Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt

The Wafā' Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn 'Arabī

Richard J. A. McGregor

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To Antoinette, Ginny, Liz, and baby Liz

Contents

Illustrations

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Note on Transliteration

I have not italicized or transliterated Arabic words found in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Arabic words considered technical terms, and perhaps familiar to the non-Arabic reader, have been transliterated rather than written in Arabic script. The Arabic passages I have given in the notes reflect the script simplifications present in the manuscript sources. Because I have tried to avoid editing this material, many *hamazāt* and dots over a *tā' marbūṭa*, for example, have not been provided. The transliteration system adopted is that used by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Dates are given first according to the Muslim lunar calendar, followed by their Common Era equivalent.

Introduction

Today, any visitor to Cairo will certainly notice the huge mosque of Muḥammad ʿAlī, perched above the ramparts of the Citadel on the eastern edge of the city. Not of great historical interest, the visitor might not spend much time at this nineteenth-century mosque before moving farther into the Citadel complex to take in the monuments there—massive defensive walls, towers, mosques, and a palace. Fortifications were started here under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in the sixth/twelfth century, with various rulers and dynasties adding to the complex over the next seven hundred years. Running behind the Citadel are the steep Muqaṭṭam hills, which mark the eastern limit of premodern Cairo. To the north and the south of the Citadel, along the base of the Muqaṭṭam range are the vast cemeteries known as "al-Qarāfa." A modern walking guide describes these parts of the city:

> Each cemetery is a true necropolis, a city of the dead, once organically joined but today severed by the modern highway of Salah Salim; but they are also areas of very lively expressions of life. Surrounding the tombs of sultans and amirs are thousands of family burial plots. Mostly these are courtyards, open and closed, containing cenotaphs and burial rooms. On Thursday evenings and Fridays, and on major feast days, members of the family, particularly women, come to the cemeteries to visit the dead. This has always been considered a pleasurable excursion. Today one can still see peasant carts rumbling through the town, loaded with women in black *milayas*, with blankets, cooking utensils and comestibles, headed for the cemetery. Others will aready be there, seated in groups, picnicking among the grave markers.[1]

Deep into the Southern Cemetery, east of the mausoleum of Imām Shāfiʿī (d. 205/820), with a bit of searching, one finds the shrine-mosque of the Wafā' family. As Cairene monuments go, it is not a remarkable complex. A humble minaret stands on the west side of the entrance to the mosque. Yet upon entering, one is struck by the fact that it contains a good number of graves. It is clear that this eighteenth-century mosque has been built over what was originally a family burial plot. In the center are the graves of Muḥammad Wafā' (d. 765/1363) and his son ʿAlī (d. 807/1405), under marble cenotaphs decorated as a typical medieval Egyptian shrine. These men were revered as saints in their own lifetimes, founded their own sufi order, and contributed to the heritage of Islamic mystical philosophy. In order to explore their contribution, we must travel across the city to the library of al-Azhar University. Here we find manuscript copies of their writings—some existing nowhere else. These writings will be the subject of our study.

The present work, as I hope the title has made clear, is not a survey of the concept of 'sanctity' throughout all of medieval Islamic thought. Beyond noting the essentials of the idea in an introductory fashion, I will restrict our investigation to the writings of Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā', to their direct intellectual influences and their immediate milieu. Briefly, our concern in this book will be to answer as best we can the following questions: How did these mystical thinkers understand sanctity? Upon what ideas from the Islamic tradition did they rely? and What contribution did they in turn make to this tradition? In the course of our exploration, however, the scope at times will appear much wider, taking in related issues from philosophy, theology, and social history.

Before exploring the idea of sainthood itself we must first set out the historical parameters and landmarks of the Islamic mystical tradition, particularly the elements that will be relevant to our study. We begin by noting that the foundational document of the Islamic religion, the Qur'an, provides little explicit treatment of mystical themes. In the later chapters of this study we shall discuss the story of Moses and al-Khaḍir, which is probably the closest the Qur'an comes to treating the concept of 'sainthood'. Another significant passage, but in this instance largely symbolic, is the Parable of the Niche of Light (24:35):

> Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The parable of His Light is as if there were a Niche, and within it a Lamp; the Lamp is enclosed in Glass; the glass as it were a brilliant star: Lit from a blessed Tree, an Olive, neither of the East nor the West, whose Oil is well-nigh Luminous. Though fire scarce touched it: Light upon Light! Allah doth set forth Parables for men: and Allah doth know all things.[2]

The symbol of light will later be picked up by various mystical thinkers, the most prominent being the theologian al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and the philoso-

pher al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl (d. 587/1191).[3] Parables notwithstanding, it would be difficult to find in the Qur'anic text anything approaching a sustained mystical doctrine.[4] Islamic mysticism would instead be forced to seize upon various passages and through creative interpretations use them as vehicles for futher speculation. Specific examples of mystical scriptural exegesis (*tafsīr*) are too many to mention, but one Qur'anic passage—alluding to a night journey by the Prophet—came to play an important role in most later schools of mystical thought. This is the story of the Miʿrāj, an ascent through the seven heavens leading ultimately to contact with God. The scriptural basis for this story is the following:

> Glory to [Allah] Who did take His Servant for a Journey by night from the Sacred Mosque, whose precincts We did bless—in order that We might show him some of Our Signs: for He is the One Who heareth and seeth [all things]. (17:1)

> For indeed he [Muḥammad] saw him [Gabriel] at a second descent, near the Lote-tree, beyond which none may pass: Near it is the Garden of Abode. Behold, the Lote-tree was shrouded (In mystery unspeakable!). [His] sight never swerved, nor did it go wrong! For truly did he see, of the signs of his Lord, the Greatest! (53:13–18)

From this scant account, the hadith literature developed an elaborate tale of Muḥammad being transported from Mecca to Jerusalem, by a mythical beast, and from there led upward through the seven heavens, meeting various prophets along the way. The account usually concludes with Muḥammad's negotiations with God concerning the number of daily prayers encumbant upon his new religious community.[5] The theme of Miʿrāj was later taken up by the mystics al-Basṭāmī (d. 261/875) and Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), who recorded their own Heavenly ascensions.[6] Later, we shall also see that these heavens and prophets reappear in the writings of Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā', though interpreted in a novel way.

The earliest doctrinal developments of the Islamic community—despite the accounts of the hadith literature—are largely beyond historical reconstruction. This is true also for the mystical tradition, the reconstruction of which is only possible from about one hundred years after the Prophet's death. Here, in the shadow of the great pious ascetic and theologian Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), and the early Shīʿī imāms, particularly Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 145/765), various spiritual movements developed. A tradition of ethical self-reflection, with the aim of controlling vanity and pride, developed with the Iraqi moralist al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857).[7] Other essential early thinkers were Abī Yazīd al-Basṭāmī, who seems to have been the first to develop the concept of '*fanā*''

(the mystic soul passing away into God) and the tradition of *shaṭaḥāt* (ecstatic utterances),[8] and Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd (d. 297/909), the representative of a more sober approach to mystical experience and language.[9] A particularly important contribution was made by Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896), who among other things advanced the idea of the Light of the prophet Muḥammad as a universal spiritual reality.[10] This idea had also been touched upon earlier by Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.[11]

Although the essential theological tenets of Islamic belief remained unchallenged, there does appear to have been a distinct shift within the mystical tradition from about the turn of the third/nineth century. A survey of the extant literature of the earlier "classical" era shows a distinct lack of interest in what we would call either "philosophical" or "metaphysical" issues. In contrast, by the seventh/thirteenth century the medieval movement—known then universally as "sufism"—had fully embraced metaphysics.[12] Significant also was a shift in the understanding of the transmission of mystical knowledge. The fifth/eleventh century roughly divides the period of the "training shaykh" from that of the "teaching shaykh."[13] Distinction between these two pedagogical models, while never airtight, is based on the former as a simple transmitter of sufi wisdom, with the latter explicitly functioning as a spiritual guide to the adepts under his direction. This shift signaled a new theoretical dimmension that was to parallel the transformative spiritual exercises meted out to adepts.[14]

The term *sufi* itself, designating a Muslim mystic, appeared in the late second/eighth century in Kūfa, Iraq; but beyond followers who gathered around certain prominent teachers, it is difficult to identify any distinct organizational basis for sufism. The properly sufi institutions known variously as "*tekkes*," "*ribāṭs*," "*khānqāhs*" and "*zāwiyas*," appeared from the turn of the fourth/tenth century throughout most regions of the Islamic world.

An early controversy that was to define the future direction of mainstream sufism took place in the regions of Khurāsān (Central Asia) and Iraq. The issue at hand was how to treat the *nafs* (lower soul). Early ascetic practices had concerned themselves with renunciation, aiming to control the appetites of the lower self, which were understood to hamper one's approach to the divine.[15] One form this self-discipline took was the school of Muḥammad ibn Karrām (d. 255/869), called the "Karrāmiyya." Typically, this was an overt asceticism, which saw renunciation almost as a social ethic.[16] Distinct from this was the position on the *nafs* (lower soul) taken by the Malāmatiyya, a group that held that public diplay of renunciation was itself a pandering to the lower soul's appetite for recognition.[17] Instead, the Malāmatiyya sought to control the *nafs* while out of the public eye, or even by evoking censure. This movement did meet with some success and would reappear in various forms in later centuries.[18] In turn, the ascetics and the Malāmatiyya were opposed by Abū al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. between 295/905 and 300/910). His approach was one that sought

to transcend the lower soul by developing the mystical perspicacity of the believing heart. This "seeing" heart transforms the negative, selfish character of the *nafs* into a positive one, which thus encourages the seeking and fearing of God. This strategy aimed at abandoning the *nafs*, rather than obsessing over its control and humiliation.[19]

We cannot here do justice to all the developments within the mystical tradition, but one set of philosophical concepts must be mentioned. This is the Neoplatonic tradition, which came to be incorporated into the mainstream mystical tradition in the centuries following the death of Ibn Sīnā, its greatest exponent.[20] Although Neoplatonism had always been an essential element of the theology of the Ismāʿīlī Shīʿīs, it had not become central for the early mystics. It was not until the early medieval period that sufism began to express itself using a Neoplatonic vocabulary. This system, first elaborated by the Greco-Egyptian Plotinus (d. 210 A.D.), was rather different from what was to become the Qur'anic worldview in that it described God as a distant Necessary Being, which in contemplating Itself, gives rise to the First Intellect. This emanation continues in stages, producing the heavenly spheres and ultimately the Active Intellect (*al-ʿaql al-faʿʿāl*), which provides the forms for all the material world. From the perspective of the individual here below, the highest goal is to develop one's imaginative faculty to the point where it can reach the Active Intellect directly, thus gaining access to its complete store of intelligible forms. This is how, for example, prophecy and miracles are possible.[21] We shall see later in our study of sainthood that Neoplatonic structures are behind much of what is proposed.

Brief mention must be made here of the most important institutional development in the sufi tradition, that of the *ṭarīqa* (order or brotherhood).[22] From the midsixth/twelfth century orders developed, each being based on the teachings and spiritual authority of an eponymous saintly founder. They were distinct organizations, each with its own devotional rituals (e.g., *dhikr*, *duʿa*), spiritual disciplines (e.g., *khalwa*, *murāqaba*), spiritual lineage (*isnād*), location (*zāwiya*, *khānqāh*, *ribāṭ, tekke*), and mystical literature (poetic, hagiographical, and doctrinal). The exclusive nature of these orders made them different from the earlier forms of association among sufis. A great number have appeared throughout the Islamic world, the most succcessful being derived from ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166) (al-Qādiriyya), ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1167) (al-Suhrawardiyya), Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī (d. 571/1175) (al-Rifāʿiyya), Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 658/1258) (al-Shādhiliyya), and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273) (al-Mawlawiyya). Most orders appearing after the eigth/fourteenth century are branches of one of these original five.

As for the concept of 'sanctity' itself, we may say generally that its vocabulary has a scriptural basis. We find the word *walāya* used in the Qur'an twice. Of a wealthy man, a nonbeliever, who has lost his riches, we read, "The only protection comes from Allah (*al-walāya li-Llāh*), the True One" (18:44). In *Sūrat*

al-Anfāl (8:72) we read, "As to those who believed but came not into exile; You owe no duty of protection (*walāya*) to them until they come into exile." In the first example, *walāya* is divine authority, while in the second it represents the ties of allegiance between believers. As for the term *walī* (one who gives or receives *walāya*), it is mentioned more than one hundred times in the Qur'an, meaning "patron," "protector" (divine or otherwise), "friend," and "ally." The terms *awliyā' Allāh* (10:62), the "friends or saints of God," and their opposite, the *awliyā' al-Shayṭān* (4:76), also appear.[23]

Of course these terms cannot be said to have carried the identical meaning at the time of the Prophet as they would in the medieval or even classical periods. As will be seen below, the concept of sanctity has its own history of development. Nevertheless, the semantic shifts in the history of religious thought should not be seen as complete breaks. Michel Chodkiewicz points out that one must not make a too rigid distinction between Qur'anic sanctity and that of the classical period. He suggests that in addition to the terms *walī* and *walāya* the Qur'an (56:10–11, 88-–89) also uses terms such as *aṣḥāb al-yamīn* (companions of God's right side) and *muqarrabūn* (those close to God) in order to communicate the full range of the concept of sanctity.[24]

It was with the great figures of classical mystical thought, such as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, al-Basṭāmī, and Sahl al-Tustarī that the fundamental notions of sancitity were fleshed out. These developments and elaborations continued throughout the Middle Ages, where they were taken up rather dramatically by Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). In the Shīʿī world, the doctrine of the Imāms can be seen as embodying the essentials of *walāya* as it existed in Sunni circles, or one might understand it at least as serving much the same function. Regardless of how one positions the idea of *walāya* in Shīʿism, it is remarkable how great an impact the writings of Ibn ʿArabī made in those circles. It seems that in Ibn ʿArabī's doctrine of *walāya* both the Shīʿī and Sunnī esoteric traditions were able to find a conception that spoke to them.[25] We shall present a substantial discussion of Ibn ʿArabī in our first chapter.

❊

In the study that follows, the early development of sufism will not be addressed; neither will our focus be the origins of the mystical tradition. It is hoped, however, that a contribution will be made to the history of the religious thought of the Middle Ages.[26] In short, this research explores the development of the concept of 'sainthood', after Ibn ʿArabī (al-Shaykh al-Akbar), and specifically in Egypt. While much has been written on Ibn ʿArabī, little scholarly effort has been put into exploring those who came after him. The Wafā'iyya are important in this post–Ibn ʿArabī world. They were not commentators on the shaykh's works, nor were they popularizers of his thought, instead they took in his teachings, digested them, and turned to work out their own observations and

understandings of the mystical universe. To do this, they employed the language and doctrines taught them by Ibn ʿArabī. The Akbarian corpus was not a passive object of study for Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā', rather, having taken it to heart, they used it as a vehicle for their own mystical speculations on sainthood and other topics including the nature of existence itself.

The first chapter of this study will survey the various doctrines of *walāya* as developed by al-Tirmidhī and Ibn ʿArabī. From this we isolate a number of models, which are used for comparative purposes throughout the rest of the study. Although we also touch briefly on a number of other figures, many avenues of research on this subject remain open. The second chapter turns to the other tradition in which the Wafā'iyya had roots, that of the early Shādhiliyya sufi order. Here we introduce the central figures and attempt to outline a general theory of sanctity. In this section we introduce the unexplored writings of Muḥammad Wafā's teacher Ibn Bākhilā. The third chapter is a historical exploration of the practices and development of this unusual sufi order and the vicissitudes of the Wafā' family in Cairo. The following chapter takes up the writings of Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā'. Since more than twenty-eight titles are attributed to them—with almost all remaining in manuscript form—I have tried to present a basic account of the contents of each. The most important categories of these writings are poetry and mystical treatises. It should be noted that beyond our study of sanctity, these new sources offer an abundance of material for further study. The fifth chapter turns to Muḥammad Wafā's theory of sainthood. In the course of this analysis a number of related topics are addressed, such as the nature of God and existence, the levels of creation, and the spiritual abilities of humanity. In the last chapter we find many of the same themes we encountered with Muḥammad in the fifth chapter. Here ʿAlī Wafā' follows his father in approach and concern, but clearly he has original contributions to make in a number of places. His expansion on the theory of the Seal of Saints, and his dramatic version of the centenarian "Renewer of Religion" make for exciting reading.

This book is thus concerned with the Wafā's and their mystical philosophy—particularly their theory of sanctity. Understanding the significance of Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā' would be impossible without stopping to consider what for them was a central issue. By following them in their intellectual concerns we are not only given a better sense of their worldview, but we are also allowed to dig deepest, as it were, where the ground is most fertile. Although research into other elements of Wafā' thought and practice would certainly yield interesting results, by taking up *walāya* as the central theme of our study it seems fair to claim that we are following the strengths of the authors. From an individual perspective, we shall see that for both Muḥammad and ʿAlī the nature of sainthood had implications for their own identitiy. The father defined himself, at critical moments in both his writings and his public life, through his discourse on sanctity. The son's presentation of his father relied substantially on

this same discourse. Yet not only did ʿAlī argue for his father's sanctity, but his own self-identification became wrapped up in the same issues. We shall see how ʿAlī struggles to find a place for himself behind his father in the pantheon of saints. Beyond this concern with self-identification, an argument for relevance can also be made with regard to this book being focussed on *walāya*. In the chapters below it will become clear that the theory of sanctity serves well as a ground for comparison with other thinkers. Much of the relevance of the Wafā's is to be found in their treatment of what at their time was a central issue in Islamic mystical thought. In order to situate them within their intellectual sufi milieu, we must find points for comparison, and the theory of sanctity serves us well here. Finally, approaching the universe of the Wafā's principally via the concept of sanctity does not exclude other aspects of their thought. This exploration will take us through a variety of mystical themes and issues, all of which are important and worthy of attention. These elements touch on the nature of being and mystical knowing, and form the matrix that anchors the Wafā' theory of sainthood.

Chapter 1

Tirmidhī, Ibn ʿArabī, and Others on Sanctity

Tirmidhī on *Walāya*

The earliest thinker to systematically address the subject of sanctity was al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. cir. 300/910).[1] Of course he was not the only thinker to discuss saints and sainthood; two Iraqi contemporaries, al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899) and Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (d. 281/894), also reflected on the subject.[2] Their work however, did not approach that of Tirmidhī in coherence or sophistication.[3] One eleventh-century writer tells us that there were even earlier books written on sainthood, but that these have been lost.[4] These books may have been simple compilations of sayings by sufi masters on the subject, or thematic collections of *aḥādīth*, or perhaps something more discursive. Since these sources may never be recovered, we might never be fully able to assess the originality of Tirmidhī's contribution to this field. Nevertheless, in his *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā*, (or *Kitāb sīrat al-awliyā*)[5] Tirmidhī presents us with the earliest coherent doctrine of *walāya*. In light of what we do know was being written at the same time on the subject, and even later, this book is truly impressive in its detail and creativity.

Tirmidhī was probably the most prolific writer on mystical topics of his time. Beyond the *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā*, there are a number of works pertaining to *walāya* that await analysis.[6] In spite of his contribution to Islamic mysticism, Tirmidhī has always been somewhat on the periphery of the tradition. Regarding the history of his doctrine of sanctity, it is clear that from the time of his death at the end of the third/nineth century, up into the seventh/thirteenth, there is almost no mention made of it. As we shall see below, however, there were some criticisms of certain sufi doctrines that are described as privileging

sainthood over prophecy. We cannot be completely certain, but in most cases it seems fair to suspect that these are criticisms of Tirmidhī's teaching that the sainthood of the Prophet is in one way superior to his prophecy. We shall discuss this doctrine in some detail below. Historically, Tirmidhī's doctrine of *walāya* (more particularly his theory of the Seal of saints—*khatm al-awliyā'*) finally made its way into currency with the attention given it by Ibn ʿArabī in the midseventh/thirteenth century. It is also of note that al-Shādhilī—who probably had not read Ibn ʿArabī—held *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā* in high regard and read it with his inner circle of followers (see chapter 2).

Another factor in Tirmidhī's relative obscurity was the fact that he was an "Easterner," that is, he was from Tirmidh, south of Samarqand, in present-day Uzbekistan, as opposed to the dominant center of Baghdad. Little is known of the details of his life, including his education. Of particular interest to our subject at hand is the religious milieu of Khurāsān. It seems that Tirmidhī participated in the spiritual debates of his time. By the end of the third/nineth century the asceticism (*zuhd*) that had dominated the early devotional landscape, in Khurāsān and elsewhere, had largely been displaced by the Malāmatiyya movement (established in Nishāpūr by Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār d. 271/884). This movement stressed *malāmat al-nafs*, subjecting the lower-self, or ego, to blame with the intention of diminishing it.[7] Although the debates of the time have left little record of themselves, there do exist letters from Tirmidhī in which he criticizes the Malāmatiyya.[8] In general, he objects to the great attention this group devotes to their *nafs* and accuses them of underestimating the role of faith in spiritual development. Another important school of the time in Nishāpūr was the ascetic-minded Karrāmiyya, established by Muḥammad Ibn Karrām (d. 255/869).[9] Undoubtedly, Tirmidhī would have disapproved of their emphasis on asceticism, but he seems to have made no direct mention of them.

With regard to his theory of *walāya*, Tirmidhī presents a novel understanding of a number of elements. First, he distinguishes between the divine communication to the prophet and that to the saint. The general theological position is that a prophet is inspired by *waḥy* and that a saint is inspired by *ilhām*. Tirmidhī elaborates on this, adding that revelation reaches the prophet as God's *kalām* (speech) and the saints as God's *ḥadīth* (speech).[10]

> The difference between prophethood and [sainthood] is that prophethood consists of speech (*kalām*) which detaches itself from God as revelation (*waḥy*), and it is accompanied by a spirit (*rūḥ*) from God. Revelation comes to an end and God seals it with the spirit and the spirit causes (a prophet) to accept it.[11] Moreover, this must be accepted as true. If anyone were to reject it, he would be an infidel because he would have rejected the word (*kalām*) of God. As for the one possessed of [sainthood]—God is in charge of the speech (*ḥadīth*) (he hears)[12] from the celestial treasure chambers, and God causes it to

> reach him. Thus he receives supernatural speech [*ḥadīth*]. This supernatural speech detaches itself from God [and reaches the saint] by means of a tongue [of truth], and accompanying supernatural speech (*ḥadīth*) is God-inspired peace of mind (*sakīna*)[13] which occurs in the heart of the man drawn to God [*majdhūb*].[14]

So the saints have their own connection to the divine, distinct from that of the prophets. It is also mentioned that the message received by the prophet may not be rejected by the believer. Tirmidhī mentions in a following passage that the speech received by the saint is useful, but its acceptance is not obligatory for the believer. He says that "if anyone rejects it, he is not an infidel. And yet in rejecting it, he will suffer failure and undergo evil consequences, and his heart will be confounded."[15] It is later explained why ignoring the saint who has received *ḥadīth* is a bad idea.

> As for the man who hears [*ḥadīth*], the [*ḥadīth*] he hears is divine support and an increase of awareness with regard to the Holy Law of the messenger (حديثه له تأييد و زيادة بينة في شريعة الرسول). When he [the saint] dispenses that awareness to the servants of God, this is a means and a direction to God which he [the saint] disposes over. Whoever rejects him [the saint] loses his blessing [*baraka*] and his light, for this is a matter of a righteous guide who points the way to God.[16]

Here we see Tirmidhī laying out the distinction between the authority of prophecy and that of sainthood.[17] Both are of divine inspiration, and the lower assists in understanding the Law brought by prophecy, but the authority of sainthood is not binding upon the believing community. This is a significant point, which will be taken up later by Ibn ʿArabī and also the early Shādhiliyya. The epistemology of *walāya* is thus twofold. Mystical knowledge entails not only an understanding of spiritual realities (e.g., experience of the divine, merging of the self with the eternal, etc.), but it also bestows insight into the seemingly more mundane reality of God's Law on earth.[18]

In addition to this distinction between prophecy and *walāya*, Tirmidhī also describes two grades of sainthood. As in the distinction between *walāya* and *nubuwwa*, this difference hinges on modes of communication from the Divine. There are those saints, mentioned above, who receive *ḥadīth*, and there are those who only converse (*yunājūna*) with God. Tirmidhī's unknown interviewer asks, "You have described the difference between the prophet and those who receive *ḥadīth*. What then are the other saints like?" He answers as follows:

> The people of the Way converse (يناجون) [with God], while those who receive *ḥadīth* are thus informed (يحدثون). I explained this *ḥadīth* to

> you earlier. Converstation [with God], on the other hand is a gift (*ʿaṭā'*). The recipient receives utterances (*maqālāt*) in the form of light as if someone were saying this or that to him. But with these utterances are neither . . . the Spirit [by which the prophets are informed], nor the God-inspired peace of mind [found in those who receive *ḥadīth*]. Thus, the recipient experiences doubt and is not sure whether the Enemy (Satan) is in some way associated with it or whether the lower soul, with its deception and cunning wiles, is mingled in it.[19]

Like the greater, this lesser sainthood is of divine origin, but without the God-inspired *sakīna* to accompany it, its bearer is unsure. One who holds the lesser sainthood is informed by "utterances," in contrast to the superior communication, which would have been by *ḥadīth*. This "conversation" with God is not confirmed by the accompanying form of Spirit known as *sakīna*. These lesser saints, because they cannot be sure of their communications, are thus not able to offer the guidance in matters of Law that their superiors can.

The following hierarchy is established. At bottom is the class of monotheists made up of the pious (*ʿubbād*), the ascetics (*zuhhād*),[20] and so on. Then there is the first level of saints, those whose dialogue with God is left unconfirmed either by *sakīna* or by the divine Spirit. This is followed by the higher saints, whose *ḥadīth* is confirmed; and finally there is the level of the prophets/messengers, whose *kalām* is confirmed by the Spirit. Tirmidhī, in his description of this hierarchy, also presents a cumulative relationship between the levels. In other words, the powers of the lower levels are included in those of the higher. "The *muḥaddath* receives *ḥadīth*, and *firāsa* (clairvoyance), and *ilhām* (inspiration) and truthfulness. The prophet has all this as well as prophethood, and in turn the messenger has all this and messengerhood. The others from among the saints (i.e. those of *najwa* and the *maqālāt*) have only *firāsa*, *ilhām*, and truthfulness."[21] Thus, although the mode of divine communication at each of the three levels is distinct—at least in name—each one leads to its superior, with the highest level encompassing the two lower. It is interesting to note the phenomenological element here in Tirmidhī's epistemology. An essential element of higher communication with God is the accompanying Spirit: the *rūḥ* for the prophets and the *sakīna* for the higher saints. This Spirit is so important that without either form of it, even though one may be receiving divine communication, one is not qualified to interpret the Law or to guide souls.

The picture becomes less clear, however, when we introduce another of Tirmidhī's novel ideas. This is his second typology of saints. Although we noted above his distinction between those saints who receive *sakīna* and those who do not, this typology is quite distinct. In this scheme the superior saint is called the "true saint of God" (ولي الله حقًا), and the inferior is the "saint of what

is due to God" (ولي حق الله).[22] The latter is presented as a holy man who controls his lower self by a discipline of piety and correct behavior. Through these efforts he puts himself in a position to receive the mercy of God (*raḥma*), which will raise him to a place near God. In contrast, the "true saint of God" is raised to the divine presence by God's generosity (*jūd*). We read,

> For the first of them [*walāya*] comes forth through divine compassion (*raḥma*), and God takes it upon Himself to transport him in one instant from the House of Grandeur to the place of divine proximity [*maqām al-qurba*]. For the second of them [*walāya*] comes forth through divine generosity (*jūd*), and God takes it upon Himself to transport him in a single instant from the place of divine proximity through one realm after another to the Possessor of sovereignty.[23]

This model of the levels of sainthood follows the system of cumulative *walāya* described earlier. Here, the superior figure has mastered the level reached by the lesser[24] (i.e., reaching the *maqām al-qurba*), but for him this is only the first step. His final stage is reached once divine generosity has taken him to the next level. In this model, against the ascetics and Malāmatiyya, we see Tirmidhī again prioritizing divine election over individual effort. That is to say, spiritual discipline is only a first step in the ascent to God.

Another important element in Tirmidhī's theory of sanctity is the assembly (*dīwān*) of saints. He is certainly not the first to describe this assembly, since versions of it are mentioned in the hadith literature. One tradition, known as the "hadith of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Masʿud" describes the assembly of 356 saints: 300 are "on the heart of" Adam, 40 on that of Moses (or Noah), 7 on Abraham, 5 (or 4) on the angel Gabriel, 3 on Michael, and 1 on the heart of Isrāfīl, the angel of resurrection. When one of them dies, one below takes his place. The single one is commonly called "*qutb*" (pole) or "*ghawth*" (rescue), with the *abdāl* (replacements) (either 40 or 7) and *siḍḍīqūn* (sincere) referring either to a class or to saints in general.[25] The idea of an assembly of 40 saints certainly predates Islam. Goldziher points to the 40 martyrs of Sebastian as a precedent.[26] The Qur'an mentions the number 40 for the most part in relation to Moses.[27]

This assembly, according to Tirmidhī and later Muslim thinkers, plays an important role in the preservation of life here on earth. In one passage he says, "These forty are the guarantee of protection for the (Muslim) community. Through them the earth exists and through them the people pray for rain. When they die, the community will suffer what it has been threatened with."[28] So the assembly of saints seems to play an intercessory role for the community. Elsewhere, Tirmidhī describes the end of the rule of the assembly of forty and the subsequent rise of the Seal of saints.

> Then when God took his Prophet unto Him, He caused forty strictly faithful men (*siḍḍīqūn*) to emerge in His community. Through them the earth exists, and they are the people of His house and His family. Whenever one of them dies, another follows after him and occupies his position, and so it will continue until their number is exhausted and the time comes for the world to end. Then God will send a [saint] whom He has chosen and elected... and He will bestow on him everything he has bestowed upon the [other saints] but He will distinguish him with the Seal [of Sainthood] with God (*khātim al-walāya*). And he will be God's proof (*ḥujjat Allāh*) against all other [saints] on the Day of Judgement. By means of this Seal he will possess the sincerity of [sainthood] with God, the same way that Muḥammad possessed the sincerity of prophethood.[29]

Here we have first a restatement of the dependence of the world upon the forty. The existence of the community seems to be tied to prophetic revelation and saintly inspiration. The time Muḥammad was on earth has ended—and thus so has prophetic revelation; the community is then sustained for a period by the forty. Tirmidhī does not elaborate on these forty, rather his primary concern seems to be their Seal. This figure, at the end of the above passage, has his role explicitly compared to that of Muḥammad, the Seal of the prophets. With this figure Tirmidhī provides us with a third level of saint. Not only is this Seal of sainthood superior, but he also has an apocalyptic function. We are told that when these forty die, the community will "suffer what it has been threatened with," that is, divine judgment and retribution—judgment day. The Seal will appear at the end of time.

The spiritual authority of this Seal is based first on his passing through God's attributes and reaching the divine essence. Tirmidhī says,

> [In the realm of each divine name] there is an assembly of intimate converse (*najwā*) and gifts of honour for the people of that realm. And there God has made stations for the hearts of His chosen few. They are the ones who go forward from the place [of divine proximity] to God's realm. Many [a saint] has his station in God's first realm . . . and many [have] advanced to a station in the second, third or fourth realm of God. And whenever [one] advances to another realm, the name of that realm is bestowed on him until he is such that he has advanced through all these realms to the realm of Unicity and Singleness (*mulk al-waḥdāniyya al-fardiyya*) . . . He is the chief [*sayyid*] of the [saints of God] and he possesses the seal of [sainthood] from his Lord . . . He has reached God's interior [*bāṭin*].[30]

Thus, the Seal has access to the most intimate contact with God. Tirmidhī then raises the question of the relationship between this sainthood and prophethood. In describing the Seal he says, "He is very close [in rank] to the prophets, in fact he has almost attained their status"[31] and describes him as drawing on the treasure chambers of the prophets. Tirmidhī concludes, "Indeed, the covering has been removed for him from the stations of the prophets, and from their ranks, and from their gifts and their rare presents." Elaborating on this relationship between the Seal and prophethood, Tirmidhī describes the levels of participation in *nubuwwa* accorded to the various levels of *walāya*. He writes, "[T]here are ranks amongst those drawn to God (*majdhūbūn*) and those who hear (*ḥadīth*). Some of them have been given one-third of prophethood, while others have been given half, and others still have been given more. But the most highly endowed in this respect is the one who possesses the Seal of (Sainthood)."[32] Thus, we see that the boundary between the greatest saint and the realm of prophecy is rather flexible. This final saint, although he does not function as a prophet, in some way can access prophethood.

It is also striking to note the parallels Tirmidhī draws between the Seal and the prophet Muḥammad. He describes the Prophet thus:

> The first thing God thought was the thought of Muḥammad . . . Then he was the first, on the [Well-guarded] Tablet (*lawḥ*). Then he was the first in the covenant with God (*mīthāq*) . . . He will be the first to whom God speaks (*khiṭāb*). He will be the first to go before God (*wifāda*) and the first to practice intercession (*shafāʿa*).[33]

Later on, Tirmidhī describes the Seal of saints:

> This [saint, the Seal,] was what God thought of first in the primal beginning . . . Then he was the first on the [Well-guarded] Tablet, then the first in the Covenant (*mīthāq*). And then he will be the first on the Day of Congregation [of the dead] (*yawm al-maḥshar*), then he will be the first whom God will address (*khiṭāb*), then the first to go before God (*wifāda*), then the first to undertake intercession (*shafāʿa*).[34]

Further, in an earlier passage, Tirmidhī mentions that the Seal's position among the saints is like that of Muḥammad among the prophets.

This model of *walāya* is rather simple. Just as there were prophets before Muḥammad, there are saints before the Seal; and just as Muḥammad was the completion of the era of prophecy, the Seal of saints is the completion of the age of sanctity. Although the Qur'an distinguishes between the prophets (17:55), it praises those who make no distinctions between them (2:136). However, the

Qur'an does mention Muḥammad specifically as the *khātam al-nabiyīn* (33:40), a title that was taken up by hadith scholars in an effort to portray Muḥammad as the superior, rather than simply the final, prophet.[35] Regarding Tirmidhī's doctrine of the Seal of sainthood, it is clear that it reflects the ideas of both final and superior. Our discussions above have shown that the Seal of saints is both last of the saints and also best. In Ibn ʿArabī's model of *walāya*, as will be seen below, there must be more than one Seal of *walāya* since there is more than one kind of *walāya*. Ibn ʿArabī will also elaborate greatly on the cumulative relationship mentioned by Tirmidhī in his description of the prophet having his prophecy in addition to all that the saint has.

Sahl Tustarī on *Walāya*

An important contemporary of Tirmidhī's was Sahl Tustarī (d. 283/896). Although he did not influence the understanding of *walāya* to the degree Tirmidhī did, and as we shall see he was probably not read by the Shādhiliyya or the Wafā'iyya, he did have some interesting things to say about sanctity.

As Tirmidhī has noted, *walāya* endows its holder with a unique understanding of the Law—but this understanding is not authoritative. In a similar vein Tustarī claims that the mystical understanding of the Qur'an granted to the saints provides guidance to the community in both the exoteric and esoteric aspects of scripture.[36] He also describes the categories of saints in the *dīwān*. He claims to have met the one thousand five hundred sincere ones (*ṣiddīqūn*), and among them the forty substitutes (*budalā'*) and the seven pegs (*awtād*). These classes will become very elaborate three and a half centuries later with Ibn ʿArabī.

In a novel discussion, Tustarī draws on the various forms of the root *WLY* to describe the relationship between saints and the prophet Muḥammad. He writes,

> The *walāyat Allāh* (friendship with God) is the election (*ikhtiyār*) of one of whom He takes possession of (*istawlāhu*). The *walāyat al-rasūl* (friendship with the prophet) is God's notification of the Prophet that he is the *walī al-mu'minīn* (friend of the faithful). Thus the Prophet is bound to be a friend (*yuwālā*) of one whose friend is God (*man walā Allāh*).[37]

Beyond this, Tustarī distinguishes between the *himma* (spiritual aspiration)[38] of the prophet and that of the saint. It is by this *himma*, which is clothed in lights, that the prophets reach the throne of God. In the case of the saints, their *himma* is clothed in robes of confirmation (*ta'yīd*), and they may only approach the divine presence thanks to permit passes they have been given.[39]

In what is certainly his greatest contribution to mystical thought, Tustarī elaborated on the idea of the Muḥammadan Light as the first of God's creation.[40] The gnostic echoes are clear, yet this concept for later thinkers gave rise to the all-encompassing notion of the Muḥammadan Reality. For Tustarī, this Muḥammadan Light, in preexistence, is the source of the prophets and the elite mystics (the *murādūn* versus the *murīdīn*). In preexistence they are derived from Muḥammad, which explains their latent spiritual abilities when they are in creation.[41]

Lesser Treatments of *Walāya*

Although Tirmidhī's work on *walāya* presented a more or less coherent theory, and Tustarī had reflected seriously on the subject, most other early sufi thinkers seem to broach the topic only in passing.[42] They did not produce a theory of *walāya* per se. This fact should not surprise us since a quick look at almost any of the sufi literature of the classical period will show that sanctity itself is not a separate mystical theme or issue for discussion. Of course all mystical thought itself is predicated on some kind of sanctity; virtually all reflection on spiritual realities or spiritual discipline assumes a rapprochement with the divine. It may be said that whenever God is approached, sanctity becomes an issue. Nevertheless, discussions of the details of a theory of *walāya* were not common. One interesting example is that of the Persian writer ʿAlī ibn ʿUthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī (d. 464/1071). In a wide-ranging survey of sufis and sufi doctrine, he says of Tirmidhī that "he was one of the religious leaders of his time and the author of many works on every branch of exoteric and esoteric science. His doctrine was based on saintship (*walāya*), and he used to explain the true nature of saintship and the degrees of saints and the observance of the proper arrangement of their ranks."[43] Despite this promising introduction, Hujwīrī's account of Tirmidhī avoids any mention of the Seal of saints.[44] This omission, in light of the high esteem in which Hujwīrī holds Tirmidhī, must have been the result of self-consorship.

Although a coherent doctrine of *walāya* was rare among sufi masters before the seventh/thirteenth century, by the very nature of their spiritual concerns they all had something to say on the matter. Simple descriptions of the saints as God's elect were common. One early writer of mystical exegesis was Ibn ʿAṭā' (d. 309/921). He interprets *Sūrat al-Mulk* (Q. 67:5) "We have adorned the lower heaven with lamps" as meaning "We have adorned the hearts of the saints with lights of gnosis (*maʿrifa*)."[45] A simplified presentation of *walāya* is found in al-Kalābādhī's well-known sufi manual *Kitāb al-taʿarruf*. Here he describes two quite rudimentary levels of sainthood,

> The first is merely a departure from enmity, and in this sense is general to all believers; . . . it is only to be regarded in a general sense, as in the phrase "The believer is the friend (*walī*) of God." The second is a sainthood of peculiar election and choice . . . When a man possesses this, he is preserved from regarding himself, and therefore he does not fall into conceit;. . . He is saved from the faults inherent in human nature, although the stamp of humanity remains in him. . . Nevertheless, he will not be divinely preserved from committing lesser or greater sins [versus a prophet]: but . . . repentance will be close at hand to him.[46]

Although al-Kalābādhī wrote some one hundred years after Tirmidhī, it seems he never elaborated seriously on the nature of sainthood.

Another significant figure in the history of sufi theory is al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1073). His *Risāla* is probably the most widely cited work among subsequent thinkers. Yet, here too we find an absence of teaching directly on *walāya*. Although he provides a short chapter on *walāya* in his *Risāla*, he does not seem to add much to our understanding. In one passage he compares the passive to the active nature of *walāya*. He tells us, "The word "saint" has two meanings: in its passive sense it means he whom God takes care of (*yatawalla*) . . . and in its active sense it is he who takes care of God's worship and piety."[47] Further along, a discussion is provided of the saint being protected (*maḥfūẓ*) from grave sins, as distinct from the prophet being infallible (*maʿṣūm*). Turning to another important thinker, the Persian sufi Rūzbihān Baqlī (d. 606/1209), it should be noted that he had a significant impact on Ibn ʿArabī and other mystical theorizers. However, his own writings were much more concerned with accounts of his dramatic spiritual life than systematic expositions on the theory of *walāya*.[48]

It is interesting to note that Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), in his *Kimiyā-i saʿādat* describes the divine knowledge available to both saints and prophets; this is *ʿilm ladunī* (knowledge from God's presence). Although Ghazālī does not elaborate on *walāya* per se, it seems this kind of knowledge would be key in any understanding of sanctity. He also mentions that the common people may partially access this knowledge from God's presence through their dreams.[49] This is not such a novel idea, however, since in the hadith literature dreams had been described as part of prophecy. Abū ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Hanbal both report the following: "Anas ibn Mālik related: The messenger of Allāh said: Mission (*risāla*) and prophecy have come to an end and there will be no messenger or prophet after me. (Mālik) said: This fell hard upon the people. (The Prophet) said: But the *mubashshirāt* (remain). They said: Oh messenger of Allāh, what are the *mubashshirāt* ? He said: The dream of the Muslim. It is a part of prophecy."[50] Al-Bukhārī also mentions that "the dream of the believer is one of 46 parts of prophecy" (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, Aḥkām, 4).

One recurring issue among sufi theorists was that of the question of the superiority of the prophet over the saint. In his *Kitāb al-kashf wa al-bayān*, al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899) attacks some unnamed sufis for having placed the saints above the Prophet. He asserts instead that *walāya* existed before *nubuwwa* (prophecy), and that *nubuwwa* simply confers an additional superiority.[51] This criticism is echoed a century later by al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988). He warns against those unnamed sufis who would situate *walāya* over *nubuwwa*.[52] There were a few early figures who were considered to have held this position, but conclusive documentation is lacking. Two in particular were al-Dārānī (d. 215/830) and Ibn Abī al-Ḥawārī (d. 246/860).[53] It is not clear at this point how we are to understand this accusation. The accusors, al-Kharrāz and al-Sarrāj, seem to be referring to an established doctrine. The only substantive exposition of a *walāya* that might be seen to rival prophecy would be that of Tirmidhī. Elements, noted above, such as his claim that the Seal of saints receives a substantial portion of prophecy may have been enough to draw these accusations. We have also noted that Hujwīrī omitted the Seal of saints in his account of Tirmidhī's teaching. However, the target is not necessarily Tirmidhī, since Hujwīrī says, "Certain Shaykhs formerly composed books on this subject, but they became rare and soon disappeared."[54] Perhaps an expressed priority of *walāya* over *nubuwwa* had been made by earlier mystics.[55] In a recent work G. Elmore has suggested that this issue was the *cause célèbre* in debates of the tenth century. He sees the crucifixion of the extatic mystic al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922) as marking the final victory for the tenet of the superiority of the prophet. The centrality Elmore proposes for this issue is intriguing, but the fact that he presents his analysis as grounds for understanding Ibn ʿArabī's doctrine of the Seal of saints must make us wonder if things are actually this neat and tidy. The possibility must be held out, I believe, that this was not a doctrine actually held by anyone. It would not be the first case of phantom opponents in the history of Islamic thought (e.g., the Ḥashwiyya, the Ḥulūliyya).[56] This issue requires further research, including a close rereading of the relevant ninth- and tenth-century texts. Because our discussion here does not address this question, we shall leave this task to others.

Walāya and Shīʿism

The Shīʿī worldview has always hung on an understanding of *walāya* particular to it. Whatever the form taken, Ithnā ʿAsharī (Twelver) or Ismāʿīlī, a central tenet of Shīʿism was recognition of the transfer of religious authority (*walāya*) from the prophet Muḥammad to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 41/661). This included both temporal authority, as leader of the community, and spiritual authority. Recognition of the Shīʿī Imāms, who one after another took up this *walāya*, came to be a central tenet in the Shīʿī doctrine of salvation.

> [A]ccording to standard Shīʿī doctrine, its major dogma insists that only the transfer of *wilāya* from Muḥammad to ʿAlī and subsequent imams makes Islam the "perfect religion" (Sura 5:3). In fact, *wilāya*, as adherence to the imams and as recognition of their mission as the true "holders of the (divine) Command" (*ūlī al-amr*) and the exclusive possessors of the true meaning of the Qur'an and the "knowledge of the hidden" (*ʿilm al-ghayb*), remains the key to salvation, without which no pious act of obedience to God (*ṭāʿa*) is truly valid. It is for these reasons that *wilāya*, and not the profession of monotheism (*tawḥīd*) as in Sunnī Islam, appears as the principal "pillar of Islam" in the classical collections of Shīʿī traditions.[57]

This cycle of *walāya* picks up with ʿAlī when it was passed on to him by Muḥammad,[58] as described in the traditions of Ghadīr Khumm.[59] In turn, the Imāms (the true *awliyā'*) initiate their followers into the esoteric reality of prophecy.[60] The parallel with the sufi idea of the rule of saints extending from the death of Muḥammad to the end of the world is clear.

The last of the Imāms, in the Ithnā ʿAshari tradition, is understood to remain alive in occultation (*ghayb*), awaiting his return at the end of time.[61] A further elaboration on the office of Imam was the belief that in spite of the various historical figures to whom it has adhered until 260/874, it is in essence atemporal. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī (d. 672/1274) described the imam thus: "L'Imam—à sa mention soit le salut—n'a pas eu de commencement à l'origine; entre temps, il ne subit ni altération ni changement; il n'a pas de terme à la fin."[62] It will be seen later, in our discussion of Ibn ʿArabī, that a Sunnī understanding of an eternal *walāya* (as represented in the Muḥammadan Reality) was possible.

One interesting figure who did make a significant effort to reconcile Twelver Shīʿism with sufism was Ḥaydar Āmulī (d. end of eighth/fourteenth century). He wrote his *Jāmiʿ al-asrār* to reconcile the secrets of God (*asrār Allāh*), the secrets of the prophets, and the secrets of the Imāms (*asrār al-awliyā'*).[63] The work stresses common elements between the two groups, such as the lofty status recognized for ʿAlī and affiliations with Jaʿfar al-Sāḍiq, the sixth Imām, through early sufi figures such as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728). But Āmulī's most significant foray into the the sufi concept of '*walāya*' was certainly his commentary on Ibn ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ*, called "*Naṣṣ al-nuṣūṣ*."[64] Here he takes up Ibn ʿArabī's version of the Seal of sainthood and inserts the Shīʿī Imams into the model.[65]

Ibn ʿArabī and *Walāya*

Beyond Tirmidhī's initial discussions of sanctity in the tenth century, the most important elaboration of the topic came from Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). This

Andalusian mystic left an immense body of writing.[66] The best known of his works are the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* and the voluminous *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, which in modern printings occupies eight volumes.[67] In addition to being an avid writer, he also traveled extensively throughout his adult life. He was born in the city of Murcia in the year 560/1165, into a family of means. The family moved to Seville, where Ibn ʿArabī was educated and probably worked in government service until he left Spain in 590/1193. He studied and taught across the Maghreb, visited Egypt, Iraq, and Turkey, and spent his last years in Damascus, where he is buried.[68]

The thought of Ibn ʿArabī, or the Greatest Shaykh (*al-shaykh al-akbar*), has been the subject of a number of academic studies. Some of the earlier highlights in this field are the contributions of H. Corbin,[69] M. Asín Palacios,[70] A. E. ʿAffīfī,[71] and T. Izutsu.[72] Particularly useful additions to the field have been made recently by W. C. Chittick.[73] In our particular subfield of interest, that is *walāya*, the most outstanding study is that of Michel Chodkiewicz, *Le Sceau des Saints* (Gallimard, 1986).[74] This impressive monograph is the only sustained analysis of sainthood written to date.

The writings of Ibn ʿArabī are numerous and often dense. It is not possible for us to address fully the many insights he brought to Islamic mystical thought. For example, his understanding of divine self-disclosure (*tajallī*) and the so-called Oneness of Being[75] are two important theories we will not explore here. However, his doctrine of *walāya* is certainly central to his mystical legacy. Chodkiewicz himself says, "It would not be untrue to say that in one sense Ibn ʿArabī, from the first to the last line of his work, never spoke of anything other than sainthood, of its ways and its goals."[76]

The *dīwān* of saints, for Ibn ʿArabī, is quite complex. Strictly speaking, there are 84 classes (*ṭabaqāt*) of saints in the assembly of saints. However, the first 49 differ from the remaining 35. The first group consists of the lesser saints who are those people who have attained a certain degree of spiritual life. As a group, their number varies. The second group, that of the 35 levels, is constant in number—a total of 589 individuals.[77] Both groups consist of *ṭabaqāt*, which we may call a "horizontal" system of classes, yet there also exists what we may call a vertical system of classification. This system is based on the idea of prophetic inheritance (*wirātha*); that is, every saint can be classified according to the prophet from whom he draws his spiritual inheritance. Chodkiewcz describes this inheritance as conferring "a precise and visible character on the behaviour, virtues and graces of the *walī*."[78] The most outward manifestation of a saint's inheritance is the type of miracles he performs; if he is Moseslike (*Mūsāwī*), then his face or hand might glow (cf. Q. 27:12), if he is an inheritor of Jesus (*ʿĪsawī*) then he might walk on water or raise the dead.[79]

So the saints may be classed horizontally according to their spiritual function and vertically according to their distinguishing prophetic inheritance. This

makes for a great variety of specific sainthoods, but the complexity does not stop there. Ibn ʿArabī's understanding of the assembly of saints claims that each level a saint reaches includes all the levels below it. That is, if the seventh level, for example, is reached, that individual may be found at each preceeding level. Progress up the *ṭabaqāt*, in other words, is cumulative.[80] It would appear then, that with all three elements of classification in play—the inheritance, the horizontal classes, and the cumulative nature of the latter—the varieties of sainthood in the *dīwān* are innumerable.

For the lower group of saints, its 49 levels consist of spiritual categories described largely by certain Qur'anic terms, such as "those who submit," "the believers," or "the devout." To these names are attached interpretations that far surpass their usual meanings.[81] At the top of this horizontal classification is the level of the *malāmiyya* (men of blame). Within this group are the *umanā'* (trustworthy) and the *afrād* (solitaries). Little is known of the trustworthy "since they behave with creatures according to the normal demands of faith . . . It is at the Day of Resurrection that their eminent degree will appear to creatures, while here below they were unknown among men."[82] The category of the solitaries includes such figures as the *quṭb* (pole), *awtād* (pegs), *abdāl* (substitutes), *nuqabā'* (representatives), *nujabā'* (nobles), and *rajabiyyūn* (those whose spiritual state only manifests during the month of Rajab). At any point in time there is only one pole, two imams, four *awtād*, and seven *abdāl*. The pole is described as "the centre of the circle of the universe . . . the mirror of God, and the pivot of the world."[83] This pole and the two imams are joined by the substitute of al-Khaḍir, to form together the four pegs.[84]

Thus, at the pinacle of the congress of saints we find a group of four mortal saints. But Ibn ʿArabī then adds another dimension that ties the *dīwān* of the saints to the realms of prophethood and mission. In short, he claims that these four pegs are actually only the substitutes of the four true *awtād*. These four are the four living messengers: Idrīs (Enoch), Jesus, Elijah, and al-Khaḍir.[85] So like the vertical classification mentioned earlier, which produced prophetic inheritances among the saints, the ultimate saints are essentially messengers (whose representatives are saints). Ibn ʿArabī writes,

> These four beings exist in the flesh in this world below, and are its . . . *awtād*. Two of them are the two Imams and one of them is the Pole, who is the place of God's beholding on this earth. Messengers have not ceased and will not cease to be in this world until the Day of Resurrection . . . Within this community, there corresponds at all times to each of these Messengers a being who is "on the heart" of that Messenger and is his deputy (*nā'ib*). [Most know these four] only through these deputies.[86]

This incorporation of *nubuwwa* into the congress of saints is far removed from the *dīwān* as conceived by Tirmidhī. It will be remembered that in that earlier system not only was there no presence of messengers, but the entire congress apparently came into existence only after the death of the prophet Muḥammad.

In a final twist, Ibn ʿArabī again transforms the apex of the hierarchy of the congress of saints. He writes, "As for the pole, it is the spirit of Muḥammad (*rūḥ Muḥammad*), by which all the Messengers and all the Prophets are sustained." Chodkiewicz then concludes, "Idrīs, Elijah, Jesus and Khaḍir are, likewise, simply differentiated projections of the *ḥaqīqa muḥammadiyya*: in a certain sense, they too are only 'deputies.'"[87]

Beyond this description of the *dīwān*, Ibn ʿArabī takes Tirmidhī's concept of the Seal of sainthood and elborates upon it. As we saw above, for Tirmidhī the Seal is essentially the final saint. But, in Ibn ʿArabī's model, the Seal has three manifestations. The first is the "Seal of Muḥammadan sainthood," the second is the "Seal of general sainthood" and the third is the "Seal of children." The Seal of children is not a well-developed idea; it simply signifies the end of time, being the last human born.[88] On the other hand, Muḥammadan and general sainthood are fully developed concepts. Legislative prophecy (*nubuwwa tashrīʿ*), with the death of Muḥammad, has ended. However, general prophecy continues and is synonymous with *walāya*. This *walāya* takes two forms, Muḥammadan sainthood and general sainthood—each with its own Seal.

This general prophecy (*nubuwwa ʿāmma*) is what God leaves open for humanity's guidance. Ibn ʿArabī writes,

> Know that *walāya* is an all-inclusive and general function that never comes to an end, and which brings general [divine] communications. As for the legsilative function of prophecy and mission, this came to an end with Muḥammad, since there will be no law-bringing prophet after him or community to receive such, nor any messenger bringing divine law. This statement is a terrible blow to the friends (*awliyā'*) of God because it implies the cessation of the experience of total and perfect servanthood . . . God, however, is kind to his servants and has left for them general prophecy, which brings no law with it. He has also left to them the power of legislation (*tashrīʿ*) through the exercise of individual judgement (*ijtihād*) concerning rules and regulations.[89]

In the second half of this passage Ibn ʿArabī is implying that the saints, referred to here as his servants, through general prophecy, have a function in legislative interpretation. Ibn ʿArabī goes on to describe this function of interpreter as it is found in Muḥammad. It is through the same *walāya* (or *nubuwwa ʿāmma*) mentioned above left for the saints that Muḥammad interprets the

divine law that he himself—in his function as messenger—has brought. We read,

> When the Prophet speaks on matters that lie outside the scope of law, he is then speaking as a saint and a gnostic, so that his station as a knower [of truth] is more complete and perfect than that as a [messenger] or lawgiver. If you hear any of the [People of God] transmitting sayings from him to the effect that Saintship is higher than Prophecy, he means only what we have just said. Likewise if he says that the saint is superior to the prophet and the [messenger], he means only that this is so within one person. This is because the [messenger], in his Saintship, is more prefect than he is as a prophet or a [messenger]. It does not mean that any saint coming after him is higher than he.[90]

So Muḥammad can function through sainthood or through his prophecy. His prophecy, however, is limited to a time and place, but *walāya* is universal and timeless. So within his person (or within that of any other prophet or messenger), sainthood is superior to prophecy; but an individual who has sainthood, but not prophecy or mission, is not superior to one who possesses prophecy, or mission. This is the case because *risāla* and *nubuwwa* are cumulative. In other words, the messenger has mission, prophecy and sainthood; the prophet has prophecy and sainthood; the saint has only sainthood.[91]

This is the genius of Ibn ʿArabī's doctrine of sainthood. Here *walāya* is extended far beyond the usual understanding of the saint. Unlike the doctrines that preceeded it, this version of sainthood does not speak of a graying of the line between the ultimate saints and the lower functions of the prophets, it rather expands *walāya* into a universal medium—it becomes the hyle in which all else operates.[92]

As we mentioned earlier, there are three Seals. The Seal of the children we have mentioned. As for seals of sainthood, one seals general sainthood, while the other seals Muḥammadan sainthood. Ibn ʿArabī describes them,

> There are in fact two Seals, one with which God seals sainthood in general and another with which He seals Muḥammadan sainthood. ʿĪsā [i.e. Jesus] is the Seal of Sainthood in an absolute sense. He is the saint who *par excellence* possesses the non-legislative prophetic function in the time of this Community [i.e., the Muslim community] . . . When he descends at the end of time, it will be as the heir and the Seal, and after him there will be no saint to be the holder of prophethood in general . . . The office of the Seal of Muḥammadan Sainthood belongs to an Arab . . . I met him in 595 AH . . . As God has sealed

> legislative prophethood through Muḥammad, through the Muḥammadan Seal he has sealed the sainthood which comes from the Muḥammadan heritage, not the sainthood which comes from the heritage of other prophets.[93]

So *walāya* from the heritage of the prophet Muḥammad (note the return of the vertical classification) is sealed in the time of Ibn ʿArabī. Yet general *walāya* continues, manifested among those saints who inherit from prophets other than Muḥammad. This *walāya* will continue to be manifested until the end of time, at which point it will be sealed by Jesus. The identity of this seal of Muḥammadan sainthood is unclear. As noted above, Ibn ʿArabī claims to have met him, but elsewhere he claims himself to be this figure.[94] ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, although not specifically called the Seal of Muḥammadan sainthood, may also be the continuation of this *walāya*. In an important passage ʿAlī is singled out as the closest of all humanity to Muḥammad, and most disposed to carrying on the Prophet's sanctity.[95]

In his description of the seal of saints Ibn ʿArabī describes a figure who subordinates himself to the law, but in reality possesses a more immediate link to God. In discussing the hadith account of a vision Muḥammad had in which he was the missing brick (i.e., the seal) in a wall symbolizing prophethood, Ibn ʿArabī adds the vision of the seal of (Muḥammadan) sainthood, here seeing two bricks. He recounts,

> The reason for his seeing two bricks is that, outwardly, he follows the Law of the Seal of [Messengers], represented by the silver brick. This is his outer aspect. . . Inwardly, however, he receives directly from God what he appears [outwardly] to follow. . . He derives his knowledge from the same source as the angel who reveals it to the [Messenger].[96]

Thus the seal appears to be essentially superior. Further, this seal of sainthood—in light of the cessation of prophecy and mission—also becomes the medium by which the messengers acquire their knowledge of God.

> [N]one of the prophets and [messengers] can attain to [knowledge of God] except from the Niche (*mishkāt*) of the Seal of the (Messengers), nor are any of the saints able to attain to it except from the Niche of the Seal of Saints, so that, in effect, none of the [messengers] can attain to it, when they do so, except from the Niche of the Seal of Saints. This is because the office of [messenger] and prophet (by prophet I mean the bringer of Sacred Law) comes to an end, while Sainthood never ceases. Thus the [messengers], as being also

> saints, attain only to what we have mentioned from the Niche of the Seal of Saints, this being even more the case with the lesser saints.[97]

This passage makes it clear that the Seal of sainthood is in reality that by which prophets and messengers—through their *walāya*—attain knowledge of God.[98] However, this lofty function of the Seal of sainthood is in a sense neutralized. It appears that the Seal of sainthood is in essence simply one aspect of the Seal of messengers. This shift marks the introduction of the eternal, universal Muḥammadan Reality (or Muḥammadan Spirit). Ibn ʿArabī writes, "As for the Seal of Saints . . . this sainthood is among the excellencies of the Seal of Messengers, Muḥammad."[99] In a particularly relevant passage, Ibn ʿArabī signals that this Muḥammadan Reality is the source for all the highest spiritual offices: "This Muḥammadan Spirit has places in the universe where it manifests itself. The most perfect (of these places) are the Pole of (each) Time, the *afrād*, the Muḥammadan Seal of Sainthood and the Seal of Universal Sainthood, Jesus."[100] Thus, these figures are simply the various representatives for the Muḥammadan Reality; and the apparent superiority of the seal of sainthood over the prophets and messengers just mentioned is only a priority among aspects of the Muḥammadan Reality. This superiority is not that of one individual over another, but rather that of *walāya* over *nubuwwa* within the Muḥammadan Reality.

This universal Muḥammad is described elsewhere in cosmological terms. We read, "The first being to be endowed with existence was . . . the 'divine calamus', the 'first Intellect' who is also the 'Muḥammadan Reality' or the 'Reality out of which all things were created'."[101] This Reality is also the medium of divine creation: "The Spirit attributed to God (Q. 32:8, where it is said that God breathed "His Spirit" into Adam) is the Muḥammadan Reality."[102]

Chapter 2

The Early Shādhiliyya and Sanctity

As mentioned in the introduction, the Wafā'iyya order is a derivative of the Shādhiliyya order. In chapters 4 and 5 it will be seen in detail the ways by which ʿAlī and Muḥammad Wafā' carried on, or diverged from, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī's teachings on sainthood. The task of the chapter at hand is to explore these original Shādhilite teachings. Our exploration will touch first on the Shādhiliyya order itself, its main proponents, and its primary literature. Further, an attempt will be made to outline what might be called a "Shādhiliyya-specific" doctrine of *walāya*. Of course it must be remembered that in speaking of the "doctrine" of this sufi order, we are not necessarily describing teachings that are exclusive to the Shādhiliyya or that are wholly consistent with all other writings produced within the order. It must be remembered, too, that the saintly founder was not a full-time theologian, and his teachings are not necessarily systematic. These and other teachings of the order often elude any systematization on the part of researchers not only because of the oral (and often anecdotal) nature of the record of the words of al-Shādhilī, but also because these teachings are elaborated upon by later leaders of the order. This dilemma is the same for many schools of thought, mystical or not, where a charismatic founder is held up as the fountainhead of a movement, when in fact subsequent minds have contributed much. This challenge to discern the primary teaching of a founder (e.g., founder of a legal school, a sectarian leader, etc.) as distinct from later elaborations is important. Yet of greater significance is the understanding of the amalgam of ideas that is produced by this process. For example, academic research on the historical Jesus is often fascinating, but this information does not tell us much about Christian thought, doctrine, or even the early church. The point here is simply that any discussion of the teachings of the

Shādhiliyya order will be necessarily a fuzzy delineation of doctrine. Also, it will not suffice to only reproduce the hagiographical record of the saint's pronouncements on *walāya*; the contributions of the writings of the recognized leaders of the order after him must also be taken into consideration.

The roots of the Shādhiliyya are to be found in the Maghreb. It is here that the founder, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, was born of a sharifan family and established himself as a leader. Having come originally from the tribal area of Ghumāra in Morocco (south of Ceuta), born around 583/1187,[1] al-Shādhilī probably moved to Tunis as a boy. The events of his early life are obscure, but it is clear that he was educated and that he came to nurture contacts with established shaykhs in Tunis.[2] The young Shādhilī relates that his search for the "*quṭb* of the age"[3] took him to Iraq, where he was told by the saintly figure Abū al-Fatḥ al-Wāsiṭī (d. 632/1234) to return to his native Ghumāra. Here al-Shādhilī became the follower of ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Mashīsh (or Bashīsh) (d. 622/1225).[4] Ibn Mashīsh himself had been the student of the greatest Maghrebi saint, Abū Madyan (d. 595/1198).[5]

At an undetermined point in time al-Shādhilī came to be associated with the village of al-Shādhila, some seventy kilometers south of Tunis. This association was due to his frequent retreats to a nearby cave in Jabal Zaghwān.[6] Having established a following in Tunis, al-Shādhilī traveled to Egypt, in 642/1244.[7] It is in Egypt that the Shādhiliyya order saw its greatest flowering. Here many important figures came to the order, both in Alexandria and Cairo. Before discussing these figures, however, let us take a moment to survey the literature written by and about these individuals.

Literature and History of the Shādhiliyya

The Shādhiliyya order was for the first seventy years or so after its founder's death headed by a recognized inheritor of leadership, or *khalīfa*. The succession line descended from al-Shādhilī (d. 658/1259) to al-Mursī (d. 686/1287) to Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309) and to Dāʾūd Ibn Bākhilā (d. 733/1332). This line of succession should not be taken too literally, however. After the indisputable succession of al-Mursī, having been appointed by al-Shādhilī himself, the order quickly spread beyond the confines of its first *ribāṭ* in Alexandria. In a few decades no single shaykh could convincingly claim to be the head of the entire order in Egypt and the Maghreb.[8] Returning to the question of the literature of the order, it should first be noted that al-Shādhilī himself left no systematic writings. His most important compositions were his supplications (*duʿā*). Many of these are preserved, along with letters of guidance written by al-Shādhilī to followers back in Tunis, in the work *Durrat al-asrār wa tuḥfat al-abrār* by Muḥammad Ibn Abī al-Qāsim al-Himyarī, or Ibn

al-Ṣabbāgh (d.724/1323 or 733/1332). The author of this hagiography, of whom we know virtually nothing, compiled accounts of Shādhili's life and death, miracles, letters to followers in Tunis, supplications, injunctions, and elaborations on certain traditional mystical ideas. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh's composition is of great value, despite the occasional borrowing from the work of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī, due to its Maghrebi orientation. The only other substantial hagiography of al-Shādhilī was composed by Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī, which is certainly Egyptian in orientation. This work, entitled *Laṭāʾif al-minan*, includes hagiographical accounts of the author's shaykh, al-Mursī,[9] along with those of al-Shādhilī. In the first chapter Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh makes mention of the earlier notices on al-Shādhilī by al-Qasṭalānī (d. 686/1287), Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Nuʿām (d. 682/1284), ʿAbd al-Ghaffār ibn Nūḥ (d. 708/1308)[10] and Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Abī al-Manṣūr (d.682/1283).[11]

In addition to these two hagiographies, the *Durrat al-asrār* and the *Laṭāʾif al-minan*, there now appears to be a third primary source for the teachings of al-Shādhilī. It is a rather short exposition on a number of traditional sufi ideas, such as intercession, sin, mystical vision, gnosis, and so on. The text in manuscript form is cataloged under the following title: *Risālat al-Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*.[12] Of the fifty-six sections that make up this work, I have been able to locate five in the *Durrat al-asrār*, and none in the *Laṭāʾif al-minan*. With the facts available to us at present, it is not possible to know which, of the *Durrat al-asrār* or the *Risālat al-Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī,* is the earlier source. Despite the questions of priority and the anonymous nature of the original compiler, the *Risāla* has not receded into obscurity; in fact, the entirety of the manuscript is reproduced in Ibn ʿAyyād, *al-Mafākhir al-ʿaliyya fī maʾāthir al-Shādhiliyya*.[13] Note should also be made here that the hagiographical and doctrinal material presented in Ibn Bākhilā's *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya* concerning al-Shādhilī is drawn from *Laṭāʾif al-minan*.

In addition to these primary sources there exist also a number of significant works that have served as elaborations on the doctrines of the Shādhilite school. Among these, the better known would be Aḥmad Zarrūq (d. 900/1494) *Qawāʿid al-taṣawwuf*[14] and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), *Taʾyīd al-ḥaqīqat al-ʿaliyya wa tashyīd al-ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliyya*.[15]

The biographical dictionaries, from the eighth/fourteenth century onward, invariably contain entries on al-Shādhilī. The earliest substantial entry is to be found in the *Mirʾāt al-janān* of al-Yāfiʿī, (d. 768/1367).[16] Later hagiographical compilations, drawing variously on all of these sources, include the above mentioned *al-Mafākhir al-ʿaliyya*. This work contains accounts of al-Shādhilī's life and miracles, his sayings, his supplications, and various commentaries. The author, Ibn ʿAyyād, remains unknown to us, but from his having quoted of al-Munāwī (d. 1031/1622), we can place him in the latter half of the eleventh/seventeenth century.[17] The famous Egyptian scholar ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd

(d. 1978) produced *al-Madrasa al-Shādhiliyya al-ḥadītha wa imāmuhā Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī* in 1967. Of all these later compilations, the most impressive is surely the 1951 publication by ʿAlī Sālim al-ʿAmmār entitled *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī* (2 vols.), also in Egypt.[18]

Beyond the hagiographies composed, the early Shādhiliyya was informed by the discourses on mystical thought produced by Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī. His most famous work is certainly his collection of aphorisms known as *al-Ḥikam al-ʿAṭā'iyya*.[19] This poetic masterpiece has circulated throughout the Muslim world and has been the subject of a number of commentaries. Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī also composed *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ*, a manual of sufi devotional practice with an extensive discussion of invocation (*dhikr*).[20] Other important works include a meditation on the name of God, entitled *al-Qaṣd al-mujarrad fī maʿrifat al-Ism al-Mufarrad,*[21] and *al-Tanwīr fī isqāṭ al-tadbīr*.[22] The impact of Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh on the Shādhiliyya order would be hard to overstate. Due to the strength of his writings and his position as the most prominent student of al-Shādhilī's successor al-Mursī, it is through him that the order assumed much of the character it did.[23]

Al-Shādhilī, Tirmidhī, and Ibn ʿArabī

As noted in chapter 1, al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī and Ibn ʿArabī had much to say about *walāya*, among other mystical topics. An important question then is, What are the connections between these thinkers and the Shādhiliyya? Further along we will see that Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā' read both Tirmidhī and Ibn ʿArabī directly, but to what extent did the Shādhiliyya order take up these ideas and become a medium for their interpretation and transmission?

