ottoman lands would hopefully serve to illustrate the ways the theory and praxis of his path addressed the spirito-intellectual trends in his time. As I have mentioned, he was able to appeal at once to Fanārī, a student of speculative Sufism, as well as to Ibn Ḥajar, a staunch critic of the latter orientation. Sufis and scholars in his circle included those who were interested in Ibn ᶜArabī, such as Ibn al-Ḥumām, and those who called him an apostate, like Manṣūr b. al-Ḥasan, and those who lauded the *samāᶜ* such as Muḥammad Tabādkānī, and those who opposed all innovations. In the depiction of Khwāfī's student Maqdisī, Shabarrīsī did not admit to discipleship Muḥammad Shīrīn, whom Khwāfī befriended when in Tabriz.[97]

### 7.3.4 *Encounter with Shaykh Junayd-i Safawī*

The same kind of ambiguity is also present around the life and work of Khwāfī's Jerusalemite student Maqdisī. Like Khwāfī, he befriended Fanārī as discussed above and made a disciple of Darwīsh Aḥmad ᶜĀshiqī (d. after 891/1491), the well-known historian of the Ottoman Empire and a representative of vernacular Sunni piety.[98] In the second half of the century, ᶜĀshıqpasha-zāda was a *khalīfa* of Maqdisī with a convent in Istanbul—called *Zeyniler tekkesi*—in the Miᶜmār Sinān district, in which he was succeeded after his death by his son-in-law Sayyid Walāyat.[99] Maqdisī wrote in an autobiographical piece that he was one of the *sālikīn* that accompanied him when he left Damascus for Anatolia in late 851/early 1448, indicating ᶜĀshıqpasha-zāda had already become an initiate at

95. Lāmiᶜī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 552–53.
96. Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, II:570.
97. al-Maqdisī, *Kashf*, 340–41.
98. On his life, see İnalcık, "How to Read," 31–5.
99. İnalcık, "How to Read," 33–5. Also see Tek, *Kudsî*, 57–8 and Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 126–30.

the time.[100] He seems to have remained with the shaykh for a while, at least during when the latter was in Konya ca. 850/late 1440s. There, $^{c}$Āshıqpasha-zāda was the eyewitness of a fiery quarrel between his shaykh and Junayd-i Safawī (d. 864/1460) at the *zāwiya* of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī (d. 673/1274), where Maqdisī had assumed a shaykh post then.[101] The detail in this interesting account and other circumstantial evidence on the travels both of Junayd and $^{c}$Abd al-Laṭīf, in my view, lend credibility to this unique report.[102] Accordingly, after Junayd's request for a homeland was rejected by the Ottoman sultan Murād II, he came to Karaman and settled in the convent associated with the famous student of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī. Maqdisī was holding the shaykh-post of the convent at the time and the two Sufis did not meet in person for some time. When finally they started meeting, they had scribes copy portions of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī's books from Ṣadr al-Dīn's library housed in the convent. This took about thirty days, after which they met again. Following an argument over whether the companions or the family of the Prophet were preferable, Maqdisī squarely blamed his opponent

100. "Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. $^{c}$Āshiq Bāshā" was among his three companions Maqdisī named in al-Maqdisī, *Tuḥfat*, 67a.

101. $^{c}$Āşıkpaşa-zāda, *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i $^{c}$Uthmān*, 264–66.

102. By circumstantial evidence I mean several things, namely, *i*) that we are certain $^{c}$Āshıqpasha-zāda was a disciple of Maqdisī; *ii*) and that we know that Junayd, banished from Ardabil in 851/1447–48 was traveling in Anatolia at this time; *iii*) that Maqdisī elsewhere noted that he visited the convent of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qunawi when he was in Konya in the last years of 1440s; *iv*) and that Jaqmaq (r. 1438–53) was the Mamlūk sultan at the time as referred to in the account. Kathryn Babayan, "Jonayd," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*. Faruk Sümer, *Safevî Devletinin Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin Rolü : (Şah İsmail ile Halefleri ve Anadolu Türkleri)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992); Tek, *Kudsî*, 40–1; Lāmi$^{c}$ī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 550. This report is found in the question and answer section at the end of the chronicle, which does not appear uniformly in all manuscripts. For this and other reasons, some scholars questioned the reliability of this section. A noteworthy critical reading with respect to Hājī Baktāsh is found in Rıza Yıldırım, "Hacı Bektaş Velî ve İlk Osmanlılar: Âşıkpaşazâde'ye Eleştirel Bir Bakış," *Turkish Culture & Hacı Bektaş Veli Research Quarterly*, no. 51 (2009): 107–46. My cross examination of the information used here, however, reveals that at least the report on this meeting is quite convincing. Rıza Yıldırım, in a more recent study, seems to accept the meeting between Junayd and Maqdisī as authentic, suggesting 1449–1450 as possible dates. Rıza Yıldırım, *Aleviliğin doğuşu : Kızılbaş sufiliğinin toplumsal ve siyasal temelleri (1300-1501) = Turkomans between two empires: the origins of the Qizilbash identity in Anatolia (1447-1514)* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2017), 179 n.148.

for infidelity.[103]

The following morning Junayd absconded with his party, upon which Maqdisī wrote to the Qaramanid ruler Ibrāhīm Beg urging him that "this Shaykh Junayd was not pursuing shaykh-hood, rather, he sought political dominion by disrupting the *Sharī$^{c}$a*."[104] According to the historian, Ibrāhīm Beg was not able to apprehend Junayd, who then fled to Aleppo with his followers. Interestingly, two other disciples of Khwāfī in Aleppo sent a message to the Mamlūk sultan Jaqmaq warning him that "the *Dajjāl* had emerged in his realm," who, upon receipt of this message, told the viceroy of Aleppo to dismiss Junayd. Mamlūk troops attacked Junayd, though he was still able to escape.[105] The significance of this event is simply too large to discuss here, though, I should suffice here by noting that this event accelerated the politicization of Junayd's spiritual leadership, contributing to the rise of the Safawid political cause during the second half of the fifteenth century.[106]

## On the question of Sufis and intellectual boundaries

This anecdote invites various questions, which need to be addressed in a separate study. However, there emerge certain points, some of which reinforce modern scholarly view of Sufism while the rest contradicts most conventions. First of all, Maqdisī, a veritably *Sharī$^{c}$a*-oriented Sufi, was harassed in Damascus by externalistic scholars, because of which he went to the more welcoming Anatolia. The fact that he stayed at the convent belonging to Qunawi, the foremost interpreter of the Akbarī teaching, and also that he ordered copies of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī's books to be written, would seem to contradict recent treatments of Zayniyya and Khwāfī. In fact, the only surviving copy of Maqdisī's *ijāza*

103. Rıza Yıldırım suggests the idea around the incompleteness of the "Sunnī Qur'ān" may have been at the center of the contention between Maqdisī and Junayd. Yıldırım, *Aleviliğin doğuşu : Kızılbaş sufiliğinin toplumsal ve siyasal temelleri (1300-1501) = Turkomans between two empires: the origins of the Qizilbash identity in Anatolia (1447-1514)*, 179–80.

104. $^{c}$Āşıkpaşa-zāda, *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i $^{c}$Uthmān*, 266.

105. $^{c}$Āşıkpaşa-zāda, *Tawārīkh-i Āl-i $^{c}$Uthmān*, 266.

106. See a similar perspective in Yıldırım, *Aleviliğin doğuşu : Kızılbaş sufiliğinin toplumsal ve siyasal temelleri (1300-1501) = Turkomans between two empires: the origins of the Qizilbash identity in Anatolia (1447-1514)*, 181–87.

ends in two separate notes of the dates of death of none other than Khwāfī and Ibn ᶜArabī.[107]

It would be unreasonable to assume anyway that a devoted exponent of Akbarī tradition such as Fanārī would have associated with Khwāfī and Maqdisī, had the latter two Sufis been acrimonious enemies. It is truly remarkable that our examination of the people initiated or associated with Khwāfī during this trip included a variety of schools and influences—including views on Ibn ᶜArabī and on *samāᶜ*—across the spectrum of spiritual orientation, sometimes at odds with each other. This is a striking rejection of a common trait in recent scholarship to characterize a historic person, such as Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī, based on the use of a sentence or two of isolated notes in contemporary narratives of dubious integrity as historical sources.[108]The clear picture that emerges from this discussion is that the history of ideas is first and foremost a history of the people who participated. To expect these people to have acted uniformly throughout their careers is contrary to the realities of their everyday lives. Neither we can expect them to have lived only within the confines of a certain ideology with which some scholars prefer to associate them.

The other puzzling aspect of these encounters deals with the relationship between the *Sharīᶜa*-oriented Sufism, as in the case of Zayniyya, and the more popular vernacular piety. On the one hand, Maqdisī was able to appeal to a kind of Türkmen piety, as seen in the case of ᶜĀshıqpasha-zāda. However, he was bitterly critical of the kind of dervish piety—which, at the time, was being made increasingly popular by *baba*s, *abdal*s, and *sultan*s in Anatolia—that did not firmly correspond to

107. Tek, *Kudsî*, 313.

108. Melvin-Koushki writes that "[d]espite virtually unconditional support for Ibn Arabi's thought in Persianate lands, some Sufis, Zayn al-Din Khwafi and Zayn al-Din Tāyabādī most prominently among them, staged a vehement opposition to what they saw as its pernicious pantheistic influence" citing Shahzad Bashir's work, rather than a primary source. Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest," 420. His source Bashir's work, however, relies solely on the narratives against Khwāfī in the contemporary Naqshbandī literature, rather than Khwāfī's own work. Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 98–99. Binbaş's recent article interprets Khwāfī's *Manhaj al-Rashād* in the context of an assassination attempt on Shāhrukh, presenting Khwāfī as an opponent of the followers of Ibn ᶜArabī: "he wrote a treatise in which he demonised certain followers of Ibn Arabi..." Also: "Khvafi's Manhaj appears to be an attempt to exploit the situation in which the tide turned against those who subscribed to the idea of the vahdat-i vujud." See Binbaş, "Regicide Attempt," 31, 34. Binbaş's treatment on the whole is more faithful to sources. Also see his references to Khwāfī in Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks*.

the Book and the Tradition. In a striking illustration of this dichotomy, Maqdisī would brand as the worst of the heretics a dervish of Bursa named Aqbıyıq Sultan, who, according to ᶜĀshıqpasha-zāda, was one of the prominent friends of God in the period.

These observations underline the need for more caution in the presentation and characterization of the intellectuals and Sufis of medieval Islam. The information found in historical sources regarding attitudes towards one or another religious doctrine is but one piece to be used to characterize the multifaceted thought-world of the people involved. A lot more research has to be done in a holistic way instead of giving in to the comfort of easy conclusions by putting these Sufis in categories invented—and distorted—by our modern scholarly lenses. It is obvious that many of the ambassadors of Khwāfī's Sufism found themselves having to walk an incredibly fine line between heresy and orthodoxy, between withdrawing from the world and associating with a ruler. Maqdisī seems to have found freedom in travel, especially in Anatolia, which was more welcoming to Sufis. Marzifūnī had to live with a degree of dependence to the sultan. The *Sharīᶜa*- and *siyāsa*-enforcing rulers of the period found the services of these Sufis indispensable.

This chapter has also demonstrated that Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī was able to establish a transregional network thanks to his personal charisma, his ability to establish networks, and the admiration for his scholarship. His travel was transformative not only in terms of his intellectual persona, but also in terms of the actual construction and expansion of his network.[109] In the case of others like Maqdisī and Marzifūnī, however, this travel and the ensuing ones comprise the first of the two types of the travel of the scholar discussed above. The power of travel and Sufi charisma is brought into extraordinary sharp and meaningful relief in the case of the relationship between Maqdisī and Khwāfī. Maqdisī, a thoroughly well-educated and connected figure, immersed in the traditions of the Sunni *sharᶜī* culture of the central lands of Islam, found in the charismatic Khwāfī his true vocation.

109. See the excursus below titled "The travel of the Sufi."

## 7.4 Excursus: Travels of the Seeker

One of the striking aspects to the travels of Khwāfī—as well as of Maqdisī—was their transformative and constructive impact. Modern scholars highlighted the element of character-building in the act of travel for learning. It may be helpful to think in terms of Joseph Campbell's analysis of the myth of hero in three stages: *i*) the setting out; *ii*) the trials of initiation and adventure; *iii*) the return and re-integration into society.[110] An equally helpful way of interpretation is found in terms of their purpose. While some of these *riḥla*s were being taken in search of erudition and self-cultivation, some other were in the pursuit of patrons and recognition. While Khwāfī's first travel that took him from Herat to Alexandria was conditioned by a search for teachers, his second travel was undertaken clearly in the capacity of a teacher, to broaden his network and clientele.[111]

In the case of medieval Islamic history, travel in search of knowledge (*al-riḥla fī ṭalab al-ᶜilm*) had another dimension in that the orally and directly transmitted knowledge (*bayān*) was superior to knowledge acquired through study and examination of written evidence.[112] It is imaginable that Maqdisī must have benefited greatly from his travels and meetings in the Islamic West, similar to what Khwāfī had done several decades before. In fact, a striking similarity between Maqdisī and his

110. Sam Gellens, "The search for knowledge in medieval Muslim societies: A comparative approach.," in *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and The Religious Imagination*, ed. Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 56.

111. This seems to have been a pattern: many students first traveled in search of wisdom then in search of patrons and clients, see: Shawkat M. Toorawa, "Thinking about travel in the medieval Islamic world," *Al-ᶜUṣūr al-Wusṭā* 20/2 (2008): 54. The strong relationship between travel and networks in medieval Islam is discussed briefly in the Introduction to Miriam Cooke and Bruce B. Lawrence, eds., *Muslim networks from Hajj to hip hop* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

112. On this, see I.R. Netton, "Riḥla," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Second edition.Also see Dunn, *The adventures of Ibn Battuta, a Muslim traveler of the fourteenth century*, 3, 68, where the editor notes: "The scholarly class of the Islamic world was an extraordinarily mobile group. In the Maghrib of the later Middle Period the learned …circulated incessantly from one city and country to another, studying with renowned professors, leading diplomatic missions, taking up posts in mosques and royal chanceries…"

teacher Khwāfī has to do with their wide travels and transregional connections.[113]

Allowing these scholars to move such striking distances with ease and confidence and facilitating the connections between them was none other than the Pilgrimage (*al-Ḥajj*) itself. For this, one should look no further than Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's travelogue, which illustrates the extraordinary culture of hospitality and the well-supported travel infrastructure serving Pilgrimage and trade routes to encourage far-fetched journeys.[114] In the aftermath of the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, modern historians of Islam have argued, the culture of Pilgrimage replaced it as a practical embodiment of the ideals of Sunni universalism, just like the claim to the protection of the two Holy Sites (*Ḥaramayn*) was understood as having replaced the Caliphate itself. The Pilgrimage itself, and the social and economic structure around it became major objects of patronage—hence the building of enormous caravansaries and *khānqāh*s on these routes.[115]

The protections and encouragement offered to Pilgrims naturally extended to all travelers, ensuring that the disparate regions of the Islamic world in the middle periods remained well-connected and the common intellectual heritage involved a great degree of unity and a shared communal identity, in other words, the Sunni Islam of the Qur'an and the Sunna and orthodox mysticism. The scholarly and religious elite, more than any other group, benefited from the Sunni universalism—such shared intellectual practices helped them feel at home in otherwise strange geographies. Possibly because the religious elite also was aware of the benefits of these *riḥla*s, traditions praising the virtues of travel in search of knowledge multiplied, to the extent that it was seen for the student as

113. The issue of the transregional elites is highly important. They were the most mobile elements of the Islamic high culture that operated in different lands across Islamdom and were crucial in the transmission of an ecumenical classical culture of Islam. Stefan Heidemann, "Conference Report: Regional and transregional elites: Connecting the early Islamic empire (Universität Hamburg, 7–8 October 2016)," *Al-ᶜUṣūr al-Wusṭā* 24 (2016): 152–58.

114. Gibb describes how the practices and activities organized by the whole Muslim community around annual pilgrimage helped facilitate all other kinds of travel in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354*, 4. On Ibn Battuta and his travels briefly, see David Waines, "Ibn Baṭṭūṭa," in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Third Edition.

115. Suhrawardī, *A Sufi rule*, 9. Also see *Religion and State in Islam: From Medieval Caliphate to the Muslim Brotherhood* (Denver: University of Denver Center for Middle East Studies, 2013), 8–11.

more commendable than the *Ḥajj* itself.[116]

There seems to have been a firm relationship between the networks of the religious elite and the idea of *riḥla* in search of wisdom in medieval Muslim society. While all kinds of travel in the well-connected Medieval Islamic world helped create a sense of common heritage among the Muslims, it was the *riḥla* in search of knowledge above all that was responsible for cementing a common culture of Muslimness in Islamdom. Travel in pursuit of religious wisdom was a necessary step in learning and students often travelled to numerous places and had several teachers.[117]

As Sufism became a widespread phenomenon that is recognized as an intellectual occupation alternative to the more established sciences mentioned above, and began adopting some of their formal practices such as the *ijāza* conferral, Sufis began to mimic the *ᶜulamā* also through a mystic *riḥla* of sorts. The general difference between the scholarly *riḥla*, or *al-riḥla fī ṭalab al-ᶜilm*, and the peregrination of the Sufi was that with the former the goals and conditions were more concrete and formalized.[118] The *ṭālib*, i.e. the seeker, on the conclusion of his journey, could return with an *ijāza*, *ḥadīth* that he personally listened to, or a rare book that is not found in his country, all of which would add to his *ᶜilm* and scholarly status. These were not necessary goals in the case of the Sufi *riḥla* as the courses of the cultivation of mysticism were less exact than the curricula of *fiqh* and

116. It must not be surprising to see that these scholarly *riḥla*s began to be viewed by the religious elite as the *ḥajj* of the student. See the following on the significance of scholarly and pietistic motives in undertaking a *riḥla*: Netton, "Riḥla"; Gellens, "The search for knowledge," 53; and Roxanne Leslie Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 34–38. Maqdisi's engagement in a common practice of the "brotherhood of Islam" and participation in the traditional culture of the learned warrant his status among the religious elite of the medieval Muslim society. See Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354*, 2, 4. As Sam Gellens notes, this kind of travel was the practice of a privileged elite. See Gellens, "The search for knowledge," 56.

117. Euben summarizes the rihla as an ethos, rather than an occasional practice or a recurrent theme, that was sanctioned by divine authority, rewarded with *baraka*, and nourished by the complex Muslim civilization. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore*, 38.

118. The ambivalence and versatility of the *riḥla* perplexes the modern scholar of medieval Islam. A recent study classified the types of *riḥla* and offered helpful rubrics to analyze the motives, but it still fell short of being comprehensive. It is difficult to categorize individual *riḥla*s. Toorawa, "Thinking about travel," 48–49.

*tafsīr*. Neither was there a prophetic sanction for the Sufi *sālik* (wayfarer). His travel instead was a material reflection of his metaphorical quest in the path to attaining spiritual perfection.

Journeying was such an important part of Sufi development that the eponym of the Suhrawardī tradition is known to have written on the etiquette of travel. It is true that the whole Sufi practice (*sayr u sulūk*) was a journey towards the purification of the spirit, with its travails (*aḥwāl*) and stations on the way (*maqāmāt*). The metaphor was complemented by the physical act of traveling and visitation of the living and the dead, which also was not devoid of its own discipline and manners.[119] A Sufi in his rihla would visit shrines to receive *baraka* from the deceased saints as well as the living, stay in *ribāṭ*'s or *khānqāh*s to meet fellow Sufis, and find erudite Sufi shaykhs to serve and study with. A *sālik* hoped to find learning, spiritual cultivation, a master trainer who might grant him an *ijāza*, and, to quote a modern-day phrase, soul-searching for the *salik*. An uncertain combination of these experiences and continued ascetic struggle of the Sufi would breathe into him the charisma that would make him an accomplished shaykh. More specifically, the Sufi would associate with other Sufis and shaykhs in these travels, serve the latter (*khadama*) and render companionship (*ṣuḥba*) to them, acquiring their friendship and blessing, which then may lead to the shaykh taking the initiative to guide the Sufi student.

