

6. Sufi Castigator

Ahmad Kasravi and the Iranian mystical tradition
Lloyd Ridgeon

7. Popular Sufism in Eastern Europe

Sufi Brotherhoods and the dialogue with Christianity and 'heterodoxy'
H.T. Norris

8. The Naqshbandiyya

Orthodoxy and activism in a worldwide Sufi tradition
Itzhak Weismann

9. Sufis in Western Society

Global networking and locality
Edited by Ron Geaves, Markus Dressler and Gritt Klinkhammer

10. Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism

A history of Sufi-Futuwwat in Iran
Lloyd Ridgeon

11. Spiritual Purification in Islam

The life and works of al-Muhasibi
Gavin Picken

12. Sufism and Society

Arrangements of the mystical in the Muslim world, 1200–1800
Edited by John J. Curry and Erik S. Ohlander

Sufism and Society

Arrangements of the mystical in the
Muslim world, 1200–1800

**Edited by John J. Curry and
Erik S. Ohlander**

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2012 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2012 John J. Curry and Erik S. Ohlander for selection and editorial matter,
individual contributors; their contributions

The right of the editors to be identified as the authors of the editorial
material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted
in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and
Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced
or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means,
now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording,
or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in
writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or
registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and
explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Sufism and society: arrangements of the mystical in the Muslim world,
1200–1800 / edited by John J. Curry and Erik S. Ohlander.
p. cm. — (Routledge sufi series; 12)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-415-78223-4 (hardback) — ISBN 978-0-203-80698-2 (ebook)

I. Sufism—History. 2. Mysticism—Islam—History. 3. Islamic
sociology. I. Curry, John J., Professor. II. Ohlander, Erik S.

BP189.2.S85 2011

297.409'02—dc22

2011004386

ISBN 978-0-415-78223-4 (hbk)

ISBN 978-0-203-80698-2 (ebk)

Typeset in Times by RefineCatch Limited, Bungay, Suffolk



Printed and bound in Great Britain by
CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham, Wiltshire

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	ix
<i>List of contributors</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
<i>A note on transliteration and dating</i>	xiv
Introduction	1
JOHN J. CURRY AND ERIK S. OHLANDER	
PART I	
Historiography	15
1 Intersections between Sufism and power: narrating the shaykhs and sultans of Northern India, 1200–1400	17
BLAIN H. AUER	
2 Mecca real and imagined: texts, transregional networks, and the curious case of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā of Multan	34
ERIK S. OHLANDER	
3 Hagiography, court records, and early modern Sufi brotherhoods: Shaykh Khālid and social movement theory	50
SEAN FOLEY	
PART II	
Landscapes	69
4 Mystical authority and governmentality in medieval Islam	71
OVAMIR ANJUM	

5 Writing down the feats and setting up the scene: hagiographers and architectural patrons in the Age of Empires	94
ZEYNEP YÜREKLI	
6 Between patron and piety: Jahān Ārā Begam's Sufi affiliations and articulations in seventeenth-century Mughal India	120
AFSHAN BOKHARI	
PART III	
Doctrine and praxis	143
7 Between center and periphery: the development of the Sufi fatwa in late-medieval Egypt	145
MATTHEW B. INGALLS	
8 Inventing a Sufi tradition: the use of the Futuwwa ritual gathering as a model for the Qizilbash <i>djem</i>	164
RIZA YILDIRIM	
9 İsmā'īl Rusūhī Ankaravī: an early Mevlevi intervention into the emerging Kadizadeli–Sufi conflict	183
ALBERTO FABIO AMBROSIO	
PART IV	
Negotiations	199
10 Banishment, persecution and incarceration: İbrāhīm-i Gülşeni's years as a subversive force during the final years of the Mamluk Sultanate, ca. 1507–1517	201
SIDE EMRE	
11 “The meeting of the two sultans:” three Sufi mystics negotiate with the court of Murād III	223
JOHN J. CURRY	
12 In the dream realm of a sixteenth-century Ottoman biographer: Taşköprizade and the Sufi shaykhs	243
ASLI NİYAZIOĞLU	
<i>Index of persons and places</i>	258
<i>Index of terms and subjects</i>	271

Figures

5.1 Mughal ruler Akbar praying during his first pilgrimage to the shrine of Mu'tin al-Dīn Chishtī in Ajmer in 969/1562	101
5.2 Ottoman sultan Süleymān praying at the shrine of Abū Ayyūb in Istanbul before departing for his last military campaign to Hungary in 973/1566	105
6.1 West elevation at main prayer hall and courtyard, Agra Mosque	121
6.2 View from northeast corner of main entrance to mosque courtyard, Mullā Shāh mosque and <i>khānaqāh</i> complex in Srinagar, Kashmir	121
6.3 Detail of <i>pīshīāq</i> arch leading to prayer hall with dedicatory Persian inscriptions, Agra Mosque	133
6.4 <i>Zināna</i> , or women's area prayer hall, at the northern wing of the sanctuary, Agra Mosque	135
6.5 Henna hand prints on <i>qibla</i> wall in <i>zināna</i> prayer area, northern wing of the sanctuary, Agra Mosque	136
6.6 Southwest corner with blind arches and bands of Persian verses inscribed, Mullā Shāh Mosque in Srinagar, Kashmir	137
6.7 Detail at blind arch with band of Persian verses inscribed, Mullā Shāh Mosque in Srinagar, Kashmir	138

Contributors

Alberto Fabio Ambrosio is a member of the Dominican Studies Institute in Istanbul (DOSTI) and an Associate Researcher in the *équipe* of CETOBAC (Centre d'Études Ottomanes, Balkaniques et Centrasiatiques), École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris. He is currently pursuing research on Sufi culture and the Sufi orders in the Ottoman Empire. He has recently published *Vie d'un derviche tourneur. Doctrine et rituels du soufisme au xvii^e siècle* (Paris, CNRS Editions).

Ovamar Anjum is Imam Khattab Chair of Islamic Studies at the University of Toledo. He is an intellectual historian with interests in the history of epistemology generally, and in the relationship between reason and revelation and its implications on politics and society in medieval Islamic thought specifically. He has published articles in the areas of the anthropology of Islam, social and intellectual history of Sufism, and contemporary Islamism, and has written a monograph on Islamic political thought, currently under review, entitled *Reason and Politics in Islamic Thought: The Taymiyyan Moment*.

Blain H. Auer is Assistant Professor of Islamic Studies at Western Michigan University. He specializes in Islam in the context of pre-modern South Asia. His forthcoming book is titled *Symbols of Authority in Medieval Islam: History, Religion and Muslim Legitimacy in the Delhi Sultanate*, published by I.B. Tauris.

Afshan Bokhari is Assistant Professor of Art History at Suffolk University/New England School of Art and Design in Boston, Massachusetts. Her most recent research has focused on pre-modern Muslim women and their mystical affiliations in South Asia, Persia and Turkey and the visual and literary articulations of this dynamic. She has numerous articles and book publications forthcoming on the subject of the seventeenth-century Mughal princess Jahān Ārā Begam.

John J. Curry is Associate Professor of History at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, where he has taught courses in Islamic and world history since 2006. His most recent research has focused on Ottoman Sufi orders, and he has recently published *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the*

Ottoman Empire: The Rise of the Halveti Order, 1350–1650 (Edinburgh University Press).

Side Emre is Assistant Professor of Islamic History at Texas A&M University. Her current research centers on Sufi orders, mysticism, and politics in the early modern Ottoman world, with an emphasis on Mamluk and Ottoman Egypt.

Sean Foley is Assistant Professor of History at Middle Tennessee State University. His research focuses on Middle East history and religious and political trends in the broader Islamic world. His first book, *The Arab Gulf States: Beyond Oil and Islam*, was published by Lynne Rienner Press in 2010.

Matthew B. Ingalls is Assistant Professor of Islamic Studies at the University of Puget Sound in Tacoma, Washington. His current research focuses on the late-medieval Islamic commentary tradition and its influence upon the intellectual trajectories of Islamic law and Sufism.

Aslı Niyazioğlu is Assistant Professor of History at Koç University, Istanbul. She previously taught at Oxford University and was a fellow at Wissenschaftskolleg, Berlin. Her research focuses on dreams, biography writing, literary circles and religion in the Ottoman Empire.

Erik S. Ohlander is Associate Professor of Religious Studies at Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne. An historian of religion and specialist in Islamic studies, he has written widely in the areas of Islamic mysticism, Qur'anic studies, and Islamic intellectual history and religious movements.