We do have some clear notices that al-Shādhilī read Tirmidhī's *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā'*. The *Laṭā'if al-minan* recounts a story of al-Mursī miraculously traveling to Alexandria in order to sit with al-Shādhilī while he reads the *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā'*.[24] In the same hagiography we also read of al-Shādhilī listing fifteen *karāmāt al-quṭb*, that is, the miracles worked by the highest saint, which serve as proofs of his superiority. To this account Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh adds, "This [list functions] like that which al-Tirmidhī mentioned in his book *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā'*; namely, he asked one making false claims to *walāya*, "Describe to us the stations of the saints." After this he [Tirmidhī] posed a number of questions to this pretender to *walāya*."[25]

Further on the question of intertext, we note that Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh elsewhere offers two quotations directly from Ibn ʿArabī,[26] and also Ibn ʿArabī's recounting of the story of a vessel, destined for use in the privy, speaking at a dinner table.[27] In addition, it is mentioned that al-Shādhilī was familiar with one Abū al-ʿIlm Yasīn, who is identified as a disciple of Ibn ʿArabī.[28] More interesting

though is the account of a meeting between al-Shādhilī and Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 672/1273), a well-known student and commentator on Ibn ʿArabī. The encounter is described thus:

> When the shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnāwī came to Egypt as an envoy (رسولا), he met with Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan [al-Shādhilī]. He [al-Qūnawī] spoke in the presence [of al-Shādhilī] on many different sciences. The shaykh [al-Shādhilī] waited with his head bowed for al-Qūnawī to finish. Then he raised his head and asked, "Tell me (أخبروبى) where the Pole of the age is today, and who is his sincere companion, and what things does he know?" To this al-Qūnawī was silent and offered no answer.[29]

Unfortunately Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh provides no further commentary on this story. The late Paul Nwyia understood this account as a rejection by al-Shādhilī of the authority of Ibn ʿArabī.[30] This understanding assumes that al-Qūnawī has been forced to silently concede that the pole of the age is al-Shādhilī, and not Ibn ʿArabī. However, it must be noted that Ibn ʿArabī did not claim for himself the office of *quṭb*. Further, the timing of this encounter, which must have taken place after al-Qūnawī's second visit to Egypt (i.e., 640/1249), is evidence against this being a debate over polehood at all. Ibn ʿArabī would at that point have already been dead two years and thus would no longer have been a candidate for the office.[31]

The Early Figures of the Order

In general, it seems fair to say that the Shādhiliyya order is conservative by nature. The charismatic example of its founder excludes both antinomian behavior and excessive devotional practices. The figure of the saint al-Shādhilī is rarely presented as demonstrating his spiritual status through the execution of miracles, although he certainly makes clear claims to being the geatest saint. It is partly due to this conservative image, and partly to the literary body provided by Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh, that this order enjoyed the allegiance of a good number of important figures in medieval Egypt. Later writers would stress, in their general characterizations of Shādhlite thought, and with an eye to certain antisufi criticisms, that the doctrine of oneness of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) is absent from this order.[32]

Before moving on to a discussion of these figures we can finish our discussion of the Shādhiliyya by comparing it to another important order, the Aḥmadiyya, founded at about the same time. This *ṭarīqa* is named for its founder, Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675/1276).[33] Jean-Claude Garcin characterizes

this order in the fifteenth century as "service oriented" and preserving a rural element in its identity. In the arena of sufi practice, the order is typified as nurturing asceticism and humility, scrupulousness in questions of illicit and licit behavior, and a tendency to shun those of worldly authority. In contrast, the Shādhiliyya of this period stressed the instruction of disciples (*murīdīn*), associated with those in power, and stressed supplication (*duʿā*) and sermonizing in their ritual.[34]

In Egypt the two centuries following the death of Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, corresponding roughly with the end of Mamluk rule, were undoubtedly the golden age of the Shādhiliyya order. This period saw the expansion of a number of sufi orders. There were also many important writers and thinkers associated with the Shādhiliyya. The student of Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh, Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), wrote a refutation of some of Ibn Taymiyya's criticisms of sufism, defending the practice of supplications for the Prophet.[35] In adition to the Shādhilī branch, which descended from al-Mursī to Muḥammad Wafā', there was the line of the Ḥanafiyya, which also ran from al-Mursī, but took another path.[36] Mention must also be made of Abū al-Mawāhib Ibn Zaghdān (or Zaghdūn) al-Tūnsī (d. 882/1477). He was a Shādhilite who came to associate himself with the Wafā'iyya. There are over a dozen titles attributed to him, including one on listening to music and dancing in sufi *ḥadras* and an account of the Wafā' family.[37]

Between Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī and Muḥammad Wafā' there was another Egyptian Shādhilī shaykh of note, Dā'ūd Ibn Bākhilā (or Ibn Mākhilā) al-Shādhilī al-Iskandarī. This Ibn Bākhilā was Muḥammad Wafā's spiritual director and his initiator into the order. Since this teacher is far less known to scholarship than his predecessor Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh, a discussion of him and his writings seems appropriate here. Ibn Bākhilā's best-known work is his *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq*.[38] He knew well the hagiographical sources for al-Shādhilī and the miraculous stories and sayings of al-Mursī; so not surprisingly, in his writings he quotes from them with no substantial mention of other saints. In his discussions of *walāya* he echos much of the complexity of Ibn ʿAṭā' Allah's treatment of the subject in the latter's *Laṭā'if al-minan*. We may say that Ibn Bākhilā's conception of *walāya* was thoroughly "Shādhilite." He wrote within the literary context of this order, reflecting his earlier teachers, and sought to present these mystical doctrines to those who would follow the order. His commentary on al-Shādhilī's *Ḥizb al-baḥr*, entitled *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya,*[39] was not only the first systematic commentary on this quasi-sacred text—a fact which certainly served to underscore his own spiritual authority within the order—but also it provided him the occasion to authoritatively interpret the essentials of Shādhilite mysticism. As we shall see, these essentials have a lot to do with *walāya*.

Ibn Bākhilā's own writings tell us nothing of the details of his life. One typically hagiographical account, which seems to have been put into circulation

early, tells us that Ibn Bākhilā was an illiterate guard of the household of the governor of Alexandria. In spite of his low standing, the governor came to recognize his saintly authority to such an extent that the two men had a peculiar agreement worked out. When the governor held court, Ibn Bākhilā

> used to sit facing him. They shared a system of signals by which the governor would be told whether an accused was guilty or innocent. Ibn Bākhilā's signs were that if he grasped his beard and pulled it to his chest, the governor would know that the accused was guilty, and if he pulled it upwards, then the accused was innocent.[40]

This device of the saint wielding the true power behind the mundane worldly authorities is a popular one in sufi hagiographies. However, it seems that Ibn Bākhilā was a rather more substantial intellectual figure than this account suggests. The biographical collections on the Mālikī jurists of the period offer a more substantial portrait. We are told that

> at a young age [Ibn Bākhilā] studied at the Kihāriyya school in Cairo . . . which today is know as the Jāmiʿ Jawdarī, in Jawdariyya Ṣaghīra. In this mosque ʿUmar ibn Idrīs is burried. [Ibn Bākhilā] then moved to Alexandria, where he became the companion of Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Mursī . . . and from whom he learned a love of sufism. After [the shaykh's] death, he followed his student Yāqūt al-ʿArshī. While in Alexandria he studied at Masjid Badr al-Dīn al-Jamālī [in the ʿAṭṭāriyya]. Once he finished his studies he went on to the canonical [summary] court (*muḥkama sharʿiyya*) as a chamberlain (*ḥājib*); he then rose to become clerk (*kātib jalsa*), a position he held until his death . . . (Ibn Bākhilā) died in Alexandria in 733 AH, and is burried in his *zāwiya* there, on the street of Tāj al-Dīn al-ʿĀdilī.[41]

So Ibn Bākhilā was an accomplished jurist before he took up the sufi path. The breadth of his learning is indicated by the fact that to him are attributed both a summary of a work by al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and a summary of a work on grammar by al-Zajjājī, in addition to smaller works on *fiqh* and rhetoric.[42]

The Writings of Ibn Bākhilā

Of the shaykh's two extant works, his *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq* is certainly more in the inspired mystical style one might expect from the head of a sufi order. It contains neither an introduction nor a conclusion, appearing to be a nonthematic compilation of Ibn Bākhilā's utterances in the "*wa qāla . . .wa qāla . . .*" form.

In addition to its discussions of *walāya*, it touches on many typical themes of sufi thought: the levels of divine secrets, exoteric versus esoteric knowledge, the hierarchies of believers, "humanity" as a spiritual veil, the soul's struggle against the lower self, and the extinction and persistence of the soul in the divine. In this work Ibn Bākhilā also touches on the progressive Self-disclosure (*tajallī*) of the Divine and the levels of the seen and unseen worlds. Also presented is an unusual discussion of roles of the Muḥammadan darkness and light.[43] This work is in the traditional style of accounts of the teachings of sufi shaykhs, that is, lengthy compilations of statements on themes without a sustained development.

In contrast to his *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq*, Ibn Bākhilā's *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya* presents us with a much more systematic discussion. The subject here is the famous *duʿā* (supplication) "Ḥizb al-baḥr" by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. In the introduction Ibn Bākhilā supplies a number of basic sufi concepts, along with a discussion on the variants of the *ḥadīth qudsī* "Whoever attacks My saint has made war on Me."[44] In the first of three following sections making up the main body of the book, Ibn Bākhilā discusses the recognized spiritual benefits of reciting this prayer. He also presents a number of hagiographical episodes from the life of its composer. Ibn Bākhilā's source for these accounts appears to be Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī. From this same source he repeats a number of comments on the discipline of the Shādhiliyya order. This section ends with a lengthy quote from the pro-Shādhilite poetry of al-Būṣīrī.[45]

The second section presents the text of *Ḥizb al-baḥr*[46] along with comments pointing out the Qur'anic sources for certain phrases and explaining certain vocabulary used. Ibn Bākhilā goes on to recount some of the miraculous stories of the power of this prayer, which include passengers on the Nile and the Indian Ocean being saved from storms and travelers being saved from bandits. An interesting point is also taken up here; it centers on the question of how prophets, saints, the learned, and the commoner can all petition God for forgiveness or protection using the same formula. The question is: Can they be asking for the same thing? Ibn Bākhilā's answer will be discussed below.

In the final section the issue of the prayer's use of Qur'anic phrases is taken up. In defending the intertextual nature of *Ḥizb al-baḥr* (and incidentally, the legitimacy of the divine inspiration of saints like al-Shādhilī) Ibn Bākhilā makes use of a range of arguments. He draws on *fiqh* sources (Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ's discussion of Muḥammad's use of Qur'anic phrases as supplication),[47] theological arguments (al-Bāqillānī's doctrine of *iʿjāz*, or inimitability of the Qur'an,[48] allowing for intertextual use, but insisting that the quote loses it miraculous nature), and the principles of rhetoric (*iqtibās*, or adaptation, in composition preserving the integrity of the original Qur'anic or *hadith* source).[49]

This prayer commentary shows Ibn Bākhilā to have been a well-trained theologian in addition to being a sufi master. Although Qur'anic commentary

had become a sophisticated science before the Middle Ages, it seems that Ibn Bākhilā's *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya* was the first sustained systematic commentary on a sufi prayer. This small branch of "literary sufism" has survived into modern times.[50]

Ibn Bākhilā's *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq* is a compilation of mystical sayings. It provides no details on the life of Ibn Bākhilā and makes almost no mention of *karāmāt*. In contrast, his *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya* repeats a number of al-Shādhilī's miracles and those of his inspired composition, *Ḥizb al-baḥr*. This work offers an additional element in its presenting a record of *walāya*. The prayer itself becomes, to some extent, a vehicle for sanctity. Just as al-Shādhilī's sainthood is attested to, so is the divinely inspired nature of the *ḥizb*. The discussion of *walāya* not only positions the saint carefully in relation to the prophets, messengers, and the common believers, it likewise makes efforts to position the *ḥizb* in relation to the Qur'an and simply mundane compositions.

Proximity to the Divine

The concept of *walāya*, as it was developed in the early Shādhiliyya, represents a complex of ideas. In a discussion of *walāya* in the thought of Ibn ʿArabī, Michel Chodkiewicz points to a number of concepts that were to remain essential for most mystical thinkers after the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century. For Ibn ʿArabī, hagiology is made up of three parts: the Nature of sanctity, which is based on the notion of proximity (*qurba*); the Forms of sanctity, which are based on the prophetic heritage (*wirātha*), which the saints follow in both apparent and esoteric ways; and finally the Functions of sanctity, which are tied up with the idea of substitution (*niyāba*), which manifests itself in the hierarchy of saints (*quṭb*, *abdāl* etc.).[51] Although these ideas are to be found in embryonic form in the sufi tradition before Ibn ʿArabī, his elaborations and innovations on these concepts set the tone and direction for almost all mystical speculation that followed. As discussed in the previous chapter, he reintroduced the "Seal of the saints," an echo of the theological position on Muḥammad as the "Seal of the prophets." The term *Seal of the saints* came into wide use after Ibn ʿArabī. The Wafā'iyya of Egypt, for example, took up this idea, with ʿAlī Wafā' attributing the title to his father Muḥammad Wafā', and tying to it the concept of '*tajdīd*' (the periodic renewal of the Islamic religion). This new dimension of the renewer turned the Seal into a cyclical seal of saints. Not unlike the extension of prophecy via sainthood, which shall be discussed below, ʿAlī Wafā's renewing seal extends the concept of the ultimate saint. We shall discuss the Wafā'iyya in later chapters.

Returning to the analysis proposed by Chodkiewicz, the idea of "proximity" to the divine is found throughout mystical thought—be it Islamic or not. In the

ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq we note a few examples of this dimension, which in Islamic mysticism is often held to be the result of *fanā'* or extinction of the self in God.[52] Ibn Bākhilā tells us that in this spiritual state the gnostic (*ʿārif*) sees the invisible realm (*ghayb*) and that he is thus no longer an "I," at least until he regains his normal state. "If the gnostic witnesses the unseen, the Throne [of God], His foot-stool, or anything else, then he is not a man, rather he is something other than that which his people know . . . The description of his nature, when [he is] not a witness of the unseen, is 'I'."[53] The highest of the gnostics is he who transcends his own sense of self and of being. Ibn Bākhilā writes,

> There are three kinds of servant of God: the servant who does not see his sin—he is far [from God]; the servant who acknowledges his sin—he is happy; and the servant who does not see his own existence—he is the true witness [of God] . . . For any gnostic whose existence does not die before his spiritual follower, that follower will never reach God.[54]

This transcendence is thus an essential qualification for the spiritual guide. Also, thanks to their being closer to the realm of the unseen, the saints are the only ones in creation who know the esoteric secrets of the Qur'an.[55] Mutual love, between God and his creation, may also lead to this proximity. Al-Shādhilī writes, "He who loves God and is loved by him, his *walāya* has been established (فقد ثبت ولايته) . . . He whose *walāya* has been established in relation to God, has no fear of meeting God (in the hereafter)."[56]

The saints, being closer than the rest of creation to God, act as a *barzakh* (intermediary / lit. isthmus) for the divine light. Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh writes,

> [God] sent His light upon the hearts of His saints, and thus the heavens of their spirits were illuminated, along with the earths of their lower spirits (*nufūsihim*) and bodily forms . . . He made their hearts the site of the manifestation of His Essence and the appearance of His Attributes. He created them that He might appear in them specifically (أظهرهم ليظهر فيهم خصوصًا); He is the Apparent, generally, in all things. He appears in them by His Secrets and Lights, manifesting in them and in others by His Power and Might . . . He brings them to Him, through a gate of truth, by way of extinction (*fanā*) from all that is other than Him, and sends them out, through a gate of truth, to creation subsisting (*bāqīn*) (in God) by His Light and Splendour. They are *barāzikh* (sing. *barzakh*) of the Light, and mines of the Secrets. He connects with them after having cut them off, and separates them after having united with them.[57]

This passage reflects the Akbarian emphasis on God having created in order to be known[58] but gives the saints a privileged position in the process of God

becoming known. For the saint, this function as *barzakh* can only be fully executed by abandoning his proximity to God. Specifically, the highest saint is he who is first absorbed into the Divine (*fanā'*) and then returned to creation to guide others and to contemplate God through His signs in creation (*baqā'*).[59] In another passage, al-Shādhilī echoes the superiority of the sainthood that sees the divine behind his creation. We read,

> There are two kinds of saints: he who is annihilated from all things (*walī yafnā*) and sees nothing but God, and the saint who subsists (*walī yabqā*) in all things and sees God in all things. The second is more complete, since God only created His kingdom in order to be seen in it. The existents are mirrors of the Attributes, and he who is removed from existence is removed from witnessing God[60] in it. The existents were not created for you to simply see them, but rather so that you might see in them their Lord. The aim of the Lord is that you see them with an eye that is blind to them, that you see them due to His appearance in them, and that you do not see them because of their existence.[61]

The idea of the superiority of experience of the Divine through creation—versus transcending creation—is also well established in the writings of Ibn ʿArabī.[62]

The Levels of *Walāya*

Beyond this dimension of simple proximity to the divine, a further distinction may be made. This is the division of sanctity into a superior *walāya* and a lesser *walāya*. For Ḥakīm Tirmidhī, as was seen above, this distinction is to be made between the "true saint of God" (*walī Allāh ḥaqqan*) and the "saint of God's Truth" (*walī ḥaqq Allāh*). The first is chosen by God through divine generosity (*jūd*), while the second must make great spiritual efforts in order to approach God, which ultimately attracts divine compassion (*raḥma*). This compassion allows him to approach the initial level of proximity granted to the *walī Allāh ḥaqqan* but never to surpass it.[63] This idea of attaining *walāya* through ones own efforts seems to underly al-Shādhilī's statement, "If you want to have a share (*naṣīb*) of what the saints of God have, then you must abandon all people except for him who guides you to God, by true signs and solid acts—which are not opposed by the Book or the sunna."[64]

This distinction of *walāya* on two levels was taken up later in the ranks of the Shādhiliyya. Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Mursī speaks of special servants who are superior to the general saints. Their actions, attributes, and essences are verified in those of God. Their share of the divine Secrets is so great, in fact, that it inhibits the common saint's access to God.[65] In the *Durrat al-asrār* of Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, al-Shādhilī relates words on this subject. He says:

> If there should occur to your mind anything that puts you at ease, gives you joy, makes you sad, upon which or on account of which your mind is laden with care, that is a defect which will cause you to fall from the greatest sainthood (*walāya kubrā*) . . . (Yet) it may be that you will obtain the lesser sainthood (*walāya ṣughrā*) in the ranks of religious faith and abundance of religious works. In the lesser sainthood there are never lacking the whispering and passing thoughts, for you are far from the lowest heaven and near to Satan and your passion which listens stealthily, makes suggestions, and gives false reports. But if you are aided by the stars of knowledge of the faith, the planets of certainty (*yaqīn*), and the constancy of the divine upholding, then your (greater) sainthood in this matter is achieved.[66]

It appears that not only are there two levels of sanctity, but that those of lesser *walāya* can benefit from the *walāya* of their superiors. Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī (d. 792/1390), interpreting al-Shādhilī's cryptic satement, "He who reads this supplication (*ḥizb*), he has what we have, and he is obliged as we are," says that the true reader inherits from the saints *walāya*, proximity to God and the ability to perform miracles.[67] This idea of ones *walāya* in a relationship with the *walāya* of others is not new; the famous Junayd of Baghdad (d. 298/910) stated, "Adherence to this our science is *walāya*; if this blessing has escaped you personally, then do not fail to adhere to it in others."[68] Ibn ʿArabī noted the potential *walāya* in all humans, which is at heart simply the rediscovery of the divine Attributes and Names, in the form of which Adam was created.[69]

In the *Laṭā'if al-minan*, Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī describes this sanctity of two levels. He writes, "There are two kinds of sanctity: one where the saint takes God as a friend (*walī yatawallā Allāh*), and another where it is God who choses the saint as friend (*walī yatawallā-hu Allāh*) . . .[70] The first mode represents minor sainthood (*walāya ṣughrā*), the second, major sainthood (*walāya kubrā*)."[71] Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh elaborates further on the model, noting that one may say "sainthood of faith" (*walāyat al-īmān*) and "sainthood of certainty" (*walāyat al-yaqīn*); or yet "sainthood of the truthful" (*walāyat al-ṣādiqīn*) and "sainthood of the sincere" (*walāyat al-ṣiddīqīn*). "The first element of these pairs consists of working for God with pure intention, having complete confidence in him and the retribution He has promised. As for the second, the higher level, it occurs by the extinction in man of his ego from the world, and his subsistence uniquely in God."[72] Further, he notes, "The two modes of sainthood previously evoked may also be described as "sainthood of elucidation" (*walāya dalīl wa burhān*) and "sainthood of witnessing" (*walāya shuhūd wa ʿiyān*). The first is that of men of reason, while the second belongs to those of true vision."[73]

Concerning this two-tiered model of sanctity, it is clear that the early Shādhilī thinkers had developed a more nuanced and complex doctrine than

had existed in earlier sources. Even the prolific Ibn ʿArabī, a contemporary of al-Shādhilī, does not seem to have elaborated on the concept in this way. Certainly Ibn ʿArabī, and Tirmidhī before him, distinguished between those who are chosen by God and those who approach Him by their own efforts. But for Ibn ʿArabī it seems that sanctity has no function as a kind of ladder against which the progress of the soul may be measured.[74] From our discussions in the previous chapter, it is clear that for Ibn ʿArabī *walāya* does not contain within it stages through which the improving soul passes. The reason for this new elaboration on *walāya* within the Shādhiliyya is not completely clear, but perhaps it is the context of the sufi order that played a role.[75] Perhaps the importance of teaching disciples—in distinction to an emphasis on philosophical speculation—presented the occasion for such a model of *walāya*.[76]

In his *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq*, Ibn Bākhilā also discusses the two-tiered model of sanctity. He writes: "There are two groups of saints: the servant who speaks from the treasury of his heart, and the servant who speaks from the treasury of his unseen (*ghaybihi*). He who speaks from the treasury of his heart is restricted (*maḥṣūr*), while he who speaks from the treasury of his unseen is not restricted."[77] Ibn Bākhilā also describes three modes of knowing reality. "The first mode belongs to those who have little vision, and who use interpretation (*iʿtibār*). The second mode belongs to those who see by the manifestation of lights (*bi-tajallī al-anwār*); while the third belongs to those who see by the extinction of the signs (*āthār*) of creation."[78] Although not named in this passage, it would seem that those who use interpretation would be the doctors of dogmatic religion, while those who see by the lights are those of lesser sainthood, and those who transcend the signs of creation, as we saw earlier from Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, are the people of greater sainthood. The point here is that although Ibn Bākhilā does not use the terms *walāya ṣughra* or *kubrā*, his doctrine of *walāya* is in fact two-tiered.

Ibn Bākhilā describes another dual form of *walāya*. This is best seen as a model that contains a God-centred *walāya* and a human-centred *walāya*.

> *Walāya* is of two kinds: It is active as subject (*fāʿil*) . . . or as object (*mafʿūl*) . . . If it functions as subject, then God takes charge of (*tawallā*) His servant and sets him in the way of obedience, shelters him from disobedience, and bestows upon him gnosis, all of this by His guidance. If it is active as object, then the servant turns towards God and is granted obedience or His command [in the case of messengers], and the avoidance of divine proscriptions, while being occupied with service to Him.[79]

Thus, the first form of *walāya* describes God's upholding of humanity, and the second, humanity's best response. This depiction may be understood as

presenting *walāya* as a two-sided coin, with divine guidance on the one hand, and human service on the other. This understanding is quite natural in light of the alternating meaning of the term *walī* (pl. *awliyā*), or saint, derived from the same root as *walāya*, that is WLY. In fact the word *walī* is found in the Qur'an referring both to God, as guardian, and to His saints. For example, in 7:196 we read "My protector is Allāh (*walī-ya*), who sent down the Book," and in 10:62 "Truly, the saints (*awliyā*) will have no fear, nor shall they grieve."

Sanctity and Prophecy

An essential dimension of the concept of *walāya* as developed in the Shādhiliyya tradition was that of the extension, in one form or another, of the role of prophecy (*nubuwwa*) into *walāya*. In the doctrine of Ibn ʿArabī, as inherited from Tirmidhī, sanctity exists not only in the saints but also in the prophets. In effect, *walāya* encompasses prophecy and messengerhood. Yet, at the same time, the saints as individuals are the inheritors of certain prophets, and this heritage (*wirātha*) provides a spiritual model for the saints.[80] It appears that this expansion of *walāya* was not taken up by the earliest Shādhilī shaykhs. Although it is clear that they had read Tirmidhī's *Khatm al-awliyā'* and knew something of Ibn ʿArabī,[81] their concept of sainthood did not take up the extension of *walāya* upward into the realm of prophecy; it did not take up the idea of *nubuwwa ʿāmma*.[82] The distinction between sanctity and prophecy was more clearly preserved, seeking simply to extend the function of prophecy downward into the realm of sainthood.

However, the Shādhilite tradition did follow Tirmidhī and Ibn ʿArabī in the recognition of saints as the inheritors of the prophets. According to Tirmidhī, the saint's inheritance may consist of a share of prophecy. This share dictates his position in the hierarchy of saints.

> There are ranks amongst persons drawn unto God (*majdhūbūn*) and those who hear supernatural speech (*muḥaddathūn*). Some of them have been given a third of prophethood, while others have been given a half and others still have been given more. But the most highly endowed in this respect is the one who possesses the seal of [sainthood] (*khatm al-walāya*) with God.[83]

As noted above, in the Akbarian system the forms *walāya* takes in individual saints is determined by prophetic heritage (*wirātha*). This dynamic is certainly present in the early Shādhiliyya, but there is little elaboration. For example, in a passage intended to refute those who would deny the miracles of the saints, Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh argues that these miracles are linked to powers beyond the saints

themselves. More precisely, these miracles are possible only because of the saint's association with a prophet.

> Perhaps the reason for denying miracles (*karāma*) is the begrudging of them the one to whom they have come. In fact, when miracles appear through (a saint), they are simply witness to the sincerity of the path of him he follows (*matbūʿihi*). They are a *karāma* when they occur to a saint; and they are a *muʿjiza* (prophetic evidentiary miracle) when they occur to him [whom the saint] follows (*mutābaʿatihi*). Thus they say, every *karāma* for a saint is a *muʿjiza* for the prophet that the saint follows. So do not watch the follower, rather look at the might of his leader.[84]

Although the term *wirātha* is not used here, it is clear that it is the basic concept being described. It is interesting to note that this model of inheritance places the prophets squarely between the saints and God—in contrast to the principle that sainthood is based on an ultimate proximity to the divine.

In other passages the idea of prophetic heritage may be presented generally or quite specifically. Al-Shādhilī himself makes the general statement, "Even though the ranks of the prophets and messengers are illustrious, [the saints] have a share (*naṣīb*) in them, since there is no prophet or messenger who does not have an heir (*wārith*) from this community. Every heir has a rank according to his inheritance from his legate."[85] Although his theory of prophetic inheritance is not well developed, al-Shādhilī did add a second tier to *wirātha*. He states, "Among the [saints] there are a number who exclusively enjoy the endowment (*mādda*) from the Prophet of God, which they witness as the essence of certainty—but this number is small. And yet those of verification (*taḥqīq*) are many. Every prophet and saint has some endowment from the Prophet."[86] The last line is particularly significant. It sets up a second level of inheritance, namely, from the prophets upward to Muḥammad. In the *wirātha* model presented by Ibn ʿArabī the *ḥaqīqa muḥammadiyya* would be put into service here as the overarching entity from which all prophetic heritage is inherited. For al-Shādhilī himself this seems to be the case also, but again, elaboration is lacking.

In the *Durrat al-asrār*, al-Shādhilī is recorded as saying that the saints are the substitutes (*abdāl*) for the messengers (*rusul*) and the prophets (*anbiyāʾ*); naturally those who are the substitutes for Muḥammad are the elite. He says,

> The saints are divided into two categories. One of them substitutes for the [messengers], and the other substitutes for the prophets. The substitutes of the prophets are the righteous ones (*al-ṣāliḥūn*) and the substitutes of the messengers are the sincere (*al-ṣiddīqūn*). The difference

> between the righteous ones and the sincere is like the difference between the prophets and messengers. There are some of one, and some of the other—except that, among them, there are a number who exclusively enjoy the endowment from the [Messenger] of God.[87]

The term *abdāl* is used here in the early Shādhiliyya not as a part of a set hierarchy, but rather as a more general saintly category. In the preceding passage no clear priority is given to either the substitutes of the prophets or the substitutes of the messengers. However, elsewhere we are told that the substitutes of the messengers are the elite, while the common are the substitutes of the prophets.[88] Yet the following seems to suggest that the substitutes of the prophets constitute the highest position possible. "This is the path of ascent to the presence of the Most High, Most Lofty. This is the path of the beloved, substitutes of the prophets (*abdāl al-anbiyā'*), and of what is accorded any one of them beyond this, no person can describe a single particle."[89] In light of the lack of any further discussion of *abdāl* in the sources, it is safe to say that these discussions suggest the early Shādhiliyya did not follow the fixed hierarchical model established by Ibn ʿArabī.

This extension of prophecy toward the saints may be found also in Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī. He states, "[K]now that the lights appearing from the saints of God are from the emanation of the lights of prophethood upon them." Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh develops this idea further, identifying the content of this irradiation (*anwār)* as being the Muḥammadan Reality. He continues, "So the Muḥammadan Reality (*al-ḥaqīqa al-muḥammadiyya*) resembles the sun, and the hearts of the saints are like moons."[90] Elsewhere he links the prophets to the saints by stating that "the graces received by the saints are from the Muḥammadan Reality; and the saints are the lights of prophethood, and the dawning of their illuminations. . . . The manifestations of the lights of sainthood are permanent due to the permanence of the lights of prophethood."[91] Of course this does not mean that the saints have wholly taken up the prophetic function. Rather, they remain in their realm as saints, but their function is to hold the place of the Prophet once he has left his earthly community. We read, "The Prophet calls [us] to God by the insight (*baṣīra*) of his function as perfect messenger. And the saints call [us to God] according to their insights, either by Polehood (*quṭbāniyya*), sincerity (*ṣiddīqiyya*), or sainthood (*walāya*)."[92]

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Gerald Elmore has suggested that the debate that arose in the third/ninth century over the issue of the superiority of the saint over the prophet (تفضيل الولي ام النبي) was a central point of contention between sufism and its critics. He mentions statements from early figures such as Abū Yazīd Basṭāmī that seem to take the saints as superior to the prophets; for example, "We plunged into a sea, while the prophets remained on the shore."[93] Elmore goes on to show how Ibn ʿArabī tried to rationalize these kinds of

statements in order to preserve the theologically necessary superiority of the prophets. A generation later, Nūr al-Dīn Isfarāyinī (d. 717/1317), in the same conservative spirit, reconciled the following two statements: "The end of the saints is the beginning point of the prophets" and "The end of the prophets is the starting point of the saints." The first sentence is taken to refer to the mystical path, thus the implication being that the most elite stage of sainthood ends at the point prophethood begins. The second proposition, having come from Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥammū'ī (d. 649/1252),[94] Isfarāyinī takes as refering to sharia, that is, that the prophets have finished bringing the divine law, and the task of guiding the community has then been left to the saints.[95] Al-Shādhilī does not address this topic directly, but he does seem to place the elite of the saints above the prophets in one statement. We must note first who this elite is. We are told, "To realize perfection in their [the sufis'] state is difficult except for the saint at the end of his state (*fī nihāya ḥālihi*), or the sincere (*ṣiddīq*) at the beginning (of his state); because the end (*ghāyāt*) of the saints is the starting point (*bidāyāt*) of the sincere."[96] This sincere one is thus to be understood as a spiritual elite, in contrast to the general category of saints. [97] In the following passage this elite seems to be one person who takes up God's decree after the prophets and messengers:

> The prophets, messengers and poles all held closely to [God's decree], witnessing only God and His decree. They made clear statements, explicated, commented and prescribed religious laws to those beneath them in rank, until the command of God should come to the sincere one (*ṣiddīq*), chosen for Himself, whom He willed for the purpose of revealing this science . . . and the science of the spirit, the science of love, and the science of the intermediate state (*barzakh*) before the beginning of existence (*wujūd*).[98]

From this statement it seems that al-Shādhilī is not only echoing the idea that "[t]he end of the prophets is the starting point of the saints," probably in the sense of sharia, mentioned above, but his *ṣiddīq* is also an allusion to the Seal of saints. This sincere one, in light of his role, is the fulfillment of the religious sciences established by the prophets and propagated by the poles.

In Ibn Bākhilā's thought the extension of prophecy to include sanctity is also well represented. Although he maintains a clear distinction between the levels of sainthood and prophecy, the essence of the divine, as it moves into both realms, is one. First, Ibn Bākhilā approaches from the perspective of the simple believer. He writes, "By the light of prophethoods (*nubuwwāt*) faith is strong, and you accept religious practices (*aʿmāl*). By the light of the sainthoods (*walāyāt*) you remember the acts of devotion, and you complete the states by following and emulation, and wanting to follow the rays of the greater

light by way of the lesser light."[99] Thus, the believer follows both the lower saints and the higher prophets. The first category leads to the second. In comparing the natures of these two groups, Ibn Bākhilā places them at a distance from each other, stressing their differences.

> The realities of the prophets are established in the realm of the unseen (*ghayb*), and in their real essences (*bi-dhawātihim al-ḥaqīqiyya*) they are there. They have tenuities (*raqā'iq*) to the world of witnessing . . . and the apparent realms. The saints are in the world of witnessing, but they have tenuities to the unseen. The prophets penetrated the veil [which separates the two domains] with their realities, while the saints penetrated the veil by their tenuitites.[100]

Elsewhere Ibn Bākhilā explains that the saints, like the prophets, receive divine communications that they are to pass on to the believers. As in the above quotations, he is here distinguishing between the two groups. However, he will follow this with an explanation that does away with any differences in the essence of these communications. He writes, "The true path (*al-ṭarīq al-ḥaqīqī*) for creation on earth is to reach God. The door open to them [on earth] leads to gnosis (*maʿrifa*) of God. The reason for this knowledge (*ʿilm*) of God is simply two things: the revelation (*waḥy*) to the prophets, and the inspiration (*ʿilm ilhāmī*) to the saints."[101] Ibn Bākhilā goes on, however, to say that the essences of these two modes of divine communication are one. We read,

> When the exalted [divine] unveiling (*kashf*) descends to the first level, it appears in the clearest form of its self-disclosure (*tajallī*) to those it touches. This is the original knowledge (*ʿilm aṣlī*) and the universal light (*nūr kullī*). These belong to the prophets. If it descends from here, and is then attained, this is inspirational knowledge (*ʿilm ilhāmī*) and the opening light, which is certainty to the greatest of the servants, and the saints.[102]

Thus a divine Self-disclosure passes through consecutive stages—being first accessible to prophets, and then to saints and elite believers. A prophet's knowledge of the divine is different from that of the saint, due to them being at different levels, yet this knowledge is at the same time of a single essence. The prophets and the saints do not offer the believer parallel communications, they offer the same knowledge, but from different perspectives, and one after the other.[103]

As mentioned above, Ibn Bākhilā's *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya* takes up the question of saints and prophets. The primary concern of its commentary on *Ḥizb al-baḥr* is to explain how the "inspired" prayer of a saint can contain quo-

tations from the revelation (Qur'an) to a prophet. The question is not just, Is it appropriate to quote and paraphrase the Qur'an? but also, How can the saint (and his common followers) petition for what should be reserved for prophets only? Ibn Bākhilā's answers to these questions shine an indirect light on his notion of *walāya*. In his comments on al-Shādhilī's petition, "*nas'aluka al-ʿiṣma*" (we ask you for protection / inerrancy), he notes that *ʿiṣma*, as generally understood, is restricted to prophets, who are protected from committing grave sins. He reconciles this doctrine with the saint's petition by saying, "He [al-Shādhilī] did not ask to be preserved from disobedience (*maʿṣiyya*), nor from doubt or uncertainty or delusion completely—for inerrancy (*ʿiṣma*) is particular to the prophets . . . [Rather] he asked for *ʿiṣma* from the kind [of doubts and delusion] that blocks the heart from faith in the unseen."[104] Elsewhere Ibn Bākhilā repeats this idea more clearly, pointing out that (not unlike *nubuwwa* and *ilhām* sharing a common essence) *ʿiṣma* takes form according to its location. He writes, "The prophets have an *ʿiṣma* specific to them, and the saints have theirs, likewise the pious and the [common] believers—all according to their state (*ḥāl*)."[105] Further, *ʿiṣma* may be attained by those other than prophets and messengers, according to what is proper for their spiritual level.[106]

The operative distinction here is "according to their level." For Ibn Bākhilā this also allows him to account for other apparent paradoxes. On the issue of how both the common believer and the saint—and a prophet for that matter—may make the identical supplication, for example for forgiveness, in *Ḥizb al-baḥr*, Ibn Bākhilā points out that since the petitioners are at different spiritual levels, the meaning of their petitions is different. He writes,

> But what are the devotions (*ʿibādāt*) of the messengers compared to those of the prophets? What are the devotions of the prophets compared to those of the saints? and those of the saints compared to those of the pious, etc., to the last level of believer? It is inconceivable that the realities [of these devotions] differ in themselves, rather, [the case must be that] they differ according to the state of him to whom they appear . . . Both the master of the exalted spiritual level (*maqām*), and he who is lower, ask with one word, one reality, yet [the realities] differ due to the difference of [the petitioners'] levels. The prophets ask for forgiveness, and most [common] servants do likewise, but how different their requests are! The pardon requested by the prophets is different from that requested by others. The difference is not to be found in the reality of forgiveness itself, but rather in the understanding (*iʿtibār*) of its location (*maḥall*).[107]

Ibn Bākhilā applies the same argument to the meaning of the phrase "[Lord,] subjugate to us this sea as You subjugated the sea to Moses." He remarks that

this should not necessarily be taken as a request to God each time to part the seas, rather it should be understood as a petition for the miracle of God's omnipotence working good in our lives—establishing in us righteousness, godliness, wisdom. He says, "Know that the appearance of omnipotence (*qudra*) is sometimes by grace and [dramatic] miracle and the breaking of the anticipated norms; or it is by the miracle of fixing norms and engendering wisdom . . . The second kind [of miracle] is for the generality of creation, while the first kind is only for the elite of the prophets and the saints."[108] Thus, Ibn Bākhilā's discussions in *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya*—reflecting his earlier discussions of *walāya*—move to blur the barriers between the prophets and the saints (not unlike the effort to defend the blurry lines between the Qur'an and the *ḥizb*). This is done by extension to the saints of attributes previously reserved for the prophets. The same blurring of lines occurs in Ibn Bākhilā's resolution of the apparent paradox of a prophet asking for forgiveness, like any other simple believer; or a common believer asking for the same divine favor for which a saint or a prophet might petition.

We see that for Ibn Bākhilā the concept of *walāya* is rather complex. His master, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī, had laid out the two-tiered model, that of greater and lesser sanctity. Ibn Bākhilā took this up and expanded upon it. We noted that this model was not that followed by Ibn ʿArabī. It seems that for Ibn Bākhilā and the Shādhilite tradition, one of the dimensions of *walāya* may be found—at least potentially—in every believer. This lower dimension also functions as a stepping-stone for the soul along a path to higher degrees of sanctity.

It was also pointed out that Ibn Bākhilā's doctrine of *walāya*, in the Shādhilite tradition, sought to expand the realm of prophecy and messengerhood to intersect with sanctity. While recognizing that saints and prophets receive knowledge of, and from, the divine in different ways (one by inspiration, the other by revelation), the essence of this divine informing (*tajallī*) is the same in both instances. In the more theologically driven work, *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya*, the discussion of inerrancy (*ʿiṣma*) is based on the same understanding, which is that the nature of understanding and communication with God is relative to one's spiritual level. Like *walāya* taking on different forms at different levels, the same petitions of God may be used by prophets, saints, and even the common believer.

Before moving on to our discussion of the Wafāʾiyya, a few words should be said concerning the doctrine of *walāya* as we have encountered it so far. These comments will also serve us later in chapters 5 and 6, when we discuss the Wafāʾiyya contribution to the concept of *walāya*. We have seen that for the early Shādhiliyya the idea of proximity to the divine (*qurba*) is a primary element. We also noted the development of a two-tiered model, which in shorthand

we may describe as the distinction between a greater and a lesser sainthood. It was noted that these two tiers present a gradation of *walāya*; that is, a sanctity that increases in quality as the individual ascends the levels. This model places *walāya* in the sphere of spiritual discipline, that is, the way followed by an individual seeker. From its earliest formulations, sufi theory has always conceived of spiritual discipline as a path (*ṭarīqa*) consisting of spiritual levels (*maqāmāt*) to be attained. It appears that at least part of the doctrine of sanctity held by the early Shādhiliyya saw *walāya* as one of these paths. It is also worth noting that this model is certainly closer to Tirmidhī's system of distinguishing between two types of saints than it is to Ibn ʿArabī's elaborate typologies of saints.

We also noted the difference between what we called Ibn ʿArabī's "inflation" of *walāya* upward, and the early Shādhiliyya's extending of prophetic function downward. This is the contrast between the emphasis on the eternal nature of *walāya* in Ibn ʿArabī and the understanding in the early Shādhiliyya that sainthood was essentially the extension of the prophetic role—beyond the lifetime of the Prophet—into the mundane world through the saints. This latter position again is much more in accord with Tirmidhī's system than it is with that of Ibn ʿArabī.

The early Shādhiliyya did not follow Ibn ʿArabī in his universalizing of *walāya* or the figure of Muḥammad (although Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī does briefly mention the concept). Nor did the early Shādhiliyya take up Ibn ʿArabī's elaborations on the role of the Seal. This idea was known to them at least through Tirmidhī's works, but they appear to have steered away from it. The objection may be raised here that Ibn ʿArabī's concept of *nubuwwa ʿāmma* would have to be considered an extension of the prophetic function. Yet for our purposes of comparison, the point being made is that, despite the terminology involved, for Ibn ʿArabī, *walāya* has a much inflated role in comparison to its understanding among the Shādhiliyya, for whom *walāya* is more like a counter balance or completion of prophecy.

Chapter 3

The Wafā'iyya in Time and Space

Arriving from the Maghreb

Before moving to discuss the writings of Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā' we should first take up the essential outline of their lives and the wider context in which they lived. The Wafā'iyya is certainly an Egyptian order, but its origins are to be found within the currents of a much wider tide of migration from the Maghreb. Movement from Arabia across North Africa has a long history. The arrival of Idrīs ibn ʿAbd Allāh from Arabia in 172/788 ultimately led to the founding of Fez and the Idrīsid dynasty, which was to last into the fourth/tenth century.[1] Moving in the other direction, from west to east, the Fatimid Caliph al-Muʿizz, in the latter half of the fourth/tenth century, would extend the nascent Fatimid empire from Tunisia into Egypt.[2] The tide was again reversed in the fifth/eleventh century with the demographically significant migration of the Banū Ḥilāl Arab tribes from the Ḥijāz into the Maghreb. Although nowhere near a movement on the same scale, we saw earlier that al-Shādhilī, and a number of his followers, were part of the steady trickle of scholars and merchants from Morocco and Tunisia in the seventh/thirteenth century. Moving to Alexandria at the beginning of what was to be a long period of prosperity under the Mamluks, al-Shādhilī's order was to enjoy great success in Egypt and was thus positioned to expand into the Levant and the eastern lands of the Islamic world. Al-Shādhilī died in 656/1258, but of course Maghrebis continued to arrive in Egypt most simply on the way to Arabia, but many to seek a new life in the growing cities of Alexandria and Cairo. Following the same road, and at roughly the same time as al-Shādhilī, was the grandfather of Muḥammad Wafā', Muḥammad al-Najm of Tunis. Before jumping into geneologies and

geography, however, let us read a traditional general narrative of Muḥammad Wafā' and his roots. This account will serve us later as a jumping-off point to further details.

Muḥammad Wafā', the founder of the Wafā'iyya:

> He was born in Alexandria in 702/1301. His speech concerning the mystical sciences was peculiar (غريب). He wrote many works, among them *Kitāb al-ʿurūs*, *Kitāb al-shaʿā'ir* and a great *dīwān* of poetry.[3] It is said that he is named Wafā' because one day the Nile stopped its yearly rise, falling short of its completion (*al-wafā'*).[4] The people of Cairo were resolved to flee the land [in anticipation of famine], when Muḥammad Wafā' appeared at the river's edge and said, "By the grace of God, Rise!" The river then rose and the water reached its proper level.
>
> He travelled in the Way of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, under the guidance of Dā'ūd ibn Mākhilā. He went to Akhmīm [near Suhāj], marrying there and establishing a large *zāwiya*. People flocked to visit him. He then moved to Cairo, taking up residence on the island of al-Rūḍa. There, engaging in devotions and busying himself with the remembrance of God, his fame spread to the most distant corners.
>
> He died in Cairo, on the 11th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, in the year 765/1363, and is burried in the Qarāfa cemetery between the [sufi shaykhs] Abū al-Saʿūd ibn Abī al-ʿAshā'ir and Tāj al-Dīn ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, according to his wish before dying: "Burry me between Saʿd and ʿAṭā'."[5]
>
> Muḥammad Wafā' was Maghrebi in origin, his grandfather Muḥammad al-Najm having arrived at Alexandria. He [al-Najm] was the master of splendid mystical states, and clear miracles. He joined with the pole Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī, and they both drew on [the teachings of] his master.[6] Al-Najm's place of birth was Tunis, and his family are from there and the area of Sfax.[7] He settled in Alexandria, where he was blessed with a son, Muḥammad al-Awsaṭ, the father of Muḥammad Wafā'.
>
> Muḥammad al-Awsaṭ was famous for his sanctity, being among the companions of knowledge and excellence. He died young, being burried in their *zāwiya* in Alexandria, known as the Najmiyya, beside his father.
>
> When Muḥammad Wafā' died, he left two sons, ʿAlī Wafā' and Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Wafā'. They were young at the time, and so were raised under the tutelage of Muḥammad al-Zaylaʿī. When ʿAlī reached the age of seventeen, he took his father's place, holding [sufi]

> gatherings. His *dhikr* spread throughout the land, and his followers multiplied.
>
> For the most part he resided on the island of al-Rūḍa. He composed supplications, prayers, admonitions, poetry and other works. His death was at home, on Tuesday the second of Dhū al-Ḥijja, in the year 807/1405. By way of sons he had Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, Abū al-Tayyib, Abū al-Tāhir and Abū al-Qāsim.[8]

Halfway through this account, mention is made of Muḥammad al-Najm. In spite of his being described here as having "splendid mystical states, and clear miracles," there seems to be no mention of him, either in the Egyptian or Tunisian sources, beyond his position in the Wafā' geneology. In fact, the family's descent is rather unremarkable until it is traced back to the second/eighth century. At this point ʿAlid credentials are established through Idrīs ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the founder of the Idrīsid state in Morocco.[9] Although this family was clearly ʿAlid by blood, it cannot be said to have been Shīʿī in any overt way. The Idrīsids ruled far from the struggles taking place in the Islamic heartland seeking to restore the house of the Prophet to the caliphate, and at a period before the development of Shīʿism as a distinct doctrinal system. Idrīs himself died during the lifetime of the seventh Shīʿī Imām, Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d.183/799).[10] Although the Idrīsids were not Shīʿite, this does not mean that the family that came to be known as the Wafā' did not proudly identify themselves as descendants of the Ahl al-Bayt, that is, people of the Prophet's family. As we shall see below, this has remained an important part of their social standing.

This pedigree claimed by the Wafā' family is quite distinct, however, from the spiritual ancestors it claims in its *silsila* (chain of transmission) of esoteric science. Sources for the Wafā'iyya order reproduce a line of esoteric initiation that goes back through various sufi figures and Imāms to Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī. The line first runs through the Shaykhs of the early Shādhiliyya: Dā'ūd ibn Bākhilā (733/1332), Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh Iskandarī (709/1309), al-Mursī (686/1287), al-Shādhilī (658/1258), Ibn Mashīsh (622/1225) . . . al-Junayd (297/909), al-Sarī al-Saqaṭī (cir. 253/867), Maʿrūf al-Karkhī (200/815), ʿAlī al-Riḍā (203/818, eighth Shīʿī Imām), Mūsā al-Kāẓim (183/799, seventh Imām), Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (148/765, sixth Imām), Muḥammad Bāqir (117/735 or 122/740, fifth Imām), Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (94/712 fourth Imām), Imām al-Ḥusayn (61/681 third Imām), ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (40/661).[11] The *silsila* represents a claim to a tradition of mystical knowledge, but here, as is usually the case in the Islamic mysticism, there is no tangible conncection between those at one end of the chain and those at the other. In other words, the *tarīqa* Wafā'iyya has not actually inherited teachings, texts, or practices from Shīʿī Imāms. As we saw in the previous

chapter, the early Shādhiliyya cannot be said to hold any ideas of spiritual authority that directly reflect the Shīʿī doctrine of the Imāms. Later on, when we explore ʿAlī and Muḥammad Wafā's teachings on *walāya*, beyond certain shared terminology and veneration of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, it will become clear that they do not reflect a Shīʿī theology.[12]

In the hagiographical passage quoted above, mention is made of the origin of Muḥammad Wafā's *laqab* or honorific, Wafā'. This title has served as the family name down to the modern era—often appearing as Ibn Wafā' (e.g., ʿAlī ibn Wafā'). However, this *laqab* was not unknown before Muḥammad adopted it in the eighth/fourteenth century. The name Abū al-Wafā' was used by three tribes: the Ḥijāzī tribe descended from Abū al-Wafā' Aḥmad ibn Sulayman, parts of the Tamīm tribe of the Ḥijāz, and one tribe from Iraq.[13] Of the latter tribe, the famous saint Abū al-Wafā' Tāj al-ʿĀrifīn (d. 501/1107) had been a teacher of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166) in Iraq.[14] Some of the families derived from Tāj al-ʿĀrifīn, known as Wafā'iyya, traveled to Egypt and the Levant at various points in time.[15] One family was that of Abū al-Wafā' Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 803/1401), which settled in Jerusalem in 782/1380. His great-great grandfather, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 650/1253), had originally moved from Iraq to Palestine. Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad brought what was to become known as the "*zāwiya* of the Abū al-Wafā family," across from the western edge of the Ḥarām enclosure.[16] His descendants were the shaykhs of the Wafā'iyya order in Jerusalem.[17] This family is not related to the Wafā's of Egypt, nor does their Wafā'iyya order appear to have any connection to the the Wafā'iyya of Cairo.[18] Another well-known descendant of Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad was Abū Bakr al-Wafā'ī (d. 991/1583), who lived in Damascus and Aleppo and about whom more than one hagiography was written.[19] However, the "Wafā'iyya" of Syria (a branch of the Shādhiliyya) existed from the mideighteenth century through to about 1950. Its founder was another Abū al-Wafā', who died in 1140/1727.[20]

In the passage quoted above, we heard the miracle of Muḥammad's commanding the Nile to rise. Not surprisingly, however, this is not the only report of signs of his sanctity. In the hagiography composed by Abū al-Laṭā'if,[21] an account is related in which the head of the Shādhiliyya order in Egypt, Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, visits the infant Muḥammad Wafā'. In view of Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh's death date, this encounter would have been possible, since Muḥammad was seven years old at the shaykh's death. Abū al-Laṭā'if tells us, "When Sayyidī al-Kabīr [Muḥammad Wafā'] was born, Tāj al-Dīn ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh came with a number of companions to his home in order to visit him. When he saw the swaddling baby he kissed him, saying to his friends, 'This one has come [into the world] with the science of our [spiritual] realities.'"[22] Apparently Muḥammad Wafā' was more than precocious as child. It is said that he composed his many books on the sufi Way before reaching the age of ten.[23]

The spiritual link between Muḥammad Wafā' and his son ʿAlī is also a significant concern in the hagiography. Although ʿAlī was only six years old when his father died, he describes him as a storehouse of mystical knowledge from which he continues to draw.[24] On the authority of ʿAlī's nephew, it is related that on his deathbed Muḥammad took the form of ʿAlī, saying, "My vision is his vision."[25] Elsewhere the story is told of Muḥammad Wafā' passing down his gift for mystical poetry to his son ʿAlī. Shaʿrānī tells us,

> When [Muḥammad's] death neared, he conferred his belt (*minṭaqa*) upon al-Abzārī, the composer of *muwashshahāṭ* poems, saying, "This is placed with you in trust until you confer it upon my son ʿAlī." While he had the belt he composed elegant *muwashshahāṭ*. Once ʿAlī grew up, and he conferred it upon him, he returned to his previous condition of not being able to compose *muwashshahāṭ*.[26]

Although ʿAlī Wafā was his father's second son, Shihāb al-Dīn being the first, there is no question as to his superior status. As we shall see in the following chapters, ʿAlī was a mystical writer and of great ability. His older brother, however, clearly made no such contribution. Nevertheless, the older Shihāb al-Dīn did direct the Wafā'iyya order for seven years after the death of his younger brother.

There does appear in this hagiographical tradition a need to demonstrate the superiority of the Wafā's over their spiritual forefathers. As we saw above, Muḥammad's superiority is recognized by Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī. The claim is also made by Muḥammad himself that although he was schooled in the mystical sciences by Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh's student, Dā'ūd ibn Bākhilā, he has since eclipsed that tradition and set out on his own Way. He says, "We were directed (ننتسب) first by Dā'ūd, but now this connection with him is broken, as it is with all others."[27] ʿAlī Wafā' later contributes to the superior image of the Wafā'iyya. As we read earlier, an associate of ʿAlī's great-grandfather, Muḥammad al-Najm, was Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī. This great Egyptian saint founded a popular sufi order, the Burhāniyya. It was probably the success of this order that led ʿAlī to consider this saint another figure to be spiritually surpassed. Abū al-Laṭā'if tells the story of ʿAlī traveling to the grave of al-Dasūqī, only to be ignored by its living occupant. In response to this snub, ʿAlī begins reciting "Allāh, Allāh," at which point all the plants on earth join him in recitation.[28] This concern with surpassing one's predecessors is not without precedent. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī himself, when asked about his spiritual masters, said that at one point he had been directed (كنت انتسب) by ʿAbd al-Salām ibn Mashīsh, but now he swims in the five Adamic seas of the Prophet, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī, and the five spiritual seas of Gabriel, Michael, ʿAzrā'īl, Isrāfīl and the Great Spirit (الروح الاكبر).[29]

Not surpisingly, in addition to their relations with other saints, Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā' were able to get the best of all sorts of enemies. In the hagiography, the cases range from a scheming vizier, to a doubting shaykh, to abusive Mamluke soldiers.[30] It must be noted, however, that most of the miracles attributed to Muḥammad and his son are rather more straighforward. Typically, an eastern holy man visits and has produced for him lemon from his native land or a boy drowned in the Nile is brought back to life.[31]

The spiritual authority of the Wafā'iyya was certainly not based primarily on their abilities to out-perform their rivals or to impress visitors. A more substantial portrait of sanctity is also offered in the hagiography. Less dramatic, but more interesting for our study, are the statments that reflect an understanding of sainthood itself. In one place Muḥammad Wafā' makes the following claim: "Every saint of God, from my time to the advent of the [final] Hour, draws from me, either at his start or his end." The passage (presumably Abū al-Laṭā'if speaking here) goes on to identify Muḥammad Wafā' as the "Seal of saints, as indicated by the author of the *ʿAnqā mughrib*."[32] Yet as we shall see in the next chapter, where Muḥammad Wafā's understanding of sanctity is explored, statements of Sealhood will be based more precisely on Muḥammad's own interpretation of the Seal of saints. For example, we shall see that Muḥammad Wafā' claims for himself an office of Sealhood which, as distinct from the system of Ibn ʿArabī, incorporates both general and Muḥammadan sainthood.

Wafā' sanctity is also attested to through symbolic visions. The story is told that in a dream ʿAlī once found himself traveling through the heavens. There he found an elegant palace, around which were a number of open graves. These sweet-smelling graves contained living occupants wrapped in white shrouds. When ʿAlī asked them who they were, he was informed that they are all the saints of their times and that their master is their Seal. They await this Seal's intercession. When ʿAlī Wafā' finally reaches the door of the palace, he opens it only to find himself seated as the master of the palace.[33]

Beyond the claims to Sealhood, ʿAlī Wafā's spiritual authority is based, in the hagiography, upon his encounters with the Prophet Muḥammad. The first of these occured when ʿAlī was a boy studying Qur'anic recitation. After a difficult lesson, he describes the following vision: "Then, in a waking state, I saw the Prophet. He was wearing a white cotton shirt, which suddenly appeared on me. He then said to me, "Read!" so I read for him Surat al-Ḍuḥā (Q. 93)."[34] The similarity to the traditional account of the vision of Gabriel to the Prophet is striking. There the angel brought to Muḥammad the first Revelation, saying, "Read!"[35] ʿAlī Wafā' goes on to relate a second vision, which occured near the grave of his father in the Qarāfa cemetery. He says, "At the age of twenty-one, I was praying the morning prayers at al-Qarāfa, when I saw the Prophet before me. He embraced me, saying, 'Truly, your Lord blesses you.'" ʿAlī goes on to say, "I took [the function of] his tongue, from that time onwards."[36] This is a rather bold

claim, leaving no doubt as to the elite nature of ʿAlī Wafā's sanctity. Even when the Prophet appears to one of ʿAlī's followers, it is to announce that ʿAlī's special spiritual status means that his supplications to God are never left unheeded.[37]

In addition to the hagiographical tradition, however, we do have one contemporary souce that takes a critical stand toward the Wafā'iyya. This is the biographer and chronicler Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449). In his entry on ʿAlī Wafā', he praises the subject's personal qualities but objects to some of the practices that take place at the Wafā' *dhikr*. Ibn Ḥajar says that ʿAlī Wafā' is "vigilant, keen of mind and cultured," but although "I met him, I reject his companions gesturing in prostration towards him." Also, while in the middle of a *samāʿ* ceremony, he turned about saying, "Wherever you turn, there is the Face of God" (Q. 2:115). Those present in the mosque cried out, "You have blasphemed! You have blasphemed!" so he and his companions left.[38] It would thus appear that ʿAlī Wafā' at times faced public censure for the excesses of his prayer and the intense devotion he received from his followers. The biographers have left us no other firsthand accounts of ʿAlī Wafā', so there is no way to verify Ibn Ḥajar's observations. Nevertheless, the limited details that have come down to us concerning the Wafā' home on the island of al-Rūḍa appear, at least circumstantially, to corroborate Ibn Ḥajar's portrait of a sufi Shaykh challenging the boundaries of conventional ritual.

It appears that ʿAlī withdrew the activities of the Wafā'iyya to the family home on al-Rūḍa. This privacy no doubt allowed him, and subsequent khalifas of the order, the freedom to pursue their spiritual practices. Ibn Ḥajar himself describes a Wafā' house which was self-sufficient. Apparently Muḥammad Wafā' set up a minbar in his home, from which he preached to his companions and followers as part of the Friday prayers.[39] This unusual observance of the otherwise community-oriented Friday prayers is not pointed to approvingly.

That the Wafā' home on al-Rūḍa was the center of the sufi order there is no doubt. A ninth/fifteenth century figure, al-Zawāwī, provides us with an independent account. He became an acquaintance of Yaḥya ibn Wafā' (d. 857/1453), the fourth khalifa of the Wafā'iyya. Al-Zawāwī refers to the house on al-Rūḍa as the "*bayt al-dhikr*" (house of remembrance), and speaks of aspirants entering cells there to practice *khalwa* (seclusion).[40] Later sources tell us that Muḥammad Wafā's *Ḥizb al-fatḥ* was recited in the family *bayt al-sajjāda* each week.[41] The historical records, to my knowledge, have not left us any more detailed accounts of the ritual-devotional practices of the early Wafā'iyya. Yet we may understand that generally an aura of elitism and charismatic mystery seem to have been nurtured. The later chronicler, al-Maqrīzī, notes that ʿAlī Wafā' and his brother, Shihāb al-Dīn, received exagerated affections from their followers. He also implies that this situation was encouraged by their habit of only appearing in public for spiritual gatherings and in order to visit their father's grave.[42]

Among the Elite of Cairo

The creative energy of the first generations of Wafā's was not sustained once the family became established in the capital. The concerns Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā' had regarding sanctity were not pursued by their progeny, and the Wafā'iyya ceased to produce mystical literature beyond the occasional effort at poetry.[43] The Wafā' family did prosper, however, but only in the way of social prestige and wealth. As is the case so often with dynamic founders, their followers tend to ride on their coattails of tradition and charisma.

The office of the khalifa, or the *shaykh al-sajjāda* of the Wafā'iyya order, was held by the head of the family. Unlike the larger sufi orders, which usually broke down into regional branches not long after the death of the founder,[44] the Wafā'iyya never spread beyond Cairo in any meaningful way.[45] Not only was this order limited to Cairo, but its spiritual leadership was derived exclusively from within the family bloodline. The various biographical sources agree on the line of shaykhs as follows:[46]

1. ʿAlī Wafā' (d. 807/1405) [brother to the following]
2. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Abū al-ʿAbbās ibn Muḥammad Wafā' (d. 814/1412) [father to. . .]
3. Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad ibn Wafā' (d. 852/1448) [brother to]
4. Abū al-Siyādāt Yaḥya ibn Wafā' (d. 857/1453) [uncle to]
5. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Marāḥim (d. 867/1462) [father to]
6. Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl (d. 888/1483) [father to]
7. Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Abū al-Makārim (d. 908/1502) [father to]
8. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl al-Majdhūb (d. 942/1536) [father to]
9. Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Abū al-Makārim (d. 966/1558 or 968/1560) [father to]
10. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl (d. 1008/1599) [grandfather to no. 12] [uncle to]
11. Zayn al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū al-Ikrām (d. 1054/1644) [father to no. 13] [uncle to]
12. Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥya Abū al-Luṭf (d. 1067/1655) [cousin to]
13. Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Abū al-Takhṣīṣ (d. 1098/1687) [father to]
14. Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Abū al-Irshād (d. 1113/1701) [grandfather to no. 19] [brother to]
15. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Khāliq Abū al-Khayr (d. 1161/1748) [grandfather to no. 18] [uncle to]
16. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Ishrāq (d. 1171/1758) [uncle to]
17. Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Hādī (d. 1176/1762) [cousin to]
18. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Abū al-Imdād (d. 1182/1768) [cousin to]

19. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Anwār (d. 1228/1813) [uncle to]
20. Aḥmad Abū al-Iqbāl (d.?) [father to]
21. Aḥmad Abū al-Naṣr (d. 1280/1864) [father to]
22. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Khāliq Abū al-Futuḥāt (d. 1324/1907).[47]

Not mentioned in this list of the shaykhs of the *sajjāda* Wafā'iyya is the brother of Abū al-Fatḥ (no. 3), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū al-Faḍl (d. 814/1412). He is described by Ibn Ḥajar and al-Sakhāwī as a promising mystical thinker and poet, but he died the same year as his father, having drowned in the Nile.[48] Another important early figure was ʿAlī Wafā's daughter, Ḥusnā' (d. 888/1483). She was certainly more accomplished them her two sisters and four brothers. The biographer al-Sakhāwī tells us that she was the first director of the (Sultan) Īnāl *ribāṭ*, located near the Wafā'iyya *zāwiya* in the ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ quarter.[49] The Wafā' early on had established themselves among the civilian élite. The Sultan Jaqmaq (d. 857/1453) was a companion and one-time student of Abū al-Fatḥ (no. 3), even appearing in one of the shaykh's miracle stories.[50]

Generally, it may be said that most of the Wafā' shaykhs were neither innovative thinkers nor productive writers. Indicative of the conservative nature taken on by the Wafā' family is the record of their treatment of Abū al-Mawāhib ibn Zaghdān al-Tūnisī al-Shādhilī (d. 882/1477). Although Abū al-Mawāhib was a prolific and popular mystical writer of the Shādhilī tradition, the "sons of Abū al-Wafā'" seized him in their *zāwiya* and beat him. Bleeding from his head, he declared submissively, "You are my masters, and I am your servant."[51] Despite Shaʿrānī's reverence for the founders Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā', and his long association with Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl al-Majdhūb (khalifa no. 8), he describes Abū al-Mawāhib as the true inheritor of ʿAlī Wafā's eloquence.

Shaʿrānī[52] calls Abū al-Faḍl al-Majdhūb the "Seal of the cycles" and attributes miracles to him. However, the significance of the Wafā'iyya by this time certainly lay in more worldly pursuits. Before discussing the history of the Wafā'iyya among the religious elite of Cairo, let us finish with the *silsila* of the order. The nineteenth khalifa, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Anwār, claimed to be the Seal of the saints of the Wafā'iyya.[53] Although in fact he would be succeeded, his grandiose claim was not far off the mark. After his spectacular career—as will be seen below—there would be only three more Wafā' shaykhs. When Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Khāliq died in 1324/1906, his only surviving children were daughters, one of whom had married ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Bakrī, who then inherited the *sajjāda* of the Wafā'iyya. Being from the Bakrī family, this marked the end of the Wafā'iyya family's association with the order.[54]

As for the physical presence of the Wafā'iyya order and family, we heard earlier of the movement from Tunis to Alexandria by Muḥammad al-Najm in the early seventh/thirteenth century, and of Muḥammad Wafā's successful

move to Akhmīm.[55] The presence in Cairo was first established as a family home on the island of al-Rūḍa, which as we also saw, doubled as a mosque-*zāwiya*. At some point al-Rūḍa was abandoned; no trace of the site exists today. Early on, the "zāwiya of the ribāt," located in the ʿAbd al-Bāsit quarter, played a central role for the order. The building no longer survives. Al-Bakrī describes a ritual procession of each newly appointed khalifa out of the *zāwiyat al-ribāṭ*.[56] Close by, in the same quarter, was the Ribāt Zawjat Īnāl. Also near by was the Sabīl al-Wafā'iyya, established in 846/1442, and associated with Īnāl.[57] However, the most important site, the Great *zāwiya*, was established in the southern Qarāfa cemetery, near the shrine of Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh Iskandarī. The history of this complex is not clear either, at least before the year 1191/1777. At a later date, but before the end of the twelfth/eighteenth century, a large family home was built near the lagoon Birkat al-Fīl.[58] This compound contained a large hall that was at times used for festivities.[59]

At the heart of the Great *zāwiya* are the graves of Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā', covered by an elegant wooden dome. On the east side of the father and son graves is a small pool (approximately 1 m^2) which used to be filled with red sand.[60] It is not clear to me what this sand was used for. Surrounding this are the graves of seventeen of their descendants from various eras.[61] At some point after the death of ʿAlī Wafā', a structure was built some fifteen meters from the east side of the dome. This structure almost certainly functioned as a *zāwiya* and later extended either as a roof over graves or as a wall around them. (Traditionally, in the Qarāfa cemetery family plots are walled in, but the more elaborate may have roofs.)[62] Detailed records of this complex appear as of 1191/1777. Al-Jabartī tells us that in 1190 A.H., Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Anwār (khalifa no. 19) petitioned the representative of the Ottoman governor Muḥammad Pasha al-ʿIzzatī for help in repairing the Wafā's ancestral *zāwiya*. Abū al-Anwār was helped in this matter by the support of one Muḥammad Murtaḍā.[63] In response to this request, the Porte ordered fifty purses to be taken from his Egyptian treasury for the project—followed by an additional sum later, to complete the task. Jarbartī describes the repairs, which were more like rennovations, thus:

> The walls were torn down and widened at the base, with the result that the tombs and crypts in the foundations were destroyed. Then walls were built and decorated with inscriptions, various kinds of multi-colored marble, gold overlay, and marble pillars . . . Residences and other chambers were built around the *zāwiya*, and the adjacent palace where Shams al-Dīn (Abū al-Anwār) and his women used to stay during the annual *mawlid* festivities was enlarged.[64]

The result was a *zāwiya*-mosque shrine, measuring approximately twenty-seven metres by twenty-nine metres, built around the family burial plot. Included are

an impressive *miḥrāb* and *minbar*. Doors in the mosque lead to a servant's quarters and to the quarters of the attendant responsible for lamp lighting. These quarters are now in ruin. Two more doors lead to parts of the adjoining living complex. (I have not been able to investigate this area.) Inscriptions above the door mark the year 1191 AH as the date of the *firmān* from Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd for the construction.[65]

The Wafā'iyya observed a number of holidays (*mawāsim*) throughout the year. The *mawlid* of al-Muḥarram, marking the start of the New Year, became an important occasion under the direction of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Ishrāq (no. 16). The sources do little more than mention the observance of this holiday.[66] Nor do we have any details of the Wafā'iyya's observance of their *mawlid* of the eighth month, Shaʿbān, from the 18th to the 23rd.[67] One celebrated occasion, unique to the Wafā'iyya, was their *takniyya*. At this annual gathering the khalifa of the order would bestow a surname, or *kunya*, upon each of those attending. We know this was an early practice within the order since al-Zawāwī, in his dream journal, describes a visit from ʿAlī Wafā' in which the saint changes al-Zawāwī's *kunya*. Apparently, the fourth khalifa, Abū al-Siyādāt Yaḥya ibn Wafā', had conferred upon him the name Abū ʿĀbid, which was here changed to Abū Ḥāmid.[68] One date given for the *takniyya* ceremony is 27 Ramaḍān,[69] but al-Jabartī mentions that he received the *kunya* Abū al-ʿAzm from Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Abū al-Imdād (no. 18) in the year 1177/1764, as part of the celebration of the *mawlid al-nabī* (the Prophet's birthday).[70] This *mawlid* takes place on the eleventh day of the month of al-Rabīʿ al-Awwal. A fourth occasion is also mentioned, that of the *mīʿād*. The term may be translated as either "promise" or "meeting," but unfortunately no details of this event are recorded in our sources.[71]

Fortunately however, details of the investiture of novices have come down to us. This should not surprise us since the ceremony was rather colourful. A common ritual, from the earliest sufi organizations, was the passing down of a shaykh's mantle (*khirqa*) to his successor, as a sign of endorsement. However, in the medieval period the practice of handing down a mantle became degraded and referred usually to a simple induction into an order.[72] Many energetic sufis "received the *khirqa*" from shaykhs of more than one order. Abū Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the brother of the third khalifa of the Wafā'iyya, is credited with instituting a peculiar form of *khirqa* passing, centered not around a mantle but around the *tāj* and *shadd* (crown and belt).[73] We have no description of this investiture ceremony, but it seems likely that the "crown" was a colored fabric to be worn as part of one's normal headdress as later became common practice for members of sufi orders during public gatherings. As for the belt, the story of the *minṭaq* of Muḥammad Wafā' being passed down to ʿAlī—representing the transfer of his elegance and charisma—comes to mind.