The period of accompanying and serving included testing and experimenting as well, as can be seen in Khwāfī's advice to his disciples.[120] It was only after this that the shaykh would decide to receive the *ṭālib* as a *sālik*. In the case of Khwāfī's path, this included the *tawba*, the *talqīn al-dhikr* of the *kalima-i tawḥīd*, and the *lubs al-khirqa*.[121] Judging by the fact that Khwāfī had several convents around Herat, he personally supervised the second period that involved rigorous spiritual struggle and exercise, including specifically the *khalwa*. Contemporary Tīmūrid sources, including the *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, also confirm that Khwāfī's convents housed a host of students from different

119. Ohlander, *ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī*, 230–37.

120. Tek, *Kudsî*, 313.

121. This is found in the *ijāza*s Khwāfī granted to his disciples. A brief but very helpful study of the rites involved in Sufi initiation is Chodkiewicz, "Rites of Initiation in Sufi Orders."

parts of the Islamic world..[122]

Khwāfī's travels and the ensuing emergence of his transregional network stem from his charisma and personal dedication. However, he was clearly aided in all of these by the cosmopolitan nature of the urban elite in the period and the existing perceptions of the courtly patronage of Sufism. When it comes to universal perceptions of Sufism, the current discussion has demonstrated that Khwāfī's acceptance by Sufis in different parts of Islamdom was facilitated by a sense of the fellowship of the Path, which created a feeling of unity and trust between disciples of separate shaykhs.

122. Aṣīl al-Dīn Wāᶜiẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, 81.

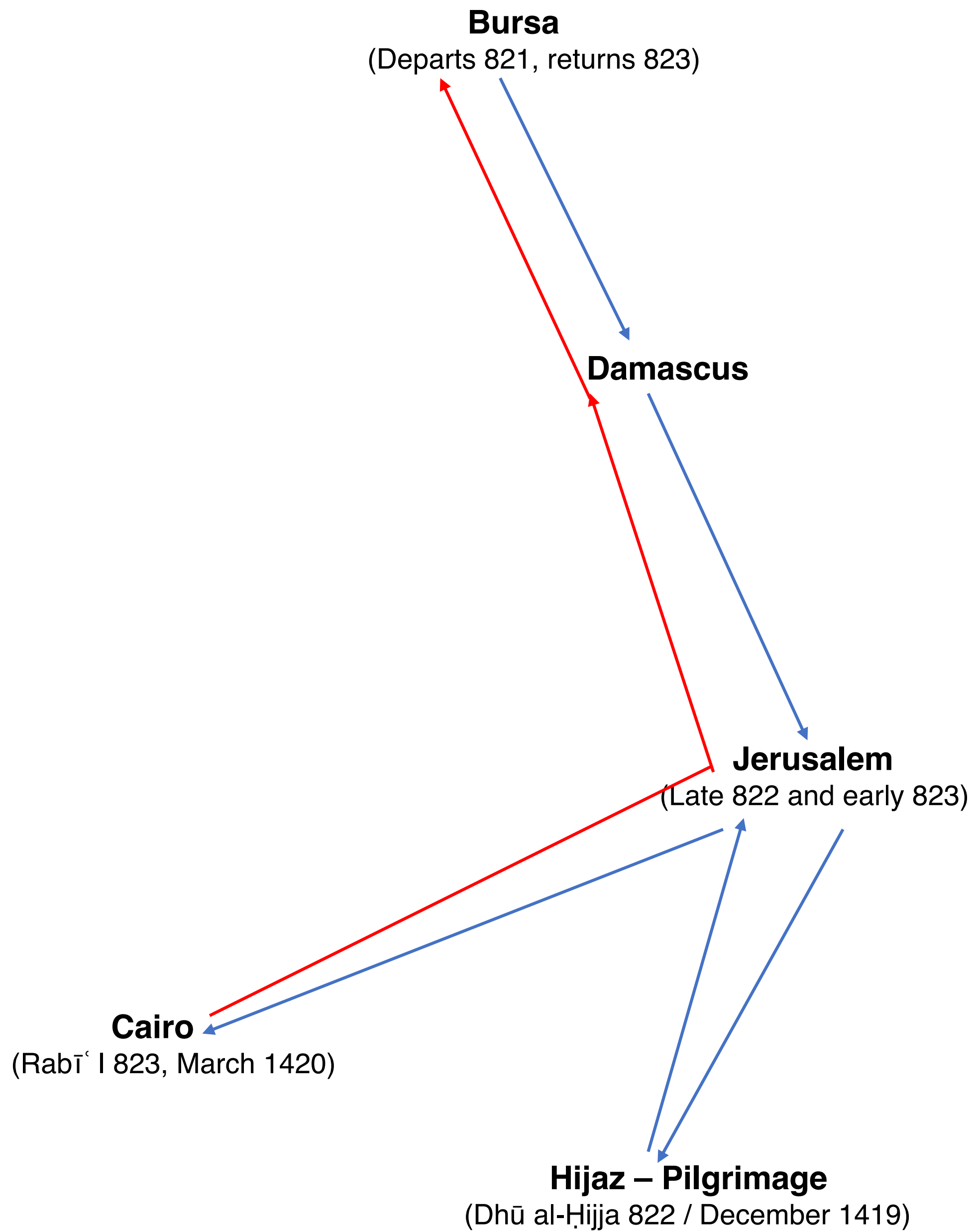


Figure 7.1: Mullā Fanārī's travel itinerary to and from Pilgrimage in 822 (Red arrows indicate return to Anatolia.)

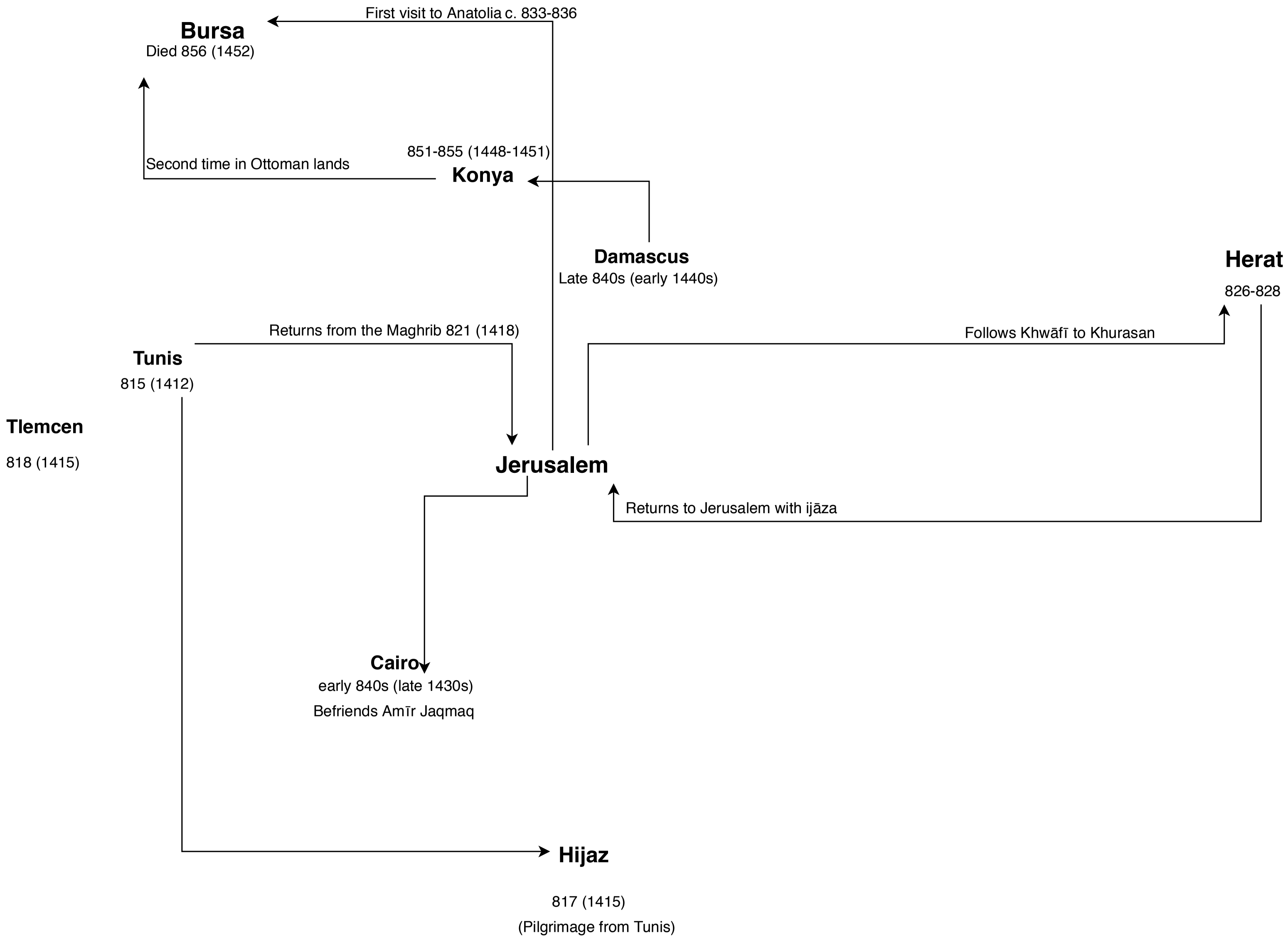


Figure 7.2: Travels of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Maqdisī

# CHAPTER 8

# KHWĀFĪ'S WRITING ACTIVITY AND THE FOUNDATION OF HIS *ṬARĪQA*

In regard to the extensive travels of Khwāfī,[1] it is interesting to realize that his writing activity was contemporaneous with his travels. This is a genuinely curious point because it means, first of all, that, Khwāfī began committing his ideas to writing around the time he set out, which, as I noted, constituted a turning point in the spreading of his spiritual path. The parallels in purpose and function between his writing activity and his travels are not always apparent; however, some aspects are clear enough to justify further consideration. Equally important, as follows from this, is that his writing began to be disseminated very quickly around the same time. This was the result of from a number of factors having to do with the goals and the material realities of writing and "publishing" in the period. Writing, on the one hand, was a thoroughly conscious intellectual activity and often times reflected the world view, philosophical designs, and contemplations of the author. Especially in cases where an author suddenly begins producing writings in succession, as was the case with Khwāfī in this period, one needs to consider whether there was a grand literary vision and impetus. Khwāfī wrote few poetry and does not seem to have been a man of letters particularly up until his second travels. Nor was he fond of committing to writing the secrets and intricacies of the spiritual endeavor.[2] Therefore, there is reason to believe this remarkable writing activity in the later years of

1. In a brief and somewhat autobiographic note at the beginning of his endowment deed, Khwāfī describes himself as having had the blessings of traveling far-fetched lands before settling in Khorasan busy with his disciples and his family. See below on this.

2. Khwāfī, whose path prioritized individual worship, was often critical of Sufis' writing about the obscure mysteries of the "folk." While he required all of his initiates to be educated in the essential sciences of *Sharīᶜa*, his writing overall demonstrates a marked aversion to needless public conversation on Sufism on the grounds of causing controversy in the minds of the uninitiate. See his *waqf* charter: Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī." Furthermore, his forebears in the path usually shunned theosophical discussion, hence their general aversion to the doctrine of Ibn ᶜArabī. See, for example, the book of rules by Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī; Suhrawardī, *A Sufi rule*, 34: "It is not of the Sufi way to seek [arbitrary] esoteric interpretations (*taʾwīlāt*) nor to follow one's desires."

his life beginning when he was in Jerusalem was not random, but served to realize a larger purpose instead.

The nature and significance of his writing can be better understood in the context of the *ṭarīqa* culture. One needs to keep in mind the centrality of the life and word of the shaykh for the whole flock, for, in the case of shaykhs like Khwāfī, writing was not simply a consequence of an individual effort at intellectual deliberation and its ensuing application to the paper. The shaykh's disciples would often record and gather the sayings of their masters in the form of treatises, which might or might not include the dictation by the author to a disciple. Sometimes, a piece of writing of a shaykh that was not intended to form a separate intellectual work was copied by disciples on account of some merit to be found within, and then proved to be enduring and enjoyed circulation among the followers of the shaykh, leading to an unintentional birth of sorts. The proliferation of the work and ideas of a shaykh, therefore, was not merely a reflection of the shaykh's intellectual activity, but also the culmination of the work of the shaykh and its reception within the community.

These are some of the reasons why I believe there is strong relationship between Khwāfī's travels and his writing, as well as the reception and dissemination of his works, where the two seemingly distinct two endeavors resonated with each other to amplify the influence of Khwāfī's message. In the rest of this chapter, I will introduce some of Khwāfī's well-known works, discussing aspects relevant to the focus of this dissertation. As I mentioned in the Introduction, the following study is limited in a number of ways. A fuller examination of all of these works, although much needed, must be undertaken elsewhere.

## 8.1 Earliest writings

The apparently oldest work attributed to Khwāfī is *Ādāb fī al-Sulūk* ("Manners of Spiritual Wayfaring"), a short treatise written in 821/1418, not more than two months before he wrote his *ijāza* for

Darwīsh Aḥmad Samarqandī in Herat.[3] The work deals with the rules of conduct in the Sufi path and seems to have been addressed to novice Sufis. Among the subjects it deals with are such common themes of the path of poverty as renouncing worldly connections (*tark*), reliance on God in matters of sustenance (*tawakkul*), dissociating from the impious, showing compassion and modesty towards other dervishes, and other matters pertaining to the struggle for spiritual excellence.[4]

It is not surprising that Khwāfī's earliest datable work is one that lays out the practical principles of his path, illustrating his devotion to training disciples and his mastery of this art. Another work written in the same year, the *Muhimmāt al-Wāṣilīn* ("The Necessaries of Those Who Arrive"),[5] was written for the adepts of the path who had reached the highest level of Sufi training. Unlike the more practically-focused *Ādāb*, the *Muhimmāt* was aimed at those who had completed their Sufi training and, by virtue of their stage, had become subject to afflictions of a theological nature. Here, Khwāfī deals with such problems of traditional *kalām* as Divine manifestation and speech, and anthropomorphism, which at the time had become a subject of controversy among Sufis. He goes on to classify people in six groups, in terms of their adherence to Islamic law (*Sharīᶜa*) and avoidance of pernicious innovation (*bidᶜa*), heralding his later work on doxography, the *Manhaj al-Rashād*.[6]

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3. The unique copy of the treatise titled *Ādāb fī al-Sulūk*, according to Köle's monograph, is found in the Süleymaniye library in Istanbul and bears the date of Jumādā al-ᶜŪlā 821/June-July 1418. Köle, *Hâfî*, 62. I was not able to review this work.

4. Köle, *Hâfî*, 62. My discussion on these two works, namely the *Ādāb* and the *Muhimmāt*, and their copies is based on Köle's survey in his book; Köle, *Hâfî*, 36–69. I was not able to locate the copies mentioned in this work using the cataloguing information he provided. It may be that either Köle's catalogue information represents an older format or it is for some reason inaccurate. Due in part to the inconsistency in the Köle's cataloguing information and also other reasons, I have not been able to review some of the works listed here and confirm part of the information Köle's survey suggests.

5. The word *wāṣil* here denotes the last of the three stages of a wayfarer: *murīd* (the one who submits his will); *sālik* (the initiate); and the *wāṣil*, the one who has reached the final destination by completing the path of Sufi discipleship.The only copy of this work is housed, also, in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul. The copier noted in the colophon that he copied it from a manuscript that belonged to ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm al-Marzifūnī. Köle, *Hâfî*, 50.

6. Judging by his early works, the *Manhaj* is in no way indicative of a new awareness or orientation on the part of Khwāfī. Cf. Binbaş, "Regicide Attempt," 33.

It is interesting that of these two works, *Ādāb* was aimed at the novice and addressed pragmatic aspects of the journey, while the *Muhimmāt*, which was written for those who had finished their journey, tried to thwart the danger coming from speculative theosophy that was not firmly grounded in the Book and the Sunna. Clearly, Khwāfī had become familiar by that time with some of the profound questions Sufis had been asking on the relationship between God and man, and may have been concerned about the influence of the more philosophical and relatively *Sharī$^{c}$a*-agnostic piety. Some of the strong intellectual trends of the time—such as the school of thought associated with Ibn $^{c}$Arabī, the new neo-Platonism, and hermeticism—encouraged the incorporation of new, and often foreign, epistemologies within Islamic piety, in effect rendering traditional definitions of religious propriety irrelevant. These perils were much more pronounced in the case of the Sufi, who enjoyed a sense of accomplishment as well as a consciousness of the deeper existential questions facing him. It was common for such a growing Sufi to develop an interest in a "deviant" doctrine or attach himself to another master, often an "intoxicated" Sufi, who offered an epistemology that was supposed to be superior to the "pedantic and vapid" training he himself had received.[7]

## 8.2 Three foundational texts on *silsila*, *khirqa* and *muṣāfaḥa*

Judging by their date, the next work attributed to Khwāfī is a collection of three short pieces written in Egypt in 824/1421. In most editions, this collection appears to combine a recension of Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Kūrānī's (d. 768/1367) work titled *Rayḥān al-Qulūb fī Tawassul ilā al-Maḥbūb*, the *ijāza* written to Khwāfī by $^{c}$Abd al-Raḥmān al- Shabarrīsī al-Miṣrī, with a short untitled pamphlet in which Khwāfī recorded his meetings and *muṣāfaḥa*s with several mystics in Alexandria. This

7. The later stages of Sufism is often depicted as more hazardous for the spiritual well-being of the Sufi. The history and literature of Sufis abound in examples of mature Sufis abandoning the "straight path" for a life and thought of deviancy. In some cases, this conversion is considered regeneration and revival, such as the case of Rūmī's meeting with Shams al-Tabrīzī, while in others these leads in the destruction of the Sufi. $^{c}$Abd al-Laṭīf al-Maqdisī, a disciple of Sufi in the Mamlūk and Ottoman lands, recorded examples of some accomplished Sufis being deceived and led astray by mystics claiming to possess a superior level of spiritual knowledge. The important thing here is that this period was particularly known for such conversions between competing paths of spirituality.

last pamphlet exists independently in several manuscript copies in libraries across Turkey and is considered by some scholars to be a separate work, as I will discuss shortly.

In his monograph on Khwāfī, Bekir Köle counts the *Rayḥān al-Qulūb* among Khwāfī's works, a unique copy of which is found in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul.[8] Since I was not able to see the particular manuscript in question, there is no way for me to verify this claim. However, a close examination of the authorship of several copies of "Rayḥān al-Qulūb" reveals that the work in fact belongs to al-Kūrānī.[9] Ahmed El Shamsy in a recent study, has argued that the *Rayḥān al-Qulūb*, along with another work titled *Sirr al-Asrār*, in fact belongs to Yūsuf al-Kūrānī, based on the attributions found in nearly all of the manuscripts and on the similarities in style and content between the two works, and also on the fact that contemporary authors credited the work to his pen.[10]

To these must be added a clear acknowledgement of al-Kūrānī's authorship in the *Rayḥān al-Qulūb* and in Shabarrīsī's *ijāza* to Khwāfī, which constitutes the second part of the collection.[11] At one point, the author of *Rayḥān al-Qulūb* specifies the year he wrote a section of the book as 744/1343–44, which rules out the possibility of Khwāfī's being the author.[12] Furthermore, in the *ijāza* included in the work, Shabarrīsī unequivocally identifies the author of the *Rayḥā* as al-Kūrānī, his own master, adding that he read the book to al-Kūrānī after he came out of a spiritual retreat (*khalwa*) in 767/1366, a year before the shaykh's death.[13] Shabarrīsī then adds that Khwāfī scribed the *Rayḥān al-Qulūb* over "the pages preceding this writing," that is the *ijāza*, copying from Shabar-

8. Köle, *Hâfî*, 66.

9. It may well be possible that the attribution of the particular manuscript Köle referred to in his work to Khwāfī's pen is a cataloguing error. Having said that, I should add once more that the cataloguing information Köle provided for this work also does not match the records of the housing library. See Köle, *Hâfî*, 66–7.

10. El Shamsy, "Returning to God," 207.

11. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Shabarrīsī (al-Buḥayrī al-Miṣrī), *Ijāza to al-Khwāfī*, MS Esat Efendi 1479 (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), 77b–80b

12. al-Kūrānī, *Rayḥān*, 74a.