Rıza Yıldırım is Assistant Professor of Ottoman History at TOBB University of Economics and Technology, Ankara. He specializes in the history and religion of the Alevi/Bektashi community as well as in divergent religious currents in the Ottoman Empire. He has published a number of books and articles on the early phases of Alevi/Bektashi history and the formation of their religious institutions.

Zeynep Yürekli is University Lecturer in Islamic Art and Architecture at the University of Oxford. She specializes in late-medieval and early modern architecture and illustrated manuscripts, and has current research interests in the cult of the saints, illustrated histories, historiography and hagiography. Her work combines analyses of material culture with the textual study of Turkish, Persian and Arabic sources.

3 Hagiography, court records, and early modern Sufi brotherhoods

Shaykh Khālid and social movement theory

Sean Foley

No study of pre-industrial Arab society and the changes it underwent . . . may be adequate, or in fact possible, without consulting [Syria's] rich law-court registers.¹
(Abdul-Karim Rafeq)

The *ṭarīqa* is a religious institution or an institution that translates the needs and ideals of a social organization or movement. We are also able to see the *ṭarīqa*'s beliefs as being in line with social needs and aims since the *ṭarīqa* translated its needs into a social system which differed geographically by urban, rural and nomadic milieu.²

(Halil İnalçık)

Six years ago, as I began my work on the life of the Kurdish Muslim leader, Shaykh Khālid (1189–1242/1776–1827) and his Sufi order (or *ṭarīqa*), the Naqshbandiyya-Khāliidiyya, I faced two significant methodological problems. The first of these was the fact that although Khālid frequently asserted the continuity of his doctrines and his loyalty to previous figures in the Muslim tradition, he presented his ideas differently to different audiences. This strategy, in turn, forced him to define his ideas in one context in a manner that undermined or contradicted both his own teachings in other contexts and/or the teachings of the men whose ideas he claimed to uphold. The second is that court records and government documents in Damascus and elsewhere indicate that critical aspects of both his career and the careers of his followers were omitted from the hagiographies and letters that constitute the chief sources that both contemporary and modern historians used to understand Khālid's life.

Ultimately, I concluded that I would have to find a methodological approach that provided the flexibility to evaluate a man whose ideas reflected his constant interaction with a plethora of cultural contexts and that could account for the limitations of the sources we use to understand that life. I found such an approach in social movement theory: an interdisciplinary field of study that seeks to explain why social mobilization occurs, the forms under which it manifests itself, and its consequences. This approach has the advantage of combining two insights on the relationship between Sufi groups and their societies. First, the Naqshbandiyya-Khāliidiyya unified disparate communities behind an agenda of reform in a manner

analogous to contemporary social movements in Europe and North America. This similarity should come as no surprise, given the observation of Halil İnalçık that introduces this chapter. Second, Quintan Wiktorowicz's anthology on Muslim activism has shown the value of social movement theory for understanding such movements in Muslim societies.³ At the same time—and this is the second insight—I intersected the analysis provided by social movement theory to the results of my research in court records and government documents by following the wisdom of the Syrian historian Abdul-Karim Rafeq, whose argument on the necessity of law-court registers as historical sources marks the other touchstone that introduces this study.⁴

Using the case of Shaykh Khālid and his *ṭarīqa*, the Naqshbandiyya-Khāliidiyya, this study will illuminate how the work of social movement scholars and Middle Eastern socioeconomic historians can provide a new way to approach the study of early modern Sufi brotherhoods. Instead of just asking what Shaykh Khālid's ideas were and how they compared to those of other Muslim leaders, this approach discusses how he devised and articulated his teaching. By utilizing court records, government records, and socioeconomic sources, this approach also provides insights into aspects of Khālid's family, his thinking, the politics he had to negotiate, and financial matters that affected him which are not apparent from either his public persona or the writings of his family or followers about him. Sustained historiographical inquiry into these hagiographies and collected correspondence produced during the years after his death suggests that Khālid's family and followers were often rewarded with prominent positions and funds by Ottoman officials when they produced these writings.⁵ Moreover, the tangible gaps in the official histories of Khālid's life—including the possibility that he may have perished on a doomed Ottoman-administered Hajj caravan—suggest that his family and followers may have promoted a sanitized version of his life story to win official favor. In sum, social movement theory, when paired with socioeconomic records, provides a viable theoretical structure to explain the conditions that made it possible for Shaykh Khālid and other Muslim leaders to win followers, gain political influence, and form successful Sufi orders, both before and after the onset of the modern period.

Shaykh Khālid and his career

Shaykh Khālid was born in 1189/1776 in a small village in the Ottoman–Iranian frontier district of Shahrizūr, in what is today northeast Iraq. His earliest teacher was his father, who, according to Damascene court records, was a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad and a member of the Naqshbandiyya order.⁶ Khālid began his career in 1225/1810, when he is said to have journeyed to India and joined the Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqa*. A year later, Khālid returned home where he founded a suborder of the Naqshbandiyya that bore his name: the Naqshbandiyya-Khāliidiyya. In the following years, he dispatched hundreds of deputies to various regions in the Middle East, the Caucasus, and South and Central Asia. But clashes with religious and political leaders and Ottoman–Qajar warfare prevented him

from settling anywhere permanently until he arrived in Damascus in 1238/1823. He died four years later, reportedly the victim of bubonic plague.

By the time of his death, Shaykh Khālīd's cultural and religious authority was sufficiently pervasive to merit the respect of senior government officials and politicians. Moreover, the Naqshbandiyya-Khālidiyya had also grown into a socio-religious network with thousands of Sunni Muslim adherents in Anatolia, the Levant, the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, and Kurdish territories. All of these adherents were troubled about the state of the societies in which they lived, and saw Shaykh Khālīd as the key to a brighter future. The *ṭarīqa* also served as an umbrella organization to bring together wealthy merchants, senior religious figures, and important politicians into a framework akin to the Christian Coalition or the Focus on the Family in the United States today. Following Khālīd's death, the Naqshbandiyya-Khālidiyya expanded across the globe, gained great influence, and played an important role in Muslim socio-political movements in the Middle East, the Caucasus, and Southeast Asia. Today, Shaykh Khālīd remains an important figure in countries as diverse as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Syria, Indonesia, and Germany.

My approach to understanding Shaykh Khālīd's career and influence also takes issue with the work of other leading scholars of Khālīd's life, especially Butrus Abu-Manneh and Itzhak Weismann.⁷ These scholars stress the importance of a manuscript housed in the Istanbul University Library Rectory that contains three letters which suggest that Khālīd harbored great animosity toward Shiites, Christians, and Jews.⁸ They argue that Muḥammad As'ad al-Ṣāhib, Khālīd's nephew, included these three letters in his published volume of Shaykh Khālīd's correspondence entitled *Bughyat al-wājid*,⁹ but omitted passages that attacked Christians, Jews, and Shiites.¹⁰ Citing these passages, and suggesting that Shaykh Khālīd must have absorbed intolerant aspects of South Asian Naqshbandi teachings as part of his training there, Abu-Manneh and Weismann argue that Khālīd's experiences in India were of decisive impact upon his thought. There, they argue, he witnessed Britain's colonial power, which convinced him that religious reform was imperative if the Ottoman Empire were to remain independent of European power.