As we saw earlier, Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Anwār (no. 19) had an important impact on the fortunes of the Wafā' *zāwiya*. Also, a significant

achievement would be his development of the al-Ḥusayn *mawlid* in Cairo. In 1228/1813, after the head of the Bakrī family had fallen out of favor with the ruler Murād Bey, Abū al-Anwār took over the former's post as supervisor of the Ḥusayn shrine-mosque. In this period, Abū al-Anwār also managed to seize control of several major shrines, including those of al-Shāfiʿī, al-Nafīsa, and al-Zaynab.[74] Abū al-Anwār apparently took his position as director of the Ḥusayn shrine to heart. It is recorded that he built a house for himself on the east side of the shrine (which itself is located across the street from al-Azhar) for use during the *mawlid* festivities. These festivities, which had to that date lasted only for one night, were extended at the insistence of Abū al-Anwār (with the help of the local police!) to fifteen nights in length. He was also responsible for expanding the shrine-mosque of al-Ḥusayn and for instuting the practice of night processions by the sufi orders accompanied by drums, pipes, and torches during the *mawlid*.[75] In the literary sphere, although Abū al-Anwār was not a prolific writer himself, he did attract (and perhaps patronize) some of the important poets of his day. Nineteenth-century figures such as Ismā'īl al-Khashshāb, al-Ṭahṭāwī, and al-ʿAṭṭār associated themselves with the Wafā'iyya and its charismatic leader.[76]

In the mid-eighth century the Wafā'iyya family had risen to become one of the most prestigious families of Cairo. It formed one of the four recognized lines of decendants of the Prophet's family. The family represented the lineage of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, while the ʿInāniyya represented that of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the Khuḍayriyya that of al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām, and the Bakriyya that of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. These families were entitled to substantial privileges as the representatives of the *ashrāf*, but they also constituted sufi orders.[77] In 1812, by order of a *firmān* from Muḥammad ʿAlī, the head of the Bakrīs (*shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*) was given authority over all the sufi orders and their related institutions in Egypt. However, this effort at centralizing, and thus controlling, the orders did not affect the Wafā'iyya, who remained subject only to khedival decree.[78]

The single representative of the descendants of the Prophet, the office of *naqīb al-ashrāf*, came to be appointed by the Porte. In Egypt, this post was held by Turks until the middle of the eighteenth century, when it went to Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Hādī (no. 17) shortly before his death.[79] Abū al-Ḥādī was succeeded as *shaykh al-sajjāda* and *naqīb* by his cousin Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Abū al-Imdād in 1176/1762. Apparently, for Abū al-Imdād, serving both offices was too much, and he resigned the office of *naqīb* to Muḥammad (al-Bakrī) al-Ṣiddīqī.[80] The Bakrī shaykhs were to hold this office until the Turk Yusuf Efendī secured the office. The Egyptian *ashrāf* refused to recognize him, and he was replaced ten weeks later by ʿUmar Makram al-Asyūṭī, who in 1224/1809 was divested of the office by Muḥammad ʿAlī, and Abū al-Anwār (no. 19), who was seen to be more supportive of the new ruler, was invested.[81]

Abū al-Anwār, before his death in 1228/1813, had designated his nephew Aḥmad Abū al-Iqbāl (no. 20) as his successor to not only the direction of the Wafā' order but also to the position of *naqīb al-ashrāf* and control of the al-Ḥusayn *mawlid* and shrine.[82] However, the Pasha was not swayed by these appointments. Instead, he moved to divest the Wafā's of any authority beyond their own order. Aḥmad Abū al-Iqbāl was dismissed from the office of *naqīb al-ashrāf*, the post being transferred to Muḥammad al-Dawākhilī for a period of three years and then back into the Bakrī line.[83] Neither was Aḥmad Abū al-Iqbāl to inherit control of the Ḥusayn shrine. Contrary to the wishes of Abū al-Anwār, the Pasha appointed the merchant al-Maḥrūqī to the post, above Abū al-Iqbāl.[84]

❊

Although the written sources have not allowed us to embark on a thorough historical study of the the formative period of the Wafā'iyya, we should note that Muḥammad Wafā' spent his early years in the shadow of an important event. This was the appearance of the theologian and Ḥanbalite jurist Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). A gifted writer and speaker, Ibn Taymiyya convincingly challenged a number of common devotional practices—in particular, many forms of pilgrimage to holy places—and certain mystical teachings of Ibn ʿArabī.[85] Despite his abilities, and the support of some, he spent much of his career imprisoned in Damascus or Cairo. One of his major opponents in Egypt was Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, the third head of the Shādhiliyya and the master of Muḥammad Wafā's teacher, Dā'ūd Ibn Bākhilā.[86] Due to the opposition of Sufi shaykhs such as Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh and Ibn Taymiyya's political clumsiness, the latter's polemics had little real impact on the religious practices of his time.[87] However, in Egypt, Ibn Taymiyya's arguments were repeated by a few strident polemicists in the eighth/fourteenth century. The anti–Ibn ʿArabī campaign then gathered momentum in the next century.[88] However, a recent study of these polemics has concluded that the impact of the hard-line opponents of Ibn ʿArabī's teachings was limited.[89] The stalemate, if not victory, of the religious mainstream with Ibn Taymiyya and his later emulators must have had some impact on Muḥammad Wafā'. The details of his education, and more importantly the intellectual activities of his father, Muḥammad al-Awsaṭ, at the family *zāwiya* in Alexandria, have not come down to us, but it is certain that Muḥammad Wafā's exposure to Akbarian thought was at least indirectly encouraged by the succesful defence of Ibn ʿArabī in Egypt. The situation, however, is murky since neither Muḥammad nor ʿAlī Wafā' mention these wider debates in their writings.

A general note should be made here of the religious climate prevailing in Cairo during the lifetime of ʿAlī. Although Shīʿism, since the fall of the Fāṭimids, had very little organized presence in Egypt, the eighth/fourteenth

and ninth/fifteenth centuries saw the flowering of a truly international community in Cairo. Under the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (709/1309–741/1340) an unprecedented number of *khānqāhs* were built—most of which housed foreign sufi communities.[90] While these *khānqāhs* were certainly not bastions of Shīʿī thought, they did represent the occasion for an exchange of ideas between Cairo and other regions of the Islamic world. There representatives of the mystical traditions of Syria, Iran, Iraq, and Yemen may well have transmitted pro-ʿAlid concepts and traditions into the intellectual milieu of ʿAlī Wafā'.[91] We do know also that some form of Shīʿism survived in Middle Egypt, particularly around Akhmīm and Qūs, the region in which Muḥammad Wafā' established his first *zāwiya.*

If the details of the intellectual roots of the Wafā'iyya are unavailable to us,[92] the historical presence of the order and the family are not. Broadly speaking, we saw that this family was derived from the family of the Prophet, through Idrīs ibn ʿAbd Allāh, and that its origins were Maghrebi. At roughly the same time as al-Shādhilī was establishing his order in Alexandria, Muḥammad Wafā's grandfather was building his *zāwiya*-mosque in the same city. Strictly speaking, however, the Wafā'iyya began only once Muḥammad Wafā' had established himself in Cairo and had determined to sever himself from his Shādhilī roots. From this point on, the new sufi order, animated by the mystical writings and saintly figures of the father and son founders, began to thrive. For reasons unknown to us, this order remained within the Wafā' family rather than branching out into the population at large. The followers of this Way were never numerous, and most ritual practices, except the processions, were not conducted in public. No detailed account of the training of adepts has come down to us, but it would not be unreasonable to assume that a high level of learning was expected, thus constituting an elite group of followers. This elitism would have been necessary, regardless, in light of the Akbarian basis of Muḥammad Wafā's mystical teachings. We shall discuss this basis in subsequent chapters. Of significance also is the later history of the Wafā' family in the religious institutions of Cairo. The office of *naqīb al-ashrāf* was held at various times by Wafā's, after the mid-twelfth/eighteenth century. Also of note was the important role played by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Anwār in the development of the Ḥusayn *mawlid* and the expansion of the shrine-mosque of the same name. We may conclude with the general observation that the sanctity of the Wafā'iyya began on a sure footing. The founding figures were recognized as inspired mystical writers whose hagiography supported their sanctity. Yet as a family-based sufi order, the latter Wafā' shaykhs' claim to authority seems to have rested more on the charisma of their sharifan descent.[93]

Figure 1. Cairo cemetery (City of the Dead)

Figure 2. Entrance to Wafā' mosque

Figure 3. Tombs in Wafā' mosque

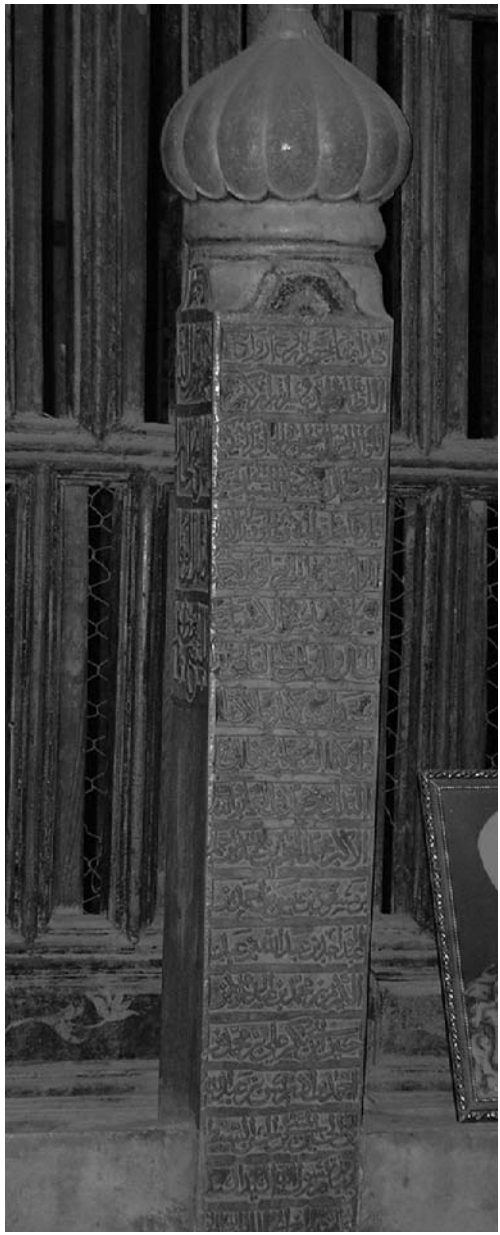
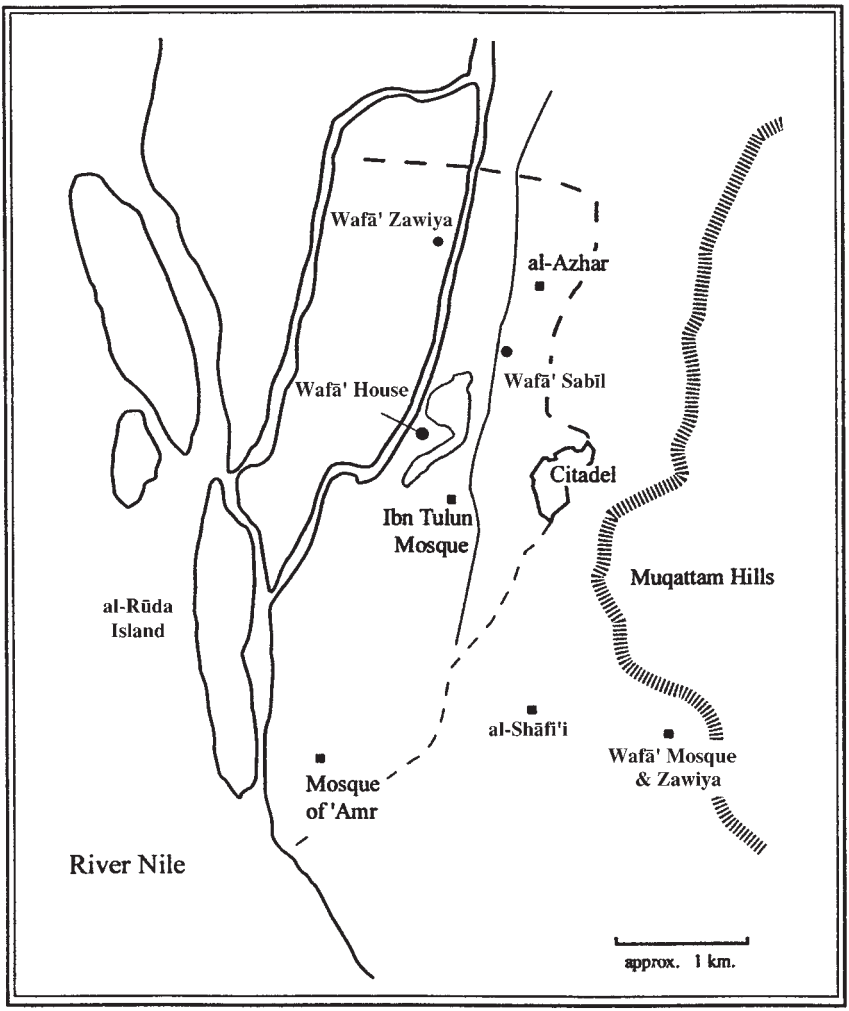


Figure 4. Grave marker, ʿAlī Wafā’

Figure 5. The Wafā’ house

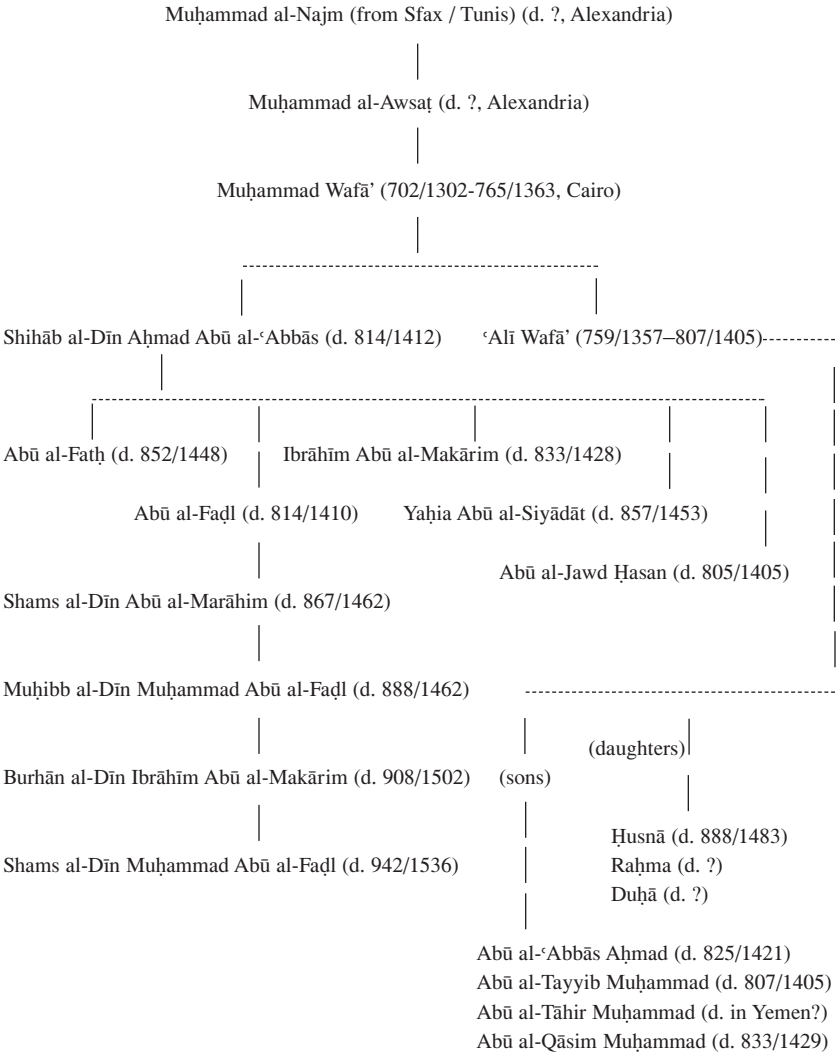
Figure 6. Remains of fountain in Wafā' house



The Wafā's in Cairo *(del. N. Lacoste)*

(Table 1.0)

The Early Wafā'iyya



Chapter 4

The Writings of the Wafā's

Before discussing the thought of Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā', we should take a closer look at their literary production. Since almost all of this material remains in manuscript form, something of a preliminary description seems in order. Beyond our immediate project, which is a better understanding of the concept of *walāya*, this chapter will bring to light sources that other researchers might find useful. It should be noted also that these descriptions are summary in nature and that they only hint at the entire philosophy of Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā'. A number of themes mentioned here will be dealt with in detail in later chapters, while others will be left for future study.

All the major biographical writers of the nineth/fifteenth century seem to have taken note of the charismatic figures Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā'. However, some of these early accounts were rather hostile, criticizing both the doctrinal content of their writings and their comportment with their followers. The famous detractor of Ibn ʿArabī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī (d. 903/1497),[1] presents one assessment of ʿAlī Wafā': "His poetry cries out mystical union (*ittiḥād*) (with the Divine) to the point of heresy—and likewise the verse of his father."[2] This accusation of blurring the distinction between the worshipper and God became common in antisufi polemics. In this particular assessment, however, al-Sakhāwī is quoting directly from an earlier source, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449).[3] As noted in the previous chapter, Ibn Ḥajar also objected to the practice of the companions of ʿAlī Wafā' prostrating themselves to him. With regard to Ibn ʿArabī, al-ʿAsqalānī seems to have taken an unevenly negative stand.[4]

Of course, these criticisms were not the last word on the Wafā'iyya. The writer/compiler ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565) held both the father

and son in high esteem. In his immensely popular biographical dictionary of sufi figures, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* (or *Lawāqih al-anwār fi ṭabaqāt al-akhyār*), his longest entry by far is on ʿAlī Wafā'.[5] This priority of place accorded to ʿAlī can be accounted for partially by Shaʿrānī's association with the Shādhiliyya order in Egypt.[6] However, the sheer size of the entry, forty-three pages, calls for some reflection. The notice on Muḥammad Wafā' is barely one page long, while that for al-Shādhilī is only eight and a half. Not surprisingly, in light of other works dedicated wholly to him, Ibn ʿArabī receives less than one page in the *Ṭabaqāt*. The fact that Muḥammad Wafā's shaykh, Ibn Bākhilā, is quoted at some length (nineteen pages) makes it clear that Shaʿrānī was intentionally focusing on this branch of the Shādhiliyya. Here we might propose that since Shaʿrānī had taken it upon himself to make Ibn ʿArabī's teachings more accessible, he must have seen ʿAlī Wafā' as the inheritor of this great shaykh. We also saw in the last chapter that Shaʿrānī had established personal contacts with the shaykhs of the Wafā'iyya order and family. As will be seen in the next chapters, Shaʿrānī's quotations of ʿAlī Wafā' do indeed point out his debt to Ibn ʿArabī's work. However, Shaʿrānī nowhere describes ʿAlī or the Wafā'iyya as "Akbarian," nor does he explicitely mention any parallels in their doctrine. Since no new documents are likely to present themselves, we can only surmise Shaʿrānī's intentions. My guess is that his earlier interest in Ibn ʿArabī made him responsive to the work of ʿAlī Wafā' and that his long entry in *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* was an effort to advertise what had become in Egypt the latest manifestation of Akbarian mystical teaching.

Although the writings of Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā' do not seem to have circulated widely—except via Shaʿrānī's *Ṭabaqāt* and to a lesser degree his *Yawāqīt*—they have not fallen into utter obscurity. Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) quotes from ʿAlī Wafā' in his *Ta'yīd al-ḥaqīqa al-ʿaliyya* (pp. 73, 74). In the latter tenth/sixteenth century a commentary on Muḥammad Wafā's *Kitāb al-azal* was written by one Abū al-Madad ibn Aḥmad (d. 1008/1599), entitled *Kashf al-asrār al-azaliyya*.[7] Also, the famous Syrian figure al-Nābulusī (d. 1143/1730) was somewhat familiar with the poetry of ʿAlī Wafā'. He quotes from it in his commentary on Shaykh Arslān's *Risāla*.[8] The founder of the *ṭarīqa* Sammāniyya, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān (d. 1189/1775), also quotes from this source.[9] Also in the twelfth/eighteenth century, the Khalwatī leader Aḥmad al-Dardīr (d. 1201/1786) wrote a commentary on a Wafā' prayer.[10] The popular Egyptian writer Yūsuf Shirbinī, also of the late 18th century, quotes four unlikely lines from ʿAlī Wafā' in his *Hazz al-quḥūf*.[11] In modern-day Egypt, the sufi shaykh al-Ḥajj Ḥamdī Ḥizāb has quoted from ʿAlī Wafā' in an exposition on the preexistence of the light of the prophet Muḥammad.[12] Nevertheless, with the Wafā' writings having remained for the most part unpublished in the modern era (with the exception of Muḥammad's *Kitāb al-azal* and *Dīwān*) it cannot be said that they enjoy a wide cirulation among sufis.

Poetry

As we have seen, Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā' were well known as composers of mystical poetry. A collection of poetry from each of them has been preserved. The *Dīwān* of Muḥammad Wafā' has recently been published along with a commentary.[13] It consists of forty-five poems (*qaṣā'id*, sing. *qaṣīda*), followed by *al-Tā'iyya al-kubrā*, which is comprised of 1002 hemistiches. This long poem is the subject of a kind of poetic auto-commentary, or *takhmīs*, in which each hemistich is restated but then completed with three new lines of poetry. Eighteen short *qaṣā'id* follow. The poetry is sophisticated, touching on a variety of mystical themes.[14]

The *Dīwān* of ʿAlī Wafā' has not been published, but I have consulted a copy of the 188 folio manuscript. The work is a lengthy collection of poems of various lengths and styles, ranging from four lines to over forty. The hemistiches are usually divided by markers, and voweling is supplied. There is no commentary supplied, and beyond the occasional notice of the rhyming letter, there are no significant titles. As we saw earlier, the Wafā's were noted for their composition in the complex style of the *muwashshaḥ*. However, in this *Dīwān* none of the poems seems to be in this style.[15]

At first reading, one sees that this is dense mystical poetry. It is significant that many of the pieces are written in the voice of the divine first Person. In some cases it is clear that the narrator is God, but in others it is possible to take the poet as the voice. In the following example the poet is conversing with existence, which has been exiled from God:

> All existence asked me who I am.
> I answered, I am the most foreign of foreigners.[16]
> Existence said, Then you are that through which my substance
> is wealthy, because you are the poorest of the poor.
> To me are the wonders and marvels which are in
> the perception of (both) the ignorant and the wise.
> In Surat al-Ikhlāṣ came my exile.[17]
> The rational thinkers marvel at the freedmen.[18]

The following verse may be understood to be either in the voice of the Divine creative aspect or from the perspective of the Muḥammadan Reality (i.e., Perfect Human). The Akbarian doctrine of the Perfect Human held this individual to be the isthmus between God and creation (not unlike the role the First Intellect played for the Neoplatonists).

> I am the final point, in whose shadow
> you will find that which opened existence and ranked (it).

Thus I am the pole of existence and center point
of the source which is the unseen of the seeing, (and) hidden from it.[19]

The following is in the same vein, but communicates a certain finality. The claim to being a Seal, of some kind, is implied.

I am the pole of existence without doubt,
and the imam who guides those of my time.
My time is an all-encompassing era,
in which the existence of meanings has expired.
If the veil is annihilated from the eye (*ʿain*) of my unveiling,
the secret witnesses its unseen in my elucidation.
Discard "becoming" (كون) from your witnessing and obliterate
the dot of the letter *ghain* (غ) if you want to see me.[20]

This collection also contains a number of devotional pieces, some directed to God, others to the Prophet. These poems may well have had a use in the ritual practices of the Wafāʾiyya order, although this remains an open question.

Supplications (*duʿā*)

Prayer compositions have played an important role in the founding of sufi orders. It appears that all orders use devotional prayers (*aḥzāb*, sing. *ḥizb*) in their communal ritual. Often, these are the compositions of the eponymous founder. As we noted in chapter 2, Ibn Bākhilā even wrote a commentary on one of the *aḥzāb* of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. There are a number of significant dimensions to these prayers, the most important of which is the claim to *walāya* by the author. These are inspired compositions, which are bestowed only upon saintly figures. The popular success of a *ḥizb* is invariably tied to, or reflects upon, the sanctity of its progenitor. In other words, these prayers serve as vehicles for the spiritual authority of their authors.

The ritual function of these prayers must also be considered. Their recitation, in addition to the practice of *dhikr* (repetition of the names of God), is central to sufi worship. It would be hard to conceive of the gathering of a sufi order without *ḥizb* recitation. It is significant that Muḥammad Wafāʾ composed *aḥzāb* (or at least has them attributed to him), since these compositions would have been essential for an independent order to break away from the Shādhiliyya. In other words, Muḥammad Wafāʾs assertion that he was no longer a follower of the Shādhilī way, but rather the founder of a new order, in part rested on his ability to produce divinely inspired prayers. This claim to independence relied on his *walāya* being recognized by his followers, and new *aḥzāb* were part of this claim to sanctity.[21]

It should not surprise us then to find *aḥzāb* attributed to Muḥammad Wafā'. In manuscript form we have *Ḥizb al-sādāt fī jāmiʿ al-asrār*, *Ḥizb al-fardāniyya* and *Ḥizb al-azal*.[22] In the bibliographical record there also was a *Ḥizb al-fatḥ* published in Egypt at the turn of the century.[23]

Jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and Exegesis (*tafsīr*)

Although the fame of Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā' was based on their poety and their mystical writings, they were trained in jurisprudence of the Mālikī rite. To Muḥammad is attributed a work on *fiqh*, *Bahjat al-irshād* (The Splendor of Guidance); although the early sources do not make note of it.[24] Attributed to ʿAlī, and also now lost, is a *fiqh* work the title of which suggests it dealt with the four legal schools in some way: *al-Kawthar al-mutraʿ min al-abḥur al-arbaʿ* (The Kawthar full from the four seas).[25] Mention is made of this book by al-ʿAsqalānī in the nineth/fifteenth century.[26] He is also the only source to mention the *Bāʿith ʿalā al-khalāṣ fī aḥwāl al-khawāṣṣ* (The Occasion of Deliverance in the States of the Elite). I have not seen this work, but it has recently been found under a slightly different title, and listed as author unknown, in the British Library.[27] This work is apparently a defence of preachers and storytellers (*quṣṣāṣ*) as transmitters of religious knowledge. In this debate ʿAlī Wafā' argues against those who would restrict the dissemination of religious teaching to the professional class of the ulama.[28] Ibn al-ʿImād, among others, tells that ʿAlī also wrote a Qur'an commentary (*tafsīr*).[29] The sixteenth-century collection of exegetes, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufassirīn*, notes ʿAlī Wafā's *tafsīr*, yet provides no details.[30] This work does not appear to have survived.

Mystical Treatises (Muḥammad Wafā')

This group of writings certainly represents the primary intellectual effort of Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā'. As we shall see when we return to our discussion of the doctrine of sanctity in the next chapter, the mystical speculations of the Wafā's fall generally into the tradition of Ibn ʿArabī. This is not to say, however, that these two writers saw their purpose as one of simply expanding upon the thought of Ibn ʿArabī. This task fell to a group of thinkers we may place in the "Akbarian school" proper. Of these the most outstanding were Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274), Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-Jandī (d. cir. 700/1300), ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī (d. cir. 735/1334), and Dā'ūd al-Qayṣarī (d. 751/1351).[31] These figures composed a number of commentaries on the works of Ibn ʿArabī, in addition to their own mystical writings in the Akbarian tradition. In contrast, Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā' composed no such commentaries, nor do they mention Ibn ʿArabī's name, yet their writing relied heavily on his philosophy.

The *Kitāb al-azal* (The Book of Preexistence), stands out among the writings of Muḥammad Wafā'. While formally a commentary on the Names of God, it is a philosophical text, clearly in the tradition of Ibn ʿArabī. It consists of sixty-one sections, some of which are only a few sentences in length. In the introduction (p. 12), the editor describes the text as belonging to the "Oneness of Being" (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) school. This assessment bears up upon inspection. It should also be said that this text is significant for its systematic use of philosophical terminology. It is not inconceivable, therefore, that our author was influenced by the writings of Akbarian followers, such as al-Qūnawī, who had interpreted Ibn ʿArabī in quite philosophical terms. We shall return to this subject in later chapters.

The *Kitāb al-azal* touches on a variety of specific concepts, but the idea of the "Oneness of Being" recurs. Typical in style and vocabulary is the following from the section entitled "Realities":

> The Name "He" (al-Huwa) is the absolute name, which is the reality of the [divine] Essence which you can neither know, nor be ignorant of .[32]
>
> The reality of the other [than God] (*al-ghayr*) is independence in person (*nafs*) and in existence (*wujūd*). Yet, a thing only has existence by His existence, so there is no real independence. When the condition is absent, then so is the conditioned, thus there is no "other." [God] the Manifest then requires the other; but being either Manifest or Nonmanifest does not penetrate to the absolute Essence, which is Him. Likewise [is the case for] all the levels of differentiation, opposition, difference, homologousness and contrariness. All of this [i.e. qualification] is not said of Him, rather it is said to the levels of existence and possibility, according to what is appropriate to each level.[33]

Thus creation, or the "other," has no independent existence; its existence is conditional upon that of the Divine. Without God's existence nothing else can be. Further, this conditional existence is qualified by the infinite levels of differentiation through which it may pass. It is this qualification that makes conditional existence distinct from its divine source and makes it apparent to us here below. The idea of a single existence, shared by all, is clear. We are told that existence "is one in itself, with no duality or plurality. There is no existence to any existent, except He."[34]

Elsewhere the creative movement from God is described as the Throne, which serves as the existential medium for all creation. We are told,

> The Throne (*ʿarsh*) is that by which what was not came into being; and what had not been thought was thought. Everything that reaches

> form or conception does so by [the Throne's] power . . . The entity (*kā'in*) is by it, and it [the Throne] is in it. It is not possible for [the entity] to be removed from it [the Throne]. It [the Throne] is like the sea, and the entities are as its waves.[35]

Thus all entities come into being thanks to the Throne. They take their own forms in this process, but in the end they are simply variations within a universal whole.

Our comments on the mystical philosophy of *Kitāb al-azal* are necessarily brief, having served here only as an indicator of that work's content and style. Of course, to describe a work as being in the *waḥdat al-wujūd* tradition is only a start, leaving serious reading yet to be done. However, we may, in general, restate the importance of this work as Muḥammad Wafā's most philosophically consistent effort. The style and vocabulary is unlike that used in his other expositions of mystical thought.

A work that is more typical of the literary production of Muḥammad Wafā' is *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān fī alwāḥ al-kitmān* (The Marks of Gnosis on the Tablets of Secrecy). The language used is less philosophical in tone, but many of the concepts that are to be found in *Kitāb al-azal* are present in this work. The text is divided into 114 "marks" (note the number of suras in the Qur'an is also 114) , or *shaʿā'ir*. Strangely, the Dār al-Kutub manuscript consists of only the first 108 "marks."[36] The first pages contain short enigmatic phrases in rhyming prose (*sajʿ*). For example,

> Praise be to God who blots out the sunan (customary practices)
> with the sunan,
> And completes the graces with the graces,
> [He is] is the appearance of the secret in the open,
> And the entry of time into time.
> [He is] the collector of the nations into nations,[37]
> Producing wisdom by [His] Wisdom.
> He sent down the spirits in the angelic forms,
> Making clear for the eloquent and the unintelligible.
> He mixed obscurity into the clarification.
> A speaker was not silent, nor did he speak.
> He has caused the evenings to run into the mornings,[38]
> He who is unsure [in faith][36] neither perceives nor speaks.
> He obscured the secrets within the lights,
> And the mute and dumb spoke.[40]

The style is certainly allusive, but the mystic theme of hidden truths is central. With a deceptive change in form, the first *shaʿīra* presents a number of mystical

definitions. However, they are so concise that they seem to evoke more questions than they answer. We read,

> Mystical union (*ittiḥād*) is the last of the levels of withness;[41] . . . Humility is the quieting of the soul along the path of eternity; . . . Scrupulousness is choosing the preferable; . . . Hope is awareness of the occurrence (*ḥuṣūl*); . . . Spiritual chivalry (*futuwwa*) is vision by the eye of beauty. Joy is witnessing from pure mercy (*raḥma*); . . . Wisdom (*ḥikma*) is witnessing union in difference; . . . Perspicacity (*firāsa*) is the extraction of the unseen from the seen. Glorification is the memory of al-Ḥaqq in everything; . . . Gnosis (*maʿrifa*) is witnessing al-Ḥaqq in all things by His Rule (*ḥukm*).[42]

The remaining *shaʿā'ir* take a more discursive form, touching in some detail on mystical themes. Muḥammad Wafā' takes up cosmology on a number of occasions. The three worlds of the Corporeal (*mulk*), Sovereign (*malakūt*), and Omnipotent (*jabarūt*) are sometimes assigned angels (Isrāfīl, Michael, and Gabriel respectively).[43] In *shaʿīra* 29, the human faculties such as gnosis, vision, inspiration, and bewilderment are tied into the levels of creation.[44] These levels of creation are elsewhere described as the divine possibilities (as distinct from the necessary), which can be divided into three: the world of command (*ʿālam al-amr*), the world of creation (*ʿālam al-khalq*), and the world of becoming (*ʿālam al-kawn*).[45]

In the *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* the themes of oneness and the divine origin of creation are also present. There are veils that serve to differentiate between the various modes of necessary being and thus are responsible for the levels of creation. Their ultimate source, however, remains an aspect of the Divine. We read, "If the veil of beings (ستر الاكوان) is raised then the majesty of humanity (جمال الانسان) will appear. If the veil of mankind is raised then the face of the Merciful will manifest."[46] From the perspective of the individual soul, the divine is not far off either. We are told, "The interior of the heart is the mirror of al-Ḥaqq and the site of sincerity. He to whom his Lord makes Himself known has his heart turned to Him, and in it (his heart) appear the lights of His Truth."[47] Further along, Muḥammad Wafā' repeats a favorite hadith among the sufis, as an elucidation of the soul's proximity to the divine: "He who knows himself knows his lord."[48]

Another major work of Muḥammad Wafā' is the *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān min anfās al-Raḥmān* (The Gems of Gnosis from the Breaths of the Merciful). It consists of 295 "gems." The Dār al-Kutub manuscript provides a twelve-folio introduction, which is absent from the Azhariyya manuscript. At least some of this introduction is simply taken from elsewhere in the body of the text (e.g., gems 276, 278, 281, 285). The Dār al-Kutub manuscript, in turn, omits gems

113–233, which appear in the Azhariyya and Berlin copies.[49] A short version, consisting of only 50 "gems," has been published.[50]

Although it is not possible for us to summarize this work—due to its compartmentalized structure—we may offer samples of the important themes and questions. First, as a general observation it can be said that this work is written using less philosophical terminology than the previous two titles we have described. More typically sufi themes are also addressed. In the introduction there is discussion of the link between the spiritual follower and his shaykh. We read, for example, "He who knows himself knows his shaykh . . . He who does not find his shaykh does not find his heart; he who does not find his heart has failed to find his Lord . . . Your shaykh is he who empties you of yourself, and fills you with himself."[51] There is also a significant discussion of *walāya* in a number of *nafā'is*. These statements will be incorporated into our discussion in chapter 6 below.

In a number of places Muḥammad Wafā' takes up the subject of the three worlds, or three levels of creation,[52] as was done in *Sh'ā'ir al-'irfān.* The lowest level is that of the Corporeal world (عالم‌الملك), which is associated with the five senses and is linked via the "common sense" (حس مشترك) to the World of Sovereignty (عالم‌الملكوت). This world is the level of the intellect and the five internal senses. From here the link is made by the "common intellect" (عقل مشترك) to the World of Omnipotence (عالم‌الجبروت). This is the level of the five comprehensions (احاطات) and is linked by the "Throne of the Merciful"[53] to the absolute Necessary (وجوب مطلق), which itself is from the essence of God. We will discuss the details of this cosmology in more detail in chapter 5.

The manuscript also touches on the subject of the relation of God's pre-existence to his everlastingness. In *nafīsa* 25 these two aspects of the divine are shown to be accessible to the gnostic.

> The One said, From every side I am the First as the Merciful and the Last in Humanity; the Apparent in creation, and the Hidden in truth. So he who knows Me thus and realizes Me in all this, I have gathered his last into his first, and numbered his apparent among his hidden, so that he becomes pre-existent (ازليا) without an end to his first, and becomes everlasting (صمديا) without an external to his internal.[54]

Thus, the human soul, by knowing God, may attain to a mode of eternity. There are a number of other substantial discussions taken up. Of these, perhaps the most interesting are those of the variety of divine Names, the various divine Presences in creation, or the effusion of creation itself by way of the First Intellect (العقل‌الاول).

Moving further away from philosophical language and style is Muḥammad Wafā's *Kitāb al-ma'ārīj* (The Book of Ladders).[55] The single form of

maʿārīj is *miʿrāj*, which may also signify the Prophet Muḥammad's night journey to the heavens. Mystics such as Abū Yazīd al-Basṭāmī and Ibn ʿArabī followed this prophetic model with accounts of their own ascensions into the heavens,[56] but this manuscript describes no such event. The general direction of the work is one that presents prayer, in its various forms, as various "ladders" upward. Muḥammad Wafā' treats questions of *ṣalāt*, describing its possible spiritual types. He associates, for example, various bodily locations with elements of communal prayer.[57] In the latter part of the work it seems that Muḥammad Wafā' has come to substitute the word *miʿrāj* for what usually in Sufi writings would be the *maqām* (spiritual station). Scattered throughout the text also are a number of minor mystical commentaries on certain passages from the Qur'an.

A shorter work, of only thirteen folios, is Muḥammad Wafā's *Ṣuwar al-nūrāniyya fī ʿulūm al-sarayāniyya* (The Luminous Forms of the Sciences of Dispersion). It is divided into twenty-five sections, or *ṣuwar* (sing. *ṣūra*). These sections are given titles such as the following: "The Form of the Muḥammadan Spirits" (*ṣūrat al-arwāḥ al-Muḥammadiyya*), "The Form of Prayer" (*ṣūrat al-ṣalāt*), "The Form of the Key" (*ṣūrat al-miftāḥ*), "The Form of Descent" (*ṣūrat al-tanazzul*). The first folios, however, contain short statements that may be described as something between definitions and aphorisms. For example, we read, "The witnessing of al-Ḥaqq in all things is the straight path to God" and "Elucidation is an existence based upon the mental faculties of the finders."[58] Some of the "Forms" are quite short, for example two related definitions are: "The Form Pre-existence is the essence of the unseen, beyond the attribute of existential sharing (الاشتراك الوجودى). The Form Everlasting is the essence of (physical) seeing within the attribute of existential sharing."[59] These pronouncements are certainly brief. The term *existential sharing* is unusual, but here it seems to be an equivalent to creation, in as much as it conditionally partakes in the permanent divine Existence.[60] Elsewhere, however, ideas are a little more fleshed out. Thus, in the "Form of Indwelling" (*ṣūrat al-ḥulūl*) Muḥammad Wafā' explains that there are two different perceptions of (Divine) Indwelling. This indwelling is a kind of unveiling, the mistaken perception of which is reached by delusion (*takhayyul*). A second perception, that by verification (*taḥqīq*), is sound. This sound perception may then attain one of two different kinds of indwelling, either that of connecting (*taʿalluq*) or divine Self-disclosure (*tajallī*). The manuscript is corrupt in a number of places, but we may propose the following reading:

> The Form of Indwelling is the first of the levels of unveiling, which is false by the corruption of delusion, but is sound by verification. This indwelling is of two kinds, [the first is] the "indwelling of connection." This is like knowledge as it is connected to the known, or as decree is

> connected to the decreed. It is a causal connection . . . It is said of the "indwelling of connection" that it is a union (*ittiḥād*) by the comprehension of the connected by the connecting and not as the union (*ittiḥād*) of a substance with an accident. . . [Of the second kind], the "indwelling of Self-disclosure," it is called "oneness"; it is without the metaphor of duality or withness, for this is absolute comprehension (*iḥāṭa muṭlaqa*), like water which is held together in ice.[61]

Thus the "indwelling of connection" concerns the union of the effect with the cause, not the inherence of the accident in the substance. In this sense, its existential basis is fleeting. The indwelling of Self-disclosure (*ḥulūl al-tajallī*) is part of the eternal Divine. It is not the result of a causal relationship, rather it is part of the absolute Oneness of God.

In his *Miftāḥ al-sūr min ʿayn al-khabar* (The Key to the Enclosure from the Source of Intelligence) Muḥammad Wafā' takes up for discussion a number of concepts related to worship. One of these is the word *ḥamd* (praise), which operates on a number of existential levels and which has a role to play in the Divine act of creation.[62] Other terms and names receiving elaboration or commentary are "*al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*" (the Merciful, the Compassionate), "*Māliki yawm al-dīn*" (Lord of the day of judgment) and al-Malik (Lord / King). Muḥammad Wafā' also devotes three folios to a discussion of the mystical significance of various letters of the alphabet.[63] It is significant that at the outset of this work Muḥammad Wafā' makes clear the inspired nature of his composition. We read, "He (Muḥammad Wafā') said: 'I heard God in my secret / essence (سري) say, 'I by Myself am the Secret without end. My Existence is from Its own sufficiency. And the source of sources in Me does not change."[64]

Another substantial work is Muḥammad Wafā's *Kitāb ta'ṣīl al-azmān wa tafṣīl al-akwān* (The Book of the Foundation of Times and the Particularization of Beings).[65] The text deals with a number of themes, including the mystical dimensions of various prophets. Cosmology is also discussed. In one instance a four-fold hierarchy is laid out, called the "levels of the four thrones." This model is distinct from the well-known model of the three worlds of *mulk*, *malakūt,* and *jabarūt*. At the first throne, that of the level of natural dispositions (طباع), we find the four elements (water, earth, wind, and fire) and the three entities (mineral, plant, and animal). At the second throne, that of sovereignty (*malakūt*), we find the hearts and the subtleties of humanity. We also find the following four "elements," which are the faculties of conceiving (*fikr*), remembrance (*dhikr*), preservation (*ḥafẓ*), and fantasy (*khayāl*). The three entities present are the angels, the jinn, and the demons. The third throne is called the "world of (Divine) command." This is the location of the descending of the Night of Power,[66] and the true location of witnessing the Divine. The four elements here are the four spirits (ارواح), which are called "God be praised"

(*subḥan Allāh*), "Praise be to God" (*al-ḥamdu li Allāh*), "there is no God" (*lā ilāha*), and "God is Greatest" (*Allāhu Akbar*). The three entities—reflecting mission, prophecy, and sainthood—are the Divine dispatch (*irsāl*), notification (*inbā'*), and friendship (*walā'*). The fourth throne is that of necessity. It is the level of God. The four elements are the First, the Last, the Apparent, and the Hidden (cf. Q. 57:3). The place of the three entities is held by the Divine Names, Attributes and Essence.[67] It is interesting to note in this model the use of both philosophical categories and devotional vocabulary as parts of a cosmology.

As its title suggests, *Al-Maqāmāt al-saniyya li al-sāda al-ṣūfiyya* (The Sublime Stations of the Sufis), is to be located firmly in the arena of traditional sufi writing. This short piece (nine folios) consists of 101 brief definitions. Each definition is followed by a *ḥaqīqa* (reality) and a *ghāya* (purpose), which expand on the definition. The terms covered are what would be expected in any sufi manual of spiritual discipline. For example, we find entries on Fear (*khawf*), Trust in God (*tawakkul*), Patience (*ṣabr*), Poverty (*faqr*), Tasting (*dhawq*), Spiritual expansion (*basṭ*), Spiritual contraction (*qabḍ*), Extinction (*fanā'*) and Gnosis (*maʿrifa*). The entry for the term Union (*jamʿ*) reads,

> Union is the negation of "withness", and the absence of differentiation completely (بالكلية). Its *reality* is the union (اتحاد) of the levels of the world into One which is self-determined with the existence of what is thereby united in it. Its *purpose* is the vision (رؤية) of the everlasting by the eye of pre-existence, which neither speaks nor is spoken of.[68]

In the following entry Unity (*tawḥīd*) is described as "a reality which does not divide in oneness, nor is it distinguished by plurality, nor is it numerable as numbers that have no end. Its *reality* is a meaning the hearts do not deny, but which the intellects cannot imagine, and the eloquence of explanation does not reach it. Its *purpose* is negation of all others."[69] The "reality" and the "purpose" seem to extend the initial abstract definition from the perspective of either the cosmos or the individual. This structure, however, is not adhered to strictly. Of Inspiration (*ilhām*) we read, "*Ilhām* is revelation (*waḥy*) which the notion of al-Ḥaqq inspires in every heart that has lent its ear, and is a witness. Its *reality* is the address (*khiṭāb*) to the master of true tasting (*dhawq*). Its *purpose* is the tongue speaking in words for which untruth is impossible.[70]

Another short piece is the *Fuṣūl al-ḥaqā'iq* (Sections on Realities). It opens with two pages of supplication and then presents thirteen sections of varying length. The tone of the entire work reflects divine emanation and presence in creation. The shortest section reads,

> Praise be to the Self-discloser (سبحان المتجلى) of the Secrets of His Pre-existence, by [way of] the Commanding Spirit blown into the form of

> knowledge by the essence of union (بعين الجمع). [The Spirit] lets each benefit from a lordly Grace (*laṭīfa*), and divine Tenuity (*raqīqa*);[71] it is by this Tenuity that [the Command's] existence stands in its unseen, to which none may rise, and it is by that Grace that its essence (*ʿayn*) is directed.[72]

It is difficult to read many of these Sections with certainty, since each seems to have been composed independently. Sustained development here as in most of Muḥammad Wafā's other writings is lacking. Nevertheless, in the passage just quoted it seems that the dynamic of creation is based on the Commanding Spirit, which has an eternal unseen, in addition to the form it produces. This form is sustained by a Grace and a Tenuity. The Tenuity povides an exitential basis in the unseen, while the Grace determines its essence in the apparent.

The work *Kitāb al-ʿurūsh* (Book of Thrones) may be found attributed to both ʿAlī and Muḥammad Wafā'.[73] Although not used in our study here, this work deserves further attention.

Mystical Treatises (ʿAlī Wafā')

In addition to the eleven titles of Muḥammad Wafā', the al-Azhar *majmūʿa*, (majāmīʿ 1076; Zakī: 41313) also has two short works it attributes to ʿAlī Wafā'. The shorter, only four folios in length, entitled *Libās al-futuwwa* (The Garments of Chivalry), makes mention of ʿAlī twice; he is clearly the author. The six-folio *Kitāb al-wāridāt* (The Book of Spiritual Inrushes), however, makes no mention of its author. The copyist notes on the front cover that this text is "something from the *wāridāt* of ʿAlī." This is most certainly a reference to the long work entitled *Majmūʿ wāridāt ʿAlī ibn Wafā'*.[74] Of the shorter work, *Kitāb al-wāridāt*, some comment may be made. As the title suggests (*wāridāt* here having the sense of spiritual inrushes) the work takes the form of concise sayings. We read,

> He said, He who witnesses al-Ḥaqq in all things fears Him in all things, and he who fears Him in all things believes in Him through all things, and he who witnesses God alone, He appoints him ruler of all things.
>
> He said, He who is poor in God is rich in all (other) things, and for him who is rich in God, all things are poor to him.[75]

Also discussed in this short work is the three-fold cosmology of *mulk*, *malakūt*, and *jabarūt*.[76] Despite the copyist's assertion, this text is not to be found in the *Majmūʿ Wāridāt ʿAlī ibn Wafā*. In fact it is made up of sections taken from Muḥammad Wafā's *Nafā'is*. So too is the shorter Berlin manuscript.

One of ʿAlī Wafā's longest works is a collection of spiritual advice to his readers. The *Waṣāyā Sayyidī ʿAlī Wafā'* (The Injunctions of ʿAlī Wafā') exists as a 110-folio manuscript.[77] It also constitutes the first half (48 fols) of the *Majmūʿ Wāridāt ʿAlī ibn Wafā'*. A variety of topics is touched upon, including existence, knowledge, and spiritual guidance. The Divine is the source of existence and therefore the source of one's understanding of Him. ʿAlī Wafā' tells us,

> He is the single existence present in every "one" (*wāḥid*); He is the Witnessed and the Witness. There is to each of His levels a saying, and to each domain (مجال) in Him a man. The wiseman only speaks by the tongue of each level, and treats it only according to its measure and scales: "We have only sent messengers in the language of their people, to explain the sign to them." (Q. 14:4)[78]

He also writes, "It is said that knowledge and gnosis and understanding are the presence of a thing in oneself. Thus only He knows or understands anything; so know who you are, oh he who knows only by his known!"[79] Elsewhere he adds, "The gnostic is the source (*ʿayn*) of what he knows, and the verifier (*muḥaqqiq*) is the reality (*ḥaqīqa*) of what he verifies (*ḥaqqaqahu*)."[80] This theme of mystical epistemology is extended by ʿAlī toward his understanding of the spiritual guide. He writes,

> If you find your true teacher, you have found your reality. If you find your reality you have found God. If you find God, then you have found everything; so everything desired is simply [to be found] in love (*wajd*) of this teacher.[81]
>
> You are in the form in which you see your teacher, so see what you want. If you see him as creation, then you are a "creation." If you witness him as truth, then you are a "truth." God said, "I am according to My servant's opinion of Me, so he thinks of Me as he wills."[82]

This work is certainly the most simple in style and vocabulary of all the titles from ʿAlī Wafā'. It must be seen as a central text for any understanding of the teachings within the Wafā'iyya sufi order. In other words, this is the closest thing to a novice's handbook that has come down to us from ʿAlī.

The authorship of the *Kitāb al-masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* (The Book of Lordly Hearings)[83] is debatable. This lengthy work opens by telling us that what follows is from Muḥammad Wafā' as recounted by his son ʿAlī. The question quickly arises as to how ʿAlī, who would have been an infant when his father died, could here be giving an account of his father's teaching. Of course, ʿAlī could have simply been relating these teachings according to the written record

his father had left behind. Perhaps this work should be understood as the son's digest of his father's work. A closer comparison of all the relevant manuscripts would be the only way to settle this question.

The text itself is divided up into sections marked by the word *listen!*. The overall tone is quite in line with the other writings. The following is illustrative: "All existents are levels of your existence, in relation to you; for nothing appears before you except that which is you, and is from you, and to you."[84] Elsewhere we read, "The All is from you and to you, while He is your Ruler [in creation], appointed by the decrees at each level [of creation] according to [that level's] ability. So note [reader] what you see. Each level has its saying, and to each domain its man."[85] These notices reflect God as existence simply manifested in different forms at different levels. At the same time, aspects of the Divine may be found either in their necessary (eternal) form, or in their possible (temporal) form. ʿAlī Wafā' writes, "The 'Wise Spirit' of God (*rūḥ ḥakīm*), which is the starting point of the [human] virtues and praises, is the face of [God's] Lordship in the realm of possibility."[86] He then takes this a step further, describing the distinction between the Divine and its worldly agents as the difference between the Spirit's permanent and potential modes. "For him in whom the divine Existence appears as the *rūḥ ḥakīm*, he is the god, the lord, the truth, by virtue of his existence; and he is the messenger, the prophet and the guiding saint, by virtue of his possibility (*imkān*)."[87] The point here is that one who receives the *rūḥ ḥakīm* is divine inasmuch as he shares in necessary existence but is only a messenger, prophet, or saint through his contingent being. In a discussion that sheds light on the central role played by the spiritual advisor, ʿAlī Wafā' says, "If you know your teacher, the imam guiding you by his necessary divine existence, then you know your Lord al-Ḥaqq. Do you know who He is? He is simply the source of your divine existence, as determined for you at the level of the distinction of your being."[88] It is the permanent aspect of the Divine that is presented to the seeker in the form of his guide. The seeker recognizes its nature thanks to his own small part of the necessary existence. Further reading of *Kitāb al-masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* would produce many more statements of this kind. A picture emerges that is at once emanationist—the Divine out-pouring that takes various forms through its descent—and ontological. It is an ontology that recognizes that both the necessary (eternal) and the possible (temporal) modes of existence are in play at the same time.

Of ʿAlī Wafā's writings, his *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* (The Keys to the Lofty Treasury) is certainly his most sustained discussion of *walāya*. His lengthy comments on sayings from al-Junayd and al-Basṭāmī also serve to position this work squarely in the sufi tradition.[89] However, this is not to say that Neoplatonism cannot also be of service. For example,ʿAlī identifies the Adamic sphere, which the Prophet reached on his *miʿrāj*, as being equivalent to the sphere of the Active Intellect.[90]

In accord with his other writings, the oneness of God and creation is a significant element. We are told that although the single real existence is particularized into creation, it maintains its link to its original divine source.

> Reality is a single essential existence particularized by its own principles, which are its attributes and existences (*mawjūdāt*). Creation is the levels of proportion which are fixed within their limits as immutables, verified in perceptions (*madārik*) affected by them . . . As al-Ḥaqq said, "Verily, all things We have created in proportion." (Q. 54:49) But according to the reading of *ḍamma* over the *lām* of "*kull*": "Verily, We are all the things We have created in proportion."[91]

In the same vein, describing the Divine as the Essence of creation, ʿAlī Wafā' notes, "It is nothing but Him when the Secret of existence manifests in a particularity in time."[92] Elsewhere he echoes the image of the Divine as the source of all existence. We read,

> The reality of (the Prophet's) existence is "I created everything for your sake, and I created you for my sake" This is the meaning of the root's saying to the branch: "You are from me" that is, "You are from me in existence (*wujūdan*), and I am from you in witnessing (*shuhūdan*)." He who realizes these words has seen the noble Oneness with the eye of the Lofty, the Great.[93]

These statements and a number of others in the text not mentioned here all show clearly ʿAlī Wafā' as a proponent of the "Oneness of Being" school. A number of other topics are dealt with in this work. ʿAlī Wafā's commentary on Abraham having asked God how he gives life to the dead (Q. 2:260) takes the form of twenty-five questions and answers. In this discussion he argues, among other things, that Abraham was able to adopt the Divine perspective—along with his human one—within his understanding.[94] Elsewhere ʿAlī comments on the mystical significance of a number of events in the life of Joseph.

I have recently located a work entitled *Ḥikam ʿAlī Wafā'*. The title recalls Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī's *Ḥikam*, a collection of mystical aphorisms, which would reach an audience far beyond the Shādhiliyya order. In contrast, this Wafā' *Ḥikam* is not mentioned in the biographical sources, nor have I seen mention of it anywhere else. This manuscript should be looked at more closely, and at this early stage we can accept its purported authorship only with caution.[95] Also attributed to ʿAlī Wafā' is a description of the heavenly ascensions (*maʿārij*) of the prophets Adam, Idrīs, Nūh, Mūsā, ʿIsā, Ibrāhīm, and Muḥammad. A preliminary reading of the manuscript finds, as one might

expect for such a topic of discussion, numerous references to the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (tales of the prophets) literature. However, not one of the biographical sources for ʿAlī Wafā' mentions this work. Its purported authorship thus calls for confirmation.[96]

Chapter 5

Sanctity and Muḥammad Wafā'

So far we have described the understanding of sainthood among the spiritual predecessors of the Wafā'iyya. These may be divided generally into two camps, that of Tirmidhī / Ibn ʿArabī, and that of the early Shādhiliyya. In a summary way, we can point to Ibn ʿArabī's concept of 'General prophecy' (*nubuwwa ʿāmma*) as his pivotal innovation, an innovation that "solved" the problem of sainthood, as it were, by accounting for the continued spiritual authority of saints after the final historical revelation of the Qur'an and the ideal model of the Prophet Muḥammad. In Ibn ʿArabī's system, this General prophecy took the form of two kinds of *walāya*, Muḥammadan sainthood and General sainthood. Muḥammadan sainthood was sealed by Ibn ʿArabī himself, and Jesus will seal General sainthood at the end of time. This model allows two things. First, ultimate sainthood may be claimed by Ibn ʿArabī as the *khatm al-walāya al-Muḥammadiyya*, while a lesser sainthood continues, thus accounting for the spiritual authority of subsequent saints. The early Shādhiliyya, as we have noted, presented a somewhat different understanding of *walāya*. In short, they did not develop the idea of *nubuwwa ʿāmma*, and their "solution" to the question of the continued authority of sainthood was not as tidy. The main thrust of their doctrine seems to have been to simply extend the functions of prophecy downward into the realm of sainthood. The saints are thus somehow the extension of the ended prophetic function. Also an essential component of their understanding of *walāya* was its role as a measure of an individual's spiritual progress. Important figures have accessed the "greater *walāya*," while the rest of humanity seeks to develop its "lesser *walāya*." This two-tiered conception is similar to Tirmidhī's theory, inasmuch as the latter recognized a superior saint and an inferior one.

The task at hand for us in this chapter is to explore Muḥammad Wafā's position within this complex of ideas. Regarding his doctrine of *walāya*, it will be seen that his "solution" was to introduce a cyclical element to the equation. He substitutes Ibn ʿArabī's General prophecy with the idea of *tajdīd* (renewal). As we shall see, this model allows Muḥammad Wafā'—like Ibn ʿArabī—to claim for himself the ultimate degree of sainthood, but it makes little room for later manifestations of spiritual authority. This model of *walāya* is a substantial departure from that presented by the early Shādhiliyya.

Before discussing Muḥammad Wafā' on *walāya* we must first take stock of certain supporting elements of his thought. We begin with his understanding of existence. At the start of the previous chapter we noted Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's accusation that the Wafā's presented an extreme doctrine of mystical union. The conservative critic based his comments on poetry he had heard from Muḥammad Wafā'. By contrast, our assessment below will take a wider perspective on his writings.

Absolute Being and Its Self-disclosure

The concept of 'Absolute Being' (*wujūd muṭlaq*) revolves around the question of the nature of existence in relation to the divine. In the previous chapter, in our description of *Kitāb al-azal*, we noted the "Oneness of Being" perspective taken up by Muḥammad Wafā'. The implications of this viewpoint are significant. Seeing God's existence as the only existence, while a logically tenable position, was not generally acceptable to the Muslim orthodoxy. The need was felt, even among a majority of mystical thinkers, to preserve some recognizable distinction between the Divine and creation. The relationship between the central Islamic tenet of the Oneness of God (*tawḥīd*) and the existential nature of creation became the matter of debate. Beyond the extreme position of those who would argue for a God immanent in all creation, the dominant understanding in sufism came to be one that recognized both the Absolute Being of God and a qualified or contingent being for all else.

Certainly the most sophisticated exposition of this oneness of God in relation to the plurality of creation came from Ibn ʿArabī. His position on this, thanks to his later followers, came to be called "Oneness of Being" (*waḥdat al-wujūd*).[1] This doctrine posited first the absolute Being, "for nothing exists other than God, His attributes and His acts. Everything is Him, is through Him, proceeds from Him, returns to Him; and were He to veil Himself from the universe even for the space of the blinking of an eye, the universe would straightaway cease to exist."[2] To this is added the idea of God's Self-disclosure (*tajallī*), thus providing a mode of existence with apparent independence. This Self-disclosure must occur through His names and attributes, since Absolute Being

is beyond creation's ability to comprehend. Ibn ʿArabī writes, "God does not disclose Himself in the name One, and there cannot be Self-disclosure within it, nor in the name God. But Self-disclosure does occur in the other Names that are known to us."[3] This Self-disclosure is unlimited in its possibilities, but its divine origin is concealed by the veils it acquires as it takes particular form. Only by spiritual insight can any of these existential veils be lifted.

Ibn ʿArabī's teachings on this subject are rather elaborate, but these are the basic ideas of what we may call his doctrine of the "Oneness of Being."[4] In light of this explanation, we shall turn our attention to Muḥammad Wafā' in order to situate him within the discussion of the nature of Divine and created existence.

There is no shortage of passages in which this Oneness is referred to. We read, for example, "The essential existence (*al-wujūd al-dhāt*) is (God) the Encompassing, since it is the existence of all the existents. It is the [divine name] "god," since it is described by the encompassing attributes; through the connections of wisdom (بالتعلقات الحكمية); its name is Allah."[5] Here, as with the examples of "*waḥdat al-wujūd*" we saw in the last chapter, it is important to note that Muḥammad Wafā' usually follows comments on the absolute being of God with descriptions of this being's particularization. Both of these are present in the passage just cited. Mention is first made of the encompassing nature of God's existence but this is immediately followed by its particularization. The point is that Muḥammad Wafā' at once upholds the concept of a single absolute existence, but also emphasizes the dynamic relative existence of particular entities derived from this absolute.

The vehicle for the particularization of this absolute existence—according to both Muḥammad Wafā' and Ibn ʿArabī[6]—is the dynamic of Self-disclosure (*tajallī*). The *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* describes this process as part of the divine aspect of Encompassing: "The Encompassing (*iḥāṭa*) is multiplication of the one by Self-disclosure into various forms, like water as it thickens with cold."[7] These Self-manifestations take place through a complex process. Muḥammad Wafā' describes necessary existence as the sustainer of the divine Attributes, but adds,

> This [existence] Self-discloses upon levels of possibility according to the preparedness (استعداد) of each level.
>
> Preparedness is the reality (*ḥaqīqa*) of prime matter (هيولانية) which subsists in the essence of the possible. This reality is divinely derived (من الاختراع), rather than directly created.
>
> The reality of this derivation is the preparation of prime matter for the accepting of form. This form [the result of existence reaching preparedness] is directly created.
>
> . . . The reality of its preparedness is the acceptance of the Self-disclosure of the Necessary.[8]

Thus the result of Self-disclosure—moving things from the possible into the necessary—is determined by the particular abilities of the various levels of prime matter to accept the Self-disclosure of Necessary Being. This ability is essential to (possible) prime matter; in other words, it is not as such part of the process of divine Self-disclosure.[9] The result of the preparedness receiving the Self-disclosure is the form. What results from this reception is "direct creation," a moving into existence according to a form, which itself was determined by the simply derived (i.e., possible) preparedness.

This Self-disclosure plays a dual role. On the one hand it serves to bring the Divine nearer to His servants, but on the other, it acts as a veil. In a discussion emphasizing the need of the worshipper to transcend the product of Self-disclosure, the highest level of forgiveness is that in which one's derivative existence is surpassed.

> Forgiveness and unbelief are both from the veil (of Self-disclosure); yet there is a difference between them since unbelief is the hiding of al-Ḥaqq by creation, and asking forgiveness is the hiding of creation by al-Ḥaqq.[10] Asking forgiveness occurs on three levels: [1.] By wearing down (استهلاك),[11] which is asking forgiveness essentially, and which is that no sign (اثر) persists for the servant, and there is no notice to be had of his [own] being. [2.] By drowning (استغراق), which is asking forgiveness by the attributes, which is that the asker of forgiveness knows that it is he who has been forgiven. [3.] By being veiled (استتار), which is asking forgiveness by the acts, which is that his being in things is by his Lord, and not by himself.[12]

Thus "unbelief" is essentially allowing creation to distract from the Divine, while "forgiveness" is allowing the Divine to distract us from creation. The three modes of asking forgiveness then are the levels of existential rapprochement with the absolute Being. The highest level is one at which the servant's being is obliterated in his essence. The other levels consist of existential differentiation of the servant from his Lord.

Also, by serving as a link between created beings and God, *tajallī* provides potentially limitless knowledge. Human perception (ادراك)—like any other creation—is the product of a particular reception of Self-disclosure.

> Without doubt, perception is the mirror of the unveiling of the Self-disclosure of knowledge in the known. So in perception manifests the known containing the Self-disclosure, without attaining quiddity . . .[13]
>
> Every known thing has a locus which accepts its Self-disclosure at the time of reception, so its image manifests in [the locus] as the

> [locus] is then. It is said of this image, by virtue of this Self-disclosure, that it is a "possible occurrence."
>
> So by this, everything from the unseen reality has a position in perception able to receive its Self-disclosure by [God's] determination.[14]

Thus our knowing a thing consists of our accepting the Self-disclosure that engenders an image, according to its locus. This image is our understanding. Although it is the result—at least initially—of a Self-disclosure, it remains only an impermanent possibility; it is a possibility that is determined by the process of determination as a particular. This determination is due to the receptive locus.[15] In the last line of the passage it is made clear that all things in the realm of the unseen truths are potentially subject to becoming a Self-disclosure.

As for Self-disclosure as an active creative principle, the following passage provides an example of its use specifically from the perspective of the creation of the intellects and material beings. The technical terms used would reward closer analysis, but such an exercise will have to wait for another study. The general message, however, is first that God, through His aspect as the Encompassing Intellect, moves by *tajallī* to give rise to form, which itself is the reception of an absolute. From this form are generated the souls and the intellects, which are the progenitors of humanity. From there Muḥammad Wafā' goes on to restate the creative descent according to a Neoplatonic model. Here the First Intellect is described as engendering the souls and intellects within the absolute Soul, or the spiritual world, giving rise to creation in all its varieties. The passage begins as follows:

> When the Essential Will turned towards creating the form of all-encompassing Knowledge, It originated through Self-disclosure, with respect to the form of intellected encompassing, absolute receptacles [to receive] the encompassing influences in various particular ways. That Will gave to the form of knowledge—through its receptacles for divine origination, in this respect—intellects as fathers and souls as mothers, like Adam and Eve.

Thus the entity knowledge, through its essential disposition, receives from the existentiating Will the specifics that are intellects and souls. Within the physical realm, each of these,

> established the form of itself and the multiplications of the individuals [constituting] its species within the comprehension of its genus, like the plants in their morphological differentiation and in their variety of taste, smell and touch, beyond what the human imagination may conceive.

Within this existential drama the First Intellect[16] gives rise to the absolute principle, in this case, of souls and intellects, located in the absolute Soul.[17] These principles function as the "seeds" for each particular subsequently created.

> If this is understood, then we say, according to similitude, that the First Intellect as the first fatherhood originates intellects and souls in the absolute Soul. Each of these [intellects and souls] is an absolute in itself, and the encompassing of their species and genera is like the seed of the plants. If it brings out its branches, leaves and fruit, then its particular form appears in its very fruit, which is its unique and ultimate level.

Thus the fruit, or the various things in creation, are in some sense the fulfillment of their principles in the Universal Soul. The passage then moves to the question of humanity and its variety in intellect and soul. We saw above that the priciples of intellect and soul are unitary and undifferentiated in the First Intellect and that the fathers and mothers in the absolute Soul constitute differentiation. Our intellects may share a common source, but they have different fathers and mothers, representing different predispositions to receiving the creative Self-disclosure.

> When the fruit of the whole is the children of Adam, all of them [the fruits] are based upon intellect and soul, being the fruit of diversity. And the fathers and mothers which were from the divine Self-disclosure are the creators and originators. Every tree is [from] a seed of their fruit, a root of their tree. Thus, the world occurred in its form with innumerable faces, and inexhaustible [divine] help. So each intellect judges the world by the form which has occurred in it, like . . . the viewpoints of the creeds and the sects[18] according to the differences of their conceptions.

This is the existential blueprint for God's progressively differentiated Self-disclosure, yet also possible is a "perfect intellect" that offers a mystical return to the unified.

> In various spheres and horizons, each [sect] knows its own *ṣalāt* and praise, but the perfect intellect is the seed of the fruit of the encompassing tree of all roots and divisions. Vision does not know this face [of the perfect intellect], yet it knows all visions. As is said, "Is it not He who encompasses all things?" (Q. 41:54)[19]

The world thus occurs in an endless variety, yet the perfect intellect knows these forms within itself. It knows these forms are not inherent but derived

ultimately from God's Will. This mystical perspective is possible only within the existential framework, based on divine Self-disclosure, laid out above.

