Ibn 'Arabi

A Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

Study, translation, transliteration and Arabic text

Suha Taji-Farouki
A Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection
Muḥyiddīn Ibn ʿArabī

A Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

al-Dawr al-aʿlā (Ḥizb al-wiqāya)

Study, translation, transliteration and Arabic text

SUHA TAJI-FAROUKI

ANQA PUBLISHING • OXFORD

IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE
MUHYIDDIN IBN ʿARABI SOCIETY
To God alone belong the Most Beautiful Names, so call upon Him through them

Qur’an 7: 180

I take refuge in the Perfect Words of God from the evil of that which He has created

A saying of the Prophet Muhammad

Whoever recites [this prayer] will be like the sun and the moon among the stars

Muḥammad al-Dāmūnī,

al-Durr al-thamīn li-sharḥ Dawr al-a’lā li-sīdī Muḥyī al-Dīn
CONTENTS

Acknowledgements viii
Foreword by Michel Chodkiewicz ix
Introduction 1

1 The Dawr Today
   Contemporary contexts 5
   Damascus 5
   Istanbul 8
   The United Kingdom 9

2 A Prayer across Time
   Historical dimensions 17
   Transmitters of the prayer 22
   Chains and authorisations 44
   Windows onto Islamic culture and thought 48

3 The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection
   Properties 69
   The text and its contents 74
   Translation and Arabic text 79
   Transliteration 98

Appendix: Manuscript copies and chains of transmission 119
Bibliography 127
Index 135
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank The Institute of Ismaili Studies (London) for generously supporting this work, the staff of the Suleymaniye Library (Istanbul) for their help and hospitality, and those who gave their time for interviews or discussions. Thanks are also due to Stephen Hirtenstein and Michael Tiernan.
FOREWORD

MICHEL CHODKIEWICZ

Born in Spain and having died in Syria, like the ‘blessed tree’ mentioned in the ‘Light’ verse of the Qur’an Ibn `Arabi (1164–1240) is ‘neither of the east nor of the west’, for he belongs equally to both. Recognized as the Spiritual Master par excellence (al-Shaykh al-Akbar), he has been a source of inspiration and a definitive reference-point for the Muslim mystical tradition from Andalusia to China for more than eight centuries. Christian Europe, which since the Middle Ages had passionately studied so many Arabic authors, was for a long time unaware of him. It had to wait until the end of the nineteenth century before it began to discover some of the hundreds of works he has left us, and even then this interest was at first limited to narrow circles of Orientalists.

In contrast, the last few decades of the twentieth century have seen a sudden increase in the number of translations, critical editions, studies and commentaries on his works. Even more surprisingly, their audience has gradually extended to encompass readers who, a priori, have felt no particular attraction to Islamic culture, and indeed appeared to have no reason to be interested in writings of such intimidating depth. Undoubtedly, such readers felt that an academic approach which focused on the doctrinal authority Ibn `Arabī has exercised over sufism took into account only one aspect of the man. As an eminent figure of sainthood the Shaykh al-Akbar is thus not only a Lesemeister: he is also – and even more so, a Lehemeister, since he teaches us not only how to think, but how to live.

Witness, for example, the care he has shown in the five hundred and sixtieth (and final) chapter of his Meccan Revelations (al-Futūḥat al-makkīya). Here, at the end of thousands of pages, where a vertiginous metaphysics is developed in a language of extreme technical
precision, he gathers together, using very simple words, the rules of
dconduct from which, he tells us, both the wayfarer (al-sālik) and the
one who has arrived at his destination (al-wāṣil) may benefit. For him
– and for every spiritual master worthy of the name – the knowledge
of the saints must take hold of the whole person. It is not addressed
to the intellect alone.

It is for this very reason too that, within the immense Akbarian
corpus, one finds alongside numerous scholarly treatises some quite
short texts, which at first sight seem to fall within the domain of
simple devotional literature. Yet the reality is utterly different. These
prayers (salawāt, aḥzāb, awrād), transmitted from master to disciple,
are much more than pious litanies. They are inspired invocations,
each structured around a series of Divine Names. Every Name con-
ceals secrets and powers that are its own: it must arise at a precise
moment in the recitation in order for it to be effective. Such effec-
tiveness is not magic, however. It presupposes that certain condi-
tions are satisfied, the most important of which is purity of intention.
In addition, the diversity of these forms of prayer and the modes of
their use – whether regularly or occasionally, at a particular time or
not, recited alone or in groups etc. – reflect the variety of individual
or collective situations, and of interior dispositions.

It is one of these prayers, al-Dawr al-ʾālā (known also as the Hīzb
al-wiqāyya), which can be found at the centre of the little book before
you. At the centre, for it is surrounded by much precious informa-
tion. Suha Taji-Farouki does not limit herself simply to establishing
the text with rigorous exactitude, and providing a translation and
transliteration of it. Combining a meticulous examination of written
sources with patient fieldwork, she tells for the first time the
long history of this prayer, identifying each of the personalities in
the chains of transmission. Based upon many testimonies and from
her own observations, she shows above all that the practice of the
Dawr lives on today in very diverse milieux. With as much know-
ledge as empathy, she thus demonstrates the continuing currency of
Ibn ʿArabiʾs teaching.

Paris, 2006
INTRODUCTION

There is a growing body of critical editions, translations and analyses of the works of Ibn ʿArabī, yet relatively little attention has been paid to dimensions of his corpus of a more specifically liturgical or devotional character. The most extensive collection of prayers attributed to him arises in the major compilation of Sunni devotional texts by the Naqshbandi–Khalidi Ahmed Ziyaʿuddin Gümüşhanevi (d.1894), known by the title Majmūʿat al-aḥzāb. While a few of these prayers have since been published and some such publications claim, if implicitly, to present critical editions, editors often provide scant (or no) information concerning the manuscripts on which they have drawn, and it is consequently difficult in some cases to be certain of their origin or precision. A critical compilation/edition of all these prayers, that rationalises titles and texts, addresses questions of attribution and explores the accompanying commentary tradition, is still to be produced.

As a modest contribution to this end (and taking into account the relatively few studies of Muslim and sufi prayer and prayer texts more generally), this study focuses on a single small prayer which has as its full title al-Dawr al-aʿlā al-muqarrīb ilā kulli maqām al-aʿlā (The Most Elevated Cycle that brings one close to Every Station of The Most High), often contracted to al-Dawr al-aʿlā (The Most Elevated Cycle) or Dawr al-aʿlā (The Cycle of The Most High): it is also known as Ḥizb al-wiqāya (The Prayer of Protection). As in the case of other prayers attributed to him, this does not appear in Ibn ʿArabī’s bibliographic records (the fihris and iǰāza) and is not mentioned in any of his works. Yet as one contemporary sufi shaykh and specialist in his thought has put it, ‘there is a consensus among the people of the Way of God [ahl tarīq Allāh] concerning its attribution to the Shaykh al-Akbar.’ A clear majority of the substantial number of manuscript copies surveyed for this study explicitly attribute the
prayer to Ibn ‘Arabī either in the title or through a chain of transmis-
sion. Of those that do not make such an attribution, none attribute
it to any other author. Given this and evidence of its widespread
circulation and use both past and present, it represents an important
element in any project to delimit and clarify the specifically liturgi-
cal dimension of Ibn ‘Arabī’s corpus.

This study examines three major aspects of the prayer. Chapter 1 
explores its contemporary life, providing an indication of its cir-
culation and use through examples from different arenas. Chapter 2 
focuses on historical dimensions based on manuscript copies span-
ning the last four centuries, exploring facets of the presentation and 
transmission of the prayer. Chapter 3 examines perceptions of the 
prayer’s properties and recommendations concerning its use. The 
discussion touches on aspects of its composition and the interplay 
within it between invocations of Divine Names, specific supplications 
and Qur’anic quotations. This chapter also provides a translation of 
the prayer, an Arabic text resulting from a considered evaluation of 
copies reviewed, and a transliteration. Finally, an Appendix sets out 
details of manuscript copies and chains of transmission discussed.
Notes to Introduction

Notes


3. For example, Majmû’ ṣalawât wa awrâd sîdî Muhîyî al-Dîn Ibn ‘Arabî radîya Allâhu ‘anhu, compiled by Muhammad Ibrahim Muhammad Salim (n.p., 2000) encompasses a group of ṣalawât (prayers upon the Prophet) and the Awrād. Salim is author of Ta’īyd al-ṣâfiya fi’l-majmû’a al-Hâtimîya, where he also presents some of these prayers.