This line of reasoning suffers from a number of problems, however. For one, Khālīd does not touch on international politics in his writings. Moreover, he very rarely discusses non-Sunni Muslim peoples in a negative way in his writing. This suggests that while international events and European influence in the Muslim world were of great importance to Khālīd's followers after his death in 1242/1827, it does not necessarily hold that they were as paramount to his thinking or actions while he was alive. Nor is it certain that Khālīd's nephew, Ṣāhib, utilized versions of the letters found in the Istanbul University Rectory. There are a number of letters that appear in one collection of Khālīd's correspondence but not in the others, and the manuscript date for the Istanbul University collection is not identified.¹¹ All of this is important, because the collection of Khālīd's letters from a private Turkish archive contains no passages defaming Christians, Jews, or Shiites. Furthermore, the collection is dated 1331/1913, several years before the *Bughyat al-wājid* was printed. Finally, virtually all scholarly and non-scholarly

discussions of Shaykh Khālīd's teachings ahistorically frame them as if they were permanent or fixed, even though there is evidence that he modified key parts of his ideas on several occasions.¹²

Framing and social movement theory

Social movement theory provides the flexibility to break out of these methodological traps to better evaluate a figure like Shaykh Khālīd, who modified key aspects of his philosophy and emphasized different aspects of his identity and viewpoints to address various audiences. This mode of analysis was initially a reflection of the desire by scholars to explain the turbulence that characterized socio-political movements of the 1960s. To understand such phenomena, social movement theory eschews ideology and emphasizes (a) the structures of political opportunities and constraints confronting movements, along with the informal and formal modes of organization available to participants, and (b) the collective processes used by intellectuals for interpretation, attribution and social construction. Critical to social movement theory are the principles that social movements neither act irrationally nor operate in a vacuum. Rather, their actions and objectives reflect the socio-cultural contexts out of which they emerge. In the eyes of a social movement theorist, the specific ideas of social movements matter less than how and where people implement those ideas.¹³

Of the various tools of social movement theory, the framing process is the most important. Broadly speaking, framing can be thought of as a process by which movements analyze problems (the "diagnosis" frame), stipulate solutions (the "prognosis" frame), and convince followers that solutions are attainable (the "motivational" frame). Movements can utilize multiple and overlapping frames simultaneously to appeal to different audiences. Framing also reveals how movements weave symbols, events, issues, and beliefs into coherent messages. Doug McAdam's work provides us with an excellent recent example of this process—the various frames that Martin Luther King, Jr, used to promote the civil rights movement.¹⁴

In accounting for King's success . . . much of the credit must go to the substantive content of his thought. Quite simply, no black leader had ever sounded like King before. In his unique blending of familiar Christian themes, conventional democratic theory, and the philosophy of nonviolence, King brought an unusually compelling, yet accessible, framework to the struggle . . . While singling out this or that theme in King's thought, it should be noted that the very variety of themes granted those in the media (and the general public) multiple points of ideological contact with the movement. So, secular liberals might be unmoved by King's reading of Christian theology, but resonate with the application of democratic theory. And so on. In short, the sheer variety of themes invoked by King combined with their substantive resonance to give his thought (and the movement he came for many to symbolize) an . . . appeal unmatched by many other movement figures.¹⁵

Here it is important to note that King, like Shaykh Khālid before him, tied together a host of existing ideas and cultural symbols into a frame for a movement without precedent. He diagnosed the problem of racial discrimination in America through the frames of both democratic theory and Christian theology. He then offered a solution to the problem through the philosophy of non-violence. These various frames, in turn, simultaneously appealed to multiple American audiences and convinced them of the efficacy and righteousness of King's cause.¹⁶

When thinking about the framing process, it is useful to bear in mind Antonio Gramsci's concept of "traditional" intellectuals, who see themselves as autonomous, as opposed to "organic" intellectuals, who view themselves as part of existing elites. Organic intellectuals, such as Martin Luther King, Jr, are active participants in practical life; they act as constructors, organizers, "permanent persuaders," and not just simple orators. Framing is usually the product of conceptual articulations by "organic" intellectuals.¹⁷

In the case of Shaykh Khālid, an analogous framing analysis involves asking two separate questions. First, how did Khālid construct his view of the world (the diagnosis frame), propose solutions to socio-political challenges (the prognosis frame), and instill faith in his followers about the correctness and power of his solutions (the motivational frame)? Second, how did he and his order win the allegiance of a wide variety of Muslims of all classes, from different linguistic, cultural, and geographic regions, in response to those frames? Together, the answers to these questions can provide us with a composite picture of how and where Shaykh Khālid shaped his philosophy over time, assigned meaning to his ideas, and interacted with different constituencies and individuals.¹⁸

The composite picture allows us to see that the achievements of Shaykh Khālid and the Naqshbandiyya-Khāliidiyya reflected a nexus of several factors. The first was the changing socio-political conditions in the Ottoman Empire during Khālid's lifetime—and later, the Muslim world as a whole. These conditions transformed mass culture and led to the rise of Sufi brotherhoods as a key vehicle of both religious expression and responses to globalization.

As these changes unfolded, Muslims—like people of other religious faiths and traditions—sought methods, institutions, and intellectual frameworks that could mediate between their ancient local identities and the economic, social, and political norms of the new globalizing human community. Since Sufi orders and saints had been a regular aspect of everyday life in Muslim communities for centuries, they were a readymade framework for Muslims who wished to reconcile the traditions of their faith with the realities of new socio-cultural contexts that were often tied to the West.¹⁹ Ironically, the Naqshbandiyya-Khāliidiyya *ṭarīqa* was well equipped to meet the needs of Muslims in this new milieu because of Shaykh Khālid's doctrines that little really ever changes in the world and that Muslims' belief in otherworldly powers, including sainthood, was the only true path to salvation.²⁰

The second factor is the role of women, who were instrumental in the rapid dissemination of the *ṭarīqa* and retain considerable influence among its descendants to this day.²¹ Although women are almost completely absent from scholarship on

Shaykh Khālid's life, they have always acted as teachers, administrators, financial contributors, and political leaders in the Naqshbandiyya-Khāliidiyya.²² In a letter announcing the death of his son in Urfa,²³ Shaykh Khālid requested that his representative in Baghdad, 'Abīd Allāh al-Ḥaydarī, inform the male and female followers of the Naqshbandiyya-Khāliidiyya that Khālid had been able to come to terms with the sudden loss.²⁴ When a senior follower named Ḥuṣān Efendi died, Khālid sent Umm 'Abd al-Ḥakīm, whom he referred to reverentially as "*shaqīqa al-shaqīqa*" (the sister of the sister), to console Ḥuṣān's wife and daughter.²⁵ One of Khālid's daughters, Fāṭima, was a prominent teacher of the order in Damascus in the thirteenth/nineteenth century,²⁶ while the largest contributor to Khālid's properties in Baghdad was a woman.²⁷

The prominence of these women should come as no surprise, since there is nothing intrinsic to Shaykh Khālid's teachings or the Naqshbandiyya-Khāliidiyya's devotional practices that precludes women from participating in the social movement or in political life generally. Just as there is a *silsila*, or formal chain of spiritual descent, from Shaykh Khālid to his current male disciples, there is also a parallel active *silsila* of female shaykhs that dates back to his lifetime. Today, hundreds of girls and young women are trained annually just in the *ṭarīqa* in Damascus and go on to develop their own followings.²⁸

The third aspect of Shaykh Khālid's success was his ability to tailor aspects of his identity and his teachings to allow him—like Martin Luther King, Jr—to offer the public multiple points (or "frames") of contact with the Naqshbandiyya-Khāliidiyya *ṭarīqa*.²⁹ While some Muslims saw Khālid's affiliation with the Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqa* alone as confirmation of the righteousness and power of his ideas, even more were drawn to his scholarship and his discussions of Islamic law and philosophy.³⁰ Other Muslims responded to his appeals that were framed around his ethnicity and tribal affiliation. This did not just rest on his acknowledgment of his Kurdish identity, however. Khālid also stressed intellectual and personal ties to Arabs, Turks, and Shia Iranians.³¹ He stressed his ties to Baghdad (an important city in Arab history and identity),³² wrote extensive treatises in Persian and Arabic, and claimed to be a sayyid, or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. Indeed, the title of sayyid carried great social and spiritual prestige and signaled that Khālid had Arab heritage because the Prophet was an Arab.³³

The fourth and final aspect of Shaykh Khālid's success was his willingness to employ flexible and timeless frames to explain the problems that Muslims faced, how they could address those problems, and why his program of reform would succeed.³⁴ In his diagnostic frame, Khālid gave a clear explanation for who was responsible for the crises afflicting Islamic societies of his day: namely, Muslims had fallen into the clutches of *dunyā* ("materiality") by needlessly limiting their perceptions to what was easiest for them to see, thereby overlooking the clear gulf between appearance and reality, earth and heaven.³⁵ Khālid argued that Muslims had forgotten that very little had changed in human history and that the present moment is nothing but an illusion generated by Satan and *dunyā*.³⁶ At the same time Khālid, following classic Naqshbandi doctrine, warned his followers that

they should not become ascetics or withdraw from the world. It was not enough to live life virtuously in private; one had to engage in the world directly.³⁷