The Preexistential and the Everlasting

A peculiar set of concepts that Muḥammad Wafā' develops is that of '*azaliyya*' (preexistence) and '*abadiyya*' (everlastingness). Although he does not take up the wider philosophical or theological questions of time in his writings, Muḥammad Wafā' nevertheless addresses this pair of ideas on more than one occasion. In one instance, the two are distinguished categorically:

> Know that the encompassing Throne is that below which is the likeness of everything. It has two sides to it: a side of Omnicient-Merciful-Necessary-Pre-existence (ازلية واجبية رحمانية عالمية), and a side of All-Hearing-Compassionate-Possible-Everlastingness (ابدية ممكنية رحيمية سميعية). The first is by knowledge and the second is by perception (ادراك).[20]

These two sides might be awkwardly named, but the essential point is that the Preexistential is distinct first because it is "necessary," while the Everlasting is of the "possible" realm. As is clear from the other adjectives provided, God "knows" everything before creation, and He "hears" everything in time after creation. The second side of the Throne, the contingent, is fully within time. The same kind of temporal/existential distinction is made elsewhere by our author. We read, "Pre-existence is encompassing in oneness, while Everlasting is encompassing in plurality . . . The first is by necessity while the second is by possibility."[21] Preexistence is thus understood to be in the realm of God's necessary attributes, while Everlastingness is the corollary present as temporalized individualization.

In a further elaboration, Muḥammad Wafā' introduces an inverse relationship. He describes each element as a dimension of the other:

> What is interior to the Preexistent is what is manifest in the Everlasting; and likewise the opposite. None other than the servant appeared in the Everlasting, yet his opposite was hidden in him. None other than a Lord appeared in the Preexistent, while that which was hidden was the form of the first [i.e. the servant]. Thus, that which appears because it was hidden, was hidden because it appeared.[22]

These brief remarks are the extent of the substantive discussion in the sources. However, there are a few observations we can make. It is clear that the two aspects, the Preexistent and the Everlasting, function as the necessary and the possible (or divine and human) realms. The point being made here, however, is

to highlight the link between the two. The created servant appears in the Everlasting created realm, but he is at the same time the possessor of "his opposite." This opposite is an existential opposite, a Lordly potential. Likewise, the Lord's standing in Preexistence contains within it its opposite, a potential servanthood.

Spiritual Anthropology

For Muḥammad Wafā', the nature of humanity must be understood as at once having its source in the Divine, yet being a manifestation of one particular aspect of God: the Name al-Raḥmān (the Merciful). Like Ibn ʿArabī, Muḥammad Wafā' attributes to Adam a share in the Divine Names. In the *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* we are told that in the spiritual realm, before creation of the material world, Adam was not simply taught the names of things but was himself the product of Divine Names: "Know that humanity is a collection of the Lordly Names which were known by Adam in the spiritual realm of Malakūt, and which contain both essential realities and particulars, and thus are the strongest links (رقائق) (to God)."[23] Ibn ʿArabī, in a different context, also assigns Divine Names to Adam: "God created Adam upon His own form. Hence He ascribed to him all His Most Beautiful Names."[24]

Muḥammad Wafā' goes on to single out the name al-Raḥmān as the source of mankind's spiritual reality. First, the act of creating is tied to al-Raḥmān: "Knowledge and the known, creation and the created, origination (تكوين) and becoming (كون); the first pair is [engendered] by God, the second by al-Raḥmān, and the third is by al-Ḥaqq."[25] However, not only is al-Raḥmān the source of creation and the created, it is the Divine aspect that is immediately accessible and linked to mankind. We are told,

> God is the unseen of all things, and everything is identical (*ʿaynuhu*) with Him . . . for the absolute Unseen only appears as identical [to something], either by Self-disclosure or act or likeness or composition . . . "Your Lord creates and chooses what He wills; they have no choice in the matter." (Q. 28:68) But when the lights of the knowledge of [divine] Presence burn the perceiving sense, it sees the unseen of all things in its essence [i.e. God]. "Say: None in heaven or on earth knows the unseen except God." (Q. 27:65) Humanity is the couch (سرير) of al-Raḥmān; in gnosis is the extinction of man and the subsistence of al-Raḥmān. Al-Raḥmān is the source (*ʿayn*) of the unseen of everything.[26]

Thus, by its faculty of gnosis, humanity may see the unseen. It is by its being the couch (i.e., the receiver of the divine Self-disclosure) of al-Raḥmān that

mankind attains this perspective. It is as a mode of al-Raḥmān (the Eternal, the Necessary) that one is more than simply that which is in heaven or on earth (the created, the possible).

This same spiritual anthropology is echoed in Muḥammad Wafā's comments on the veils of creation. He describes a striping away that leads from humanity to the Divine. Part of a passage from the *Shaʿā'ir* we saw earlier, runs as follows: "The interior (*bāṭin*) of the heart is the mirror of al-Ḥaqq and the site of sincerity; and he to whom his Lord makes Himself known his heart is turned toward Him (انقلباليه قلبه); and in it [his heart] are Self-disclosed the lights of His truth, and in it are confirmed [the meanings] of the signs of His creation."[27] Here the essential connection between an individual and God is recast in physical terms. The perception of this Divine presence within oneself allows an understanding that is beyond the normal perspective of a created being. It is by the existential link between the Divine and humanity—usually described as a process of Self-disclosure—that one may share in God's knowledge. This dynamic appears to go both ways, that is, downward into creation, as well as upward. We read, "The heart of the gnostic is the Pen of al-Raḥmān, by which He writes upon the Tablet of possibility what is, and what has been."[28] Although brief, this passage clearly points to the heart as a tool used in the process of creation, that is, the process of divine Self-disclosure. Note also the association once more of al-Raḥmān with creation.

This essential link between God and humanity has implications for the latter's self-knowledge. In short, humanity's knowledge of self is also knowledge of the Divine: "He who finds the reality (*ḥaqīqa*) of God's secret has found his heart, and he who knows it [his heart] knows his Lord, and he who is ignorant of it [should know] 'There is no power except in God'" (Q. 2:165).[29] This is of course an often-repeated idea in the work of Ibn ʿArabī, as it is for Muḥammad Wafā'. However, knowledge may be described in a rather different way. Muḥammad Wafā' more than once speaks of the individual as the source of his own knowledge: "What unveils to you is your own known [things], from you and to you—at every level according to its measure."[30] In the same vein is the following comment on gnostics and verifiers:

> The gnostic is identical (*ʿayn*) with his gnosis, and the verifier is the reality of what he realizes (المحقق حقيقة ما حققه). Commensurate with the witnessing of perfection and completion is the love of the witness for what he witnesses. Commensurate with the sincerity of love is the realization of the lover in his beloved. Commensurate with realization is the manifestation of the Realized by virtue of what is realized to him by the source and by the sign. God is All-knowing and All-encompassing. It is He, in as much as He is it (هو هو بما هو هو).[31]

In this passage the initial assertion that the verifier is himself the source of verification is subsequently shifted to point to the Divine as the ultimate source. The gnostic is the source of his gnosis inasmuch as it is manifested to him through his sincerity in witnessing and love. In other words, it is by the fact that God may be found in himself that the gnostic or verifier may find his "own" gnosis and reality. The last sentence of the passage may therefore be better understood—be it awkward sounding—as "He (the gnostic) is Him, in as much as He is him."

Cosmology

The question of how existence, in all its forms, is organized is important to any mystical or philosophical speculation. The ultimate order of things provides a structure within which all else must operate. In Muḥammad Wafā's thinking, however, cosmology is much more than a simple accounting of stars and spheres; significantly, it includes the human being.

As we saw earlier, Muḥammad Wafā' was no stranger to the Neoplatonic understanding of the universe, which was headed by the First Intellect, followed by an absolute Soul.[32] However, this cosmological system was not the one earnestly adopted by him. Instead, he focused on a cosmology that recognized three worlds—the world of omnipotence (Jabarūt), the world of sovereignty (Malakūt), and the corporeal world (Mulk). This was not exactly the system adopted by Ibn ʿArabī, since the latter held, in at least one important discussion, Jabarūt to be an intermediary world between the worlds of Mulk and Malakūt.[33] It is interesting to note, however, that al-Qāshānī's definitions of the three worlds, a century later, are in line with those of Muḥammad Wafā.[34] As we shall see, Muḥammad Wafā' has a number of ideas play out in his descriptions of the cosmos.

All things may be divided between the necessary and the possible. The first category is engendered by God's Command, while the second is brought about by His aspect as Creator.

> [1] The Spirit of Command (*rūḥ al-amr*) is from the treasury of the world of divine Power (*qudra*), and in it the unseen of the Necessary determines itself through Self-disclosure of the beautiful Names and lofty Attributes. . . and the archangels by the Throne and the Seat and the Tablet and the Pen . . . [2] The Spirit of Creation (*rūḥ al-khalq*) is from the treasury of the world of [divine] Wisdom, and by it the bodily forms and spiritual shapes are determined; . . . and these two are Mulk and Malakūt, and the world and the hereafter, and what is in them of things heard, seen and felt.[35]

Here Muḥammad Wafā' has divided the cosmos into two, the necessary realm of God's Names and Attributes and the realm of possible created beings—whether seen or unseen. The lower realm consists of Mulk and Malakūt, while the higher will elsewhere be identified as Jabarūt. In a brief, but clearer, distinction between the three worlds, Muḥammad Wafā' writes, "The world of command, the world of creation, and the world of becoming—these are Jabarūt, Mulk and Malakūt; charity, faith and submission; the reality of certainty, the eye of certainty, and the knowledge of certainty; need, poverty and needfulness. These three levels are the beginning, the end and the middle."[36] Here the division of worlds is extended to mirror certain virtues, to distinguish between modes of spiritual insight. Another brief statement ties the three worlds directly to specific divine aspects: "The worlds are three: the world of Mulk, which accepts (قابل) divine Acts only; the world of Malakūt, which accepts the divine Self-disclosures; and the world of Jabarūt, which accepts the divine Realities. The first is by Act, the second by Attribute and the third by Essence."[37] The model here seems in effect to be cumulative. The lowest world, that of Mulk, is the realm that exists by—or receives—only God's Act. The Jabarūt accepts these Acts and in addition has some kind of access to the divine Attributes and Essence. In his *Kitāb al-azal* Muḥammad Wafā writes, "Jabarūt is by the Essence and Attributes; Malakūt is by the Names and the Named; Mulk is by the tenuities and the moments."[38] Here the Attributes are placed at the level of the Essence, with the successive level of Malakūt representing the Names and the Named. That the Attributes have now moved up to the Jabarūt signals an inconsistency, and the exact difference between the Names and the Attributes is not clear, yet the scheme of first an unknowable essence, second a general particularization, and third the specific entites remains clear.

Elsewhere Muḥammad Wafā' supplies a more detailed account of the worlds, one that introduces their constituent elements. Of the three worlds,

> The first is the world of Jabarūt which is the divine world, the second is the Malakūt which is the spiritual world, and the third is Mulk which is the world of formal soul. The first in Jabarūt is the divine world, and what reaches it does so at two bows'-length.[39] The second world is that of Malakūt which is the world of spirit, and what reaches it is "gabrielness" acquired through angelic inspiration descending to the heart. "The sure Spirit came down with it to your heart." (Q. 26:193-194) The third is Mulk, which is the world of pillars [of the physical world], of the engendered. And what reaches it is the Jinn, by the righteous Command . . .
>
> The world of Mulk is centered in the body encompassing the four elements, which are water, fire, earth and wind, from which are born the minerals, the plants, the animals and the [practical] Reason used

> for the lives of people. The world of Malakūt is centered in the separated Spirit,[40] which encompasses the four gems: the intellect, the soul, the creative faculty, and the commanding Spirit. Present through these are the Preserved Tablet, the Pen, the Throne and the Seat. The world of Jabarūt is self-standing by encompassing the absolute Being, distinguished by the four [divine] realities: Knowledge, Life, true Existence and the encompassing Face—[all of which] descended [from this realm] by the Attribute, the Name, Light and Self-disclosure.[41]

So the description of the three worlds presents a progression from the most elemental, up to the spritiual substances, finally ascending to the eternal attributes of the Divine. There is here also an association of specific figures with each world: the Prophet (by two bows'-length) with Jabarūt, the angel Gabriel (by "gabrielness") in Malakūt, and the elemental Jinn with the lower world of Mulk.

The three worlds are also represented by unique kinds of angels. We read of the "pure illuminated angels and cherubs" of the Jabarūt; the angels Gabriel, Michael, Isrāfīl, and ʿIzrā'īl of the spiritual world that is the Malakūt; and the "earthly angels, the souls of the spheres and the knowing messengers" to be found in the world of the four elements, that is, the world of Mulk.[42] In marked distinction from this angelology, Muḥammad Wafā' elsewhere says, "Gabriel is the Jabarūt, the eye of all unseen of the Godhead . . . and Michael is the Malakūt, the eye of all the spiritual, angelic, soulful and immaginal shapes."[43] Thus the archangels may have a metonymic function, each representing an entire realm.

A particularly interesting element of Muḥammad Wafā's understanding of the three worlds is his description of the connections between them. In Peripatetic psychology the five bodily senses are accompanied by a "common sense" (*ḥiss mushtarak*), which is the cognitive faculty lying behind the five senses. Muḥammad Wafā' introduces the latter as the link (*barzakh*) between the world of Mulk and Malakūt. More significantly, he describes a related link, between Malakūt and Jabarūt, which he calls the "common intellect" (*ʿaql mushtarak*).[44] In a passage describing these links we read,

> The possible is divided into the visible (*mulkī*) and the invisible (*malakūtī*) realms. The visible is divided into six parts: the five senses and the "common sense." The invisible is divided into six parts: estimation (متوهمة), imagination, preserving, remembering, reflection and the "common intellect." The "common sense" is the link between the visible and invisible. The "common intellect" is the link between the invisible and the Jabarūt.
>
> Know that the five senses, along with the "common sense," are the six days in which God made creation. They are known as "days" because they are the lights of elucidation, the clarification of vague-

> ness and the revealing of the unseen. They are the keys to the heavens and earth.
>
> Thus, seeing (*baṣar*) is the key to the treasure-house of visible things, and their light and elucidation. And [so are] hearing, . . . smelling, . . . tasting, . . . touching. The "common sense" is all of these things, their presence and preservation, in the state of the absence of their original sources.[45]
>
> Imagination is their treasure-house and the utmost occasion of their pure form. This is the clear horizon, and the furthest Lote-tree.[46] Thus the invisible lights [of the unseen world] are face to face with these visible lights.
>
> These twelve lights are the realities of the preparedness of the tablet. All of its levels are accepting of the emanated forms from the Pen. This is the "rational faculty" (القوة الناطقة). God has elucidated this in the transcript that is humanity. So he who knows himself knows his Lord. He is the throne, under which is found the likeness of all things.[47]

The definition given here of "common sense" is straightforward. This sense and that of the "common intellect," as stated at the end of the quotation, constitute the "rational faculty." The "common intellect" operates in parallel to "common sense," at the point between Malakūt and Jabarūt. The "rational faculty," according to Ibn Sīnā is the hightest part of the soul and receives from the eternal Active Intellect.[48] However, this is not Muḥammad Wafā's final word on the matter.

Elsewhere, to these two linking senses is added a third, the "choice connection" (وسط مختار). This connection links Jabarūt (here representing a further set of abilities) to the absolute Necessary. This set is described not with philsophical terminology, but rather with traditional mystical terms.

> There are three worlds: the world of Mulk, which is a place from the viewpoint of sensation by the five senses. The "common sense" is the link (*barzakh*) between the Mulk and Malakūt, which is the second world. This is a place from the viewpoint of the intellect (عقل), which is the five interior senses, like estimation (وهمية), imagination, preserving, remembering and thinking. The "common intellect" is the link between Malakūt and Jabarūt. Jabarūt is the third world, and is the place of the five comprehensions[49] (احاطات): the heart, the *fu'ād* (heart), the spirit, the secret, the unseen secret; and the "choice connection" is the link between the absolute Necessary and Jabarūt. This "choice connection" is the Throne of al-Raḥmān, hidden in it by Omnipotence and appearing from it by Self-disclosure; and it acts without restriction by choice because absolute Necessity effuses from the Essence.[50]

Thus the "common intellect" is the cognitive faculty behind the senses, leading to the world of Jabarūt. This Jabarūt itself is then linked to the Divine by the "choice connection"—another term Muḥammad Wafā' appears to have coined. This connection is equated with the function of the Throne of Mercy, although in the previous quotation it appears at a lower level. It is noteworthy that the proviso is made that it "acts without restriction and by choice." This is probably a nod to the Qur'anic vision of God as unfettered and omnipotent, as distinct from the philosophical vision that often denied God any choice in the matter of emanation. Perhaps more interesting though is this term *choice connection*. In the previous quotation we met the "rational faculty," which seemed to be the highest human point; yet here the "choice connection," located beyond a further set of (mystical) senses, seems to represent that point. This connection functions much as the *ʿaql qudsī* did for Ibn Sīnā, an intelligence that is described as having ready access to the Active Intellect.[51] Significantly, Muḥammad Wafā's formulation presents a dimension beyond the Neoplatonic "rational soul." This development (which is more anthropological than it is cosmological) shows us where Muḥammad Wafā's true intellectual allegiance lies. That is, he is above all a mystical writer, and thus the highest human dimensions are described using sufi terminology. It would be fair to conclude that Muḥammad Wafā' uses philosophical models and language as far as they may be of service to him in presenting his own mystical vision.[52]

Thus this "cosmology" is not a physical model of the universe. For Muḥammad Wafā' the structure of existence may be made sense of in a number of distinct ways. We saw earlier in this section that the lower worlds represent possible existence, while the upper represents necessary existence. This is a philosophical perspective, yet we also saw a theological one. There Jabarūt was associated with God's Realities and Essence, with Malakūt presenting God's Attributes, and Mulk the divine Acts. We were elsewhere presented with a rather linear prespective that simply presented the lowest world as the material realm, the median as spiritual realm, and the higher as the divine realm.

In an alternate model of cosmology, Muḥammad Wafā' describes a universe, each part of which has its own ruler. The focus of this model is, however, the human form that becomes a microcosm of the larger cosmology. We are told,

> The world is divided into two: the world of spirits (ارواح) and the world of bodies. Then it is divided into four branches: spirits of prophethood, angelic spirits (ارواح ملكية), spirits of jinn, and the Adamic forms. The First Intellect is the father of the spirits of prophethood, like Adam is the father of the human forms (ابو الاشباح), and likewise Gabriel[53] is the father of the angelic spirits, like Iblīs (Satan) is the father of the Jinn spirits. All that is of human form has a prophetic spiritual form manifesting to it and rising from it, commanding it and forbidding it,

> inspiring it, improving it and making it pious. To each Adamic form there are two associates (قرين), one is angelic and the other jinn-like. These two struggle, and if the angelic triumphs over the jinn-like, then clearness is established in the water by the falling of the sediment, and the commanding prophetic spirit rises, and its image appears in him/it by manifestation—like the shape of the seer appears in a mirror. If it conquers the jinn, then its affinity is close to the angelic, but if it is far, then it is Satanic, and muddiness prevails. Sight is then veiled and communication is cut, for "He to whom God does not give light, has none." (Q.24:40) This Commanding Spirit is that which will settle the account of the servant on Judgement Day, and will reward him according to his acts, since, "Your soul suffices to make an account against you." (Q.17:14). He who knows himself, knows his Lord.[54]

This model—which is perhaps as soteriological as it is cosmological—has as its ultimate concern the fate of each "Adamic form," that is, the individual soul. In this system the First Intellect engenders the spirits of prophecy, which function as warners and moral aids to the soul. Despite this help, the soul becomes the battleground for the forces of Satan and those of Gabriel. The final lines of this passage, evoking the image of one's own soul standing as witness, provide a novel perspective on the oft-repeated hadith "He who knows himself knows his Lord." The implication is that if one wants to know God the keeper-of-accounts, one need only know oneself.

The Teaching Shaykh and Beyond

From our discussion earlier in chapter 3, it is clear that Muḥammad Wafā's saintly persona was well established. His position as a "teaching shaykh," that is, as a master who teaches mystical theory to his followers (*shaykh al-taʿlīm*), is evident from his voluminous writings. As we have noted, however, Muḥammad Wafā' himself did not place much emphasis on the pedagogical role of the shaykh as spiritual guide (*shaykh al-tarbiyya*).[55] Instead he seems to have nurtured for himself an inspired and mysterious image, one that did not much care for the psychology of spiritual direction. Nevertheless, help for the aspirant on the sufi way is not wholly absent in his writings. Muḥammad Wafā' was after all striking out from the Shādhiliyya on an independent course, which necessitated at least some attention to the development of aspirants. In the previous chapter we mentioned the short work by Muḥammad Wafā', *Maqāmāt al-saniyya li al-sāda al-ṣūfiyya* (The Sublime Stations of the Sufis). There we saw that this work presents short definitions of mystical vocabulary followed by cursory elaborations. The tone and form suggest this is a pedagogical text, a kind of manual

intended for the novice. However, this kind of writing within the oeuvre of Muḥammad Wafā' is a remarkable exception. The composition in question covers only nine of the approximately three hundred folios his writings occupy.

Yet this is not to say that all of Muḥammad Wafā's writing is philosophical and abstract. At the beginning of the *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* the reader is provided with basic definitions of a number of mystical terms:

> *Servanthood* fixes the command of Lordship. *Oneness* is the last level of with-ness (معية) . . . *Humility* is the quieting of the soul along the paths of pre-existence . . . *Asceticism* is leaving all things (ترك الكل) . . . *Courtesy* (*adab*) is standing in the provisions of the moment. *Certainty* is the absence of indecision. *Remembrance* (*dhikr*) is the summoning of the remembered . . . *Perspicacity* (فراسة) is the extraction of the unseen from the seen. *Extinction* is consuming everything in God. *Persistence* is the fixing of everything by God.[56]

Beyond these rudimentary pronouncements, we do find other passages that treat some of the basic distinctions of which an aspirant should be made aware. In the following, the categories of spiritual men are described.

> For the ascetics, their sciences are embodied in their acts. For the sufis, their sciences are embodied in their states. For the gnostics, their acts are embodied in their gnosis. For the verifiers, their states are embodied in their realities. Thus the ascetics find what they know by what they do; and the sufis find what they verify by the traits they assume;[57] and the gnostics find what they do by what they know; and the verifiers find what they assume as traits by that which they are verified of.[58]

The distinctions being made here are rather straightforward, adhering to a spiritual hierarchy that privileges realities (*ḥaqā'iq*) and gnosis over temporary states and acts. In the same line of discussion—that of the basic categories of mystics—Muḥammad Wafā' elsewhere writes,

> The face of the gnostic is a mirror of the Self-disclosures of known Attributes. The verifier is the model of what is verified to him. And the sufi has assumed the traits, which are attributed to the object of his desire in sanctification. Union is the source of his perfection, occurring only with the melting together of opposites, which is impossible normally and conceptually.[59]

These discussions of categories are rather brief, and they are noticeably missing the expected advice as to how the novice is to make headway on the spiritual path. It seems that Muḥammad Wafā's advice, on this level, is restricted to

making observations such as, "The knower (عالم) realizes al-Ḥaqq from the side of creation, but the gnostic (عارف) realizes creation from the side of al-Ḥaqq."[60] The apparent lack of concern exhibited for the spiritual advancement of lowly aspirants is striking—especially from the perspective of a hopeful founder of a new sufi order.

However the case may appear, we should not be surprised that Muḥammad Wafā' has some interesting speculations on the deeper mystical aspects of the subject. He characterizes the relationship between the spiritual aspirant and the master as one of existential union. This union even comes to mirror that between the servant and God. To start with, he ties together the essence of the aspirant, his spiritual guide and his Lord.

> He who has no teacher, has no protector; and to him who has no protector Satan draws near.[61]
> He who knows himself knows his shaykh.
> He who has not found his shaykh has not found his heart,
> and he who has not found his heart has lost his Lord.[62]

The details of the presence and function of the shaykh are also described. This relationship is rather mysterious but seems to center on the attributes of the shaykh. The description runs as follows,

> Your shaykh is he who causes you to hear when he is silent. He makes you oblivious when he speaks. He causes you to be lost when he finds [God in ecstasy]; and he causes you to find [God] when he is silent. Your shaykh is he who informs you by his speech, and he verifies you by his [spiritual] state, and he establishes you by his vanishing, and effaces you by his perfection.[63]

The point that the aspirant is existentially linked to the attributes of the shaykh is clear. Elsewhere, Muḥammad Wafā' describes this relationship as extending beyond the visible world. We read, "The heart of the aspirant is the house of his teacher, and his body is his grave in which he is buried, and from which he rises."[64] This image is further developed by Muḥammad Wafā' when he concludes, "He who has no son is not remembered." The gist of the images is that the timeless unseen spiritual presence of the shaykh is to be found in the heart of his follower.[65] The connection between aspirant and shaykh is also explained in the context of the "Oneness of Being" insight. We encountered a passage earlier that is worth repeating here:

> If you know your teacher and imam—guiding you by his necessary divine existence, then you know your Lord, al-Ḥaqq. Do you know who He is? He is simply the source of your divine existence, as

> determined for you on the level of distinction of your being, by which you see that you have no existence except Him (لا كون لك سواه).[66]

Thus the guide, by his own share in necessary existence, is to his follower the divine Presence. An individual may find the Divine in himself, but also, and perhaps more easily, it may be accessed in certain others. It is also made clear that knowing al-Ḥaqq in the teacher is a specific insight, which hinges on ones seeing that there is no real existence except in God.

In an even more dramatic formulation of the relationship of the aspirant with his guide, Muḥammad Wafā' describes the former as a kind of manifestation of the latter. In one brief statement the follower is identified with the creative "mercy" of his master. We read, "The heart of the aspirant is a throne for the *raḥmāniyya* (mercifulness) of his teacher to sit upon."[67] As we noted earlier in this chapter, the creative impulse of the Divine is associated with its name *al-Raḥmān* (the merciful); here that function is being transferred through the teacher. This transference is repeated at a lower level by other statements describing the aspirant as a kind of mouthpiece for communication of the insights of the shaykh. One such passage runs: "The sincere aspirant is the eloquent pulpit (منبرناطق) whom the teacher climbs after his divesting himself of the physical worlds (عوالم‌الجسم). He informs, by his sincere tongue, of what he has witnessed of the realities."[68] From this it is clear that the follower becomes a medium for use by the spiritually elevated (or deceased?) shaykh. Further, it seems this follower must himself have first achieved a purifying spiritual insight. The passage ends by stating that this follower's task is then to broadcast what has been communicated to him.[69]

It would be fair to say that Muḥammad Wafā's thinking on the "guiding shaykh," and advice to novices in general, is rudimentary, and does not hold our author's attention. Yet the idea of the spiritual function of the shaykh, and the aspirant's relationship to him, received substantial reflection. It should be no surprise to find Muḥammad Wafā' at some point referring the question back to the imanent existential divine Reality of creation. In this context the shaykh serves as simply one of a number of possible divine Self-disclosures. Thus, to know the shaykh is to know the Lord. More intriguingly perhaps, Muḥammad Wafā' also describes the transference of spiritual insight from the shaykh to the aspirant and emphasizes the latter's central function as an inheritor, as it were, and as a transmitter.

The Muḥammadan Reality and the Pole

Central to the philosophy of Ibn ʿArabī was the existential position of the prophet Muḥammad. In his cosmic function, the Prophet operated essentially as the First

Intellect, that is, the first in creation, from which all else is derived. Ibn ʿArabī himself equates this First Intellect with the Muḥammadan Reality (*ḥaqīqa Muḥammadiyya*).[70] In a brief definition of this term, al-Qāshānī tells us, "The Muḥammadan Reality is the Essence in its primary individuation,[71] for it contains all of the Beautiful Names and is itself the Greatest Name."[72] Muḥammad Wafā', in his own writings, does not deal with the term *ḥaqīqa Muḥammadiyya* directly; however, he does seem to apply the equivalent concept to his own person. He recounts: "Al-Ḥaqq said to me, 'You are the elite, to you is the measure (مقدار) of all things, yet you have none with Me; for none contains Me other than you, since there is nothing like you. You are the source of My Truth [in creation] and everything is a metaphor (مجاز) for you. I am present in the truth and absent in the metaphor'."[73] It is clear from this that Muḥammad Wafā's understanding of his own spiritual authority accorded him an exceptional position. Just as the Muḥammadan Reality functions as the "primary individuation," so this elite figure is at once distinct from, yet the source of, all creation.

Tied to the idea of the Muḥammadan Reality, for Ibn ʿArabī, is the concept of the 'perfect human being' (*insān kāmil*). The difference between the two figures of the perfect human and the Muḥammadan Reality is often hard to distinguish, since they perform the same intermediary function between God and creation.[74] Al-Qāshānī describes the perfect human being as the realization of the Divine in creation. He defines the "Divine Form" as, "The perfect human being, who has verified the realities of the Divine Names."[75] This description points to the central role of this figure in the generation of the created entities, which are the realities. Elsewhere al-Qāshānī describes the perfect human as the intermediate realm (*barzakh*) between the necessary and the possible, that is, between the Divine and creation.[76] In a dramatic account of the created world, Ibn ʿArabī touches on the centrality of this perfect human being. He compares the rational soul's function within an individual to the role played by the perfect human in the cosmos. We read,

> The angels in respect to the whole cosmos are like the forms manifest within man's imagination, as also are the jinn. So the cosmos is a great human being only through the existence (*wujūd*) of the perfect human being, who is its rationally speaking soul. In the same way the configuration of the human being is a human being only through the rationally speaking soul . . . The soul of the cosmos, who is Muḥammad, achieves the degree of perfection through the completion of the divine form . . . and in the subsistence of the cosmos through him.[77]

In this image, Muḥammad is the soul, the essential reality, of the body that is creation. Muḥammad Wafā' does not take up the same imagery, but not sur-

prisingly, he does echo Ibn ʿArabī's understanding of the perfect human being. From the *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* we read,

> That which is described by the Attributes of the Essence is the Greatest Name in the horizon of the Beautiful Names. It is the loftiest likeness in the world of Jabarūt, the prior (سابق) and the eternal (قيوم) in the world of Awe. It is the encompassing spirit in the world of command, which is the holy Spirit in the world of Malakūt and the originating (واضع) reality in the world of creation. The perfect human being is the effuser of forms (فياض الصور) in the world of becoming. "And to Him all matters return." (Q. 11:123)[78]

In this passage Muḥammad Wafā' begins by pointing to the zenith of the unseen, the Greatest Name. This Name includes, and is somehow a reflection of, the named entities at lower levels. To this creative cosmic scenario—one we have discussed above—is added the perfect human, who is the provider of the forms that will receive the divine creative Command. In this sense, everything is to be understood as returning to God.

In chapter 1, during our discussion of Ibn ʿArabī's *dīwān*, we saw that the supreme figure of the saintly hierarchy was the pole (*quṭb*). To this figure is attributed an unsurpassed role in the cosmos, being the temporal embodiment of the spirit of Muḥammad (*rūḥ Muḥammad*).[79] In the writings of Muḥammad Wafā' the hierarchy of saints does not receive a great deal of attention. The discussions of the pole show that our author assumes a prior familiarity with the *dīwān* as understood by Ibn ʿArabī. Shaykh Wafā's presentation of the pole is comparatively rudimentary, simply stressing this figure's role as a locus of divine Effusion. To start with, we are told that the pole, along with other elite figures of the hierarchy, are found in God. We read,

> In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. "There is nothing like Him; He is the All-hearing and the All-seeing" (Q. 42:11). In Him are the pole, the imam, the sucour (*ghawth*), the solitary (*fard*), the khalifa, and the verifier (*muḥaqqiq*). Those beneath, like the pegs (*awtād*) and the substitutes (*abdāl*), the nobles (*nujabā'*) and others, exceed in numbers, and they persist in secrets.[80]

No substantial discussion is provided of these lesser figures. Rather the focus becomes the pole. We are told later in the *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* that the *quṭb* is the vehicle for God's creation and command:

> The heart of the pole is the Greatest Name of God; and His Face is His most noble Essence, by which is established creation and [divine]

> Command, and it [the heart of the pole] is the axis of the secret and notoriety. "And all of the hearts of humanity are between two of His fingers, like one heart."[81] They are His speaking tongues and His truthful words and His rending and repairing pens.[82]

Thus the Face of God is extended into creation and Command takes, in its loftiest form, the shape of the heart of the pole. (As was noted above, the Greatest Name may be equated with the Muḥammadan Reality.) This point is recast by Muḥammad Wafā' in terms that draw a striking picture of the pole as the agent of divine effusion. We read,

> The pole is a substitute (*badal*) for the name "Allāh"; he is the preserver (مهيمن) of the names of descent, like the Name of God is the Preserver (مهيمن) of the names of the Sublime. And as God has ninety-nine names, likewise the pole has ninety-nine names. Every one of his names is the eye of His Unseen and the apparent of His Hidden, and the Face of his Essence, and the Self-disclosure of His Names and Attributes. So he who knows him knows God's Presence, but to he who denies him [we say]: "There is no power or strength except in God."[83]

The parallel between God as the Preserver and the pole as preserver is not developed in the manuscript beyond this statement, but the implication is that God's ninety-nine Names are somehow mirrored by the pole's ninety-nine names. The last sentence in the passage ties knowing "him," the pole, to knowing the divine Presence.

From these brief treatments of the pole and his associates, we see that the function of the Muḥammadan Reality is born by either the perfect human being or the pole. As we noted, the pole has ninety-nine names by which he preserves creation, and the perfect human is he by whom these forms are effused. The figure of pole will reappear in the following section on *walāya*.

Sanctity, the Renewer, and the Seal

In earlier chapters we explored the parameters of the idea of sainthood according to Tirmidhī, Ibn ʿArabī and the early Shādhiliyya. It is with these models in mind, along with the observations above on various mystical figures, that we now move forward to consider Muḥammad Wafā's teaching on *walāya*. One of the first things to be noted here is the absence of a fully self-consistent doctrine. In the teachings of earlier figures we have been able to sketch the outline of a doctrine, but in the writings of Muḥammad Wafā' things are not so tidy. In fact, there seem to be three different treatments of *walāya*. The first we may

call the more "traditional" treatment, reflecting the simple position of the saint as closer to the divine source than others (what was described as *qurba* in the early Shādhiliyya). In the second type of discussion Muḥammad Wafā' presents a *walāya* that more closely follows Ibn ʿArabī's positions on the superiority of prophethood over sainthood, and the (perhaps awkward) case for the reverse. The third kind of discussion of sainthood is one that contains an element of the apocalyptic. Here Muḥammad Wafā' introduces the idea of the "Renewer of religion at the start of each century" (*tajdīd*) into his doctrine of *walāya*, and hints at his own central role in the approaching apocalyptic drama.

The most elementary treatment of *walāya* according to Muḥammad Wafā' may be found in statements like the following, "The prophets are the risings of the Truth (*ḥaqq*), and the saints are the settings of the secrets of Reality (*ḥaqīqa*), the sources (*ʿuyūn*) of His Mercy, and the unseen of Divinity."[84] This contrasting of the clear role of the prophet with the hidden secrets represented by the saint is rather straightforward. In the *Kitāb al-azal* we are provided with definitions of saint and sainthood that may also be considered basic. In a section entitled "On the Realization of the Circle of the Saint" we read,

> *Walāya*: The special shared responsibility in the Essence, necessitating vision and elect governing.
>
> *Walī*: He who is entrusted with the command of his patron, and is entrusted with his own command, because it is wholly from it [i.e. the patron's command].
>
> Comment: The special *walī* is the face of the Essence, which visions do not perceive; and to him turn the faces from every side; and with him all the utmost degrees are reached.[85]

Thus sainthood itself includes an essential rapprochement, which entails mystical vision and authority. This may be understood as a short description of the positive content of sainthood. Following this, the notice of the saint as the medium for God's command recalls the hadith in which God says of the elect servant, "If I love him I am his hearing by which he hears and his sight by which he sees."[86] Muḥammad Wafā's final comment adds a dimension that is roughly equivalent to the *walāya kubrā* we saw earlier in the Shādhiliyya. In this dimension the special saint plays a mediating role between the Divine and creation.

A basic distinction between *walāya* and *risāla* is also presented, which serves to underline the view that sanctity is the improvement of an individual, while prophecy and mission are offices dispensed by God to appropriate people. Note the categorical distinction being made in the following passage:

> *Risāla* (mission) occurs by descent from the presence of necessity to the presence of possibility, as "The Faithful Spirit came down to your

> [Muḥammad's] heart." (Q. 26:193–194). *Walāya* is ascension from the presence of possibility to the presence of necessity by the sign of "Praise Him who took his servant on a night-journey" (Q. 17:1); for God sent down a message to the servant, and the servant ascended to his Lord in *walāya*.[87]

The distinction presented here is one that juxtaposes the downward movement of *risāla* with the upward rise of *walāya*. Each movement may stand on its own as a definition, but the two may be connected—at least according to this statement. The reference to a "night-journey" recalls the event of the Prophet's having been raised through the heavens to God's presence. This example includes both the element of the chosen prophet and the rising saint. This is followed by the final line, stating that God sent down, while the servant rose upwards. The *walāya* presented in the above quotation, when viewed on its own, also clearly reflects the early Shādhiliyya notion of *walāya kubrā*.

Elsewhere, this *walāya kubrā* reappears, but with an elevated status approaching that of the Muḥammadan Reality. In the *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* one lengthy passage opens with a description of the generation of existences by the absolute Intellect and the Spirit of Command. It goes on to trace the descent of the Secret of Grace through revelation (*waḥy*) into humanity. The pivotal importance of the Prophet's night journey is asserted:

> When he travelled by night to Him within two bow's-length, "and He inspired him" (Q.53:10) with existential knowledge, [his] pre-existence was enroled in his everlastingness, and his singleness was hidden within His oneness (احده), and all the monads (آحاد) were turned away from the single (واحد) by the One (احد); and so the tongue of *walāya kubrā* recited: "He is the One God, the Eternal not begotten." (Q. 112:1–4)[88]

This passage is dense to the point of obscurity, and the manuscript copies do not inspire confidence. However, we can make some observations. The oneness of God is certainly the gist of the communication to Muḥammad, but the more significant point for our discussion is the use of the phrase "tongue of *walāya kubrā*" in reference to the Prophet.[89] This description fits well into the model of the special saint, as described above. This same passage goes on to speak of Muḥammad's prophetic function and to describe his state as the Seal of sainthoods: "The human secret (سريرة انسانية) and the silent reality (حقيقة سكوتية)[90] appear in every secret, and are included in every knowledge which has neither been known nor taught until the Seal of sainthoods; and the fixing of all the tidings are deposited in trust with him; and faces turn to him from all directions."[91] Here the Seal of sainthoods seems to function as the Muḥammadan Reality; that is, he is the central figure in the realization of the secrets

and realities hidden in all knowledge. Distinct from the Muḥammadan Reality, however, this portrait of the Seal of sainthoods emphasizes his role in esoteric knowledge over his role in the dynamic of creation. Further along in this passage we also find reference to a "Khaḍir-ian" sainthood, which is established, along with prophecy, among the Jews (*Isrā'iliyya*) by the hidden Spirit.

Quite a distinct discussion of *walāya* is presented when Muḥammad Wafā' takes up the issue of ranking among mission, prophethood, and sainthood. Here we can see clearly our author functioning as the inheritor of Ibn ʿArabī. As we saw in chapter 1, Ibn ʿArabī made the innovative claim that prophethood and mission are superior to *walāya*, when they are present in different people, but *walāya* is superior to the other two when they coexist within one individual. The logical difficulty in sustaining this position aside, for our purposes the significance is that it reappears as an important element of Muḥammad Wafā's teaching. We note first a description of two orders, that of "sciences of presence" and that of "religious sciences," each of which provides a different perspective on the three entities *risāla*, *nubuwwa*, and *walāya*.

> Know that polehood is of two kinds: polehood in the sciences of presence (علوم لدنية), and polehood of the religious sciences (علوم دينية). The difference between the two is that the first occurs by the instructing sciences (علوم تعريفية) and the latter by the commanding sciences (علوم تكليفية). Each one divides into three levels, *walāya*, *nubuwwa*, and *risāla*; but in the [sciences] of presence, the [order] is reversed because the first in the religious [sciences] is he who befriends God by [following] His commands, and His prohibitions. Yet, in the [sciences] of presence the saint is he whom God befriends, whether it be by the Essence, "If I love him I am him,"[92] or it be by the Attributes, "If I love him I am his hearing by which he hears and his sight by which he sees," or it be by the Acts, "Do what you will, you are forgiven."[93] The union between all these [aspects] is an unattainable perfection (كمال لا يدرك). The prophethood of presence and the religious mission move in the depths of spirituality at the level of Majesty with the movement of He-ness. And God knows well the secrets of the hearts. If this is understood, then [so is] the difference between the Mūsawiyya and the Khaḍiriyya.[94]

Thus are presented two distinct perspectives: one mystical (Khaḍir-ian), and one exoteric or literal (Moses-ian).[95] The height of the first perspective is *walāya*, because it is the saint who is befriended by God essentially, by Attribute and by Act. This priority is reversed in favor of the messenger when the second perspective is adopted. This perspective values more highly he who follows God's exoteric commands and prohibitions. The comparison of the

"prophethood of presence" and the "religious mission" among spirituality, with Majesty among He-ness seems to be an effort to underline their importance as the visible face of their perspectives in the realm of spirituality. In other words, *nubuwwa laduniyya* functions as a name or attribute that serves to conceal its essence in the realm of spirituality; the same function is in effect for *risāla dīniyya*.[96] Although it is not clear what we are supposed to make of the "spirituality" mentioned, it is certain that Muḥammad Wafā' wants to underscore the Magisterial function of *nubuwwa laduniyya* and *risāla dīniyya*. This function is characterized by an authority that veils an intimate hidden interior. Thus in the realm of spirituality, we are perhaps to understand the *nubuwwa laduniyya* as specifically an external figure in the spiritual realm (as opposed to the essential *walāya*), and the *risāla dīniyya* as authoritative reality, superior to *walāya* from the exoteric perspective, even in the domain of spirit. However we read the details of the passage above,[97] the essential point is that this discussion is an effort to recognize the differences between the esoteric and exoteric conceptions, without subordinating one perspective to the other. The union of these two perspectives, after all, is a heretofore "unattainable perfection."

This two-sided model is elsewhere taken up with the distinction being made between exoteric *walāya* and esoteric *walāya*. Again, sainthood, prophecy, and mission are to be found in reverse priority. We are told,

> *Walāya* has an interior and an exterior. Its external is the enabling of the servant to befriend God, to obey His command and His proscriptions, and to follow His Wish (مرضاته). Prophethood is above the level (درجة) of *walāya*, and *risāla* is above this. God selects the prophets for information about, and acquaintance with, the things of the unseen and that which is unveiled of the Malakūt. Also, God has helped the messengers by the descent of the Holy Spirit and the aid in wisdom and power to call [people] to God, and the evidentiary miracles (*muʿjizāt*), and the external proofs, etc. But as for *walāya bāṭina*, it is that by which God befriends His servant in his essence, and informs him about Himself, concerning the hidden of His Names and Attributes. He places him in the sacred domain of His Self-disclosure. He takes him from himself and extinguishes him from himself and makes him persist in Him, so he is not him, but only Him. This *walāya* is what Muḥammad ascended to when Gabriel left him at the furthest Lote-tree; He was through it [*walāya*] at a distance of "two bows'-length or closer." Prophethood, from this perspective, is below (دون) the station (*maqām*) of his *walāya*, and *risāla* is below the station of his *nubuwwa*. And *walāya*, *nubuwwa* and *risāla* are in the world of power (*qudra*), by this Rule, according to this hierarchy (ترتيب); the first is by existence, while the second is in potential.[98]

So in the first order, that of exterior sanctity, the hierarchy is topped by the messenger who has been granted help from the Spirit, success calling people to God, and proof of his status in the form of miracles. Below this are the prophets, who benefit from insight into the unseen. The lowest are the saints (here equivalent to the pious), who attain their position by following the divine Command. The interior, or esoteric, *walāya* is described as the result of one's extinction in, and essential identification with, God. The passage goes on to assert that this *walāya* was attained by Muḥammad and that his prophethood and mission were thereby subordinated within him to *walāya*.[99]

Turning to Muḥammad Wafā's third distinct treatment of *walāya*, we notice connections between the Seal of saints, the cyclical Renewer of religion,[100] and the end of time. A picture emerges in which the Seal—as opposed to sealing general *walāya* or Muḥammadan *walāya*, according to Ibn ʿArabī—in fact marks the end or fulfilment of the "word." This word itself is presented variously as "tidings" or as revelation.

Muḥammad Wafā' mentions briefly the Seal of sainthoods. We are told that as the divine Word is sincere and just,

> The words complete in justice and sincerity are the beauty (حسن) of the word of the Spirit in the world of Jabarūt; and the word of Gabriel is in the world of Malakūt, and the word of Adam is in the world of Mulk, and the word of Jesus is in the world of prophethoods, and the word of Muḥammad is in the messengerhoods; but the unifying word of words (الكلمة الجامعة للكلمات) is that of the Seal of sainthoods from the illiterate community, who ascertains God by divine Secrets. "And to Him return all things, so worship Him and put your trust in Him." (Q. 11:123)[101]

This use of "word" (a term associated with divine creativity) is interesting inasmuch as it functions below the realm of Jabarūt as a lesser creative force. Particularly notable in the passage is first mention of Muḥammad as informing *risāla* yet in the next phrase pointing to a different figure as the union of this and all words. Apparently Muḥammad (at least in that particular form) is not this unifier, and thus not the Seal of sainthoods. What are the possibilities when we consider the identity of this Seal? One might argue that the Muḥammadan Reality or the Perfect human being already serve this function. This may be true, but we would be seriously diverging from the use of the term *Seal of sainthood* if we were not to seek to identify the holder of the station. The fact is that Tirmidhī, Ibn ʿArabī, and Muḥammad Wafā (as noted above) consider this figure to be much more tangible. Further, if our writer had intended the cosmic Muḥammad as this Seal, we might expect some clearer allusion—something to differentiate him from the "Muḥammad" just mentioned. It thus

seems unlikely that this Seal of sainthoods is a synonym for the Muḥammadan Reality. Thus the field of candidates for Sealhood is narrowed down to Ibn ʿArabī and Muḥammad Wafā' himself. Since Ibn ʿArabī is never mentioned in the writings of Muḥammad Wafā', it would be willful to insist that he is the unnamed Seal. Discussions elsewhere will point instead to Muḥammad Wafā'.

The hadith of the "Renewer of religion" appearing every century itself reappears on a number of occasions in Muḥammad Wafā's writings. In the following he not only cites the hadith, but he also adds to it:

> "God causes to appear at the start of every century a man by whom He renews this [Islamic] religion."[102] This is the believer whose heart has embraced Reality through a gnosis of which all else is incapable. "My earth and My heaven do not embrace Me, but the heart of My believing servant does embrace Me"[103]. . . And he belongs to both the most important shaykhs of his time and the nobles of his era. And with this appearance at the start of each century, each one [of these Renewers] has in his time seventy-thousand guiding signs (اعلام) and rising lights of emulation. By this is understood the secret of the Seven oft-repeated.[104] "Truly God has seventy-thousand veils of light and darkness."[105]

Here the Renewer is described as being chosen from among the important figures of his time. One particular benefit of his appearance is an understanding of the Seven oft-repeated, in other words, revelation. According to the claim of the first hadith noted, a renewer will appear each century. Since our author was born at the start of the eighth century Hijrī, there would have been seven or eight of these Renewers to appear.

For Muḥammad Wafā' the number *seven* recurs, being completed by an eighth. In the following passage he sets up groups of seven (e.g., Attributes, prophets, centuries) to be sealed by an eighth. We are told that,

> When there were seven days, God struck a similitude of the Seven oft-repeated which are the Self-disclosures of the Attributes of the Essence. These are Life, Knowledge, Power, Will, Hearing, Seeing and Speaking. Then [He struck] the great Qur'ān and the Self-disclosure of the Essence, to which refer all the Names and Attributes. Then the eight throne-bearers descended . . . to the seven heavenly received commands . . . and descended in [the missions of] Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Sulaiman and Jesus. [The throne-bearers] then appeared in Muḥammad, and he is their "day of Assembly"[106] and the arrangement of their affair. Then they turned towards the *ummī* community and the Aḥmadī *milla*,[107] by virtue of the tradition, "God dispatches at

> the start of every century a man by whom He renews the religion of this community." This is the reality of the polehood, up to [the year] 800. The uniting eighth appears as . . . the seal of the Seven oft-repeated, the organizer of their realities among both concrete and abstract things, from the *ummī* community and the Muḥammadan Aḥmadī *milla*. [This unifying eighth, being himself] the great Qur'ān, [is] known as "In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate." And "this is the Day of Assembly of which there is no doubt" (Q. 42:7) or denial. "This is the day for which mankind is gathered together. That will be a day of Testimony." (Q. 11:103)[108]

This passage is rather dense, but the theme of the completing eighth is evident. First the Seven oft-repeated gives rise to seven divine Attributes, to which is added the great Qur'an.[109] Then the eight throne bearers descend to the seven prophets.[110] This descent is completed by their reaching Muḥammad, who marks their end as the "day of Assembly" marks the day of Judgment for humanity. At this point Muḥammad Wafā' introduces the hadith of the Renewer of religion. He states that polehood in this era—up to the year 800—will be a completion of the Seven oft-repeated. The next line strikingly identifies the Seal as the great Qur'an (symbolized as: *In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate*).[111] In this passage the entity of the Seven oft-repeated (usually understood as the Fātiḥa) functions as a principle of divine Self-disclosure. This Self-disclosure, in the form of the throne bearers (who are to be understood symbolically as the Seven "bearing" the Attributes of the Essence) awaits this seal. Muḥammad completes the seven prophets, a notice of his role as Seal of the prophets. The Seal of the Seven oft-repeated is an unnamed figure present at the year 800.[112] Although the figure promised in the hadith is simply a Renewer, according to Muḥammad Wafā's calculations, the cycles are about to reach their final stage.

This cyclical Renewer of religion appears elsewhere, conveying much the same finality. We are told that the Prophet is the union of all prophetic tidings. This function is compared to the final Renewer, who is the abode of the Great Tiding. The text runs,

> The abode of each tiding:[113] Since what is announced is fixed, then Noah is the abode of what Adam announced; and Abraham is the abode of what Noah announced; and Moses is the abode of what Abraham announced; and Jesus is the abode of what Moses announced; but Muḥammad is the abode of them all. Likewise the men dispatched at the start of each century, who are the abodes of the Muḥammadan tidings. The master of the eighth time is the Seal of the age, and the source of total union, the abode of the Great Tiding (cf.

> Q. 38:67), which is called "In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate."[114]

Here is set up a continuum from Adam, down through the prophets, to the Seal, who is the Word of revelation. Again Muḥammad is the completion of prophethood.[115] Further down the chain are the Renewers, who as the "abodes of the Muḥammadan tidings" clearly function as the great saints. The final, and eighth, master is the Seal, who is identified as the abode of revelation. Distinct from Ibn ʿArabī's doctrine of *walāya*, which posits a general and a Muḥammadan Sainthood, this system presents three tiers (or perhaps ages). As we have seen in this and earlier passages, Muḥammad Wafā's Seal is clearly associated with the revelation of God's Word, that is, His final Word—as the year 800 approaches.

❊

Our investigation of Muḥammad Wafā's teaching on *walāya* leads us to a number of conclusions. The concept, from Ibn ʿArabī, of the ranking of the messenger, prophet, and saint being reversed in the single person of Muḥammad is not only taken up by Muḥammad Wafā but also expanded upon. We saw that he presents an interpretation that uses two perspectives—one of exoteric sanctity, the other of esoteric sanctity—to make two different hierarchies possible. Yet, the most significant observation is that of a picture of three tiers. The first is the prophetic Seal Muḥammad, the second is the progression of Renewers; and the third is the Seal of the Word, who completes the cycles of renewal. For the purposes of this study we may make some functional comparisons. It seems that for Muḥammad Wafā' the tier of the Renewers plays the role General prophecy (*nubuwwa ʿāmma*) plays for Ibn ʿArabī. Of course, Ibn ʿArabī's conception extended to humanity in general, whereas Muḥammad Wafā's renewers are utterly Islamic. Nevertheless, this General prophecy, like the role of the Renewers, serves to extend the possibility of spiritual authority, beyond the age of messengers and prophets, into the era of post-Muḥammadan saints. It should be added here that the Greater sainthood (*walāya kubrā*) of the early Shādhiliyya plays a similar yet less clearly defined role. On the question of Muḥammad Wafā's Seal of the age, this figure most closely approximates Ibn ʿArabī's Seal of General sainthood (*walāya ʿāmma*), who more specifically, is the apocalyptic figure Jesus. This comparison is somewhat forced, however, since Muḥammad Wafā's Seal of the age completes all sainthoods—sainthoods that for Ibn ʿArabī would be distinguished as either general or Muḥammadan, thus each receiving its own distinct Seal. For Muḥammad Wafā' the final Seal is not Jesus, but rather it appears to be himself.[116]

Chapter 6

Sanctity according to ʿAlī Wafā'

The medieval Egyptian intellectual milieu in which the Wafā's functioned has yet to be reconstructed in detail. As for ʿAlī Wafā' personally, it will be seen in the following discussion that he was well versed in mystical thought—from the early Shādhiliyya, the Akbarian school, and the classical sufis. He was also trained in *kalām* (theology), as the various discussions below make clear. His able handling of concepts such as the 'senses' and the 'intellects' signals a substantial training in philosophy. Further, his reference to the biology of pregnancy suggests a basic grasp of the science of medicine. These observations are perhaps not surprising since our subject was from a well-established family. An educated man of the medieval Islamic world would normally have been exposed to the principal sciences as they existed in his day. However, the distinct presence of a pro-ʿAlid sentiment in ʿAlī Wafā's speculations on sanctity demonstrate an openness to non-traditional Sunni sources. Of course Cairo was the cosmopolitan hub of the mediteranean Muslim world, where ideas circulated rather freely among the learned classes. It is in this milieu that ʿAlī Wafā' came into contact with not only the school of Ibn ʿArabī, but also a pro-ʿAlid perspective, or at least an intellectual perspective that felt free to avail itself, mystically and philosophically, of what it found most compelling in the Shīʿī tradition.

In this chapter we shall explore ʿAlī Wafā's thinking with particular attenttion to his theory of *walāya*. As his father did, ʿAlī lays the existential groundwork through a discussion of the unity of God, creation, and Divine Self-disclosure. In brief, his position is that existence is at once unified in God and subject to the differentiation of creation but that the mystic vision holds both perspectives simultaneously. This existential tension reappears in his discussion of the role of the teacher, who functions for the aspirant as a mediator

between contingent and necessary existence. These discussions are interesting in themselves, but they also contextualize ʿAlī's complex elaborations on sanctity. It will be seen from his distinction between sainthood and prophecy that one perspective may encompass both elements. The nature of the mysterious figure al-Khāḍir is important here. Our discussion ends with ʿAlī's explicit treatment of sainthood, and his effort to identify himself and his father within this mystical universe.

Divine Oneness, Self-disclosure, and Creation

In the previous chapter we saw that Muḥammad Wafā was not without his critics. Al-Sakhāwī had pointed to what he saw as an excessive blurring of the existential line between the Divine and creation in the writings of both father Wafā' and son. Polemics, and more often principled criticism, have been a historical reality for most branches of sufism from early on in the medieval period. Ibn al-Jawzī had (d. 597/1200) ridiculed the miracles of a number of so-called saints in Iraq,[1] and the Syrian doctor of law Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) criticized a number of practices, in particular that of shrine visitation.[2] Yet critics could also come from within. The sixteenth-century biographer al-Shaʿrānī, clearly an ally of saints and sufism in general, mounted his own criticism of one aspect of ʿAlī Wafā's teaching. In what is his largest entry on any one figure in his *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, al-Shaʿrānī stops to challenge a passage he has quoted from ʿAlī Wafā's *Waṣāyā*. The lengthy quotation presented emphasizes the unity of the Creator and creation. We are told that "He [God] is the essence of all that is existent, and everything in existence is His Attribute."[3] Further, there is nothing to the plurality of these existents, since their single shared existence is their only reality and essence. Discussion then turns to creation itself, saying the first thing in existence is not these existents, but rather it is their ordaining (*taqdīr*). This ordaining is, from their perspective, preexistential. Thus there are two phases of the creative movement, one is ordaining while the other is a bringing into tangible physical existence. The first is a descent of existence to a station that has no existence, while the second is the descent of that which has no existence onto the station of existence. The various ordainings may also be thought of as the descent of metaphysical existence (i.e., that of degree, attribute, meaning, truth, etc.) It is according to these metaphysical existences, and specifically the essences thus constructed, that the particulars are engendered.[4] To this al-Shaʿrānī appends the following statement: "All that is in this utterance is based on the school of Absolute Oneness (*waḥda muṭlaqa*)."[5] This is a rather striking charge to level, since the term *Absolute Oneness* is certainly meant to indicate an extreme form of identification of the Creator with creation. The accusation is not categorical, however,

since al-Shaʿrānī goes on to say that the rest of ʿAlī Wafā's writings do not demonstrate this excess.[6] However, it seems that al-Shaʿrānī is not being quite honest here. The quotation he provides does begin with a comment stressing the Absolute Oneness perspective, but the subsequent discussion—also appearing in al-Shaʿrānī's epitome—of the processes of ordaining and coming into being, certainly nuances the Absolute Oneness position first established. The objection may be in fact to the vocabulary used and not the overall position taken. Al-Shaʿrānī may have been nervous about the bold identification of God with existence, and the use of "Attribute" as synonymous with creation would have made him uncomfortable. Of course al-Shaʿrānī does not want to place ʿAlī Wafā' once and for all in the camp of Absolute Oneness, yet he does feel it necessary to challenge that position when it does emerge. This appears to be an exercise in attacking a straw man for the benefit of a suspicious audience.

Despite the insincerity of al-Shaʿrānī's comments, the subject matter remains important for us. In what follows, we shall look more closely at ʿAlī Wafā's position on Absolute Being and Self-disclosure. It will be seen that al-Shaʿrānī certainly could have done a better job of analysis than he did with the above comments. Although we may not say that there is a consciously distinct philosophical doctrine of Existence in the writings of ʿAlī Wafā', a survey of statements on the subject makes it clear that he holds an understanding of the Oneness of God and creation, and yet points to a differentiation within this Oneness. We will see also that he offers a synthetic understanding of the two perspectives, which encompasses both at once. It is significant that ʿAlī Wafā's teachings on this subject employ the vocabulary of existence (*wujūd*) much more often than his father did. We noted in the previous chapter that Muḥammad Wafā's doctrine of sanctity and spiritual guidance hung on this existential framework, and we shall see that ʿAlī's does likewise.

ʿAlī Wafā' makes a number of statements that emphasize the single nature of God and creation. We read, for example, "He encompasses all, as if He were a sea and they [the entities] are His waves; that is, He is the reality of everything and the essence of everything, and everything is He Himself and His Attribute."[7] From this perspective, there is no independence for either the Creator or creation. Thus acts such as prayer, which seem to hinge on a distinction between servant and Lord, are in fact a Self-reflexive act. We are told, "Nothing trully thanks God except God; the servant is powerless to do this."[8] Elsewhere we read that the only true praise of God is from God Himself: "Every seeker simply seeks al-Ḥaqq; sometimes he reaches that object in truth, so he worships Him by an unveiling, and sometimes he reaches it by imagination [only], so he worships Him through a veil. Thus no worshiper truly worships, except God [Himself]."[9] The implications of this oneness also apply to creation. The truths that gifted souls may attain are themselves indistinguishable from those souls: "The gnostic is the source of his gnosis, the verifier is the

veracity (*ḥaqīqa*) of what is verified to him."[10] Thus, with the truth and the searcher being of the same nature, ones search is self-referential, not requiring anything beyond this oneness.

This perspective of Oneness is also expressed using the vocabulary of being. If God is in the end the only reality, He is also the only true Being. Thus we are told that the perfect understanding of creation is one that sees the Divine behind it at all times. ʿAlī Wafā' writes, "He who witnesses the All-holy as the existent of [all] matters simply witnesses perfection in existence."[11] Elsewhere we are told that God is the essential existence of all things in creation.

> God is your existence with regard to your essence, while you are His existence with regard to His entity (*ʿain*) . . . He is the essential Existence determined [specifically] in all existants. All things are His Attributes and Names; and by virtue of [essential Existence's] divine level, the order of [common] existence functions properly, and its standing is completed at every level according to its [that level's] due.[12]

Thus the essential existence of created things is God. Yet from the perspective of the Divine this creation is only an external form. For the created, however, this existence is essential. God/existence may extend into creation, but His/its presence there is only His/its external aspect—His Attributes and Names. From the perspective of this aspect itself, this extention is whole and essential.

This existential model may also be approached from the individual's perspective. ʿAlī Wafā' tells his reader that the existence of all things is identical to his or her own. He says, "If the existence of all is your own existence, then the "all" is from Him to you and by you."[13] This individual's existence, as he experiences it, is the "all." Even the Divine, as it can be known, is from this existence. We read,

> Your existence is your Lord by its lordship, and your God by its divinity, and your Merciful by its mercy. And the same is applicable by analogy to all meanings and attributes. Sometimes [your existence] appears to you by virtue of those levels, or some of them in your perception, from a perspective by which you see them as you; and thus you see it [the Lord, God etc.] by them [lordship, divinity etc.] [as] your existence. Sometimes [your existence appears] from a perspective by which you see them [lordship, divinity etc.] as other than you; and thus you see it [the Lord, God etc] by them [lordship, divinity etc.] [as] the existence of other than you. In reality it is only your existence, since existence—why, how or wherever it appears—only appears to you because it is your own existence. You do not grasp

> this nor anything else except by the fact that it is your existence which you have grasped.[14]

Despite the heavy reliance on pronouns in this passage, the point is clear. The individual's experience is limited to his own sphere of finite existence.[15] Thus "God" for him is simply the divine element of his own existence, or in other words, his "God" is only present to the degree that his existence can portray Him according to its limited divinity. This experience may occur from two perspectives, either one that sees God through its own existence, or one that sees Him through what is understood to be the existence of another. These two perspectives, however, are also both within one's sphere of limited existence. The passage concludes by pointing out that understanding is, in effect, simply the exploration of the dimensions of one's own existence.

From these quotations scattered throughout the writings of ʿAlī Wafā', we see that the concept of 'oneness' has more than a single dimension. The first, and most obvious, is that of the Divine as source of all creation.This may be looked at from the prespective of the Creator or creation. For the latter, this reality means that in knowing oneself one knows all else, including the Creator. We saw also that this doctrine may be expressed in terms of existence. Here God is in creation as its existence. From the Divine perspective this is necessary Existence, but for creation, the existence it knows is only contingent.

Although we have here focused on the "oneness" statements, we must also take into consideration the related element of Self-disclosure (*tajallī*). As we saw at the start of this discussion, the degree of existential independence accorded to creation is important. An utter denial of creation's existence would lead to charges of pantheism. In the previous chapter we noted that the most famous figure associated with this school of *waḥda muṭlaqa* was Ibn Sabʿīn.[16] For ʿAlī Wafā', as for his father and for Ibn ʿArabī, a degree of independence is indeed granted to creation. For the most part this is done through the concept of divine Self-disclosure, which functions on the premise that God/necessary existence is meaningfully distinguishable from creation/contingent existence.

ʿAlī Wafā' makes it quite clear that God's Self-disclosure is an important, and independent, entity. In a discussion reminiscent of a Gnostic theurgy, we are told that Self-disclosures must be sought out among lesser forms of creation. A picture is painted of *tajallī* hidden among base material existence.

> It is related in the hadith that, "God created the bodies (اجسام) in darkness, and then He sprinkled upon them His light. He upon whom this light is bestowed is guided, but he who misses it goes astray."[17] The meaning of the bodies being in darkness is that they are levels of obscurity and deception. Their condition is due to their corporeality being a dark fancy (الوهم البهيم), while the light scattered upon them is

> the Ruling-Knowing-Rational-Spirit, which is from the Self-disclosure of the Compassionate-Merciful-Existence. The bodies, which conceal these sprinkled . . . spirits, are as a black veil covering the happy moon-lit face. He who, from this face, only sees its veil, is not happy, nor does he find joy. This is like he who sees of the saints only their bodies; he does not then remember God by witnessing the [hidden] light to which they point. He who raises the veils is joyful at witnessing the intended.[18]

The guiding light concealed in levels of obscurity is the divine Self-disclosure. The aim of the individual is to avoid the gross bodies and to find the light. Here ʿAlī Wafā' is certainly far from his previous statements on the Oneness of existence. Elsewhere we read that God's Word may enter the world, taking on various forms. This remains in essence God, yet it is a distinct Self-disclosure. We read,

> The Name is the identity (*ʿayn*) of the Named at every level according to its due[19] . . . The Speech is the identity of the Speaker in the auditory realm. It was said: "We came to them with a Book (of guidance as a mercy upon those who believe)" (Q. 7:52), so He is the Speaker and He is the Speech. The Qur'an is His rational identity, and the Discernment (*furqān*) is His imaginary identity,[20] and that which is read, which is referred to by the pronoun "it" in "you read it" is His sensible identity. So the recited is a descent of the Discernment, which [itself] is a descent of the Qur'an. The Qur'an is the descent of the Speech, and the Speech is the Speaker [Himself]; and all are its diversified Self-determinations of the sum of His Self-disclosure referred to as "Speech."[21]

Here, although the identification of God with his Speech is clear, the important point is that divine Attributes are present among creation—with a certain degree of independence. This Speech is a Self-disclosure of God, operating simultaneously on three levels, that of the rational, the imaginal, and the sensible.

The importance of Self-disclosure is also essential in the act and preservation of creation. We are told that, "the occasions of creation are Self-disclosures of the All-Creating, and the occasions of subsistence are Self-disclosures of the Sustainer."[22] ʿAlī Wafā' also describes the levels of existential differentiation, which appear as divine Attributes. A passage we saw earlier, in chapter 4, makes this point clearly:

> Reality is a single essential existence particularized by its own principles, which are its attributes and existences. Creation is the levels of

> proportion which are fixed within their limits . . . As al-Ḥaqq said . . . according to the reading of *ḍamma* over the *lām* of the word "*kull*": "Verily, We are all things We have created in proportion." (Q. 54:49)[23]

The essential point here is the distinction made between elements of an otherwise unified existence. The Qur'anic passage notes that "all things" are created in proportion, that is, according to their established limits.[24] ʿAlī Wafā's unusual Qur'anic reading emphasizes the common identity of "all things" with their original source, rather than their idependent existence, as is assumed in the common textual reading.

The question might arise as to what the purpose of Self-disclosure is at all. If there is Oneness, then why is there differentiation? ʿAlī Wafā' does not pose the question as such, but in effect he does answer it for us. In short, there are two things to be said. The first, which will be dealt with in detail below, is that these two realities must be grasped simultaneously if one is to attain the highest mystical insight. The second is that differentiation plays an important teleological role. The point here is that creation is a mode of communication between the limited contingent souls and the Ultimate Necessary. Creation serves as a sign, directing searchers to the Truth beyond. ʿAlī Wafā' makes this teleology clear in the following passage:

> The realm of creation was actualized simply for the recognition of al-Ḥaqq through the differentiation of His Names and His Attributes in the manifestations of His signs. "I was an unknown treasure, so I created creation, and made Myself known to them; so by Me they know Me."[25] Another confirmation of this is [the Qur'anic passage 51:56] "I created jinn and man only to worship Me" that is, to know [Me].[26] The more one knows the state of the signs, the more one knows of the manifestations (مظاهر) of the Names and the Attributes; and the more one knows the manifestations of the named and attributed, the more one knows of realities of these manifestations, according to one's gnosis of the external realities.[27]

Another version of the same hadith is quoted elsewhere to much the same effect. Here ʿAlī Wafā' comments quite directly:

> He said of the hadith "I was an unknown treasure," the meaning is the level of abstraction (تجرد). [The meaning of] "And I wanted to be known, so I created creation" is I ordained an elite (قدرتاعيانا تقديرية), I made Myself known to them and guided them to all of it [i.e. level of abstraction] by all of it [i.e. creation]. "And by Me they know Me", since I am the All.[28]

Thus, the goal of the divine act of creation is that God become known. The creation which may know Him, according to ʿAlī Wafā', is the spiritual elite who will be guided to Him by creation. This guiding is possible thanks to creation's essence, which is itself divinity (i.e., He is the All). This elite may be the immutables we met earlier, but more likely it is the "elite" (*makhṣūṣ*), according to Muḥammad Wafā', to whom God has given a "measure (مقدار) of all things."[29]

Thus far in our discussion we have described first the idea of the Oneness between the Creator and the created, and second the conditional independence of existence (usually represented as a Self-disclosure). For ʿAlī Wafā', these concepts are well established. Let us turn now to his resolution of this apparent opposition, that is, his synthesis of these two perspectives. The most obvious resolution of the two perspectives is to point out that one defines the other. To know what oneness means, we must by implication know what differentiation is. This is made clear in the following passage: "If it were not for the necessary, then the possible would not appear possible; and if it were not for the possible, then the necessary would not appear necessary. However, the one affects the other, like the cause upon the effect, and the doer upon that which is done, and the knower of the known."[30] Our author goes on, however, to a more interesting explanation of the reason for both oneness and differentiation. He points to two simultaneous yet distinct realms of truth. We are told, "(He) is both the First and Last, the Apparent and Hidden (Q. 57:3); all of this is in the circle of discerning differentiation (دايرة الفرقية الفرقانية). However, in the dominion of His encompassing level, He is simply the Essence and the necessary Existence."[31] Thus, in the realm of differentiation God may be all things at once, yet He is also the one single necessary thing, this from the perspective of encompassing. God is all things; on the one hand these are differentiated things, while on the other hand that thing is only One. Elsewhere these two realms are described in different terms. ʿAlī Wafā' enjoins the reader to consider simultaneously his own existence and his own existent being. We read, "Look at al-Ḥaqq before He created creation, and look at what you see (انظرماذا ترى), and you will not see other than Him . . . Your existence and your existent being (وجودك و موجودك), while two by distinction, are one in truth."[32] The insight presented here is one that tries to break down the conceptual barrier between the categories of Oneness and differentiation. Our inclination is to think in one mode to the exclusion of the other, in order to avoid logical inconsistencies, but here we are challenged to take both into account simultaneously. In the following passage the reader is told that both of these realms must be properly seen:

> Existence is one in essence, and many according to its existences. The existences are [only] various by the limits of their intellected or perceived quiddity, and not in the reality of their existence. So when you

> look upon the reality of existence and you return command of its existences to Him, then you are an upholder of Oneness. When you look upon the limits of the intellected quiddities and you return the command of their existence to them, then you are an upholder of plurality. When you have done in each circle what wisdom requires be done of the necessities of the two views in that circle, with your verification of them, then you are the proper perfect Sayyid.[33]

Thus, if we can look upon reality, without its existential clothing, we may attain union. If we look upon the entification of entities, beyond their existence, then we have reached a state of differentiation. The circles of both difference and union each entail a particular verification. Perfection requires that both verifications be made.