4. On the term hizb (pl. aḥzâb), which has come to be applied to any single group of supererogatory liturgical formulae, and its relation to wîrd (with which it is often interchangeable: for example I [see Appendix], fol. 62b refers to al-wîrd al-musammâ bi’l-dawr al-a’lā [The wîrd called…’]; in Genel 43, fol. 29b, the text of the prayer is headed thus: hâdhîhi al-awrâd al-musammâ bi’l-dawr al-a’lā [‘These are the awrād that are called…’]), see Constance E. Padwick, Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use (Oxford, 1996/1961), pp. 20–25; ‘Hizb’, EI², 3, pp. 513–514; ‘Wîrd’, EI², 11, pp. 209–210. On these and other terms commonly applied to liturgical texts (such as du’ā’ and hîrż), see also Richard J. A. McGregor, ‘A Sufi Legacy in Tunis: Prayer and the Shadhiliyya’, IJMES 29 (1997), pp. 263–267; ‘Du’ā’, EI², 2, pp. 617–618; below.

The term dawr (pl. adwâr), signifying a turn or revolution, does not appear to be as widely used as hizb/wîrd: indeed, no other case of its use is known to the present author. In our sources the term dawr is applied both to our prayer as a whole, and to its individual verses. Thus some copies (e.g. K) describe each of the prayer’s individual verses as a dawr, marking them in order as al-dawr al-awwal, al-dawr al-thânî, etc. D, pp. 6–7 elaborates on the significance of the term in the prayer’s name thus: ‘This prayer has been called al-Dawr al-a’lā because…it turns upon (yâdîrû ‘alâ) the Name of God the Ever-Exalted, from Whom all things begin and to Whom is their end…and because its secrets circulate with (tadîrû ma’a) the one who reads it day and night, in secret and in public, awake and asleep, in good health and sickness, in hard times
and good, in this life, the hereafter and the barzakh… [It is] “the most elevated” dawr because of the abundant help and secrets it contains…” The attempt by McGregor, ‘A Sufi Legacy in Tunis’, p. 266 to apply to the prayer an understanding of the term dawr derived from usage in the context of religious celebrations in contemporary Egypt, where it denotes a vocal piece drawn from colloquial poetry and involving a choral refrain, is unsustainable. Finally, it is notable that Yazma Bağişlar 2934, fol. 39b, describes the prayer as Ḫızb al-dawr al-a’lā.

On the relative scholarly neglect of sufi prayer texts and recitation, see for example McGregor, ‘A Sufi Legacy in Tunis’, p. 255. It is remarkable that no follow-up study to Padwick’s classic work has yet been attempted.

**1**

**The Dawr Today**

**Contemporary contexts**

Like all liturgical texts originating with sufi figures, the *Dawr al-a’lā* effectively has a double life in the modern world. One of these, a continuation of its traditional past, is hidden, mediated through spiritual authority to permit its use exercised by the sufi shaykh to his disciple (*murīd*) typically in the context of a sufi order or *tarīqa* affiliation, and symbolised by the granting of a special authorisation (*ijāza*). The other is visible, open and public, a destiny arising out of the shattering of traditional systems and modes in the acquisition and transmission of religious knowledge in Muslim societies, and driven by the impacts of print and other modern information technologies alongside mass literacy.¹ The following examples illustrate this double life, and at the same time convey something of the diversity of contemporary users of the prayer. In general terms, while it appears in some of the many collections of prayers readily available across the Muslim world today, the *Dawr* is not as well known as other, comparable, prayers.²

**Damascus**

The prayer is recited collectively during certain of the open weekly gatherings devoted to calling down prayers and blessings upon the Prophet (*majālis al-ṣalāt ‘alā al-nabī*) held at the mosque adjacent to Ibn ‘Arabī’s mausoleum in the Shaykh Muhyī’l-Din neighbourhood, the Salihiyya district, Damascus. During 2003, for example, it was read collectively at two of the eight *majālis* scheduled each week. One
was established quite recently and is held between noon (zuhr) and afternoon (‘asr) prayers on Friday; the other, which takes place before dawn (fajr) prayers on Saturday, is long-standing. The text of the prayer is available in the form of a photocopied sheet stored in the imams’ room in the mosque, from where it is occasionally distributed. It also appears for distribution from time to time in the form of a small pamphlet, often printed together with a hadith or Qur’anic verses. In addition, some of the larger pamphlets printed specifically for use in various majālis (and effectively the property of those majālis) encompass the prayer. Reaching a wider circulation, it appears in a popular collection of prayers compiled by former Mufti of Syria Muḥammad Abū’l-Yusr ʿAbidīn (d.1981) and published by his heirs, and in a more recent collection distributed free, published as a joint venture between Turkish and Syrian publishers. It can also be found on the margin of editions of al-Jazūlī’s popular Sunni prayer manual Dalā’il al-khayrāt that circulate in Damascus. Finally, it is presented in one of the many privately published works of an Egyptian sufi shaykh and interpreter–disseminator of Ibn ʿArabi’s thought long settled in Damascus, Maḥmūd al-Gharāb. The prayer is thus easily accessible to people of all backgrounds in Damascus. At the same time, in some circles there traditional sufi modes of transmission continue. The ijāza in this context is understood to unlock the prayer’s secrets for the murīd in a way that protects him from potential harm: it also ensures that these secrets remain the preserve of those suitably prepared to receive them. The ijāza often encompasses an instruction concerning the time and frequency of recitation. It may require the murīd to situate the prayer, whenever they recite it, within a cluster of other prayers and formulae, or involve making precise additions at certain points in the text. Specific to each murīd, such prescriptions are not arbitrary, and may indeed have been received by the shaykh in a dream or vision. Tailored to the murīd’s level, they may be changed as he advances on the spiritual journey.

The vitality of this mode of transmission can be illustrated through the practice of Aḥmad al-Ḥārūn (d.1962), widely recognised
in Damascene sufi circles as an important saint, and his prominent disciples. For example, al-Ḥārūn granted an ījāza to his disciple Mahmūd al-Ghurāb to read the prayer once every thirty-six hours (this ījāza also encompassed the Āwrād, Ibn ‘Arabi’s daily prayers). He gave an ījāza to his disciple Mamdūḥ al-Naṣṣ to read it once every twenty-four hours (again, in addition to the Āwrād). Al-Naṣṣ in turn gave his son Muhammad Sāmir an ījāza to read the prayer daily, this time preceded by al-Nawawi’s Ḥizb and followed by recitation of sūrat al-Fātiḥa for the souls of the Prophet, Ibn ‘Arabi and al-Ḥārūn.

Such instructions for reading the prayer sometimes migrate out of the sphere of esoteric transmission to accompany printed copies, thereby becoming available for general application. For example, ‘Ābidin prefaces the prayer with a note explaining that his grandfather had received a direct instruction from Ibn ‘Arabi (through a karâma or act of spiritual grace granted the two of them) to read it twice daily, once following the morning (ṣubh) prayer and again after the sunset one (maghrib). In the case of a specific matter of importance, Ibn ‘Arabi had instructed him to read it three times following the afternoon prayer. ‘Ābidin also provides detailed instructions concerning what must be recited before and after the prayer.