If Muslims were the cause of the world's problems, then they had the power to reverse these problems by revitalizing their societies. This notion, which was at the heart of Khālid's prognostic frame, was akin to answering the classic Leninesque question, "What is to be done?"³⁸ However, in this context, Shaykh Khālid did not issue a consistent ideological response to all issues. For example, while he told his followers in Baghdad to limit the order to just thirty members, and warned of the stark dangers of associating with politicians, he supported the work of his followers in Amadia³⁹ and in Istanbul to increase the size of the order and forge very close ties with senior government officials.⁴⁰ In a letter to Sayyid Ma'rūf al-Barzinjī, Shaykh Khālid specifically stated that neither he nor anyone else had the right to expel someone from the Naqshbandiyya-Khālidiyya.⁴¹ By contrast, after a leading disciple in the *ṭarīqa* in Istanbul, 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sūsī, challenged Shaykh Khālid's authority, Khālid expelled Sūsī and threatened eternal damnation to anyone who associated with him.⁴²

Perhaps most strikingly, Khālid argued in some places that one should not judge others as "Muslims or non-Muslims," and made a point of speaking highly of Christians, Jews, Shiites, and their religious texts.⁴³ He also allowed 'Abbās Mīrzā (1203–49/1788–1833), the son of the Shah of Iran and the governor of the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, to affiliate with the Naqshbandiyya-Khālidiyya.⁴⁴ On the other hand, he ordered his followers in Istanbul to modify the wording of the *ṭarīqa*'s *dhikr* (reciting the name of God repeatedly) so that it would call for the annihilation of Jews, Christians, and Iranian Shiites.⁴⁵ While Khālid had female disciples in Iraq and in Syria, he forbade his followers in Istanbul to marry Turkish women or to allow young women to enter the *ṭarīqa*'s Istanbul lodge; the point of this was to prevent his followers from forming independent alliances with Turkish elites—alliances that could be used to undermine his position within the order or the Empire.⁴⁶ Indeed, Khālid had good reason for caution: 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sūsī sought to use his connections among government officials in the city to establish his own suborder of the Naqshbandiyya-Khālidiyya and to usurp Khālid's place among Ottoman Sunni Muslims.

No matter how flexible Shaykh Khālid's program was, it would have been of little use to him or to his followers if he failed to convince enough Muslims that it was viable and would succeed. This was Khālid's motivational frame. It combined Qur'anic teachings with an assertion of his otherworldly powers. Citing the Qur'an, Shaykh Khālid argued that God permits individuals to choose either to accept or reject his teachings. Muslims could help to realize a world that conforms to their ideals if they chose to accept his path—which, for Khālid, was synonymous with the teachings of the Naqshbandiyya-Khālidiyya.⁴⁷

Critical to the emergence of a world that is in accordance with Muslim ideals was the acceptance of Shaykh Khālid's status as a powerful Muslim saint, who alone had the power to link adherents directly to God. All adherents in the *ṭarīqa* had the power to link with Khālid through a spiritual exercise called *rābiṭa*, or "connection," whereby a disciple forms a spiritual bond with a Sufi master. Khālid

promised that *rābiṭa* could permit him to protect individuals from harm and deliver them to salvation on Judgment Day.⁴⁸ He also taught that *rābiṭa* could extend to adherents whom he had never personally met and would remain in effect forever. Naqshbandiyya-Khālidiyya adherents could rest assured that Shaykh Khālid could protect and help them at all times and places—even after his death.⁴⁹

Perhaps the most powerful aspect of Shaykh Khālid's program of reform was the seemingly timeless quality of his various frames, which could be applied to many Islamic societies in multiple time periods. For Muslims, Shaykh Khālid provided a plausible and reassuring explanation for what were increasingly becoming otherwise incomprehensible events. Furthermore, the explanation was effectively presented as consistent with teachings that Muslims had upheld for centuries. Khālid was simply reminding them of aspects of their faith that they had momentarily forgotten. The nature and order of the world had not been altered—despite the illusion that non-Muslims were gaining ever greater power at their expense.⁵⁰

Khālid's death and legacy

In the decades following Shaykh Khālid's death in 1242/1827, the Naqshbandiyya-Khālidiyya spread throughout the Muslim world, and peoples from North Africa to Bosnia to the Indonesian archipelago came to look upon Khālid as one of their own. Throughout this process, Khālid's family and many of his followers compiled his correspondence and produced lengthy hagiographies that praised Khālid's accomplishments.⁵¹ There are portions of these histories, however, that differ in significant ways from other sources on Khālid's life. These differences, including the possibility that he may have perished because of the ineptness of Ottoman officials, suggest that his family and followers may have promoted a sanitized version of his life story in order to forge a subsequent alliance with Ottoman rulers whom Khālid himself may not have fully trusted.⁵²

To understand how this process unfolded, it is best to start with how Shaykh Khālid's hagiographies describe his decision in 1242/1826 to cut short his Hajj and return to Damascus when he learned that there was an outbreak of the plague there. Upon his arrival in the city, the hagiographers state that he urged his followers to face the plague and death fearlessly by caring for the sick. He then reminded his followers of the hadith that compels all Muslims to remain in communities that are stricken with the plague.⁵³

Three episodes from his hagiographies undergird this presentation of Shaykh Khālid's stoicism and his willingness to sacrifice himself for the good of the people of Damascus. The first relates his reaction to the deaths of his two eldest sons: he reportedly smiled and laughed—a symbolic recognition that both were in a better place.⁵⁴ This story, which stands in stark contrast to his great sorrow regarding the earlier death of another son, cannot be taken at face value. While it is possible that Khālid, at some point, did smile at the mention of the death of his two sons, it is far more likely that the episode was included in the hagiographies

to emphasize his devotion to religion above all else, including his family. The episode may also have been intended to highlight how Shaykh Khālīd's life was similar to that of other Naqshbandi shaykhs, who also lost children to the plague and sought to protect their communities from it.⁵⁵

The second episode relates Shaykh Khālīd's reaction when his followers implored him to pray for his own life in addition to those of others. Khālīd responded to this request by saying, "We didn't come to Syria except to die."⁵⁶ His predestined path soon became clear when one of his closest followers, Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Ābidīn, told him about a dream in which he saw the third caliph, 'Uthmān, with Shaykh Khālīd. Because Shaykh Khālīd claimed descent from 'Uthmān, Ibn 'Ābidīn's dream had only one meaning: Shaykh Khālīd was about to die.⁵⁷ Realizing the urgency of the situation, Shaykh Khālīd named a successor and ordered that arrangements be made for his death. Echoing the actions of earlier Naqshbandi shaykhs, Shaykh Khālīd dug his own grave and predicted that he would die on 14 Dhū 'l-Qa'da, 1242 / June 8, 1827, thereby freeing Damascus from the plague.⁵⁸

The similarities between this story of Shaykh Khālīd's death and those of other shaykhs in the Naqshbandi tradition become even more important when one compares them to the only known documents relating to Shaykh Khālīd's death *not* produced or edited by one of his followers: (a) a *fermān* (official government letter) relating to his land and properties in Damascus; (b) a court record documenting the sale of that land and indicating who was responsible for providing for his family after his death; and (c) a French consul's report about the disastrous Hajj on which Shaykh Khālīd travelled in 1241/1826. These documents suggest that Khālīd may have died under different circumstances than previously believed, and that the Ottoman government appears to have played a substantial role in determining who possessed Shaykh Khālīd's property and where his family eventually resided after his death.

The Hajj of 1241/1826 in which Shaykh Khālīd participated was ill-fated from the start. Since the cost of suppressing violence in Jerusalem and the surrounding areas and the loss of taxes following the advent of a severe infestation of locusts had together depleted the treasury of the Ottoman provincial government, the Ottoman governor, Wālī al-Dīn Paşa, had to find new sources of revenue to meet his obligation to finance the annual Hajj. He attempted to meet this shortfall by forcing the Muslim elites, Christians, and Iranians in Damascus to pay a collective tax of 400,000 Ottoman piasters (a substantial sum at the time).⁵⁹ Even if finances had not been a problem, the Hajj had to depart during the warm summer months, when temperatures could reach well over one hundred degrees Fahrenheit in the desert. The previous Hajj pilgrimages (in 1239/1824 and 1240/1825) had ended in disaster: thousands died and many of the survivors complained to the Ottoman government that they had been unduly exhausted and left vulnerable to Bedouin attacks.⁶⁰ Another problem was the resurgence of the Wahhābiyya: they appeared in the suburbs of Mecca in 1242/1826 and would go on to temporarily seize Medina, Mecca, and Ta'if in Rabī' al-Awwal 1243/October 1827.⁶¹