13. al-Kūrānī, *Rayḥān*, 78a-b.

rīsī's own copy which the latter had read before al-Kūrānī.[14] Two pages later he writes again that he allowed Khwāfī to transmit on his authority "the aforementioned treatise," that is the *Rayḥān al-Qulūb*. In Shabarrīsī's description, this work seems to be the main concern of Khwāfī's Sufi training and *ijāza*, along with whatever Khwāfī learned from him in the course of his training.[15]

### 8.2.1 *The treatise on* muṣāfaḥa *(handshake)*

The third work in this collection is identified by Bekir Köle as constituting a separate work under the title *Silsilat al-Ṭarīq wa Lubs al-Khirqa wa al-Muṣāfaḥa*.[16] When one examines these three works together, it becomes apparent that this was not the title of this third piece, rather, it was added, perhaps by later copyists, as a meta-title to this three-piece collection. In fact, the phrase *Silsilat al-ṭarīq wa Lubs al-khirqa wa al-Muṣāfaḥa* is nothing more than an allusion to the topics of the three parts of this collection: the geneaology (*silsila*) of the tradition, Khwāfī's reception of the *ijāza* and the *khirqa*, and his handshakes (*muṣāfaḥa*) with several saints in Alexandria.[17]

In the pamphlet on *muṣāfaḥa*, Khwāfī recounts the spiritual exchanges he had with two people the first time he was in Alexandria during his first stay in Egypt; however, it is remarkable that Khwāfī committed these to writing during his second visit to Egypt.[18] Here Khwāfī mentions his *muṣāfaḥa* with Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ghaznawī (d. ca. 797/1395) and al-Sharīf al-Iskandarī al-Ḥasanī. Al-Ghaznawī was a centenarian gnostic who had performed the spiritual handshake with

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14. Audition (*samāʿ*), or the reading (*qirāʾa*) of a copied work—typically copied by the reader—in front of the author, was an important part in the dissemination of knowledge in classical Islam and sometimes constituted the final part of one's training before the conferral of the license (*ijāza*).

15. al-Kūrānī, *Rayḥān*, 79b.

16. Köle, *Hâfî*, 58–9. It seems that Köle's identification of this title is based on cataloguing information, and not attestation found within the text or in other sources.

17. The way Khwāfī starts this pamphlet leaves no doubt that is was not meant to be a separate work, but rather as an appendix to the *ijāza* and the *silsila* that came before the *ijāza* in the *Rayḥān*. See below for more on this.

18. The reason he composed the pamphlet not during his first visit immediately after his meeting with these two *muṣāfiḥ*s is not clear. I will not be able to attempt answering this question here.

Abū al-ᶜAbbās Aḥmad al-Qūṣī, who had done the same with Abū al-ᶜAbbas Aḥmad al-Mulaththam al-Sharīf al-Ḥusaynī, who in turn claimed to have performed the *muṣāfaḥa* with a companion of the Prophet named Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muᶜammar.[19] Al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī, a descendant of the Prophet himself and a resident of Alexandria like al-Ghaznawī, also performed the handshake with the above Abū al-ᶜAbbās al-Qūṣī.[20] Khwāfī wrote that when he mentioned this encounter to his shaykh Shabarrīsī, the latter confirmed the fact and added that he was also a recipient of the handshake (*muṣāfiḥ*).[21]

The legitimacy of this practice stemmed from a *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet promised to intercede on behalf of whoever performs a handshake with him, and with someone he shook hands with, up to seven links, or up until the Day of Judgment, depending on the version.[22] The handshake here was an actual one, which involved shaking hands with palms adjoined and the five fingers of the recipient covered by the hand of the shaker.[23] In addition to the promise of intercession in the afterlife, the remembrance of the Prophet opened a point of access to his spiritual authority.[24] The supernatural quality of these handshakes separated them from ordinary ones and enabled the transfer of the Prophetic presence and blessings, which the recipient would carry with him throughout his

19. Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Khwāfī, *Muṣāfaḥa*, MS Esat Efendi 1479 (Istanbul: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), 80b–81a. Both of the Abū al-ᶜAbbās'es mentioned here were based in the city of Qūṣ. A detailed study of the people involved in this chain as well as the authenticity of these *ḥadīth* traditions, are beyond the interest and scope of this chapter.

20. Sakhāwī did not have a good impression of al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī. See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiᶜ (2003)*.

21. Khwāfī, *Muṣāfaḥa*, 81a.

22. Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 1–2. In some versions, it is four people. Dr. Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Qādirī, a contemporary Sufi of Pakistan, claims to have received this *muṣāfaḥa*, citing a chain that includes a *jinn* companion of the Prophet. See *Riwāyat al-Ḥadīth al-Musalsal bi al-Muṣāfaḥa*.

23. Ibn Ḥajar, citing from Abū al-Ṭayyib ibn al-Miṣrī, a recipient of the *muṣāfaḥa* through three channels, described the handshake. Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, nr267; and, quoting Ibn Ḥajar's work, al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa-al-durar fī tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, i/146.

24. For most Sufis, spiritual focusing and meditation (*tawajjuh*) on such people as a venerated living person, a past shaykh, and especially the Prophet himself, were means to attain proximity to that person.

life.[25] Establishing a connection to the Prophet through *muṣāfaḥa* remained a common tradition, at least in central and western lands of Islam, where the presence of large contingents of "companions" and "followers" helped form particular cultural traditions that reached back to the pristine community of the Prophet.[26]

Sakhawī, who seems to have seen Khwāfī's pamphlet on *muṣāfaḥa*, summarized the exchange, but not without questioning the veracity of the chain.[27] Sakhāwī's objection was based on the opinion of his teacher Ibn Ḥajar, the greatest student of *ḥadīth* and chains of transmission at the time, who wrote that Mu$^{c}$ammar, the companion of the Prophet identified in the chain,[28] and a *ḥadīth* narrator who is said to have lived an extraordinarily long life thanks to a prayer of the Prophet, cannot have lived beyond the first Islamic century, and that Abū al-$^{c}$Abbās al-Mulaththam, also a resident of Qūṣ known for his miraculous deeds (*karāmāt*), was said to have died at the beginning of 700/1300.[29] The amazing detail is that al-Mulaththam claimed to have met the aforesaid companion Mu$^{c}$ammar, with whom he performed the *muṣāfaḥa*, as well as the famous Muḥammad b.

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25. The issue of *muṣāfaḥa* is discussed in brief in Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 1–8.

26. A very useful examination of the ways in which the outer regions of Islamdom in the middle and early modern periods assumed the culture and lore of the early community of the center can be found in Stefan Reichmuth, "The interplay of local developments and transnational relations in the Islamic World: Perceptions and perspectives," in *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the early 20th centuries. Vol. 2: Inter-regional and inter-ethnic relations*, ed. Michael Kemper Anke von Kugelgen and Allen J. Frank (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1998), 5–38.

27. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw$^{\supset}$ al-Lāmi$^{c}$ (2003)*, ix/230, where Sakhāwī wrote that there was a problem with the composition of the chain above Khwāfī. Also see a similar comment on al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa-al-durar fī tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, i/142.

28. The word *mu$^{c}$ammar* (pl. *mu$^{c}$ammarūn*, is a term that describes people who were blessed with longevity, often more than 100 years of age. Ibn Ḥajar's work on the *mu$^{c}$ammarūn* is appropriately titled as "The Book on Those Who Surpassed One Hundred." Although my sources frequently use the word to describe the companion in question, I am not sure whether this was how the Companion was known or if the word was simply being used as an adjective. In another manuscript, this Companion is identified as Abū $^{c}$Abd Allāh al-Mu$^{c}$ammar. Köle, *Hâfî*, 129.

29. Ibn Ḥajar al-$^{c}$Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, nr267. On al-Mu$^{c}$ammar's extraordinary long life, see Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 4.

Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820).[30] Therefore, for Ibn Ḥajar and Sakhāwī, the claim that al-Mulaththam was the sole link between the Prophet's companion and Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Qūṣī was not credible.

The veracity of the claims to longevity notwithstanding, the *ḥadīth* at the root of this tradition was a significant one. In Khwāfī's narrative, Abū ʿAbd Allāh met the Prophet on the day of the Trench in late 5/early 627 and performed the handshake with him, upon which the Prophet prayed for him and said: "O Muʿammar! Whoever performs your handshake until six (or seven) times will be delivered from hellfire."[31]

Interestingly, despite the fact that Ibn Ḥajar did not trust the authenticity of the chain of transmission (*sanad*) of this handshake, he seems to have made an attempt to meet Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ghaznawī when he visited Alexandria in 797/1395, only to find he had passed away shortly before his arrival.[32] In the same year, Ibn Ḥajar was able meet a certain Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad b. al-

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30. Ibn Ḥajar wrote that he heard these from ʿAbd al-Ghifār b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ghifār b. Nūh in the year 793, when he visited Qūs in the upper Ṣaʿīd region. The same ʿAbd al-Ghifār also wrote on these. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, nr267.

31. Köle, *Hâfî*, 129.

32. al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa-al-durar fī tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, i/146. It is worth noting that both Ibn Ḥajar and Sakhāwī identify Shihāb al-Dīn's *nisba* as "al-Farnawī." Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, nr267; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, ix/230. Looking at his "Book of *Nisba*s" at the end of *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ*, it is clear Sakhāwī is misreading the *nisba* and conflating it with the familiar "al-Farnawī"s into one; see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (1992)*, xi/218 I am inclined to accept Khwāfī's identification on account of the fact that he actually claimed to have met with him in person. Sakhāwī, and Ibn Ḥajar as well, may have misread "al-Ghaznawī" as "al-Farnawī", which words are spelled exactly the same in their skeletal forms. Sakhāwī makes the same mistake in the case of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ghaznawī, who was Maqdisī's early teacher. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ (2003)*, iv/288. I am certain he was wrong because Maqdisī in a manuscript clearly identifies this shaykh with the *nisba* "al-Ghaznawī" before noting he was a descendant of the Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazni (d. 1030): "ʿārif bi-Allāh wāḥid ashyākhinā al-shaykh al-ʿārif bi-Allāh al-muḥaqqiq bi-mutābaʿat Rasūl Allāh, baqiyyat arbāb al-himam al-ʿaliyya wa aṣḥāb al-aḥwāl al-saniyya ʿizz al-milla wa al-dīn nūr al-islām wa al-muslimīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ghaznawī al-Khurāsānī ibn al-Sulṭān Maḥmūd al-ghāzī…." See al-Maqdisī, *Kashf*, 339. Tabādkānī's aforementioned verse summary of the *muṣāfaḥa* identifies his *nisba* as *Qarnawī*, which, admittedly is somewhere in the middle of the previous two spellings. Ḥāfiẓ Sulṭān ʿAlī Awbahī, "Risāla-i Muṣāfaḥa," in *Maqālāt-i ʿĀrif, Daftar-i Duwwum: Bīst wa Haft Risāla-i Kūtāh-i Barguzīda-i Mutūn-i Fārsī dar Zamīna-i Aʿlām-i Tārīkhī, Mūsīqī, ʿIrfānī, Jughrāfiyā va Adabīyāt*, ed. ʿĀrif Nawshāhī (Tehran: Bunyād-i Mawqūfāt-i Duktur Maḥmūd Afshār, 2002), 478. It is not uncommon to see such errors in the biograph-

Miṣrī and receive *ijāza* from him, who wrote to Ibn Ḥajar that he had performed the handshake with Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ghaznawī.[33] However, judging by his skepticism of the validity of the performance and also by the absence of any evidence, we can assume that Ibn Ḥajar did not receive the handshake from Abū al-Ṭayyib. Ibn Ḥajar's misgivings about this particular chain may have stemmed from an earlier meeting with another *muṣāfaḥa* receiver. In a town near Qūṣ called *Huwa*, which he visited four years earlier, Ibn Ḥajar met with the *qāḍī*, who said he had met an associate of al-Mulaththam, Abū al-$^{c}$Abbās al-Qūṣī, who claimed to have narrated *ḥadīth* from the Companion al-Mu$^{c}$ammar. For the meticulous student of Prophetic tradition, this was certainly unreliable.

In various iterations of the *muṣāfaḥa*, the chains match the one provided by Khwāfī in his pamphlet. It is obvious that the reason the two Egyptian *ḥadīth* scholars objected to the legitimacy of the practice is the implausibility of a direct connection between al-Mu$^{c}$ammar and al-Mulaththam. For Khwāfī, on the other hand, this was not a concern. He was able to claim access to the Prophet in a manner that was not available to many. Al-Mulaththam, on account of his claim to acquaintance with a Companion, served as the major node. The Prophet counted, Khwāfī became the sixth person in the chain, through two separate handshakes. At the beginning of the the pamphlet, Khwāfī makes clear his perspective and understanding of the practice:

> And God most High also granted to this servant a means for proximity to God's Messenger, may God's peace and blessings be on him, closer than the aforementioned *silsila*, by way of the noble handshake (*muṣāfaḥa*) of God's Messenger, when at the beginning I visited the port of Alexandria and gained the acquaintance (*ṣuḥba*) of the scholar and gnostic, the centenarian Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ghaznawī [...].[34]

For a Sufi like Khwāfī, who had firm faith in the efficacy of the visitation of saints, both deceased

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ical literature. Sakhāwī in his entries on Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ījī confuses "Rukn al-Dīn" and "Zayn al-Dīn" and elsewhere in two places offers conflicting spellings for Abū Bakr Tāyabādī. Cf. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw$^{\supset}$ al-Lāmi$^{c}$ (1992)*, xi/157–58 and al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw$^{\supset}$ al-Lāmi$^{c}$ (2003)*, ix/229.

33. al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa-al-durar fī tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, i/145.

34. Khwāfī, *Muṣāfaḥa*, 80b.

and alive, this handshake was another way to receive spiritual blessings, only in this case, directly from the Prophet, the purest source of human blessing. Trust in the authority of the *ḥadīth* as well as in the transference of spiritual presence, permitted the receiving mystic to establish a communication with the Prophet that was at once corporeal and spiritual, and therefore, unlike any other. A later recipient of the same handshake, Awbahī described two types of links (*nisbat*) that connected the "folk of God" to the Prophet: *muṣāfaḥa* and *mubāya*ᶜ*a*, (an oath of allegiance to the shaykh, which was also known as "the chain of the path and instruction" [*silsila-i ṭarīqat wa tarbiyat*]). The major difference between the two was that with the first one, the recipient was promised intercession by the Prophet on the Day of Judgment.[35]

Reflecting another perspective on this issue, in Sakhāwī's entry on Khwāfī, a Damascene scholar seemed to question Khwāfī's explanation for traveling by land, where the latter declared his intention to meet righteous ones, whether dead or alive, as there are no graves of prophets beyond the river Euphrates.[36] It would be acceptable to visit the grave of a prophet; however, the visitation of shrines and the concept of transmitting spiritual blessing (*baraka*) through interpersonal means, still remained questionable in many aspects. For most scholars, hearing *ḥadīth* and engaging in studies that led to the reception of *ijāza*s were the most important motivations for such long-distance travels. It was different for Sufis, on the other hand, who believed that seeking righteous friends of God, and accompanying and serving them while learning from them, were the most essential means of assuming a godly character (*takhalluq*) and adorning oneself with commendable habits (*tazyīn*). Khwāfī was especially disposed towards seeking and meeting those with purified souls, which is why he had the utmost trust in the handshake. He made clear that he was interested in visiting saintly people, in person or through their shrines, in the absence of Prophetic sites.[37]

35. Awbahī, "Risāla-i Muṣāfaḥa," 473–74.

36. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw*ᵓ *al-Lāmi*ᶜ *(2003)*, ix:230.

37. According to ᶜAlā al-Dawla al-Simnānī (d. 1336), who was a clear influence on Khwāfī's works, visitation of tombs brought the Sufi nearer to the saint, whose enduring *baraka* increased one's spiritual orientation (*tawajjuh*. Carl W. Ernst, *The Shambhala Guide to Sufism*, 1st ed. (Boston: Shambhala, 1997), 73.

The clearest testimony to the perceived importance and effect of this tradition is found in a source dating from more than a century after the *muṣāfaḥa* of Khwāfī. An Iranian Sufi named Ḥāfiẓ ᶜAlī Awbahī wrote a treatise on his own handshakes, which he titled *Risāla fī al-Muṣāfaḥa*.[38] Here, Awbahī related how he received the *muṣāfaḥa* in 879/1474 from Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabādkānī (d. 891/1486), who was the most well-known among the Khorasanian *khalīfa*s of Khwāfī.[39] We learn from Awbahī's treatise that Tabādkānī, who translated Khwāfī's *al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya* to into Chaghataid Turkish, had also versified his master's *muṣāfaḥa* in Persian under the title *Salāsil al-Abrār*, or, "The Chains of The Virtuous." [40] Here Tabādkānī can be see faithfully reproducing the treatise by Khwāfī I mentioned earlier, confirming the chain described there. Awbahī adds one more detail, however, noting that, besides the *muṣāfaḥa* itself, he also received a permission (*ijāzat-i taṣāfuḥ*) from Tabādkānī to transfer the handshake.[41] This permission was a certificate of authority of sorts, like the hadithic *isnād*, in which Awbahī was identified as the sixth person in the chain. Because of Khwāfī's central position in the dissemination of this handshake in Khorasan and Transoxania, we can conclude that he served as an important node in the chains of transmission of the alleged Prophetic handshake through the *Muᶜammarī* lineage. It becomes more clear, then, why Khwāfī enjoyed such great popularity, among the learned as well as the common folk.[42]

38. Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 5, citing Awbahī, "Risāla-i Muṣāfaḥa." It seems that Awbahī's renown stemmed primarily from his *muṣāfaḥa*. He is reported to have died at the age of 109 at the convent of Khwāja Aḥrār—whom he venerated—reinforcing the image that all members of the *Muᶜammarī* handshake chain lived extraordinarily long lives. Saljūqī, *Herāt-nāma*, 197–99.

39. Awbahī, "Risāla-i Muṣāfaḥa," 477–78.

40. Awbahī, "Risāla-i Muṣāfaḥa," 477. Nawshāhī, the editor of the work, notes on the same page that Tabādkānī's mentioned work has not survived. But we know that Tabādkānī continued his master's commentary tradition on Khwāja Anṣārī's *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn*, on which, see chapter 2.

41. Awbahī, "Risāla-i Muṣāfaḥa," 479.

42. One final observation should be made here. The handshake with a *muᶜammar* companion of the Prophet was part of the narrated image of Sayyid ᶜAlī Hamadānī, the master of Khuttalānī. See DeWeese, "Intercessory Claims of Ṣūfī Communities during the 14th and 15th Centuries: 'Messianic' Legitimizing Strategies on the Spectrum of Normativity.," 210–12.

### 8.2.2 The significance of the collection

After confirming al-Kūrānī's authorship of the *Rayḥān al-Qulūb* and pointing out that this collection of three documents forms a meaningful whole, which may have been titled *Silsilat al-Ṭarīq wa Lubs al-Khirqa wa al-Muṣāfaḥa*, we should address another important function of these works. It appears that these three—and in some renditions four, with the addition of *al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya*, Khwāfī's most famous work—form the foundation of Khwāfī's pedagogy and spiritual method. This collection, above all else, served to establish the authority of his path. *Rayḥān al-Qulūb* was the foundational text for al-Kūrānī's path, laying out the main working principles of his practice and establishing the moral and religious legitimacy of the three main elements in the rites of initiation into his path, namely, repentance (*tawba*), the investing of the frock (*lubs al-khirqa*), and the inculcation (*talqīn*) of the *dhikr*, all three of which reached to the Prophet through none other than ᶜAli b. Abī Ṭālib. The chains of transmission began with al-Kūrānī's own teachers and included the shaykhs of the Suhrawardī lineage, but also notably the great masters of Baghdadi Sufism, including al-Junayd, Shiblī, and the earlier al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.[43] The motives for such a legitimization through the commonly accepted forebears (*salaf*) of Sufism can be inferred in light of the fact that the book includes several sections in which the author records his actual answers to questions raised regarding his practice.[44]

As mentioned above, Shabarrīsī had copied the work as part of his discipleship under its author, al-Kūrānī. At this point, in terms of Shabarrīsī's spiritual journey, *Rayḥān al-Qulūb* was a source of authority itself. In the course of making his own copy, Khwāfī seems to have added the name of his master to the chain of transmission given for these three elements of al-Kūrānī's rite. To the end of the last one of these three *silsila*s, namely that of the *talqīn*, was added the name of Shabarrīsī, in a way that reads like an interjection distinct from the flow of the rest of the text, presumably by

43. al-Kūrānī, *Rayḥān*, 62b–66a.