This insight, achieved by the perfect Sayyid, may also be described as a knowledge of both the realities of creation and the hidden divine Reality. ʿAlī Wafā', returning to a term used by his father, calls those who have attained this insight the "elite:" "The elite (*makhṣūṣ*) of God is he who penetrates, in every way, both His secret and what is commonly known of Him (جهره). None but God encompasses him, and none but he encompasses God. However, the non-elite are fettered to things like the world, heaven, the intermediary world, hell, and the afterlife.[34] The elite are not simply those who have attained to esoteric insights. They have "penetrated" both the perspective of the esoteric and that of the exoteric. This is the resolution of what we described earlier as the opposition between divine Oneness and its Self-manifestation. It is an answer which requires the synthesis of two logically distinct (and self-consistent) modes of divine Reality.[35]

The Teacher and Oneness

As was seen in the previous chapter, Muḥammad Wafā's teaching on the role of the sufi shaykh was weak on proscriptive details but dramatic in its claim that the shaykh is to be understood as one of the manifestations of the divine Reality. ʿAlī Wafā's discussions of the matter are much more extensive than those of his father but are not a departure in substance. The son's treatment of the role of the spiritual master, like his father's, describes neither the stages of the mystical way nor the various mystical unveilings received along the way. Instead, a picture is drawn in which the teacher represents an existential reality to his follower. The discussion is not about the positive content of any mystical techniques to be passed on; rather it is about the proper understanding the student must have of the nature and role of the shaykh. The basic message here is that the teacher is at once simply a part of contingent, differentiated existence,

yet he serves to those beneath him as a sign pointing to the necessary divine Existence. All creation lacks necessary existence, but some manifestations are more important than others. Spiritual guides, saints, prophets, and messengers obviously have more important roles to play. In his discussion of the shaykh, ʿAlī Wafā' centers on his existential role; an existence that must be understood in light of his doctrine of oneness and Self-disclosure.

ʿAlī Wafā's statements on the spiritual guide do include some fairly traditional insights, such as the need of the aspirant for guidance. For example, in an echo of a popular sufi saying, we are told, "He who has no teacher, has no protector. He who has no protector has Satan taking care of him."[36] Predictably, allegiance to ones guide is also noted: "The aspirtant is he who is realised in his [spiritual] goal through the essence (*ʿayn*) of his teacher."[37] This loyalty must begin with imitation, if gnosis is to be passed on. ʿAlī Wafā' writes, "He who conforms to his teacher in act, follows him by what he is told of his [the teacher's] gnosis. But he who is at variance with [the teacher] in act, his following, [which is only] by the imagined meanings of his [the teacher's] sayings, is lost."[38]

We also find descriptions of the relationship between the aspirant and his shaykh that use terminology usually reserved for the Divine. We are told, "The true follower is a throne for the Mercy (*raḥmāniyya*) of his teacher"[39] Elsewhere ʿAlī Wafā', in a description comparing weak spiritual insight among common sufis to a barren womb, notes that it is by an effusion (*fayḍ*) from ones teacher that such insight is gained.

> Doctors say that coldness of the womb is the cause of barrenness. Likewise, the soul of the student, when there is no anguish of passion or burning of desire for the goal, there is not born in it the form of his [teacher's] command, by the effusion of his teacher upon it. In this he is like wet fuel—the firebrand produces nothing but smoke in him. This is like the frivolous claims which occur to the souls among the general sufis (*qawm*), who are without the fire of desire and sincerity.[40]

Thus the spirit of the student must desire its spiritual goal in order for his teacher to effuse his command upon it. This is rather peculiar language, but the message itself is clear.

The epistemological role of the shaykh, in short, is that to truly know him is to truly know God, as much as He may be grasped through creation. The links are repeatedly made between the self, the teacher, and God. "Your knowing your own reality," ʿAlī Wafā' tells us, "is commensurate with your knowing your teacher."[41] Knowing this teacher is key to knowing oneself and thus to knowing God. We are told that "if you find your true teacher, you have found your reality. If you find your reality you have found God. If you find God, then

you have found everything, so everything desired is simply in the love of this teacher."[42] The aim of the student is thus to grasp the Divine, by finding his own reality, which itself may only be reached through his teacher. As mentioned above, ʿAlī Wafā' is not concerned with describing the details of the sufi path, and here the specifics of loving the teacher or following his command are left unexplored.

The role of the shaykh is a shifting one. First it is as a guiding will to which the student must submit himself, second it is a manifestation of God. In the following passage ʿAlī Wafā' explains these stages:

> The teacher is the manifestation of the secret of Lordship for his follower. The follower must be attentive to the command of his teacher and not turn away—to the left or the right—from this teacher. Have you not heard the word of the older son Jacob, "I will not leave this land until my father allows it" (Q. 12:80), then he said, "or Allah commands me"; he also said to them, "turn ye back to your father." It is clear that the follower has no direction to turn towards except that of his teacher, so much so that [even] when he has realized [in himself] the reality of his teacher, and the difference between their two stations is resolved, God [still] is his direction by way of the direction of this teacher, by which the follower becomes certain.[43]

Submission to the teacher representing divine Lordship is essential because it leads to the improvement of the follower. More interestingly, the point is made that in approaching the teacher, the student is approaching the direction of the divine manifestation. Another description of the function of the teacher provides more detail. We are told,

> The starting point for the aspirant is that his intentions be endowed with the signs of the People of prosperity and sanctity. And if the form of his [own] piety and sanctity is unveiled in his vision of his teacher, in the clarity that is the form of his teacher, then he says that it is his teacher who is the pious saint; and so he asks for the blessings of his insights and . . . his noble ideas. He seeks his favour until the angel of solicitude, Isrāfīl, blows the form of the spirit of Adamic designation into the Trumpet of the form of his heart.[44] So here he sees his teacher as the Adam of the Time, the king of the reigns of becoming, and he exalts him as a son exalts his revered father. This occurs to the point that the veil of his Adamic form is removed from the beauty of what bestows honour on him from the Muhammadan Spirit. So here he sees his teacher as a Muhammadan Sayyid, to whom he is servant . . . and when he looks upon his teacher he sees only the One

> Self-disclosing in every aspect, according to the capacity of the witness. So he becomes non-existent in the face of being, and erased in a presence of witnessing. So his first matter is conformity, the middle [matter] is sincerity, and the last is realization.[45]

The first goal for the aspirant is to associate with proper teachers, here the "People of prosperity and sanctity." Then, if he sees his own sanctity in the form of the teacher, he will benefit from specific spiritual insight. Once his heart receives its angelic inspiration, he sees the teacher as the engendering figure of Adam. The next step has the aspirant perceiving the Muhammadan nature of the teacher. Finally, the insight is reached that this teacher is simply a catalyst for the unlimited possibilities of God's unveiling through creation and that the only limitation lies in the viewer of this Self-disclosure. The student, through his witnessing of his teacher, is able to transcend his particular and contingent existence. ʿAlī Wafā' then sumarizes neatly for us these levels of insight: the first is his "conformity" to the ways of the saintly teacher; the second is a "sincerity" that inspires insight into the higher mystical elements of the teacher's nature; and "realization" is the final insight grasping at least the beginning of the Necessary existence beyond the shaykh and all contingent creation.

This model of spiritual direction rests on the idea that the teacher acts as a window to the higher mystical realities, rather than as simply one who imparts a set of teachings to his students. This model also differs from the traditional presentation of the shaykh as spiritual guide to the aspirant. This traditional understanding is reflected typically in the writings of the famous Abū Madyan (d. 594/1198), where we are told,

> The shaykh is one to whom your essence bears witness by entrusting itself (to his care), and (to whom) your innermost self (bears witness) by respecting and magnifying him. The shaykh is one who instructs you with his morals, refines you with his skills, and illuminates your inner being with his radiance. The shaykh is one who makes you whole in his presence (with God) and preserves you when you are far from the effects of his luminosity.[46]

This passage makes clear the central role of the shaykh, but in comparison to the pronouncements of ʿAlī Wafā' above, it is rudimentary.

Another element of our writer's concept of 'spiritual direction' is the shaykh's role as a mirror to the aspirant's condition. We are told, "The reality of the special aspirant in relation to his teacher is like what one sees in the mirror of oneself, corresponding to the mirror's capacity."[47] In the same vein, elsewhere it is said, "Knowing (معرفتل) your reality is commensurate with your knowledge of your teacher."[48] How the aspirant sees his shaykh is the essential element in

his definition of himself. ʿAlī Wafā' tells us, "You are in the form which you see your teacher as . . . If you witness him as creation, then you are a creation; if you witness him as Truth, then you are a Truth."[49] The point is made clear in the following: "The image of the speaking shaykh is a mirror of the secret of the sincere aspirant. When he [the student] looks into it [the mirror] with perspicacity, he sees in it the form of his [own] soul."[50] Thus the shaykh is not only a window to reality beyond creation, but he also serves as the aspirant's only true insight into himself. The point is unclear—how one can only know oneself through another—until we remember that for ʿAlī Wafā' the role of the shaykh is existential, that is, his function is to offer access to (or a presence in) the realm of Necessary existence. This is not done by the passing down of a mystical secret, rather it is presented as an occasion within contingent existence, an occasion that is a key to the eternal Necessary. As we saw above in our discussion of "Oneness and the many," creation, or differentiation, does contain a seed of its unified source. It is this seed that allows the many contingent beings to know at least the possibility of a higher necessary realm. Thus the shaykh is the mirror to the aspirant; his origin is divine, and so the aspirant may see himself in him in any number of forms. The Self-disclosures are infinite in possibility. The teacher allows him to see his unlimited self and thus to see his Lord.

This existential function of the shaykh is clearly indicated. ʿAlī Wafā' tells us that the aspirant's very existence is derived from his shaykh. We read, "The existence of the sincere aspirant, whereby he is truth, is only with his teacher, who speaks the clear Truth."[51] This existence seems to be transferred to the aspirant in much the same way classical sufism spoke of a mystic soul extinguishing itself in the Divine. In another passage we read, "The tongue of the state of every teacher speaking the clear Truth says to each sincere aspirant, "Approach me until I love you, for when I love you I see you as kin to me, and I am manifested in you to the degree you are prepared for it.""[52] ʿAlī Wafā' makes it clear that the aspirant's only source of necessary existence is the shaykh. In the following passage he first describes imagination as the possible of the cognitive reality and this reality as the necessary to that imagined. The aspirant and his teacher have a similar relationship.

> The cognitive reality is necessary existence to its actual image [imagination], and the actual image is possible existence to the cognitive reality. O sincere aspirant, your necessary existence, by which you are true, is only with your teacher speaking by the clear Truth. If you are realized in him, then it is as if you will not cease in truth, otherwise you remain [merely] created.[53]

The existential relationship is described rather briefly here, but the point is clear that the shaykh is the aspirant's way out of possible or contingent existence into

necessary existence. This may also be described as the relationship between the necessary and the possible. ʿAlī Wafā' writes,

> Truly the aspirant is one of the entities of his teacher, in relation to his teacher, while the teacher is the reality of the existence of the aspirant, in relation to the aspirant. Existence in all [cases] is single and comprehensive. Thus the aspirant realizes himself in his teacher in the meanings of perfection through existence. And the teacher is realized in his aspirant in the discernment of the gnostics through witnessing. Thus the perfect Sayyid said to his perfect aspirant, "You are from me, and I am from you, O ʿAlī."[54]

The follower is here described as a possible entity, extended from its source, the teacher. This follower attains to the "meanings of perfection" through an existentiation from his teacher. The teacher himself is realized through the form of witnessing by those who follow him. This understanding of the aspirants as entities of the teacher is echoed in a discussion of the lights of both the former and the latter. We are told,

> The tenuities of each day are its hours and its instants and moments. The lights of the aspirants are tenuities of the lights of their teachers. These lights of the teachers are the realities of their aspirants' lights. These tenuities are for the aspirants their grade, which is according to their encounter (*wajd*). So the perfect moonlike tenuity is the perfect grade, and the accepting of its receiver is *Laylat al-qadrī* . . . There is nothing in the perfect aspirant except his teacher.[55]

It must be noted here that these presentations of the teacher as existentially distinct from—yet accessible to—his follower are in structure similar to the conception, explored earlier in this chapter, of the One and creation. Creation, lacking necessity, has only possible existence. Yet this possible existence is derived from necessary existence. Further, this possible existence gives form and differentiation to the necessary. For the aspirant, his necessary, immutable (spiritual?) existence is drawn from his teacher. In turn, he himself serves as an entification of the shaykh.

On *Walāya* and *Nubuwwa*

A few observations may be made generally of ʿAlī Wafā's discussions of this subject. The first is that this is a departure from his theory of the dynamic of teacher and aspirant. Contrary to what one might expect, the existential language

largely falls away once sainthood is addressed. We saw how dramatic the claims were regarding the shaykh's function in creation and might expect the saint to operate in some similar fashion, perhaps as some kind of super teacher or a universalized presence of necessary existence. Instead, this line of thinking is set aside for one which sees sainthood in quite different terms. As we shall see, ʿAlī Wafā' reverts to fairly standard descriptions of the saints as the inspired elect of God. It must be noted, however, that our author does move on to more fertile ground. The more significant point of concern becomes the relationship between sainthood and prophethood. Not unlike his predecessors, Ibn ʿArabī and the early Shādhiliyya, it seems that *walāya* for ʿAlī Wafā' is to be understood largely in relation to *nubuwwa*.

According to ʿAlī Wafā', the saints are first signs of God in creation. Through a rather loose interpretation of a Qur'anic passage, the truth of the "perfecting saints" is placed beyond question.

> "When you see men engaged in vain discourse about our signs, then turn away from them." (Q. 6:68) In this is a notice to turn away from those who engage in vain discourse concerning the truth of the perfecting saints (الأولياءالمكملين), for they are among the signs of God pointing to Him; as He said, "We have set you as a sign to the people." (Q. 2:259)[56]

Beyond the identification of the saints with the signs of God, the second quotation evokes a miraculous Qur'anic episode of revivification. The reader's mind is left to associate the "perfecting saints" with the story of a doubting man who had been dead for a hundred years, returning to life, as a clear miracle. In a general way, the saints are also to be thought of as effective guides for souls seeking God. "It is written in hadith: 'He whose feet are dusty from the path of God, God will remove his face from the Fire for seventy years.' Included in this is he who walks with a saint to the Face of God, hoping for His satisfaction. Truly, God removes his face from the fire."[57] Thus, according to ʿAlī Wafā' the saint is a leader upon the path of righteousness, a path that delivers the servant from Hell. This guiding function extends to wider circles also. We are told that the kings of this world must submit to the saints, who are the true ʿulama of the community. They are the real guides since they are the inheritors of God's messengers and prophets.[58] These saints may be guides, but they are not necessarily models of behavior. ʿAlī Wafā' opens with a discussion that concludes that not all truths and divine communications were contained in the Prophet's Sunna, as related to posterity by his companions, since "they forgot much and hid things that they saw a benefit in hiding." Thus we may not always know how to judge things that are not subject to clear comment in scripture. Turning to the saints, the point is made that in those instances we fail to grasp the meaning of their actions or words, we should "accept their

spiritual states (*aḥwāl*), but we do not emulate them."[59] In this discussion the example evoked is that of al-Khaḍir,[60] but a much wider issue is also being addressed by implication. This issue is the treatment of what in sufi vocbulary is called the "*majdhūb*," or "he who is drawn to God." This enraptured figure is a standard saintly type, distinguished from the more sober model, in the accounts of sufi lives and miracles. These individuals, present also in the medieval Christian and Hindu worlds, were characterized by miracle working, in addition to shocking behavior while under ecstatic influence. As we noted in a previous chapter, however, the Wafā'iyya themselves were at the oppposite end of this spectrum of saint typology. Defence of these enraptured was not a serious concern for ʿAlī Wafā', but the idea of inspiration as a continuing currency in the religious economy was. Also, both the example of al-Khaḍir and that of the many common enraptured individuals are examples of a mystical inspiration independent of the norms of exoteric religion. Khaḍir's inspiration was beyond the prophet Moses' grasp, and that of the enraptured is beyond the control of the doctors of Law.

Beyond these fairly general descriptions of sainthood, we find that ʿAlī Wafā' does have something more substantial to say on the subject. Before we take up his interpretation of the Seal of Sainthood, we must discuss his treatment of the figure al-Khaḍir. It is through this figure, and specifically in his relation to the prophet Moses, that ʿAlī Wafā' fleshes out his understanding of *walāya*. There is no unified theory of sainthood presented in his comments, but three distinct points are made. Before exploring these in detail, we can identify them in shorthand. The first is that the prophet Moses, as an impatient student to the teacher al-Khaḍir, acted inappropriately. The second is that the relationship between these two figures models the relationship between prophecy/mission and sainthood. The third point is that the figure of al-Khaḍir, beyond this relationship, functions as the vehicle for the transmission of *walāya*, whether it be to saints, prophets, or messengers.

There is little debate in ʿAlī Wafā's mind about the prophet Moses' failures as a follower. In the Qur'anic story, al-Khaḍir is reluctant to accept Moses as a follower, saying, "You will not have patience with me. How can you be patient about things which you do not understand?"(18:67–68). When Moses insists, al-Khaḍir agrees to lead him, but sets one condition, which ʿAlī Wafā' comments on to draw out some more general principles:

> "If you would follow me, then do not ask me anything until I speak to you concerning it."(Q. 18:70) That is because the perfection of the follower is that he be certain of his leader and the path that is love and glorification. Of its [love's] effects is conformity of the will of the lover to that of his beloved. He [the follower] does not anticipate him in speech or act. If he asks his leader about that which he has not spoken

> to him of, then the wisdom of the leader has decided to not answer the follower. If he answers him then harm would occur, contrary to wisdom, but if he does not answer him then he will find no relief from the agitation of the follower. Thus the purity of love for him becomes cloudy, and the path connecting him to his leader is blocked.[61]

The image, parallel to the Qur'anic story, is one of a pestering aspirant who will not truly conform to the guidance of his teacher. This disobedience taints his love for the shaykh. What is more significant for our discussion of *walāya* is the fact that ʿAlī Wafā' does not hold back in subordinating the prophet (in this case playing the role of aspirant) to the saint (seen here in his role as teacher).[62] The impatience of the follower is certainly not an unusual thing. We are told specifically that some see only the external material forms of the saints: "This is like he who sees of the saints only their bodies; he does not then remember God by witnessing the [hidden] light to which they point."[63]

The second question addressed in ʿAlī Wafā's discussion of the figure al-Khaḍir is that of the relationship between prophecy/mission and sanctity. Nowhere does our writer make definite conclusions on the subject, but his comments in a number of places do make clear a particular understanding of this relationship. When al-Khaḍir has reached the limit of his patience with the questioning Moses, he draws the line, saying, "This is the parting between me and you" (Q. 18:78). ʿAlī Wafā' comments on this separation: "It is a parting between he who works in God (*yaʿmalu bi-Allāh*), and he who works by the order of God (*yaʿmalu bi-amri Allāh*)."[64] The context described for this work is that done by al-Khaḍir when he rebuilds a crumbling wall without asking for payment from its owners (Q. 18:77). ʿAlī Wafā' contrasts this with Moses' having asked for compensation from God on another occasion (Q. 28:24). The point here is that al-Khaḍir, as a saintly model, represents "working in God," that is, one who acts directly by God's agency. Here we remember the hadith popular among the sufis in which God says of His closest servant: "If I love him I am his hearing . . . and his sight . . . and his hand by which he strikes" (Bukhārī, Riqāq 38). This is in contrast to the prophet who works only in response to God's command. He brings God's message as he has been commanded. (One thinks here of the start of the prophet Muḥammad's mission, which was marked by the command "Recite!") Yet heeding this command is the limit of a prophet's obedience, while the saint's obedience is of another order. Thus the unbridgeable difference between the saint (al-Khaḍir) and the prophet (Moses) is that the former works as an extention of God's Will and the latter in response to God's Command. Of his shocking (yet ultimately beneficent) acts, al-Khaḍir himself tells Moses, "I did not do it of my own accord" (Q. 18:82), making it clear that he is not the author of these acts; the implication being that he is a vehicle for the divine Will.

ʿAlī Wafā' also describes the difference between the prophet and the saint in another way. The first is characterized as having earned his position, while the latter has his bestowed upon him.

> He said of the story of Moses and al-Khaḍir: There are those worshippers whom God has appointed to the elucidation of the earned (بيان المكتسبات); and there are those whom He has appointed to the elucidation of the bestowed (بيان الموهوبات). Neither will oppose the other, nor will he share what he has been appointed for, even though the one is a prophet, the other a saint.[65]

These descriptions of the prophets and saints are not developed further by our author, but the distinction being made is categorical. The two explications, or modes of perception, are mutually exclusive.

On the relationship of sanctity to prophecy ʿAlī Wafā' also makes a second rather different claim. Through a lengthy comment on the unnamed attendant (فتا) to Moses, the point is made that prophecy retains an authority over sanctity. In contrast to the observation above, distinguishing he who works in God from he who works by God's command, here Moses' attendant is a participant as neither, but rather the beneficiary of an overall understanding of this relationship, an understanding that places both in their proper place. The passage opens with the following:

> Moses met al-Khaḍir with his attendant, only in order to unite for this attendant the sea of mission from his prophethood, and the sea of sanctity from the particular quality of al-Khaḍir. The secret in this is that the rule that obtains between a saint and a messenger, which is necessarily linked to his [the latter's] sharia, is like the rule that obtains between a star and the sun.[66]

The point here is that the purpose of the encounter between Moses and Khaḍir was to show to the attendant (who was to be the future khalifa) the relationship between the role of the prophet and that of the saint. ʿAlī Wafā' also speaks of "the particular quality of al-Khaḍir," meaning the form of the Khaḍir-ian spirit as it appeared to Moses. This idea will be elaborated upon below. ʿAlī Wafā' follows these statements by saying that the attribute of sainthood exists alongside that of prophethood. In other words, sanctity is not at odds with the Law, rather it is the surrogate in the absence of the lawgiver (prophet). The passage continues,

> When the sun sets, then each star appears by its own quality (احكم); but when the sun appears, it incorporates the quality of all the stars

> within its own quality. This is like when the text appears, it incorporates the qualities of all interpretations into it. The quality [here] is the quality of the text. When the text disappears, each interpreter returns to [his own interpretation]. This is like the quality of each interpreter being, in the lifetime of the messenger of God, incorporated into his [the messenger's] quality. If he affirms something it is fixed in his [the interpreter's] affirmation, and if he refuses something it is rejected [by the interpreter].[67]

So the function of *walāya* is intimately linked to mission. When the messenger (or sun or text) is absent, sanctity (or stars or interpreters) appears in order to take his place. The nature of this relationship is one in which the former normally incorporates the latter.

Our author goes on to explain that sanctity, after the disappearance of Moses' prophetic mission, will assert itself and that his attendant has learned to act properly toward it.

> The quality of the saints among the Jews was, in the lifetime of Moses, incorporated into his quality. Yet when his death approached, and the sun of his mission disappeared behind the veil of his khalifa who would replace him, this khalifa being his attendant with whom he went to see al-Khaḍir, he [Moses] knew that the qualities of the saints would appear in this attendant's time. He [therefore] showed him what his treatment of them should be when one of them appears during his [the attendant's] rule.[68]

Thus the attendant/khalifa has been taught how to deal with *awliyā'* after the demise of the Prophet. ʿAlī Wafā' restates the opening assertion that the lesson behind the Qur'anic story is the relationship between *walāya* and *nubuwwa*/*risāla*: "He [Moses] united for him [the attendant] the two matters of mission and sainthood . . . And he taught him that he must submit esoterically to the saints, but if the law requires the rejection of something of their acts, then he must reject it exoterically, so that those not at their station will not imitate their qualities."[69] The model of Moses' reaction to the shocking acts of Khaḍir is thus one to be followed. The saint is to be accorded his authority, but actions which transgress the law should be challenged.

So in these discussions of the relationship of sanctity to prophecy we have seen ʿAlī Wafā' characterize prophecy as a following of the divine Command, while sainthood is described as "working in God." The implications of this distinction are not explored, but it is not hard to see what is being indicated. Prophets are burdened with a specific message, and their function is to disseminate it to the community. Saints function not as bearers of a Command but

rather as the vehicle for the Command itself. Their actions are the form the message takes. It is in the same vein that we are told the prophet has an earned insight, while the saint's is bestowed. Again, the assertion is left unexplored, but the point is an evocation of the view that prophets are chosen for their task according to their upstanding piety (and social function), while saints come in all shapes and sizes. Sanctity is bestowed according to God's Will and cannot be anticipated by human achievements.

We also saw, from the perspective of Moses' attendant, that the quality of sanctity is "in accord" with that of prophethood. This was explained through the images of the sun incorporating the stars, the union of seas, and the text holding all its interpretations. A picture is painted in which sanctity is a lesser echo of prophecy. It is a stand-in for an original. The attendant's lesson, after all, was that both prophecy and sanctity are to be submitted to—the former through adherence to the Law, and the latter esoterically.

Beyond this treatment of the relation between *walāya* and *nubuwwa*, for ʿAlī Wafā' the figure of al-Khaḍir plays a yet more important role. Simply put, al-Khaḍir is the spirit of *walāya*. In his essence he is the inspiring Spirit, while in his personification he is usually al-Khaḍir but may take other forms. ʿAlī Wafā's discussion of al-Khaḍir and Moses now takes a significant turn. No longer is Moses simply the prophet bearing an exoteric revelation, but now his own *walāya* is being addressed. This turn should not surprise us since we have seen the earlier discussions of Ibn ʿArabī and Muḥammad Wafā' on this very point, that is, the presence within a prophet / messenger of sanctity. This scheme was addressed partly as a response to the question of the superiority of prophecy over sainthood. We saw that Ibn ʿArabī first argued that *walāya* is superior, but only within a single person; a prophet's sanctity is superior to his prophethood, but a saint is inferior to a prophet. We also saw Muḥammad Wafā's argument for this scheme, distinguishing between the two perspecives of esoteric and exoteric *walāya*. In the following discussion ʿAlī Wafā' does not repeat these discussions, he takes them for granted and elaborates on the presence of *walāya* in prophets and on the content of this *walāya*.

Following the hierarchy of saints according to Ibn ʿArabī, ʿAlī Wafā' asserts the presence in our physical world of two ever-living messengers, al-Khaḍir and Ilyās.[70] These two, we are told, are the "spirits of inspiration" (*arwāḥ al-ilhām*), while the angels Gabriel and Michael are the spirits of revelation (*waḥy*).[71] The only distinction offered between al-Khaḍir and Ilyās is that the former is usually seen as the result of spiritual struggles (مجاهدات), and the latter by spiritual witnessing (مشاهدات). However, this distinction apparently disappears for those who have a "perfect spirit, of both majesty and beauty."[72] Unfortunately the distinction between al-Khaḍir and Ilyās is not developed, being all but abandoned after this brief treatment.

Elsewhere the reader is directed along a more fruitful line of speculation. The figure of Moses reappears, but this time the concern is with his sanctity. First, the point is made that "for each saint there is a Khaḍir who personifies the spirit of his sanctity. Likewise, for each prophet there is a form of Gabriel, which personifies the spirit of his prophecy, and appears to his senses by his own power."[73] ʿAlī Wafā' seizes upon this al-Khaḍir as the personification of sanctity. He introduces the Qur'anic term *Trust* (*amāna*)[74] in order to describe the presence of *walāya* within a prophet.

> Know that al-Khaḍir is the manifestation of what is hidden in the Trust of Moses, from the Spirit of Lordship. Therefore, his [al-Khaḍir's] external [acting] by which he manifested himself, was interpreted [in the Qur'ān] as belonging to the "footsteps" of Moses and his attendant (آثارهما) (Q. 18:64), while [al-Khaḍir's inner reality] is his being "one of the servants" of the essential Secret of unification and of the blessing of Nearness. (Q. 18:65)[75]

So the "Spirit of Lordship" is the animating force behind the Trust. Details on this Spirit are sparse, but it must be assumed that it is part of God's participation in the contract that is the Trust. The point is also made that al-Khaḍir is the form taken by the exteriorized Spirit, and as such appears as the "footsteps of Moses and his attendant," that is, appearing to them according to their own abilities to perceive. This point is echoed as the passage continues:

> The Praiseworthy, Independent Ḥaqq, disclosing Himself by this al-Khaḍir to Moses and his attendant as He manifested Himself through His Spirit, sending it down to Mary as a well-formed man, said, "They [Moses and the attendant] returned along their footsteps" to its [the Spirit's] manifestation, by which He [had] manifested to her, so they would perceive him [as she did], by their bodily senses, as a well-formed man: "So they found one of Our servants" [i.e. al-Khaḍir] (Q. 18:65).[76]

Thus the personification that is al-Khaḍir is simply one of many forms God has taken in His Self-disclosing communications to humanity. Again, the point is made that the form taken by the Spirit depends on the vision of its intended witness. The personification of the Spirit is a sign fixed by him who would receive it.

In this passage ʿAlī Wafā' goes on to mention that Moses' opposition to al-Khaḍir's behaviour is due to this Trust. We are told that Moses "opposed him [al-Khaḍir] due to the nature of his [Moses'] Trust, and treated him as his

[Moses'] like."[77] From the human perspective of the Trust that Moses (and all others) has assumed, it is clear that if he were to treat al-Khaḍir like one who is party to that contract, then objection to his behavior would be necessary. Of course in reality, the Spirit has not agreed to bear this Trust; certainly God does not make contracts with Himself.

ʿAlī Wafā' goes on to assert that this understanding between Moses and al-Khaḍir is the result of the Spirit's explanation of the acts it carried out as al-Khaḍir. This Spirit is the same as that which appeared to Moses elsewhere.

> When [Moses'] following [of al-Khaḍir] ceased with "the interpretation of that for which you were not able to have patience" (Q. 18:78) from the governing of supremacy, because he [Moses] was at the level of the Trust, he [al-Khaḍir] explained to him the [significance of the] events. The latter continued to unveil from the face of supremacy veils by his speech, "I wanted" (Q. 18:79) and "You made holes" (Q. 18:71). Then he said "We feared" (Q. 18:80) and "We wanted" (Q. 18:81), so that the secret from its husk appeared to him [Moses] by his [al-Khaḍir's] saying "Your Lord wanted that they should reach maturity and get their treasure out (from under the wall); a mercy from your Lord. I did not do it of my own accord" (Q. 18:82). Then it [the Spirit] informed him, as it appeared to him, by [the way he] put what he had done as coming by his own accord and none other.[78] By this it was known that this manifestation [of the Spirit] is "the interpretation of that for which you [Moses] were not able"—when it Self-disclosed upon the mountain—"to bear." (Q. 18:78)[79]

And so the shift from the personification of the Spirit to the Spirit itself is identified by the shift in language from the first-person singular to the first-person plural. This shift is also represented by the statement from al-Khaḍir that he has not acted of his own accord, and the interpretation supplied by the Spirit, acting on its own. This Spirit is in fact the same Self-disclosure of God that had previously overwhelmed Moses.[80] The important difference is that here the Self-disclosure is mediated as an interpretation; it is not al-Khaḍir as an actor but rather that which gives the true meaning of these acts.

ʿAlī Wafā' follows this account with another example of the Spirit in a different time and place. Here it has taken the human form of the annunciating messenger to Mary:

> Likewise, the Spirit of the esoteric dominion of Jesus' Trust manifested to Mary as a well-formed man, saying according to its personification, "I am a messenger from your Lord; to you will be the gift of a holy son" (Q. 19:19). And He made him a sign to the people and a

> blessing from Him (cf. Q. 19:21). This was a completed matter when he unveiled for her the face of the Creator (مكوّن), by saying, "So [it will be]. Your Lord has said 'For Me that is easy.'" (Q. 19:21)[81]

This additional example of a prophetic Trust underlines an essential point made in the account of Moses. The distinction is made between the personification delivering a message and the Spirit—in its essential divine capacity—thereafter supplying the esoteric meaning. In the case of both prophets, the Spirit is personified, the message it delivers is challenged (by the doubting of Moses and Mary), and finally the Spirit shifts into an exegetical mode for a resolution. This last mode is the Spirit as the divine Self-disclosure, and here it speaks as God in the first person.

In this exploration of the story of Moses and al-Khaḍir, ʿAlī Wafā' has presented a significant insight into the nature of *walāya*. The figure of al-Khaḍir has been identified, along with other messengerlike figures, as simply the exoteric element of the Spirit of dominion. This exoteric message leads to the advent of the esoteric Self-disclosure, which is the Spirit in full presence. The implication here is that *walāya* has two realities to it when it appears in this world. The first, its exoteric reality, may be confusing or straightforward, but its esoteric reality is that it represents a Self-disclosure of God. This Self-disclosing Spirit, which ʿAlī Wafā' elsewhere calls the "spirit of saintly inspiration," benefits both prophets and saints alike. It may be that for each prophet there is a form of Gabriel and for each saint a Khaḍir, but as we have seen, prophets also benefit from one form or another of al-Khaḍir, and more specifically the Spirit of sanctity, which animates him.

In this discussion our author has laid out a portrait of sanctity focusing on the figure of al-Khaḍir. In the Qur'anic story Moses appears as the champion of exoteric knowledge, who is taught a lesson on the esoteric by one "whom We have taught from Our Presence" (Q. 18:66). Yet in ʿAlī Wafā's description above, Moses is in the end accessing the spirit of *walāya*. This spirit takes many forms. In fact its personification is determined by the one viewing it. In summary, ʿAlī Wafā' describes a mode of divine communication parallel to that of revelation. This is usually called "inspiration" (*ilhām*), but the significant point here is its clear identification as the Self-disclosure of God.

The Seal of Sainthood

Although ʿAlī Wafā' has presented some interesting reflections on al-Khaḍir, *walāya*, and Self-disclosure, he does not appear to have devoted the same creative energy to the idea of the Seal of sainthood. Much as it was for his father, here the idea is accepted as common currency, and receives little direct attention.

Also, as we shall see, there is more attention payed to whom this Seal might be than there is to the nature of the position.

While ʿAlī Wafā' does not take up the theory of the Seal, he does make occasional mention of the office, comparing it to that of the Seal of the prophets. After a discussion of the spheres of heaven, the prophets present in each, and the kinds of revelation generated from each, we are told that along with each revelation come leaders and gnostics of an era to interpret that revelation. ʿAlī Wafā' calls these gnostics "names." They are to be distinguished from the Lordly Names. We read,

> And thus with the masters of each time (*waqt*) are appearances of names in addition to His Names. Their [the names'] appearances in his [the master's] time depend on whether his appearance is strong or weak. As his appearance becomes strong, their appearance weakens; and as his appearance weakens, theirs strengthens. The Muḥammadan truth gave us a sign, saying, "My companions are like the stars"[82] for his appearance then was like that of the moon. His deputies and gnostics were as numerous as the stars, but their appearance beside him was as that of the stars beside the full moon. In the time (*zaman*) of the Seal of saints, there is a *walī* among the number [i.e. the quintessence] of the saints of all time, but the appearance of his command is like the sun, while their appearance beside him is like that of the stars with the sun.[83]

The point is clear that as revelation is to be accompanied by its attendant supporters, so too the command of the Seal of saints is supported by lesser figures, that is, all previous saints. The description of the gnostics becoming more or less apparent, depending on the presence of their master, is reminiscent of the discussion we saw earlier in which prophecy is described as the sun that hides the light of the stars/saints, but here it is turned to the advent of the Seal of saints, who will (or at least the *walī* of his time will) become the engulfing sun to those diminutive stars.[84]

This association of the Seal of prophets with the Seal of saints is repeated in another discussion, in which ʿAlī Wafā' describes an enemy for each prophet. In an echo of the Qur'anic statement, "We have made for each prophet an enemy from among the sinners" (Q. 25:31), various Antichrists (Dajjāl) are identified: for Moses there was Pharaoh, for Abraham there was Nimrod, for David, Goliath. However, for the Seal of prophets and the Seal of saints there are no such opponents, since their levels are unique.[85] The discussion is not carried further, but the essential point is the identification of the unique position shared by the two Seals.[86]

This relationship between the two Seals is also described as one in which the Seal of sainthood stands in for the Prophet. We read,

> The clear Truth said, in His Muḥammadan voice, by His necessary partner-in-speech (بكليمه الواجب) to the possible hearer, that, "If God willed, He would seal your heart." (Q. 42:24). (But) if He wills, your divine existence (وجودك الالاهي) is assigned to the rule of the Seal of saints, sitting, by the Mercy of union, upon your heart. [This Seal] exists thanks to the Seal of prophets . . . in a realm in which each saint arises from the heart of a prophet.[87]

Thus, if an individual is to become a believer, God must place him or her under the care of the Seal of saints, who is in turn tied to the Seal of prophets. The passage continues from here, commenting on a Qur'anic passage dealing with the human desire to see God.

> "Do they wait" (Q. 2:210) that is, to see God so they know Him by their own eyes to be God? "Only so God comes to them" that is, He appears to them so they can know Him. "In the shadows of the clouds" which are His becoming (كونه) the master of the Divine Seal, who exists thanks to the proofs of His elucidations [text unclear] . . . "The angels" are the forms of His Lordly Wise Rulings. "The matter is thus decided" that is, finished. "And to God all things return" in this encompassing fulfilling Seal.[88]

This passage is rather elusive, but the Seal here (whether he be of prophecy or sanctity) plays an important theophanic role. As the ultimate seal he represents the Divine through proofs and elucidations.

Another brief mention is made of the two Sealhoods elsewhere. The prophet Muḥammad said to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, "You are my brother in this world and the next."[89] to which ʿAlī Wafā' adds, "That is, in the time of the Seal of prophecies and the time of the Seal of sainthoods."[90] An identification is being made here of the Seal of prophets as this worldly, and the Seal of saints as other worldly. We shall see shortly why ʿAlī Wafā' would link the afterlife with the era of the Seal of sainthood. The implication that ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is the Seal of sainthood is also significant here.

Before moving on, we should take note of the figure of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Although the explicit doctrines of Shīʿism (e.g., the role of Imāms, resentment of the first three caliphs as usurpers) are absent from the writings of both Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā', it should be said that their reverence for ʿAlī, who has always been held in high esteem by most Sunni sufis, is clear. Drawing on

hadith literature, the following is representative of the role played by ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib among the Wafā's.

> In the hadith [it is said] "Abū Bakr is from me at the station of hearing, and ʿUmar at the station of seeing." He [Muḥammad] accepted from ʿUthmān the pledge of allegiance by his noble hand. He said, "By God, this is the hand of ʿUthmān."[91] So ʿUthmān is of him at the station of the hand. He (Muḥammad) said, "Nothing is said on my behalf, save by myself or ʿAlī."[92] for ʿAlī is his tongue, and the tongue is the elite station for a speaker. Thus, said ʿAlī, "I am the greatest of the upright (*ṣiddīq*)," that is, he who is truthful to the Muḥammadan Truth; "and none says this after me except a liar."[93]

These reports present a picture in which ʿAlī is clearly more than simply one of the caliphs. He is the intimate of the Muḥammadan Reality. In the Sunnī context, one would certainly expect this *ṣiddīq akbar* to be Abū Bakr and not ʿAlī.[94]

There are a few other references to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib in the same vein throughout the writings of ʿAlī Wafā'. Of these, one that goes beyond identifying ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib simply as the Prophet's intimate is a passage that alludes to the Seal of Muḥammadan sainthood. Shaʿrānī's editing, however, is problamatic. ʿAlī Wafā' is reported to have said,

> Verily, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was raised as Jesus was raised,[95] and likewise he will descend as Jesus will. And I [al-Shaʿrānī] have said on this matter: ʿAlī al-Khawwāṣ [d. after 941/1543] said, "Verily, Noah preserved from the Ark a plank with the name ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib on it, riding upon it to heaven. It remains preserved in the Chest of power until ʿAlī is raised." God knows best of all this.[96]

Again, although we would like our author to expand on this point, we can nevertheless follow his inferences. It is clear that in claiming ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was not killed in 661 A.D., but rather raised alive to God, ʿAlī Wafā' is going beyond what would be expected of a non-Shīʿite sufi. This assertion that both Jesus and ʿAlī will return—presumably at the end of time and as the Seal of general sainthood—is a conflation of the Sunni and Shīʿite positions.[97] Also, the question must be asked as to how one office may be held by two separate figures. Perhaps our author is assigning the role of Messiah to one and that of the Seal of general sainthood to the other. This analysis is only conjecture and would need to be confirmed by further evidence. The quotation that follows, ostensibly from ʿAlī al-Khawwāṣ, is colorful and certainly sounds pro-ʿAlid. The significant statement here is that ʿAlī will some day be raised to God, pre-

sumably after the Resurrection. This, however, is at odds with the original claim that ʿAlī was not killed and has already been raised. The quotation from ʿAlī al-Khawwāṣ seems to miss entirely the point intended by Shaʿrānī. Leaving aside ʿAlī al-Khawwāṣ, for more detail on all this we should look to ʿAlī Wafā's own writings. From a reconstruction of Shaʿrānī's sources (here the *Waṣāyā* of ʿAlī Wafā') it is clear that his account is only partially accurate. In its original, the passage Shaʿrānī is paraphrasing mentions the return of Jesus and ʿAlī but is silent on either one being raised. This discussion begins with a recognition that the soul (*nafs*) lives on after the death of the body, awaiting the command to "return," one assumes as part of the Day of Ressurection. ʿAlī Wafā' then says, "This is the Return (*rajaʿa*) by which are awaited the likenesses of Jesus and ʿAlī."[98] Shaʿrānī's presentation seems to be making an effort at solving a problem he sees in the original passage. The problem is that this Return has been mentioned in light of general statements on the soul's continued existence after death. It is clear to us now that Shaʿrānī wanted to put a sharper point on the matter. He did this first by taking the satements on Jesus and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib out of context; second by completing the drama with a bodily raising. The second is not a far reach for the reader, due to the Islamic doctrine of the prophet Jesus having been raised whole. For what he thought would be good measure, Shaʿrānī has padded his presentation with a quote from his shaykh. Despite this creative editing, it must be noted that ʿAlī Wafā's own position is only mildly pro-ʿAlid. This apocalyptic appearance of the "likenesses of Jesus and ʿAlī" is a refence to the final Seal(s) of sainthood; a reference that does not hold ʿAlī to have been taken up like Jesus. It does, however, leave the door open to ʿAlī playing some part in the End time. Unfortunately, this seems to be the only mention ʿAlī Wafā' makes of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib in this context. His use of the term "likeness" (*mathal*) is unusual and intriguing.[99]

Despite this association of Jesus and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib with the great "Return," the question of the identity of the Seal of saints is answered definitively by ʿAlī Wafā' elsewhere in a number of places. We shall see below that ʿAlī Wafā' identifies himself as the holder of this office, arguing that the cycles of great saints have come to an end with him. Before turning to these discussions, however, we should note a few other passages that deal directly with the identity of the Seal, without touching on these cycles. At the end of the following passage ʿAlī Wafā' is identified as the Seal of saints, but in getting to this identification the lofty position he accords to this Seal in relation to the pre-Muḥammadan prophets is noteworthy.

> Assenting (*taṣdīq*) is a quality; and most of what occurs by this quality is according to seeing or reporting. Verification (*taḥqīq*) is the quality which as a primary certitude is not by acts of observation by

> the senses, nor by the intellects. This is like the faith of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, which had no need of a [miraculous] "breaking of the norm" or investigation. The Seal of the prophets said to Abū Bakr "I am the Messenger of God" (cf. Q. 7:158). He [Abū Bakr] found certainty in this, and accepted it. And ʿUmar heard al-Ḥaqq say to him, "To Him belongs that which is in the heavens and the earth, and what is between them and what is under the soil." (Q. 20:6). He too found certainty in this, and accepted it. This is Assenting of Verification, and not Assenting by demonstration. This has occured for none of the followers of the prophets, except for the elect [followers] of the Seal of prophets. Likewise this occured for none of the followers of the saints, except the followers of the Seal of saints, since he [the Seal of saints] is upon the heart of the Seal of prophets. The elite are on the heart of the elite. So the companions of the Seal of prophets have Verification, and the companions of the prophets who were sealed are all in [a state of] Assenting, while the companions of the Seal of saints are in Verification.
>
> I was told, in 795 AH, the following: "O ʿAlī, the companions of the saints are all in Assenting, while your companions are in Verification. God is the Most-high and Most-knowing.[100]

Assenting is defined as that which is seen or reported, in other words, the religious Law or prophetic admonitions. In distinction, Verification is the unseen quality of the saints. The stress here is on the contrast between the realm of the seen, ordinary acquired knowledge (i.e. prophetic), and that of the unseen, intuitive, special knowledge (i.e. saintly). The companions of the Prophet did not need the exoteric evidentiary proof of a "breaking of the norm,"[101] rather, by Verification they were connected to him. This spiritual association is unique to the companions of the Seals of prophecy and sainthood. The status thus accorded the companions of the Seal of sainthood is superior, at least spiritually, to that of the companions of pre-Muḥammadan prophets. It is worth repeating that the Sealhoods share an esoteric reality—which as we also saw in the above discussions of al-Khaḍir and Moses, is *walāya*. As for the identity of the Seal of saints, the short statement which puts into parallel the followers of ʿAlī Wafā' with those of the Prophet, points clearly to him as the Seal of sainthood.

However, making this relatively clear picture more cloudy, elsewhere we find Muḥammad Wafā' described as the "Master of the Greatest Seal." This term is peculiar, since from the context it is clearly equivalent to the office of the Seal of saints. ʿAlī Wafā' tells us,

> In reality our teacher is the Master of the Greatest Seal (صاحب الختم الاعظم), and al-Shādhilī along with all the other saints [before] are sim-

> ply the soldiers of his kingdom, followers of his lead. Surely he who is among the troops is not the one in command! It is our teacher who commands; he is not subject to command in the other circles [either], since he is the secret of the Seal of the prophets, and the inheritor of his perfection. As all the prophets are followers of their Seal, . . . likewise all the saints are followers of, and are guided by, their Seal.[102]

The description of Muḥammad Wafā' as the inheritor of the perfection of the Prophet clearly echoes the earlier identification of the two Sealhoods as the exclusive sources for Verification. Noteworthy also is the assertion here that as the Seal of prophecy encompasses all previous *nubuwwa*, so the Seal of sainthood encompasses all previous *walāya*.

The Seal and the Renewer of Religion

We saw in our discussions of *walāya* from Ibn ʿArabī and Tirmidhī that sanctity may be seen to have a linear progression. That is, *nubuwwa* is established in two forms (*tashrīʿ* and *ʿāmma*), the former being sealed before the latter; *walāya*, in its two forms (Muḥammadiyya and *āmma*) is also sealed at sequential points in history. This scheme, as we have seen, is adopted incompletely by both the father Wafā' and his son. One problem, from their perspective as later inheritors of Ibn ʿArabī, was surely this linear aspect of *walāya*, which had identified Ibn ʿArabī as the Seal of Muḥammadan sainthood, leaving only General sainthood to be sealed by Jesus, marking the apocalypse. How was ʿAlī Wafā' to situate himself and his saintly father within this universe? Muḥammad Wafā', having been held up as superior to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, certainly merited a loftier station than one that simply put him in the line somehere between the Seal of Muḥammadan sainthood and the final Seal of General sainthood. We saw at the end of chapter 5 that Muḥammad Wafā' inserted the tradition of the Renewer of religion into the equation of *walāya*, while at the same time blurring the categories of general and Muḥammadan sainthood, resulting in a cyclical *walāya* championed by seven great saints, to be completed by an eighth. This is modeled on the seven prophets of the seven levels of heaven visited by the Prophet in his ascension. ʿAlī Wafā' takes up his father's arguments, refining and updating the final cycle. Also, he relies on the Renewer-of-religion tradition to make the time line cyclical, but ending at one point. Like his father, he also seems to abandon any clear distinction between General and Muḥammadan sainthood.

ʿAlī Wafā' presents his interpretation of the cycles of sanctity in two places. In the first he opens with a description of the seven heavens, each of which is home to a prophet:

> It is said in the hadith of Muḥammad's night journey (*isrā*) that he found Adam in the first heaven, the sphere of the moon . . . It mentions that he found in each heaven one of the *ʿūlī al-ʿazm* (holders of resolution) i.e. the seven messengers. They are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Solomon and Jesus. It also mentions that he found Adam, Abraham, Moses and Jesus in person, while the guarantors are also mentioned: Idrīs for Noah, . . . Joseph for David, Aaron for Solomon.[103]

The sequence of prophets given here is identical to that given by Muḥammad Wafā' in his discussion of the cycles of prophecy.[104] There, however, the prophets were not identified as the inhabitants of the seven heavens. These three guarantors mentioned, in the usual account of the Prophet's ascension, are prophets occupying their own heavens. Unfortunately ʿAlī Wafā' does not elaborate on their roles. A detailed study of the medieval *miʿrāj* literature would allow us to comment on the significance of these figures. At this point, our author goes on to say that the various commands and laws sent down through each of these prophets are particular to that prophet's time and place, that is, to the receptive capacity of the audience.[105] Later, he describes how the divine Command present in each cycle of the seven prophets is subsumed by the Command descended to the following cycle. We are told that each prophet's message is included in, and abrogated by, that of his successor. Significantly, in this description the Seal of the prophets is followed by the Seal of saints.

> Thus what descended to Noah includes what came down to Adam, and a special addition. Likewise Abraham [included all that was] with Noah, and Moses that of Abraham, David that of Moses, Solomon that of David, Jesus that of Solomon, since he includes all that preceded him, along with his special addition. Then came Muḥammad as the Seal of prophecies, according to the benefiting dispositions of the eighth sphere of stars, the sphere of [God's] Footstool. He came with everything those before him had, but with a special addition, as he came as Seal of saints bringing what is suitable for the benefiting disposition from the ninth sphere of Aṭlas,[106] the sphere of the Throne. Because he brought a governing suitable for the governing of the sphere of the fixed stars, and they [the earlier prophets] brought according to the governings of the spheres of the planets, their laws are subject to abrogation, while his [the Prophet's] is not.[107]

So the succession of prophets, each bearing a divine communication, continued down to the time of the Prophet, being included therein and thus abrogated. Mention is made of the Prophet here in two aspects; the first, located in

the sphere of the Footstool, represents his prophetic function, while the second, at the ninth sphere (that of the immutable Throne), represents his saintly function. From here ʿAlī Wafā' explains that the eighth sphere is the mediator of all divine Aid or Command coming from the ninth. He also tells us that through the ninth sphere, the Prophet is the source of all sanctity.

> Since the quality of the ninth sphere is inseparable from the esoteric of the quality of the eighth sphere, then Muḥammad, the Seal of prophethoods, reaches the [position of] opener of sainthoods, announcing the immutable Verification. His time contains what all earlier times contain, for the learned of his community are like the prophets of other times.[108]

We see here the distinction between Muḥammad's prophetic and saintly roles, being represented as different spheres. This discussion does not develop the point much, but it is clear that the Prophet's *walāya* is superior to his *nubuwwa*. ʿAlī Wafā' now introduces the notion of the Renewer of religion, with the result that these prophets come to be represented by a pole every century. Each prophet—according to the Wafā' roster, and not that of the traditonal accounts of the Prophet's ascension—has had an identifiable representative at one time on earth, with that of Muḥammad being the last.

> "God raises at the start of each century one who renews for this community its religion." Understand, each century a pole comes down with a quality (حكم) appropriate to the predisposition of the people of his time. It is known thereby that the poles are equivalent to the "holders of resolution," and that they [the poles] are their [the prophets'] inheritors. The first [pole] corresponds to Adam and was sent down on the day of the Farewell pilgrimage;[109] for time on [that] day turned back to a situation [like that of the] day God created the heavens and the earth. And the master of the second century is on the heart of Noah . . . and likewise [are the poles] from one-hundred to eight-hundred years, until the Muḥammadan pole, the Seal of the saints . . . The teacher Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī [d. 658 AH] was the pole of the seventh time; and the great completing speaker came down as the Seal of sainthoods in the eighth time.[110]

Thus the Renewer of religion presented at the head of each century is here identified as the pole. These poles, as we saw in Ibn ʿArabī and elsewhere, are described as the inheritors of their particular prophets. It is interesting to see here ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib alluded to as the first pole, identified with Adam. ʿAlī Wafā' also identifies directly the pole of the seventh time, al-Shādhilī.[111] The

Muḥammadan pole, the Seal of saints, is not named, but he is described as the "great completing speaker" (الناطق الاعظم الوفائي). The last adjective is an uncommon modifer in Sufi terminology, so it seems likely that it has been chosen specifically to evoke the name Wafā'. The fact that Muḥammad Wafā' died in 765 A.H. also makes him the most likely candidate as the Renewer of the "eighth time."[112]

Elsewhere we read of the seven prophets sealed by an eighth, and seven poles sealed by their eighth. This passage begins with the hadith report of the Renewer:

> "God raises, at the start of every one-hundred years, a man by whom He renews this religion." This man is the pole. We also read in the hadith that, "God places each saint upon the heart of a prophet." The "holders of resolution" are the poles of the prophets, and they are seven, with Muḥammad as their Seal, the eighth. As for the poles of the saints, the eighth is their Seal, and is upon the heart of the Seal of prophets.[113]

Here again, the identification is made of the Renewer as the pole.[114] It appears that the "holders of resolution" are the seven prophets we saw in the passage quoted above. They are described here as "the poles of the prophets." This may be an unusual choice in terminology, but from the context it is clear who these individuals are. Perhaps the term is used because it echoes well the phrase *pole of the saints*. Again, the prophets are sealed by Muḥammad, their eighth, while their appointed saints are sealed by an eighth also. At this point in the text, ʿAlī Wafā' embarks upon some rather convoluted calculations, switching back and forth between lunar and solar years, in a reckoning that ends with the current date, that is, 799 A.H., as the beginning of the final century. This century will be followed by the appearance of the Dajjāl and the Mahdi. We are told,

> For each of them [the poles] there are one-hundred years by a reckoning of 360 days. This hundred years began its cycle three months before his [the Prophet's] death.[115] Writing this, we are in the morning of the fourth of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir, year 799 by lunar reckoning . . . When this, the eighth time, ends, the ninth appears, and is the century of the signs of the Hour. Its [the Hour's] signal is the full appearance of the Mahdi, and the Dajjāl leaves and Jesus appears. The sun rises in the West, and the people receive what the Truthful [i.e. God] has promissed them [in Scripture of the hereafter], so they come to see. And this is extended over two-hundred years; the first is the Muḥammadan century, and the second is the century of Jesus. By this, this

> [prophetic] cycle (*dawr*) ends and a new one arrives, in which the [divine] Commands are realized.[116]

Apparently ʿAlī Wafā' is writing at the end of the eighth time and is about to witness the start of the century of the signs of the End of Time. These signs include the appearance of the Mahdi, Dajjāl, and Jesus.[117] Elsewhere we are told that the eighth century will produce a saint of Muḥammadan sainthood and that the "second time" (*zaman thānī*) will only begin after the turn of the ninth century.[118] It should be noted here that ʿAlī Wafā' has followed his father in treating the Renewer tradition as an eschatological schedule. In light of the Landau-Tasseron study, this treatment is unusual if not unique to the teachings of Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā'. As noted in the previous chapter, this theory of cyclical time is reminiscent of Ismāʿīlī doctrine.[119]

We saw in the previous chapter that Muḥammad Wafā's reckoning of the centuries, as ʿAlī's calculations do, point to himself as a fulfillment of the eighth cycle and thus a sign of the End. ʿAlī Wafā', in a dramatic allusion to his father's eschatological import, describes an earthquake at the time of his birth (at the start of the eighth century hijra), which marked the descent of the Word by the "Seal of the circle of the sainthood of oneness." The event is described thus:

> The greatest and loftiest of words is the Word (*kalima*) of the Lord of the single Muḥammadan existence, which was revealed with the Seal of the circle of the sainthood of oneness, since that is its [essential] meaning. It is the fulfilling word (كلمة وفوية) which when it was revealed to the earth through the generative laying down of an existentiating inspiration (وحيا كيانيا) in the pre-dawn of Thursday the third of Dhū al-Ḥijja, 702 AH, the entire earth quaked at the time of the ʿĪd prayer[120] on that day. This was as al-Ḥaqq informed [us], in the sura, which the Perfect Sayyid called the Announcer . . . [text unclear] And he made it as half of the Qur'an as he compared himself to a brick in the prophetic house. God said, "When the Earth is shaken to its [utmost] convulsion, and the Earth throws up its burdens [from within], and humanity cries [distressed]: "What is the matter with it?" On that Day will it declare its tidings; for that thy Lord will have given it inspiration. On that Day will men proceed in companies sorted out, to be shown the deeds that they [have done] . . . (Q. 99:1–6).[121]

This description matches closely the statement, quoted at the end of chapter 5 above, made by Muḥammad Wafā' to the effect that "the master of the eighth time is the Seal of the age, and the eye of total union, the abode of the Great Tiding." Here, the Word descends with the Seal of sainthood, being somehow

the circle of sainthood's meaning. The character of this Word is interesting, as it is a generative inspiration—having produced Muḥammad Wafā'—which will descend to earth again at the end of Time. We may understand this generative character as the force that has produced the Seal on the third of Dhū al-Ḥijja.[122] Unfortunately ʿAlī Wafā' does not here expand on the title Perfect Sayyid, but it would seem to be the prophet Muḥammad since he has compared himself to a brick in the prophetic house.[123] The Seal of sainthood, at least according to Ibn ʿArabī, would have been represented by two bricks, one silver and one gold.[124] The text itself is unclear, but this verse of the apocalyptic earthquake seems to be to revelation what the prophet Muḥammad was to prophecy. Nevertheless, the passage is clearly tying together the Word, the Seal of saints, the date 702 A.H., and the beginning of the End.

ʿAlī Wafā' returns to this apocalyptic reckoning elsewhere. He describes a hidden Seal of sainthoods who appears in 702 A.H. and signals a final era, which will be closed by a "coming of God." We are told that the Seal of sainthoods (or Geatest seal) is an "unseen" that was not manifested at the time of the Prophet. This manifestation occurs only in the "time of sainthoods," with the "completing" (الوفاية) sainthood manifesting itself in 702 A.H. This marks an era that will end in 823 A.H. "The time of this most holy manifestation is fixed by God. The years of this manifestation are counted as the Seven oft-repeated and the suras of the Qur'ān ; that is, 121 (i.e. 7+114). 702 plus 121 gives 823 A.H. Then God will come after this, as He wills, for 'God is All-encompassing and All-knowing.'"[125] In *al-Masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* (65a) the year 823 is also reached, but through a much more convoluted reckoning. Nevertheless, this speculation on the era of the Great seal proved to be inaccurate. As we know, ʿAlī Wafā' died in 807 A.H., his brother Shihāb al-Dīn in 814, and the third khalifa of the order, Abū al-Fatḥ Muḥammad, in 852. The reference to Muḥammad Wafā's birthday in 702 is clear, but why ʿAlī Wafā' would have his calculations point to 823 A.H. remains a mystery.

As we saw earlier, ʿAlī Wafā's interpretation of the Renewer, combined with the cycle of eight prophets and their saintly poles, not surprisingly, pointed to himself as the final seal. His calculations were made as of the year 795 A.H., but we also have an account of a dramatic inspiration received four years later. He says,

> I received an inspiration (*ilhām*) in the year 799 A.H., which was not from my imagination, which said, "O ʿAlī, We have chosen you to resurrect the souls from the tombs of their bodies. If We have commanded you, then take heed!" "And follow not the desires of those who know not. They will be of no use to you in the sight of God. It is only wrongdoers [that stand as] protectors (*awliyā'*), one to another, but God is the Protector (*walī*) of the righteous" (Q. 45:18–19).[126]

This resurrecting makes little sense on its own unless it is read in light of ʿAlī Wafā's earlier claims to being the Seal of sainthood and final Renewer. If the ninth "time" is the last, then its Renewer certainly must play an important role. While in the hereafter humanity will be resurrected in both body and soul, according to this inspiration ʿAlī Wafā' will raise the souls from their bodies. This statement is dramatic in its resonances, but without further direct comment on the nature of this "resurrecting," it may best be taken metaphorically, as a reference to the spiritual mission of the Seal or the Renewer.

Also suggestive of an apocalyptic drama is the title *Lord of Time*, or *Ṣāḥib al-Zamān*. This title, usually reserved for the awaited Hidden Imām of the Twelver Shīʿa, is certainly unexpected in a Sunnī context.[127] The Hidden Imām may also be referred to as the "Mahdi."[128] However, ʿAlī Wafā' does not use the epithet in the context of the signs of the End of Time. During a discussion of the variety of forms in creation, the Lord of Time is described as the catalyst for the First Intellect: "The First Intellect is the Rational faculty of the Lord of Time. The effusor of the forms [of creation] is his sensory spirit. The rest of the [lower] levels are to be similarly understood."[129] By this characterization, the Lord of Time is indeed the primary mode of differentiation for the One moving into the realm of the Many. This function is identical to that of the Muḥammadan Reality. In the same vein is the following presentation of the Lord of Time, but here an aspect of progression is added.

> The Lord of each Time is to his people a self-disclosure of their encompassing existence by the entity that is his discerning truth . . . He is in his essence (*bi-ʿaynihi*) their Necessary, and they his possibilities . . . The Lord of each Time is greater than what was self-disclosed to the Lord of Time before him . . . thus one is prostrated to by the people of his time, yet he in turn prostrates to the Lord of Time who is after him.[130]

The only other use of "Lord of Time" I have found in the writings of ʿAlī Wafā' is in line with this usage. We are told in a wider discussion of the Signs of God, "The Lord of every Time is God's greatest Sign therein, for his existent is the greatest Sign by which His existence appears there."[131] There is no clearly appocalyptic element here. At most one might argue that the Mahdi/Lord of Time would certainly command this role described, but the passage is treating not a single event (or even person), but rather, the forms of the Muḥammadan Reality or perhaps even the Seals of sainthood.

In a similar vein is ʿAlī Wafā's use of another epithet, the *Master of Time* (*Ṣāḥib al-waqt*). This figure appears to have no function beyond that we have seen ascribed elsewhere to the pole of the age.[132] In the following passage he is noted for his unique access to God and his spiritual superiority. We read,

> Know that the Heralding Reality in each age is the Master of its/his Time. "Say: My way is to supplicate to God in sureness; I and those who follow me." (Q. 12:108) Its mark is that their elucidations and their accounts are by his unveiling and elucidation. He is distinguished from them by the fact that they have no way to it without His Aid and Effusion.[133]

The "Master of Time" (i.e., the Prophet in this case) provides the followers of religion with understanding that is normally beyond their reach. He is, like the most general understanding of the power of a saint, the channel for beneficent divinity.

Another use of "Master of Time" is one that describes Reality progressing through various "Times." We are told that in each Time a Master is present both esoterically and exoterically, but the Time following this brings either an interpretation or inspiration that provides the given esoteric with an exoteric. Thus, the Master of each Time is a new insight upon the previous Master, or form of Reality. First, this gnostic has an esoteric and an exoteric element,

> The interpretation (*ta'wīl*) of the former is the sending-down (*tanzīl*) of the latter, and likewise for the Master of each Time. His exoteric is the esoteric of the Master of the preceeding Time. This is because all of them are one Reality appearing at each Time as the meaning according to the perfections of the preparedness of that Time[134] . . . [Thus] the clear Reality is self-determined at each Time according to the perfections of that Time.[135]

The significance of the Master of the Time is that he openly represents the spiritual message of the previous form taken by the Reality. It appears according to the capacity of every time, and the Master of that Time is its esoteric reality. For our purposes, the important point here is that the "Master of Time" is used here by ʿAlī Wafā' for a figure who functions to differentiate the oneness of Reality. This is at odds with its use elsewhere (particulary the Shīʿite context) signaling a specific figure in the drama of the Apocalypse.

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By way of a short concluding remark, we note first in this chapter the attention paid by ʿAlī Wafā' to the notions of Oneness and differentiation. While holding to the basic tenent that there is no true reality beyond that of God, the Necessary, recognition must also be made of His Self-disclosure. These two realms, while categorically exclusive, must be simultaneously upheld. This is the challenge of a mystical vision of the "All." We also saw rather dramatic development of the relationship between the spiritual guide

and his follower. The existential reality of the shaykh was of primary importance here. This teacher not only reflects the divine Self-disclosures, but what is more important, he is a door for the follower to his own share in Necessary existence. The follower may find the Eternal in himself, but this, strangely enough, is not a short path. In fact, it is only through the teacher that he may find this in himself. We also saw that ʿAlī Wafā's understanding of sanctity is very much tied up with the idea of prophecy. He distinguishes between the prophet carrying the Command and the saint acting as the medium of that Command. Beyond this, he takes up the figure of al-Khaḍir, whom he identifies as a form of the Spirit of inspiration. This Spirit addresses the *walāya* of both saints and prophets. And finally, of a more practical concern, we saw that ʿAlī Wafā', like his father before him, claims to be the Seal of sainthood. By using the tradition of the Renewer of religion, he builds up a cyclical interpretation of this Sealhood and ties it into the signs of the End of Time.

Conclusion

The goal of this study has been to explore the idea of sainthood as it developed within the mystical philosophy of Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā'. For these two eighth/fourteenth-century Cairene sufis the idea of sanctity was important, yet we have seen that a number of related concepts serve as a supporting framework. A qualified "Oneness of Being," God's Self-disclosure, the nature of spiritual guidance, and the cycles of the centuries are all elements tying together a conceptual web.

We saw that this father and son were uniquely positioned between the school of Ibn ʿArabī and the sufi order of the Shādhiliyya. In general, we may say that Wafā' mystical thought represents an integration of the Akbarian concept of sainthood into the tradition of order-based sufism. This Wafā'iyya order was at once a branch of the Shādhiliyya and a continuation of the school of mystical speculation established by Ibn ʿArabī. More specifically, this new order served as a vehicle for the elaboration of Ibn ʿArabī's theories on sainthood. Not only did the Wafā's expand on the theoretical dimensions of *walāya*, but they also used it to define and advance their own claims to sanctity. The shift from theory into detailed identifications and theories on the End represents a turning point in the history of the Akbarian tradition and a departure from that of the early Shādhiliyya. The Wafā' hybrid also marks an introduction of Akbarian sanctity into *tarīqa*-based sufism.

The Akbarian philosophy embraced by the Wafā's, however, did not lead to an open incorporation of Ibn ʿArabī into the wider Shādhiliyya order. The early Shādhiliyya was neither hostile to nor enthusiastically supportive of Ibn ʿArabī. Historically, this ambiguous posture seems to have persisted. Further study would be needed of the transmission of Ibn ʿArabī's teachings among latter

medieval mystics for us to judge the wider importance of the Wafā's as transmitters. It is hoped this research, through exploring *walāya* and its related concepts within the Wafā'iyya, has made this next step possible.

As we saw, the Wafā'iyya both distinguished itself from the Shādhiliyya order and honored its founder, al-Shādhilī. In the hagiographical accounts, the second khalifa of that order is made to recognize Muḥammad Wafā's spiritual superiority, while ʿAlī Wafā' himself names al-Shādhilī as the pole of his age. Elsewhere, however, al-Shādhilī is clearly subordinated as foot soldier under a Wafā' spiritual command. This ambiguous relationship (at once drawing recognition from, yet claiming to surpass) is to be expected in light of what the Wafā'iyya was itself. The most accurate characterization would be to describe the Wafā'iyya as a mix of the Akbarian and Shādhilite traditions. The former brought with it refined concepts of ontology and sanctity (along with a liberating hermeneutic style), while the latter supplied the important initiatic and spiritual credentials associated with affiliation to the early Shādhilī shaykhs. Muḥammad Wafā' not so much cut himself off from his Shādhilite shaykh Ibn Bākhilā but rather left him behind when he decided to initiate his own new branch of the Shādhiliyya, one that included an Akbarian perspective.