Despite the considerable resources contributed in 1241/1826 by Damascenes of all faiths, Wālī al-Dīn Paşa failed to make adequate arrangements, resulting in the pilgrims enduring hardships and difficulties. Many of them perished, including a prominent Damascene Muslim scholar, Muḥammad al-Dasūqī, who died just outside of Medina, with Shaykh Khālīd reportedly attending to all of his funeral and burial rites.⁶² The French consul's report on the Hajj travelers' return to Damascus provides a glimpse into the horror of this expedition:

The first letters received announced that 4,000 pilgrims of the 20,000 hajji had died. That letter of the fourteenth of September, 1826, was catastrophic. Nearly half of the pilgrims arrived on foot, for the camels had died of hunger. Instead of the benedictions and cries of joy which the leaders were accustomed to receive on such an occasion, Wali al-Din Pasha, in making his entry, received curses which the low-class people didn't refrain from saying aloud. The most sombre scenes were traced of this unhappy pilgrimage. It is said that the wind of Kabamain had killed 1,200 people in one week in the Hedjaz [Ḥijāz]. The lack of provisions and water had placed the pilgrims in a story's end without precedent. Despair drove several ruined entrepreneurs of transport to suicide.⁶³

Wālī al-Dīn Paşa's official reception upon returning to Damascus was no better than what he received from the common Damascenes; the head of the local Janissary regiment deposed him immediately and ordered that his property be sequestered. Three months later, the Ottoman government in Istanbul reacted with a *fermān*, which confirmed that Wālī al-Dīn Paşa was no longer the governor of Damascus and that Ḥājī Şalāḥ Paşa had been appointed to take his place. Sayyid Amīn, the leader of the royal guard, became the new deputy governor of Damascus. None of these actions would have come as a surprise to Wālī al-Dīn Paşa, for administering the annual Hajj was a critical source of legitimacy for the Ottoman government and its governor in Damascus.⁶⁴ In fact, Wālī al-Dīn Paşa had been appointed governor in the first place in order to reorganize the Hajj caravan after the disastrous Hajj of 1239/1824.⁶⁵

Ottoman officials might have had another important reason to rapidly depose Wālī al-Dīn Paşa: namely, Shaykh Khālīd's death on the Hajj. A *fermān* issued in Dhū 'l-Qa'da 1243/June 1828, which discusses the sale and distribution of Shaykh Khālīd's properties and house in Damascus after his death, states that the edict "concerns the Muslim pilgrims who began their journey on the 15th day of Dhū 'l-Qa'da from Ma'ān and safely arrived in Madā'in Şāliḥ."⁶⁶ (Ma'ān and Madā'in Şāliḥ are on the pilgrimage route from Syria to Mecca.) Subsequently, the same *fermān* notes, "in this regard, the imperial document about the Muslims' safe arrival is sincere."⁶⁷ The linkage of the pilgrims and a specific place and moment with Shaykh Khālīd's death strongly suggests that he was among those who did not survive the Hajj.

How likely is it that Shaykh Khālīd could have died on the Hajj? When he undertook the pilgrimage in 1241/1826, he would have been at least 52 years old.

While he was certainly accustomed to difficult travel, it seems reasonable to assume that the harsh conditions of the Hajj might have led to an untimely demise. Nor was this author able, after an exhaustive search, to find a probate record for Shaykh Khālīd in the Damascene court records. This dearth of information is surprising if Khālīd did die in Damascus, since the Sharia court in that city usually made probate records for figures of Shaykh Khālīd's status.

Furthermore, the *fermān* concerning Khālīd's death was not solely concerned with him or the sale of his property. The document notes that the "Illustrious Ones" (presumably elite Damascenes who had accompanied Shaykh Khālīd on Hajj) would not be treated in the same way as "the group which was sent [away] from Damascus." Who this latter group was is not exactly clear, but it seems to be a group of Naqshbandiyya-Khālīdiyya shaykhs who are known to have been exiled from Damascus to Baghdad following Shaykh Khālīd's death.

The importance of the land sale is emphasized by the *fermān*'s linkage of Shaykh Khālīd's properties to a "future imperial edict" and the warning that the *fermān* ought "to be reviewed by those of illustrious correct judgment." The *fermān* subsequently insists that the properties "must be sold by auction to those who want them, according to material circumstances and religious law." The Ottoman central government did not ask that the proceeds be sent to Istanbul; rather, it asked for a "court record that would include those who bought the items . . . signed record of the inheritance . . . and the value and prices of that which was sold to parties."⁶⁸ The specificity of the *fermān* may be an indication of the importance of the land to the Ottoman central government as well as of its views of the original division of resources. Similarly ominous is the phrase "the properties must be pledged truthfully," which is a strong indication that previous matters relating to Shaykh Khālīd had not been fully truthful. Although this language is opaque, the Ottoman government's messages are very clear to the elites of Damascus: (a) they had been spared the indignities that had befallen the followers of Shaykh Khālīd who had been exiled to Baghdad; and (b) the sale of Khālīd's property had to be transparent and final.⁶⁹

During the same Islamic month that the *fermān* was issued, the Ottoman authorities in Damascus drafted a long court record detailing the sale of Shaykh Khālīd's farm. That record adheres to much of the instructions contained in the *fermān*, in that it divides Shaykh Khālīd's properties according to material circumstances and religious law. Every detail about the location of the farm, who purchased it, its value, and who inherited the proceeds is dutifully listed. Furthermore, the court record states that the qadi who divided Shaykh Khālīd's estate was the qadi of Mecca, Ḥusayn Efendi.⁷⁰ Why would the person who served as the judge of Mecca divide Shaykh Khālīd's estate? It is at least possible that the reason was that Shaykh Khālīd died in the vicinity of Mecca.

At the same time, one is struck by the apparently incomplete nature of the court record, which lists the value of Shaykh Khālīd's farm, but does not provide much evidence for the value of his house or other properties that are referred to in the *fermān*. One gets the impression that there is a subtext or even an alternative

narrative—known to those who drafted the court record and the *fermān*—that has not survived.⁷¹

Whatever that alternative narrative may be, the obvious propaganda benefits in Damascus of a legend involving Shaykh Khālīd's self-sacrifice for the city would have given authors of his hagiographies and many others a reason to fictionalize the event. Authors could have also called upon Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi tradition, which had multiple instances of individuals dying for the sake of others in plague-infested lands; for example, the eleventh/seventeenth-century Indian Naqshbandi leader, Aḥmad Sirhindī, reportedly sacrificed two sons and a daughter to save the South Asian region of Sirhind from the plague.⁷² Naqshbandi shaykhs in the Ottoman Empire had already written hagiographies that were incomplete and left out key facts about the lives of the individuals they described. While discussing issues in Naqshbandi history, a British scholar notes that 'Ārif 'Abd Allāh and others who wrote about the history of the order in the Ottoman Empire in the early tenth/sixteenth century "were obliged to omit facts of cardinal importance to that history."⁷³ Might the authors of Shaykh Khālīd's hagiographies have been following a similar script?

Equally significant, many of those authors sought Ottoman patronage and would not have wanted to remind the government that an Ottoman official was responsible for Khālīd's untimely death. A good example is Khālīd's brother, Maḥmūd al-Şāḥib. His and his sons' writings emphasize their adherence to the Naqshbandiyya-Khālīdiyya tradition (started under Khālīd) of supporting long-standing Naqshbandi ideals while at the same time backing the Ottoman sultan and his administration. They also stress Khālīd's decision to save Damascus from the plague. Citing his connections to Khālīd, Maḥmūd convinced Ottoman and other officials to let him control Khālīd's lands in Kurdistan and to administer the Takīya Sulamāniyya, an important Damascene religious institution.⁷⁴ Maḥmūd's son, Muḥammad As'ad al-Şāḥib, served as a judge in the Ḥaramayn, and was paid by Aḥmet Cemāl Paşa (1289–1340/1872–1922), a leading Ottoman official, to produce an official collection of Khālīd's writings.⁷⁵ As was noted earlier, Butrus Abu-Manneh has identified portions of the text that are inconsistent with other known versions of Khālīd's writings, and even appear to have been edited to avoid associating Shaykh Khālīd or the Ottoman government with bigoted views of Christians, Shiite Muslims, and Jews.⁷⁶

Nor was Şāḥib alone in receiving official patronage. One of Khālīd's wives, Khadija, won exemptions for Khālīd's son and grandson from military service and arranged state salaries for members of Khālīd's family and tax exemptions for the family's properties.⁷⁷ She also won generous state funds for the upkeep of Khālīd's tomb.⁷⁸ When she died in 1305/1888 at the advanced age of 108, Sultan 'Abdülḥamīd II (r. 1293–1327/1876–1909) requested that a leading Istanbul intellectual compose a poem eulogizing the sultan's decision to uphold her request to rebuild Khālīd's tomb.⁷⁹ The Khānī family, who were close followers of Khālīd and wrote extensively on his life, also benefited from Ottoman patronage.⁸⁰ They, too, emphasized the importance of Khālīd's sacrifice for Damascus in 1242/1827 and his loyalty to Ottoman officials.⁸¹

Finally, it is necessary to allow for the fact that we may not be dealing with an impulse towards “objective” history or propaganda but with an impulse towards belief—towards the mythologizing tendencies of people who wish so strongly to believe something that, for them, it becomes “true.”