44. An objection leveled against al-Kūrānī's preference for the *dhikr* out loud is answered al-Kūrānī, *Rayḥān*, 71b–74a and a question by some philosophers' question on Divine Attributes and their relationship with fine morals is answered on ff. 74a–77b.

a disciple, who may have been Khwāfī.[45] It becomes clear that the chain of transmission assumes here a function beyond furnishing legitimacy and linkage with the original Islam; it is a cornerstone of the psychological world of the Sufi. As these forebears were considered to wield a spiritual power beyond death, an ongoing connection with them was an essential preoccupation for the Sufi.[46]

The fact that Khwāfī's name is also appended to this long list gives the impression that the final rendition may belong to a disciple of Khwāfī. I noted in the previous chapter how Khwāfī is reported by the *Nafaḥāt* as narrating how he found a copy of his *ijāza* in the convent of his shaykh when he returned to Egypt, which was around the years 823–824. Quite possibly, Khwāfī's *ijāza* was appended to the *Rayḥān*, as I noted above, as a sign of the centrality to the path of this text and its contents, as far as the *silsila*s and practical traditions were concerned. It is within reason to assume that Khwāfī followed his teacher in this and made the *Rayḥān* part of his pedagogy. This explains why some copies of the work are found in the same volume with the other two writings, namely the *ijāza* and the short pamphlet on Khwāfī's *muṣāfaḥa*s with saintly men in Alexandria, ultimately to form the method and establish the source of authority of his path.

## 8.3 *Al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya*

At this point, it is important to remember the fact that these three works—including Khwāfī's edition of the *Rayḥān*—relate to each other and form parts of a whole, one that might have been given the title *Silsilat al-Ṭarīq wa Lubs al-Khirqa wa al-Muṣāfaḥa*. In this form, they reflect Khwāfī's second

45. The curious aspect of the addition of Shabarrīsī's name to the list is that he was called *al-akh*, that is, the brother, by Kūrānī. al-Kūrānī, *Rayḥān*, 66b. The reason is explained as Shabarrīsī's already advanced age when he came before Kūrānī as a student. Compare this to how Khwāfī refers to Shabarrīsī as our shaykh (*shaykhunā*) and the latter calls him in the *ijāza* as both *al-walad* and *al-shaykh*, all of which was customary in these documents. al-Kūrānī, *Rayḥān*, 77b–78a. See al-Buḥayrī, *Ijāza to al-Khwāfī*.

46. Ernst, *Sufism*, 73–74. An excellent study of how popular aspects of organized Sufism like communal *dhikr* and the veneration of shrines and saints were reformulated in the middle periods in a Sunnī-Sufi framework, and how these trends related to state patronage is Christopher Schurman Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyāra and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

visit to Egypt.[47] While these works serve as a reference and a source of Khwāfī's status as a Sufi master, the next work he composed, namely *al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya*, "The Sacred (or, the Jerusalemite) Counsels," was a clearer exposition of his view of the path of poverty.[48] This work, with its specificity, its authoritative tone, and its focus on the training of the dervish, can certainly be read as a gloss on Khwāfī as an accomplished guide *murshid*.

The *al-Waṣāyā* was written during the period when Khwāfī was in Mamlūk lands and finished in 825/1422 in the city of Jerusalem—hence the name *al-Qudsiyya*.[49] This was a period of time when Khwāfī was active, meeting other scholars and Sufis and recruiting new disciples, which I demonstrated in the previous chapter. We know of several people who received *ijāza*s from him in this period, as well as others whom he took with him on his return to Khorasan. It must have been in the midst of this activity that Khwāfī felt the need to write a treatise on the essentials of the relationship between the shaykh and the disciple, the ethics involved in this relationship, and the

47. According to Köle's study of surviving copies of these works, a rendition of the *Rayḥān* associated with Khwāfī bears the date of 824/1421, and all these works, namely the *Rayḥān*, the Khwāfī *ijāza*, his treatise on his *muṣāfaḥa*s in Egypt usually have the same date of completion. Köle, *Hâfî*, 66.

48. The work exists in multiple manuscript copies in various collections around the Islamic world. In Bekir Köle's estimate, there are more than 100 extant manuscript copies of the work. Köle, *Hâfî*, 41. Köle also prepared an edition of the work with a Turkish translation as his MA thesis. This work, it must be said, as a whole is more confusing than helpful. The translated version and the "critical" edition certainly belong to different copies and do not correspond to each other. The Turkish translation is utterly unreliable and should never be consulted exclusive of the manuscripts. See Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Khwāfī, "Al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya," in *Zeynüddin-i Hafi: Hayatı Eserleri Tasavvuf Anlayışı ve El-Vasâya'l-Kudsiyye'nin Tahkiki (Edition and translation of* al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya*)*, ed. Bekir Köle (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2002), 173–248. I use two manuscripts, one a recension of ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm Marzifūnī, and another copy that includes Khwāfī later additions. See respectively Khwāfī, *Waṣāyā FE 1241* and Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Khwāfī, *Al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya*, MS ᶜArabī 10060 (Tehran: Kitābkhāna-i Majlisi Shūrā-yi Millī), 1b–46b.

49. Khwāfī, *Waṣāyā FE 1241*, 46b. According to a note on Köle's edition of the work, although Khwāfī finished writing the book at the beginning of Jumādā al-ᵓŪlā 825 (late April 1422), he ended up reworking the 14th counsel in 826 when he arrived at Herat. See Khwāfī, *Waṣāyā MSM 10060*, 56–71; Khwāfī, "Al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya," 161; Köle, *Hâfî*, 35. The rewriting involved several quotations from Khwāfī's influnces including Shabarrīsī, Simnānī, Suhrawardī, Anṣārī, and, Shiblī.

steps an initiate needs to take as he proceeds on the path of spiritual purification and growth.

Structurally, the book is a collection of fourteen points of advice to Khwāfī's followers (*awlād* and *aṣḥāb*) on practical matters concerning the Sufi path, including initiation, the etiquette of discipleship, the routine daily schedule of dervishes (which forms the longest listing of advice), and some principles to which the dervish needs to pay attention. Strong emphasis is laid on the following points: *i*) conforming to the Sunnī-Jamāᶜī *Sharīᶜa* and to the four legal schools, *ii*) following a shaykh closely in all matters, and *iii*) having strong scholarly foundations, with a reserve towards the speculative discussion of issues like *wujūd* (existence) and *khatm al-awliyāʾ* (the seal of sainthood).[50] Needless to say, the last two subjects constitute major controversial issues that were often discussed in the context of Ibn ᶜArabī's relevant teachings.

Seen here is a strong influence of such authors as Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), to whose book readers are referred for general practical advice on Sufism, Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (d. 618/1221), Khwāja ᶜAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī (d. 481/1089), whose *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn* informs Khwāfī's view of spiritual unification (*jamᶜ al-jamᶜ*),[51] Rukn al-Dīn ᶜAlā al-Dawla al-Simnānī (d. 736/1336) and his idea of the seven subtleties of the soul (*laṭāʾif al-sabᶜa*), Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khojandī al-Madanī, and lastly, Khwāfī's own shaykh Shabarrīsī, who is referred to as "our shaykh." The book may be seen as an addition to previous work in the Suhrawardī line that includes the *ᶜAwārif al-Maᶜārif* and Kūrānī's *Rayḥān al-Qulūb* discussed above.[52] It is an independent work,

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50. Khwāfī considers *wujūdiyya* one of the "innovating" doctrines that interpret verses according to whims and fantasies, which dervishes should refrain from. Khwāfī, "Al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya," 180, 226. He is critical of speculative discussion of *wujūd* and claims to *khatm al-awliyāʾ*. Khwāfī, *Waṣāyā MSM 10060*, 60–1. See below under *Manhaj al-Rashād* for more on his views on these issues.

51. Khwāfī refers to the three verses occurring at the end of Anṣārī's book in the *al-Waṣāyā*, as well as in *Manhaj* as I will point out below. As he explains in the *al-Waṣāyā*, *jamᶜ al-jamᶜ* refers to the true unification (*tawḥīd ḥaqīqī*), also called *fanā fī Allāh*, i.e. annihilation in God, a state where the Sufi loses his identity in the ocean of God to truly confirm that there is none but He. We know that Khwāfī wrote a commentary on the last few verses of Anṣārī's work, which can be found accompanying the *Rayḥān*, further confusing the issue of its authorship.

52. There are parallels between the *al-Waṣāyā* and the *Ādāb al-Murīdīn* of Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168), especially the part of the latter work where the rules of *ṣuḥba* are ad-

however, owing to its preoccupation with the practical aspects of discipleship. All of these works point to a growing dimension of Khwāfī's persona, namely his authorship, which contemporary observers did not fail to take note of. In addition to being a Sufi trainer, Khwāfī became an author in his own right on a mysticism grounded in strict Sunni-*Sharᶜī* discipline.

As can be seen in the extant licenses (*ijāza*) Khwāfī wrote for his students, these works formed a major part of his *ṭarīqa* curriculum. Those licenses that Khwāfī wrote indicate that Suhrawardī's *ᶜĀwārif* was a cornerstone of Khwāfī's pedagogy.[53] Khwāfī wrote a partial annotation (*ḥāshiya*) on this work in 826/1423, the year he returned from his second Egyptian travels with a number of disciples and future successors in his entourage, which explains his scholastic program. He afterwards had his disciples read the annotation to him during the month of Ramadan three years later.[54] It requires no elaboration that Ramadan is a time period many Muslims, especially the ascetic types like Sufis, withdraw from most worldly activity and focus on the most spiritually rewarding practices, such as studying *ḥadīth* and reciting the Qurʾān, and therefore, it is important to note that the reading of the *ᶜAwārif*, together with Khwāfī's notes, was part of his convent's Ramadan regimen. When thinking about the question of whether we can regard Khwāfī as a conscious founder of a Sufi community with a distinct identity and distinct practices, these points must merit first consideration.

If we consider the proliferation of Khwāfī's path and his authorial activity, the pivotal position

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dressed. The parallels and influences between these texts were common: the *Ādāb al-Murīdīn* itself is shown as drawing heavily on ideas and discussions in the works of al-Ghazālī, al-Jīlānī, al-Sulamī, among others. See Suhrawardī, *A Sufi rule*, 21–23. Of course, the *Ādāb al-Murīdīn* was so familiar by this time that these similarities may not necessarily point out any distinctive aspect of Khwāfī's teaching. See Daphna Ephrat's discussion of the influence of this work in a similar context; Ephrat, *Spiritual wayfarers, leaders in piety : Sufis and the dissemination of Islam in medieval Palestine*, 73, 96–8. ᶜAlā al-Dawla Simnānī, whose works were quoted by Khwāfī, also instructed his followers to study Abū al-Najīb's treatise; see Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of ᶜAlāʾ ad-Dawla as-Simnānī*, 122–3.

53. As an example, see the previous chapter on Khwāfī's *ijāza* to Marzifūnī and the mention of this work as part of the latter's study.

54. Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī," 188.

of *al-Waṣāyā* becomes even more evident. We know that a significant number of his disciples in the West were initiated during and after these travels, corresponding to the composition of the *al-Waṣāyā*. Bekir Köle identified more than 100 manuscript copies of the work, the majority of them in libraries in Anatolia, where Khwāfī's first- and second-generation successors were most active. This number does not include about ten translations of the originally Arabic work.[55]

This interest in the *al-Waṣāyā* is indeed remarkable. The dates and locations of the extant manuscripts and translations of the work are testimony to its enduring attraction. The copying and translating of the work in Turkish-speaking lands continued well into the eighteenth century, with a noteworthy survival of this tradition from the late-nineteenth century Cairo.[56] This is not all that surprising, given that the Zaynī tradition was represented in Ottoman geography for a considerable time. Even more remarkable is the fact that the work continued to be part of the bibliographies of North African Sufi communities up until the nineteenth century.[57] Similarly, Bernd Radtke's analysis of an important Tijānī manual from the mid-nineteenth century West Africa reveals *al-Waṣāyā* as an important source of the work.[58]

55. Köle, *Hâfî*, 41, n.61. *Al-Waṣāyā* is one of Khwāfī's few works to be translated into another language. The translations Köle mentions are all into Turkish and are found in libraries in modern Turkey, Tataristan and Egypt. The work is said to have been translated also into Chaghataid Turkish by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabādkānī (b. 804, d. 891), his major disciple in Khorasan who translated Khwāfī's other wors; see Nevâyī, *Nesâyimüʾl-Mahabbe*, 397. Tabādkānī, like Khwāfī, wrote a commentary on Khwāja Anṣārī's *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn*; see Aṣīl al-Dīn Wāʿiẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, 109–10 and Anṣārī al-Harawī, *Kitāb Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn ilā al-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn: Les étapes des itinérants vers Dieu: edition critique, avec introd., traduction et lexique*, 21, 36–7. Also see Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iv:334–35.

56. A certain Aḥmad Anqarawī translated a summary of the work into Turkish in Cairo in 1872. Köle, *Hâfî*, 43–44. It seems that in some instances, these were partial or summary copies of the original work.

57. Reichmuth, "The Quest for Sufi transmissions as Links to the Prophet," 89.

58. Radtke, "Von Iran nach Westafrika Zwei Quellen für al-Ḥağğ ʿUmars Kitāb Rimāḥ Ḥizb ar-raḥīm: Zaynaddīn al-H̱wāfī und Šamsaddīn al-Madyanī."

### 8.3.1 Dream interpretation as part of Sufi guidance

Looking at this long list of surviving manuscripts of Khwāfī's *al-Waṣāyā*, one realizes that some of the texts are actually partial copies and are titled differently. In most of these cases, only the last portion of *al-Waṣāyā* was preserved. The fourteenth and last piece of counsel in the work asks the Sufi to save his visions, both awake and asleep, only for himself and for his shaykh. This brief advice is followed by a fairly long guide on dream interpretation. After cautioning the reader on the unreliability of some dreams and their precariousness, Khwāfī goes on to offer interpretations for a host of symbols, ranging from animals to family members, cities, and everyday events. It is very likely that this section proved to be the work's greatest draw for the general audience with broader interests than those of the denizens of *khānqāh*s. The popularity of dream interpretation in the period is well known to modern scholarship; therefore, it is no surprise to see that several copies of this work include only this last portion and bearing such titles as *Ta$^{c}$bīr-i ru$^{ɔ}$ya*, or "The Interpretation of Dreams."[59]

As I have mentioned several times in this study, Khwāfī's fame among Sufis and lay Muslims alike rested in no small part on his reputation for interpreting dreams. Sa$^{c}$d al-Dīn Kāshgharī, a major Naqshbandī teacher in Khwāfī's circle, was directed by his own master Niẓām al-Dīn Khāmūsh, to present him with a dream.[60] Ya$^{c}$qūb Charkhī, another famous Naqshbandī Sufi of Khorasan, upon learning of Khwāfī's predilection for interpreting his disciples' dreams, expressed his disapproval.[61] For Khwāfī, on the other hand, the interpretation of dreams was an indispensable tenet of

59. Köle, *Hâfî*, 42.

60. Jāmī relates that Kāshgharī went to Khwāfī and the latter asked him to submit. But when Kāshgharī's ensuing dream did not reveal a supporting message, they both decided that he should not become a disciple. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 408–9.

61. *Nafaḥāt* includes an anecdote where Ya$^{c}$qūb Charkhī, in an exchange with his student $^{c}$Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār, appears to be dismissive of Khwāfī's interest in interpreting his disciples dreams. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 404. Also see Nevâyî, *Nesâyimü$^{ɔ}$l-Mahabbe*, 201; Lāmi$^{c}$ī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 438. The anecdote is related in one work as follows: "One day I went from Herat to the service of the venerable Mawlānā Ya$^{c}$qūb. They inquired from me about the state of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn. I said: "He is occupied with resolving the states (*aḥwāl*) and dreams of students." He was

his methodology of spiritual instruction. His *waqf* charter clearly stipulated the requirement that the supervisor of dervishes in his convent in Darwīshābād had to be acquainted with the *Sharī*ᶜ*a*, knowledge of the spiritual path, and the interpretation of dreams (*ta*ᶜ*bīr al-waq*ᶜ*āt*).[62]

Access to the unknown and unseen was a major object of curiosity and learning in the period, as discussed in detail in recent scholarship.[63] Sufis traditionally raised claims to esoteric knowledge, either through their ability to uncover (*kashf*) and translate the signs (*āyāt*) of God in the universe and in the Qurᵓān, or through their mastery at translating the symbols of the subconscious world into the familiar language of the mundane. They harnessed this potential in order to direct their own following in the spiritual journey and to legitimize their claims to spiritual authority, as "true dreams" were commonly accepted as a legacy of the Prophetic gnosis.

The apparent objection of outsider shaykhs like Charkhī notwithstanding, interpreting disciples' dreams was relevant in the context of the Suhrawardīyya.[64] Abū Ḥafs al-Suhrawardī, the eponym of

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sitting with his hand in his beard as he passed out and remained silent for a while. Afterwards he gained consciousness and said this verse from Rūmī: 'Chū ghulām-i āftābam hama-z āftāb gūyam / Na shabam na shab-parastam ki ḥadīth-i khwāb gūyam.' " Mawlānā Shaykh, "Khawāriq-i ᶜĀdāt-i Khwāja ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār," in *Aḥwāl wa Sukhanān-i Khwājah ᶜUbayd Allāh Aḥrār (806 tā 895): Mushtamil bar Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār be Taḥrīr-i Mīr ᶜAbd al-Awwal Nīshābūrī, Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār (Majmūᶜa-i Dīgar), Raqaᶜāt-i Aḥrār, Khawāriq-i ᶜĀdāt-i Aḥrār, Taᵓlīf-i Mawlānā Shaykh*, ed. ᶜĀrif Nawshāhī, 669. In *Nafaḥāt*'s version, it was Charkhī who first told Aḥrār that Khwāfī was preoccupied with analyzing and interpreting dreams (*ḥall waqāyi*ᶜ *wa ta*ᶜ*bīr manāmāt*), which situation confirmed by Aḥrār. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 404.

62. Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī," 197.

63. Dreams during the day or the sleep were considered as glimpses from the unseen (*ghayb*), which included the past, the absent, the future and the supernatural. Also, as Louise Marlow wrote, "[b]y their very in-between-ness, they were associated with possibilities unavailable in wakefulness." Louise Marlow, "Introduction," in *Dreaming Across Boundaries: The Interpretation of Dreams in Islamic Lands*, ed. Louise Marlow (Cambridge: Ilex Foundation, 2008), 4. The literature on dream interpretation in Islam is too big to refer to here. I will suffice by mentioning a recent work on the importance of dreams in the religious culture: Nile Green, "The Religious and Cultural Roles of Dreams and Visions in Islam," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 13, no. 3 (2003): 287–313. For a useful review of dreams and their interpretation in the Tīmūrids, see Manz, *Power*, Ch. 6.

64. Interpreting the dream of the disciple as a way of gauging his spiritual progress was common in most Sufi orders. For a later Naqshbandī explanation of the place of the practice, see Chodkiewicz, "Rites of Initiation in Sufi Orders," 7.

the Suhrawardī lineage, saw *taᶜbīr* and *tarbiya*, or "interpretation" and "instruction," as being closely related, saying the shaykh was an "open door" for disciples in the interpretation of dreams.[65] It should not be seen as out of ordinary, therefore, that Maqdisī, Khwāfī's major disciple in the West, is also known to have composed a dream interpreter.[66] We find in his biographies that when he sat in spiritual retreat (*khalwa*) in the shrine of Aḥmad-i Jām at Khwāfī's instigation, he used to regularly report his subconscious to the latter, who followed them, and when Maqdisī finally saw the Qurᵓanic chapter *al-Fatḥ*, Khwāfī took him out of his retreat and wrote an *ijāza*.[67] Later on, when Maqdisī was settled in Cairo, he was close enough to Amīr Jaqmaq to interpret one of his dreams as a sign of his future accession to the Mamlūk Sultanate.