From the ulama to the illiterate, conviction of the prayer’s potency is widespread in Damascene sufi circles and among Ibn ‘Arabi’s local devotees, who attach themselves to his mosque. One such devotee attributes this potency to the fact that the prayer encompasses many Divine Names, another to its special quality as the summation of all of Ibn ‘Arabī’s teachings, indeed ‘the essence of his entire knowledge.’ Devotees believe that if the prayer is recited with right intention, absolute certainty of its power and the aim of pleasing God while repudiating the pull of this world, it can draw the reciter into the Prophet’s presence (al-ḥādra al-Muḥammadīya): the Prophet then appears to them ‘through Ibn ‘Arabi’, especially in dreams. Drawing on their personal experiences, some point out that whoever reads the prayer with sincerity of heart and utter conviction while making a specific plea will have their wish granted. They relate how they read
it with the intention of seeking help in relation to concrete problems, and are always confident of a positive response. For example, one devotee tells how when he recites the prayer with this specific request in mind, Ibn ʿArabī appears to him in dreams and shows him how to solve practical problems at work that require technical knowledge in which he has no training. Whenever he is guided to solve a work problem in this way, he refuses payment for the job, for he attributes his success in it to Ibn ʿArabī’s baraka or blessing, through the prayer, rather than his own effort. He relates with gratitude how he has developed a new career and improved his family’s material circumstances through the help granted him in response to requests mediated through the prayer.

Istanbul

The earliest printed versions of the prayer appeared in Istanbul during the late 19th century, in Gümüşhanevi’s Majmūʿat al-ḥizāb\(^1\) and the Dalā’il al-khayrāt,\(^2\) for example. The first modern Turkish transliteration of the prayer was published in 1998 by a publishing company owned by a devotee of Ibn ʿArabī. This small booklet also provides the Arabic text and a clarification of the prayer’s meanings in Turkish.\(^3\) By 2004, more than thirty thousand copies had been printed, distributed free throughout Turkey in response to internet requests, via bookshops, in mail-shots, etc. It is reprinted every few months to meet demand, and people of all kinds order and read it, including many who are outwardly ‘çok-modern’.

While the prayer thus circulates openly in print, it is also still transmitted through ḫāṣaṣṣa granting in ‘hidden’ sufi circles in Istanbul. For example the Naqshbandi Shaykh Ahmed Yivlik (d.2001) granted ḫāṣṣas to read the prayer to certain of his own disciples and to other sufis in Istanbul.\(^4\) For some his instruction was to read it twice a day, in certain cases following the Awrād; for others, on its own. His own ḫāṣṣa to read the prayer is connected to a line of Naqshbandi shaykhs.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Majmūʿat al-ḥizāb
\(^2\) Dalā’il al-khayrāt
\(^3\) The earliest printed versions of the prayer appeared in Istanbul during the late 19th century, in Gümüşhanevi’s Majmūʿat al-ḥizāb and the Dalā’il al-khayrāt, for example. The first modern Turkish transliteration of the prayer was published in 1998 by a publishing company owned by a devotee of Ibn ʿArabī. This small booklet also provides the Arabic text and a clarification of the prayer’s meanings in Turkish. By 2004, more than thirty thousand copies had been printed, distributed free throughout Turkey in response to internet requests, via bookshops, in mail-shots, etc. It is reprinted every few months to meet demand, and people of all kinds order and read it, including many who are outwardly ‘çok-modern’.

While the prayer thus circulates openly in print, it is also still transmitted through ḫāṣṣa granting in ‘hidden’ sufi circles in Istanbul. For example the Naqshbandi Shaykh Ahmed Yivlik (d.2001) granted ḫāṣṣas to read the prayer to certain of his own disciples and to other sufis in Istanbul. For some his instruction was to read it twice a day, in certain cases following the Awrād; for others, on its own. His own ḫāṣṣa to read the prayer is connected to a line of Naqshbandi shaykhs.
During the late 1960s, a copy of the prayer was brought to London by Bulent Rauf (d.1987), a western-educated descendant of the Ottoman elite. Rauf was the great-grandson of Ismail Pasha (d.1895), khedive of Egypt from 1863 to 1879. Ismail’s daughter, Rauf’s maternal grandmother, was Princess Fatma Hanım (b.1850), who died some time after the end of World War I. Fatma Hanım had commissioned a copy of the prayer to be made for her by the ‘Head Calligrapher’, apparently in AH 1341/1922–23 CE. It was bound in red leather and embellished with gold. After she died, it came into her grandson’s possession.

Rauf became the pivotal figure in a new religious movement that emerged under the name ‘Beshara’ in the south of England during the early 1970s. In response to the requests of young counterculture seekers interested in the spirituality of ‘the east’, he conveyed the teaching of Ibn ‘Arabi as the basis of a monistic, experiential and supra-religious spirituality. He designed courses in ‘esoteric education’ aiming at self-knowledge, which were eventually offered in dedicated schools established by the movement. Some of the early students noticed Fatma Hanım’s beautiful copy of the Dawr in Rauf’s possession, and his printed copy of the Awrâd. They enquired whether these prayers could be made available in transliteration. Rauf agreed and assigned two students to the task, one of whom could read Arabic. This student rendered the text into Hebrew transliteration (his native tongue), and from that into English transliteration (they had no knowledge of a transliteration system for Arabic). Rauf corrected and completed the text with diacritical marks, and it was distributed to all involved in Beshara. He did not give guidelines for its recitation, but emphasised its protective effect. This text was published in 1981 alongside the original by the Muhyiddin Ibn ‘Arabi Society (MIAS), which had been established during the mid-1970s by some of those involved in Beshara. The inclusion of the phonetic English transliteration is specifically aimed
at the non-Arabic-speaking Beshara constituency (which today has international extent) and others unable to read the Arabic original, making it possible for them to recite the text. The MIAS website suggests how the prayer can be used for the purposes of protection: ‘this prayer...protects its recipient. In microfiche form, it is frequently carried as an amulet or displayed in a significant place.’

Many involved in Beshara wear the microfiche form in a silver encasement on a neck-chain: they also position it above the inside of a main door at home. Sometimes a framed photocopy of the first page of the prayer is displayed. Some read the prayer regularly, while others resort to it in times of difficulty or to ward off perceived evil.
Notes to Chapter 1

Notes

1. The modern period has witnessed the widening accessibility of Sufi resources beyond the initiated and prepared, a trend that has accelerated since the late 20th century. See for example Elizabeth Sirriye, Sufi Thought and its Reconstruction, in Suha Taji-Farouki and Basheer M. Naf, eds., Islamic Thought in the Twentieth Century (London, 2004), pp. 123–124; Garbi Schmidt, Sufi Charisma on the Internet, in David Westerlund ed., Sufism in Europe and North America (London, 2004), pp. 109–126.


While our interest here is in the contemporary situation, it should be noted that very few of the liturgical texts associated with the ṭarīqas remained confined to their membership even in pre-modern times.

2. Padwick’s survey of ‘popular’ prayer manuals gathered from cities across the Muslim world during the 1950s encompasses the Dawr, but she does not consider it among their best-known contents. In addition to the examples below, it appears in the popular prayer collection Mamba’ al-sa’ādât, p. 255, published in Beirut: see McGregor, ‘A Sufi Legacy in Tunis’, p. 275 n. 63. Our examples do not encompass the world of Shi‘i Islam, but we would point out that the prayer appears to be less widely known and used there than in Sunni contexts.

3. On the ṣalawāt or taṣliya, the practice of calling down prayers and blessings upon the Prophet, see Annemarie Schimmel, And Muhammad is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety (Chapel Hill, NC, 1985), pp. 92 ff; Padwick, Muslim Devotions, pp. 152 ff.