Conclusion

However real the death of Shaykh Khālīd may have appeared to his followers, there remain unanswered questions regarding the final years of his life and the possibility that his followers may well have promoted a sanitized version of his history to win the support of Ottoman officials. Again, it is worth noting that Ṣāhib may have edited significant portions of Khālīd’s writings to eradicate any indication that he may have harbored animosity toward non-Sunni Muslims—which later represented an embarrassing fact for the Ottoman government and its diplomatic relations with Iran and European states. Even more important, the similarity between Khālīd’s death and the narratives surrounding other leading Naqshbandi figures suggests that we cannot treat his hagiographies at face value and must continue to search for alternative documents and narratives not authored by his followers. This conclusion reinforces the wisdom of the aforementioned leading Syrian historian of the Ottoman period, Abdul-Karim Rafeq, who observes that Syria’s rich court records are essential to understanding pre-modern Ottoman history.

Ultimately, this study suggests that social movement theory and the use of court records hold considerable promise for the study of medieval and early modern Sufism. Shaykh Khālīd and his followers in the Naqshbandiyya-Khālidiyya order are only one of the many Muslim Sufi adherents to use flexible and contradictory teachings to win a host of followers across geographic, linguistic, and cultural boundaries. Many other Sufi adherents and their leaders in Syria and elsewhere had regular contact with government leaders and conducted business in courts; another good example that awaits further research would be the Sufi scholar ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulūsī (1050–1143/1641–1731). If Rafeq, Wiktorowicz, and other scholars effectively use social movement theory and court and government documents in their studies, why cannot scholars of medieval and early modern Sufism do the same?

Notes

- 1 A-K. Rafeq, “The Law-Court Registers and their Importance for a Socio-Economic and Urban Study of Ottoman Syria,” in D. Chevallier (ed.), *L’espace social de la ville arabe* (Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1979), p. 58.
- 2 H. İnalçık, “Tarihsel Bağlamda Sivil Toplum ve Tarikatlar,” in F. Keyman and A.Y. Sarıbay (eds), *Global-Yerel Ekseninde Türkiye* (Istanbul: ALFA Press, 2005), p. 92.
- 3 Q. Wiktorowicz (ed.), *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (Indianapolis and Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004).
- 4 Rafeq, “The Law-Court Registers,” p. 58.
- 5 There are a host of hagiographies or hagiography-like sources related to Khālīd. Among the most important are Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Baghdādī, *al-Ḥadīqa*

al-nadiyya fī ādāb al-ṭarīqa al-Naqshbandiyya wa-l-bahja al-Khālidiyya, M.A. al-Ṣāhib, (ed.) on the margin of ‘Uthmān al-Najdī, *Wā’ilī asfā al-mawārid* (Cairo: al-Maṭba‘at al-‘Ilmiyya, 1313/1895–6); Ismā‘īl al-Ghazzī, *Ḥuṣūl al-uns fī intiḳāl ḥaḍrat Mawlānā ilā ḥaḍirat al-Quds*, M.U. al-Tikrītī (ed.) (Damascus: n.p., 1970); Ibrāhīm Faṣīḥ al-Ḥaydarī, *al-Majd al-tālid fī manāqib al-shaykh Khālīd* (Istanbul: al-Maṭba‘at al-‘Āmira, 1292/1875); Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Khānī, *al-Bahja al-saniyya fī ādāb al-ṭarīqa al-‘aliya al-Khālidiyya al-Naqshbandiyya* (Cairo: Dār al-Ṭibā‘at al-‘Āmira, 1303/1885–6); ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Khānī, *al-Ḥadā‘iq al-wardiyya fī ḥaqā‘iq ajillā’ al-Naqshbandiyya* (Cairo: Dār al-Ṭibā‘at al-‘Āmira, 1308/1890–1); Muḥammad As‘ad al-Ṣāhib, *Bughyat al-wājid fī maktūbāt Mawlānā Khālīd* (Damascus: Maṭba‘at al-Taraqqī, 1334/1915–16); and ‘Uthmān al-Najdī al-Wā‘ilī, *Asfā al-mawārid min silsāl aḥwāl al-imām Khālīd* (Cairo: al-Maṭba‘at al-‘Ilmiyya, 1313/1895–6). An English-language version of these hagiographies was published in the United States as Shaykh Muḥammad Hisham Kabbani, “31: Khālīd al-Baghdādī,” in *The Naqshbandi Sufi Way: History and Guidebook of the Saints of the Golden Chain* (Chicago: Kazi Publications, 1995), pp. 275–81.

- 6 Makama Shar‘iyya li-Dimashq, vol. 581, 2, 1, Jumādā I, 1283 (November, 1866). The record confirms those Khālīdī hagiographies that maintain that Khālīd’s father was Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn. At the same time, the final part of the name—al-Naqshbandī—suggests that Shaykh Khālīd was not the first member of his family to adhere to the Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqa*, an aspect of his heritage absent from the Khālīdī hagiographies. While it is possible that Aḥmad joined the Naqshbandiyya after his son did, it is more likely that he entered the *ṭarīqa* on his own or was associated with it through familial, ethnic, or tribal ties. This hypothesis makes even more sense in light of the fact that, starting in the tenth/sixteenth century, many Central Asian Naqshbandi Sufi shaykhs passed through Kurdish communities in northern Iraq on their way to Mecca.
- 7 Among the leading secondary works are those of H. Algar, “The Naqshbandi Order: A Preliminary Survey of its History and Significance,” *Studia Islamica*, 44 (1976), pp. 124–52; B. Abu-Manneh, “The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the Early 19th Century,” *Die Welt des Islams*, 22, 1–2 (1982), pp. 1–36; idem, *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2001); A. Hourani, “Sufism and Modern Islam: Mawlana Khalid and the Naqshbandi Order,” in *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 75–89; M. van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh, and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1992); I. Weismann, *Taste of Modernity: Sufism, Salafiyya, and Arabism in Late Ottoman Damascus* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); and idem, *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Sufi Tradition* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007). There are also several Iraqi authors who have written on Shaykh Khālīd. The most important of them is ‘Abbās al-‘Azzāwī, viz. “Mawlānā Khālīd al-Naqshbandī,” *Majallat al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmī al-Kurdī* (Baghdad), 1 (1973), pp. 692–727, and idem, “Khulafā’ Mawlānā Khālīd,” *Majallat al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmī al-Kurdī* (Baghdad), 2 (1974), pp. 182–222.
- 8 Shaykh Khālīd, *Maktūbāt Khālīd Baghdādī*, MS Istanbul University Library Rectory, AY 728, fols. 1–192. It is worth noting that nearly twenty years ago Algar also argued that he had seen evidence of anti-Christian and anti-Iranian Shiite rhetoric in Shaykh Khālīd’s work, but had not seen anything relating to Jews. Algar, much like Abu-Manneh and Weismann, linked these attitudes to great-power politics in the 1820s in India and the Middle East. But his later publications do not make similar assertions. See H. Algar, “A Brief History of the Naqshbandi Order,” in M. Gaborieau, A. Popovic and Th. Zarccone (eds), *Naqshbandis: Cheminements et situation actuelle d’un ordre mystique musulman: Historical Developments and Present Situation of a Muslim Mystical Order: Actes de la Table Ronde de Sevres: Proceedings of the*