## 8.4 *Awrād-i Zayniyya*

Another work attributed to Khwāfī is a collection of litanies and *dhikr*, commonly titled as *Awrād*. Most Sufi masters are thought to have had a particular daily prayer routine.[68] These prayer were

65. Jonathan G. Katz, "Dreams in the Manâqib of a Moroccan Sufi Shaykh: ᶜAbd al-ᶜAziz ad-Dabbâgh (d. 1719)," in *Dreaming Across Boundaries: The Interpretation of Dreams in Islamic Lands*, ed. Louise Marlow (Cambridge: Ilex Foundation, 2008), 270. It is worth reminding here that Katz also highlights how Hodgson complained about lack of a study of the place of dream interpretation in the instruction of the *murshid*, see Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam, Volume 2*, 466.

66. Tek, *Kudsî*, 162–4.

67. Ṭāshkoprīzāda, *al-Shaqāᵓiq*, 67; Lāmiᶜī Chalabī, *Tarjuma-i Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, 551.

68. The *awrād* and *adhkār* of shaykhs were not always original, on the contrary, they were mostly derivative. They often reformulated prayers and phrases from the Qurᵓān, *ḥadīth*, and previous "friends of God." The issue of the *awrād* and *adhkār* is an extremely important and defining aspect of the Sufi life, that is nearly untouched in terms of modern research. Instead of offering a treatment of this issue, I would like to include here a testimony of George of Hungary, a fifteenth-century observer of Anatolian religiosity, whose description of Sufis reveal the centrality of the *dhikr* and supererogatory worship in the convent. This excerpt is particularly relevant as it describes a period when Zaynī Sufis were particularly active in the Ottoman Empire. "The third group is that of those called *czofilar* [Sufis], who devote themselves to meditation and spiritual exercises; their reputation is great, and they are considered as the successors of the prophets and founding fathers of this sect; they proclaim that their authority is superior to others. Their opinion is not based on anything but they say that it is the fruit of an ancient tradition. Their opinion is as follows: the salvation of each depends on merit alone, and merit is sufficient to obtain salvation without recourse to grace or the

usually collected by disciples, or by these masters themselves, in volumes titled *majmūᶜa* or *ḥizb*, and they were repeated regularly as part of the Sufi practice, in and out of the convent.[69] It is difficult to exaggerate the centrality of routine supplications to convent life. As Khwāfī's *al-Waṣāyā* shows, a Sufi's day was supposed to be filled with supererogatory worship (*nawāfil*), frequent fasting, and the constant utterance of certain formulas (*wird*). Khwāfī himself represented a traditional Sufism that focused on the perfection of the *khānqāh* life, withdrawn from the public and focused on the purification of the heart. His contemporaries praised his rigorous worship discipline as an unparalleled aspect of his Sufism. Khwāja Aḥrār, who spent five years in Herat in the early 830s/late 1420s, testified to the Khwāfī's rigorous *dhikr* routine when he said that the prayer routines (*awqāt*) of a certain Ḥusām al-Dīn Pārsā were more profuse than those of Shaykh Bahāᵓ al-Dīn ᶜUmar Jagharāᵓī, and "even more than the *awqāt* of Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī."[70] It follows that his pedagogy placed the utmost attention to the remembrance of God, which the Qurᵓān declared as the only way to satisfy the heart.[71]

The fact that Khwāfī, or his disciples, compiled an *Awrād*, therefore, illustrates his dedication to all aspects of the spiritual training. More important, it alludes to the fact that Khwāfī's circle

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law; that's what they call *pereketallach* [Barakat Allāh = God's blessings]. They devote themselves particularly to the individual prayers and to the spiritual exercises which they practice through vigils and meditations. They never tire of their continual prayer which they themselves call *czikir aitmach* [to say the *dhikr*]. They meet at night, sit in a circle and for a time with head movements. Then, they say *Lahu* [Allāh Hū?] and repeat it the same way. Finally, they say *Hu hu* and repeat it until they faint, collapse and fall asleep. The partisans of their opinion are numerous, and particularly among those who pride themselves on the seniority or nobility of their lineage; these are called *Eflieler embieler* [Saints Prophets sic.] and they are considered truly authentic, for the good reason that their lineage has never mingled with other nations and has not separated from the stock of the founding fathers of this sect." Georges de Hongrie, *Des Turcs : traité sur les moeurs, les coutumes et la perfidie des Turcs*, trans. Jöel Schnapp (Toulouse: Anacharsis, 2003), 171–2.

69. The use of the *awrād* of a Sufi shaykh was not confined to his spiritual descendants only. Most Sufi orders used the prayer sets of the shaykhs of other *ṭarīqa*s as well. A twentieth-century example is the *Majmūᶜat al-Aḥzāb*, a collection of the *awrād*s of various shaykhs by the Naqshbandī Aḥmad Ḍiyā al-Dīn Gumushānawī (d. 1893).

70. Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ᶜAyn al-Ḥayāt*, i:167.

71. *Qurᵓān*, 13 (al-Raᶜd)/28.

was emerging as a spiritual community with a distinct devotional methodology and a private set of supererogatory litanies of its own. The reception and dissemination of the *Awrād* is quite revealing in this regard. In chapter 5, I demonstrated how Khwāfī's network expanded to the Ottoman lands as a consequence of his second Egyptian travels. The *Awrād* was the most copied work after *al-Waṣāyā*, and the similarities between their reception and dissemination are remarkable, indicating the centrality of the *Awrād* to the spread of Khwāfī's path. It must be borne in mind that these two works constituted the cornerstones of Khwāfī's spiritual teaching, which necessarily leads to the conclusion that their dissemination correlates with that of Zayniyya.

### 8.4.1 The Zaynī devotional regimen and its reception in Ottoman lands

Even more important is the fact that several commentaries were written on the work, the earliest of which was undertaken by Muḥammad b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Iznikī (d. 885/1480), a well-known member of Ottoman religious elite in the late fifteenth century.[72] Muḥammad b. Quṭb al-Dīn, better known as Quṭb al-Dīn-zāda, was a protégé of Mullā Fanārī, whose strong relationship with Khwāfī's circle I demonstrated in the previous section. He seems to have been associated with the Ottoman branch of the *ṭarīqa* of Khwāfī, whom he referred to in various works as "our master, the sultan of saints, the inheritor of the seal of sainthood." He was associated with the court as well—he accompanied Meḥemmed II on three different military campaigns, where he was tasked with preparing the *awrād* the soldiers were supposed to recite. His commentary, sometimes found under the title *Tanwīr al-Awrād*, was copied more than the *Awrād* itself in Ottoman lands.[73]

That a work that is so characteristic of a *ṭarīqa* gains such popularity in a country where the original author has never set foot is remarkable. A partial explanation lies in the influence of networks and the people that transmitted the work. Also worth noting at this point is the fact that Quṭb

72. The author's copy of this commentary is dated 863/1458. Köle, *Hâfî*, 47.

73. Reşat Öngören, "Kutbuddinzâde İznikî," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. Many of the copies of the *Tanwīr al-Awrād* were produced in the life time of al-Iznikī, further testifying to the popularity of the work.

al-Dīn-zāda was a fully invested follower of Ibn ᶜArabī's works, having written a commentary on Qunawī's *Miftāḥ al-Ghayb*. Besides providing another counter point to the suggestion that Khwāfī's spiritual work and thought were essentially antagonistic to those of Ibn ᶜArabī, this illustrates that his Sufi practice appealed to the tastes of an increasingly cosmopolitan Sunni religious elite, in a culture characterized more by vernacular traditions of piety. The early entry of Khwāfī's spirituality into the learned circles of Bursa through such luminaries as Fanārī and Maqdisī, but possibly others we still know nothing of, enabled it to establish a strong presence in other cultural centers, including Edirne, and, later, Istanbul.[74]

## 8.5 Other works

Khwāfī wrote many other works, particularly in the period after he returned from his second Egyptian travel. Bekir Köle lists close to 30 works, some of which are lost, while a few others may be misattributions or later extractions from his previous works titled as separate treatises.[75] Based on reception and circulation, it appears that his most influential works were the *al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya*, his *Awrād* and his recension of the *Rayḥān al-Qulūb*. These works were part and parcel of the Zaynī posterity, yet, through the connections of Zayniyya with other lineages, they were adopted, in full or in part, by a variety of traditions. As I mentioned above, Bernd Radtke's study demonstrated how extracts from *al-Waṣāyā* were incorporated into Tijānī works in the nineteenth century.[76] In an even more interesting manner, his *Mirᶜāt al-Ṭālibīn*, a small Arabic manual for the seeker, was circulated widely enough to find its way into Baktāshī and Ḥurūfī libraries in the same century.[77]

Outside of these, his commentaries and annotations on two works have been significant enough

74. The dissemination of Zayniyya in the religious and cultural life of the Ottoman Empire is a subject that has still not been satisfactorily studied.

75. Köle, *Hâfî*, 36–69; Öngören, *Zeyniler*, 19–23; Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī," 188–9; Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xliii–xlv.

76. See the bibliography for Bernd Radtke's articles on this matter.

77. Norris, "Mir'āt al-Ṭālibīn," 60; Browne, "Further notes."

to encourage a literary tradition, at least among his successors. One of these was the *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn* of Khwāja ᶜAbd Allāh Anṣārī, which was among the key sources of Khwāfī's Sufi thought and which he recommended students to study. In *Manhaj al-Rashād*, after praising the conformity of the work with the Book and the Tradition and its extraordinary powerful language, he complained that most of the commentaries spoiled the words of the author with their own muddied ideologies (*mashārib*).[78]

This may have been his motivation to write an annotation on this work, of which several copies are identified by Köle and Beaurecueil.[79] Although we do not have a date of composition for them, we can assume it must have been after 831/1428, that is, the year the *Manhaj* was composed. Beaurecueil's detailed studies of the manuscripts and commentaries of ᶜAbd Allāh Anṣārī's work showed the extent that Khwāfī's work started a tradition, as Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tabādkānī, his foremost successor in Herat who is known to have carried on Khwāfī's intellectual legacy, also produced a commentary on the work.[80]

Besides the *Manāzil*, another work he consulted frequently both in his works and in his instruction was Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ᶜUmar Suhrawardī's famous manual on Sufism titled *ᶜAwārif al-Maᶜārif*. The *ᶜAwārif* was the essential guide on Sufi etiquette and principles, and became so suc-

78. Khwāfī, "Manhaj (Edited)," 492. One wonders, if commentators oriented towards Ibn ᶜArabī's teachings, including ᶜAbd al-Razzāq Kāshānī (d. ca. 730/1329), were among those Khwāfī blamed to have contaminated the awe-inspiring language of the *Manāzil*.

79. Köle, *Hâfî*, 57–8. Māyil Harawī disputes the claim that Khwāfī wrote a commentary on the *Manāzil*, though he seems to have not reviewed any of the manuscripts attributed to Khwāfī. Māyil Haravī, *Īn Barghā*, xlv.

80. Anṣārī al-Harawī, *Kitāb Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn ilā al-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn: Les étapes des itinérants vers Dieu: edition critique, avec introd., traduction et lexique*, 5, 22, 34–7; Nafīsī, *Tārīkh-i Naẓm wa Nathr dar Īrān wa dar Zabān-i Fārsī tā pāyān-i qarn-i dahum-i hijrī.*, i/263, 327. A copy of Tabādkānī's commentary, titled *Tasnīm al-Muqarrabīn fī Sharh-i Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn* and written in 869/1465, is housed in the Iranian Library of Parliament; see Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir Tabādkānī, *Tasnīm al-Muqarrabīn fī Sharh Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn*, MS 15267 (Tehran: Kitābkhāna-i Majlisi Shūrā-yi Millī), 1–370. In addition to this, a partial commentary on the three verses concluding Anṣārī's work appears appended to several of Khwāfī's manuscripts. Its authorship is complicated by the fact that Kūrānī also commented upon these verses and Khwāfī is known to have copied and continued the works of his masters, which include the former.

cessful that most Sufi traditions embraced it as part of their pedagogy.[81] In addition to mentioning the work itself among the reliable guides of Sufism, we know that Khwāfī taught the work to his disciples.

A culmination of his commitment to this text was his annotation on the work, which is found as a manuscript titled *Taḥshiya* in Manisa. In the colophon, Khwāfī wrote that he noticed the interest of scholars and students in the work and wanted to clarify some of the expressions to the best of his ability. He began writing the work in Darwīshābād in Rabīᶜ II, 826/March 1423, continued in Burābād, finally finishing it again in Darwīshābād Rabī I, 828/February 1425. Besides giving an idea about Khwāfī's method of constant commuting between various sites in the vicinity of Herat, this also brings up the possibility that Maqdisī and Marzifūnī were also among the observers and, likely, participators of this composition, as the following year until Ramadan 829/July 1426 was spent with the recitation of this annotation in the presence of the author.[82]

Hardly an exceptionally prolific writer, Khwāfī's writing activity was a natural extension of his work as a Sufi shaykh, continuing the work of his forebears at the same time reinterpreting them for his time. Despite none of them being autobiographical in nature, it is easy to make sense of his writing activity in tandem with his life, and vice versa. According to the date on a manuscript he copied, Khwāfī was still writing less than a year before his death.[83]

## 8.6 Conclusion to the chapter

Khwāfī by this time had proved that his legacy would be different from the legacies of those Sufis of Khorasan who influenced him, including Zayn al-Dīn Tāyabādī, Aḥmad-i Jāmī, and Khwāja ᶜAbd Allāh Anṣārī, despite their similarities. Khwāfī's legacy was going to be much unlike the cult of Khorasani masters. His own writings on the daily schedule and discipline of the convent pro-

81. On the diffusion of Suhrawardī's intellectual legacy within later Sufi communities, see Ohlander, *ᶜUmar al-Suhrawardī*, 310–20.

82. Khwāfī, *Ḥāshiya MG 1156*.

83. Devin DeWeese, private communication to the author.

vided "textbooks" for incoming Sufis. Instead of *uwaysī* inspirations, his path had a clear preference towards upholding *silsila*s and *ijāza*s. Moreover, he actively proselytized *Sharīᶜa*-minded and educated seekers. A *waqf* in Darwīshābād was established to ensure the success of this program. In other words, Khwāfī took matters into his own hands to ensure his legacy. That he was succeeded through his disciples, and not his descendants, as was the case of so many other masters of Khorasan, was a natural outcome of this project.

That he was so successful in his work is evidenced by the fact that, in a generation, Zayniyya became the chief Sufi network in Ottoman lands, a part of Islamdom Khwāfī never visited. As I emphasized in the previous chapter, the emergence of graveyards in Bursa belonging to the followers of Zayn al-Dīn and, moreover, of the distinct headstone shape in these graveyards, must be considered alongside the above works and their proliferation when examining the spread of the Zaynī community and culture.[84] We know that already in the fifteenth century, these Sufis had started to address themselves as *Zaynī*s. For all of the reasons discussed above, Khwāfī deserves to be considered not only as the eponym, but also the actual founder of Zayniyya. In terms of the larger history of Sufism, this "*ṭarīqa*-consciousness" on the part of Zayn al-Dīn represents a significant stage in the evolution of organized Sufism.

84. Interestingly, the Ottoman branch of Zayniyya seems to have been the most influential in the period immediately following Khwāfī. The explanation may have to do with the channels Zayniyya was disseminated in the Ottoman empire. The reception of Zayniyya is equally revealing in terms of the patronage of pietistic trends in the fifteenth-century Ottoman empire. The whole complex of graveyard, mosque and convent in Bursa, which later formed the nucleus of the *Zeyniler* neighborhood, came to existence as a result of intense courtly patronage. The impressively fast rise to power of Ottoman Zayniyya coincided with a time of increasing interest in *Sharīᶜa*-minded spirituality, particularly under Meḥemmed II. This question deserves to be addressed in a separate study.

# CHAPTER 9

# ON IBN ᶜARABĪ AND "THE UNITY OF EXISTENCE"

## 9.1 Khwāfī on Ibn ᶜArabī

Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī was one of those so-called "sober" and *Sharīᶜa*-minded Sufis who were concerned about the social and religious state of the Muslim community, certainly, from the perspective of the *Sunnī-Jamāᶜī* worldview.[1] Deviation from the "straight path" might lead to *ilḥād* (heretic belief) and *ibāha* (religious permissivism), and it was a serious danger to the masses, as well as to fellow members of his spiritual community (*ṭāʾifa*). Sufis in particular were considered as prone to satanic inspiration, which is why he prescribed in his *al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya* that fellow wayfarers (*sālik*) should not be occupied with theological speculation, or in fact any branch of learning that did not help them grow in sincere devotion.[2]

Such beliefs as *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* (the Unity of Existence), which did not have their origins in "the Book" or in "the Tradition," were particularly appealing to Sufis at certain stages of their spiritual progress. Contemplating them was mostly harmless, but interpreting them literally and extrapolating their consequences to matters of *Sharīᶜa* threatened to dislodge theological certainties, leading the unsuspecting reader into a path of seduction. I believe this aspect helps us better understand his perspective in the criticism of Ibn ᶜArabī's teachings, for when Khwāfī criticized concepts like the Unity of Existence or the faith of the Pharaoh, it was more for the sake of these concerns

1. *Sakr* (intoxication, drunkenness) and *Ṣaḥw* (awakenness, sobriety) denote two states in Sufism. In the state of *sakr*, the Sufi is enraptured by his/her witnessing of the various manifestations of God's names, whereas *ṣaḥw* refers to the return to the normal level of human experience. It was understood that for some Sufis, the implications of the *sakr* were more dominant, and therefore, they were prone to displaying perplexing behavior and utterances. Some famous examples of this type of Sufism are found in the traditions ascribed to Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī and al-Ḥallāj. Others wanted to be more careful in their public appearance and avoid controversy, therefore, they tried to conform more strictly to the legalistic aspects of Islam. Junayd was understood as the champion of this kind of measured Sufism.

2. Khwāfī, "Al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya."

than a critique of Ibn ᶜArabī's work. It must be understood that Khwāfī's criticism of these doctrines tells us more about his self-image as a *Sharīᶜa*-guarding Sufi than as a respondent to Ibn ᶜArabī's intellectual œuvre. This is exactly why Jāmī, at the beginning of his account on Khwāfī, wrote that he was known first and foremost for his unswerving observance of the Book and the Tradition, that is, the two major sources of *Sharīᶜa*. It was the exact application of these two sources that the authorities of this community (*ṭāʾifa*) found to be the greatest of the spiritual feats (*karāmāt*).[3] In the same vein, the earlier *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, after mentioning Khwāfī's rectitude in the way of the *Sunna* (the tradition) and the *jamāᶜa* (the community), added that he always strove to curb heretics and people of corrupt beliefs.[4]

This is to say that Khwāfī was not only a "sober" Sufi, namely, guarded in the expression of mystical secrets, but also one who saw everything he did in the light of his service to the *Sunna* and the *jamāᶜa* (the Muslim community). He was not unique in this stance, as it was common for Sufi shaykhs to warn their disciples about the dangers of Ibn ᶜArabī's work. Moreover, he must have been influenced one way or another by the anti-Ibn ᶜArabī authors of previous generations, including Ibn Taymiyya, whose *ittiḥādiyya* finds echoes in Khwāfī's *wujūdiyya*. However, the influence of Ibn Taymiyya's attack on Ibn ᶜArabī was so pervasive at this time that the bulk of the circulating knowledge on the issue of the Unity of Existence stemmed from the former's understanding, rather than from a direct acquaintance with the writings of Ibn ᶜArabī and his followers.

In the case of Khwāfī, his critique of teachings associated with Ibn ᶜArabī rested on three ideas, which were mostly expressed by other Sufi authors at various points, namely, *i*) that Ibn ᶜArabī's description of the Unity of Existence reflected one of the rudimentary stages of spiritual progress, a stage that a Sufi was meant to rise above; *ii*) that real-world application of the theory of the Unity of Existence would lead to the deconstructing of the received *Sunnī-Jamāᶜī Sharīᶜa*; and, *iii*) that Ibn ᶜArabī himself was a friend of God who strictly followed the external matters of *Sharīᶜa* during his

3. Jāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 494.

4. "Wa paywasta dar qamᶜ-i malāhida wa bad-madhhabān mī kūshīd…Aṣīl al-Dīn Wāᶜiẓ, *Maqṣad al-Iqbāl*, 80.

lifetime and commanded people to do so, unlike some people who claimed to follow in his footsteps but transgress the *Sharīᶜa*.