4. Held at a time when families gather at home for lunch after the Friday prayer, attendance at this majlis (established in 2001) is not substantial. During February 2003, the majlis was led by Muhammad Amīn ‘Āshūr, a disciple of the revered Shadhili Ahmad al-Ḫabbāl al-Rifāʿī. Beginning immediately after the end of the khatīb’s lesson, it opened with the calling down of peace and blessings upon the Prophet. A pamphlet was distributed: Šalawāt ‘alā al-nabī al-ḵarīm sayyidinā rasūl Allāh līl-shaykh Ahmad al-Dardayrī al-Khalwatī. ‘Āshūr called for recitation of sūrat al-Fāṭiha for the soul of Ibn ‘Arabi, and the assembly proceeded to recite the Dawr, printed in the pamphlet’s last few pages, at considerable speed. On completing this, the majlis re-
The Dawn Today

cited sūrat al-Fātiḥa, a ṣalawāt by ʿĀḥmad al-Dardayrī al-Khalwatī, al-Fātiḥa again, and Manzūmat asmaʿ Allāh al-husnā al-Dardayrīya. A substantial amount of text was completed in forty minutes. ‘Āshūr recited al-Fātiḥa and asked those present to recite it for the benefit of certain individuals in need. He then led the majlis in reading sūrat Yā Sīn. Thereafter, the tahālīl (lā ilāha illā Allāh) was repeated. Two majlis ‘servants’ arrived with large bags of bread, which they began to distribute, marking the end of the majlis. ‘Āshūr continued to call down peace and blessings upon the Prophet followed by spontaneous supplication, in which he asked God to grant victory to the Muslims over those who aggress against them, to heal the sick, to forgive those who have transgressed, and to have mercy upon the dead. The congregation affirmed his emotional prayers with ‘āmīn’ at each pause. Reflecting the concerns of the hour, he asked God to destroy enemy planes, to grant victory to the Palestinians, and to protect Syria, using al-Fātiḥa as an adjuration throughout. He asked God to accept the majlis through the standing of the prophets, their wives and mothers, and the companions and saints, ‘especially those at whose doorsteps we sit – Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn, and Shaykh al-Nābulusī – through their baraka and karāmāt, achieved through Allāh Himself.’ He asked God to compensate anyone who had spent towards the majlis and requested donations for an unnamed person in difficult circumstances.

5. According to one of the mosque imams, this majlis – set apart from all others by recitation of Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī’s Wird al-saḥar (known also as al-Fath al-qudsī wa’l-kashf al-unsī), was established over seventy years ago by the Rifa’i Hāshim Abū Ṭawq (1847–1962). According to Muhammad Muti’ al-Hafiz and Nizar Abaza, Ta’rīkh ’ulamā’ Dimashq fī’l-qarn al-rābi’ iƯashar al-hijrī (Damascus, 1986), 2, p. 769, Abū Ṭawq personally led recitation of Wird al-saḥar at the mosque every Saturday before fajr for forty-five years. Some local sources hold that this majlis was instituted by Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī himself together with ṬAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, and suggest that it has been held there continuously since. In 1960, Abū Ṭawq handed responsibility for the majlis to Salīm al-’Amm, who had committed himself to the mosque in 1942.

Al-’Amm opened a majlis during February 2003 with recitation of al-Fātiḥa, Qur’anic verses, supplication and the istighfār (forgiveness) formula. A booklet was distributed: Majmū’ al-awrād al-kabīr: yāṣhtamīl ‘alā al-ma’thūr ‘an al-a’immā wa’l-aqṭāb min al-ṣalawāt ‘alā al-nabī wa’l-awrād wa’l-ad’iya wa’l-adhkūr wa’l-ahzāb wa’l-istighfārāt. Al-’Amm led the majlis in reciting with great beauty Wird al-saḥar, with its repetitions of Divine Names and lyrical flourishes. At a transitional point, the majlis ‘servant’ distributed halva sandwiches. Al-’Amm launched into spontaneous, at times tearful, supplication. He called for peace upon the Prophet and his companions, ulama, muḥaddithūn, and all people of faith. Salams were addressed to the Prophet, referring to the fact that the majlis was taking place in his presence, and to Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī. After further supplication, recitation of al-Fātiḥa and the calling down of blessings upon the prophet, he returned to the wirk. Having completed it, he repeated the tahālīl alone, then followed each time by an emphatic ‘Lord have mercy on me!’ or ‘Lord forgive me!’ After further supplication, he led those gathered in reciting the
Notes to Chaper 1

Dawr al-‘ālā at some speed. At its end, he emphasised to the majlis the importance of reading the Dawr frequently, at least once a day. With this the majlis ended, as the time for the dawn adhān approached.

6. For example, in 2003 it appeared in a small booklet: al-Dawr al-‘ālā li-sīdī sultān al-‘ārifīn wa ‘umdat al-mukāshifin wa zdhat al-wāsīlīn wa khātimat al-awliyā’ al-muḥaqiqīn, al-shaykh al-akbar mawlānā Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-‘Arabī, ṭadiya Allāh ta’lāl ‘anhu wa arduhu. It is prefaced by a hadith that stresses the potency of certain Qur’anic formulae when repeated, and followed by a poem in praise of Ibn ‘Arabī by local poet Aḥmad al-Zarrūq (d.1955: on him see Ḥafiz and Abaza, Ta’rīkh ‘ulamā’ Dimashq, 3, pp.257–259), another hadith (underlining the importance of avoiding the prohibited), the end of the Thursday morning prayer from the Awrād attributed to Ibn ‘Arabī but without explicit identification of its origin, and finally a salawāt by Aḥmad al-Badawī.

7. For example, in the two pamphlets mentioned in notes 5–6 above, on pp.185–193 of Majmūʿ al-awrād al-kabīr. The pamphlet Ṣalawāt al-ālā al-naḥū al-karīm sayyidīnā rasūl Allāh li’l-shaykh Aḥmad al-Darqayrī al-Khalwatī begins with an open permission to read the salawāt of al-Darqayrī (tracing back his Khalwati initiation to Musṭāfā al-Bakrī and then Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī). The salawāt is followed by sūrat Yā Sin, the Dawr and additional salawāt. Pamphlets such as these two carry a statement that they are a waqf of the majlis.


10. For example, Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī, Dalā’il al-khayrāt wa yalihi qaṣīdat al-burda wa qaṣīdat al-munfarija [wa bi-hāmishīhī majmū‘at al-awrād wa’l-ahzāb wa’l-ad’iya wa’l-istiğāḥātī], intro., Salah al-Dīn Abu’l-Jīḥād Nakhamayy (Aleppo, 1420), on the margin of pp.241–251: it is among a collection of prayers independent of the Dalā’il, added to the text when it was first printed.

11. Al-Ghurāb, al-Ṭarīq ilā Allāh, pp.194–197. Although al-Ghurāb suggests that this is a critical edition he does not indicate which or how many manuscripts he used and gives very few variants. (He also presents a critical edition of the Awrād, for which he again provides little detail on the manuscript base used. See pp.173–193.) Born in Tanta in 1922, al-Ghurāb settled in Damascus during the 1950s: on him see further below. For a partial list of his publications, see Ahmad b. Muhammad Ghunaym, al-'Ārif bi'llāh al-shaykh Ahmad al-Hārūn: sīratuhu wa karāmātuhu (Damascus, 1992), p.67 n.1.
The Dawr Today


A separate example arises in the Shadhili Muḥammad al-Hāshimi al-Jazā’īrī (al-Tilimsānī) (d.1691) granting an iḥāza to read the prayer to the Rifa’i Muḥammad al-Durra, who granted it to his son, Muḥmūd Muḥammad al-Durra, presently imam at the al-Talha wa’l-Zubayr Mosque in ‘Ayn Tarma on the outskirts of Damascus. Al-Durra has been active in publishing Rifa’i texts: for example, Mi’rāj al-waṣūl ilā hadārāt al-rīdā wa’l-qabīl bi-tawjījūhāt sādātīnā al-sādā anjāl al-marīhūm al-sayyīd Tāj al-Dīn al-Ṣayyādī (Damascus, 1418) (interview with al-Durra, Damascus, 2004). On al-Hāshimi, see Hafız and Abaza, Ta’rīkh ‘ulāmā Dimashq, 2, pp. 747–751.