- Sevres Round Table 2–4 mai / 2–4 May 1985* (Istanbul and Paris: Editions Isis, 1990), pp. 35–7.
- 9 Iraqi historians provide another possible narrative for the creation of the *Bughyat al-wājid*. According to al-'Azzāwī, Muḥammad al-Şāhib edited a collection of Shaykh Khālīd's letters that had been originally printed in Damascus in 1289/1872. That collection included both Arabic and Persian letters. The Persian letters were later translated into Arabic. Other Iraqi historians argue that this book was first published in Damascus in 1233/1818, but this does not seem likely because a number of the letters in the collection are dated as late as 1241/1826. Şāhib does not mention this earlier collection of letters, and I was unable to find them after extensive research in Damascus. For more on this issue, see K. 'Awwād, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin al-'iraqiyyin fi al-qarnayn al-tāsi 'ashar wa-l-'ashrin, 1800–1969* (Baghdad: Maṭba'at al-Irshād, 1969), p. 402, and al-'Azzāwī, *Mawlānā*, p. 709.
- 10 Abu-Manneh, *Studies*, pp. 24–6; and Weismann, *Taste*, pp. 51–5.
- 11 The only hint of when the documents might have been compiled is a talisman on a cover page for a visitor to the court of Ottoman Sultan 'Abdülmeccid, whose reign began in 1255/1839, more than a decade after Shaykh Khālīd died. Neither the card catalog in the Istanbul University Library rectory nor the manuscript have any identifying dates, nor does Abu-Manneh identify when the document was compiled.
- 12 For more on this argument, see S. Foley, "Shaykh Khalid and the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya, 1776–2005" (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2005), pp. 253–5.
- 13 S. Foley, "The Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya, Islamic Sainthood, and Religion in Modern Times," *The Journal of World History*, 19, 4 (December 2008), p. 531.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 D. McAdam, "The Framing Function of Movement Tactics: Strategic Dramaturgy in the American Civil Rights Movements," in idem, J.D. McCarthy and M.N. Zald (eds), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framing* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 347–8.
- 16 Foley, "The Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya," p. 532.
- 17 A. Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Notebooks*, Q. Hoare and G.N. Smith (trans.) (New York: International Publishers, 1971), p. 10; and J.P. Hawley, "Antonio Gramsci's Marxism: Class, State, and Work," *Social Problems*, 27, 5 (June 1980), pp. 584–600.
- 18 Foley, "The Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya," 532.
- 19 J. Voll, "Sufism in the Perspective of Contemporary Theory," paper presented at the 2003 ISIM Conference, "Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam," Bogor, Indonesia, September 4–6, 2003, pp. 8–10. I thank John Voll for providing me with a copy of this paper.
- 20 Foley, "The Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya," pp. 532–3.
- 21 In one of his letters, Shaykh Khālīd mentions that he had recently visited his mother (presumably his mother's grave) and that he spent significant time with female in-laws. In the same letter he consoles the qadi of Basra about the death of the qadi's mother. Shaykh Khālīd never touches on his own father or on the father of any of his followers except when he swears on the "grave of my father and mother" in a letter to 'Abd Allāh Paşa. It is worth noting that some followers of Shaykh Khālīd believe that he was an orphan, thereby establishing a relationship to the life and career of the Prophet Muhammad himself. See H. Barakat, *The Tiller of Waters*, M. Booth (trans.) (Cairo: American University Cairo Press, 2004), pp. 77–8; Khālīd, *Maktūbāt*, fols. 8b and 44a; and Şāhib, *Bughyat al-wājid*, p. 87.
- 22 Foley, "The Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya," p. 533.
- 23 Urfa is a town in south-central Turkey near the Turkish–Syrian border. It was an important stopping point on the land route between Iraq and Syria.
- 24 Şāhib, *Bughyat al-wājid*, p. 219.
- 25 Ibid., pp. 206–7.

- 26 Fāṭima was well schooled in the Islamic sciences and spoke four languages: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Kurdish. For more on her life see M. al-Ḥāfiẓ and N. Abāza, *'Ulamā' Dimashq wa-a'yānuhā fi al-qarn al-thālith 'ashar al-hijrī*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'āşir; Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1991), pp. 681–2.
- 27 Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Durūbī, *al-Baghdādiyyūn: akhbāruhum wa-majālisuhum; kitāb yabḥath 'an majālis Baghdād*, U.N. al-Naqshbandī (ed.) (Baghdad: Dār al-Shu'ūn al-Thaqāfiyya al-'Āmma Āfāq 'Arabiyya, 2001), pp. 149 and 288–9. It was not uncommon for women to serve as benefactors for Naqshbandī institutions in the Ottoman Empire. For more on this practice, see D. Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450–1700* (Binghamton, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005), pp. 60–2.
- 28 A. Böttcher, "Islamic Teaching among Sunni women in Syria," in D.L. Bowen and E.A. Early (eds), *Everyday Life in the Muslim Middle East*, 2nd edn (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), pp. 292–6.
- 29 Foley, "The Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya," p. 534.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 For more on these issues, see Foley, "Shaykh Khalid," pp. 100–1 and 251–315.
- 32 Shaykh Khālīd affectionately referred to Baghdad by its ancient epithet, "*madīnat al-salām*" (the city of peace), and frequently expressed his desire to return there when he was away from the city. For example, see Şāhib, *Bughyat al-wājid*, p. 205.
- 33 Sayyids in the first third of the thirteenth/nineteenth century were treated with great reverence and had special legal and tax privileges. For more on these privileges, see L.S. Schilcher, *Families in Politics: Damascene Factions and Estates of the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985), pp. 124–31.
- 34 Foley, "The Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya," p. 535.
- 35 For more on this issue, see Şāhib, *Bughyat al-wājid*, pp. 118–19, 144, 256–7, and 268.
- 36 Even Shaykh Khālīd was not above temptation, as he notes in his *dīwān*: "O' Khālīd, this mortal life has no value; rebuff its illusions and prepare for seriousness and work." In another poem, he admits "how brave I was to commit sins" and to "accompany Satan" (*Dīwān*, preprint [Damascus: Bayt al-Ḥikma, 2003], pp. 25 and 48). For more specifically on Shaykh Khālīd's *dīwān*, see H. Algar, "Bağdādī, Mawlānā Kāled Zīā'-al-Dīn," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 3 (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1989).
- 37 For example, Shaykh Khālīd instructed Muştafā Efendi that "God said not to contribute to another world; you have to care about this one" (Khālīd, *Maktūbāt Khālīd Baghdādī*, fol. 50a).
- 38 Foley, "The Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya," p. 535.
- 39 Amadia is in the northern region of Iraq in the Dahuk Governorate. Dahuk is part of the Kurdish autonomous zone in Iraq.
- 40 Khālīd, *Maktūbāt Khālīd Baghdādī*, fols. 4b and 32b.
- 41 Şāhib, *Bughyat al-wājid*, pp. 120–1.
- 42 Foley, "Shaykh Khalid," pp. 242–3, 289–90.
- 43 Şāhib, *Bughyat al-wājid*, pp. 67–8, 120–1.
- 44 Khālīd, *Maktūbāt Khālīd Baghdādī*, fol. 220b.
- 45 Ibid., fols. 19b and 3a.
- 46 Şāhib, *Bughyat al-wājid*, p. 121.
- 47 Foley, "Shaykh Khalid," pp. 314–15; and Şāhib, *Bughyat al-wājid*, p. 66–8.
- 48 Foley, "Shaykh Khalid," pp. 305–6.
- 49 Ibid., pp. 310–18.
- 50 Foley, "The Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya," p. 536.
- 51 For more information, see n. 7 above.
- 52 Significantly, Khālīd's death is not the only part of his life that remains open to question. A good example is the route he took to Damascus in 1237/1822. While all of the Khālīdī hagiographies record that Shaykh Khālīd went to Damascus via Urfa in