A clear illustration of Khwāfī's perspective is found in an anecdote in Suyūṭī's *Naẓm al-ᶜIqyān* regarding one of Khwāfī's Jerusalemite disciples. The disciple, Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn al-Wafāᵓ (d. 856/1452–53), a descendant of the Iraqi Sufi master Tāj al-ᶜĀrifīn Abū al-Wafāᵓ (d. 501/1107), reported that some of his friends encouraged him to study Ibn ᶜArabī, while some said the opposite.[5] He sought Shaykh Yūsuf's counsel on this, who replied by pointing out that the followers of Ibn ᶜArabī's "science" contradicted themselves when they argued that gnosis can only be attained through spiritual unveiling (*kashf*), yet they tried to expound it in writing. After all, he argued, if someone can attain this knowledge only through personal spiritual endeavor, what is the point in writing? If one already knows it, reading such a book will not benefit him. If they do not know it through *kashf*, they will not be able to interpret the content of such a book. The shaykh said: "The path of the gnostic is staying away from this science and from entering whatever path that leads to the unveiling of realities."

When the said Ibn al-Wafāᵓ brought the same question to Khwāfī, repeating also what Shaykh Yūsuf had said, Khwāfī replied as follows:

> Beautiful words. And I add that when the servant assumes character of piety and attains realization of the Divine realities and then is attracted to God, his self is vanished, he loses his attributes and is cleared of whatever except God. Then God's lightnings of truth flash on him and reflect on all things. Such that he sees God in all things and that all things become lost in God, therefore, he cannot see anything except God, which leads him to think God is the same as all things. This, however, is the first of stations

5. The followers of Abū al-Wafā formed a major Sufi community particularly active in Syria, Iraq and Anatolia in the period. On this, see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "The Wafāᵓī tarīqa (Wafāᵓīyya) during and after the Period of the Seljuks of Turkey: a new Approach to the History of Popular Mysticism in Turkey," *Mésogeios* 25–26 (2005): 209–48. See Karamustafa, "Antinomian Sufis," 115–24, on what the author terms as "Dervish piety." The interesting relationship between Khwāfī's followers and the Wafāᵓiyya path invites further scrutiny and deservers an independent study.

(*maqāmāt*). If he proceeds from this station, a higher station overtakes him, and Divine Providence helps him see that the existence in its totality is an emanation (*fayḍ*) of the existence of God most high, and not the same as His existence.[6]

## 9.2 *Manhaj al-Rashād*

While Khwāfī had written on matters of innovation and heresy before, his most detailed exposition is found in a work titled *Manhaj al-Rashād* which he composed in 831/1428 in Herat.[7] Because this work was finished shortly after the attempt on Shāhrukh's life by an alleged follower of Faḍl Allah Astarābādī (d. 796/1394) in the previous year, it received particular attention in a recent study by Evrim Binbaş. Scholars argue that the controversial religious context at the time provided the backdrop for the attempt and for the persecution of non-conforming religious groups that followed. Binbaş provides a helpful analysis of the attempted suicide, as well as of several figures, including Qāsim al-Anwār, Ṣāʾin al-Dīn Turka, and Khwāfī. His conclusions on the *Manhaj* are ambiguous, attributable in part to the inadequate scholarship on Khwāfī.[8] In the following pages, I would like to visit Khwāfī's work and attempt to recover his perspective on the controversy over pantheism and heresy, independent of Binbaş's aforementioned study.

There can be no question that the "publication" of this work is related to the increased anxi-

6. Suyūṭī, *As-Suyuti's who's who in the fifteenth century : Nazm al-ᶜIqyān fi Aᶜyān al-Aᶜyān; being a biographical dictionary of notable men and women in Egypt, Syria and the Muslim world, based on two manuscripts, one in Cairo and the other in Leiden*, 98–99.

7. Khwāfī finished the work in the village of *Ziyārat-gāh* in the middle of Rajab 831, corresponding roughly to the end of April 1428. See Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Khwāfī, *Manhaj al-Rashād*, MS Coll. 8767 (Islamabad: Ganjbakhsh Library), 415.

8. Binbaş wrote that "Manhaj ... is a defense of Khvāfī's own position as a prominent intellectual in Herat…" but also that we cannot tell "whether the Manhaj was a defensive or offensive treatise." Binbaş, "Regicide Attempt," 33. Explaining why Khwāfī might have had to defend himself, Binbaş writes that "[i]t is possible that suspicion fell on him due to his connections to the intellectual circles of Azarbaijan [because] he was a disciple of Kamal Khujandī in Tabriz." Binbaş, "Regicide Attempt," 34. I showed in chapter 3 that Lewisohn's assessment, and that of Norris who depended on him, stemmed from an uncritical reading of a single group primary sources.

ety over insurgent piety.[9] The *Manhaj* was written against a background of increasing tension and anxiety regarding the problem of spiritual authority over the interpretation of the Divine and the unseen, not to mention political crises relating to the rule of Shāhrukh.[10] As scholars of the period sufficiently put it, general interest in the supernatural and unknown increased in the period, enabling mystics to play a larger role in the lives of both the elite and the masses.[11] Sufis like Khwāfī found the straight path in pledging loyalty to "the rule of servanthood" (*qānūn-i ᶜibādat*) and the chain of connection to the Prophet. They tended to stay away from speculation based on arbitrary personal interpretation and sources beyond the *Sharīᶜa* and the emulation (*iqtidāʾ*) of the Prophet.

For some other Sufis, who identified themselves as the *muḥaqqiqūn*, (or *muḥaqqiqān* in Persian, i.e. "the scrutinizers") as opposed to the *muqallidān* (i.e. "the imitators"), and who saw themselves as the elite of the elite, *iqtidā* was but blind imitation. These Sufis aimed at true knowledge of, and union with, God, did not feel bound by the methods of traditional Sufism and scholarship, and freely tapped the esoteric interpretation of the Qur'an and other sacred sources. To these were added other ideas, such as those most commonly associated with Ibn ᶜArabī, which expanded the spiritual authority of the "friend of God" and re-envisioned spiritual hierarchy to the detriment of

9. Here, I am not interested in providing a detailed explanation of the intellectual conditions in the Nile-to-Oxus region during the post-Mongol period. The issue of non-conforming pieties and their repercussions in intellectual and cultural production are discussed in several works. My understanding of these conditions owes to the following works: John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu : Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999); Karamustafa, "Antinomian Sufis"; Karamustafa, *Sufism*; Pfeiffer, "Introduction. From Baghdad to Marāgha, Tabriz, and beyond: Tabriz and the multi-cephalous cultural, religious, and intellectual landscape of the 13th to 15th century Nile-to-Oxus region"; Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam, Volume 2*; Ira Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

10. The late 1420s were years of political upheaval for the Tīmūrids. In addition to the assassination attempt on Shāhrukh in 1427, his son Soyurghātmish died in the previous year, while in the same year his son and viceregent in Samarkand, Ulugh Beg, rebelled against his orders causing a Tīmūrid defeat, and in 1428 Iskandar Qaraqoyunlu plundered Tīmūrids' western possessions, capturing Sultaniya. Manz, *Power*, 42; Aka, *Mirza Şahruh ve Zamanı : 1405–1447*; Aka, *Timur ve Devleti*, 64–70.

11. Manz, *Power*, 206.

the existing traditional categories.[12] Finally, one must include the increasingly visible tendencies in the period toward messianism and apocalypticism.[13]

During the Tīmūrid period, this intellectual ambiguity and the increasing tensions over the nature of spiritual authority produced exceptional individuals with charismatic or chiliastic claims who, in a time of political uncertainty, were able to transform their teachings into widespread social movements. In almost all cases, these dissenting movements transformed into rebellions—a clear indication of the role of social and economic circumstances—which were then suppressed with force by the *Sunnī-Jamāᶜī* rulers of the region. It is impossible to offer here a comprehensive treatment of this activity; however, a cursory glance at the "long ninth/fifteenth century" reveals the correlation between this cultural creativity and its reflection as social anxiety, from the Danube to the Oxus. From the fateful execution of Faḍl Allah Astarābādī in 796/1394,[14] leader of a widespread esotericist community called *Ḥurūfiyya*, whose follower Sayyid ᶜImād al-Dīn Nasīmī (d. 820/1417–18) was likewise executed, to that of Sufi-scholar-turned-statesman Shaykh Badr al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Simāwnā,[15] identified in contemporary sources as the leader of a major rebellion against Ottoman rule, and even more important, to those of Khwāja Isḥāq Khuttalānī (d. 827/1424) and his disciple

12. Ibn ᶜArabī's speculative expansion of the authority of the friends of God (*awliyāʾ Allah* (see Chodkiewicz, *Seal*, 23–45) found its most remarkable response in Ibn Taymiyya's rejection of his thought, where he called the former a friend of Satan, or, *awliyāʾ al-shayṭān*. Chodkiewicz, *Seal*, 23.

13. It is difficult to explain these trends in a congruous and comprehensive way yet there seem to have been connections between them. The scholarship on these issues is growing; see the works of Cornell Fleischer, Ahmet Karamustafa, Denis Gril, İhsan Fazlıoğlu and Noah Gardiner in the bibliography. For a brief evaluation, see Pfeiffer, "Introduction. From Baghdad to Marāgha, Tabriz, and beyond: Tabriz and the multi-cephalous cultural, religious, and intellectual landscape of the 13th to 15th century Nile-to-Oxus region."

14. For a brief introduction to Faḍl Allah and the *Ḥurūfiyya* and a bibliography on these, see Orkhan Mir-Kasimov, "Ḥurūfiyya," in *Encyclopædia of Islam, Three*. For a more detailed examination, see Bashir, *Fazlallah*. and in particular Usluer, *Hurufilik: İlk Elden Kaynaklarla Doğuşundan İtibaren*.

15. Like other historical figures mentioned here and possibly even more so, Badr al-Dīn's story is overwhelmed by mystery and controversy. We know very little for certain regarding his motives, connections and activities partly because of sectarian history-writing. His date of death is also given differently in sources as 819/1416 or 823/1420.

Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbaksh (d. 869/1464), whose careers culminated in a political rebellion with messianic claims, this period witnessed several extraordinary luminaries who dispensed some kind of charismatic mystical authority to build reputation and, then, to launch political campaigns that took advantage of collective unrest or the loosened political fabric of the society. Of these, the only successful campaign was carried out by the Safavid religio-political dynasty, which, remarkably, was aided by the fact that their claims lay explicitly outside of the *Sunnī-Jamāʿī* epistemology and that they had the zealous support of a militant mystic community in the *Qizilbāsh*.[16]

Coupled with Tīmūrid political troubles during the third decade of the fifteenth century, the mystically-infused rebellion around Khuttalānī and Nūrbakhsh, which started in 826/1423, and the subsequent regicide attempt on Shāhrukh, in 1427, by a certain Aḥmad-i Lūr, who was an alleged follower of Faḍl Allah, no doubt increased alarm in the Tīmūrid government over Sufi groups.[17] There can be little question, therefore, that Khwāfī's work was independent of this climate of "radical pieties."

However, it would still be misleading to read the work exclusively in its immediate political context. While it is true that it was written with the concerns of the moment in mind, a review of its content makes it clear that the author's real subject was larger than the mere assassination attempt or the rebellious pieties emerging around Khuttalānī and Nūrbaksh. One needs to consider longer-lasting conflicts among the Sufis, as well as an enduring, broader criticism against the Sufi

16. This topic is too large even to describe in passing mention here. Several important works have been produced recently on the emergence of the Safavid political enterprise, for two more recent of which, see Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, monarchs, and messiahs : cultural landscapes of early modern Iran* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); Yıldırım, *Aleviliğin doğuşu : Kızılbaş sufiliğinin toplumsal ve siyasal temelleri (1300-1501) = Turkomans between two empires: the origins of the Qizilbash identity in Anatolia (1447-1514)*.

17. There is a considerable amount of scholarship on Khuttalānī, Nūrbakhsh and the messianic rebellion around them. For brief introduction, see Hamid Algar, "Nūrbakhshiyya," in *Encyclopædia of Islam, Second edition*, and T. Jack Rowe, "Kubraviyya," in *Encyclopædia of Islam, Three*, the second especially for the bibliography. Most comprehensive work on this issue is Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nūrbakhshīya between Medieval and Modern Islam*. On the assassination attempt, see Binbaş's detailed and careful analysis devoted to this event: Binbaş, "Regicide Attempt."

path. After a close examination, it is not difficult to see that in the *Manhaj*, Khwāfī was defending and salvaging mainstream Sufism from the "destructive" ramifications of several intellectual trends, some, but not all, of which were prominent in his time.

At its core, the *Manhaj al-Rashād* is mostly concerned with the idea of upholding the Sunni-*Shar$^{c}$ī* vision and refuting the eclectic alternative of the philosophical Sufism that carried the potential to corrupt this vision. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, Khwāfī previously addressed most of these subjects in *al-Waṣāyā al-Qudsiyya*, albeit in a more random and cursory manner, which might be taken to indicate his long-standing struggle against doctrinal "deviation." There is also strong evidence in the book to argue that the *Manhaj*, despite its direct references to the contemporary political context, is a continuation of Khwāfī's writings on Sufi discipline and propriety. The longest chapter is devoted to an *apologia* for the Sufi path itself against accusations of non-conformity with received religious knowledge.[18]

Essentially, the book has three main purposes, namely, *i*) to advance a defense of *sharī$^{c}$a*-minded and sober Sufism (with a strong emphasis on *ahl-i sunna wa al-jamā$^{c}$a*), as opposed to all kinds of piety and spirituality that did not find their source in the received legacy of the Prophet, and for the fact that this Sufism was in complete unison with religious law; *ii*) to offer a rebuke of intellectual and Sufi trends that deviate from received sources by way of adopting such interpretive methods as esotericism, numerology, the philosophy of the peripatetics, and neo-platonism, and thereby lead to *bid$^{c}$a* (innovation), *ilḥād* (unbelief), and *ibāḥa* (permissivism), and *iii*) to present an evaluation of certain views of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī that had become points of much debate among Muslims, and in particular, among Sufis.

Khwāfī opens the book with an introduction that helps us fix the work in its political context.

18. The second chapter of the book delineates in 48 pages how all Sufis and their works from the beginning were in conformity with the Qur'ān and the *Sunna*. This chapter can be read both as an apology to *Sharī$^{c}$a*-minded Sufism as well as an instruction to new initiates to follow their forebears and stay on the path of imitation (*iqtidā*). See Khwāfī, "Manhaj (Edited)," 489, where the author writes as the following: "It is well-known that just like in every art there are perfect masters of the art who are followed by their students ... so too in the art of Sufism (*taṣawwuf*) and gnosis (*ta$^{c}$arruf*) there are perfect masters and examples…"

Here, after the customary offering of praise to God and the Prophet and the laying out of his religious world-view, Khwāfī notably praises Shāhrukh for his work against innovation and heresy. The mention of Shāhrukh's abolishing of the Chinggisid Yasa, already highlighted in the second chapter, is a distinct reference to Shāhrukh's pro-Sunni-*Sharᶜī* policy, which marked the beginnings of his reign. The related excerpt below is important also because it provides Khwāfī's perspective on Islamic kingship:

> Gratefulness is to God the blessed and the almighty that out of the fear and awe of the sultanic government (*siyāsat*) of his excellency the Emperor (*pādshāh*) of Islam, the commander (*farmān-farmā*) of the seven climes, caresser (*nawāzanda*) of the *Sharīᶜa* and the *ṭarīqa*, the eradicator (*gudāzanda*) of heretics (*ahl-i ilḥād*) and the antinomian (*ibāḥa*), the abolisher of the law (*tūra*) of Chinggis Khan, blessed his auspiciously-signed government, Shāhrukh Bahādur Sulṭān (may God make eternal his rule in the gardens of justice and munificence and make manifest his argument (*ḥujjat*) and evidence (*burhān*) in the universe), and due to that exalted person's utmost attention to the elevation of the Word of God and the revival of the rules of the law of the Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him), all of the corrupt believers (*bad-madhhabān*) in all corners of the world dispersed [...][19]

As I discussed before, the use of the phrase *Pādsāh* and *Pādshāh-i Islām* was nothing new as it was introduced long before by the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar (d. 552/1157) and had become pretty widespread by this time.[20] The question of Shāhrukh's legitimacy is brought up in the prayer that

19. From the editor's appendices in Fāḍil Harawī, *Risālah-i tarīq-i qismat-i āb-i qalb va mard juyī va arāẓī bulūkāt va vilāyāt kih mutaẓammin-i jughrāfiyā-yi Hirāt ast*, 132. Cf. Khwāfī, *Manhaj GB 8767*, 359, which has "Mubārak Bahādur Sulṭān," failing to mention Shāhrukh directly. This manuscript, bearing the copy date of 1096/1685, was one of the two used in Māyil Harawī's edition of the *Manhaj al-Rashād*, see Khwāfī, "Manhaj (Edited)," 486.

20. On Sanjar's letter dated 527/1133nto the Abbasid caliph where he claims the title *Pādsāh* was bestowed on him by God, see Mehmet Altay Köymen, *Büyük Selçuklu İmparatorluğu Tarihi* (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1984), ii/218–37.

follows his name, where Khwāfī prays that God make his rule and its raison d'être manifest to all. Khwāfī's reference to Shāhrukh's abolishing the Chinggisid yasa, promoted by Tīmūr, is noteworthy and squarely reflects that ruler's religious policy. However, one needs to remember that Khwāfī's mention of the *tūra* in a negative light is in a way contradicted by his alleged acceptance of gifts from Shāhrukh's *tamghachi*.[21] This seeming lack of consistence may be explained in many ways, as I brought up in chapter 4. Perhaps an equally remarkable aspect of Shāhrukh's legitimacy as a ruler was his struggle against what Khwāfī understood as corrupting religious influences, the main concern of the book.

After the introduction, the *Manhaj al-Rashād* taps into a wide range of literature on Sufism to argue that the Sufi path and its exponents ($^{c}$*ulamā-yi bāṭin*) were always in agreement with the Law and its sources, namely, the Qur'an and the Prophetic example, as elaborated by the $^{c}$*ulamā-yi ẓāhir*. Here, it becomes apparent that Khwāfī's concerns transcend the immediate historical context. It is not possible to provide a detailed treatment of this and the following chapters, yet I should note a few pertinent aspects for the sake of the present discussion. At the outset, Khwāfī quotes a passage from al-Ghazālī's *Fayṣal al-tafriqa bayn al-ilḥād wa al-zandaqa* on the necessity of putting to death Sufis who claimed to be free of religious duties on account of a special relationship they supposedly had with God. Conformity with *Sharī*$^{c}$*a* and religious prescriptions were perennial problems for Sufism, and this became manifest during a number of cataclysmic events, the earliest of which was the execution of Manṣūr al-Hallāj (d. 309/922). Even mainstream Sufis like Khwāfī and his disciples at times found themselves in a defensive position against the legalistic $^{c}$*ulamā*. His *waqf* deed includes, as condition for the instructor (*mudarris*) to be appointed to the convent that he would be a learned and pious scholar who would not deny the spiritual states (*aḥwāl*) of dervishes and would not discourage them in their activities.[22] It is not surprising that Khwāfī, as a masterful trainer of Sufis, started his book with the presentation of a Sufism that is in full conformity with Islamic law

21. Nīshābūrī, "Malfūẓāt-i Aḥrār," 186.

22. Mutlaq, "Waqfnāmai Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr Khwāfī," 197.

and theology, both as a vindication of Sufism's legitimacy and as a reminder to beginning Sufis.

This is immediately followed by Khwāfī's listing of the four most reliable books on Sufism, which were *i*) Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Kalābādhī's (d. 380/990) *Al-Taʿarruf li-Madhhab ahl al-Taṣawwuf*,[23] *ii*) ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī's *Risāla*, *iii*) Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī's *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*, and *iv*) Khwāja ʿAbd Allah al-Anṣārī's *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn*.[24] The rest of the chapter continues with extensive quotations of the sayings of the previous masters of Sufism, from the compilation titled *Manāqib al-Abrār*.[25] These anecdotes all have a common purpose of highlighting how all Sufis practiced and preached a Sufism that adheres to the *Kitāb* and the *Sunna*, and to the pursuit of an ascetic life.

After this long chapter of quotations from the sayings and lives of early Sufis on the conformity of *taṣawwuf* with the Law, Khwāfī includes a short chapter on the later Sufis (*al-mashāyikh al-mu-*

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23. See chapter 2 on him.