The full implications of the Wafā's for later sufism will have to be taken up in later research, since our goal here has been the more preliminary one of fully describing their teachings. We saw in our first chapter that the roots of speculation on sanctity were set early on in the writings of the third/ninth-century figure al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī. His was the first sustained effort at fleshing out the levels of sainthood. In his model, the Seal of saints crowned a hierarchy consisting of the "True saints of God," under whom there were the "Saints of God's Truth." With Ibn ʿArabī four centuries later, the Seal of saints took on a new dimension. The key innovation here was the introduction of a "Universal prophecy" distinct from the usual "Legislative prophecy." The Seal of the latter was the prophet Muḥammad, but the former, which is itself divided into Universal and Muḥammadan sanctity, is sealed first by Ibn ʿArabī himself and then finally by the returning apocalyptic Jesus. This concept of a Universal prophecy served as a bridge between the realms of sanctity and prophecy. In short, it extended the idea of sanctity upward, making it an integral element of prophecy (i.e., sanctity is present within prophecy as its Universal ahistorical form).

Our attention then turned to the early Shādhiliyya and its understanding of *walāya*, particularly through the writings of Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī and his little-studied follower Ibn Bākhilā. The former was certainly the most important elaborator of the theory of sanctity for the order. His understanding of *walāya* was based on a two-tiered model, which distinguished between Greater and Lesser *walāya*. These categories resembled those presented by al-Tirmidhī, in that they represent a *walāya* divinely bestowed and a *walāya*

achieved through spiritual self-discipline. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh's formulation, however, stresses that in its lesser form *walāya* exists potentially in everyone and that one's spiritual progress is the measure of the development of one's Lesser *walāya*.

We saw that Ibn Bākhilā's contribution to the theory of sainthood centered around the idea of God's Self-disclosure (*tajallī*) taking various forms, depending on the perspective of the viewer. Thus both revelation to prophets and inspiration to saints are one in essence. The specific form of this Self-disclosure is determined by the function held by him who receives it, an insight that would be echoed by Muḥammad Wafāʾ. Ibn Bākhilā's understanding of sainthood is rooted in this insight, as is his explanation of the different functions and levels of supplication.

This discussion of the early Shādhiliyya concluded that these formulations served to extend the prophetic role into the postprophetic world through the saints. That is, the saints inherit from the messengers and prophets, serving as their substitutes. In fact, their function is to make known the communications from the Muḥammadan Reality—of course not in its legal or literal forms, but rather from its esoteric side. For the sake of comparison, we characterized this as a downward movement of the function of prophecy. Sanctity is thus here the lesser continuation of prophecy. In contrast, we characterized Ibn ʿArabī's system as an upward extension of *walāya*; the central insight here being that *walāya* is an integral part of prophecy.

In chapter 5 we saw that Muḥammad Wafāʾ follows Ibn ʿArabī in some important ways. He describes two kinds of sanctity. One he characterizes as exoteric (Moseslike) and the other as esoteric (Khaḍir-ian). These two forms reflect the distinction made by Ibn ʿArabī between Legislative prophecy (*nubuwwa tashrīʿ*) and Universal prophecy (*nubuwwa ʿāmma* or *walāya*). Further, Muḥammad Wafāʾ follows Ibn ʿArabī's argument that the former is superior to the latter, when both are considered within one person; however, Legislative prophecy is superior when in one person it is compared to the Universal prophecy present in another individual. Yet Muḥammad Wafāʾ does differ significantly in that he does not adopt the distinction between the two kinds of *nubuwwa ʿāmma* (the Muḥammadan and Universal). For Ibn ʿArabī this distinction provided two streams of sainthood to be sealed, the first by Ibn ʿArabī himself, and the second by Jesus. For Muḥammad Wafāʾ this is reduced to only one Seal, who functions as the vehicle for God's Word on earth. This function is a significant innovation. Also important is the introduction of a cyclical timeline. Adapting the tradition of God appointing at the start of each century a renewer of religion (*mujaddid*), Muḥammad Wafāʾ presents a line of seven cycles, each lasting a century and each being informed by a great saint. These saints are, like the Seal, described as "unifiers" of God's Word, including the Qur'an. The final cycle in the line is the eighth, who will be living in the year 800 A.H. This

version of the Seal of saints thus includes the apocalyptic function held by Jesus, as Seal of Universal *walāya* in the Ibn ʿArabī model.

ʿAlī Wafā's contribution to the theory of sainthood is an extension of that of his father. He follows him in distinguishing between Moseslike and Khaḍirian *walāya*, but he takes the figure of al-Khaḍir one step further. Through a lengthy discussion of the Qur'anic story of Moses and the enigmatic al-Khaḍir, ʿAlī Wafā' argues that the figure of al-Khaḍir is merely one of many possible forms of the Self-disclosing divine Spirit. Thus, the strange actions of al-Khaḍir are in reality the workings of this Spirit. More significantly, however, this Spirit animates part of the Trust that constitutes the office of prophet. This assertion makes sense in light of the fact that Muḥammad Wafā', and Ibn ʿArabī before him, had clearly established the presence of both prophecy and sanctity within a single person. Thus the Spirit, according to ʿAlī Wafā', is not only al-Khaḍir who inspires saints, but it also plays an essential role in the *walāya* within the office of prophet.

ʿAlī Wafā's speculations on sainthood, which have taken up certain apparently Ismāʿīlī elements such as the *nāṭiq* and the *dawr*, included arguments concerning the identity of the Seal. In his spiritual cosmology, there were eight cycles of prophets, who were each represented by a saint (or pole) of the era. This figure also functions as that century's renewer (*mujaddid*). ʿAlī Wafā' implicitly identifies ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib as the renewer of the first century and explicitly identifies Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī as that of the seventh. The eighth is the Seal of saints and is both the representative and inheritor of the Seal of prophets. In this eight-fold line the clear choice for Seal of sainthood is Muḥammad Wafā' (b. 702/1301), and ʿAlī follows suit. He describes his father's birth year as the advent of he who would unite the Word of God—a description of the Seal taken from his father's own account. However, it appears that ʿAlī does not in fact call his father the "Seal of saints"; instead he calls him the "Great Seal." This might be simply a question of variant terminology, or it might be something more. It seems that ʿAlī Wafā' wants to venerate his father, yet he proceeds to offer a calculation that points to the year in which he himself is writing, 799 A.H., as the beginning of the century that will see the End of Time and the Apocalypse. Also, this is in accord with his father's date of 800 A.H. as the year that will see the Seal of the eighth cycle. This certainly points to ʿAlī Wafā' as the final Seal of sainthood, but this reckoning presents a problem. If the seventh cycle was renewed by al-Shādhilī (d. 658 A.H.), and Muḥammad Wafā' is the Great Seal (and supposedly the Seal of sainthood), what exactly is ʿAlī Wafā's title and role? The dilemma could be resolved by making way for a ninth cycle, but this would fly in the face of the cosmology so carefully laid out by Muḥammad Wafā', which identified eight heavens, eight prophets, and eight great saints. The problem does not appear to have been resolved. However, from a wider perspective we may propose one answer:

ʿAlī Wafā' reserved the unsurpassed sanctity of the Seal for his father. He associated him with the divine Word and called him the "Seal of the circle of Sainthood." However, for himself he described a position that took the only next step possible, that is, that of an apocalyptic function. He repeatedly points to himself in his calculations of the dawn of the End Time. Perhaps it should not surprise us that here, in all but name, ʿAlī Wafā' has finally turned to Ibn ʿArabī's distinction between Muḥammadan sainthood and Universal sainthood. Without using the terms themselves, ʿAlī Wafā's dilemma, and his resolution of it, echo Ibn ʿArabī's distinction between an elite Seal of Muḥammadan sainthood and an apocalyptic Seal of sainthood.

❊

Allow me to conclude with a proposal for a wider perspective on the structure of Wafā' mysticism. First it bears repeating that our subjects were not constructing any grand philosophical model. Their concern was to lay out their mystical vision in whatever form was suitable. As we saw, properly philosophical concepts are not absent from their writings, yet Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā' could never be considered good students of Ibn Sīnā. (The strength and creativity of mystical writing probably rest on this flexible and ambiguous relationship with traditional philosophy.) Having noted the absence of any consistent philosophical "system," however, recognition must be made of a certain structure. Our survey of Wafā' thought has shown three basic concerns. For both Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā' the Akbarian ontology of a qualified Oneness of Being (often articulated through the theory of *tajallī*) is a central ground. Based on this, a theory of the nature of spiritual direction is constructed. The third concern, also grounded in that ontology, is with sanctity and in particular its Seal. For both our writers, their concepts of spiritual guidance and sanctity could only have taken the form they did within that ontological universe. The exaggerated existential claims regarding the teacher draw on the language and the principles of the qualified "Oneness of Being" ontology. The concern for the Seal of saints can also be understood in much the same light. This concern with the elevated spiritual guides, the teachers, the saints, and the seals of sainthood finds its footing in that ontology. Thus, the categories of knowing and being become intertwined; the saint is not only one who has greater insight, from the Oneness of Being perspective (and this is underlined by the Wafā's), but he has an existential role to play. The multivalent nature of divine Self-disclosure reflects a dual epistemic and ontic role. It is worth noting that from the competing perspective of utter oneness (associated with Ibn Sabʿīn), it would be of little use to dwell on an existential role for saints—and by implication for their apocalyptic Seal—since everything shares equally in the existential identity with the Divine. In contrast, according to the Akbarian and Wafā' Oneness of Being, with its insistence on a *qualified* identification with the

Divine, being and knowing retain a hierarchical differentiation. That is, not everything shares equally in identification with the Divine, and thus the saints and guides have an important role to play. The Wafā's inflated concern with sanctity and their understanding of its very nature reflect this mystical perspective on knowing and being.

Notes

Introduction

1. C. Williams, *Islamic Monuments in Cairo: A Practical Guide* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1993) 230.

2. ʿAbdullah Yūsuf ʿAlī, trans. *The Holy Qur'ān* (Brentwood, MA: Amana, 1989). Qur'anic quotations will be taken from this translation. Words in parentheses are Y. ʿAlī's completions. However, in some places I will rely on my own translation.

3. For more on these figures see E. Ormsby, *Theodicy in Islamic Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); M. Aminrezavi, *Suhrawardi and the School of Illumination* (Surrey: Curzon, 1997).

4. There do appear, however, references to devotional practice. In two instances we are told of Muḥammad's practice of spending much of the night in supererogatory prayer: (Q. 73:1–3) and (Q. 73:20).

5. Various accounts are provided by al-Bukhārī, amongs others, in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Ṣalāt, 1 and Manāqib, 42. See *Encyclopedia of Islam* second ed. s.v. "Mi'rāj" for more details on the historical and literary development.

6. For an introduction to these see M. Sells, *Early Islamic Mysticism* (New York: Paulist, 1996) 242 ff. See also P. Lory, "Le *Miʿrāj* d'Abū Yazīd Bisṭāmī" in *Le voyage initiatique en terre d'Islam: ascensions célestes et itinéraires spirituels* A. Amir-Moezzi ed. (Louvain-Paris: Peeters, 1996), and J. W. Morris, "Spiritual Ascension: Ibn ʿArabi and the *Miʿrāj*" (parts 1, 2) in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* vol. 107, no. 4, 1987.

7. See Sells, *Early Islamic Mysticism* ch. 5; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, 1954) 245–50; al-Sulamī, *Tabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya* (Aleppo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Nafīs, 1986) 56–60. On this figure in general, see Josef van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥāriṭ al-Muḥāsibī* (Bonn: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars des Universität Bonn 1959).

8. Sells, *Early Islamic Mysticism* ch. 7; Massignon, *Essai sur les origines* 274–80; al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya* 67–74.

9. A. Abdel Kader, *The Life, Personality, and Writings of al-Junayd* (London: Luzac, 1962); Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā* (Tehran: Kitabkhanah-i Markazi 1977) 416–51. The fifth/eleventh century writer al-Hujwīrī characterizes Basṭāmī's approach as one of *sukr* (intoxication) and Junayd's as one of *ṣaḥw* (sobriety). Al-Hujwīrī, *The Kashf al-Maḥjūb: The Oldest Persian Treatise on Ṣufiism* R. Nicholson trans. (London: Luzac, 1936) 189.

10. G. Böwering, *The Mystical Vision of Existence in Classical Islam: The Qur'anic Hermeneutics of the Sufi Sahl at-Tustari (d. 283/896)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980) 232. For an early account of his "school" see al-Hujwīrī, *The Kashf al-Maḥjūb* 195–210. We shall return briefly to this thinker in the first chapter of this study.

11. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines* 205. P. Nwyia, *Exegèse coranique et langage mystique* (Beirut: Dar al-Machreq, 1970) 156 ff.

12. F. Meier, "Khurāsān and the End of Classical Sufism" in his *Essays on Islamic Piety and Mysticism* J. O'Kane trans. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999) 189. For a wider outline see Meier's "Mystic Path" in *The World of Islam: Faith, People, Culture* B. Lewis ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970).

13. These terms, *shaykh al-taʿlīm* and *shaykh al-tarbiyya*, were first conied by the Shādhilite writer Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī. See P. Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAbbād de Ronda (1333–1390), lettres de direction spirituelle (Al-Rasā'il al-ṣughrā)* (Beirut: Dār al-Machriq, 1961) 106–15, 125–38.

14. F. Meier, "Khurāsān and the End of Classical Sufism" 195. J. Paul sees a shift at this time to a model in which the saint exercises complete authority over his followers; he becomes a patron rather than simple teacher. "Au début du genre hagiographique dans le Khorasan" in *Saints orientaux* D. Aigle ed. (Paris: DeBoccard, 1995) 27–34. See in the same volume T. Zarcone's comments on a shift to a more typically Islamic model for saintly practice. "L'hagiographie dans le monde turc" 66–67.

15. On the various forms of asceticism, see *Encyclopedia of Islam* s.v. "Zuhd." New evidence suggests the earliest ascetic schools were established by women in Iraq and Syria. See al-Sulami, *Early Sufi Women (Dhikr al-niswa)* R. Cornell ed. and trans. (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 1999) 55–63.

16. W. Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (Albany: Bibliotheca Persica, 1988) 44.

17. On the Malāmatiyya, founded by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād (d. 265/878) and Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār (d. 270/883), see A. ʿAfīfī, *Al-Malāmatiyya wa al-Ṣūfiyya wa al-Futuwwa* (Cairo: al-Ḥalabī,1945); J. Chabbi, "Remarques sur le développement historique des mouvements ascétiques et mystiques au Khurasan" in *Studia Islamica* 46, 1977. 53–60.

18. See A. T. Karramustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200–1550* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994).

19. S. Sviri, "Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī and the Malāmatī Movement in Early Ṣufism" in *Classical Persian Ṣufism* L. Lewisohn ed. (London: Khauiqahi Nimatullahi Publications 1993) 611.

20. H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1986) 238–47.

21. Ibn Sina, *Al-Ishārāt wa al-tanbihāt* (4 vols.) S. Dunya ed. Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, n.d. 4:136-–64. M. Fakhry, *A History of Islamic Philosophy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983) 144, 155.

22. The best general study of this subject is still J. S. Trimingham's *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971).

23. The second/eighth-century Qur'anic exegete al-Muqātil identifies ten distinct meanings derived from the root *WLY*. See P. Nwyia, *Exejèse coranique* 114. For a discussion of the grammatical forms of the term see G. Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time: Ibn ʿArabī's Book of the Fabulous Gryphon* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 111–22.

24. M. Chodkiewicz, "La sainteté et les saints en islam" in *Le culte des saints dans le monde musulman* H. Chambert-Loir and Cl. Gillot eds. (Paris: École Françaís d'Extrème Orient, 1995) 15.

25. See H. Landolt, "Walāyah" in *Encyclopedia of Religion* M. Eliade ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1987) 319; K. M. al-Shaibi, *Sufism and Shi'ism* (Surrey: Laam, 1991) ch. 3; M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide in Early Shi'ism* D. Streight trans. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994) 91–97; and H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* 455–58.

26. In recent years in the field of comparative religion advances have been made in the area of saints and sainthood. My approach is rather different, but brief mention should be made of at least two prominent analyses. Richard Kieckhefer sees the saint as a figure who signals the tension between religious imitability and otherness and suggests that comparisons between sainthood in various religious traditions can focus on the way this tension is dealt with in its various historical and cultural contexts. Kieckhefer, R. and George Bond, eds., *Sainthood: Its Manifestations in World Religions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) 243–46. A more sophisticated model is proposed by K. Young, who presents a four-fold model based on a dialectic between chaos and order. As heroes, prophets, or founders of a religion, holy figures may assert order in the face of chaos. More specifically saintly figures may then function as preservers of that order through their exemplary practice. Once order has become routine it may then be challenged by the inspired and often unpredictable saint, one type of which is found within an existing religious institution and one from without. Sharma, A., ed. *Women Saints in World Religions* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000) 28–29.

1. Tirmidhī, Ibn ʿArabī, and Others on Sanctity

1. For his biography see the introduction of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood in Early Islamic Mysticism* B. Radtke and J. O'Kane trans. (Surrey: Curzon, 1996) 2. On al-Tirmidhī's birth and death dates see B. Radtke, "The Concept of Wilāya in Early Sufism" in *Classical Persian Sufism* 483–83.

2. Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *Kitāb al-awliyā'* in *Majmūʿat Rasā'il* (Cairo: 1935); Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz, *Kitāb al-kashf wa al-bayān* (Baghdad: 1967); and P. Nwyia, *Exegèse coranique* 238 ff.

3. Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 39. An extensive collection of sayings on the subject, from the classical and medieval periods, is chapter 38 of R. Gramlich, *Das Sendschreiben al-Qushayis über das Sufitum* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1989).

4. Al-Hujwīrī (d. 464/1071), *The Kashf al-Maḥjūb* 212: "Certain Shaykhs formerly composed books on this subject [sainthood], but they became rare and soon disappeared."

5. Radtke, in *The Concept of Sainthood* 10, establishes *Sīrat al-awliyā'* as Tirmidhī's original title for the book. I have decided to keep the "suprious later title" *Khatm al-walāya* since that is how the work is known to all later writers. (It seems to me ill advised to try to insist upon an alternative title to such a well-known work.) See also H. Landolt's review of Radtke's Arabic edition of the work, *Drei Schriften des Theosophen von Tirmidh*, in *The Journal of the American Oriental Society* no. 114, 1994.

6. Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 2–5.

7. S. Sviri, "Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī and the Malāmatī Movement in Early Sufism" 606. See also al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), *Risālat al-malāmatiyya*, translated by R. Deladrière as *Sulamī: La lucidité implacable* (Paris: Arléa, 1991). This Malāmatī movement should be distinguished from the term *malāmī* as it is later used by Ibn ʿArabī.

8. More precisely, Tirmidhī criticizes behavior usually attributed to the Malāmatiyya. S. Sviri, "Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī and the Malāmatī Movement in Early Sufism" 611. See his letter to Muḥammad Ibn al-Faḍl al-Balkhī, translated in B. Radtke, *Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmdhī. Ein islamischer Theosoph des 3./9. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg: 1980) 123. See also the discussion in F. Meier's "Khurāsān and the End of Classical Sufism" 205 ff; and Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 127, 128.

9. On their distinctive theology see W. Madelung, "Sufism and the Karrāmiyya" in *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* 40–43.

10. Those who receive God's *ḥadīth* are *muḥaddathūn*. See hadith refereces in Friedmann "The Finality of Prophethood in Sunnī Islām" in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* no. 7, 1987. 203. When not referring to the Traditions, I have kept the term in italics.

11. The phrase "the spirit causes [a prophet] to accept it" is the translation Radtke gives for «فبه قبوله». The passage runs: «يقضى الوحي و يختم بالروح. فبه قبوله.». An alternative would be "And thanks to [the spirit] the [end of revelation] is accepted." The adavantage of the latter reading is that it alludes to the continuing role of the spirit after the end of revelation.

12. «و الولاية لمن ولى الله حديثه» could also be translated as "As for the one possessed of sainthood—God administers His speech [to him]."

13. Sakīna is found in the Qur'an (2:248) associated with the Ark (as in the Hebrew Bible) but it is more generally used in accounts of God directly assisting Muḥammad in times of crisis (e.g., Q. 9:26, 9:40). It is striking that Tirmidhī would use this term in his doctrine of the inspiration of saints, when its scriptural referrent is to the Prophet.

14. Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 111; Tirmidhī, *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā* O. Yaḥyā ed. (Beirut: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Kāthūlīkiyya, n.d.) 346. Radtke's translation is based on his edition of *Kitāb Sīrat al-awliyā'* in *Drei Schriften des Theosophen von Tirmidh*. Note that there are discrepancies between this and O. Yaḥyā's edition.

15. Tirmidhī, *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā* 347. See also Radtke's translation in Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 113.

16. Tirmidhī, *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā* 353. See also Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 119.

17. Elsewhere, it appears Tirmidhī holds that sainthood, prophecy, and mission (*risāla*) have been established latently in individuals since before creation. Without

much elaboration, Tirmidhī mentions the covenant (*ʿaqd*) God made of each type. Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 119, 151.

18. This dual nature of *walāya* saw its greatest elaboration in the Shīʿī doctrine of the Imām. See below, our section entitled "Walāya and Shīʿism."

19. Tirmidhī, *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā* 349. See also Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 115 .

20. Note the lowly position he is assigning to the *zuhhād*, whom Tirmidhī criticizes elsewhere.

21. Tirmidhī, *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā* 357–58. See also Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 121–22. Y. Friedmann, "Finality of Prophethood in Sunnī Islām" in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* no. 7, 1986, 205, describes later discussions that move to deprive the *muḥaddath* of any intrinsic spiritual authority.

22. Radtke translates the inferior designation as "the Friend of what is due unto God." See *The Concept of Sainthood* 26.

23. Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 93; Tirmidhī, *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā* 332.

24. He who makes this initial step, the "saint of the truth of God," is described as guarding over his body parts in an effort to become morally upright. Through this discipline his lower self is calmed, and his body is controlled. Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 44.

25. H. Landolt, "Walaya" in *Encyclopedia of Religion* 321. See also P. Fenton's "The Hierarchy of the Saints in Jewish and Islamic Mysticism" in *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi Society* vol. 10, 1991. The concept of '*abdāl*' appears early in the second/eighth century. See J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra* (6 vols.) (Berlin-New York: Walter deGruyer, 1991–97) 2:89, and R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens* (3 vols.) (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1965–1981) 2:162. J. Baldick notes the Jewish antecedent of the idea of the *badal*; see his *Imaginary Muslims: the Uwaysi Sufis of Central Asia* (London: Tauris, 1993) 31.

26. I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* (2 vols.) (London: Allen and Unwin, 1962) 293.

27. See Q. 2:51, 5:25, 7:142, 46:15. In the Old Testament, the number 40 usually describes a period of time. J. Segal, "Numerals in the Old Testament" in *Journal of Semitic Studies* no.10, 1965. 10. For the various uses of 40 in the hadith literature see A. J. Wensinck's *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane* (8 vols.) Leiden: Brill, 1943. 2:215–16.

28. Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 111; Tirmidhī, *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā* 346.

29. Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 109; Tirmidhī, *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā* 344.

30. Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 96; Tirmidhī, *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā* 335.

31. Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood*, 130; Tirmidhī, *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā* 367.

32. Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 113; Tirmidhī, *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā* 354.

33. Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 102; Tirmidhī, *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā* 337.

34. Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 110; Tirmidhī , *Kitāb khatm al-awliyā* 345.

35. Y. Friedmann, "Finality of Prophethood in Sunnī Islam" 179. In hadith the prophet Muḥammad also called himself "*al-ʿaqīb*," a term that is usually understood as the last prophet. See ibid. 182. On the concept of a 'Seal of prophets,' from an important pre-Islamic source, see G. Stroumsa, "'Seal of the Prophets' The Nature of a

Manichaean Metaphor" in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 7, 1986. The Arabic text of the New Testament in one instance mentions Jesus as having been sealed by God: (John 6:27) «. . . لأن هذا الله الآب قد ختمه»

36. G. Böwering, *The Mystical Vision* 235.

37. Böwering, *The Mystical Vision* (with changes) 234.

38. On this term see W. Chittick, *The Self-disclosure of God: Principles of Ibn ʿArabī's Cosmology* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998) 406 fn. 8.

39. Böwering, *The Mystical Vision* 258.

40. On Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 145/765) and the Muhammadan Light, see L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, 1954) 205. For a wider study of the subject see U. Rubin, "Pre-existence and Light; Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad" in *Israel Oriental Studies* no. 5, 1975.

41. Böwering, *The Mystical Vision* 232.

42. One figure not treated in our study, yet deserving of further attention, is the Ismāʿīlī al-Mu'ayyad fī al-Dīn al-Shirāzī (d. 470/1077), who proposed a "Seal of [Shīʿī] Imāms" and a "Universal Human" the latter being represented first as prophets and then as Imāms. Noted in H. Landolt's review of Chodkiewicz, *Le Sceau des saints* in *Bulletin critique des annales islamologiques* no. 4, 1987. 84.

43. Al-Hujwīrī, *The Kashf al-Maḥjūb:* 210.

44. Chodkiewicz notes that neither do the entries for Tirmidhī in Sulamī (d. 412/1021) *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya* or Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038) *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* make any mention of the Seal of sainthood.

45. *Tafsīr Ibn ʿAṭā'* in *Trois oeuvres inédites de mystiques musulmans* P. Nwyia ed. (Beirut: 1973) 164. For this passage see also R. Gramlich, *Abū al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAṭā': Sufi und Koranausleger* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995) 298.

46. Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhī, *The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs* A. J. Arberry trans. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 61.

47. Al-Qushayrī, *al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya* A. Maḥmūd ed. (Cairo: al-Shaʿb, 1989) 436.

48. On Rūzbihān see C. Ernst's recent works, *The Unveiling of Secrets: Diary of a Sufi Master* (Chapel Hill: Parvardigar, 1997), and *Ruzbihan Baqli: Mysticism and the Rhetoric of Sainthood in Perisan Sufism* (Surrey: Curzon, 1996).

49. M. Takeshita, *Ibn ʿArabī's Theory of the Perfect Man and Its Place in the History of Islamic Thought* (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1987) 153.

50. M. Kister "The Interpretation of Dreams: An Unknown Manuscript of Ibn Quṭayba's ʿIbārāt al-ru'yā" *Israel Oriental Studies* no. 4, 1974. 70.

51. J. Baldick, *Mystical Isalm* (New York: New York University Press, 1989) 41. Radtke, "The Concept of Wilāya" 485.

52. M. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints: Prophethood and Sainthood in the Doctrine of Ibn ʿArabī* L. Sherrard trans. (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1993) 30.

53. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines* 197 ff.

54. Al-Hujwīrī, *The Kashf al-Maḥjūb* 212. Also, al-Kharrāz was active in Baghdad at the same time Tirmidhī lived in Transoxiana. It is thus unlikely that al-Kharrāz had read Tirmidhī and was already criticizing him.

55. Nūruddīn Isfarāyinī, *Le Révélateur des Mystères* H. Landolt ed. and trans. (Paris: Verdier, 1986) 119 fn. 187 points to some of Tustarī's ideas that might have opened him up to such accusations.

56. See the entry on the former in the *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*; on the latter see Massignon's "Ḥulūl" in the *Encyclopedia of Islam (second ed.)*. See also the mysterious Jahmiyya sect discussed in W. Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Rockport MA: Oneworld, 1998) 143.

57. Landolt, "Walāya" in *Encyclopedia of Religion* 319.

58. H. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1986) 105.

59. M. H. Tabāṭabā'ī, *Shi'ite Islam* trans. S. Nasr (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975) 179–180, and "Ghadīr Khumm" in *Encyclopedia of Islam (second ed.)*. ʿAlī is understood to have been appointed to the "general guardianship," or *walāya-i ʿāmma*. *Shi'ite Islam* 40. On the traditions of ʿAlī inheriting Muḥammad's pre-existential light, see U. Rubin, "Pre-existence and Light: Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad" in *Israel Oriental Studies* no. 5, 1975; particularly pp. 109–10.

60. H. Corbin, *En Islam Iranien* (4 vols.) (Paris: Gallimard, 1971) 1:274.

61. See M. Momen, *An Introduction to Shiʿi Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) ch. 8.

62. Nasiroddin Tusi, *La convocation d'Alamut (Rawḍat al-taslīm)* C. Jambet trans. (Éditions UNESCO / Verdier, 1996) 295.

63. Corbin, *En Islam iranien* 3:179.

64. *Kitāb naṣṣ al-nuṣūṣ fī sharḥ al-fuṣūs* H. Corbin and O. Yaḥia eds. (Teharan: Bibliothèque Iranienne, 1975).

65. Corbin, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique* 458. See Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 49, 136–37, for comments on Āmulī's (and Corbin's) interpretation.

66. For an extensive bibliography see O. Yaḥia, *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī* (2 vols.) (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1964).

67. One edition, from 1994, was printed in Beirut by Dār al-Fikr. The only critical edition of the text, begun by Osman Yaḥia, remains unfinished: Cairo: al-Hay'at al-Miṣriyyat al-ʿāmma li al-Kitāb, 1972–.

68. For a complete biography see C. Addas *Quest for the Red Sulfur: The Life of Ibn ʿArabī* P. Kingsley trans. (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1993) and Ibn ʿArabī', *Sufis of Andalusia* (Rūḥ al-quds) R. Austin trans. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1971). A survey of the study of Ibn ʿArabī is J. Morris's "Ibn ʿArabī and His Interpreters; Part I: Recent French Translations" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* vol. 106, no. 3, 1986; "Ibn ʿArabī and His Interpreters; Part II : Influences and Interpretations" *Journal of the American Oriental Society.* vol. 106, no. 4, 1986; "Ibn ʿArabī and His Interpreters; Part II (conclusion): Influences and Interpretations" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* vol. 107, no. 1, 1987.

69. *Creative Imagination in the Ṣūfism of Ibn ʿArabī* R. Manheim trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).

70. *El Islam cristianizado, estudio del sufismo a través de las obras de Abenarabi de Murcia* (Madrid: 1931).

71. *The Mystical Philosophy of Muḥyīd-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939).

72. *A Comparative Study of the Key Philosophical Concepts in Taoism and Sufism* (Tokyo: Keio Univeristy, 1966); reprinted in 1983 by the University of California Press as *Sufism and Taoism*.

73. *Ibn al-ʿArabi's Metaphysics of Imagination: The Sufi Path of Knowledge* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989) and *The Self-Disclosure of God: Principles of Ibn al-ʿArabi's Cosmology* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998). These books take a thematic approach to the essential aspects of Ibn ʿArabī's thought, presenting substantial passages in translation from the *Futūḥāt.*

74. M. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*. Important also is his *An Ocean without Shore: Ibn ʿArabī, the Book, and the Law* D. Streight trans. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993). Large parts of Ibn ʿArabī's *Futūḥāt* are translated in *Les Illuminations de la Mecque* (Paris: Sinbad, 1988).

75. On the issue of "*waḥdat al-wujūd*" see the following: H. Landolt, "Simnānī on Waḥdat al-Wujūd" in *Collected Papers on Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism* M. Mohaghegh ed. (Tehran: 1971) (In this concise presentation, Landolt notes the important role in Ibn ʿArabī's thought of Self-disclosure as the mediation between the "Third entity" or Nafas al-Raḥmān and God as Absolute Being. He also notes that it was the later followers of Ibn ʿArabī who identified *wujūd* with the Nafas al-Raḥmān. See pages 100–04.) W. Chittick, "Sadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī on the Oneness of Being" in *International Philosophical Quarterly* no. 21, 1981; M. Chodkiewicz, *Awḥad al-Dīn Balyānī: Epître sur l'unicité absolue* (Paris: 1982); T. Izutsu, "An Analysis of Waḥdat al-Wujūd" in *Creation and the Timeless Order of Things* (Ashland OR: White Cloud, 1994).

76. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 15.

77. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 103; Chodkiewicz, *An Ocean without Shore* 47.

78. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 75.

79. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 74, 80. Although he does not elaborate on the idea, Sahl Tustarī pointed to the idea of prophetic inheritance. He wrote, "There is no prophet who does not have someone similar to himself in this community, that is to say, a *walī* who shares in his charisma." Böwering, *The Mystical Vision* 65. It is also worth noting that Abū Madyan (d. 594/1198) conceived of the mystic attaining certain virtues thanks to certain prophets, for example, love from Job, sincerity from Moses, etc. V. Cornell, *The Way of Abu Madyan* (Cambrige: Islamic Texts Society, 1996) 86.

80. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 106.

81. Chodkiewicz, *An Ocean without Shore* 48.

82. Chodkiewicz, *An Ocean without Shore* 49.

83. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 95.

84. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 97.

85. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 93. The Qur'an describes God lifting Idrīs up to a "sublime place" (Q. 19:57); it also denies the death of Jesus (Q. 4:157). Al-Khaḍir is considered to have been the mysterious figure Moses met (Q. 18:65) and who had been taught "from God's own presence."

86. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 93. Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1994) 3:9.

87. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 94. We shall return to this *ḥaqīqa muḥammadiyya*, or Muhammadan Reality, shortly.

88. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 126.

89. Ibn ʿArabī, *The Bezels of Wisdom* R. Austin trans. (New York: Paulist, 1980) 168 (with changes); Ibn ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* A. ʿAfīfī ed. (Beirut: n.d.) 134. It is interesting to note that this continuing sanctity includes, according to Ibn ʿArabī elsewhere, the saints of the non-Muslim communities. See Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 78, 79.

90. Ibn ʿArabī, *The Bezels of Wisdom* 169; Ibn ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* 135. This passage in particular was attacked by Ibn Taymiyya. See Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 51.

91. In a recent study of Ibn ʿArabī's concept of *walāya*, Gerald Elmore sees a "logical absurdity" in the teaching that *nubuwwa* and *risāla* are cumulative and encompassed by *walāya*, and the claim that *walāya* is superior to *nubuwwa* only when both are found in one person. He rightly points out that it is a mistake to compare *walāya* (as a genus) to the species or subspecies of *nubuwwa* and *risāla*. See his *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time: Ibn ʿArabī's Book of the Fabulous Gryphon* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 160 fn. 165. However, Elmore's critiques of the logic of Ibn ʿArabī's doctrine seem misplaced in light of Ibn ʿArabī's general style of writing and thinking. In other words, we will not learn much about Ibn ʿArabī's doctrine if we subject it to a theological critique. Elmore is insisting on a logical rigor that the concepts and language of *walāya* cannot support. This analysis leaves him utterly disappointed with Ibn ʿArabī's concept of *walāya*: "Thus, even as the very name, *walāya*, is almost meaningless in its equivocal relativity, so the nature of "sainthood" itself, if the whole truth be told, is hopelessly multivalent" (p. 130).

92. An alternative theory, proposed by ʿAlā al-Dawla al-Simnānī (d. 717/1317), who himself had carefully read Ibn ʿArabī, presented the *walāya* of the Prophet as the organ of reception of God's emantion, which transforms this emanation into a general *walāya* for the sake of the community. This prophetic *walāya* also dispenses the divine emanation to the saints. See Isfarāyinī, *Le Révélateur des Mystères* 120 fn. 188. It should also be noted that *walāya* as a continuing form of esoteric prophecy is a central concept in Twelver Shīʿism. See H. Corbin, *En Islam Iranien* 1:248.

93. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 117.

94. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 129, 133–35. Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulfur* 200.

95. Chodkiewicz argues against this ʿAlid reference. See his *Seal of the Saints* 68 fn. 29, where he notes that the more reliable ms, an autograph, of the *Futuḥāt* does not make this reference to ʿAlī. See also H. Landolt's comments on this matter in his "La 'Double Échelle' d'Ibn ʿArabī chez Simnānī" in *Le Voyage initiatique en terre d'Islam: Ascensions célestes et itinéraires spirituels* A. Amir-Moezzi ed. (Louvain, Paris: Peeters, 1996) 262. We shall see, in our sixth chapter below, that the figure of ʿAlī was to play an important role in the Wafā's elaboration of *walāya*.

96. Ibn ʿArabī, *The Bezels of Wisdom* 66–67; Ibn ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* 63. The original hadith is from Bukhārī's *Saḥīḥ* (Manāqib: 18).

97. Ibn ʿArabī, *The Bezels of Wisdom* 66; Ibn ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* 62.

98. Ibn ʿArabī goes on to state that as the essential reality of the Seal of prophets has always existed, "In the same way the Seal of Saints was a saint 'when Adam was between the water and the clay.'" *The Bezels of Wisdom* 67.

99. Ibn ʿArabī, *The Bezels of Wisdom* 67; Ibn ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* 63.

100. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 125. (Page 107 notes specifically that one of the *afrād* is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib.)

101. The critic Ibn Taymiyya attcked the identification of the Ḥaqīqa Muḥammadiyya with the *qalam* or the *ʿaql awwal*. See M. Chodkiewicz, "Le procès posthume d'Ibn ʿArabī" in *Islamic Mysticism Contested* F. de Jong ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 101.

102. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 69. See also Chodkiewicz, "The Banner of Praise" in *Foundations of the Spiritual Life according to Ibn ʿArabi: Praise* S. Hirtenstein ed. (Oxford: Muhyiddin Ibn ʿArabi Society, 1997) 55, where al-Jīlī (d. 811/1408) takes the idea further, writing, "Know that the Muhammadan Reality is a name of the Divine Ipseity."

2. The Early Shādhiliyya and Sanctity

1. See A. MacKeen, "The Rise of Al-Shādhilī," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* vol. 91, 1971, 483 for a discussion of possible birthdates.

2. For the earliest record see Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār wa tuḥfat al-abrār* (Qūṣ: before 1980), ch. 1. This edition appears to be incomplete when compared to the Tunis edition of 1885 (Tunis: Al-Maṭbaʿa al-Tunisiyya al-Rasmiyya). An English translation of this work is *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shadhili* E. Douglas trans. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993). One important teacher in Tunis was Abū Saʿīd al-Bājī (d. 629/1231), who had been a student of Abū Madyan.

3. *Quṭb* is the "pole" or central figure amongst mystics or in a hierarchy of saints.

4. See Sālim ʿAmmār, *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī* (Cairo: Dār al-Ta'līf, 1952) 77–80, for good notices on these two figures, including references to primary sources. For a detailed study of Ibn Mashīsh see Zakia Aouanat, *Ibn Mashīsh, maître d'al-Shādhilī* (Casablanca: Najah El Jadida, 1998). We also have a brief independent contemporary source, which notes a young Shādhilī having visited Cairo on his way to Mecca. See *La Risāla de Ṣafī al-Dīn Ibn Abī al-Manṣūr Ibn Zāfir: Biographies des maîtres spirituels connus par un cheikh égyptien du VII/XIII siècle* D. Gril ed. and trans. (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1986) 177, and Arabic text, 78.

5. For more on this figure see the introduction to V. Cornell, *The Way of Abū Madyan* (Cambridge: Isalmic Texts Society, 1996).

6. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shadhili* 20–21.

7. A. MacKeen, "The Rise of Al-Shādhilī" 484.

8. In Egypt the order attracted many well-known figures, including Yāqūt al-ʿArshī (d. 707/1307) and Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī (d. 847/1443). On al-ʿArshī see Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* (2 vols.) (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl 1988) 2:20. For al-Ḥanafī, see E. Geoffroy, *Le Soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1995) 210. The urban landscape of Alexandria is marked by the early Shādhiliyya, most notably by mosques of Ibn ʿAṭā Allāh al-Iskandarī and Yāqūt al-ʿArshī, and the tomb/mosque of al-Mursī. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Sālim, *Tārīkh al-Iskandariyya wa ḥaḍāratuhā fī al-ʿaṣr al-islāmī* (Alexandria: Mu'asasa Shabāb al-Jāmiʿa, 1982) 486 ff. Beyond hagiographical manuscripts, detailed sources for the early history of the Shādhiliyya in Tunis have to date eluded me.

9. On this figure see S. Botros, *Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Mursī: A Study of Some Aspects of His Mystical Thought* (McGill University, M.A. thesis, 1976), and L. Massignon, *La Passion du Ḥusayn Ibn Manṣūr Ḥallāj* (4 vols.) (Paris: Gallimard, 1975) 2:320–22.

10. In his translation of *Laṭā'if al-minan*, entitled *La sagesse des maîtres soufis* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1988) 82, Eric Geoffroy reads the title of Ibn Nūḥ's work in which he mentions al-Shādhilī, as *al-Waḥīd*; while the edition of ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd (Cairo: 1986), reads *al-Waṣīd* (p. 87). At present I have not been able to locate either title.

11. Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh Iskandarī, *Laṭā'if al-minan* 87 and *La sagesse des maîtres soufis* 82. The last reference would be to the short entry on al-Shādhilī in Ṣafī al-Dīn's *Risāla*.

12. *Risālat al-Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, Taṣawwuf Taymūr 180; film# 3750) (33 fols). In Denis Gril's "Sources manuscrites de l'histoire du soufisme à Dār al-Kutub—un premier bilan" *Bulletin Critique des Annales Islamologiques* 1994, he notes: "Copy and *samāʿ* of 943/1536, read before the Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Tilimsānī al-Maghribī." My photocopy of this manuscript is poor, and the *samāʿ* cannot be read. Another manuscript source which is has not yet been explored is Abū al-Ṣalāḥ ʿAlī Muḥsin al-Shādhilī, *Ta'zīr al-anfās bi manāqib Abī al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, Tārīkh 388).

13. (Tunis: al-Maṭābiʿ al-Muwaḥḥada, 1986) 61–137.

14. (Cairo: 1998). I have not been able to consult his *Usūl al-tarīqat al-Shādhiliyya* (Dār al-kutub; ms. Majāmī no. 490). For more on Aḥmad Zarrūq see A. Khushaim, *Zarrūq the Ṣūfī* (Tripoli: 1976). On the influence of Ibn ʿArabī in the works of Zarrūq see M. Chodkiewicz, "The Diffusion of Ibn ʿArabī's Doctrine" in *Journal of the Muḥyiddin Ibn ʿArabī Society* vol. 9, 1991, 39.

15. (Cairo, 1974), edited by A. al-Ḥasanī. This work is a survey of teachings on various sufi matters. It draws on the early Shādhiliyya and on Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 672/1273), the greatest exponent of Ibn ʿArabī's teachings in Egypt.

16. Al-Yāfiʿī, *Mir'āt al-janān* (Beirut: 1970) 138 ff.

17. J.-C. Garcin, in his "Histoire, opposition politiqe et piétisme traditionaliste dans le 'Ḥusn al-muḥadara' de Ṣuyūṭī" in *Annales Islamologiques* vol. 7, 1987, 83, puts Ibn ʿAyyād's death around 1760.

18. Compilation literature continues to be produced. Some examples are Muḥammad Aḥmad Darnīqa, *al-Tarīqa al-Shādhiliyya wa aʿlāmuhā* (Beirut: 1990), al-Akhmīmī, *al-Qāmūs al-jadīd fī al-qaṣā'id wa al-anāshīd li al-sāda al-Shādhiliyya* (Cairo: 1392/1972), and Ḥasan Kūhīn al-Fāsī, *Kitāb ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā* (Cairo: Maktaba al-Qāhira 1347/1928) (a.k.a. *Jāmiʿ al-karāmāt al-ʿaliyya fī ṭabaqāt al-sādat al-Shādhiliyya*). I have not consulted the last two titles, nor have I seen the following study by Fārūq Aḥmad Muṣṭafa: *al-Binā' al-ijtimāʿī li al-ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliyya fi Miṣr: Dirāsa fi al-anthrūbūlūjiyya al-ijtimāʿiyya* (al-Iskandariyya: al-Hai'a al-Miṣriyya li al-kitāb, 1980).

19. *al-Ḥikam* (Cairo: Maktaba al-Jindī, 1977). Translated into English by V. Danner as *Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh: The Book of Wisdom* (New York: Paulist, 1978). See also *Ḥikam Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh: sharḥ al-Shaykh Zarrūq* (Cairo: al-Shaʿb, 1985). An interesting discovery has been made by W. Chittick, which identifies the final pages of the "Prayer of the Day of ʿArafa," attributed to the third Shīʿī Imām, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, as a copy of

the *munājāt* from the *Ḥikam*. Although this addition has come to be accepted as an integral part of the prayer, ʿAllāma Majlisī (d. cir. 1110/1698) had noted that "certain of the *ʿulamā'* have believed that this (last) folio was added to the text afterwards, and was composed by one of the Sufi shaykhs." Chittick, "A Shadhili Presence in Shʿite Islam" in *Sophia Perennis: the Bulletin of the Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy* vol. 1, no. 1, 1975. 98.

20. *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ wa miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ* (Cairo: Muṣṭafa al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1961). Translated as *The Key to Salvation* by M. Koury Danner (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1996). It appears that in this work Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh has drawn on *Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl* of Najm al-dīn al-Kubrā (d. 617/1220). For the details of this limited borrowing, see F. Meier *Die Fawā'iḥ al-jamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-jalāl des Najm al-dīn al-Kubrā* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1957) 249–50. This work has recently been translated by P. Ballanfat as *Les éclosions de la beauté et les parfums de la majesté* (Nîmes: Éditions de l'éclat, 2001). On al-Kubrā see also H. Corbin, *The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism* N. Pearson trans. (Boulder: Shambala, 1978), ch. 4.

21. (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Miṣriyya, 1930). Maurice Gloton has translated this work as *Traité sur le nom Allāh* (Paris: Deux Océans, 1981).

22. (Cairo: ʿĀlam al-fikr, 1998), recently translated by D. Penot as *De l'abandon de la volonté propre* (Lyon: Alif, 1997).

23. See A. Taftāzānī, *Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī wa taṣawwufuhu* (Cairo: 1969), P. Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh et la naissance de la confrérie shādhilite* (Beirut: Dār el-Mashreq, 1972), and V. Danner, *Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh: A Sufi of Mamluk Egypt* (Harvard University, PhD. thesis, 1970). Fritz Meier characterizes the order under the direction of Ibn ʿAṭā Allāh as "neo-classical," in comparison to the practices of other Egyptian orders of the period. See "The Cleanest about Predestination: A Bit of Ibn Taymiyya" in *Essays on Islamic Piety and Mysticism* J. O'Kane trans. (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 318. Boaz Shoshan discusses Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī's sermons—collected under the title *Tāj al-ʿarūs*—in his *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* (New York: Cambridge Univerisity Press, 1993) 14–16.

24. Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā'if al-minan* 127.

25. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 103. وهذا نحو ما ذكر ه العار ف بالله أبو عبد الله التر مذى الحكيم فى كتاب ختم الاولياء له:ان من ادعى الولايه فيقال له: صف لنا منازل الاولياء فذكر مسائل معيارا على من ادعى الو لاية (In the Tirmidhī text this question is followed by 149 others. There seems to be no connection between al-Shādhilī's list of 15 miracles and Tirmidhī's questions, in which there is no mention of the *quṭb* or of any evidentiary miracles. The point here is simply that both of these masters had composed lists of questions to act as standards by which spiritual claims were to be tested. Compare this passage with Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār* 133.)

26. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 96. Regarding the links between Ibn ʿArabī and Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh Iskandarī, it is interesting to note that they both composed commentaries on the mystical poem *Mā ladhdha al-ʿaysh ...* by Abū Madyan. The *Sharḥ qaṣīda "Mā ladhdha al-ʿaysh illā ṣuḥubat al-fuqarā' "*(Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿat al-ʿUthmāniyya, 1935) consists of twelve pages of commentary by Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh Iskandarī and is followed by a five-page "*takhmīs*" by Ibn ʿArabī. In the latter composition Ibn ʿArabī adds three lines to each two-line verse from the original poem, thus producing a five-lined verse, a *takhmīs*.

27. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 171. This episode is described in the Futuḥāt (Cairo: Bulaq, 1914).

28. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 89. Perhaps pronounced Abū al-ʿAlam. I have not been able to identify this person.

29. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 103.

30. P. Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh et la naissance de la confrérie shādhilite* 25–26. Cf M. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 144.

31. On al-Qūnawī's travels to Egypt, see G. Scattolin's "Al-Fraghānī's Commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Mystical Poem *Al-Tā'iyyat al-kubrā*" in *M.I.D.E.O.* 21, 1993. 378 fn 23.

32. For example, al-Suyūṭī, in his *Ta'yid al-ḥaqīqa*, as mentioned by Garcin, "Histoire, opposition politique et piétisme traditionaliste . . ." 83. We shall see that this concept is later embraced by Muḥammad Wafā'.

33. For more on this figure see C. Mayeur, *al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī: un grand saint de l'Islam égyptien* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1994).

34. J.-C. Garcin, "Histoire et hagiographie de l'Égypte Musulmane à la fin de l'époque Mamelouke et au début de l'époque Ottomane" in Garcin, *Espaces, pouvoirs et idéologie de l'Égypte médiévale* (London: Variorum, 1987), 304–11.

35. Al-Subkī, *Shifā' al-siqām fī ziyārat khayn al-anām* (Beirut: 1978). His son, Tāj al-Dīn Subkī, wrote the well-known *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā* (10 vols) (Cairo: al-Halabī, 1964).

36. The line ran: al-Mursī > Yāqūt al-ʿArshī (d. 707/1307) >Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Maylaq (d. 749/1329 > Nāṣir al-Dīn Maylaq (d. 797/1395) >Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī (d. 847/1443) >Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Sarsī (d. 861/1456). A disciple of al-Sarsī, al-Battanūnī wrote *al-Sirr al-ṣafī fī manāqib al-sulṭān al-Ḥanafī* (2 vols.) (Cairo: Sharara al-Qabbānī, 1889).

37. The first is *Faraḥ al-asmāʿ bi rukhas al-samāʿ* (Tunis: Dār al-ʿArabiyya al-Kitāb, 1985). The second work, *Silāḥ al-Wafā'iyya* (ms.) will be discussed in chapter 3 below. Abū al-Mawāhib also wrote *Kitāb qawānīn ḥikam al-ishrāq* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Azhariyya, 1999) (more on this below). It seems Abū al-Mawāhib was the most famous Shādhilī of his day, his devotional poems to the Prophet having been adopted for the public celebration of Muhammad's birthday (*mawlid al-nabī*). See M. Winter, *Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt: Studies in the Writings of 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani* (New Brunswick: Transactions Books, 1982) 183, 201. See also the bio-bibliographical notice by H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Kitāb al-umr* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1990) 517–20.

38. I will be using the manuscript *Kitāb ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq* (copied in Shaʿbān 1002 A.H. / 1594 A.D.) Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung no. 3019; 70 fols. Another copy exists in Cairo at Dār al-Kutub under Taṣawwuf Taymūr 180; film 3750 (copied in 943 A.H. / 1536). Shaʿrānī reproduces about one-quarter of this work, with changes, in his *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 1:188–201.

39. Dā'ūd ibn Mākhilā (Bākhilā), *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya bi-sharḥ ḥizb al-Shādhiliyya* Muḥammad Ḥasan Rabīʿ ed. (Cairo: 1935). The manuscript entitled *Kitāb maḥabbat al-awliyā'*, (Tunis: Bibliothèque Nationale; al-Maktaba al-ʿAbdaliyya ms. no. 18441; pp. 1–3), by the same author, is simply the first part of *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya*. According to the *Fihris makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyya (al-taṣawwuf)* 1:180 (Damascus: 1978), there exists a *Risāla fī as'ila wa ajwiba tataʿallaqu bi al-isrā' wa al-miʿrāj wa nuzūl al-Ḥaqq ilā samā' al-dunya* by Ibn Mākhilā, ms. no. 6595. I have not seen this last title; it is not mentioned in any of the biographical literature on Ibn Bākhilā.

40. Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 1:188. Al-Minūfī's *Jamharat al-awliyā'* (2 vols.) (Cairo: al-Madanī 1967) 2:209 repeats this story.

41. Ibn Bākhilā, *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya* preface by editor, 2–3. I have not been able to locate the source of this account. On his date of death, Suyūṭī gives 733/1332, *Bughyat al-wu'āh* (Cairo: 1384/1964) no. 1177, 1:562; while Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, in his *al-Durar al-kāmina* (8 vols.) (Hyderabad: Majlis Dā'irat al-Maʿārif, 1348–50/1929–31) no. 1692, 2:100 gives 715/1315. Brief biographical notices may be found in the following works: Aḥmad Bābā, (2 vols.) (Tripoli: al-Jamhariyya al-ʿArabiyya al-Libiyya, 1989) *Nayl al-ibtihāj* 175; ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥifnī, *al-Mawsūʿa al-ṣūfiyya* (Cairo: Dār al-Rashād, 1992) 36; al-Munāwī, *Kawākib al durriyya* (4 vols.) (Cairo: 1994) 2: 81. Muḥammad Abū al-Fayḍ al-Minūfī, *Jamharat al-awliyā'* 2:209; and Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shajarat al-nūr al-zakiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-Mālikiyya* (Cairo: 1950) no. 704, 204.

42. The *fiqh* summary, apparently lost, was probably of *Kitāb talqīn fi al-fiqh al-mālikī* by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 423/1031). The grammarian ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ishaq al-Zajjājī (d. cir. 339/959) wrote *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ fī ʿilal wa al-naḥw* (Cairo: Dār al-ʿUrūba, 1959).

43. *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq* 53a. "When God wants to eliminate the cycle of the world, He causes the Muḥammadan shadow (ظل) to appear and become a seal upon the cycle of humanity, as he was a seal upon the cycle of prophecy. When God wants to create the hereafter, He causes the Muḥammadan image (مثال) to appear and become the starting point of the hereafter. 'I was a prophet when Adam was between water and clay.' (On this hadith see *Sufi Path of Knowledge* 408 fn. 8.) Unfortunately these Muḥammadan figures are not described further in *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq*. It seems that this "shadow" and "image" are aspects of the awaited Mahdi.

44. A variant on the tradition «وإن من عادى لله وليا فقد بارز الله با لمحاربة» Ibn Mājah, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Fitan 16. See also W. Graham, *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam* (The Hague: Mouton, 1977).

45. On al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1295) see Muḥammad Aḥmad Darnīqa, *al-Tarīqa al-Shādhiliyya wa aʿlāmuha* (Beirut: al-Mu'assasa al-Jāmīʿiyya, 1990) 161.

46. 'Ḥizb al-baḥr" is included in Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh's hagiographical work *Durrat al-asrār*.

47. For more on this important writer see *Encyclopedia of Islam* (second ed.) s.v. "ʿIyād bin Mūsā"(d. 544 / 1149).

48. See al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) *Iʿjāz al-Qur'ān* S. A. Ṣaqr ed. (Cairo: 1964) and I. Boullata, "The Rhetorical Interpretation of the Qur'ān: Iʿjāz and Related Topics" in *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'an* A. Rippin ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988) 144.

49. Ibn Bākhilā lists the differences between types of quotations and fixes on *iqtibās* as the most accurate literary term to describe the textual form of the *ḥizb*.

50. Commentaries on the *aḥzāb* of al-Shādhliī include: Abū al-Hudā Muḥammad al-Rifāʿī (d. 728/1328), *Qilādat al-naḥr fī sharḥ Ḥizb al-baḥr* (Cairo: 1931): Aḥmad Zarrūq al-Burnusī (d. 899/1493), *Sharḥ ḥizb al-baḥr* (ms. no. 1909 in *Catalog of Arabic mss. in the Garrett Collection of the Princeton Library* ed. R. Mach); ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Fāsī (d. 1035/1626), *Sharḥ ḥizb al-kabīr* (Cairo: 1998); Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Salām al-Bannānī (d.1163/1750), *Sharḥ al-ḥizb al-barr* (Tunis, Bibliothèque Nationale; ʿAbdaliyya collection ms. no. 4755; 56 pp.), Abū al-Maḥāsin al-Qāwuqjī (d. 1304/1887),

Kitāb al-Badr al-munīr ʿala Ḥizb al-Shādhilī al-kabīr (Alexandria: al-Nāsiriyya, 1862). I have yet to consult the anonymous work *Al-Radd ʿalā Abī al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī fī ḥizbihi* (entry no. 103 or 161 in *Fihris al-Makhṭūṭāt al-Muṣawwara* (Cairo: Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya: al-Duwal al-ʿArabiyya) (amāna 1302). On the *aḥzāb* in the Shādhiliyya see R. McGregor, "A Sufi Legacy in Tunis: Prayer and the Shadhiliyya" in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* May, 1997. More generally, see C. Padwick, *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1996).

51. M. Chodkiewicz, "La sainteté et les saints en islam" 20. Of course Tirmidhī was not the only early mystical thinker to put forward the idea of prophetic inheritance. Junayd (d. 297/909) is quoted as saying, "God's privileged friend (saint) . . . will be made inheritor of the marvelous gifts of the prophets." Abū al-Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* (10 vols.) (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1996) 10:265. See also *Enseignement spirituel* R. Deladrière trans. (Paris: Sinbad, 1983) 44.

52. A disciple of Tirmidhī's, Abū ʿAlī al-Juzjānī, notes that a *walī* is "in oblivion (*fanā*) of himself, but subsisting (*baqā'*) in contemplation." See H. Landolt, "Walāya" 321.

53. *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq* 26a

54. *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq* 41b

55. *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya* 84. In the previous chapter we noted this idea in both Ibn ʿArabī and Tirmidhī.

56. *Durrat al-asrār* 220. The last sentence recalls Q. 10:62.

57. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 259. On the "gates of truth" see Q. 17:80. For Ibn ʿArabī, the term *barzakh*—among other meanings—may refer to the perfect human's position between God and creation. See Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God* 249.

58. See *The Sufi Path of Knowledge* 66, 76, 131, 294.

59. For a substantial discussion of this return see Landolt's "La "Double Échelle" d'Ibn ʿArabī chez Simnānī".

60. The Reality, *al-ḥaqq*, in mystical writing is often a reference to God.

61. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 56.

62. *Seal of the Saints* 171.

63. Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood* 93, 172. See also G. Gobillot, *La pensée d'al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ʿibn ʿAlī, m. 318/930). Ou: de la "Profondeur des choses"* (Doctoral thesis: Lyon, Université Jean Moulin, 1989) ch. 4. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār* 132, notes that a "philosopher" once said that gnosis comes in two ways: by the path of generosity (*jūd*) and by the path of struggle (*badhl al-majhūd*).

64. *Durrat al-asrār* 131; *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shadhili* 118.

65. Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:13.

66. *Durrat al-asrār* 139; *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shadhili* 123. It is interesting to note that the Indian thinker Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1033/1644) also used the categories of "*wilāyat-i ṣughrā*" and "*wilāyat-i kubrā*." Mujaddidī thought later added a third level, that of "*wilāyat-i ʿulyā*." See A. Buehler, *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet: The Indian Naqshbandiyya and the Rise of the Mediating Shaykh* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998) 98, 122, 245.

67. Al-Shādhilī says, من قرأهذا الحزب فله ما لناوعليه ما علينا See Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī, *Al-Rasā'il al-ṣughrā* P. Nwyia ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Machreq, 1974) 123. It appars that

Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 654/1256) shared this view of the possibility of acquiring the lower form of *walāya*. In his introduction to Nūr al-Dīn Isfarāyinī's *Le Révélateur des mystères (Kāshif al-asrār)* H. Landolt writes, "Selon Najm-Rāzī, c'est par l'initiation au *dhikr* (*talqīn*) que le germe de la *walāya* du shaykh est 'transplanté' dans le coeur du novice pour y porter fruit" (p. 53).

68. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 27.

69. M. Chodkiewicz, "La sainteté et les saints en islam" 18.

70. This definition appears to be based on al-Qushayrī's definition given in chapter 1.

71. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 52. It seems this model of a dual *walāya* was taken up by Dā'ūd Qayṣarī (d. 751/1350) in the next generation of mystical thinkers. See A. Matsumoto "Unity of Ontology and Epistemology in Qayṣarī's Philosophy" in *Consciousness and Reality: Studies in Memory of Toshihiko Izutsu* J. Āshtiyānī et al. eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2000) 383.

72. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 56. Regarding the term *ṣiddīq*, it should be noted that in Jewish mysticism the parallel term z*addiq* carried much the same meaning as it does in our example here. D. Matt trans. *Zohar: the Book of Enlightenment* (New York: Paulist, 1983) 128, 129. See also G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken, 1954) 344.

73. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 57. Compare Junayd's two kinds of gnosis (*maʿrifa*): one inspired directly by God and reserved for the elect, and one achieved by consideration of the signs of His power, available to the common believer. Al-Kalābādhī, *al-Taʿarruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf* A. Maḥmūd ed. (Cairo: 1960) 64. It is worth noting that elaboration on the levels of *walāya* continued into the nineteenth century. Ibn ʿAjiba (d. 1224/1809) identifies three levels of *walāya*: (1) General, which is attained through faith and piety; (2) Elite, which is reached by those with knowledge "by" God; (3) Elect of the Elite, which belongs to those of gnosis and direct vision of God. See J. Michon, *Le soufi maroccain Aḥmad Ibn ʿAjiba (1746–1809) et son Miʿrāj* (Paris: Vrin, 1973) 204.

74. It must be noted, however, that Ibn ʿArabī at least once offers an interiorized interpretation of the seal of saints. See G. Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time,* 291.

75. The early Shādhiliyya's didactic approach to mystical concepts may also be seen in its treatment of the term *substitute* (*badal*). We saw in the previous chapter that the *badal*, in Ibn ʿArabī's cosmology, is a saintly figure in the invisible hierarchy. This is also the case for al-Shādhilī, although he puts their number at forty. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 89. For al-Shādhilī, however, this term is also relevant to the common believer. He tells his followers that the first level of *badaliyya* consists of the substituting of bad acts for good. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 122. He also says that anyone who has recited a *dhikr* from al-Khaḍir will be recorded as one of the *abdāl*. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 121.

76. An interesting alternative model is developed by Majd al-Dīn al-Baghdādī (d. 616/1219) and Najm al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 654/1256). They speak of the spiritual connection between the *walāya* of the shaykh and the *walāya* of his disciple. See *Le Révélateur des mystères* 51.

77. *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq* 13b.

78. *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq* 59a.

79. *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya* 89.

80. See M. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* chs. 2, 5, and chapter 1 in this volume.

81. See *Laṭā'if al-minan* 127, 97.

82. Ibn ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* A. ʿAfīfī ed. (Beirut: n.d.) 135–36. See also chapter 1 above.

83. *The Concept of Sainthood* 113.

84. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 79–80.

85. *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shadhili* 186; *Durrat al-asrār* 200.

86. *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shadhili* 187; *Durrat al-asrār* 201.

87. *Durrat al-asrār* 214. *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shadhili* 187. The Kubrawī thinker, ʿAlā al-Dawla Simnānī (d. 737/1336), describes a general *wilāya* of the Prophet, which is intended for the community, and a prophetic *walāya*, which reaches the hearts of the saints. See *Le Révélateur des mystères* 119–20.

88. *Durrat al-asrār* 215.

89. *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shadhili* 189; *Durrat al-asrār* 217.

90. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 39. In his *Tāj al-ʿarūs* 22, Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī says, "The saints are many. Neither their number nor their aid [to humanity] decreases. If their number were to be reduced by one, then the light of prophecy would be reduced."

91. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 25-26. (The 1986 printing has omitted the word *manifestations* (*maẓāhir*), which is on page 40 of the 1974 printing of the same edition.) We are not told what exactly these lights of prophethood are. The permanence of both *walāya* and *nubuwwa* here contrasts with Ibn ʿArabī's emphasis, noted above in chapter 1, that *walāya* is eternal, while *nubuwwa* is finite and specific to a time and place.

92. *Laṭā'if al-minan* 37.

93. G. Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time* 131.

94. On this thinker see *Encyclopedia of Islam* (second ed.) s.v. "Saʿd al-Dīn al-Ḥammū'ī."

95. *Le Révélateur des mystères* 177–78. On the variants of "The end of the saints is the beginning point of the prophets," see page 121.

96. *Durrat al-asrār* 227.

97. It seems that these sincere ones are in fact "saints," but when the former are compared to saints, these saints should be understood as common saints distinct from the elite. See *Durrat al-asrār* 222–28 and *The Concept of Sainthood* 109, 141, and *La sagesse des maîtres soufis* 231.

98. *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shadhili* 48; *Durrat al-asrār* 56.

99. *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq* 13b.

100. *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq* 47a. This passage may have been corrupted by its copyist; but the point seems clear that the prophets dispense from the unseen world through their realities, while the saints, here below, draw from that unseen world by their tenuities.

101. *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq* 44b.

102. *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq* 44b. These "greatest servants" (اكابر العبيد) are not discussed further in the text.

103. The idea that religious truth is unitary is not new. Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198) advanced the idea, in philosophical terms, in his *Faṣl al-maqāl*. See Arnaldez's "Ibn Rushd" in *Encyclopedia of Islam* (second ed.) 912, 913.

104. *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya* 44. Distinctions between the degrees of *ʿiṣma* are numerous. The Shīʿī source *Biḥār al-anwār* argues that the Prophet's breast was cut open

only to cleanse it of doubt, not disbelief, since he had been a believer from before birth. U. Rubin, "Pre-existence and Light: Aspects of the Nūr Muḥammad" in *Israel Oriental Studies* 5, 1975. 104. See also E. Tayn's "Iṣma" in *Encyclopedia of Islam* (second ed.).

105. *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya* 47.

106. *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya* 48, 52.

107. *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya* 46.

108. *al-Laṭīfa al-marḍiyya* 75.

3. The Wafā'iyya in Time and Space

1. For a historical survey see A. Laroui, *The History of the Maghreb: An Interpretive Essay* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

2. H. Halm, *Shiism* J. Watson trans. (Edinburgh: Edingburgh University Press, 1991) 174.

3. In the next chapter we will discuss the writings of both Muḥammad Wafā' and his son ʿAlī.

4. The Nile needed to reach a certain level before the irrigation dams could be cut and the agricultural lands irrigated and fertilized properly. The cutting of the dam every year was an important event, marked with celebrations. On this festival, the *yawm wafā' al-nīl*, see B. Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* 72 and H. Lutfi, "Coptic Festivals of the Nile" in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society* T. Phillip and U. Haarmaan eds. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 269–73. For perspectve from an earlier period, see ch. 5, "The Urban River" in P. Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994). See also the early nineteenth-century description in E.W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians (1833–1835)* (London: East-West, 1981) 485–91. The Nile was essential to the well-being of the entire population, but the plague also had a great impact. "The pneumonic plague broke out at least nine times between 748/1347 and 864/1459–60. Along with the numerous fluctuations of the Nile, and the subsequent famines, the plague halted population growth during the period." A. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton University Press, 1977) 230.

5. Abū al-Saʿūd died in 644/1246. See Shaʿrānī, *al-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā* 1:162 and al-Suyūtī, *Ḥusn al-muḥādara* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1997) (2 vols.) 1:425, and Ibn Mulaqqin, *Ṭabaqāt al-awliyā* (Cairo: 1975) 406. His tomb and mosque still stand, about 100m north of the Wafā' complex in the Qarāfa.

6. Ibrāhīm Dasūqī (d. 687/1288) had been the student of Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675/1276). Unfortunately the sources nowhere give the death date of Muḥammad al-Najm.

7. Located on the eastern coast of Tunisia, south of Mahdiyya.

8. Al-Minūfī, *Jamharat al-awliyā' 2*:254. His daughters were Ḥusna, Raḥma, and Duḥā. See Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī (d. 1932), *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya* (Cairo: n.p. 192?) 43.

9. The most important document on the lineage of the Wafā's, along with accounts of other families and tribes bearing the name Wafā', is Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791) *Rafᵏ niqāb al-khafā ʿan-man intahā ilā Wafā wa Abī al-Wafā* (Dār

al-Kutub; Tārīkh Taymūr 2323, film 8176) (27 fols copied in 1189/1775, by Aḥmad ibn ʿĪsā al-Khalīfī al-Shāfiʿī). It is interesting to note that according to Sālim ʿAmmār, the "Western" branch of the early Shādhiliyya traced Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī's lineage back to the Idrīsid, while the "Eastern," or Egyptian, branch did not. See S. ʿAmmār, *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī* 30 ff. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, *Durrat al-asrār wa tuḥfat al-abrār* (Qūṣ) 28.

10. A. Laroui, *The History of the Maghreb* 109 ff, does however see traces of a Shiʿite political sensibility.

11. al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya* 58 ff.

12. It is worth reminding ourselves here that there is a distinction to be made between a "pro-ʿAlid" sensiblity—particulary among Sunni mystics—and "crypto-Shīʿism." This "crypto-Shīʿism" has too often been identified where there is little justification. We should recognize the gray boundary between esoteric Shīʿism and Sunni sufism rather than insist upon the conspiracy of a "crypto-Shīʿism." The Ahl al-Bayt (family of the Prophet) have always been revered by Sunni Muslims. In the Maghreb Sharīfan descent is attributed a certain charisma, while Cairo, through its numerous shrines to the Ahl al-Bayt, prides itself on its association with the Prophet's family.

13. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Rafʿ niqāb* 3b.

14. Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ* (Beirut: n.p., n.d.) 2:84–85. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* 49 fn. 6.

15. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Rafʿ niqāb* fols. 4a–13a. For hagiographical accounts of Tāj al-ʿĀrifīn see Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāṭ al-kubrā* 2:134, and the two manuscripts noted in entries no. 23 and 24 in Gril's "Sources manuscrites."