- Anatolia, the *Sicill-i 'Osmānī*, or official Ottoman biographical dictionary, states that he visited Istanbul while on his way to Syria. Since there is no source outside of the hagiographies and the *Sicill* for this period in his life, it is impossible to verify fully the exact route Shaykh Khālīd took from Iraq to Syria. But the reputation of the *Sicill* as a credible historical source, along with Khālīd's cooperation with political elites in Baghdad and Sulaimaniya suggest that he had strong incentive to travel to Istanbul. There, he could seek the support of Ottoman officials and reinvigorate his career with new political patrons. Khālīd would have benefited as well from the Istanbul elites' tradition of honoring Baghdadi, South Asian, or Kurdish Naqshbandi shaykhs. For more on this issue, see *Sicill-i 'Osmānī (The Ottoman National Biography) (Istanbul, 1308/1890–1315/1897)*, vol. II (Westmead, UK: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1971), pp. 265–6; and Foley, "Shaykh Khalid," pp. 218–19.
- 53 Foley, "Shaykh Khalid," p. 183.
- 54 al-Ghazzī, *Huṣūl*, pp. 39–43.
- 55 Foley, "Shaykh Khalid," p. 184.
- 56 al-Ghazzī, *Huṣūl*, p. 44.
- 57 *Ibid.*, p. 51; and Weismann, *Taste*, p. 68.
- 58 C. Chokiewiez, "Le Shaykh Khālīd (1780–1827) et la ṭarīqa Naqshbandiyya en Syrie" (MA thesis, Université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris-IV), 1980), pp. 104–5; and al-Ghazzī, *Huṣūl*, pp. 43–6, 51–6.
- 59 For more on this incident, see G. Koury, "The Province of Damascus, 1788–1832" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1970), p. 180.
- 60 *Ibid.*, pp. 174–8.
- 61 A. Vassiliev, *The History of Saudi Arabia* (London: Saqi Books, 1998), p. 163.
- 62 Abāza and Ḥāfīz, '*Ulamā' Dimashq*, pp. 283–5.
- 63 Koury, "Province," p. 180; and R. Tresse, *Le pelerinage syrien aux villes saintes de l'Islam* (Paris: Imprimerie Chaumette, 1937), pp. 253–4.
- 64 For more on this issue, see K. Barbir, *Ottoman Rule in Damascus, 1708–1758* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); and S. Deringil, "Legitimacy Structures in the Ottoman State: The Reign of Abdulhamid II (1876–1909)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 23, 3 (1991), p. 354.
- 65 Awāmīr Sulṭāniyya, 21 Jumādā I, 1242, 2/166 (21 December, 1826); and Koury, "Province," p. 178. Wālī al-Dīn Paşa had formally been the Sultan's *surre-yi emīnī*, who joined the Syrian pilgrimage carrying the Sultan's annual contribution to the holy cities.
- 66 Awāmīr Sulṭāniyya, 24 Dhū 'l-Qa'da, 1243, 2/232 (7 June, 1828). An English-language translation of the full text of this *fermān* can be found in S. Foley, "Spiritual and Temporal Power in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Politics: Shaykh Khālīd, Gürcü Necib Pasha, and the Naqshbandiyya-Khalidiyya," *Türkiyat Araştırmaları*, 9 (Fall 2008), p. 244.
- 67 Awāmīr Sulṭāniyya, 24 Dhū 'l-Qa'da, 1243, 2/232 (7 June, 1828).
- 68 *Ibid.*
- 69 *Ibid.*
- 70 *Ibid.*; Makama Shar'iyya li-Dimashq, vol. 312, 165 and 444, case dated 14 Dhū 'l-Qa'da, 1243 (28 May, 1828); Abāza and Ḥāfīz, '*Ulamā' Dimashq*, p. 297; 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Bayṭār, *Hilyat al-bashar fī ta'rīkh al-qarn al-thālith 'ashar* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1991), vol. 1, p. 533; and M.J. al-Shattī, *A'yan Dimashq fī nisf al-qarn al-rābi' 'ashar al-hijrī* (Damascus: Dār al-Yaqza al-'Arabiyya, 1367/1947–8), p. 91.
- 71 Makama Shar'iyya li-Dimashq, vol. 312, pp. 165, 444, case dated 14 Dhū 'l-Qa'da, 1243 (28 May, 1828).
- 72 For more on this story, see "Naqshbandi Order II," in M.A. Khan and S. Ram (eds), *Encyclopedia of Sufism*, vol. 12, *Sufism and the Naqshbandi Order* (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 2003).

- 73 H.A. Rose, "Some Problems in Naqshbandi History," *Indian Antiquary*, 52 (1923), p. 207. Rose also notes a number of celebrated instances in which Naqshbandis had died for the sake of others.
- 74 Awāmīr Sulṭāniyya, 21 Şafar, 1261, 5/177 (1 March, 1845); Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Umum Vilâyet, 378/21, document date 16 Rebi'ulâhîr, 1276 (12 November, 1859); and M. Yüksel, *Mevlana Halid-i şehrezori Hazretleri'nin Ailesine Ait Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivlerinde Bulunan Belgeler*, Microsoft Word document and e-mail, Fatih, Istanbul, July, 2004 (Collection of documents from the *Başbakanlık* in Istanbul Turkey), doc. 4.
- 75 Weismann, *Taste*, pp. 132–40; Şāhib, *Bughyat al-wājid*, p. 311; Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Yıldız Perakende, Umumî, 29/88, document date Gurre-i Zilka'de, 1311 (6 May, 1894); Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Dahiliye Nezâret, Kalem-i Mahsûs, 44-1/57, document date 11 Nisan, 1333 (11 April, 1915); and Yüksel, *Mevlana Halid-i*, docs. 15–19.
- 76 Abu Manneh, *Sufism and Modern Islam*, pp. 23–4.
- 77 Foley, "Shaykh Khalid," p. 202.
- 78 *Ibid.*
- 79 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Sadâret Mektûbî Kalemî, Nezâret ve Devâir, 66/70, document date 12 Safer, 1269 (25 November, 1852); Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Sadâret Mektûbî Kalemî, Nezâret ve Devâir, 128/37, document date 28 Rebi'ulâhîr, 1271 (18 January, 1851); Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Sadâret Mektûbî Kalemî, Nezâret ve Devâir, 348/50, document date 29 Ramazan, 1277 (10 April, 1861); Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Sadâret Mektûbî Kalemî, Meclis-i Vâlâ, 127/47, document date 29 Şevvâl, 1277 (10 May, 1861); Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Yıldız Perakende, Umumî, 18/53, document date 25 Ağustos, 1306/20 Muharrem, 1308 (5 September, 1890); Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Yıldız Perakende, Umumî, 19/51, document date 28 Teşrin-i Evvel, 1306/26 Rebi'ulevvel, 1308 (26 October, 1890); Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Yıldız Perakende, Başbakanlık or Başkanlık, 19/91, document date 4 Teşrin-i Sâni, 1306 (4 November, 1888); Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Yıldız Perakende, Umumî, 22/111, document date Tarih Ve Imza: 25 Ağustos, 1307 Asim (25 August, 1890); and Yüksel, *Mevlana Halid-i*, docs. 2–3, 5–10, 14.
- 80 In 1315/1897 Muhammad Jamāl al-Dīn al-Khānī was appointed as an instructor at the al-Khāmis Madrasa in Damascus, while Muḥammad al-Khānī won appointment to the Hanafi al-Khāmisa Madrasa and to the al-'Arba'yīn Madrasa in Damascus. A year later 'Abd al-Majīd al-Khānī was appointed head of the Khālidiyya Zāwiya and the administrator of the *waqf* of the Murad Pasha Mosque (both in Damascus). He was also authorized to teach the Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqa* in Damascus. This power was confirmed by the Ottoman government in 1319–20/1902 when a *fermān* stated that 'Abd Allāh Khānī had inherited the leadership position in the Naqshbandi *ṭarīqa* from his father, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Khānī. Makama Shar'iyya li-Dimashq, vol. 1151, 153 and 180–2, case dated 20 Jumādā I, 1310 (10 December, 1892); Abāza and Ḥāfīz, '*Ulamā' Dimashq*, p. 681; Awāmīr Sulṭāniyya, 1315, 11/84 (1897/1898) and 11/85 (1897/1898); D. Ḥakīm, *al-Awāmīr al-sulṭāniyya li-wilāyat Dimashq* (Damascus: Wizârat al-Thaqāfa fī al-Jumhūriyya al-'Arabiyya al-Sūriyya, 2003), p. 327; Awāmīr Sulṭāniyya, 1316, 11/102 (1898/1899); Ḥakīm, *Wilāyat*, 332; Awāmīr Sulṭāniyya, 1316, 11/105 (1898/1899); Ḥakīm, *Wilāyat*, p. 334; Awāmīr Sulṭāniyya, 1309, 11/13 (1891/1892); and Ḥakīm, *ibid.*, p. 299.
- 81 For more on the Khānī family in the thirteenth/nineteenth century and their writings, see D. Commins, *Islamic Reform: Politics and Social Change in Late Ottoman Syria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 34–8; L. Hudson, "Reading al-Sha'rānī: The Sufi Genealogy of Islamic Modernism in Late Ottoman Damascus," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 15, 1 (2004), pp. 39–68; and idem, *Transforming Damascus: Space and Modernity in an Islamic City* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2008).