24. Khwāfī, "Manhaj (Edited)," 491–92. I discussed before that Khwāfī has produced commentaries on two of these, namely, the *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* and the *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn*. Although these four works stand out from the rest because Khwāfī lists them at the introduction, he evidently draws on a much larger list of references throughout the book which include, in addition to those mentioned above, Abū Naṣr Sarrāj Ṭūṣī's *Kitāb Lumaʿ*, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlī's *Futūḥ al-Ghayb*, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kharaqānī, the utterings of Abū Saʿīd Abū al-Khayr, Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī's *Kitāb al-ʿIlm*, all of which he uses to highlight the idea that all Sufis were in agreement with the Qur'ān and the Sunna.

25. The anecdotes belong to the following long list of Sufis, in the order of their appearance in the book: Junayd, Abū Bakr al-ʿAṭāʾ, Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Bishr Ḥāfī, Sarī al-Saqaṭī, Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī, Abū Yazīd Bisṭāmī, Sahl b. ʿAbdAllah al-Tustarī, Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh al-Rāzī, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād al-Naysābūrī, Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār, Abū ʿUthmān al-Ḥīrī al-Naysābūrī, Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī, Muḥammad b. Faḍl al-Balkhī, Abū Bakr al-Zakkān al-Kabīr, Abū ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān al-Makkī, Abū ʿUbayd al-Busrī, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Abū Saʿīd al-Harrāz, Abū Muḥammad al-Jarīrī, Abū al-ʿAbbās b. Aḥmad ʿAṭā, Abū Bakr al-Warrāq al-Tirmidhī, Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Warrāq al-Naysābūrī, Abū Ḥamza al-Khurāsānī, Abū Bakr al-Shiblī, Abū Bakr al-Dīnawārī, Abū ʿAlī al-Thiqatī, ʿAbd Allah b. Manāzil al-Naysābūrī, Ibrāhīm al-Barqī, Abū Jaʿfar al-Khuldī, Abū ʿAmr b. Nujayd, Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. Khafīf al-Shirāzī, Abū Bakr al-Ṭamastānī, and Abū al-Qāsim al-Naṣrābādī. This chapter of the book is Arabic mixed with Persian as Khwāfī quoted directly the sayings of the Sufis from the *Manāqib al-Abrār*, which must have been in Arabic, and offered his interpretation in Persian. It is worth noting that many of these past Sufis occur in Khwāfī's several spiritual genealogies. Also important is the fact that the most recent person Khwāfī cites here is Zayn al-Dīn Tāyabādī.

*taᵓakhkhirīn*). Here again, the main idea is that later Sufis also were in complete harmony with the Book and the Tradition. Relying on the words of all the major Sufis of the post-Seljuk period, Khwāfī paints a picture in which any deviation from the *Sharīᶜa* is heresy: "Kull ḥaqīqa raddathā sharīᶜa fa-hiya zandaqa."[26] Any Sufi group that does not emulate the Prophet is disowned: "Bīzāram az-ān qāfila kih kārwānsālār-i ān Muḥammad rasūlullāh nīst".[27]

The later masters and authors of Sufism that Khwāfī enumerated here as having never contradicted religious law includes Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī in his *Rashf al-Naṣāᵓiḥ* and *ᶜAwārif al-Maᶜārif*, Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā in his treatises and compilations, Saydī Aḥmad Rufāᶜī in his treatise, Majd al-Dīn al-Baghdādī (d. 607/1210–11) in his *Tuḥfat al-Barara [fī al-Masāil al-ᶜAshara]*, Aḥmad-i Jām in his works, Abū Aḥmad and Khwāja Mawdūn Chishtī in their treatises, Raḍī al-Dīn ᶜAlī Lālā—whose significant place in Khwāfī's lineage I discussed above—Saᶜd al-Dīn Ḥammūyā and his followers, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Malik Daylamī in all his works, and three Maghribī shaykhs: Abū Madyan Maghribī, Abū al-Ḥasan Shādhilī, Abū al-ᶜAbbās Mursī. Curiously, the list ends with Ibn ᶜArabī, who is mentioned by name only once in the book, in the following fashion:

> [...] and shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn al-ᶜArabī also in all of [his] compilations, all of these shaykhs as well as the other shaykhs of the world from Arabs and Persians and Turks and Daylamites—may god sanctify their souls!—all of them advocated conformity to *kitāb* and the *Sunna* and did not approve of opposition to the *Sharīᶜa*. Their books, compilations and treatises all guide to this idea. And that which happens to be contrary to verses and *ḥadīth* in the books of *Fuṣūṣ* and *Futuḥāt* will be explained—God almighty willing—so as to why it is so and how they must be understood.[28]

26. Quoting ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlī, via Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī, Khwāfī, "Manhaj (Edited)," 539. The same phrase is found in al-Taftazānī's treatise on the Unity of Existence; see Saᶜd al-Dīn Taftāzānī, *Risāla fī Waḥdat al-Wujūd* (Istanbul, 1877/8), 33, possibly as an evidence of Khwāfī's dependence on this work.

27. Quoting Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kharaqānī, Khwāfī, "Manhaj (Edited)," 539.

28. Khwāfī, "Manhaj (Edited)," 539.

Here, particularly in the case of Ibn ᶜArabī, one might argue that Khwāfī was simply dissimulating his real views and attempting to present Ibn ᶜArabī, and all of these other Sufis, in a uniform garb of law-abiding and conforming Sufism. He can be seen pragmatically emphasizing the pro-*Sharīᶜa* teachings of these Sufis and omitting certain aspects of their teachings that might, in fact, have put them in conflict with legalistic scholars in their time. However, it would be too simplistic to assume Khwāfī's approach here is as shallow as this.[29]

As I have argued in this study, we can get closer to understanding the Sufis' perspectives here only if we respect their voice and try to see through their lenses and terminology. As my previous examination of his relations has shown, Khwāfī close circle had too many Ibn ᶜArabī followers for us to consider him an implacable enemy of the Andalusian shaykh.[30] Khwāfī was, moreover, in a strong enough position not to be compelled to hide a possible anti-Ibn ᶜArabī stance. As I discussed above, even in Mamlūk lands, where rejection of Ibn ᶜArabī was common among the religious elite, Khwāfī verifiably did not take a hostile stand against him.[31]

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29. Cf. Binbaş, "Regicide Attempt," 33, where the author writes that "[Khwāfī's] rhetoric is so petulant that no other person other than his own followers would escape persecution."

30. As I have demonstrated in this study, his intimate social network included people who were devout followers of Ibn ᶜArabī's thought as well as those who were his staunch critics. The long list of Ibn ᶜArabī devotees among his associates and disciples included such prominent figures as Shams al-Dīn Fanārī, Muḥammad Pārsā, Muḥammad Shirīn Maghribī, and his *khalīfa* Ṣadr al-Dīn Rawāsī. In the *Manhaj*, Khwāfī actually directly quotes a several-pages long section from an unidentified treatise of Pārsā supporting his idea that the people of *tawḥīd* could not proceed to further stations in their spiritual quest because of their failure to properly apply the *Sunnī-Jamāᶜī* devotional discipline. Khwāfī, "Manhaj (Edited)," 558–61.

31. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, majority of the prominent scholars of Egypt, including the outsider Ibn Khaldūn, were opposed to Ibn ᶜArabī, even if they did not denounce him completely. When Khwāfī was a student in Egypt in the last decades of the fourteenth century, Cairo was the scene of intense controversy around the belief of Ibn ᶜArabī. Alexander Knysh, *Ibn ᶜArabi in The Later Islamic Tradition : the making of a polemical image in medieval Islam* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 128–35, 217–20. On Ibn Khaldūn's views on *ittiḥādiyya*, see Knysh, *Ibn ᶜArabi*, 189[[97, and more generally, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibn Khaldūn on Sufism : Remedy for the Questioner in Search of Answers = Shifāᵓ al-sāᵓil li-tahdhīb al-masāᵓil*, trans. Yumna Özer (Cambridge, UK: The Islamic Texts Society, 2017). Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī, *Tabṣīr al-Muntabih*.

The explanation of this stance is found in the next paragraph, where Khwāfī is concerned with the subversive recycling of these teachings, rather than the person, or even the works, of Ibn ᶜArabī:

> However, no shaykh and no scholar has ever said that drinking wine is permitted, and prescribed prayers and fasting are not required. This is the sect (*madhhab*) of heretics (*mulḥidān*) and the licentious (*mubāḥīyān*) and it is contrary to all Muslims. And the origin of their corrupt belief (*madhhab-i bad*) and those that they follow (*muqtadā*), will be explained—god almighty willing—so it becomes known whom this group emulates for scholars and shaykhs are not their models. —And it will also be explained what the cause of concern with the stations of unity (*tawḥīd*), which is the origin of unification (*ittiḥād*), is, and also that, that station which this group derives principles from is neither in conformity to their states, nor representative of the perfection of the great [masters] in the attainment of the highest degrees of unity and gnosis (*ᶜirfān*).[32]

The *Manhaj* goes on to elaborate on the issues of what the *Sunnī-Jamāᶜī* way is, what constitutes *ilḥād*, and how to interpret the controversial positions of the school of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* associated with Ibn ᶜArabī both by its opponents and proponents. A closer examination of the *Manhaj*'s treatment of these subjects must be postponed until later, as it is well beyond the limits of this study. It should suffice here to offer a cursory summary of Khwāfī's views on the proponents of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, whom he calls *Wujūdīyān*, and not necessarily on Ibn ᶜArabī.

Judging solely by this work, Khwāfī's understanding of the doctrine associated with Ibn ᶜArabī and of the latter's works seem to be superficial at best. There is hardly any direct reference to Ibn ᶜArabī's works, and most of Khwāfī's criticism of the *Wujūdiyya* is devoted to Ibn ᶜArabī's absolute monism and the faith of the Pharaoh. In these respects, he seems to be under the influence of the polemical works of the kind written by his compatriot Saᶜd al-Dīn Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390).[33]

32. Khwāfī, "Manhaj (Edited)," 539–40.

33. The term *wujūdiyya* is employed also by Taftāzānī, whose criticism of this doctrine Khwāfī seems to have adopted closely. Similar to Taftāzānī's polemic, Khwāfī is concerned with ontology

Not only Taftāzānī, but others, like Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī (d. 816/1413) and Zayn al-Dīn $^{c}$Irāqī (d. 806/1403), who were among Khwāfī's teachers and influences, were among the fervent critics of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī that may have influenced his view.[34]

However, contrary to Taftāzānī, who squarely declared Ibn $^{c}$Arabī a heretic deserving capital punishment, Khwāfī unambiguously exonerates Ibn $^{c}$Arabī as a *Sharī$^{c}$a*-conforming shaykh, as I mentioned above.[35] In addition, he never plainly associates the *Wujūdī* thought with Ibn $^{c}$Arabī, as most medieval—and, modern—critics of the Andalusian shaykh had done. To the contrary, one gets the impression that he differentiated between Ibn $^{c}$Arabī and the "corrupt belief" stemming from the *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*.[36] Ibn $^{c}$Arabī's opponents, such as, most famously, Taqī al-Dīn b. Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), are seen as responsible for mistakenly identifying the doctrine with the sayings and teachings of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī, a line that was taken up by subsequent critics of the idea.[37] It is difficult to tell how deeply Khwāfī was acquainted with Ibn $^{c}$Arabī's thought and to what extent he owed to the

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and the belief of the Pharaoh. Both of the works rely less on the text of the *Fuṣūṣ* or any other work of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī than on hearsay and oral retelling. Knysh, *Ibn $^{c}$Arabi*, 159–62.

34. Knysh, *Ibn $^{c}$Arabi*, 148, 217.

35. It is difficult to provide an analysis of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī's personal rigor in matters of *Sharī$^{c}$a*, no matter how far-fetched his Qur$^{\supset}$ānic commentary may have been. In the introduction to his translation of the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, Austin points out this, citing a letter Ibn $^{c}$Arabī wrote to the Anatolian Seljukid sultan of his time regarding the need to apply strict *dhimma* laws to the non-Muslim population. Ibn al-$^{c}$Arabī, *The Bezels of Wisdom (Translation of Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam)*, 10. See also Chittick, *Ibn $^{c}$Arabi: Heir to the Prophets*, 111–12, where the author notes that "[Ibn $^{c}$Arabī] frequently tells us that the only safe road in the ocean of in-betweenness is faith in God as set down in the Qur'an and the Sunnah."

36. I should note here that modern scholars emphasize that neither Ibn $^{c}$Arabī, nor his major successor Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī were directly responsible for the doctrine. These two Sufis used the term a couple of times in a non-technical manner. Chittick, *Ibn $^{c}$Arabi: Heir to the Prophets*, 49. The first person to use it as a technical term was Sa$^{c}$īd al-Dīn Farghānī (d. ca. 1300), a disciple of Qunawī, who did not attribute it to Ibn $^{c}$Arabī in addition to using it in a sense different than it later came to be understood. Chittick, *Ibn $^{c}$Arabi: Heir to the Prophets*, 71.

37. Stephen Hirtenstein, "Visions of Plurality in Unity: Said Nursi, Muhyiddin Ibn $^{c}$Arabi, and the Question of the Unity of Being," in *Spiritual Dimensions of Bediuzzaman Said Nursi's Risale-i Nur*, ed. Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi$^{c}$ (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), 299, 305. Judging by the vast corpus of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī's work, one assumes that most of his critics may never have read anything of his writings beyond the shorter *Fuṣūṣ*.

latter's critics in his review of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*.

For the group that he refers to as the *Wujūdīyān*, Khwāfī reserves a sharp rebuke. In his words, these people claimed that existence belongs only to God and him alone. Therefore, no other thing has an existence, which leads to the idea that whatever is observed in this life is nothing but the contemplation of God and has no existence.[38] The problem with such an interpretation is that it essentially dispenses with the certainties of the received Islamic faith:

> The new heretics following the sect of the *Wujūdīyān* also accept that because there is no existence, so too the paradise, hell, the afterlife, reward and punishment do not have any existence, and commanding [the good] and forbidding is a suggestion [i.e. not obligatory].[39]

This type of subversive libertarianism is as far from Khwāfī's view of Sufism as possible. At the beginning of the work, Khwāfī outlines the purpose of humanity as knowing and serving God, using a famous Divine *ḥadīth* Ibn $^{c}$Arabī also made use of: "Kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan fa-aḥbabtu an u$^{c}$rafa fa khalaqtu al-khalq."[40] As I mentioned above, he took pains to emphasize the importance of following (*iqtidā*) the example of the Prophet and adhering to the *qānūn-i $^{c}$ubūdiyyat* so as to avoid the path of innovation.[41]

The important thing here is that Khwāfī does not assume the garb of the *muftī* (jurisconsult) and discuss legal ramifications; rather, he is concerned primarily with preserving the purity of the

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38. "And the existence (*wujūd*) of God (*Ḥaqq*) Almighty and the existence of the creation (*khalq*) are one and united. The occurrence of the archetypal beings (*a$^{c}$yān-i thābita*) are only in the knowledge of God, who only has existence." Khwāfī, "Manhaj (Edited)," 556.

39. Khwāfī, "Manhaj (Edited)," 557, 578.

40. Khwāfī, "Manhaj (Edited)," 477. The *ḥadīth qudsī* can be translated as "I was a hidden treasure; I desired to be known so I created the creation." This phrase appears as early as Khwāja Anṣārī's (d. 1089) *Ṭabaqāt*. Armin Eschraghi, "'I Was a Hidden Treasure': Some Notes on a Commentary Ascribed to Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī: Sharḥ ḥadīth: 'Kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan'.," in *Islamic Thought in the Middle Ages: Studies in Text, Transmission and Translation in Honour of Hans Daiber* (Brill, 2008), 92.

41. Khwāfī, "Manhaj (Edited)," 482.

Sufi path as he understood it. In several places in the book, he offers advice to readers concerning the heresy of the old and the new, including the *Wujūdīyān*:

> Advice and request are, that, do not socialize with the old and new heretics, do not listen to their confounded words, avoid all innovators (*mubtadiᶜān*) and the corrupt of the faith (*bad-madhhabān*). […] One must stay away from listening to their words—which is forbidden (*ḥarām*)—and must have firm conviction that that sect is erroneous.[42]

As for specific advice on the works of Ibn ᶜArabī, Khwāfī wrote comments that, at first, strike the reader as contradictory to his earlier endorsement of Ibn ᶜArabī:

> [One] should not believe in the [idea of] *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* as understood from the book [sic.] of *Futūḥāt* and *Fuṣūṣ*. And the faith of the Pharaoh […] is not trustworthy. And any interpretation that is not in agreement with the verses of the Qurʾān, [one] should know [as] wrong. And should consider this advice as solely out of Islamic compassion.[43]

42. Khwāfī, "Manhaj (Edited)," 558, 578.

43. Khwāfī, "Manhaj (Edited)," 579. The belief of the Pharaoh, as discussed in relation to the "word" of Noah in the *Fuṣūṣ*, was one of the most controversial and un-orthodox claims of the book. Austen writes that "Certainly from the standpoint of exoteric theology, Ibn ᶜArabī's approach to the qu'ranic material in this chapter is, at best, reckless, and, at worst, flagrantly heretical." Ibn al-ᶜArabī, *The Bezels of Wisdom (Translation of Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam)*, 71. It does not come as surprise that Khwāfī did not accept Ibn ᶜArabī's interpretation that Pharaoh's faith in his dying moments was honest. As I said above, we are not sure how detailed a reading of Ibn ᶜArabī's works Khwāfī performed. It must be asked, however, how much it mattered, as his main target was these groups who circulated a certain kind of knowledge, rightfully or wrongfully associated with Ibn ᶜArabī. At the heart of this issue lies the question of orality vs. literacy. This very crucial issue must be dealt with elsewhere. My perspective of the importance of traditional teaching circles and oral transmission in the classical Islamic context, see Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "Oral Transmission and the Book in Islamic Education," in *The book in the Islamic world : the written word and communication in the Middle East*, ed. George N. Atiyeh (Albany : Washington, D.C.: State University of New York Press ; Library of Congress, 1995); Algar, "The Naqshbandī Order: A Preliminary Survey of Its History and Significance."

## 9.3 How to make sense of Khwāfī's perspective on the *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*?

Interpreting Khwāfī's thinking is not difficult if one insists on asking questions of the text, and of parallel texts. Khwāfī's view of Ibn ᶜArabī differentiates between Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ᶜArabī himself and the mystical communities Khwāfī observed that claimed to draw upon the teachings of Ibn ᶜArabī. The blurring of the boundaries of the established religious epistemology of the period was alarming for most Sufis and scholars, as it was considered to mislead the "uneducated" masses and destabilize the social fabric. As for Ibn ᶜArabī himself, who was a respectable shaykh, his observations on the *tawḥīd* reflect only the beginning of spiritual experience.

At the risk of stretching the analogy, I would like to point out that this attitude of affirming Ibn ᶜArabī, though not without criticism, was embraced by the majority of *Sharīᶜa*-minded Sufis of the later period. One famous examle is a Naqshbandī shaykh of the late-sixteenth century, namely, Aḥmad al-Fāruqī al-Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624).[44] In an even later period, an excellent commentary on this issue was advanced by the twentieth century Sufi-scholar Said Nursi (d. 1960), who respected Ibn ᶜArabī enough to defend him against the attacks of Mustafa Sabri Efendi, the last *Shaykh al-Islām* of the Ottoman Empire. He furthermore declared Ibn ᶜArabī to be a miracle of Islamic scholarship and considered him the possessor of extraordinary spiritual might. Yet for all his prowess and uprightness, in Nursi's view, some of Ibn ᶜArabī's interpretations are hyperbolic, while his reflections on *tawḥīd* (Unity) are representative of a level of spiritual development that was inferior to unconditional belief in the unseen,[45] and, despite his recognition of Ibn ᶜArabī's conformity with the *Sharīᶜa* and his intellectual prowess, Nursi is forced to dispute the former's opinion on the Unity of

44. Hirtenstein, "Visions of Plurality in Unity: Said Nursi, Muhyiddin Ibn ᶜArabi, and the Question of the Unity of Being," 299–305. Embracing the person and, perhaps, the cult of a Sufi not without severe criticism at him was not uncommon. For a Sufi who deeply loved and respected al-Ghazālī at the same time as "vehemently lambasting" him, see Eric Ormsby, "The Poor Man's Prophecy: Al-Ghazālī on Dreams," in *Dreaming Across Boundaries: The Interpretation of Dreams in Islamic Lands*, ed. Louise Marlow (Cambridge: Ilex Foundation, 2008), 142–43.