16. M. H. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architechtural Study* (British School of Archeology in Jerusalem, 1987) 456. Burgoyne's historical account is drawn from Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl bi-ta'rīkh al-Quds* (Cairo: n.p. 1866).

17. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* 456, also notes the existence of a Mamluk-period *zāwiya* in Jerusalem, called the "Red *zāwiya*," which was associated with the Wafā'iyya sufi order. Unfortunately, the souces provide few details on this institution.See al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-jalīl* 392, 526.

18. Cf. F. De Jong, *Sufi Orders in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Egypt* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2000) 105.

19. See entry no. 19 in Gril's "Sources manuscrites," and Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* 278. See also A. Baytar, *Ḥilyat al-bashar fī ta'rīkh al-qarn al-thālith ʿashar* (Damascus: 1961–63) (3 vols.) 1:97, 3:1553.

20. The full name is Abū al-Wafā' Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf al-Dimashqī. F. De Jong, "Les confréries mystiques musulmanes au Machreq arabe" in *Les ordres mystiques dans l'Islam* A. Popovic and G. Veinstein eds. (Paris: EHESS, 1986) 213.

21. Aḥmad ibn Fāris Abū al-Laṭā'if, *al-Minaḥ al-ilāhiyya fi manāqib al-sādāt al-wafā'iyya*. (Dār al-Kutub; Tārīkh 1151, film 14193) (46 fols.) (*GAL* suppl. 2, 149) (The author was the servant of ʿAli Wafa. He is writing around 830/1426. Fol. 8a gives this year as the date of his visit to Ahkmīm.) This manuscript is also noted in *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes; deuxième partie; Manuscrits Musulmans* by G. Vajda et Y. Sauvan (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1985) vol. 3, ms. no. 1200 and is probably identical to *Kitāb al-minhaj al-ilāhiyya fī manāqib . . . al-wafā'iyya* noted in the *Catlogue of Manuscripts in the Koprülü Library* (Istanbul: 1986) 1:382. In the latter citation the author is given as Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Wafā'.

22. Abū al-Laṭā'if, *al-Minaḥ al-ilāhiyya* 15a.

23. Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* II:314.

24. Abū al-Laṭā'if, *al-Minaḥ al-ilāhiyya* 3a.

25. Abū al-Laṭā'if, *al-Minaḥ al-ilāhiyya* 21a. «فوجدته على صورة سيدي علي فقال له روياي روياه»

One might wonder, though, how Abū al-Fatḥ could have seen his grandfather dying when he was not to be born himself for at least fifteen years, i.e. until 790/1388. Perhaps this story was infact related by his father, Shihāb al-Dīn (d. 756/1355).

26. Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* II:314.

27. Abū al-Laṭā'if, *al-Minaḥ al-ilāhiyya* 5b.

28. Abū al-Laṭā'if, *al-Minaḥ al-ilāhiyya* 6b.

29. Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā'if al-minan* 92.

30. al-Nabahānī, *Jāmiʿ al-karāmāt al-awliyā* 2:358, and Abū al-Laṭā'if, *al-Minaḥ al-ilāhiyya* 23b.

31. al-Nabahānī, *Jāmiʿ al-karāmāt al-awliyā* 2:358, and Abū al-Laṭā'if, *al-Minaḥ al-ilāhiyya* 7b.

32. Abū al-Laṭā'if, *al-Minaḥ al-ilāhiyya* 45b.

«كل ولي لله تعالى من زمني هذا و الى قيام الساعة ياخذ عني اما في بدايته و اما في بهايته...»

Abū al-Laṭā'if, *al-Minaḥ al-ilāhiyya* 46a.

«كان ختم الاولیا كما اشار الى ذلك صاحب عنقا مغرب (في ختم الاولیا وشمس المغرب)»

Ibn ʿArabī is the author of *ʿAnqā mughrib*.

33. Abū al-Laṭā'if, *al-Minaḥ al-ilāhiyya* 6b.

34. Abū al-Laṭā'if, *al-Minaḥ al-ilāhiyya* 1b.

35. See Qur'ān sura 96:1 and Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī al-Nīsābūrī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl* (Beirut: al-Maktabat al-Thiqāfiyya, n.d.) 5.

36. Abū al-Laṭā'if, *al-Minaḥ al-ilāhiyya* 1b. «فاتيت لسانه من ذلك الو قت»

Taking the Prophet's tongue is doubtless ʿAlī Wafā's claim to having been chosen to receive mystical inspiration directly from the Prophet and to be a vehicle for its dissemination. I have not seen this claim made in any other hagiographies. We shall see in chapter 6 below that ʿAlī Wafā' calls ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib the "tongue" of the Prophet.

37. Abū al-Laṭā'if, *al-Minaḥ al-ilāhiyya* 2a.

38. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr bi-anbā' al-ʿumr* (3 vols.) (Cairo: 1971) 2:308.

39. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* 2:308.

40. J. Katz, *Dreams, Sufism, and Sainthood* (Leiden: University of Leiden Press, 1996) 127.

41. al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya* 58. Also, ʿAlī is told that the *aḥzāb* and *waẓīfa* of the Wafā'iyya are superior to those of the Shādhiliyya. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* (Dār al-Kutub; Taṣawwuf 152) 92b. Nevertheless, ʿAlī elsewhere distinguishes himself by his inspired interpretation of al-Shādhilī's *Ḥizb al-nūr*. See al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:31.

42. al-Maqrīzī as quoted in al-Bakrī's *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya* 43. In *Kitāb al-masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* 4a, however, it is noted that ʿAlī visited his father's grave every morning and evening from 765/1363 until his own death in 804/1404. ʿAlī Wafā' also appears in the hagiography of a rival Shādhilī shaykh, Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī (d. 847/1443). There an ecounter is described in which al-Ḥanafī's spiritual superiority is confirmed. On the day that ʿAlī Wafā' dies, al-Ḥanafī hears a voice telling him that the

office of the pole (*al-quṭbāniyya*) has been transferred to him. A. al-Battanūnī, *al-Sirr al-ṣafī fī manāqib Sayyidī Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī,* quoted in Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie* 280.

43. Abū al-Isʿād Yūsuf ibn Abī al-ʿAṭā' ʿAbd al-Razzāq ibn Wafā' al-Mālikī al-Miṣrī (d. 1051/1641) (son of Shams al-Dīn MuḥammadAbū al-Faḍl ibn Wafā' (*khalīfa* no.10) (d. 1008/1599). *Dīwān Abī al-Isʿād Ibn Wafā' (Makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhira (al-taṣawwuf)* (Damascus: 1980) 1:558, entry no.775, ms. no. 4676.

44. We saw earlier that even within his lifetime, al-Shādhilī's followers were divided between Tunis and Egypt. Leadership and the hagiographical tradition were to develop independently in each area.

45. I have yet to find evidence that the "Wafā'iyya" in Jerusalem, or elsewhere, is derived from the teachings or the family of Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā'. Nevertheless, we do find Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā' noted in spiritual geneologies. One example is noted by Maḥmūd ibn ʿAfīf al-Dīn (d. nineteenth c. ?) in his *al-Rūḍa al-Shādhiliyya* (n.p., 1887) 55, where he lists these two figures after Ibn Bākhilā and before one Yahia al-Qādirī. This is part of the *silsila* of *Al-tarīqa al-Makkiyya al-Fāsiyya al-Madaniyya*. Ibn ʿAfīf al-Dīn also wrote *Maʿāhid al-taḥqīq fī radd al-munkirīn ʿalā ahl al-ṭarīq li al-Sāda al-Shādhiliyya al-Wafā'iyya al-Fāsiyya* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿa Muḥammad ʿAlī Subayh, 1960).

46. This list is compiled from Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Rafʿ niqāb*; al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya*; F. De Jong, *Turuq and Turuq-linked Institutions in Nineteenth Century Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1978); al-Jabartī *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt*, Al-Shawbarī al-Shāfiʿī *al-Tarjamat al-Wafā'iyya* ms. (completed in 1070/1658) in Leiden University, Or. 14.437. Although our study does not take up the Wafā' geneology in detail, it should be noted that the Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī manuscript is a remarkable document on the subject. The work not only supplies lineages and names but also notes many *ijāzāt* (certifications) given out by members of the family and to whom; it notes the names of many who received the Wafā'iyya *khirqa* (cloak). Perhaps the greatest service of this manuscript is its criticism of a number of forged and confused *salāsil* (pedigrees) in circulation.

47. The figures from the twelfth/eighteenth century onward often have "al-Sādāt" appended to their name. This is a reference to their descent from Imām ʿAlī. See Muḥammad Fatḥī Abū Bakr, *Dhail kitāb murshid al-zuwwār ilā qubūr al-abrār* (Cairo: n.p. 1994) 42.

48. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr* 2:498, al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ* 10:90, and al-Suyūṭī, *Kawkab al-Rūḍā* (Cairo: n.p., 2003) 111.

49. Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ* 12:20. Also noted in ʿUmar Riḍā Kuḥḥālā, *Aʿlām al-nisā'* (5 vols.) (Beirut: 1977) (3rd. ed.) 1:262. Sultan Ashraf Īnāl ruled 1453–1461, and built this ribāṭ for his wife Zaynab in 860/1465. This monument, known as *ribāṭ zawjat Ṣultān Īnāl,* and registered with the Egyptian Antiquities department as site 61, still stands today.

50. M. al-Shawbarī al-Shāfiʿī, *al-Tarjamat al-Wafā'iyya* 5b, 6b. (My copy of this ms. is missing the first few pages; I have begun pagination on the folio beginning, طريقة حسنة.

51. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabqāt al-kurbā* 2:67. If "sons" is taken literally, they were the sons of either *khalīfa* no. 4, 5, or 6. However, the term *sons* in this Egyptian context may also refer to the followers of a shaykh (alive or dead) in a general way, that is, as members

of a sufi order. Regarding Abū al-Mawāhib's relationship to the Wafā'iyya, it should be noted that he composed the *Silāḥ al-Wafā'iyya bi thaghr al-Iskandariyya* a.k.a. *Risālat al-awliyā'* (India Office, London: ms. no. 669 or ms. no. 416; 10 fols.) (Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ's edition of *Kitāb al-azal*, p. 211, notes the error in *Kashf al-ẓunūn* attributing this text to Ibn Fāris.) Ms. also found as Dār al-Kutub, tārīkh 1151. In this work Abū al-Mawāhib identifies himself with the nisba "al-Wafā'ī" (fol. 2a). In fact, the work has nothing to do with the Wafā'iyya directly. It provides an unoriginal discussion of the importance to the aspirant of having a spiritual guide. It also gives numerous hadith citations in support of this idea but does not draw on the writings of Muḥammad and ʿAlī Wafā' themselves. The last folios of *Silāḥ al-Wafā'iyya* are simply a long quotation from Ibn Bākhilā's *ʿUyūn al-ḥaqā'iq*.

52. As quoted by al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya* 39–40.

53. *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt* 273; *ʿAjā'ib al-āthār* 4:195. For a portrait of Abū al-Anwār see *Description de l'Égypte*, état moderne: 1, pl. 39.

54. Al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya* 8, 9. From my investigations at the Wafā' *zāwiya* in al-Qarāfa, it appears that the Wafā'/Sādāt family is no longer involved in the Wafā'iyya order. I was told that there is no longer any *dhikr* ceremony at the *zāwiya* but that some of the festival days are celebrated there, presumably run by the Bakrīs. We shall discuss these festivals below.

55. Although the family's center of activity became Cairo, there is evidence that early on a presence was maintained in Akhmīm. See J.-C. Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la Haute-Égypte médiévale: Qūṣ* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1976, 316 fn. 4) 435.

56. al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya* 59.

57. al-Sakhāwī notes that Zaynab, wife of Īnāl ". . . built good *ribāṭs* for the widows near the *zāwiya* of Banī Wafā in the quarter of ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ." *Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ* 12:45, as quoted by K. Johnson in "Royal Pilgrims: Mamluk Accounts of the Pilgrimage to Mecca" in *Studia Islmica* no. 91, 2000, 115.

58. *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt* 264. (Registered as monument no. 463) A view of Birkat al-Fīl and some of its dwellings is preserved in *Description de l'Égypte*, état moderne: 2, pl. E.

59. Aḥmad Shafīq, *Mudhakkirātī fī nisf qarn* (Cairo: 1934) 1:79. For an architectural account of the remains of this house see B. Maury et al., "Manzil al-Sadat" in *Palais et maisons du Caire (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1983) 259–67.

60. ʿAlī Bāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīqiyya* (14 vols) (Cairo: 1986). 5:315.

61. These graves are clearly marked. The most detailed descriptions are to be found in Muḥammad Fatḥī Abū Bakr, *Dhail kitāb murshid al-zuwwār ilā qubūr al-abrār* 66 ff; al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya* 65. This monument is registered as Masjid al-Sādāt, no. 608.

62. In the midfourteenth/eighth century, the traveler Ibn Battuta tells us that elaborate building in the cemetary was commonplace. "At Cairo too is the great cemetary of al-Qarāfa, which is a place of peculiar sanctity, and contains the graves of innumerable scholars and pious believers. In the Qarāfa the people build beautiful pavilions surrounded by walls, so that they look like houses. They also build chambers and hire

Koran-readers, who recite night and day in agreeable voices. Some of them build religious houses and madrasas beside the mausoleums and on Thursday nights they go out to spend the night there with their children and women-folk, and make a circuit of the famous tombs." Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325–1354* H. A. R. Gibb trans. (London: Routledge, 1929) 51. For a study of some manuals used by visitors to these tombs see C. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

63. *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt* 261. This complex, which includes a "Tekke," has yet to be studied.

64. For a detailed description of the interior of the *zāwiya*, see Suʿād Māhir, *Masājid Miṣr wa awliyā'u ha al-ṣalihūn* (Cairo: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1980) 69–86. Suʿād Māhir depends heavily on ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfiqiyya* (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-ʿāmma, 1986) 310 ff. Mubārak, p. 319, also provides the *waqf* endowment for the *zāwiya*-mosque.

65. Al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya* 67.

66. L. Massignon, "La cité des morts au Caire" *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, no 57, 1958, 48.

67. Tirmidhī, *Sunan* 39.

68. J. Katz, *Dreams, Sufism, and Sainthood* 127. Of interest also is that the jurist and sometime mystic ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUmar al-ʿArīshī (d. 1193/1779) composed a work entitled *Sirr al-kunā bi-ism al-Sayyid Abī al-Anwār ibn Wafā*. It is not clear this work, noted in *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt* 85, has survived.

69. The modern chronicler Aḥmad Shafīq mentions having attended the *takniyya* on 27 of Ramaḍān. He describes the ceremony, directed by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Khāliq (no. 22). Apparently, anyone who wished to receive a name could present himself. Both his usual and his new names were entered into a written record, after the shaykh had called them out. Aḥmad Shafīq's father tells him that it is commonly believed that however often one were to return, the shaykh would always decide on the same *kunya*. *Mudhakkirātī fī nisf qarn* 1:79-80.

70. One source equates this *mīʿād* with a "mashhad," or assembly. See al-Maqrīzī as quoted in Ibn Taghrī Birdī *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī* (Cairo: 1999) 8 vols., 8:164.

71. The large public celebrations of *mawlid al-nabī* came to be run by the Bakrī family. See De Jong, *Turuq and Turuq-linked Institution*s 61 ff.

72. On the vague meaning of receiving a mantle at the end of the ninth/fifteenth century, see E. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975) 35.

73. Al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya* 57. This initiation practice involving the *shadd* and *tāj*, found among certain guilds, antedates the establishment of the sufi orders. Massignon suspects a Shīʿī origin to certain elements of the ritual. See *Encyclopedia of Islam* (first ed.) s.v. "Shadd".

74. *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt* 263.

75. *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt* 272, 264. E. W. Lane, in *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians (1833–1835)* 422–28, describes this celebration, known as "*yawm ʿAshūra,*" which ended on the tenth of Muḥarram. Several *waqf* or endowment deeds having to do with Abū al-Anwār's activities survive in the collection of the Ministry of Endowments in Cairo (Wizārat al-Awqāf).

76. See P. Gran, *The Islamic Roots of Capitalism: Egypt, 1760–1840* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1998) 38, 40, 42, 119, 234 fn. 1.

77. De Jong, *Turuq and Turuq-linked Institutions* 13.

78. De Jong, *Turuq and Turuq-linked Institution*s 39, 76 , 77. De Jong concludes that "the most plausible explanation for the singular arrangement as it existed in the case of al-Wafā'iyya, seems to be that it could be obtained and maintained owing to the pre-eminent rôle in Egyptian society—in many respects equal to al-Bakrī's—which was played by the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Wafā'iyya*" (p. 77).

79. *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt* 429. De Jong's *Turuq and Turuq-linked Institutions* 12, 220 notes the succession of Abū al-Ḥādī to the *niqāba* but has the death date wrong.

80. *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt* 526.

81. *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt* 269. On his varied fortunes under the French occupation see p. 268.

82. *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt* 194.

83. De Jong, *Turuq and Turuq-linked Institutions* 121, and *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt* 274.

84. *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt* 274.

85. See *Encyclopedia of Islam* (second ed.) s.v. "Ibn Taymiyya." More detailed studies of his polemics include M. Momen, *Ibn Taymiyya's Struggle against Popular Religion* (Paris: 1976) and N. H. Olesen, *Culte des saints et pèlerinages chez Ibn Taimiyya* (Paris: 1971).

86. For more on this conflict, see V. Danner, *Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh: A Sufī of Mamluke Egypt*, ch. 4 "The Confrontation between Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh and Ibn Taymiyya" and H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Takī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taimiya* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1939) 132 ff. Osman Yahia's *Histoire et classification* 1:133, lists a *fatwa* by Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarī in defence of Ibn ʿArabī.

87. Much later, in the modern era, Ibn Taymiyya would become the inspiration for various Islamic religiopolitical movements.

88. The ninth/fifteenth century produced twice as many full-length books attacking Ibn ʿArabī, than were produced in the previous two centuries combined. A. Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999) 201.

89. Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition*, writes, "Full-scale polemical refutations of Ibn ʿArabī's teachings were produced, for the most part, by the radical and activist 'ulama, rather than by those who can be described as mainstream" (p. 222). This study also concludes that in Egypt the majority who waded into these debates, although not proponents of Akbarian thought, were opposed to the tone and virulence of the attacks. These criticisms of Ibn ʿArabī "provoked a stream of polemical responses that were written chiefly by the 'ulama of moderate views, not necessarily Ibn ʿArabī's admirers" (p. 223).

90. L. Fernandes, *Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanaqa* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1988) 100. On the presence of foreign sufi shaykhs in the preceding century, see *La Risāla de Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Abī al-Manṣūr Ibn Ẓāfir* 20. For a survey of *khānqāhs* as monunments see ʿāṣim Rizq, *Khānqāwāt al-ṣūfiyya fī Miṣr* (2 vols.) (Cairo: Madbouli, 1997).

91. This despite the fact that ʿAlī explicitly disparages the *khānqāhs* as places of spiritual limitation for sufis: (لتضييقهم على أنفوسهم) Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāṭ al-kubrā* 2:31.

92. As we noted earlier, the only substantial account is *al-Minaḥ al-ilāhiyya*. In accord with its venerative aims as a hagiography, this work does not concern itself with such mundane details as the teachers or the important books in the life of the future saint, ʿAlī Wafā'.

93. This observation is also made by G. Delanoue, *Moralistes et politiques Musulmans dans l'Égypte du XIXème siècle* (4. vols.) (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1982) 3:258.

4. The Writings of the Wafā's

1. al-Sakhāwī wrote *Al-Qawl al-munbī ʿan tarjumat Ibn ʿArabī*, which set the tone for most of the antisufi polemics of the medieval and modern times. For further discussion of these polemics see M. Chodkiewicz, "Le Procès posthume d'Ibn ʿArabī".

2. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiʿ* 6:21 (no. 46):

« شعر ه ينقع بالاتحاد المفضى الى الالحاد و كذا نظم والده »

As Nicholson points out, in the *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam* Gibb and Kramers eds. (Leiden: Brill, 1991) 189, *ittiḥād* is the mystical union by which the creature is made one with the Creator, versus *ḥulūl*, which is generally the doctrine that the Creator becomes incarnate in the creature. Both concepts thus defined are considered heretical by most sufis but may be considered differently. "Sometimes the term *ittiḥād* is employed like the Ṣūfistic *waḥdat* or *tawḥīd*, in reference to the doctrine that all things are nonexistent in themselves, but derive their existence from God and, in this respect, are one with God. According to ʿAlī b. Wafā' (quoted by Shaʿrānī in *al-Yawāqīt wa al-Jawāhir* (2 vols) (Cairo: al-Halabī, 1959) 1:65.), the meaning of *ittiḥād* in the terminology of the Ṣūfis is 'the passing away of that which is willed by the creature in that which is willed by God.'" [This passage is found on 1:65 of the 1378/1959 edition of *al-Yawāqīt*.] See also Massignon/Anawati's "Ḥulūl" in *Encyclopedia of Islam* (second ed.).

3. *Inbā' al-ghumr bi-anbā' al-ʿumr* 2:308. Ibn ʿIyās (d. 930/1524) and Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1089/1678), along with other later compilers, repeats al-ʿAsqalānī's comments. See Ibn ʿIyās, *Badā'iʿ al-ẓuhūr fī waqā'iʿ al-duhūr* (Cairo/Wiesbaden, 1983) 6, and Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab* (8 vols.) (Cairo: Maktaba al-Qudsa, 1932) 7:70. ʿAlī Wafā' himself seems to be answering to these accusations in the following poetic line quoted by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) in his *Ta'yīd al-ḥaqīqa al-ʿaliyya wa tashyīd al-ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliyya* (Cairo: n.p. 1974) 73: "They suspect me (يظنون بى) of *ḥulūl* and *ittiḥād*. Yet my heart is empty of all but *tawḥīd* [profession of Divine Unity]."

4. In *Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition* 129, Knysh concludes that "Ibn Ḥajar's own assessment of Ibn ʿArabī's work is deliberately indecisive, betraying the typical bewilderment of an exoteric scholar who is confronted with the Sufi legacy." See also Chodkiewicz's remarks in "Le Procès posthume d'Ibn ʿArabī" 122, 123.

5. Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:22–65. This entry was also the primary source for Massignon's dozen footnote references to various elements of the mystical thought of ʿAlī Wafā'. See the index of *La Passion du Ḥusayn Ibn Manṣūr Ḥallāj s.v.* ʿAlī Wafā'.

Shaʿrānī also quotes Alī Wafā' in his *al-Anwār al-qudsiyya* (Cairo: n.p. 1962) 95, 96, 118, 119, 120 and in his *al-Ajwaba al-marḍiyya ʿan a'ima al-fuqaha wa al-ṣūfiyya* ʿAbd al-Bārī Muḥammad Dā'ūd ed. (Cairo: Maktaba Umm al-Qarī, 2002) 536, 530, 531.

6. J.-C. Garcin, "Index des Ṭabaqāt de Shaʿrānī" in *Annales islamologiques* 6, 1963, 40–43, and M. Winter, *Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt:* 54–58. Shaʿrānī also compiled epitomes of the work of Ibn ʿArabī; *al-Yawāqīt wa al-jawāhir fī bayān ʿaqā'id al-akābir* and *al-Kibrīt al-aḥmar fi bayān ʿulūm al-Shaykh al-Akbar* (on the margin of *al-Yawāqīt*).

7. Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn* G. Flugel ed. (Reprinted from the 1842 ed. by New York: Johnson Reprint 1964) 5:39.

8. E. Geoffroy, *Djihād et contemplation* (Paris: Devry, 1997) 93.

9. Al-Sammān, *Risālat al-futuḥāt al-ilāhiyya fī kayfiyya sulūk al-ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya* (Cairo: n.p. 1326/1908) 33.

10. *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī's History of Egypt* 2:242. On Aḥmad al-Dardīr see R. Chih's "Les débuts d'une *ṭarīqa* . . ." 148–49 in *Le saint et son milieu ou comment lire les sources hagiographiques* R. Chih and D. Gril eds. (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2000).

11. My thanks for this information to Humphrey Davies. The quotation is to be found on page 264 of Davies forthcoming edition of *Hazz al-quḥūf*.

12. J. Johansen, *Sufism and Islamic Reform in Egypt* (New York: Clarendon, 1996) 123.

13. *Al-Mawrid al-aṣfā fī sharḥ dīwān Sayyidī Muḥammad Wafā'* M. I. Sālim (Cairo: n.p. 2000).

14. Al-ʿAsqalānī, in his *Durar al-kāmina* (Hyderabad: 1929–31) 4:279 (no. 783), describes this poetry as being in the tradition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235): «و أنشأ قصائد على طريق ابن الفارض و غيره من الاتحادية...» On Ibn al-Fāriḍ see the study by T. E. Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Farid, His Verse, and His Shrine* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997). A proper comparison of Wafā'ī poetry to that of Ibn al-Fārid remains to be done. Claude Addas has recently pointed to misattribution of the authorship of this poem in manuscript catalogs. In her "L'oeuvre poétique d'Ibn Arabī et sa réception" *Studia Islamica* no. 91, 2000, 28, she suggests the text attributed to Ibn ʿArabī (listed twice in O. Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*, as numbers 211 and 566) is in fact by Muḥammad Wafāʾ. In personal correspondence she has confirmed this. As we shall see, this is not the only instance where a Wafāʾ text is mistakenly attributed to Ibn ʿArabī.

15. This observation is made in light of the description of that style as presented in A. Alvarez, "*Muwashshaḥ* (pl. *muwashshaḥāt*)" in *The Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* (2 vols.) J. Meisami and P. Starken eds. (London: Routledge, 1988), where it is noted, "It seems clear that as a non-classical form, these (*muwashshaḥāt*) compositions—songs, we must remember—were deemed unworthy of inclusion in tomes of lofty verse. Instead, the vast majority of these poems . . . have come down to us in books solely devoted to *muwashshaḥāt*" 2:563. It is thus likely that not all the Wafā' poetic works have survived.

16. This may also be read, "I am the most amazing of the amazing."

17. Chapter 112 of the Qur'ān, verse 4 reads, "And there is nothing which is His like."

18. *Dīwān Sayyid ʿAlī ibn Wafā'* (Microfilm of the Istanbul, Aya Sofia ms. no. 3922) 6b. (metre: *kāmil*)

سأل الوجود جميعه عمن أنا * فأجبته أنا أغرب الغرباء
قالالوجود فأنت ماداتي به * غنيت لأنك أفقر الفقراء
فلي الغرايب و العجايب كلها * في مدرك الجهلا ء و العلماء
فيسورةالاجلاص جأت غربتي * فتعجب العقلاء اللطلقاء

The freedmen are of course the mystics.

19. *Dīwān Sayyid ʿAlī ibn Wafā'* 13a (metre: *kāmil*)

انا نقطةالختم التي في ظلها * تلقى الذي فتحالوجود ورتبا
فإذا أنا قطب الوجود و مر كز * العين التي غيب العيان له خنا

20. *Dīwān Sayyid ʿAlī ibn Wafā'* 164b (metre: *khafīf*)

أنا قطب الوجود من غير شك * و امام الهدى لأهل زماني
و زماني زمان جمع محيط * قد تناهىبه وجود المعاني
إن تلاشى الحجاب عن عين كشفي * شاهد السر غيبه في بياني
فاطرح الكون عن عيانك و امحي * نقطة الغين أردت تراني

The *ʿayn—ghayn* juxtaposition is a much earlier poetic motif. See for example Rūzbihān Baqlī's *Kitāb al-ighāna* in *Quatre traités inédits de Rūzbehān Baqlī Shirāzī* P. Ballanfat ed. (Tehran: IFRI, 1998) 87, Arabic text. Ibn al-Fāriḍ also uses this motif, see *The Poem of the Way* A. J. Aberry trans. (London: Emery Walker, 1952) 51, 84. G. Scattolin will soon publish a critical edition of Ibn al-Fārid's *Dīwān* with the I.F.A.O. See also E. Homerin's translation, *ʿUmar Ibn al-Fāriḍ; Sufi Verse, Saintly Life* (New York: Paulist Press, 2001) 213.

21. These observations, I believe, apply more or less to the founding and the survival of all sufi orders.

22. In the manuscript *majmūʿa* of the Maktaba Azhariyya (majāmīʿ: 1076; Zakī: 41313) the "Ḥizb al-azal" (fol. 10a–10b) is followed by an account of the *munājāt* of Muḥammad Wafā' (10b–12a). This collection of *munājā*t should be considered a separate work.

23. Muḥammad Wafā', *(Hadha) ḥizb al-fatḥ*, (23 pp.) (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Adab wa al-Mu'ayyad, 1901). A manuscript of this *ḥizb*, along with *Waẓīfat al-fajr* (5 fols.), *Waẓīfat al-ṣubḥ* (2 fols.), and *Tawjīhāt li-Sīdī ʿAlī Wafā'* (2 fols.) can be found attached to *al-Tarjamat al-Wafā'iyya* (Leiden University, Or. 14.437), compiled by Muḥammad ibn Khalīfat al-Shawbarī al-Shāfiʿī in 1070/1659. See also C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* (supplement) (3 vols.) (Leiden: Brill, 1937–42) 2:148, for notice of a commentary on a prayer attributed to Muḥammad Wafā'. In a small book published recently, Muḥammad Sālim includes *Ḥizb al-fath* and one *Ṣalāt al-nabī* from Muḥammad Wafā. Included from ʿAlī are *Ḥizb al-tawajjuhāt*, a *duʿa*, and a *Ṣalāt al-nabī*. Of unclear authorship are *Waẓīfat al-fajr* and *Waẓīfat al-subḥ*. Sālim mentions a book of *aḥzāb*, *awrād*, and *ṣalawāt* having been published in Cairo in 1949 by Maḥmūd

Ḥasam al-ʿArūsī. At some point ʿAlī Yūsuf also published some of the prayers of the Wafā'iyya. See *al-Nafḥa al-Khatamiyya*, M. Sālim ed; (Cairo: al-Shirka al-muttahida li al-ṭibāʿa, 1996) 57. Shaykhs Yūsuf and al-ʿArūsī were leaders of the post Wafā' family Wafā'iyya. (The present study has not taken up this period.)

24. See Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ's introduction to his edition of Muḥammad Wafā's *Kitāb al-azal* (Beirut: Dār al-Mutanabbi, 1992) 16.

25. Kawthar is a river in paradise.

26. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-ghumr bi-anbā' al-ʿumr* 2:308. Both al-ʿAsqalānī and al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʿ* 6:21, identify this as a work on *fiqh*.

27. *al-Bāʿith ʿalā al-khalāṣ min sū' al-ẓann bi al-khawāẓ* British Library Or.4275. J. Berkey, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001) 105 fn. 56. Berkey (p. 32) supposes a related work by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-ʿIrāqī entitled *al-Bāʿith ʿalā al-khalāṣ min ḥawādith al-quṣṣāṣ* to be lost, but it can be found in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya under Ḥadīth Taymūr 290. A modern writer, Muḥammad Aḥmad Darnīqa, attributes *Bughya al-rā'id* (That desired by the seeker) and a Qur'ānic commentary to ʿAlī. See his *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyya wa aʿlāmuhā* 142. I have not seen reference to these works anywhere else.

28. J. Berkey, *Popular Preaching* 57, 74, 75.

29. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* (8 vols) 8:71. (Damascus: Dar al-Miṣriyya, 1979).

30. Ahmad al-Dā'ūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufassirīn* (2 vols) (Cairo: Maktaba al-Wahba, 1972) 1:434.

31. For more on these important figures see Chittick's "The School of Ibn ʿArabī" in *History of Islamic Philosophy* S. H. Nasr and O. Leaman eds. (London: Routledge, 1996) and "The Five Divine Presences: From al-Qūnawī to al-Qaysarī" in *The Muslim World* 72, 1982. Also useful is C. Addas's *Quest for the Red Sulfur*.

32. Muḥammad Wafā', *Kitāb al-azal* 53.

«و الهو هو الاسم المطلق، و هو حقيقة الذات التي لا تعلم و لا تجهل.»

33. Muḥammad Wafā', *Kitāb al-azal* 54; and Azhar ms 105b.

«و حقيقة الغير الاستقلال بالنفس و الوجود. و لا وجود لشيء إلا نوجوده. فلا استقلال. و متى انتفى الشرط انتفى المشروط فلا غير . و الظاهر أيضا كذلك يستلزم الغير فعلى هذا ألا تنتطرق (ز. لا يتنطرق) البطون و الظهور إلى الذات المطلقة، و هي الهو. و كذلك جميع المراتب المتغايرة، و المتضادة، و المخالفة، و المتماثلة، و المتناقضة. كل ذلك لا يقال على الهو. إنما يقال على مراتب الوجود، و الإمكان بحسب ما يليق نكل مرتبة.»

34. Muḥammad Wafā', *Kitāb al-azal* 50.

«[و الوجود زيادة على الذات بشرط في (sic) صحة قيام الصفة بها، و علة الصفات مع أنه صفة مشتركة. و معنى الإشتراك: قيامه بكل حقيقة على انفرادها من حقائق الوجود لا بحكم المتابعة مع أنه] واحد في نفسه لا يتثنى و لا يتكثر، و لا وجود لموجود إلا هو.»

35. Muḥammad Wafā', *Kitāb al-azal* 80.

«العرش ما به كون ما لم يكون، و علم ما لم يعلم. كل شيء حاصل في قوته بالصورة و التصور. [تعيين صورته تصوير تصوره. فعله واقع بقوته في انفعاله.] فالكائن به فيه هو (sic). فيستحيل مزايلته له كالبحر ، و موج توجه الكائن فيه.»

36. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya) ms. 23797 b; microfilm no. 27723, and (al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya) majāmīʿ: 1076; Zakī: 41313. (This *majmūʿa* consists of twelve titles from ʿAlī and Muḥammad Wafā'. The catalog, *Fihris al-kutub al-mawjūda bi al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya ilā 1366/1947* (Cairo: 1948) 3:636, claims this *majmūʿa* was copied in 749/1348; however, my photocopy of the first page, listing the titles, gives no date. The date of 749 is unlikely anyway, since ʿAlī Wafā' was not born until

759. Two other copies of *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* have been preserved: Staatsbibliothek Zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung, no. 3248, We.1674. 102 fols., and see *Fihris makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya (al-taṣawwuf)* (Damascus: 1980). 1:224. ms. no. 1312. I am preparing a critical edition of this text. The work seems to have been mistakenly attributed to Ibn ʿArabī; see O. Yahia, Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī, number 663.

37. Q. 27:83 mentions God gathering together from each nation, on Judgment day, those who have rejected His Signs.

38. Cf. "You (God) have caused the night to run into the day, and the day into the night" (Q. 3:27).

39. Q. 30:60 runs, "Do not be made unsure by those who are unsure (in faith)."

«...و لا يستخفيك الذين لا يوقنون»

40. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub; 1b. (al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya; 129a)

الحمد لله ماحي السنن بالسنن * و مكمل المنن بالمنن
و مظهر السر في العلن * و مدخل الزمن في الزمن
و حاشر الامم في الامم * و منتج الحكم بالحكم
نزل الارواح في الاشباح * فاعرب في البيان و اعجم
و مزج الابهام في الايضاح * فما سكت ناطق و لا تكلم
و اولج الامسا في الاصباح * فما تبين مستخف و لا تكلم [ز. لا بكتم]
و كتم الاسرار في الانوار ه فنطق الاخرس و الابكم

41. "Withness" or *maʿiyya* refers to God being constantly with creation. See Q. 57:4, "God is with you wherever you are." According to Ibn ʿArabī, "He is with things, but the things are not with Him, since "withness" follows from knowledge: He knows us, so He is with us. We do not know Him, so we are not with Him." *The Sufi Path of Knowledge* 88.

42. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub; 2b, 3a.

«الاتحاد اخر مقامات المعبة ... الخشوع سكون النفس عند طوارق الازل ... الورعاختيار الارجح ... الرجا شعور الحصول ... الفتوة النظر بعين الجمال. الانبساط مشاهدة من محض الرحمة ... الحكمة شهود الجمع فى الفرق ... الفراسة استخراج الغيب من الشهادة. التعظيم حفظ الحق فى كل شى ... المعرفة شهود الحق فى كل شى بحكمه.

43. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 30a. and 6b, 7a. We shall return to these terms in chapter 5, in the section dealing with Muḥammad Wafā's cosmology.

44. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 22b, 23a, 23b.

45. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 49a.

46. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 50b.

47. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya 154a.

«باطن القلب مراة الحق و مو ضع القدم (قدم read) الصدق فمن تعرف اليه ربه انقلب البه قلبه و تجلت فيه انوار حقه...»

48. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 154b. We shall see below that ʿAlī Wafā' takes this idea one step further. For notice of treatments of this hadith, and precedents to the idea, see R. Gramlich, *Die Schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens* 2:27, fn. 100. Also interesting are al-Mursī's comments on this hadith. See *La Sagesse des maîtres soufis* 55.

49. See also O. Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*, number 519.

50. The text is appended to Ibn ʿArabī's *Kitāb al-kunh* (Cairo: M. A. Ṣabīḥ, 1967).

51. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān min anfās al-Raḥmān* (Dār al-Kutub; Taṣawwuf 154; film no. 7032; 71 fols.) 9a–9b. « ... شيخك من فرغك منك و ملاك منه. » and al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya; majāmīʿ 1076; Zakī: 41313. One copy is in Staatsbibliothek Zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung: *Die Handschriften-verzeichisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* W. Ahlwardt (Berlin: 1891) Neunter Band / Dritter Band p. 79, ms. no. 3000; Pm.9. S.93–126. This catalog proposes Ibn ʿArabī as the possible author. A fourth copy is in Damascus: *Fihris makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyya (al-taṣawwuf)* (Damascus) 3:64, entry no. 2101, ms. no. 5388. I am preparing a critical edition of this work.

52. See the discussions *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān min anfās al-Raḥmān* (al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya) fols. 72a, 76a, 76b, 81b, 95a, and elsewhere.

53. Note the Throne again as the symbol of God's existential creative power.

54. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān min anfās al-Raḥmān* (al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya) 75a; and Dār al-Kutub 22b.

«قال الواحد من كل الجهات انا الاول بالرحمن و الاخر بالانسان و الظاهر بالخلق و الباطن بالحق فمن عرفنى كذلك و تحقق لي في كل ذلك حشرت اخره فيٱوله و اعددت ظاهره (د. في باطنه)حتى يصير ازليا لا اخر لاوله و صمديا لا ظاهر لباطنه. »

In the Shīʿī conception of Ḥaqīqa Muḥammadiyya, there exists both a divine dimension (*jiha lāhūt*) and a human dimension (*jiha khalqiyya nāsūt*). See *En Islam Iranien* 1:100. Muḥammad Wafā's treatment here recalls that of al-Ḥallāj writing "I call to You . . . no, it is You Who calls me to Yourself. How could I say 'it is You'—if You had not said to me 'it is I'?" L. Massignon, *The Passion of al-Ḥallāj* 3:42, 43. See also al-Ḥallāj's *Dīwān*:

سبحان من اظهر ناسوته * سر سنا لاهوته الثاقب
ثم بدا خلقه ظاهرا * في صورة الآكل و الشارب

Los à Celui dont l'Humanité a manifesté (aux Anges) le mystère de la gloire de Sa Divinité radieuse! Et qui, depuis, s'est montré à sa créature (humaine), ouvertement sous la forme de quelqu'un 'qui mange et qui boit'. "Le Dīwān d'Al-Ḥallāj: Essai de reconstruction, édition et traduction" *Journal asiatique* 1931; 41.

55. *Kitāb al-maʿārīj* (al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya; majāmīʿ 1076; Zakī: 41313; 19 fols.). To this point in time, my research indicates this is the only copy extant of this work.

56. See "The Miʿraj of Bistami" in *Early Islamic Mysticism* M. Sells ed. and trans. (New York: Paulist, 1996) and J. Morris, "The Spiritual Ascension: Ibn ʿArabī and the *Miʿrāj* See now the articles collected in *Le Voyage initiatique en terre d'Islam: ascensions célestes et itinéraires spirituels* A. Amir-Moezzi ed. (Louvain, Paris: Peeters, 1996). It is interesting to note that al-Shādhilī is described as a "master of *isrā'* and *miʿrāj*." See *La Risāla de Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Abī al-Manṣūr Ibn Ẓāfir* 177.

57. Muḥammad Wafā', *Kitāb al-maʿārīj* 157b.

58. Muḥammad Wafā', *al-Ṣuwar al-nūrāniyya fī al-ʿulūm al-sarayāniyya* (al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya; majāmīʿ 1076; Zakī: 41313) 183b. Another copy is in Staatsbibliothek Zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung ms. no. 3333; Pm.9. S.198–232, without the author identified.

59. Muḥammad Wafā', *al-Ṣuwar al-nūrāniyya* 183b.

«صورة ازلية ذات غيب من وراء صفة الاشتراك الوجودي ... صورة ابدية ذات شهادة في عين صفة الاشتراك الوجودي. »

60. Compare note 27 above, where existence is the shared/common attribute of all beings qua beings.

61. Muḥammad Wafā' *al-Ṣuwar al-nūrāniyya* 188b, 189a.

« صورةالحلول اول مراتب الكشف و هو فاسد بفساد تخيل الظرفيه و صحيح بحكم التحقيق و هو على ضربين حلول تعلق كالعلم بالمعلوم و القدرة بالمقدور و هو تعلق العلة [(و على الهامش: بالكيف و التخيص(؟)) و حقيقة عدم المعلول بطول العلة فى غيب ازليها] ... و يقال لحلول التعلق اتحاد لاستغراق احاطة المتعلق بالمتعلق لا كاتحاد الجوهر بالعرض [لانه يقوم به من الجهة المدروكة (؟) المعلله و الحقايق الازلية غير مدروكه و لا معلله] و حلول التجلى يقال عليه وحده لنفي مجاز الشنويه و رفع حكم المعيه و هذه احاطة مطلقه كاحاطة الما بالثلج المنعقد عنه. »

62. Muḥammad Wafā', *Miftāḥ al-sūr min ʿain al-khabar* (al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya; majāmīʿ 1076; Zakī: 41313; fols. 196b–206) 199a. This manuscript appears to be a unicum.

63. Muḥammad Wafā', *Miftāḥ al-sūr min ʿain al-khabar* 201b–202b.

64. Muḥammad Wafā', *Miftāḥ al-sūr min ʿain al-khabar* 196b.

65. Muḥammad Wafā', *Kitāb ta'ṣīl al-'azmān wa tafṣīl al-'akwān* (al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya; majāmīʿ 1076; Zakī: 41313; fols. 12–71). Also in Staatsbibliothek Zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung; ms. no. 3003; Pm.9. S.1–75, without the author identified.

66. The Night of Power, or *laylat al-qaḍar*, is a night during the month of Ramadan in which the fate of individuals is decided for the comming year. It is a common image in mystical discussions of the Divine decree.

67. Muḥammad Wafā', *Kitāb ta'ṣīl al-'azmān wa tafṣīl al-'akwān* 13b, 14a.

68. Muḥammad Wafā', *al-Maqāmāt al-saniyya li al-sāda al-ṣūfiyya* (al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya; majāmīʿ 1076; Zakī: 41313] (fols. 1–9) 9b. Also in Staatsbibliothek Zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung; ms. no. 3004; Pm.9. S. 85–93, as *Tarjamat al-maqāmāt al-mi'a* with an introduction not present in the Azhariyya ms. See also O. Yahia, *Histoire et Classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*, number 417.

« الجمع نفى المعية و سقوط الفرق بالكلية و حقيقته اتحاد مراتب العالم فى واحد يتعين مع وجود ما تحد (read اتحد) فيه به ... و غايته روية الابد بعين الازل الذى لا يخبر و لا يخبر عنه. »

69. Muḥammad Wafā', *al-Maqāmāt al-saniyya* 9b.

التوحيد هو حقيقة لا تنقسم فى وحدة لا تتميز فى كثرة لا تتعدد فى عدد لا يتناهى و حقيقته معنى لا يجحده القلوب و لا تصوره العقول و لا يوصله بلاغة العبارة بالقول و غايته نفى كل غير ... »

70. Muḥammad Wafā', *al-Maqāmāt al-saniyya* 6a.

« الالهام هو وحي يلقيه خاطر الحق لكل قلب القى السمع و هو شهيد و حقيقته خطاب يخاطب به صاحب الذوق الصحيح و غايته لسان يتكلم بالكلام الذى لا يجوز على مثله الكذب. »

71. On this term Chittick notes, "Ibn ʿArabī employs it to describe the subtle forms or relationships which tie together different levels of existence." See *The Sufi Path of Knowledge* 406 fn. 6. A *raqīqa* may also be understood as the initial form of the divine Emanation. According to al-Simnānī's cosmology, the subtle substances (*laṭā'if*), which first saw existence in the Realm of Divinity (*lāhūt*), descend to the Realm of Jabarūt, where they represent the Attributes of omnipotence, and are known as the ten rare substances (*raqā'iq*). These ten in turn descend to the realm of Malakūt and represent the divine Acts. From this level differentiation continues with descent as the one hundred particulars (*daqā'iq*) into the Human Realm (*nāsūt*). See J. Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of ʿAlā ad-Dawlah as-Simnānī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993) 72. This understanding of rare substances (or Tenuities) and the subtle substances (or Graces) seems to be in line with what Muḥammad Wafā' is saying here, although he does not seem to have developed a full

theory of emanation using this terminology, in the way his contemporary al-Simnānī did. A fuller comparison of these two thinkers, however, would likely produce interesting results.

72. Muḥammad Wafā', *Fuṣūl al-ḥaqā'iq—wa huwa risāla li al-Sayyid Muḥammad Wafā'* (al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya; majāmīʿ 1076; Zakī: 41313; fols. 216–221) 219a.

« سبحان المتجلى باسرار ازليته فى روح الامر المنفوخه فى صورة العلم بعين الجمع فافادت كل واحد من صور صورته لطيفه ربانيه و رقيقه الهيه فبالرقيقه قيام وجوده فى غيبه الذي لا يطلع عليهاحد و باللطيفه تدبير عينه. »

This short work has recently been published as *Kitāb fuṣūl al-ḥaqā'iq li-Sayyidī Muḥammad Wafā'* Ibrahīm Muḥammad Sālim ed. (Cairo: n.p. 1999). See also O. Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*, number 148.

73. Muḥammad Wafā',*Kitāb al-ʿurūsh* (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Taṣawwuf 3715, Taṣawwuf 3593, Taṣawwuf Ṭalʿat 1562). Another copy, attributed to ʿAlī Wafā' in the computerized catalogue but not on its title page (which lists the author as Muḥammad Wafā' al-Khalwatī!), is *al-ʿUrūsh*, (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; Taṣawwuf 204; film no. 32555; 75 fols.). These are not different texts. Al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām: Qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa al-nisā'* (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm li al-Malāyīn, 1990) (9th ed.) 5:7 and 7:37, lists the same title under both authors. See also O. Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*, number 803.

74. Ms. in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Taṣawwuf 3593; film no. 33396; 115 fols. See also O. Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī*, number 815.

75. *Kitāb al-wāridāt* (al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya; Majāmīʿ 1076; Zakī: 41313) 206b. A second collection, entitled simply *Wāridāt* with no mention of the author, is found in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung no. 3494. This work is shorter than the Azhar piece and quotes different passages.

76. ʿAlī Wafā', *Kitāb al-wāridāt* 211a.

77. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā Sayyidī ʿAlī Wafā'* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale; ms. no. 1359). There is also another copy in Dār al-Kutub.

78. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā Sayyidī ʿAlī Wafā'* 7a.

« هو الوجود الواجد (الواحد read) الموجود بكل واحد و هو المشهود و الشاهد و لكل مقام منه مقال و لكل مجال منه رجال و الحكيم لا يخاطب كل مرتبة الا بلسانها و لا يعاملها الا بكيلها و ميزانها و ما ارسلنا من رسول الا بلسان قومه ليبين لهم الأية »

79. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā Sayyidī ʿAlī Wafā'* 3b.

80. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā Sayyidī ʿAlī Wafā'* 104b.

81. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā Sayyidī ʿAlī Wafā'* 3a.

« ...ان وجدت استادك (sic) المحقق وجدت حقيقتك و ان وجدت حقيقتك وجدت الله و ان وجدت الله وجدت كل شي فليس لك مراد الا في وجد هذا الاستاد. »

82. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā Sayyidī ʿAlī Wafā'* 3b. For the sources of this hadith see W. Graham, *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam* 130.

« انت على الصورة التي تشهد استادك عليها فاشهد ما شيت و انظر ماذا ترى ان شهدته خلقا فانت خلق و ان شهدته حقا فانت حق قال الحق انا عند ظن عبدي بي ... »

83. ʿAlī Wafā', *Kitāb al-masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; Taṣawwuf 166; film no. 34913). (I have copies of only the first eighty-three folios.)

84. ʿAlī Wafā', *Kitāb al-masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* 2a.

85. ʿAlī Wafā', *Kitāb al-masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* 7a.

« الكل منك و اليك انما هو حاكمك يتعين باحكام في كل مقام بحسبه فانظر ماذا ترى و لكل مقام مقال و لكل مجال رجال »

The last phrase is used on numerous occasions.

86. ʿAlī Wafāʾ, *Kitāb al-masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* 2b.

«الروح الحكيم الذي هو مبد (؟) الفضايل و المحامد هو وجه الربوبية في دآيرة الامكان.»

87. ʿAlī Wafāʾ, *Kitāb al-masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* 2b.

«من ظهر فيه وجوده الالهي بالروح الحكيم فهو الاله الرب الحق بوجوده و رسوله و نبيه و وليه الهادى المرشد اليه بامكانه.»

88. ʿAlī Wafāʾ, *Kitāb al-masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* 3a.

«اذا عرفت استادك و امام هداك من حيث وجوده الالهي الواجب فقد عرفت ربك الحق اتعرف من هو ما هو الا عين وجودكالالهي تعين لك في مرتبة الانفصال عن كونك...»

89. ʿAlī Wafāʾ, *Mafātīḥ al-khazāʾin al-ʿaliyya* (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; Taṣawwuf 152; film no. 33564; 104 fols.) 44b and 49a.

90. ʿAlī Wafāʾ, *Mafātīḥ al-khazāʾin al-ʿaliyya* 42a.

91. ʿAlī Wafāʾ, *Mafātīḥ al-khazāʾin al-ʿaliyya* 22b.

«فالحنفصلة وجود ذات واحد متعين باحكام منه لنفسه هي صفاته و موجوداته و الخلق مراتب تقدير به ثبتت في وجودها ثبوت المحققات في المدارك المنفصلة بها [و حقيقة الامر ما تقدم] كما قال الحق انا كل شيء خلقناه بقدر على قراة من قرا بضم لام كل.»

The meaning of the verse changes by reading one of the vowels as *u* rather than as *a*. These vowels have been authoritatively fixed over time—with few differences in meaning between the accepted readings—but here ʿAlī Wafāʾ is presenting a novel reading.

92. ʿAlī Wafāʾ, *Mafātīḥ al-khazāʾin al-ʿaliyya* 3b.

93. ʿAlī Wafāʾ, *Mafātīḥ al-khazāʾin al-ʿaliyya* 60a.

«...ان حقيقة و جود ه خلقت كل شيء من اجلك و خلقتك من اجلي و هذا معني قول الاصل لفرعه انت مني اي انت مني وجودا اي و انا منك شهودا و من حقق هذه الكلمة شهد الوحدة المكر مة بعين العلو و العظمة.»

Various Shīʿī hadiths report Muḥammad saying, "ʿAlī, You are from me and I am from you." See *A Concordance of the Beḥār al-anwār* Alī-Reza Barazesh ed. (30 vols.) (Tehran: Ministry of Culture, 1994) 20:14474.

94. ʿAlī Wafāʾ, *Mafātīḥ al-khazāʾin al-ʿaliyya* 30b.

95. ʿAlī Wafāʾ, *Ḥikam ʿAlī Wafāʾ* (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; al-Makhṭūṭāt al-Zakiyya 567; film no. 56282; 133 fols.)

96. Alī Wafāʾ, *Al-Daraja al-ʿaliyya fī maʿārīj al-anbiyāʾ* (Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya; B 23127; film no. 25257; 35 fols.) Copied in 1190/1776.

5. Sanctity and Muḥammad Wafāʾ

1. W. Chittick, "Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī on the Oneness of Being" in *International Philosophical Quarterly* vol. 21, no. 2, 1981. This phrase was coined by a contemporary of Ibn ʿArabī, Ibn Sabʿīn, although with a somewhat different meaning; one which admits no significant existential distinction between creation and the Creator. A. Taftazani and O. Leaman, "Ibn Sabʿīn" in *History of Islamic Philosophy* S. H. Nasr and O. Leaman eds. (London: Routledge, 2001) 347.

2. From Ibn ʿArabī, *Risālat al-anwār*. M. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 149.

3. W. Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God* 53.

4. ʿAlā al-Dawla al-Simnānī (d. 736/1336) proposed an alternative doctrine, centering on divine Act rather than on static existence. See Landolt, "Simnānī on Waḥdat al-Wujūd" 106–09 and his "Der Briefwechsel zwischen Kāshānī und Simnānī über *waḥdat al-wujūd*" in *Der Islam* no. 50, 1973.

5. Muḥammad Wafāʾ, as presented in ʿAlī Wafāʾ, *Kitāb al-masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* 3b.

«الوجود الذات هو المحيط من حيث هو وجود جميع الموجودات و هو الاله من حيثهوموصوف الصفات المحيطة بالتعلقات الحكمية اسمه الله»

Elsewhere these "connections" are described as a thing's esoteric name, linking it to Divine necessary being. It serves as a link, for the people of "spiritual tasting," to the Eternal. See Muḥammad Wafā' *Kitāb al-azal* 53.

6. Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God* 91. As an aside, we may note that this version of "oneness" is upheld in later mystical writings associated with the Wafā'iyya. Aḥmad al-Dardīr (d. 1201/1787) in a commentary on one of Muḥammad Wafā's *aḥzāb* states clearly that anyone who "says that the world is essential with God's essence is an unbeliever." *Mishkāt al-asrār* (al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya, 16289; majāmīʿ 412; fols. 1–11) 9b.

7. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub, 43b. In the previous chapter, in our discussion of *al-Suwwār al-nūrāniyya* we saw the same imagery being used to make much the same point.

8. Muḥammad Wafā', *Kitāb al-azal* 51.

«... و إنما هو يتجلى في مراتب الإمكان بحسب حكم استعداد القبول في المرتبة. و الاستعداد: هو الحقيقة الهيولا نية القائمة بذات الإمكان. و هي من الإختراعالإلهي لا الإبداع. و حقيقة الاختراع: هي تهيء المادة بالهيولانية (sic) لقبول الصورة. و الصورة هي الإبداع ... و حقيقة استعداده هو قبول قيام تجلي الواجب بحكم المطابقة.»

9. It should be pointed out that this "prime matter" is a kind of preexistential entity and should not be confused with manifest creation, which is the result of creation via *tajallī*. See W. Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God* 89. This creation scheme is similar to that of Ibn ʿArabī, which also describes things coming into existence according to their preparedness. Chittck, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge* 91–92. Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) also uses an emanative system of creation, but for him *ibdāʿ* refers to that creation which is not subject to form. L. Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne* (Paris: Vrin, 1951) 63. He also distinguishes between formal (*ṣūrī*) and material (*hayūlānī*) creation. A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la language philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā* (Paris: Desclé de Brouwer, 1938) 414, and S. H. Nasr, *An Introduction of Islamic Cosmological Doctrines* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993) 219. Yet Ibn Sīnā holds essentially the same position as Muḥammad Wafā' on this point. "Ibn Sīnā recognizes that the manifestation or epiphany accessible to any being . . . will depend on that being's capacity. So the manifestation is not identical with the Absolute Good, but is a true (not "real") expression of Him, as perfect as the limitations of each being allow." L. Goodman, *Avicenna* (London: Routledge, 1992) 33 fn. 33.

10. In his definition of *taḥqīq* (verification), al-Qāshānī says that "the verifier is neither veiled by al-Ḥaqq from creation, nor by creation from al-Ḥaqq." *A Glossary of Technical Terms* entry no. 485.

11. The Dār al-Kutub ms., 28b, has استهلال (beginning or opening) here, which would seem to be a copiest's mistake. By this "wearing down" the mystic's carnal soul may be controlled so that his spirit (*rūḥ*) can rise upward. L. Massignon, *The Passion of al-Ḥallāj* 3:347.

12. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 142b.

«المغفرة و الكفر ماخوذان من الستر و [ك. الترقي/ ز.التوقي (؟)] و بينهما فرق لان الكفر تغطية الحق با لخلق و المغفرة تغطية الخلق بالحق و الاستغفار على ثلاث مراتب استهلاك و هو استغفار الذوات و هو ان لا يبقى للعبد اثر و لا لكونه خبر الثاني استغراق و هو استغفار الصفات و هو ان للمستغفر شعور انه مغفور له و الثالث استتار و هو استغفار افعال و هو كونه في الاشيا بربه لا بنفسه...»

13. That is, to know *of* a Self-disclosure, rather than to know or simply see a Self-disclosure.

14. Muḥammad Wafā', *Kitāb al-azal* 38–39.

« الإدراك: مرآة انكشاف تجلي العلم بالمعلوم من وراءامتناع الإثبات. فيظهر فيه المعلوم مشتملا بالتجلي لا بحصول الماهية ... فما من معلوم إلا و له محل قابل لتجليه عند المقابلة فيظهر مثاله فيه على ما هو به. فيقال على هذا المثال، بحكم هذا التجلي: «حادث ممكن». فعلى هذا، فما من حقيقة غائبة إلا و لها مرتبة في الإدراك، مستعدة لقبول تجليها بالتعيين. »

15. This recalls Ibn ʿArabī's claim that Self-disclosure takes form according to the disposition of the recipient: « و التجلي ... لا يكون أبدا إلا بصورة استعداد المتجلى له. » *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* 61.

16. The First, or Primary, Intellect in traditional Neoplatonic philosophical cosmology is the first thing the Divine thought when It cosidered Itself. The resulting First Intellect is the primary creative principle.

17. The Universal Soul is located below the First Intellect, from which it receives the creative emanation.

18. Compare this to Ibn ʿArabī's position that the servant sees God in the form of his own (predisposed) belief. *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* 121: « ثم رفع الحجاب بينه و بين عبده فرآه في صورة معتقده. »

19. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 100a.

« لما توجهت الارادة الداتيه لوضع صورة العلم المحيط بما لا يتناهي اخترع بفرص التجلي من وجه صورة الا حاطة العلميه قوابل كليات لموثرات احاطيات من وجوه متميزات بجهات مخصوصات فاعطت صورة العلم في قوابلها بالابداع الالهى من هذا (هذه :read) الوجوه عقولا آبا و نفوسا امهات كادم و حوى و كلا وضع صورة نفسه و تكثرات اشخاص نوعه فى احاطة جنسه كالنبات في تفريع اصله و تنويع ذوقه و شمه و لمسه الي غير ذلك مما يضيق عنه تصور عقل البشر و حدسه فاذا فهم هذا فنقول علي فرض المثلية ان العقل الاول فى الابيه الاوليه ابدع فى النفس الكليه عقولا و نفوسا فكان كلا منها كليا فى نفسه و احاطة نوعه و جنسه كحبة النبات اذا اخرجت غصنها و ورقتها و ابرزت ثمرتها كانت صورتها الخاصة لها فى عين ثمرتها و هي المرتبه الغاية لها فلما ان كانت بنو آدم ثمرة السجرة الجامعة كان كل منها قايما بعقل و نفس و هي ثمرة وجه من الوجوه المتنوعه و الابا و الامهات التي كانت عن التجلي الالهي مخترعة و مبدعة و كل شجرة لب ثمرتها اصل شجرتها فحصل العالم بصورته فى وجوه لا يتناهى عددا و لا ينفد مددا فكل عقل يحكم على العالم بصورة ما حصل فيه ... كوجوه الملل و النحل على اختلاف تصوراتها و كذلك في ساير الافلاك و الافاق كل قد علم صلاته و تسبيحه و العقل الكامل هو لب ثمرة الشجرة المحيطه قي جامع الاصول و كل فصل مفصول و هذا هو الوجه الذي لا تدركه الابصار و هو يدرك الابصار و كما قال الا انه بكل شيئ محيط »

20. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 33b.

21. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 50b.

22. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 38b. See also 50b.

« الذي بطن في الازل هو ظهر في الابد و العكس فما ظهر في الابد غير عبد و بطن فيه عكسه و ما ظهر في الازل غير رب و الذي نطن شكل الاول فماظهر من حيث بطن بطن من حيث ظهر... »

23. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 27a–27b.

24. Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God* 276.

25. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 41b.

26. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 48a.

« الله غيب كل شيئ و كل شي عينه ... فان الغيب المطلق لا يظهر ابدا الا بعين اما بالتجلي و اما بالفعل اما بالتمثل و اما بالتركيب ... و متي حرق نور العلم اللدني نظر (ز.بصر) الحس المدرك راى غيب كل شي في عينه قل لا يعلم من في السنوات و الارض الغيب الا الله و الانسان سرير الرحمن و في العرفان فنا الانسان و بقا الرحمن و الرحمن عين غيب كل شي ... »

The term *ʿayn* may signal a number of different meanings, including "eye," "entity," "essence," "source," or "identical with."

27. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 154a.

28. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 98b.

29. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 22a.

30. Muḥammad Wafā', *Kitāb al-masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* Dār al-Kutub 2b.

«لا ينكشف لك الا معلومك منك و اليك في كل مقام بحسبه ... unclear»

Al -Fārābī echoes this idea (which doubtless had earlier Greek roots) when he says, "In the intellect, the observing thing and the things observed are one." G. Anawati, *Études de philosophie musulmane* (Paris: Vrin, 1974) 187.

«و نقول إن في العقل الشيئ الناظر و الأشيا ء المنظور إليها هي واحدة. »

31. ʿAlī Wafā', *Kitāb al-masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* Dār al-Kutub 50a.

«العارف عين معروفه و المحقق حقيقة ما حققه و على قدر شهو د الكمال و التكميل تكون محبة الشاهد لمشهوده و على قدر صدق المحبة يكون تحقق المحب بمحبوبه و على قدر التحقق يكون ظهور المتحقق بحكم ما تحقق به عينا و اثرا و الله بكل شيئ عليم انه بكل شيئ محيط و هو هو بما هو هو ...

The last phrase appears also in the writings of ʿAlī Wafā'. See his *Kitāb al-waṣāyā* fols. 48a and 104b. Ibn Sīnā used "هو هو" to denote the identity of two things. See A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la lanque philosophique d'Ibn Sina* 411.

32. In all the Wafā'iyya writings there is no explicit mention of Aritotle or the Arab philosophers (e.g., Al-Fārābī, d. 339/950, Ibn Sīnā, d. 429/1037) who used this cosmology, which saw the divine emanation take form as a series of spheres or intellects. For a concise description of this cosmolgy see P. Heath, *Allegory and Philosophy in Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā)* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992) 37.

33. Ibn ʿArabī, *Iṣṭilāḥat al-ṣūfiyya*, 243 The text appended to Jurjānī's *al-Taʿrīfāt* (Cairo: al-Ḥalabī, 1938) describes Jabarūt: "According to Abū Ṭālib, it is the world of Might [عظمـة], according to most it is the median world." This "most" would include Ibn ʿArabī. In this model *jabarūt* functioned as a *barzakh*—and the Imaginal realm—between *mulk* (the apparent world) and *malakūt* (the unseen world of meanings). See Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God* 259–60, and *The Sufi Path of Knowledge* 282. Abū al-Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111) held this view also. See *Encyclopedia of Islam* second ed. s.v. "ʿĀlam," and F. Jabre, *Essai sur le lexique de Ghazali* (Beirut: Publications de l'Université Libanaise, 1985) 46, 256, 257.

34. Al-Qāshānī, *A Glossary of Techinical Terms* entries 284, 285, 286.

35. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 78a.

«روح الامر من كنز عالم القدرة و فيه يتعين غيب الوجوب بالتجلي من اسماء مسنى و صفات على و مراتب اجل و... ملكيات الملا الا علا بالعرش و الكرسى و اللوح و القلم... و روحالخلق من كنز عالم الحكمة و به يتعين ما فيه من الاشباح الروحانيه و الصور الجسمانية... و هما الملك و الملكوت و للدنيا و الاخره و ما فيها من مسموعات و مبصرات و محسوسات»

36. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 150a.

37. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 76b.

38. Muḥammad Wafā', *Kitāb al-azal* 74.

39. "Two bows'-length" is an allusion either to Gabriel communicating revelation to the prophet Muḥammad (Q. 53:9) or as is more likely in this context, Muḥammad's direct encounter with God.

40. That is, the divine Spirit, after it has been separated, at the event of creation, from the One, or the spirit as separate from matter.

41. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 95a, 95b.

«الاول الجبروت و هو العالم الالهي و الثاني الملكوت و هو العالم الروحاني و الثالث الملك و هو العالم النفساني الصوري الاول بالجبروت و هو عالم الالهيه و الحاصل فيه الذي كان قاب قوسين و العالم الثاني الملكوت و هو عالم

الروح و الحاصل فيه الجبريليه و هو المستفاد بالوحي الملكى المتنزل عن القلب نزل به الروح الامين على قلبك و الثالث الملك و هو عالم الاركان و المتو لدات و الحاصل فيه القرين الجان بالامر الصالح... عالم الملك مركوز فى الجسم المحيط بالاجسام الاربع البسايط و هي الماء و النار و التراب و الهوا المتولد عنها المعدن و النبات و الحيوان و العقل المعيشى من شخص الانسان و عالم الملكوت مركوز في الروح المفارق و هو المحيط بالجواهر الاربعه العقل و النفس و القوة الفعاله و روح الامر الموجود عنهم (؟) اللوح و القلم و العرش و الكرسى و عالم الجبروت قيوم في احاطة الوجود المطلق المتميز بالحقايق الاربعة العلم و الحياة و الوجود الحق و الوجه المحيط لمتنزل بالصفة و الاسم و النور و التجلي... »

42. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 81b.

43. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 143b.

44. This term seems to be an innovation of Muḥammad Wafā's. On the philosophical term *mushtarak*, see A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīna* 70 and Ibn Sīnā, *Livre des directives et remarques* A.-M. Goichon trans. 317 fn. 5.

45. That is, the "common sense" synthesizes and organizes the data from the five senses.

46. The clear horizon (Q. 81:23) recalls Gabriel's revelation to Muḥammad, while the Lote-tree is the *sidrat al-muntahā* (Q. 53:14), which is the limit of the Prophet's ascension towards God.

47. Muḥammad Wafā', *Kitāb al-azal* 60.

« فالمكن ينقسم إلى ملكي و ملكوتي. و الملكي ينقسم إلى ستة أقسام و هي: المشاعر الخمس، و الحس المشترك. و الملكوتي ينقسم إلى ستةأقسام: المتوهمة، و المتخيلة، و الحافظة، و الذاكرة، و الفكرية، و العقل المشترك. فالحس المشترك برزخ بين الملك و الملكوت. و العقل المسترك برزخ بين الملكوت و الجبروت. و اعلم: أن المشاعر الخمس، و الحس المشترك (هم) الأيام الستة التي خلق اللة فيهن السموات و الأرض. (و سموا) بأيام: (لأنهم) أنوار بيان و إيضاح إبهام (here as per Azhar 105b) و انكشاف غيب. (و هم) مقاليد السموات و الارض. و المقلد هو المفتاح. البصر : مفتاح خزائن المرئيات، و نورها، و بيانها. و السمع مفتاح خزائن المسموعات، و نورها. و الشم ... و الذوق... و كذلك اللمس. و الحس المشترك جامعها، و حاضرها، و حافظها في حال غيبة أعيانها. و الخيال خزائنها، و منتهى حاصل صورها الروحانية لمجردة. و هذا هو الأفق المبين، و سدرة المنتهى. و كذلك الأنوار الملكوتية بإزاء هذه الأنوار الملكية. و هذه الأنوار الاثني عشر حقائق استعداد اللوح. وجوامع مراتبه القابلة للصور المفاضة عن القلم، و هي القوة الناطقة. و قد بين الله بيان ذلك في النسخة الإنسانية الأدمية. فمن عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه، و هو العرش، الذي تحتة مثال كل شيء. »

48. This is Ibn Sīnā's position, distinct from that of al-Fārābī. See R. Walzer, "Al-Fārābī's Theory of Prophecy and Divination" in his *Greek into Arabic: Essays on Islamic Philosophy* (Oxford: Bruno Cassier, 1963) 216–18.

49. These "comprehensions" equate with the concept of the *'laṭā'if'* (subtle substances) of earler sufi thought. These substances—as spiritual rather than physical faculties—function as organs linking the human and divine worlds. Details of the definitions of these substances vary; see H. Landolt, "Stages of God-cognition and the Praise of Folly according to Najm-i Rāzī (d. 1256)" in *Sufi* no. 47, 2000; *Le Révélateur des mystères* 56 ff.; "Two Types of Mystical Thought in Muslim Iran" in *Muslim World* no. 68, 1978, 196; and Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God* 157–60. The *laṭā'if* may also be found in the model of creative divine emanation; see ibid. 72–75.

50. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya 72a, 72b.