16. Ibid., pp. 38–39; 45. The supplicant must first recite al-Fātiha with the basmala four times, each with the same breath, then the first three verses of sūrat al-An’ām, then a specific ṣalawāt formula seven times, followed by a specific prologue to the Dawr. After completing the Dawr, he must recite sūrat al-Inshirāh three times followed by another ṣalawāt, completing by reciting al-Fātiha for the Prophet and Ibn ‘Arabī. Historical examples of such recommendations are detailed below.

17. This paragraph draws on interviews in Damascus in 2003–04.

18. Gümüşhanevi became attached to Abdülhamid II’s court and served his regime and pan-Islamic policies. On him see Alexander Knys, Islamic Mysticism: A Short History (Leiden, 2000), p. 228; Butrus Abu-Manneh, Shaykh Ahmed Ziya’ üddin Gümüşhanevi and the Ziya’i-Khalidi Sub-order, in Frederick de Jong, ed., Shia Islam,
Notes to Chapter 1


19. For example: Reşid Efendi 1135 (AH 1288), Düğümülü Baba 500 (AH 1285), Nafız Paşa 762 (AH 1285), Hayri Abdullah Efendi 230 (AH 1302). In the first three printings it is pp. 197–203, in the last one, pp. 193–199. In all cases, the text of the Hizb of al-Nawawî is on the margin of the [Dawr, and it is followed by al-qaṣîda al-munfarîja. In currency in Istanbul today is a facsimile reprint of Hayri Abdullah Efendi 230 as Delâ‘î–Hayrat: Salâvât–i–Şerîfler (Istanbul, n.d.). Not all more recent editions of the Dalâ‘î published in Istanbul incorporate the prayer. For example, it appears in Delâ‘îl–Hayrat ve Şevârikû’l Envâr fi zikri’s-salâti ale’n–nebiyyîl–muhtâr: Delâ‘îl–Hayrat ve Tercümesi (Istanbul, n.d.), pp. 288–301, but not in Delâ‘îl–Hayrat ve Şevârikû’l Envâr (Istanbul, n.d.). Both are pocket versions. The version incorporating the prayer is published (by Yasin Yavinevi) and sold within the orthodox Naqshbandi neighbourhood of Çarşamba in the Fatih district.

20. Şeyh‘îl Ekber Muhyiddîn Ibn‘îl Arabî (K. S.) Özel Dua’îsi “Hizb–ud–Devr‘ul A’lâ”: Orjinali, Türkçe okunuşu ve Mânâsî (Istanbul, n.d.). The translator is Kemal Osmanbey, a Syrian of Turkish origin, his grandfather having been an official at the court of Sultan Abdüllaziz who was granted lands in Syria. Resident in Istanbul since 1988, Osmanbey brought a copy of the prayer from the Shaykh Muhyî’l-Dispose Mosque for Remzi Göknar, owner of Kitsan publishers. They agreed that Osmanbey would translate it (possibly with the help of Göknar’s wife Şukran Göknar: see below) and Kitsan would publish it. Osmanbey is a medical doctor who currently practises acupuncture. He is particularly interested in the spirit world: his publications include Ruh Aleminde bir Seyahat (Istanbul, 1995) and Haqîq ‘an tanâsukh al-arwâh wa’l-ḥassa al-sâdisa (Beirut, 2002). Kitsan, established by Göknar in 1980, specialises in sufi books: its publications include a few Turkish translations of works attributed to Ibn ‘Arabî such as Tuhfe’tüs Seferê and Mevâki’un Nûcûm. On Kitsan, see http://www. kitsan.com.

21. Yiyvîk, who worked as a civil servant, has been described by close disciples as ‘a spiritual son and lover of Ibn ‘Arabî’. According to one disciple, he read continuously from the Fâṣûṣ al-hikam and al-Furûhât al-Makkîya and made frequent visits to Ibn ‘Arabî’s tomb in Damascus. While himself not a scholar, he has rendered at least one sufi work into modern Turkish: Selim Divane, Miftah-u müskilât’îl–ârifîn âdâb–u tarîkî’l–vâsilîn, tr. from Ottoman by Ahmed Sadik Yiyvîk (Istanbul, 1998). Yiyvîk led a circle of about twenty disciples in Istanbul reading translations of Ibn ‘Arabî’s works, including some non-Turks and illiterates. Göknar’s son and wife Şukran were among his close disciples, his wife having personally funded the joint Kitsan–Dar al-Bayrûti publication Awrâd usbû’îya li’l–shaykh al–‘arîf Muhyî al–Dîn Ibn ‘Arabî detailed above. One thousand copies were published, the majority distributed free in Damascus in 2004, the remainder in Istanbul. Dar al-Bayrûti has planned a reprint, which Kitsan has stipulated must also be distributed free. The dedication in the booklet points to the relationship between Şukran Göknar, Yiyvîk and Ibn ‘Arabî. She writes: ‘To Ahmed Sadiq Yiyvîk, who made known to me the Shaykh al-Akkya’s...
stature. May God sanctify his secret and cause him to live in His Spacious Gardens with the Shaykh al-Akbar.’ Şükran Göknar has herself published a few titles with Kitsan, including Rüya Tabirleri. She intends to facilitate production of a Turkish version of the Awrâd.

22. His shaykh 'Ali Bahjat Efendi received it from the latter’s shaykh Hayrullah Efendi, who received it from his shaykh Ali Bahjat Efendi Ekber. Thanks are due to Mahmud Kılıç for this information.


24. See The Child across Time, in Bülent Rauf, *Addresses II* (Roxburgh, Scotland, 2001), p. 90. She was the sister of Mehmet Tevfik Pasha, who succeeded his father Ismail as khedive, and of Ahmet Fuad I Pasha, who would become the first king of Egypt.

Fatma Hanım appears to have had a special connection with the Celvetiyye, assuming responsibility with her daughter for restoring the mausoleum-mosque complex of the Celveti saint and effectively the first shaykh of the ūrûqā Azîz Mahmut Hüdayi (d.1628) in Üsküdar, Istanbul, after it was damaged in a thunderstorm in 1910. On this complex see Raymond Lifchez, The Lodge of Istanbul, in Lifchez, ed., *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey* (Berkeley, LA and London, 1992), pp. 113–117. On her pivotal role in the renovation (which took place some years after the damage was inflicted) and the gifts and donations she made, see H. Kamil Yılmaz, *Azîz Mahmut Hüdâyi: Hayatı, Eserleri, Tarîkati* (Istanbul, 1999), p. 262 and n.20; Kemaleddin Şenocak, *Kutbu'l-ûrîfîn Seyyid Azîz Mahmûd Hûdâyî* (K. S.) (Istanbul, 1970) p. 30 n.2.


27. See http://www.ibnarabisociety.org/Publications.html.

28. Ibid.
2

A Prayer across Time

Historical dimensions

Based on the manuscript collection in the Suleymaniye Library (Istanbul), which holds over forty distinct copies, it is possible to construct a picture of the transmission, presentation and use of the *Dawr* during the last four hundred years. Around a half of these copies are explicitly dated, or can be dated approximately based on contextual information: the earliest dates from the late 11th/17th century, the greatest number from the 13th/19th century. The prayer appears in a variety of settings. For example there are seven commentaries, four in Arabic and three in Ottoman Turkish, the earliest probably from the late 12th/18th century. Beautiful individual copies bound alone or with another short prayer and embellished with gold were most likely produced at the request of important figures (like that brought to London by Rauf). The *Dawr* sometimes appears as the only prayer alongside several non-devotional works, of which some may also be attributed to Ibn ‘Arabî. It is found in compilations devoted exclusively to prayers and prayer-commentaries, including at times other prayers attributed to Ibn ‘Arabî, and other kinds of devotional text. It appears also in collections of prayers and non-devotional tracts, the latter sometimes attributed to figures associated with the school of Ibn ‘Arabî. There are copies of the prayer in personal notebooks that hold an intimate record of an individual’s favourite poetic verses, prayers, Qur’anic verses and fragments from the works of various Islamic authorities, in addition to spiritual reflections, supplications, talismans, numerological codes and short devotional texts.