45. Said Nursi, *Lem'alar* (İzmir: Şahdamar, 2008), 415.

Existence.[46] The following short quotation represents the gist of his thinking:

> Yes, Muḥyī al-Dīn [Ibn $^{c}$Arabī] himself is a guide and is accepted. However, he cannot be a spiritual guide (*mühdî*) and director (*mürşid*) in his every book. Because he treads unevenly in the truth, he opposes the rules of Sunnism. And although some of his words imply delusion (*dalâlet*) on the surface, himself is clear of delusion. Sometimes a word would appear to be unbelief (*küfür*) but its owner would not be an unbeliever (*kâfir*).[47]

Nursi's perspective on the teachings of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī can be said to represent that of a large number of Sufis, who respected the shaykh, yet found some of his works potentially dangerous to the novice and the untrained.[48] The one major element missing in this view of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī is the concern with *ibāḥa*, that is, a disregard, or sometimes the total rejection, of the *Sharī$^{c}$a*. This seems to have been peculiar to the Tīmūrid age, as Khwāfī's disciple Maqdisī also wrote a long work on "heretic" sects, including the *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* as a potentially disruptive ideology.[49]

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46. In Nursi's words, "[t]o teach this issue of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* to today's people would cause grave harm. Just like allegories and similes, when taken from the elite's [minds] to those of the ignorant, are considered to be the reality, so too such lofty truths as the issue of the Unity of Existence would cause [harm] if passed on to heedless people and commoners who are immersed in the material world." Nursi, *Lem'alar*, 415. This resembles strikingly to an anecdote Titus Burckhardt includes in his "Preface" to the translation of *Fuṣūṣ*, in which a Maghribī Sufi asks him not to read the book, neither as a beginner for it might confuse him, nor as an adept, for he would no longer need it. Ibn al-$^{c}$Arabī, *The Bezels of Wisdom (Translation of Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam)*, xv.

47. Nursi, *Lem'alar*, 417.

48. Even when he refutes Ibn $^{c}$Arabī, Nursi still uses reverent forms of address for him.

49. al-Maqdisī, *Kashf*; Tek, *Kudsî*. I will not be able to discuss this kind of a relationship with the work of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī and with its intellectual recycling in the period. As I tried to point out in the previous chapter, Maqdisī wrote on "heretical" groups in his time and included "wujūdiyya" among the sects of "disbelief." Yet Maqdisī stopped short of declaring Ibn $^{c}$Arabī a *mulhid*; on the contrary, he studied Ibn $^{c}$Arabī's work when he was the shaykh of Qunawī's *zāwiya* and was on remarkably close terms with Fanārī, one of the most famous Anatolian proponents of Ibn $^{c}$Arabī's philosophy. See Çalış, "Akbarī Hermeneutics"; Repp, *The Müfti of Istanbul*; Ibn Ḥajar al-$^{c}$Asqalānī, *Inbā$^{\supset}$ al-Ghumr*. Notably, Maqdisī's condemnation of people like Badr al-Dīn and Akhlāṭī was severe, but he associated these people with various forms of disbelief. See al-Maqdisī, *Kashf*.

Figure 8.1: Zaynī headstone dated 18 Shawwal 892/October 7, 1487 in the Zaynī Graveyard in Bursa.

# CHAPTER 10

# CONCLUSION

This examination of the life and work of Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī remains partial; nevertheless, it furnishes a profile of a Sufi master, one who traversed not only continents but also mental territories, and appealed to the tastes both of the scholastically and the mystically inclined. Just as he built a mystical settlement in Herat, his writings and disciples carried his thought far and wide to found a transregional community, which would come to be called "Zayniyya." Khwāfī's measured view on controversial subjects, including the teachings of Ibn ᶜArabī, and his rigorous Sufi practice allowed his path to gain disciples and devotees from a variety of backgrounds, in places like Damascus, Cairo, and Bursa, many of whom were themselves remarkable men of learning and religiosity.

Despite the limited amount of information on Khwāfī, the findings of this study on him supply an outline of an extremely important figure who was active at a time when Sufis began to identify themselves based on their affiliations with communities rooted in their eponyms. The historical conditions of the emergence and spread of Sufi communities (*ṭarīqa*) in this century, as well as in the larger later middle period of Islam, is a less understood part of the history of Sufism. There are few studies on institutionalizing trends involving the transformation of circles of individual shaykhs into transregional communities such as Zayniyya. Khwāfī's case is not only useful in this regard, but is unique for his time, in that he himself seems to have laid down the foundations of his *ṭarīqa*. Despite its brief and limited nature, this cursory examination of Khwāfī reveals how large the gap in our knowledge of the time is.

The case of Khwāfī is interesting also because of the political climate of the period. He lived most of his life close to Shāhrūkh's capital and traveled the major cities of Islamdom at a time of conflict and uncertainty, when the region was at the threshold of major political transformations that ushered in a new era in the history of Muslim peoples. The social and political circumstances of his time are reflected in all aspects of his persona, from his attitudes to spiritual trends to those regarding the political status quo. He was a "son of his time," anxious about divergent pieties, the "destructive"

tendencies in Sufism, and about preserving the social order. He believed in a harmony between the *sharī$^{c}$a*-minded Sufism and the *sharī$^{c}$a*-protecting kingship. His Suhrawardī-inherited attitude allowed his path to develop strong ties with the political and urban elite of his time. Khwāfī and his disciples stood firm against what they called "corrupt belief" (*ilḥād*), and saw themselves as responsible for the duty of "the commanding of good and the forbidding of evil," or *al-amr bi al-ma$^{c}$rūf wa al-nahy $^{c}$an al-munkar*. Just as Jāmī's attention to defending mainstream Sufism from digressions caused him to innovate in his *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, Khwāfī's attention to cultivating a *sharī$^{c}$a*-minded Sufism led him to innovate and devote his convent to *sharī$^{c}$a*-abiding dervishes from his own tradition. This illustrates that aspects of the evolution of Sufi communities in this period, such as the rise of *ṭarīqa*-consciousness, may have come about as a consequence of *sharī$^{c}$a*-minded apologetics and a defense of mainstream Sufism against the extremely influential currents of philosophical, hermetic, and esoteric mysticism that exerted a powerful influence over a vast area stretching from Anatolia to Khorasan.

This study has been an exercise in historiography as much as an examination of the intellectual biography of Zayn al-Dīn Khwāfī. This has in part to do with Khwāfī's multi-faceted intellectual persona, the transregional nature of his travels, and ensuing connections. Because he was a scholarly Sufi who visited widely in the Islamic Nile-to-Oxus geography, direct traces of his life can be found scattered throughout a disparate variety of linguistic and political narrative sources of wide provenance, from Turkish-language texts from Anatolia to Arabic biographies written in Mamlūk lands, and from the hagiographical literature produced in Azarbaijan to historical sources of Khorasan.Aside from a modicum of common information, most of our data on his life survive in sources that are uneven in terms of the authors' proximity and access to events, their attention to accuracy and comprehensiveness, and their intended audiences. While an incomplete depiction in one source can easily be amended by reference to complementary information found in another source, this diversity in the form and content of the sources poses unique challenges that are revealing in terms of the attitudes reflected in the works of the period. For example, as has been discussed

above, a possible bias against the Zaynī community might have led writers from the Naqshbandī circles to aggrandize the historical significance of Darwīsh Aḥmad, who apparently had intellectual and personal ties to them, besides being a disciple of Khwāfī. In Ökten's observation, the presenting of Zaynī Sufis as inferior to themselves was a common feature of writings by the members of the otherwise competing Harātī and Samarqandī circles of Naqshbandiyya.[1] I have argued that the particular Naqshbandī interest in this otherwise ordinary disciple Darwīsh Aḥmad is the reason for why he received as much attention as Khwāfī himself in these sources.

Having discussed the issue of the controversial positions among Sufis of the pre-modern period, I would like to point out again the binary, reductionist, and ahistorical tendency to profile medieval Sufis or scholars as either "pro-" or "anti-Ibn ᶜArabī." My examination above demonstrates that the actual picture one finds in sources is more diverse than such an imagined polarity, for these so-called proponents of Ibn ᶜArabī cohabited with his alleged adversaries, the most assiduous practitioners of the science of letters (*ᶜilm al-ḥurūf*) denounced in the fiercest way the "unruly" *Ḥurūfī* community, and people critical of each other still participated in an intellectual exchanges and learned from each other. Most of the Sufis pertinent to this study, and especially Khwāfī, clearly recognized the difference between Ibn ᶜArabī on the one hand and the theologically controversial ideas developing around his teachings and the way religious dissidents adopted them in their intellectual and social protests. Students of this history should not prefer modern sensibilities over loyalty to sources, and moreover should remember that the sources at our disposal are themselves filtered, subjective, and incomplete representations of reality. The historical reality, one which we may never fully apprehend, is sure to have been more fluid and dynamic, not necessarily conforming to our expectations and our tendency to easily categorize.

This preliminary examination of Khwāfī's life and work brings out a picture of a Sufi master who was both the eponym and the founder of his *ṭarīqa*. I said above that this reflected on the part of Khwāfī a strong awareness of the circumstances of organized Sufism and, at the same time, an

1. Ökten, "Jāmī," 109. Author's prejudice is an important problem in prosopographies and biographies of Sufis in general, see also Ökten, "Jāmī," 28–29.

ability to connect with the urban elite of the Sunni Islamdom. This becomes particularly apparent in the case of the Ottoman Empire, whose rulers, aiming to emulate the greater houses of Iran and Egypt, sought to patronize foreign Sufis and their traditions. In all of his endeavors, be they political or spiritual, Khwāfī was helped not only by his strong grounding in the Suhrawardī tradition and his *sharīᶜa*-minded piety, but also by his personal ability to reach out to, and maintain connections with, a variety of intellectual groups. At a time of political instability and cultural fluidity, Khwāfī was able to establish a network that gained the favor of Sunni rulers. He tried to avoid associations with "unruly" dervishes, not as a matter of principle, but as a result of caution and dervish-like common sense. In the pages that follow, I would like to offer some brief conclusions on the salient themes of this dissertation.

## 10.1 Some brief conclusions

**Fluidity of boundaries** One of the first conclusions to be drawn from this work confirms arguments in the recent scholarship on the fluidity of traditions in Sufism. In the period in question, Sufi communities were fairly amorphous, with significant free exchanges occurring between traditions. Suhrawardiyya and Qādiriyya were considered *ṭarīqa*s, and Kubrawiyya was yet to be recognized as an independent tradition, although it is not always clear what contemporary writers exactly meant by the term *ṭarīqa*.[2] In many instances, the words *ṭarīqa* and *ṭarīq*, both meaning "way" in Arabic, simply denoted *taṣawwuf*—also referred to as *ṭarīq al-qawm* and *ṭāʾifa*—an umbrella term encompassing the whole spectrum of Sunni mysticism. Under this umbrella of dervish fraternity, Maqdisī

2. Jamāl al-Dīn Kūrānī, Shabarrīsī's teacher, is referred to as "Suhrawardī by *ṭarīqa*" in a recension of *Rayḥān al-Qulūb* that was apparently produced in the early fifteenth century, while a mid-fifteenth century Egyptian source identified Rawāsī as "Suhrawardī-Qādirī by *ṭarīqa*." On the common misconceptions around the corporate identities of Sufi traditions, see Devin DeWeese, "Spiritual practice and corporate identity in Medieval Sufi communities of Iran, Central Asia, and India: The Khalvatī/ᶜIshqī/Shaṭṭārī continuum," in *Religion and Identity in South Asia and Beyond : Essays in Honor of Patrick Olivelle.* (Anthem Press, 2011), 251–5. See the same article, p. 253, for a reference on the appellation "Zayn al-Dīniyān," apparently intended for the followers of Khwāfī in the fifteenth century.

and Junayd Ṣafawī could come together, and Khwāfī could give his most prized possession as a gift to Pīr Tāj Gīlānī. This ambiguity is reflected in the sources as well, as it is not easy at times to ascertain a figure's dominant affiliation. For example, Khwāfī is identified in the sources as a Suhrawardī, Rifā$^{c}$ī, Ṣafawī, and Tayfūrī.

**Evolution of Sufism** Students of organized Sufism in the fifteenth-century draw attention to a shift toward exclusive fraternities that identified the lineage (*silsilat al-nasab*) that connected them to an eponym as their major marker of differentiation. This soon became the norm with the emergence of canonical works, further reinforcing the idea of "hardened boundaries." There are several arguments in the scholarship on Sufism regarding the rise of lineages to prominence. Some recent studies, including one by Judith Pfeiffer, have pointed to the role of the universal prestige of the Chinggisid lineage in encouraging the use of genealogies to bolster claims of legitimacy in other areas of culture, including religion.[3] Jürgen Paul noted how the hereditary principle was a major form of legitimization in Khorasan, while Shahzad Bashir highlighted the ascendancy of the Prophetic genealogies.[4] In my discussion of the hereditary charismatic authority that was prevalent in Khorasan as opposed to Khwāfī's Sufism, I have tried to show how his legacy turned out to be different from that of his contemporary saints, in that he was succeeded not by his direct descendants Sufism in Khorasan, but by Sufis who identified with his path.

In a number of recent studies, Devin DeWeese has highlighted the increased courtly patronage and popular interest directed towards Sufism in the period as factors contributing to the emergence of well-defined Sufi collectivities.[5] Confirming this view, this study demonstrates the presence of an

3. Judith Pfeiffer, "Confessional ambiguity vs Confessional polarization: Politics and the negotiation of religious boundaries in the Ilkhanate," in *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th-15th Century Tabriz.* Ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Brill, 2014), 159–62.

4. Paul, "The Rise of the Khwajagan-Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order in Timurid Herat," 72–3; Pfeiffer, "Confessional ambiguity vs Confessional polarization: Politics and the negotiation of religious boundaries in the Ilkhanate," 161.

5. See DeWeese, "Intercessory Claims of Ṣūfī Communities during the 14th and 15th Centuries: 'Messianic' Legitimizing Strategies on the Spectrum of Normativity."; DeWeese, "Spiritual prac-

abundantly patronized group of shaykhs and their communities in the city of Herat, with an equally plentiful interest shown by the public, including the townsfolk and the students from abroad who came to city to study. This prosperity led to competition, attracting the best talent and leading to occasional innovation. The quest for legitimization and recognition, which previously involved such claims as hereditary authority and *uwaysī* sainthood, now included *silsila*, which tied each community not only to a spiritual founder, but also to the Prophet Muḥammad himself as the true founder of all legitimacy in Islam.

In the case of Khwāfī, this is all very evident. Copies of his major works and editions mention chains of transmission of the *dhikr*, the *tawba*, and the *khirqa*. This mimics the *ḥadīth* scholarship and reflects the prominent place the science of *taṣawwuf* (Sufism) and its practitioners came to occupy in Islamic learning. Khwāfī was educated in the Mamlūk lands, studying under famous scholars, including Zayn al-Dīn ʿIraqī and Jalāl al-Dīn Khujandī, at which time he must have become acquainted with the likes of Ibn Ḥajar and Mullā Fanārī. As a representative of the Suhrawardī tradition, he was not an innovator of Sufi theory, nor was his method groundbreaking. He established a convent, just as Simnānī had done about a century before, but he felt the need to restrict it to specific lineages, in an attempt to separate his community from the crowd of dervishes in Herat at that time, to ensure that it remained within the mainstream (*jādda-i kubrā*) of Islam. Therefore, it is no coincidence that it was under the rule of a *sharīʿa*-minded patron of Sufism that such an emphasis on the *silsila* emerged.

**From method (*mashrab*) to community (*ṭarīqa*), from hereditary sainthood to *khulafāʾ*** The term *mashrab* occurs frequently in the sources of the period to describe one's mode or style of spirituality, as distinct from, for example, *madhhab*, which denotes a legal school. In sources dating from the fifteenth century, followers of Khwāfī are designated "*Zaynī-mashrab*" or "Zaynī by *mashrab*." I discussed in the previous pages two disciples who self-identified as, respectively, Khwāfī and Zaynī.

tice and corporate identity in Medieval Sufi communities of Iran, Central Asia, and India: The Khalvatī/ʿIshqī/Shaṭṭārī continuum."

*Mashrab*, or, "method" as I translate it, referred to the practical aspects of one's Sufism and in the case of Khwāfī, it included his ideas on dervish-like etiquette (*ādāb-i ṣūfiyya*), prayer and litanies (*awrād*, *adkhār*), and the rules of the path, all of which can be found in the form of his original compositions and commentaries.[6] All of his writings were on "Sufi pedagogy," except for the *Manhaj al-Rashād*, which attempted to describe the pure Sufism, defending it from "external" influences.

The evolution of Zayniyya from a method to a community involved, in addition to the above authorial activity, the foundation of a fully-fledged campus for Khwāfī's disciples, which, according to an end-of-the-century author, thousands of students from all around the world attended. By establishing the convent, Khwāfī ensured that his posterity would live not only among his disciples, as was the practice in Khorasan, but also through his successors (*khalīfa*), who spread the Zaynī model to various regions of Islamdom.

**Foundational *riḥla*** My research also highlighted Khwāfī's travels as a crucial element in the transmission of his method and the spread of his network. This seems to have happened in two major ways. In the first place, Khwāfī was able to broaden his network and sphere of influence through the disciples he initiated, as well as through his *ṣuḥba* (friendship) with the religious elite. Because he was a member of the Tīmūrid religious elite, a recipient of the Prophetic handshake, and a learned Sufi shaykh, his appeal to the scholarly communities must have been considerable. Secondly, his purposefully extended travels and increased fame led him to enter a period of intense authorial activity, as almost all of his writings belong to the period after his second journey to Egypt. His personal connections, as well as the dissemination of his method, brought about the formation of a community around his ideals that stretched from Bursa to Cairo and to Khorasan. More importantly, the development of Khwāfī's network, it appears, took place so fast that his devotees used to

6. Most dictionaries translate the word *mashrab* as taste, inclination, propensity, opinion, habit, and school. In the course of this dissertation, I referred to the word *mashrab* variously as "school," "method," and "style," depending on the context, in an attempt to reflect the nuances in both Arabic and English words. A similar usage is *maslak*, which also occur in the context of Sufis' methods, though not as frequently as *mashrab*.

be known in his lifetime as *Zaynī* or *Zayn al-Dīnīyān*. In all of his travels and connections abroad, Khwāfī's mission was helped by the existing conditions of Islamic universalism and the patronage of Sufism.

***Sharīᶜa*-minded kingship and its consequences for Sufism** I have highlighted several times in this study how Khwāfī appreciated Shāhrukh's attention to *al-amr bi al-maᶜrūf* matters and how the alignment of their interests helped Khwāfī's mission flourish. This was, for better or worse, true for other groups as well, whose vitality depended on the fortunes of the dynasty. To be sure, courtly patronage of Sufism was the rule under the Tīmūrids, and the late fifteenth century was no less bright in terms of the fortunes of Sufi communities in the region. Therefore, the material conditions, and the rise and fall of Sufi groups in Khorasan, and more important, of Zayniyya, cannot be considered without accounting for the decline of the Tīmūrid rule and the occupation of the region by the Safawids that followed. That the later Zayniyya could not adapt to the new rulers and thrived mostly in Ottoman and Mughal lands, that is, in areas outside of their initial influence, must also be understood in terms of the religio-political history of the period and the way these two empires emerged as willing recipients of the legacy of the Sunni Persianate world.

The decline of Zayniyya on its own terms is a matter beyond the scope of this study. This topic obviously requires further effort and should be dealt with separately.[7] This study has attempted to introduce the extremely important history of Zayniyya and its founder, hoping also to raise some pertinent questions about the history of Sufism and Islamic civilization in the later middle period. A lot more is left to be done, and further questions remain to be pursued, although I hope at least to introduce this great figure to modern students of Islamic history and inspire further interest on him. Therefore, I would like to end by recalling what Muslim scholars used to say: "Mā lā yudrak kulluh, lā yutrak kulluh."[8]

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7. To address it, one should begin with the superior appeal of the Naqshbandī Sufism. For some ideas on the ascendency of the Khwājagānī tradition, see Paul, "The Rise of the Khwajagan-Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order in Timurid Herat."

8. Literally, "Something that cannot be attained completely should not be abandoned entirely."

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