51. A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique* 230. The polished soul (*sirr*) looking at the Majesty of holiness (*janāb al-qudus*) is similar. See Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Ishārāt wa al-tanbihāt* S. Dunya ed. (4 vols.) (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, n.d.) 4:92.

52. It is probably no coincidence that the earlier discussion of the "rational faculty" and its position as the highest human point was to be found in his most "philosophical" text, the *Kitāb al-azal*. This said, an interesting remark by L. Goodman—pointing out that Ibn Sīnā's Active Intellect effectively does away with the idea of *fanā'* (extinction

into the divine)—is relevant to Muḥammad Wafā'. The latter after all does not explore *fanā'* to the extent one might expect from a sufi thinker. This should be understood as yet more evidence of the Wafā's following Ibn ʿArabī's philosophical sufism, leaving aside what we may call "psychological sufism," and its concern with mystical states. Goodman, *Avicenna* 19.

53. In the *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* text, Gabriel is replaced by Jabarūt.

54. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 154a, 154b, and Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 76b.

55. The "teaching-shaykh" develops the theoretical principles of sufism, while the "guiding-shaykh" serves as a director of spiritual discipline.

56. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 129b–30a. We noted some of these definitions earlier.

57. A popular hadith among sufi writers is one attributed to the Prophet: "Assume the character traits of God!" See *Sufi Path of Knowledge* 286–88.

58. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya, 87a.

«الزهاد اندرجت علومهم في اعمالهم و الصوفيه اندرجت علومهم في احوالهم و العارفون اندرجت اعمالهم في معارفهم و المحققون اندرجت احوالهم في حقايقهم فالزهاد وجدوا ما علموا فيما عملوا و الصوفيه وجدوا ما تحققوا في ما تخلقوا و العارفون وجدوا ما عملوا فيما عرفوا و المحققون وجدوا ما تخلقوا فيما تحققوا.»

59. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 84a, 84b.

«وجه العارف مراة تجليات صفات معروفة و المحقق عنوان ما تحقق به الصوفى هو المتخلق بالاخلاق المضافة الى مطلوبه بالتقديس و الجمع عيين كماله لا يحصل الا مع وجود اجتماع النقيضيين المستحيل عادة و عقلا.»

60. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 8a. Cf. *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya 100a.

61. A popular sufi saying, quoted by al-Qushayrī from Basṭāmī, runs, "He who has no shaykh his master is Satan." See al-Qushayrī, *Das Sendschreiben al-Qushayrīs über das Sufitum* R. Gramlich trans. (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1989) 538.

62. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 99a, 99b.

«من ليس له استاد (sic) ليس له مولي و من ليس له مولي فالشيطان به اولي.» «من عرف نفسه فقد عرف شيخه. نفس: من لم يجد شيخه لم يجد قلبه و من لم يجد قلبه فقد فقد ربه.»

63. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 139b.

«شيخك من اسمعك اذا سكت و غيبك اذا نطق و افقدك اذا وجد و اوجدك حيث سكت و شيخك من علمك بقاله و حققك بحاله و اثبتك بزواله و محقك بكماله ...»

64. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya, 100a.

«قلب اريد بيت استاده و قالبه قبره الذى يدفن فيه و ينشر منه...»

65. The Iranian mystic ʿAyn al-Quḍāt al-Hamadānī (d. 525/1131) noted that aspirant is to contemplate God in the mirror of the spirit of his teacher. In turn, the teacher will contemplate himself in the mirror of his disciple, as God contemplates Himself through the mirror of creation. See Landolt, "Two Types of Mystical Thought in Muslim Iran," 197, and F. Jahanbakhsh, "The Pir-Murīd Relationship in the Thought of ʿAyn al-Quḍāt al-Hamadānī" in *Consciousness and Reality: Studies in Memory of Toshihiko Izutsu* J. Āshtiyānī et al. eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2000) 132.

66. ʿAlī Wafā', *al-Masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* 3a.

67. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 100a.

«قلب المريد عرش لاستوا رحمانية استاده.»

The same verb is used in the Qur'an for God's sitting on the Throne. See 7:54, 20:5 or 57:4.

68. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya, 100a.
«المريد الصادق منبر ناطق يراقه الاستاد بعد تجريده عن عو الم الجسم فيخبر بلسانه الصادق عما شاهده من الحقايق»

69. In the previous "gem." we are told that the "eloquent speaker (*nātiq*) is he who speaks by the tongue of his follower after his divesting (or purification)." Therefore, it is the "eloquent pulpit" who "informs . . . of what he has witnessed of the realities" and not the shaykh himself. This makes all the more sense when read in light of ʿAlī's implied claim to be the continuation of his father's sanctity.

70. See Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 68–70, for more detail and sources.

71. In our discussion of cosmology above, we saw that Muḥammad Wafā' attributed this function to the Spirit of the divine Command.

72. Al-Qāshānī, *A Glossary of Technical Terms* entry 124.

73. Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:22. I have not been able to locate this within Muḥammad Wafā's own writings. As an aside, it should not surprise us that a poet should have a vision in which possible existence is to the Necessary Divine as a metaphor is to truth.
«قال لي الحق أيها المخصوص لك عند كل شيء مقدار و لامقدار لك عندي فإنه لا يسعنى غيرك و ليس مثلك شيء أنت عين حقيقتني و كل شيء مجازك و أنا موجود في الحقيقة معدوم في المجاز»
This "measure" recalls Q. 13:8, "Everything is before Him in its measure." «و كل شيء عنده بمقـدار» Also of note here is the hadith *qudsī* "My earth and My heaven embrace Me not, but the heart of My believing servant does embrace Me." (See *Sufi Path of Knowledge* 396 fn. 20 for sources of this hadith.)

74. See Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 70–71, and the study by M. Takeshita, *Ibn ʿArabī's Theory of the Perfect Man* (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1987).

75. Al-Qāshānī, *A Glossary of Technical Terms* entry 429.

76. Al-Qāshānī, *A Glossary of Technical Terms* entry 277.

77. Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God* 289.

78. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 73b.
«موصوف صفات الذات هو الاسم العظيم الاعظم فى افق الاسما الحسنى و هو المثل الاعلا فى عالم الجبروت و السابق القيوم قي عالم الرهبوت و الروح المحيط في عالم الامر و هو روح القدس في عالم الملكوت و الحق الواضع فى عالم الخلق و الانسان الكامل فياض الصور فى عالم الكون اليه يرجع الامر كله»
A more typical sufi use of *fyḍ*, would be in the form *fayḍ*, which describes the effusion from the Godhead. See, for example, Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge* 162.

79. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 71, observes that the function of the Muḥammadan Reality is in effect accomplished by the figure of the pole. It should be remembered here that these various figures—and even their representatives—are largely indistinguishable from the Muḥammadan Reality.

80. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 5b.

81. On the various sources for this hadith see *Sufi Path of Knowledge* 396 fn. 18.

82. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 25a.
«قلب القطب هو اسم الله الاعظم و وجهه ذاته الاكرم الذي قام به الخلق و الامر و عليه مدار السر و الجهر و كل قلوب بني آدم بين اصبعين من اصابعه كقلب واحد فهم السنته الناطقة و كلماته الصادقة و اقلامه الفاتقة و الراتقة ...»

83. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 25b.
«القطب بدل من اسم الله عز و جل و هو المهيمن على اسما النزول كما ان اسم الله تعالى هو المهيمن على اسماء الرفيع الاعلى و كما ان لله تعالى تسعة و تسعين اسما كذلك للقطب تسعة و تسعين اسما كل اسم من اسمائه تعالى هو عين غيبه و ظاهر باطنه و وحه ذاته و تجلى اسمائه و صفاته فمن عرفه عرف حضرة الله و من انكره فلا حول و لا قوة الا بالله»

84. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 147a.

85. Muḥammad Wafā', *Kitāb al-azal* 167.

«الولاية: كفالة مخصوصة بالذات توجب البصر، و التدبير بالخصوص. فالولي: هو الذى يتولى امر وليه بنفسه كما يتولى امر نفسه، لانه هو منه، لا كتبعيض المغايرة. فرع: الولى المخصوص هو وجه الذات، الذى لا تدركه الابصار، و اليه تتوجه الوجوه من كل الجهات، و عنده تتحقق جميع الغايات»

86. See Bukhārī's *Saḥīḥ* Riqāq 38.

87. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 96a.

88. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* Dār al-kutub 17b, and al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 73a.

«فلما اسرى به الى قاب قوسين و اوحى اليه الوجود العلمي اندرج الازل قي ابده و بطن واحده في احده (ز. اخره) و اشتغلت الاحاد بالواحد (ز. عن الواحد) بالاحد و تلى لسان الولاية الكبرى قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد...»

Elsewhere in the *Nafā'is* (75a) we read, "The One said, From every side I am the first by Raḥmān (the Merciful) and the last by Insān (humanity), and the Apparent (*ẓāhir*) in creation and the Interior (*bāṭin*) in truth. So he who knows Me thus, and realizes Me in all this, his last is gathered into his first and his apparent is counted among his interior until he becomes eternal (*azaliyyan*), without an end to his first, and is everlasting (*ṣamadiyyan*), without an apparent to his interior."

89. I understand this "tongue" to belong to the Prophet since the verb *talā* (to recite), as used in the Qur'an, refers to the act of individuals relating God's signs and not the act of revelation itself.

90. The Maktaba Azhariyya ms reads: حقيقة سلوبية (?).

91. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* Dār al-Kutub 17b, and al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 73a.

92. Hadith *qudsī* not found in the traditional collections.

93. This seems to be a variant of «اعملوا ما شئتم ... فقد غفرت لكم» Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ* Maghāzī 9.

94. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya 80a.

«اعلم ان القطبية على قسمين قطبية في العلوم اللدنية و قطبية في العلوم الدينيه و الفرق بينها ان الاولى علوم تعريفية و الاخرى تكليفية و كل واحد ينقسم الى ثلثه مراتب الولاية ثم النبوة ثم الرسالة و في اللدنيه بالعكس لان الاولى في الديانات من تولى الله (د. بالمثال) باوامره و نواهيه و في اللدنيه الولي من تولاه الله اما بالذات فاذا حببته كنت هو او بالصفات فاذا احببته كنت سمعه الدي يسمع به و بصره الدي يبصر به او بالافعال افعل ما سيت مغفور لك و الجمع بينهم كمال لا يدرك النبوة اللدنية و الرسالة الدينية سارية في اعماق الروحانية بدرجة الجلالة مع الهوية السارية و الله عليم بذات الصدور و اذا فهم هذا الخطات علم الفرق بين الموسية و الخضرية»

95. We shall discuss the typology of these figures in the next chapter, in the section "On Walāya and Nubuwwa."

96. Al-Qāshānī, *A Glossary of Technical Terms* entry 55 (cf. 56) defines al-Jalāl as:

احتجاب الحق تعالى عنا بعزته ان نعرفه بحقيقته و هويته كما يعرف هو ذاته فان ذاته سبحانه لا يراها احد على ما هي عليه الا هو»

97. It should be remembered here that Ibn ʿArabī saw all forms of sanctity as derived from *nubuwwa ʿāmma*. See the last section of chapter 1 above.

98. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 75b.

«الولاية لها ظاهر و باطن ظاهرها توفيق العبد لان يتولى الله بامتثال اوامره و نواهيه و اتباع مرضاته و النبوة فوق درجه الولاية و الرسالة فوق ذلك بما خصص الله الانبيا من الانبا و الاطلاع على المغيبات و مكاشفة الملكوت و ما ايد الله به الرسل من تنزل روح القدس و الامداد بالحكمة و القوة على الدعوى (د. الدعوة) الى الله تعالى و المعجزات الباهرة و الدلالات الظاهرة الى غير ذلك فاما الولاية الباطنة فهو بما تولى الله به عبده بذاته و اطلعه عليه من مكنون اسمائه و صفاته و احضره فى حظاير قدس تجلياته فاخذه منه و افناه عنه و ابقاه به فهو لا هو و لا هو الا هو و هذه الولاية هي

التي ترقى اليها محمد صلى الله عليه و سلم لما فارقه جبريل عند سدرة المنتهى و كان بها فى مقام قاب قوسيناو ادنى و كانت النبوة من هدا الوجه دون مقام ولايته و الرسالة دون مقام نبوته و الولاية و النبوة و الرسالة فى عالم القدرة على هذا الحكم بهذا الترتيب الاول بالوجود و الثاني بالامكان»

99. On this idea of the inversion of the two orders, according to Ḥaydar Āmulī, see H. Corbin, *En Islam Iranien* I:260ff.

100. This Renewer of religion (*mujaddid al-dīn*) is not mentioned in the Qur'an but does have a basis in hadith (see Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan* 4/156). Landau-Tasseron, "The 'Cyclical Reform': A Study of the *Mujaddid* tradition," *Studia Islamica* 70, 1989 tells us that "Discussion of *tajdīd* is mainly conducted in personal not in conceptual terms. (Our) conclusion is that *tajdīd* was not a central concept in the evolution of medieval Islamic thought; it was rather an honorific title bestowed on individuals over the ages, and the conceptual aspect was secondary, involving mainly the qualifications of the candidates" (p. 84). However, Muḥammad Wafā's late contemporary, the historian Ibn Khaldūn, tells that speculation on the Mahdi was common in his time. "Most of our contemporary Sufis refer to the (expected) appearance of a man who will renew the Muslim law and the ordinances of the truth. They assume that his appearance will take place at some time near our own period." Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddima: An Introduction to History* F. Rosenthal trans. (3 vols.) (New York: Bollingen, 1958) 2:195. Landau-Tasseron also concludes that the rise of the hadith of the Renewer was historicallly tied to defence of the teachings al-Shāfiʿī (pp. 97 ff). See also Y. Friedmann, *Prophecy Continuous* (University of California Press, 1989) ch. 4. It is also interesting to note that the Maghrebi, al-Jazūlī (d. 869/1465), would associate the *mujaddid* and the Mahdi. See V. Cornell, *Realm of the Saint* 184.

101. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 92b, 93a.

102. Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, Malāḥim 1.

103. A hadith popular in sufi texts. See *The Sufi Path of Knowledge* 396, fn. 20.

104. A reference to Sūrat al-Fātiḥa, the first verse of the Qur'an, perhaps called the "Seven oft-repeated" because it is used in prayers. Reference to the Fātiḥa, sometimes called the "mother of the Book," may be a metonymic reference to the Qur'an. In 15:87 we read, "We have given you the Seven oft-repeated and the great Qur'an" (و قد آتيناك سبعا من المثاني و القرآن العظيم). Qur'anic commentators, for example *Tafsīr al-Jalālain*, gloss the Seven as the Fātiḥa. The traditionist al-Bukhārī understands the *mathānī* as the Qur'an itself; thus *sabʿan min al-mathānī* means seven verses out of the Qur'an, and *wa al-Qur'ān al-ʿaẓīm* refers to the rest of the Qur'ān. For more on this see U. Rubin, "Exegesis and Hadith: The Case of the Seven Mathānī" in *Approaches to the Qur'ān* G. Hawtig ed. (London: Routledge, 1993).

105. Muḥammad Wafā', *Shaʿā'ir al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 135b, 136a.
«و هذا هو المومن الذي وسع قلبه الحقيقة بالمعرفة و ضاق عنها كل شيء... فهو لاهم اشياخ زمانه و اعيان اوانه و بما كان هذا الظهور على راس كل ماية سنة (ز. سبعة) كان لكل واحد منهم فى زمانه سبعون الفا (الف :read) اعلام هدى ومشارق انوار الاقتدا و من هنا يفهم سر السبع المثنى ان لله سبعون الف حجاب من ظلمة ونور...»
On the sources for the last hadith see the discussion in *Le Révélateur des mystères* 111 fn. 176. See also Isfarāyinī's discussion, ibid. 130 ff, according to which all veils, whether they be of divine or human origin (base or noble), must be passed through along the mystic path.

106. The eight throne-bearing angels and the "day of Assembly" are to be found in Qur'anic descriptions of the Day of Judgment (e.g., 69:17).

107. The Muslim community.

108. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 71a,71b.

«و لما كانت الايام السبعة ضرب الله مثلا من السبعة المثاني الذين هم مظاهر تجليات صفات الذات و هي الحياة و العلم و القدرة و الارادة و السمع و البصر و الكلام ثم القران العظيم و مظهر تجلي الذات مسمى الاسما و موصوف الصفات ثم تنزلت الثمانيه الحملة العرشيه و انثنت فتنز لت الى السبع الاوامر السماو يه و اوحى في كل سما امرها ثم انثنت و تنزلت في آدم و نوح و ابراهيم و موسى و داود و سليمان و عيسى ثم ظهرت في محمد صلى الله عليه و سلم وهو يوم جمعها و نظام امرها ثم انثنت في الامة الاميه و الملة الاحمديه على حكم السنة المتقدمة يبعث الله على راس كل ماية رجلا يجدد لهذه الامة دينهم وهذه حقيقة القطبانيه حتى الى الثمانمايه يظهر الثامن الجامع و النور الباهر الطالع و الحد الجامع المانع خاتم السبع المثاني و ناظم نظام حقايقها في الاعيان و المعاني من الامة الاميه و الملة الاحمدية المحمديه هو القران العظيم المسمى بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و هو يوم الجمع الذي لا ريب فيه و لا جحود ذلك يوم مجموع له الناس و ذلك يوم مشهود»

109. This "great" revelation is probably more than simply the scripture of the Qur'an. It seems to represent here the first extension into creation. This presentation recalls the Shīʿī concept of the Imāms as the *Qur'ān nāṭiq*. Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide in Early Shiʿism* 167, fn.198.

110. This ensemble of seven prophets is apparently not that found sequentially in the seven levels of heaven by the Prophet in his ascension. There the list is the following: Adam, Jesus, Joseph, Idrīs, Aaron, Moses, and Abraham (in the seventh heaven). Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ*, Salāt, 1. In the final section of the next chapter we will discuss this discrepancy in more detail.

111. This phrase, known as the *basmala*, has served in numerous mystical speculations among sufi thinkers. For example, Ibn ʿArabī contrasts its first letter ب (identifying it with the Unitary Divine Principle) with the last word of the Qur'an, *nās* (which sybolizes Universal Manifestation) See M. Chodkiewicz, *An Ocean without Shore:* 67. Muḥammad Wafā's contemporary, Ḥaydar Āmulī, in his commentary on Ibn ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ*, proposes the *basmala* as a structure for both the interior and exterior worlds. See Corbin, *En Islam Iranien* 4:177.

112. In the next chapter we shall see that ʿAlī Wafā', living at the turn of the ninth century, claims to be this Renewer. Ibn ʿArabī himself, significantly, had made the claim in his *Kitāb al-isrā'*: "I am the Qur'ān and the Seven oft-repeated." Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulfur* 116.

113. Cf. (Q.6:67): "For every tiding there is an abode (or time), and you shall know of it." «لكل نبا مستقر و سوف تعلمون» The word *tidings* may refer to stories of the prophets (e.g., 26:69, 28:3) or to God's tidings from the Unseen world (eg., 3:44, 12:102).

114. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktabat al-Azhariyya 82b.

«مستقر كل نبا حيث تعين ما انبا به و (ز. انبا عنه فنوح مستقر ما انبا به) آدم و ابراهيم مستقر ما انبا به نوح ... و محمد صلى الله عليه و سلم مستقر الجمع و كذلك الرجال المبعوثون على راس كل قرن الذين هم مستقرات الانبا المحمدي و صاحب الزمن الثامن ختم العصر و عين جامع الجمع مستقر النبا العظيم و مسمى بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم»

The last phrase, "In the Name of God . . ." begins the Qur'an and most suras. Its use in our passage may be taken as a reference to all revelation.

115. Al-Qāshānī understands the Prophet, as the *ḥaqīqa Muḥammadiyya*, to unite within himself the qualities of the seven great prophets. See P. Lory, *Les commentaires esotériques du Coran d'après ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī* (Paris: Les Deux Océans, 1980) 140.

116. This model of cycles and their final fulfillment are not unlike that of the early Ismāʿīlīs, who waited for the *Naṭiq* (speaker) or *Qā'im* / *Mahdī*. See F. Daftary,

The Ismāʿīlīs, Their History and Doctrines (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 140.

6. Sanctity according to ʻAlī Wafā'

1. See his *Talbīs Iblīs* (Beirut: Maktabat al-ʿAṣriyya, 1999).

2. H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymīya*. On some of the Egyptian responses to Ibn Taymiyya see E. Geoffroy, *Le Soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie* 446–50.

3. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:45 from ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā Sayyidī ʿAlī Wafā'* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale; ms no. 1359) 26a.

«فهو ذات كل موجود و كل موجود صفته و ليس لها مبدا الا هو اذ ليس بعدهالا العدم . . . »

The entry in *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* on ʿAlī Wafā' is made up of quotations taken largely from the *Waṣāyā* and *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya*. The passages are often shortened, and many have been arranged thematically. It appears, however, that not everything Shaʿrānī quotes is from these two works. (The *Waṣāyā* manuscript available to me was copied in 984/1576, that is, well after Shaʿrānī's death. Perhaps the earlier *Waṣāyā* copy Shaʿrānī used was larger.)

4. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 26b, 27a. (Partially quoted by Shaʿrānī 2:45.) This ontology is similar in form to Muḥammad Wafā's discussion of *tajallī* and *istiʿdād*, as we saw in the previous chapter. A structural comparison with Ibn ʿArabī's *aʿyān thābita* (immutable entities) remains to be done.

5. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:45. The term *Absolute Oneness* is used by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374) and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), representing the school of thought that sees God's existence as the only reality. This school is distinguished from that of the *aṣḥāb al-tajallī* , who recognize the reality of Self-disclosure in addition to that of God. The issue at hand is what significance is to be attributed to the various differentiations of the divine One. The first position would give none, while the second sees value in recognizing the destinctions the One makes within itself (e.g., the Self-disclosures). For a discussion of this issue see H. Landolt, "Le Paradoxe de la "Face de Dieu": 'Azîz-e Nasafî (VIIe/XIIIe siècle) et le "Monisme Ésotérique" de l'Islam" in *Studia Iranica* vol. 25/2 1996, 165.

6. "This is deficient with respect to the positions of the verifiers. In this [passage], the Shaykh is as one deprived of the demonstrations witnessed from his own utterances in [other] passages of his *Waṣāyā*; but God knows best." Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:45.

«و هى مرتبة نقص بالنظر لمراتب المحققين فكان الشيخ فيها كالمغلوب على إظهار ما شهد بقريبة كلامه في مواضع من هذه الوصايا و الله أعلم»

7. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* (Dār al-Kutub; Taṣawwuf 152; film 33564) 45a.

«انه بكل شيئ محيط كاحاطة فيما هو البحر بامواجه معنى و صورة فهو حقيقة كل شيئ و هو ذات كل شيئ كل شيئ عينه و صفته»

8. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:29.

9. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:51.

«و كان يقول لم يطلب كل طالب إلا الحق لكن تارة يظفر به حقا فيعبده عن مكاشفة و تارة يظفر به و هما فيعبده على حجاب فما عبد عابد فى الحقيقة إلا الله»

10. ʿAlī Wafā', *Kitāb al-Masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* (Dār al-Kutub; Taṣawwuf 166) 50a, repeated in *Waṣāyā* 104b.

11. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:43.

«من شهد أن القدوس هو القائم بالأمور لم يشهد فى الوجود إلا الكمال»

From the *Waṣāyā* 13b, a similar passage:

«اذا شاهدت ان القدس ذو الجلال و الاكرام هو القايم بامر لم تشهد ذلكالامر الا كمالا»

12. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 98a, 98b.

«هو وجودك بمعنى ذاتك و انت وجوده بمعنى عينه . . . هو الوجود الذات المتعين بكل موجود فالكل صفاته و اسماوه و بحكم مرتبته الالهية يصلح نظامالوجود و يكمل قوامه في كل مقام بحسبه»

13. Alī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 23b. «اذا كان وجود الكل هو وجودك فالكل منه وبك و اليك»

14. Alī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 101a.

«وجودك هو ربك بربوبيته و الهك بالهيته و رحمانك برحمانيته و قس على هذاجمع (sic) المعاني و الصفات فتارة يظهر لك بحكم هذه المراتباو بعضها في ادراكك من الحيثية التي تراها انت و تراه منها وجودك و تارتة من الحيثية التي تراها غيرك و تراه منها وجود غيرك و ما هو في الحقيقة الا وجودكاذ (*) لا يظهر لك الوجود حيث ظهر و كيف ظهر و بمهما ظهر الا من حيث هو وجودك و انت لا تدرك ذلك و لا شئ منه الا بانه وجودك المدرك لذلك بادراكه من حيثانه وجودك المدرك ما ثم شئ خلاف هذا الا انه بكل شئ محيط»

Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:56 quotes this passage, but only after (*).

15. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 13b reads:

«فما من وجود الا الى شهودك و ما فى شهودك الا من وجودك»

16. Ibn Sabʿīn (d. 669/1270) and his disciple ʿAfīf al-Dīn Tilimsānī (d. 690/1291) both knew Ibn ʿArabī's disciple Saḍr al-Dīn al-Qūnāwī. Tilimsānī had met Ibn ʿArabī in Damascus and had for a time been a disciple of al-Qūnāwī. See C. Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur* 257–58.

17. This is a variant of the hadith Tirmidhī, *Saḥīḥ*, Imām, 18.

18. Alī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 2b, 3a.

«جا فيالحديث ان الله خلق الاجسام فى ظلمة ثم رش عليها من نوره فمن اصابه ذلك النور اهتدى و من اخطاه ضل معنى كون الاجسام ظلمة انها مراتبانهام و ايهام فشانها من حيث جرمانيتها الو هم البهيم و النور المرشوش عليها هو لروح الناطق العليم الحكيم من تجلى الوجود الرحمن الرحيم و الاجسام على هذهالارواح المرشوشة على استعداداتها كنقاب اسود اغبر على وجه مبهج اقمر فمن لم ير من ذلك الوجهالا نقابه فلم يبتهج و لم يجد السرور كمن لم ير من اوليا الله الا اجسامهم فلم يذكر الله لشهود نور المذكور و من كشف الستور ابتهج بالسرور عند مشاهدة المقصود»

19. Alī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 20b. «الاسم عين المسمى في كل مقام بحسبه»

20. Ibn ʿArabī used "Qur'ān" and "Furqān" (both names for scripture) to explain the at once uniting and differentiating function of God's word. See Chittick, *Sufi Path of Knowledge* 363.

21. Alī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 21b.

«. . . الكلام عين المتكلم في الدايرة السمعية كما قال و قد جينا هم بكتاب الآية فهو المتكلم و هو الكلام و القرآن عينه العقلي و الفرقان عينه الخيالي و المقرؤ المعبر عنه بضمير تقراه عينه الحسي فالمقرؤ تنزل الفرقان و الفرقان تنزل القرآن و القرآن تنزل الكلام و الكلام عين المتكلم و الكل تعيناته التفصيلية مجمل تجليه المعبر عنه بالكلام»

22. Alī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 35a. «قاسباب الخلق تجليات الخلاق و اسباب الرزق تجليات الرزاق»

23. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 22b.

24. At the beginning of this chapter we saw ʿAlī Wafā' using the related term *taqdīr* (ordaining) to convey much the same point being made here.

25. This seems to be a version of another hadith, popular among sufi thinkers, which many hadith scholars have considered a forgery. See Chittick, *Sufi Path of Knowledge* 391 n. 16.

26. An interpretation traditionally ascribed to the Prophet's companion Ibn ʿAbbās. See Chittick, *Sufi Path of Knowledge* 150.

27. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:55.

«يقول ما حققت دائرةالخلق إلا لنعرف الحق بتفصيل أسمائه و صفاته في مظنهر آثاره . . . فكل من كان أعرف بحال الآثار كان أعرف بمظاهرالأسماء و الصفات و كل من كان أعرف بمظاهر المسمى الموصوف كان أعرف بحقائق تلك المظاهر على قدر معر فته بالحقائق الظاهرة.»

28. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:32.

29. Muḥammad Wafā' himself is this elite. See the quotation at the start of the section "The Muḥammadan Reality and the Pole" in the previous chapter.

30. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:23.

31. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 85b.

32. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:44.

33. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 21a, 21b.

«الوجود واحد بالذات كثير بالنسبة الى موجوداته و الموجودات متغايرة بحدود ماهياتها الحكمية الادراكية لا بحقيقة وجودها فمتى نظرت الى حقيقة الوجود و رددت امر موجوداته النه كنت موحدا و متى نظرت الى حدود الماهيات الحكمية و رددت امر وجودها اليه (اليها read) كنت معددا و متى علمت قى كل دايرة بما تقتضى الحكمةان يعمل به من مقتضيات النظرين قي تلك الدايرة مع تحقيقك لها كنت كاملا سيدا مسددا»

The figure of the Perfect Sayyid will be discussed in more detail at the end of this chapter, in the section "The Seal and the Renewer of Religion."

34. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:33.

35. This insight is also described in Ibn ʿArabī's *Futūḥāt* as the "Possessor of the Two Eyes." See Chittick, *Sufi Path of Knowledge* 361–63.

36. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:33. See al-Qushayrī, *Das Sendschreiben al-Qushayrīs über das Sufitum* 538.

37. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:33.

38. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2I:33.

«من وافق أستاذه في أفعاله طابقه فيما أخبر له من معارفه ومن خالفه فى أفعاله فقد المطابقة بتوهم معانى أقواله»

39. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:33. «المريد الصادق عرش لاستواء رحمانية أستاذه ...»

We saw a similar statement from Muḥammad Wafā' in the previous chapter in the section "The Teaching Shaykh and Beyond."

40. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 39a.

«قالالاطباان برد الرحم سبب في عدم الحمل هكذا نفس التلميذ متى لم تجد لوعةالوجد و حرقة الطلب و الشوق الى المقصود لم يتولد فيها من فيض استاده عليها صورة امره و يكون ايضا مثل الوقود لبارد لا يوثر فيه القبس الادخانا كالدعاوي و الرعونات الحاصلة للنفوس الداخلة بينالقوم بغير حرقة شوق ...»

41. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 104a.

«معرفتك بحقيقتك على قدر معرفتك باستاذك»

42. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 3a.

«...ان وجدت استادك المحقق وجدت حقيقتك و ان وجدت حقيقتك وجدت الله و ان وجدت الله وجدت كل شيء فليس كل المراد الا في وجد هذا الاستاد»

43. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:49, and ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāya* 54b.

«للأستاذ مظهر سر الربربية لمريده فعلى المريد أن يقف عند أمر أستاذه و أن لا يلتفت عن أستاذه ... فتبين أن المريد ما له وجه يتوجه إليه إلا أستاذه حتى إذا تحقق بحقيقة أستاذه و سقط حكم المغايرة بين مرتبتيهما كان الله وجهه من حيث و جه ذلك الأستاذ الذى تحقق به ذلك المريد...»

44. A sign of the Last Day is a blast on this Trumpet, (Q. 69:13). The famous al-Ḥallāj said, "By God! it is the breath of the uncreated Spirit that breathes into my skin a thought, the very one that Isrāfīl will blow into the Trumpet." L. Massignon, *The Passion of al-Ḥallāj* 1:285. Massignon then adds the following quote from Ibn Bākhilā: "When the Trumpet sounds, the sincere mystic will say, I heard it a long time ago!"

45. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:32.

« ... فأول مبادىءالمريد أن تتحلى طويته بسمات أهل الفلاح و الولاية فاذا كشف لبصيرته عن أستاذه رأى صورة صلاحه و ولايته فى صفاء صورة أستاذه فينطقأن أستاذه هو الصالح الولى فيستمد من بركات ملاحظتهالمتوالية وهممه العالية و لا يزال مطلبهمن الأستاذدعواته المنيفة و] خواطره الشريفة فيتودد إليه تودد المتأنس حتى ينفخ إسرافيل العناية في صور صورة قلبه روح التخصيص الآدمي فهناك يشهد أستاذه آدم الزمان و مالك أزمة الأكوان فيعظمه تعظيم الشاب لأبيه المهاب إلى أن يسفر حجاب صورتهالآدمية عن جمال ما خصه من الروح المحمدية فهناك يشهد أستاذه سيدا محمديا و يكون له عبدا ... فينظر إلى أستاذه فلا يرى إلا الواحد يتجلى فى كل مشهد على قدر وسع الشاهد فيصير عدمابين يدى وجود و محوا فى حضرة شهود فأول أمره توفيق و أوسطه تصديق و آخره تحقيق... »

46. Abū Madyan, "Uns al-waḥīd" no. 161 in *The Way of Abū Madyan* 147.

« الشيخ من شهدت له ذاتك بالتقديم و سرك بالاحترام و التعظيم· الشيخ من هذبك بأخلاقه و أدبك بإطراقه و أنار باطنك باشراقه· الشيخ من جملك في حضوره و حفظك في مغيب آثار نوره »

47. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 12b.

« حقيقة المريد المخصوص كن استاذه بمنزلة ما يراه الناظر في المرآة من نفسه مطابقا

48. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:32.

49. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 3b.

« انت على الصورة التي تشهد استاذك عليها ... ان شهدته خلقا فانت خلق و ان شهدته حقا فانت حق »

50. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:32.

« صورة الأستاذ الناطق مرآة سر المريد الصادق إذا نظر فيها ببصيرته شهدها على صورة سريرته ... »

51. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:60.

52. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:60.

« لسان حال كل أستاذ ناطق بالحق المبين يقول لكل مريد صادق تقرب إلى حتى أحبك فإذا أحببتك رأيتك أهلا لي فظهرت فيك بما أنت مستعد له »

Apparently sincere aspirants were not very common. In 804/1401ʿAlī Wafā' wrote, "To date I have not found an aspirant who approaches the reality of his truth in me (حقيقة عندي) by supererogation so that I love him. If I found him, I would fulfill him in his truth, then (I would say) "I love you" and I would be him (فكنت هو). How my aspirant would excell in conformity (to me) and perfection!" (*Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 11a, 11b and *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:60) This passage echoes the hadith in which the servant draws near to God by acts of supererogation until God loves him and becomes his hearing, sight etc. (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Riqāq 38).

53. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 11a.

« الحقيقة العلمية لمثالها الفعلي وجود وجوبي و المثال الفعلي لحقيقته العلمية وجود امكان فيايها المريد الصادق ما وجودك الواجب الذي انت به حق الا عند استاذك الناطق بالحق المبين فان تحققت به كنت كما لم تزل حقا و الا فها انت لا تزال خلقا »

54. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:55, and ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 95b.

« إن المريد عين من عيون أستاذه بالنسبة إلى أستاذه و الأستاذ حقيقة وجود المريد بالنسبة إلى المريد و الوجود في الكل واحد محيط و لذلك يتحقق المريد بأستاذه فى معانى الكمال وجودا و يتحقق الأستاذ بمريده فى مدارك المتعرفين شهودا و من ثم قال السيد الكامل لمريده الكامل « أنت مني و أنا منك يا علي »

A similar passage, using "servants" and "masters", is *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 8a, 8b. It ends with the following: "Just as the servant is from his master in existence, likewise the master is from his servant in witnessing. "You are from me, and I am from you." On this hadith see above, ch. 4, note 88. Ibn Māja, *Sunan* (Cairo: 1972) vol.1, bāb 2, p. 44, no.119 runs, "I am from ʿAlī and ʿAlī is from me." (This passage is also cited in Shaʿrānī 2:60.)

55. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 2a, 2b.

« رقايق كل يرم هي ساعاته و اوقاته واحيانه و انوار المريدين رقايق انوار استاذيهم و انوار الاستادين حقايق انوار مريديهم و هذه الرقايق هي اقدار المريدين و قدر كل منهم بحسب وجده فالرقيقة الكمالية البدرية هي القدر الكامل و قبول قابلها ليلة القدر ... كذلك ليس فى المريد الكامل الا استاده. »

56. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:30. The term *perfecting saint* is not unusual. Simnānī describes the perfecting (*mukammil*) saint as superior to the simply *kāmil*. Isfarāyinī, *Le Révélateur des mystères* 119 fn. 188. Al-Qāshānī puts the level of perfection (*takmīl*) above that of *walāya*. Al-Qāshānī, *A Glossary of Technical Terms* s.v. "*safar*" (p. 87, Arabic text).

57. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:59. The hadith is from Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Jihād 16.

58. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 105b. See also al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:57. Elsewhere we are told, "The doctors of Law are the sources of authority (مشارق الربربية) for the inhabitants of Hell, the sufis are the sources of authority for the doctors of Law, the People of esoteric tasting (*dhawq*) are the sources for the sufis, and the highest are Speakers of verification." *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 25b.

59. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 26a.

60. This is the name most often given to the mysterious figure Moses and his servant meet in the desert (Q. 18:60–82). Khaḍir, who has received "knowlege from God's Presence," agrees to guide Moses on condition that he not challenge what he sees Khaḍir do. The prophet agrees, but after he sees Khaḍir commit what appear to be violent or inappropriate deeds, he loses his patience. The guide then explains the hidden reasons he had been commanded by God to act in such shocking ways. The story is popular among sufi thinkers because it affirms esoteric knowledge. It will be seen below that this story is central to ʿAlī Wafā's teaching on relationship between sanctity and prophecy.

61. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 28b, 29a.

« ... لان كمال التابع ان يتحقق بمتبوعه و طريق ذلك المحبة و التعظيم و من توابعها مطابقة إرادة المحب لارادة محبوبه فلا يسبقه بقول و لا فعل و ايضا فان التابع اذا سال متبوعه عما لم يحدث له منه ذكرا فقد تقتضى حكمة المتبوع ان لا يجيب التابع عن ذلك فان اجابه حصل الضرر بمخالفة الحكمة و ان لم يجبه فلا يرمن من ثوران التابع فتكدر عليه صفا المودة و تقطع عنه طريق الوصلة من متبوعه »

62. Speaking of this relationship, the poet Rūmī (d. 672/1273) says, "As for the boy whose throat was cut by Khaḍir, the vulgar do not comprehend the mystery thereof." « آن پسررا كش خضر ببريد حلق * سر آنرا در نيابد عام خلق » *The Mathnawī of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī* R. A. Nicholson ed. and trans. (London: Luzac, 1926) I:16 (Persian text) and 2:16 (translation).

63. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 2b. (A longer passage containing these lines was mentioned above.)

64. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:37.

65. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:26.

66. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:25.

« إنما لقى موسى عليه السلام الخضر بفتاه ليجمع لفتاه بين بحر الرسالة من نبوته و بحر الولاية من خصوصية الخضر عليه السلام و السر فى ذلك ان حكم الولي مع حكم الرسول الذي تلزمه شريعته كحكم النجم مع حكم الشمس

In ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 51a, the passage runs differently:

« إنما لقى موسى الخضر بفتاه ليجمع لفتاه بين بحر الرسالة من نبوته و بحر رسالة من خصوصية خضره و السر في ذلك ان حكم الولي مع حكم الرسول الذي تلزمه شريعته كحكم النجم مع حكم الشمس »

"Moses met al-Khaḍir with his attendant, in order to unite for this attendant the sea of mission from his prophethood, and the sea of a mission from the particular quality of his al-Khaḍir. The secret in this is that the rule that obtains between a saint and a messenger, which is necessarily linked to his (the latter's) sharia, is like the rule that obtains between a star and the sun." According to this reading, and assuming there is no mistake in this manuscript, the use of "mission" here should be understood in its wider sense, beyond the "mission" of the law-bearing *rasūl*.

67. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 51a, 51b.

«اذا غابت الشمس ظهر كل كو كب بحكمه فاذا ظهرت الشمس اندرجت احكام النجوم كلها في حكم الشمس و ذلك كما ان النص اذا وجد اندرجت احكام الاجتهادات كلها تحته و كان الحكم حكم النص و اذا غاب النص رجع كل مجتهد الي حكمه فكما ان حكم مجتهد في حياة رسول الله صلى عليه و سلم مندرج في حكمه عليه السلام ان اثبته ثبت لاثباته و ان نفاه انتفي»

Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:25, adds to the end of this passage, «حكم ولى مع رسول كذلك» "So the rule of a saint is in accord with a messenger." (This addition, or something like it, is required by syntax.)

68. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 51b.

«كان اوليا بني اسرايل في حياة مو سى مندرجين الحكم في حكمه فلما دنت وفاته و توارت شمس رسالته بحجاب خليفته الذي سيتخلفه بعده و كان ذلك الخليفة هو فتاه الذي قصد به الخضر علم ان اجكام اهل الولاية ستظهر في زكن ذلك الفتى فاراه كيف يكون معاملته لهم اذا ظهر في زمن خلافته»

Elsewhere this point is put succinctly as follows: "The quality of the saint is the inward dimension of prophecy." «حكم الولى باطن النبوة» ʿAlī Wafā', *Kitāb al-masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* 79a.

69. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 51b.

«و جمع له بين امرى الرسالة و الولاية ... فعلمه ان يسلم للاوليا باطنا و ان اقتضى الشرع ابكار شيء من امر هم انكره ظاهرا على جهة الاستعلام كي لا يتشبه باحكامهم من ليس في مقامهم»

70. Idrīs and Jesus are also located in the heavenly spheres. For references and discussion see M. Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints* 93. On the wider issue of the development and understanding of the story of al-Khaḍir, see *Encyclopedia of Islam* (second ed.) s.v. "al-Khaḍir," ʿAmmār's *Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shāhdilī* 1:208 ff and Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Égypte* 423–26.

71 ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 54a. Ilyās and Gabriel are associated with *jalāl*; Khaḍir and Michael are associated with *jamāl*. See also Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:26.

72. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 54b.

73. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 92b.

«... لكل ولي خضر هو تمثل روح ولايته كما لكل نبي صورة جبريل هو تمثل روح نبوته فظاهر لحسه من قوة نفسه»

In the school of Ibn ʿArabī, ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī described the Khaḍir-Moses relationship in much the same way. In his *Sharḥ fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (third ed.) (Cairo: al-Ḥalabī, 1987) 315–16, he says, "al-Khaḍir is the esoteric form of the Name of God. His station is that of the spirit. To him are sanctity, the unseen, and the secrets of destiny . . . As for Moses, he is the exoteric form of the Name of God. His station is that of the heart. To him are the sciences of mission, prophecy and law." On this issue ʿAlī Wafā' belongs much more in the Akbarian camp than among the Shādhilites. Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh considers erroneous the opinion that "for each time (*zaman*) there is a Khaḍir, and one man attains the spiritual level of the Khaḍiriyya in each time." *Laṭā'if al-minan* 98.

74. Q. 33:72 reads, "We [God] offered the Trust to the heavens, the earth and the mountains, but they refused to bear it, being afraid. Yet, humanity bore it." The details of this trust are left to the imagination, but it would be reasonable to assume, as does the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, that this trust is a contract between God and humanity, setting out the terms of transgression/punishment and piety/reward (cf. 33:73). Ibn ʿArabī ties the ability to bear the Trust to humanity's essential abilities. "God created Adam upon His own Form . . . Through the strength of the Form he was able to carry the offered Trust." Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge* 276.

75. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 17b.

«اعلم ان الخضر هو تمثل ما بطن في الامانة الموسوية من روح السيادة فلذلك عبر عن ظاهره الذى تمثل به انه من اثار موسى و فتاه و انه عبد من عباد السر الذاتي الجمعي اللدني و الرحمة العندية...»

76. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 17b.

«فقال الحق الغني الحميد المتجلى بهذا الخضر لموسى و فتاه كما تمثل بروحه الذى ارسله لمريم بشرا سويا فارتدا على اثارهما بتمثله الذي تمثل لها فيه حتى ادركاه بحسها (بحسهما :read) الجثماني بشرا سويا فوجدا عبدا من عبادنا...»

On the Spirit appearing to Mary, in human form, to announce the arrival of Jesus, see Q. 19:17.

77. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 17b.

78. Elsewhere the shift, from Khaḍir as nonresponsible actor to the authoritative divine Spirit, is echoed by an innovative reading of "I did not do it of my own accord" (Q. 18:82). We are told: "Khaḍir said, 'That which I did of my own accord.' The *mā* here is a relative pronoun, and thus it was by his own will because those actions were by the quality of the spirit of saintly inspiration." ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 52b.

«قال الخضر ما فعلته عن امري و ماها هنا موصولة و امره شانه لان تلك الافعال كانت من احكام روح الالهام الولاي»

This is significant in that it is describing in shorthand the authority for Khaḍir's acts. In the above discussion Khaḍir's authority is, as we shall see, the Spirit of divine Self-disclosure. In this exegesis that authority is called simply "saintly inspiration," accordingly named by its function and not in light of its essence, which is elsewhere described as the Spirit of Dominion. Cf. *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 18b: *Ahl al-Qur'ān* (the "unifiers") read it as a relative pronoun; and the *ahl al-furqān* (the "separators") read it as a particle of negation.

79. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 18a, 18b.

«فلما زال بينه و بينه لباه بتاويل ما لم تستطع عليه صبرا من حكم السيادة اذ هو فى مرتبة الامانة فاول له تلك الوقايع و لا زال يكشف عن وجه السيادة البراقع بقوله اردت و خرقت ثم يقول فخشينا و اردنا حتى ظهر له من خباه السري بقوله فاراد ربكان يبلغا اشدهما و يستخرجا كنزهما رحمة من ربك و ما فعلته عن امري ثم اخبره اذ لاح له في جعل ما فعله صادرا عن امره لا عن امر غيره جهرا ان هذا المشهد هو تاويل ما لا تستطع عليه اذ تجلى للجبل صبرا»

80. For Moses and the Self-disclosure on the mountain see Q. 7:143.

81. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 18b. The last line of Qur'an quotation is in response to Mary's protest that she cannot have a child since no man has yet touched her.

«و هكذا تمثل روح السيادة الباطنة في الامانة العيسوية لمريم بشرا سويا و قال بحكم تمثله انما انا رسول ... و كان امرا مقضيا لما كشف عنها حجاب وجه المكون بقوله كذلك قال ربك هو على هين»

82. For sources of this hadith see Isfarāyinī, *Le Révélateur des mystères* 191 fn. 2.

83. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 42b.

«و هكذا مع كل صاحب وقت مظاهر اسما بعد اسمايه و يكون ظهورهم في وقته على قدر طهوره في القوة و الضعف و كلما قوي ظهوره هو ضعف ظهورهم و كلما ضعف قووا و قد اشار الحق المحمدي بقول اصحابي كالنجوم و كان ظهوره يوميذ كظهور القمر فكان نقباوه و عرفاوه بعدد الكواكب لكن ظهورهم معه ظهورها مع البدر و في زمن خاتم الاوليا يكون بعدد اوليا الازمنة كلها وليا لكن ظهور امره كالشمس فظهورهم معه كظهور الكواكب مع الشمس...»

84. The last line of the quoted passage implies that this "sun" will be someone other than the Seal. However, in light of other discussions of the Apocalypse (taken up below), this "sun" should probably be understood to be the Seal himself.

85. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 41b.

«و اما خاتم الانبيا و خاتم الاوليا فلا مقابل لهما من حيث مراتبهما الخاصة بهما ...»

86 This is in contrast to the Shīʿī doctrine of *taqiyya* (dissimulation) and the idea of hatred for the enemies of the Imams, which sees no break in the series of unbelieving

opponents. On these concepts see Amir-Moezzi, *Divine Guide* 26, 88, 128, and al-Tabaṭabā'ī, *Shiʿite Islam* 223 ff. On opponents in the Sufi milieu, see ʿAyn al-Quḍāt al-Ḥamadānī, *Tamhīdāt* (Tehran: University of Tehran, 1962) 187, and H. Landolt, "Le Paradoxe de la "Face de Dieu": ʿAzîz-e Nasafî (VIIe/XIIIe siècle) et le "Monisme Ésotérique" 186.

87. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 98a.

«قال الحق المبين في ناطقه المحمدي بكليمه الواجب لسميعه الممكن ان يشا الله يختم على قلبك ان يشا وجودك الالاهي يظهر متعينا بحكم ختم الاوليا المستوى برحمانية جمعه على قلبك القايم بختم الانبيا في رحيمية قان فرقه في دايرة بعث كل ولي على قلب نبي»

88. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 98a.

«هل ينظرون اي الى الله من حيث يعرفون انه الله عينا الا ان ياتيهم الله اي يظهر لهم من حيث يعرفونه في ظل من الغمام هي كونه صاحب الختم الالهي القايم بحجة بياناته [المقبولة بقبول السلام المو من من اهله(؟)] و الملايكة هي صور احكامه الربانية الحكيمية و قضي الامر اي انتهى (؟) الى الله ترجع الامور في هدا الختم الوفاي الاحاطي»

Note the title, the "encompassing Wafā'ī Seal."

89. Hadith from Tirmidhī's *Saḥīḥ*, Manāqib, 20.

90. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 9b.

91. Hadith from al-Nisā'ī, *Sunan*, Iḥbās, 4.

92. This tradition is preserved in the Shīʿī hadith collection *Biḥār al-anwār* (106 vols) (Beirut: 1983) compiled by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (d. 1699 or 1700). The exact wording seems to be a conflation of two similar hadiths:

«لا يبلغ عني إلا أبا أو رجل مني» and «لا إلا أنه لا يؤدي عني إلا أنا أو علي» 35:275. For the numerous instances and versions of this hadith see *A Concordance of the Beḥār al-anwār* 4:2746, 2747.

93. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 11b.

«جا في الخبر المحمدى ابو بكر منى بمنزلة السمع و عمر البصر و بايع عن عثمان ببيعة الر ضوان بيده الكريمة و قال هذه يد عثمان فعثمان منه بمنزلة اليد و قال لا يلبغ عني الا انا و علي فعلي لسانه و اللسان اخص المراتب بالناطق فلذلك قال علي انا الصديق الاكبر يعنى للحق المحمدي الصادق عليه لا يقولها بعدي الا كاذب»

The last statement from ʿAlī is also found in *Biḥār al-anwār*, in a number of versions, most of which appear in a context illustrating ʿAlī's precedence in Islam over Abū Bakr. See *Biḥār al-anwār* 38:268, 239, 254. For references to a number of variations see *A Concordance of the Beḥār al-anwār* 16:11844, 11845. We saw earlier, in ch. 3 ʿAlī Wafā' claiming himself to be the "tongue" of the Prophet.

94. At the same time, it must be noted that ʿAlī Wafā' states clearly that Abū Bakr is to be considered as one of the elite of the Muslim community. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 11b.

95. In the Qur'anic story of Jesus (4:157, 158), his crucifixion is denied: "They did not kill or crucify him; it only appeared to them so . . . Rather, God raised him up to Himself. God is Powerful and Wise."

96. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:43.

«و كان يقول إن علي بن أبي طالب رضى الله عنه رفع كما رفع عيسى عليه السلام و سينزل كما ينزل عيسى عليه السلام. قلت: و بذلك قال سيدى علي الخواص رضى الله عنه فسمعته يقول إن نوحا عليه السلام أبقى من السفينة لوحا على اسم علي بن أبي طالب رضى الله عنة يرفع عليه إلى السماء فلم يزل محفوظا فى صيانة القدرة حتى رفع على بن أبي طالب فالله أعلم بذلك»

ʿAlī al-Khawwās was Shaʿrānī's teacher; see F. Meier, "The Priority of Faith and Thinking Well of Others over a Concern for Truth among Muslims" in his *Essays on Islamic Piety and Mysticism*.

97. We saw in chapter 1 above that Ḥaydar Āmulī, from a Shīʿī perspective, identified this final Seal as ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib; this against Ibn ʿArabī's identification of Jesus, from a generally Sunnī perspective.

98. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 12a. «...و تلك هي الرجعة التي تنتظر من عيسى و علي امثالهما»

99. The only explanation that comes to mind for this term is the "appearing" of the Holy Spirit to Mary: "We sent to her Our Spirit, and he appeared before her (*fatamaththala la-hā*) as a man in all respects" (Q. 19:17).

100. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 88b, 89a.

«التصديق هو والحكم و اكثر ما يستعمل في الحكم الموافق لنظر او خبر و التحقيق هو الحكم الذي يقينا اوليا لا عن اعمال نظر في المحسوسات و لا الدهنيات كايمان ابي بكر و عمر من غير احتياج الى خارق عادة و لا بحث انما قال خاتم النبيين لابي بكر اني رسول الله فوجد اليقين بذالك فاقر به و سمع عمر قول الحق تعالى له ما فى السموات و ما في الارض و ما بينهما و كا تحت الثري فوجد ذلك يقينا فاقر به فهو تصديق التحقيق الالي (الالهامى read) لا التصديق الاستدلالي و هذا لم يكن لاحد من اتباع الانبيا الا لخاصة خاتم النبيين و هكذا لا يكون لاتباع احد من الاوليا الا لاتباع خاتم الاوليا لانه على قلب خاتم الانبيا و خاصته على قلب خاصة فاصحاب خاتم الانبيا للتحقيق و اصحاب الانبيا المختومين كلهم للتصديق و اصحاب خاتم الاوليا للتحقيق ... و قيل لي في عام خمسة و تسعين و سبعماية يا علي اصحاب الاوليا كلهم للتصديق و اصحابك انت للتحقيق و الله اعلى و اعلم»

For another brief discussion of تصديق and تحقيق see fol. 101b. See also Wensinck, *Concordance* 3:276 regarding *taṣdīq*.

101. This phrase is the classical theological and philosophical definition of miracle. Although not mentioned by name, the kind of miracle being alluded to here is the *muʿjiza*, which is theologically distinguished from a saint's miracle (*karāma*), as proof of the authenticity of a prophet or messenger. See L. Gadet and M.-M. Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane* (second ed.) (Paris: Vrin, 1970) 186, 359.

102. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 93a.

«و في الحقيقة استادنا صاحب الختم الاعظم فالشاذلي و جميع الاوليا من جنود مملكته و ماموني امامته و ليس هو في زمرة ذي حكم لان استادنا يحكم و لا يحكم عليه في ساير الدوايز لانه سر خاتم النبيين و وارث كماله فكما ان كلا من الانبيا لخاتمهم تابع و ماموم ... كذالك كل من الاوليا لخاتمهم تابع و ماموم ...»

Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:31, infers from the phrase "Master of the Greatest Seal" a doctrine of a Seal for every age.

103. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 42a.

«جا في حديث الاسرى المحمدي انه وجد آدم في السما الاولي سما القمر التي تقول الفلاسفة انها سما العقل الفعال فياض الصور المادية في عالم الكون و الفساد و ذكر انه وجد في كل سما واحد (واحدا :read) من اولي العزم من الرسل السبعة و هم آدم و نوح و ابراهيم و موسى و داود و سليمان و عيسى فذكر انه وجد آدم و ابراهيم و موسى و عيسى باعيانهم و اسما كفلايهم فذكر ادريس لنوح لانه كفيله الاتي بين يديه و ذ كر لداود يوسف و لسليمان هارون اشار بقوله وجدت فلانا في مكان كذا الا ان ذلك كشف وجدانهم»

104. Muḥammad Wafā', *Nafā'is al-ʿirfān* al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya 71a. The order of prophets as found in the tradition of the Prophet's Ascension runs: Adam (in the first heaven), Jesus, Joseph, Idrīs, Aaron, Moses, and Abraham (in the seventh heaven). Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ* Salāt 1. More generally on the subject, see the articles in *Le voyage initiatique en terre d'islam.* The sequence of prophets used by the Wafā's in fact follows closely that adopted by al-Simnānī (d. 737/1336). There, as part of his theory of the Seven Subtle Organs (*laṭīfa*, pl. *laṭā'if*), seven prophets are identified, one associated at each level with a color and a *laṭīfa*. In ascending order, they are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Jesus, and Muḥammad. See H. Corbin, *The Man of Light in Iranian Sufism* 124. Corbin, *En Islam Iranien* 3:278; and Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God* ch. 5.

105. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 42a, 42b.

106. Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God* 72, notes that "Aṭlas" is associated with the first sphere or God's Footstool; yet in our passage here it is at the level of the Throne.

107. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 43a.

«و جا محمد في ختم النبوات بما ناسب الاستعدادات المستفادة عن الفلك الثامن المكو كب فلك الكرسي فجا بكل ما جا به من تقدمه و زيادة خاصيته كما جا في ختم الاوليا بما يناسب الاستعدادات المستفادة عن الفلك التاسع الاطلس فلك العرش و لانه اتي بحكم مناست لحكم فلك الثوابت و اوليك اتوا بما ناسب احكام افلاك المتحركات فلذالك (sic) قبلت شرايعهم لنسخ و لم تقبله شريعته ... »

Another passage, making much the same point, is found on fol. 89b of the *Waṣāyā*.

108. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 43b.

«و لما كان حكم الفلك التاسع ملازم باطن حكم الفلك الثامن فجا محمد خاتم النبوات فاتح الولايات مبطئ التحقيق الثابت و كان زمانه محتوي على ما حتوت عليه الازمنة المتقدمة كلها فكان علما امته كانبيا سايرالازمنة»

The last sentence is a paraphrase of a popular hadith not found in the major hadith collections.

109. This was the last pilgrimage taken up by the Prophet. During his return to Medina, stopping at Ghadīr Khumm, Muḥammad proclaimed, "For whomsoever I am lord, then ʿAlī is also lord." This hadith is central to the Shīʿī understanding of religious authority. See Wensinck, *Concordance* 8:316, 8:325, 4:281; Momen, *Shiʿī Islam* 15; and W. Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 253. ʿAlī Wafā' mentions this event elsewhere, *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 6a, as will be discussed below.

110. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 43b.

«و قد قال يبعث الله على راس كل ماية سنة واحدا يجدد لهذه الامة (in margin) لهذا الدين) دينهم افهم ان لكل ماية عام قطب يتنزل بحكم مناسب لاستعداد اهل زمانه و علم بذالك (sic) ان الاقطاب في اوزان اولي العزم و انهم ورثتهم و نبه على ان اولهم في وزان (اوزان :read) آدم ينزله في يوم حجة الوداع ان الزمان اليوم قد استدار لهيبيه يوم جلق الله السموات و الارض و اشار الى صاحب المايةالثانية من يوميذ (؟) على قلب نوح ... و هكذا بعد ماية الى ثامن ماية يكون القطب المحمدي خاتم الاوليا ... و كانالاستاذ ابو الحسن الشاذلي قطب الزمن السابع و تنزل الناطق الاعظم الوفاي بختم الولايات في الزمن الثامن»

In "The 'Cyclical Reform': A Study of the *Mujaddid* Tradition," Landau-Tasseron notes that the end of the eighth century in Egypt was ripe with eschatological speculation, but contrary to the Wafā's, the Renewer tradition was not part of these speculations. On the contrary, it had no direct association with millenial or centenary dramas—here or in any earlier period (p. 81). It is interesting that at least one writer, Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī (d. 806/1404), had even argued that the Renewer, whose mission it was to halt the moral and religious decline of his age, would in fact delay the advent of Dajjāl and the Mahdī (p. 80).

111.Usually the Renewers at the turn of each century are not called "poles." Al-Shādhilī is cited here as one pole/Renewer, but much debate had been taking place in this period over the identities of the Renewers. A typical list, though never unanimously agreed upon, was, up to the ninth century: (1) ʿUmar II (d. 101/719); (2) al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820); (3) al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/935); (4) al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013) or al-Isfarā'inī (d. 406/1015); (5) al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111); (6) Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210); (7) Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd (d. 702/1302); (8) Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī (d. 806/1404); (9) al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) or Qāḍī Zakariyā (d. 925/1519). Landau-Tasseron, "The 'Cyclical Reform': A Study of the *Mujaddid* Tradition" 84. It is important to note that here these Renewer/poles are the inheritors of certain prophets. This is structurally similar to the Shīʿī doctrine, which holds that the prophets Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and

Muḥammad each had an esoteric representative: Seth, Shem, Isaac, Aaron, Simon Peter, and ʿAlī, respectively. See H. Halm, *Shiism* 168.

112. ʿAlī Wafā' would not be the only person to have claimed the honorific "Renewer." Landau-Tasseron, "The 'Cyclical Reform': A Study of the *Mujaddid* Tradition" 86, 87 notes that both al-Suyūṭī and al-Ghazālī, without waiting for history to decide, bestowed the title upon themselves. The idea of a "sufi-Renewer" apparently caught on; Maḥmūd Abū al-ʿIlyān al-Shādhilī (d. 1326/1908) was known as "*mujaddid al-ṭasawwuf*." J. Johansen, *Sufism and Islamic Reform in Egypt* 54.

113. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 5b.

«و جا انه يبعث الله على راس كل كايه سنة ... فهذا الرجل هو القطب و جا في الحديث يبعث الله كل ولى على قلب نبي و اولو العزم اقطاب الانبيا و هم سبعة و محمد خاتمهم ثامنهم فاقطاب الاوليا و ثامنهم خاتمهم على قلب خاتم النبيين»

In his *Waṣāyā* (fol. 95a) ʿAlī Wafā' tells us that the greatest seal is upon the Muḥammadan heart.

114. Although ʿAlī Wafā' uses "pole" to designate an individual, on at least one occasion he uses it in a much wider sense. In *Waṣāyā* 13a, he describes the "Pole of poles" as the Universal Efficient, which is present in all forms of creation as poles.

«... فلكل حال قطب و لكل مقام قطب و لكل نوع من الاعراض قطب و لكل الجثمانيات و الكاينات قطب بل لكل صنف قطب بل و لكل طايفة من صنف قطب و كل ناطق قطب عوالم كونه الخاص به لقلبه و جوارحه و مداركه و نفسه ... و قطب الاقطاب في كل وقت واحد هو الفعال الكلي.»

115. This is an allusion to the Farewell pilgrimage described earlier.

116. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 6a, 6b.

«و لكل منهمماية سنة من حساب ثلثماية و ستون يوما و هده المايه ستة بدايتها من يوم استدار الزمان و هو قبل وفاته صلى الله عليه و سلم بثلاث اشهر و نحن الآن حين كتابة هذه الاحرف في بكرة الجمعة رابع ربيع الاخر ستة تسع و تسعين و سبعمائة من الهجرة ... اذا انقضى هدا الزمن الثامن دخل التاسع و هو قرن ايات الساعة و علاماتها فيه يظهر المهدى الظهور التام و يخرج الدجال و يظهر عيسى ابن مريم و تطلع الشمس من مغربها و ياتى الناس ما وعدهم الصلدق من حيث ينظرون و تمكث ذلك مايتان الماية الاولى قرن المحمدى و الثانية قرن عيسى ابن مريم و به ينتقضي هذا الدور و ياتى دور جديد يتحقق فيه امور ...»

Elsewhere ʿAlī Wafā' notes that the sun will rise in the west only as an unveiling of the Seal of sainthood. See his *Kitāb al-masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* 44a.

117. On the various understandings of the Mahdī, the return of Jesus, and the Dajjāl see the relevant articles in *Encyclopedia of Islam* (second ed.) and s.v. "Miʿrāj".

118. Alī Wafā', *Kitāb al-masāmiʿ al-rabbāniyya* 62b.

119. For a discussion of the far more elaborate (and not *tajdīd*-based) time cycles in Ismāʿīlism, see H. Corbin, *Temps cyclique et gnose ismaélienne* (Paris: Berg International, 1982) ch. 2. Also, ʿAlī Wafā's earlier use of the "great completing speaker" recalls the Ismāʿīlī idea of the prophecy of each cycle (*dawr*) containing that of the earlier cycles. See, for example, Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* (Paris: 1949) 69–70, 76–77.

120. Usually, the "ʿĪd prayer" occurs just before sunrise on ʿĪd al-Fiṭr (1 Shawwāl), and ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā (10 Dhū al-Ḥijja). Historical sources note this major earthquake occurred on Thursday 23 Dhū al-Ḥijja. M. Taher, *Corpus des textes arabes relatifs aux tremblements de terre et autres catastrophes naturelles de la conquête arabe au XII H. / XVIII J.C.* Doctoral thesis, Paris 1, 1979, pp. 176–88.

121. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 49b.

«فاعلم ان اعظم الكلمات و اكبرها و اعلاها كلمة رب الوجود الاحدي المحمدي المتنزل بختم دايرة الولاية الاحدية لان

هذا معناها و هي الكلمة الوفوية التي لما اوحيت الى الارض بالوضع المولدي وحيا كيانيا في سحر يوم الخميس ثالث ذي الحجة عام اثنين و سبعماية من الهجرة المحمدية تزلزلت الارض كلها عند مثل وقت صلاة العيد في ذلك اليوم كما انبا الحق بذالك (sic) في السورة التي يسماها السيد الكامل المبشرة [ذات الاية الغاذة (؟) الجامعة] و جعلها كنصف القران كما مثل نفسه بلبنة البيت النبوي فقال اذا زلزلت الارض زلزالها السورة بتمامها... »

122. Our hagiographical and historical sources do not provide us with Muḥammad Wafā's birthdate.

123. We saw earlier, near the end of the section "The Teacher and Oneness" another use of "Perfect Sayyid" referring to the Prophet. However, this term is not fixed, since in *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 21b, the reader is told that he may become the Perfect Sayyid if he sees past the various existences to the single reality of existence. Perfect Sayyid was also mentioned in the first section of this chapter, where ʿAlī Wafā' attributes it to he who can see both the Oneness of Reality and the plurality of creation at the same time. These Perfect Sayyids would be perfect imitations of the Prophet.

124. Ibn ʿArabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* 63, Chodkiewicz, *Seal of Saints* 128. This is an elaboration of the hadith report in which the Prophet describes himself as the last brick in the wall of prophethood; see Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ*, Manāqib 18.

125. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 95b.

«فزمن هذا الظهور الاقدس هو اجل الله اذا جا و مدة اعوام هذا الظهور عدد السبع المثاني و سور القرآن العظيم تلك ماية واحدة و عشرون عاما من تمام عام اثنين و سبعماية عند تمام ثلاثة و عشرون و ثمانماية عام ثم ياتي الله بعد ذلك بما يشا و الله واسع عليم.»

126. Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:52, quoted from *Waṣāyā* 75b.

«و كان رضى الله عنه يقول ألهمت إلهاما عام تسع تسعين و سبعمائة ما صورته يا على إنا اخترناك لنشر الأرواح من إلحاد أجسادها فإذا أمرناك فاستمع ...»

127. The Hidden Imām is also referred to as "Ṣāḥib al-Amr" (Lord of Command), "al-Qā'im" (He who will arise), "al-Imām al-Muntaẓar" (the Awaited Imām), and "Baqiyyat Allāh" (Remnant of God). See M. Moojan, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam* 165. ʿAzīz al-Nasafī attributed to his teacher, Saʿd al-Dīn al-Hamū'ī (d. 649/1252), a theory limiting the number of saints to twelve, the last being the Ṣāḥib al-Zamān. Landolt, "Le Paradoxe de la "Face de Dieu": ʿAzîz-e Nasafî (VIIe/XIIIe siècle) et le "Monisme Ésotérique" de l'Islam" 169; and ʿAzīzoddīn Nasafī, *Le livre de l'Homme Parfait* I. de Gastines trans. (Paris: Fayard, 1984) 261. Al-Qāshānī calls the Mahdi "*ṣāḥib al-wilāya*." See Lory, *Les commentaires esotériques du Coran d'après ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī* 142.

128. See H. Halm, *Shiism* 38, and A. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism: The Idea of the Mahdi in Twelver Shi'ism* (Abany: State University of New York Press, 1981).

129. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 24b.

«ما العقل الاول الا عقل صاحب الزمان و لا فياض الصور الا روحه الحساس و قس على هذا باقي المراتب.»

130. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 48a.

131. ʿAlī Wafā', *Waṣāyā* 5b.

«صاحب كل زمان هو آية الله الكبرى فيه فموجوده اكبر آية ظهر بها وجوده ثم»

Al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* 2:42, quotes this passage.

132. See the example of *Ṣāḥib al-waqt* at the beginning of the section "The Seal of Sainthood" above. In the writings of Ibn ʿArabī it functions as an equivalent to the pole. See Suʿād al-Ḥakīm, *al-Muʿjam al-Ṣūfī* (Beirut: Dandara, 1981) 279–81.

133. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 50b, 51a.

« ... اعلم ان الحقسقة الداعية الى الله في كل دور هو صاحب وقته قل هذه سبيلي ادعوا الى الله على بصيرة انا و من اتبعني و علامته بياناتهم و كشو فاتهم في كشفه و بيانه و اختصاصه عنهم بما لا سبيل لهم اليه الا بامداده و فيضه. »

134. That is, the latter makes evident (*ẓāhir*) what was hidden (*bāṭin*) in the earlier, so the succession of "masters" over historical time is part of the divine process of Self-differentiation through Self-disclosure.

135. ʿAlī Wafā', *Mafātīḥ al-khazā'in al-ʿaliyya* 61b–62b.

« فيكون تاويل اوله تنزيل اخره و من هنا يظهر ان صاحب كل وقت ظاهره باطن صاحب الوقت الذي قبله لان الكل حقيقة واحدة ظهرت في كل وقت بالمعنى الذي في نظامه كمالات استعدادات ذلك الوقت ... فالحق المبين يتعين في كل وقت تعين متنزل بما فيه كمالات ذلك الوقت ... »

Compare our earlier comments on *ṣāḥib al-zaman*. Also, in the *Waṣāyā* 55b we are told that each spirit (*rūḥ*) is the esoteric dimension of the previous spirit.

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Index to the Qur'an

Index

This index does not include the terms Allāh, Muḥammad Wafā', ʿAlī Wafā', Wafā'iyya, Cairo, or Egypt.

REVELATION