The repeated copying of the prayer in diverse settings bears
witness to its circulation and use over the last four hundred years.\textsuperscript{10} Pointing to its constituency of readers during the closing years of Ottoman rule, the Suleymaniye copies have been drawn from collections gathered from tekkes and dergas associated with diverse tariqas (such as Şazeli and Düğümlü Baba), madrasas attached to mosques, pashas’ collections and collections endowed by sultans. The earlier copies provide some indication of the prayer’s users four hundred years ago, but chains of transmission or authorities (sanad, pl. asnād)\textsuperscript{11} attached to seven copies make it possible to trace the history of its use and transmission beyond the date of our earliest copy to the time of its author. These chains illuminate two aspects in the prayer’s transmission. Vertically, they identify key figures in its passage from generation to generation, while suggesting that it has indeed been in continuous use in every generation since its author’s day. Horizontally, the chains elucidate the circles within which the prayer was disseminated, pointing to their geographical loci, tariqa affiliations and intellectual orientations and identifying figures who served as a nexus between different circles within the larger network. We give below biographical information concerning figures in six chains,\textsuperscript{12} arranged by century from the earliest to the most recent. The treatment does not aspire to be exhaustive, but focuses on significant historical figures.\textsuperscript{13} The chains themselves are presented as they appear in our sources in an Appendix. A diagram of these chains is also provided below, using readily identifiable names as elaborated in the biographical notes. After each name in these notes, the chain(s) in which the figures concerned appear are identified by a capital letter, for ease of location in terms of sources (as set out in the Appendix), and in the diagram (overleaf).

Any discussion of such chains must pay due attention to the cultural and social setting from which they emanate, with its associated practices and priorities. With this in mind, they can be investigated in terms of the plausibility of their individual links, encompassing chronology and the circumstances of the ijāza implicit within and underpinning each link.\textsuperscript{14} We attempt such an investigation below. Finally, we consider how the picture that emerges from these chains
Historical dimensions

can illuminate important trends and tendencies in Islamic culture and thought during specific historical periods.
Chains of Transmission of *al-Dawr al-a'lā*
Transmitters of the prayer

7th century AH

Sa’d al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī

The second son of Ibn ‘Arabī; born in Malatya in AH 618. He left an important diwan. A student of hadith, he visited Cairo and lived in Aleppo.15


Also known as al-Raḍī al-Ṭabarī and Raḍī al-Dīn Abū Ishāq, a Shafi’i born in AH 636 who held the position of imam at the Maqām Ibrāhīm (‘Station of Abraham’) in Mecca.16 Son of a shari’īyan (Husayni) family respected far and wide for its learning and one of the oldest of the established families in Mecca (Raḍī al-Dīn’s ancestor settled there c.570), well-connected and with top-ranking positions of qāḍī (judge), imam, mufti, khaṭīb (preacher) and teacher passing from generation to generation. Writing in the 17th century, the biographer al-Muḥībbī reported that from 673/1274 the family had held the imamate of the Maqām Ibrāhīm exclusively and continuously.17 Raḍī al-Dīn studied under prominent figures and became learned in the Shafi’i madhhab (school of law). He was outstanding in piety, humbleness and charitableness, and never left the Hijaz.18 The many examples listed by the biographer Ibn al-‘Irāqī suggest that he was a significant figure in transmitting works to his contemporaries, including many visitors to Mecca.19


A member of the Banū ‘Asākir clan, which held an important position in Damascus during AH 470–660 and produced a dynasty of Shafi’i
He appears under the full name given here as having received an *ijāza* from Ibn ‘Arabī for the latter’s *K. al-Mu‘ashsharāt al-maymūna.* According to Yahya, he also appears in a chain attached to *al-Futūḥat al-Makkīya* (where his name is given as Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. al-Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabīb), for which he also received an *ijāza* directly from the author. In a collection in his hand of works by Ibn ‘Arabī and Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnāwī, al-Qāsim refers to the latter in terms suggesting he may have been among Qūnāwī’s disciples. Among those to whom he gave *ijāzas* is *Burhān al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī.*

8th century AH

Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu’min b. Khalaf al-Dimyāṭī

{E} [d.705/1306]

Born in AH 613, an Egyptian hadith scholar and one of the most important figures in hadith transmission of the last third of the 7th century AH. He is best known for his *mu‘jam shuyūkh* or dictionary of authorities. This gives the names of his shaykhs and those he met and from whom he received works in many fields, providing a record of hadith and other texts collected during numerous travels in Egypt, the Hijaz, Iraq and Syria. His first visit to Syria was in 645. He returned to the north of the country on either side of a visit to Baghdad in 650, and between late 654 and late 656 he stayed several times (or possibly settled continuously) in Damascus. The *mu‘jam* includes Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Ibn al-‘Arabī Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Ṭā‘ī al-Dimashqī.


Born in c.635 or 637 and known as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, he settled in Egypt. Two chains attached to *al-Futūḥat al-Makkīya* give him transmitting from Ibn ‘Arabī and to *Ismā‘īl al-Jabarti.* The *silṣila* (chain of transmission) of the *khirqa akbarīya* (akbarian mantle) as given
by Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī also passes from Ibn ‘Arabī to him and from him to Ismā‘īl al-Jabartī.²⁹ He appears in the ma‘ājim shuyūkh of certain of his contemporaries.³⁰ He took works from various well-known authorities and was celebrated for his teaching and transmission of hadith, in which he connected young to old during his long life (he died aged 92).³¹

Born in Dimyat, his date of birth is given as AH 696/7 (or 687 or 701).³³ Through the agency of his maternal uncle ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī, he audited works from Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu‘min b. Khalaf al-Dimyāṭī (who died when Nāṣir al-Dīn was eight years old).³⁴ He also received ijāzās from other shaykhs in Cairo. He transmitted to hadith scholars, linked young to old through his long life, and became unrivalled in this field. People sought him out to audit works and acquire samā‘s (certificates of audition) from him (the biographer Ibn al-‘Irāqī reports that he studied under him many works received from al-Dimyāṭī through ijāzās). He was a soldier who served as one of the sultan’s axe-bearers (and was thus known as al-Ṭabardār). He was well known for his piety, probity and love of the good. He transmitted to Muḥammad b. Muqbil al-Ḥalabī.³⁵

9th century AH

Known as al-Burhān al-Shāmī, he was born in Damascus in AH 709 and grew up there, but later settled in Cairo (his family originated from Ba‘l [Ba‘lbeik]). He received ijāzās from over three hundred (by some accounts nearly four hundred) authorities, including al-Qāsim Ibn ‘Asākir. He studied hadith, fiqh or jurisprudence (in Hama, Aleppo and Cairo as well as other locations) and Qur’an readings/recitation, and was authorised to teach and issue
legal opinions. A highly respected scholar, he became ‘shaykh of Egypt’ both in hadith transmission and Qur’an readings. Among the many who studied under and transmitted works from him was Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, who reports that he spent a long time in close companionship with him (and experienced ‘the baraka of his supplication’). Ibn Ḥajar detailed hadiths narrated by those listed in al-Tanūkhī’s mu’jam, and developed certain of al-Tanūkhī’s works on hadith. The historian and biographer Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d.748/1352) also studied under al-Tanūkhī and transmitted hadith from him. When al-Tanūkhī lost his sight, he became known as al-Burhān al-Shāmī ‘the Blind’. 

Ismā‘īl al-Jabartī al-Zabīdī {F} [d.806/1404]
Charismatic sufi shaykh and ardent follower of Ibn ‘Arabī. Together with his disciple ’Ābd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d.832/1429), he disseminated the works of Ibn ‘Arabī in Zabid, giving rise to a sufi movement in Rasulid Yemen committed to his teachings and those of his school.

Meccan hadith scholar who transmitted works in hadith to ‘Umar Ibn Fahd al-Makkī.

Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī {A} [d.852/1448]
Prominent Egyptian hadith scholar (author of Fath al-bārī, the great commentary on the Sahīḥ), biographer and Shafi‘i mufti; often regarded as the greatest ʿālim (scholar) of his generation, he held the position of Chief Judge of Egypt and Syria for a total of twenty-one years. As noted above, he transmitted from al-Tanūkhī. In evaluating his attitude towards Ibn ‘Arabī Knysk describes him as an adversary and critic, but suggests at the same time that, in spite of some biographers’ attempts to depict him as an implacable enemy, Ibn Ḥajar presented the widest possible spectrum of opinions on Ibn ‘Arabī and avoided any clear-cut judgement of heresy or unbelief.
On this basis, he concludes that his position can be described as ‘agnostic’. Ibn Ḥajar’s writings were for some time to come perhaps the last to present a favourable view of Ibn Taymīya outside of strict Hanbali circles (by the mid-14th century the salafī view of Islam as articulated by Ibn Taymīya was largely eclipsed by the Ashʿarī–sufi ulama establishment, which dominated the Sunni cultural milieu).

Known as al-Marāghī al-ṣaghīr (‘the younger’), born in Medina in AH 775, he was a faqīh (jurist) and hadith scholar who left a number of works and appears in many chains of transmission. According to one of them, he transmitted Ibn Arabi’s works and all that he transmitted to Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī. He transmitted his fihris (bibliography) to ‘Umar b. Taqī al-Ḍīn Ibn Fahd. He died in Mecca and has been described as a saint.

Muḥammad b. Muqbil al-Ḥalabī al-Ṣirāfī {E} [d.870/1466]
A highly important hadith transmitter (described as musnīd al-dunyā fī ʿasrihī, ‘the most important hadith transmitter on earth in his time’), as the last remaining person to have transmitted from al-Fakhr Ibn al-Bukhārī’s last living companion (al-Ṣalāḥ M b. Ibrāhīm b. Abū ‘Umar al-Maqdisī al-Ṣaliḥī al-Ḥanbali), and thus from al-Fakhr himself through a single intermediary. Those who transmitted hadith from Muḥammad b. Muqbil during his long life participated in the honour associated with his ‘high’ chain of authorities, flowing from his status as last link with a revered, bygone generation. They included Muḥammad b.ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhrwī and Jalāl al-Ḍīn al-Suyūṭī, to whom Muḥammad b. Muqbil sent a written ijāza (from Aleppo to Egypt) in AH 869.

Known also as Abū’l-Qāsim and Abū Ḥafṣ, a sharifian (al-Ḥāshimī al-ʿAlawī) and a Shafi‘i, he was born c.812. His grandfather had
taken his father Taqī al-Dīn (b.787 in Egypt) to settle in Mecca, where he audited works and received ā ijāzas from many shaykhs, and became a well-respected authority and prolific author. The family produced a number of important transmitters, including ‘Umar. ‘Umar detailed hadiths narrated by those listed in the mu’ jam of Abū’l-Fath Muḥammad al-Marāghī, among others. He transmitted to Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī and al-Suyūṭī, among others. He left a number of bibliographies and lists of teachers (mashyakha) pertaining both to himself and to others, and various works, including important historical works focusing on Mecca: Itḥāf al-warā bi-akhbār Umm al-Qurā; al-Taysir bi-tarājim al-Ṭabarīyīn; al-Durr al-kamīn bi-dhayl al-‘Iqd al-thamīn (fī ta’ rīkh al-balad al-amīn). 54

10th century AH

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī {E} [d.911/1505]
Great Egyptian polymath, prolific author and ‘orthodox’ (Shadhili) sufi who spearheaded an apology for sufism and its leading figures. This encompassed a defence of the orthodoxy of Ibn ‘Arabī in, for example, Tanbīḥ al-ghabī bi-tabrī’at Ibn ‘Arabī, written as a refutation of al-Biqā’ī’s Tanbīḥ al-ghabī bi-takfīr Ibn al-Fāriḍ wa Ibn ‘Arabī. Those from whom he transmitted included Muḥammad b. Muqbir al-Ḥalabī. 56

{D} [d.921–22/1515–16]
A Shafi‘i known also as Abū’l-Khayr and Abū Fāris, he was born in Mecca in AH 850. He audited works from his father ‘Umar Ibn Fahd al-Makkī and grandfather Taqī al-Dīn. His father acquired ā ijāzas for him from various scholars including Ibn Ḥajār al-‘Asqalānī, and took him to audit works from al-Marāghī among others. He then travelled widely through the Hijaz, Egypt, Syria and Palestine, gathering uncountable samā‘s and ā ijāzas. He read works with Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī and spent time with al-Sakhāwī, among others.
He distinguished himself particularly in hadith scholarship in the Hijaz (he signed himself khādīm al-ḥadīth fil-ḥaram al-Makkī, ‘the servant of hadith in the Sacred Precinct of Mecca’). His muʿjam shuyūkh encompasses a thousand shaykhs. In addition to works on hadith, he produced Nuzhat dhawī al-aḥlām bi-akhbār al-khuṭṭābā’ waʾl-aʾīma wa quḍāt balad Allāh al-ḥarām (‘The dreamer’s stroll through the stories of preachers, imams and judges of God’s sacred land’). The historian Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn was among those who transmitted from him, while those to whom he transmitted included Yahyā b. Makram b. Muḥibb al-Dīn (Abūʾl-Maʿālī) b. Āḥmad al-Ṭabarī.

Zakariyā b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī [F/A] [d.926/1520]
Born in AH 823–24, a revered Egyptian sufi and Shafiʿi authority. He studied, among others, under Ibn Ḥajār al-ʿAsqalānī, and became associated with numerous ṭuruq (pl. of ṭarīqa). His renown in the exoteric sciences (especially fiqh: he acted as Shafiʿi grand qāḍī for twenty years and his commentaries on Shafiʿi law became part of the madrasa curriculum) enabled him to protect his spiritual life from external scrutiny. He shared this dimension only with his closest pupils, such as ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, who regarded him first and foremost as a saint and recorded his karāmāt. His many works include some relating to taṣawwuf (sufism), such as commentaries on the writings of al-Qushayrī and Shaykh Arslān. During the controversy caused in Cairo by the anti-monistic campaign of al-Biqāʿī aimed at Ibn al-Fārid and Ibn ʿArabī (874/1469), the sultan sought his expert opinion to put an end to the agitation caused by the affair: he defended them. His many students included Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, who received ijāzas in all of Zakariyā al-Anṣārī’s works when he studied under him during a visit to Cairo. According to one chain, Zakariyā al-Anṣārī transmitted the works of Ibn ʿArabī (and all that the latter transmitted) from Abūʾl-Fath al-Marāghī.
Transmitters of the prayer

'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Shaʿrānī\(^{69}\) {F} [d.973/1565]
Egyptian scholar, Shafiʿi mufti, historian of sufism (through his ṭabaqāt or biographical compilations, among them the immensely popular al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā), sufi and apologist for sufis. He was a devoted student and defender of the orthodoxy of Ibn ʿArabī (through, among others, the ‘deliberate interpolation’ hypothesis),\(^{70}\) and popularised his teachings through the accessible and widely circulated al-Yawāqīt waʾl-jawāhir; for example. The best known and most exalted of his teachers was Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī, who initiated him into the way in AH 914.\(^{71}\) His sufism has been described as ‘orthodox, middle-of-the-road’ (he identified with the orthodox way of al-Junayd and attacked the excesses of some tariqas).\(^{72}\) His stance as a sufi, faqīh\(^{73}\) and scholar of hadith was underpinned by reformist, even salafi, tendencies.\(^{74}\)

'Alī b. 'Abd al-Quddūs al-Shinnāwī {F}
Grandson of Muḥammad al-Shinnāwī (d.932), who was a popular leader and Aḥmadī shaykh (after the popular saint Aḥmad al-Sayyid) al-Badawī [d.675/1276]) who spread his dhikr (practice of remembrance of God) through the surrounding area from his zāwiya (sufi centre) in Mahallat Ruh west of Cairo, authorising the masses (and even women and children) to arrange dhikr sessions.\(^{75}\) Muḥammad al-Shinnāwī had initiated 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī into his way and designated him to teach dhikr and to educate murīds in AH 932.\(^{76}\) After Muḥammad’s death his sons, including ‘Abd al-Quddūs, who became his successor, were hostile to the powerful disciple al-Shaʿrānī, but he served them and asked 'Abd al-Quddūs to guide him as his shaykh. In the event, ‘Abd al-Quddūs became a disciple of al-Shaʿrānī, who initiated and guided him in the Aḥmadī way.\(^{77}\) This relationship presumably also encompassed the son of ‘Abd al-Quddūs, 'Alī, father of Abū’l-Mawāhib Aḥmad al-Shinnāwī.

Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī {A/E} [d.984/1576]
His family migrated from Gaza to Damascus ten generations before he was born in AH 904, and quickly became well established and
respected there for its learning. His father Rađi al-Dīn reportedly took Badr al-Dīn while a toddler to a shaykh who conferred upon him the khirqa, taught him dhikr and gave him ijāzas. Early instruction received from his father was supplemented by instruction from the ulama of Damascus (he studied hadith and taṣawwuf in particular under Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan Ibn al-Shuwaykh al-Maqdisi). He accompanied his father to Cairo at the age of twelve, and stayed there for five years, during which time he studied under various authorities, particularly Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī. His father also acquired ijāzas for him from Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and introduced him to the saints of Egypt. They returned to Damascus in 921.

Badr al-Dīn launched a long career in Damascus as a teacher (including in the Umayyad Mosque) and Shafi‘i mufti. He produced many works, assumed several positions and drew students from far and wide, among them the great-grandfather of 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusi, Ismā‘īl (d.993). He loved the sufis and was at pains to advise them if he heard they had acted in a way contrary to the shari‘a. A respected and prominent figure, he was the father of Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī.

11th century AH

Abū’l-Mawāhib Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Quddūs al-Shinnāwī [F] [d.1028/1619]

Also known as al-Khāmī and hailing from the important Egyptian sufi al-Shinnāwī family, he was born in 975/1568 in Mahallat Ruh west of Cairo and studied in Cairo and Medina, where he settled. A prominent sufi, he became the leading shaykh of the Naqshbandiya in Medina in his time. The order was introduced to Medina (with the Shattariyya) by the Indian Shaykh Ṣibghatallāh b. Rūḥallāh al-Sindī (al-Barwajī), who settled there in 1596 or 1605: he initiated al-Shinnāwī, became his teacher, and authorised him to educate murīds, teach the dhikr and confer the khirqa. While he studied hadith with its major scholars, al-Shinnāwī does not appear to have been regarded
as a hadith scholar himself. Nonetheless, he emerged as a dominant figure in the intellectual milieu of the Haramayn, where he was an outspoken adherent of the doctrine of wahdat al-wujūd (the Oneness of Being). His many students included Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī (who venerated his teacher as the saintly ‘Seal of his time’). Brockelmann lists five of al-Shinnāwī’s works, including al-Iqlīd al-farīd fī tajrīd altawhīd, on which al-Nābulusī later wrote a commentary.

'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṭabarī
al-Makkī al-Shāfi’ī [D] [d.1033/1624]
Grandson of Yahyā b. Makram b. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī [D], member of important sharifian family long established in Mecca and holders of the imamate of the Maqām Ibrāhīm since AH 673. Born in 976, by the age of twelve ‘Abd al-Qādir had memorised the Qur’an and led Ramadan night prayers at the Maqām. From 991, he studied with prominent shaykhs (including, for example, al-Shams Muḥammad al-Ramlī al-Miṣrī al-Shāfi’ī and ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sharbīnī), having received an ijāza from some of them to pass on the works he had already memorised. After encompassing a broad range of disciplines and works, he composed numerous texts, including, for example, Durrat al-asdāf al-sanīya fī dharwat al-awsāf al-Ḥusaynīya, ‘Uyān al-masā’il min a’yān al-rasā’il, Iṣḥām al-majārī fī isḥām al-Bukhārī and ‘Arā’is al-ḥabār wa gharā’ is al-afkār. The biographer al-Muḥibbī describes him as ‘the imam of Hijazi imams’.

Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzi [A/E] [d.1061/1651]
Born in 977/1570, he attended the public lessons of his father Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzi and received ijāzas from him while still a child (Badr al-Dīn died when Najm al-Dīn was seven years old). He studied under and received ijāzas from various scholars, then held office and taught from a young age in several locations, continuing thus throughout his long life. He was Shafī’i mufti in Damascus for thirty-five years up to his death (from 1025). He also taught hadith and read al-Bukhārī in the Umayyad Mosque for twenty-seven years (from 1034). Among his numerous and well-known students
was Ismā‘il, the father of ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulūsī (d.1062).\footnote{\textit{A Prayer across Time}} He was also an early teacher and shaykh of ‘\textit{Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulūsī} himself and of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī.\footnote{\textit{A Prayer across Time}} His numerous writings encompass works on hadith, \textit{tafsīr} (exegesis), \textit{fiqh}, \textit{taṣawwuf} and travelogues. As a historian, he is author of the biographical work \textit{al-Kawākib al-sā’ira bi-a‘yān al-mi’ā al-‘āshira}, and its continuation \textit{Lutf al-samar wa qatf al-thamar: min tarājim a’yān al-ṭabaqa al-ūlā min al-qarn al-hādī ‘ashar}. His reputation and particularly his expertise in hadith\footnote{\textit{A Prayer across Time}} became known beyond Syria, especially in the Hijaz. He made twelve trips to the Haramayn: during the last one (1059), he was inundated with requests for \textit{ijāzas}, including from scholars such as al-Shams Muḥammad al-Babīlī, who expressed their admiration for his exceptional knowledge.\footnote{\textit{A Prayer across Time}} As far as his \textit{tarīqa} affiliations are concerned, the primary one was to the Qadiriyya. Some of his contemporaries described him as one of the three \textit{abdāl} (category of saints) in Syria.\footnote{\textit{A Prayer across Time}}

\textbf{Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Qushāshī}

\textit{[B/C/D/F] \{d.1071/1661\]}

Hailing from a Jerusalem family with sharīfian descent, his father (whose shaykh was the Maliki Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā al-Tilimsānī) migrated to Medina. Ṣafī al-Dīn’s early education was under his father’s wing, and included a trip to Yemen in AH 1011, where he joined circles of prominent ulama. Returning to Medina after a stay in Mecca, he met Abūl-Mawāhib al-Shinnāwī, who initiated him into the sufi way. He studied under al-Shinnāwī, Ẓibghatallāh and numerous other shaykhs (perhaps as many as one hundred), becoming affiliated to many \textit{tarīqas} including the Qadiriyya, Shattariyya, Shadhiliyya and Naqshbandiyya. He developed a close attachment to al-Shinnāwī, married his daughter, and became his \textit{khalīfa} (deputy) in life and later his successor as shaykh in the Shattariyya. A charismatic figure, he attracted a large influx of students and disciples in Medina and became established as one of the greatest sufis of his time, as well as a teacher of theology and shari‘a in his own right.\footnote{\textit{A Prayer across Time}} Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī was the most prominent of his students (and al-Qushāshī was al-Kūrānī’s major and most influential teacher): another was
Transmitters of the prayer

ʿAbdallāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī (d.1134). He has been counted as one of four influential ulama who would shape the Medinan intellectual milieu of the late 17th century. Thanks to his charisma and learning, al-Qushāshī left behind a cohesive group of followers loyal to his approach and cutting across fīqh madhhabs and sufi ṭarīqas.

Al-Qushāshī was described by the biographer al-Muhībbī as ‘the imam of all those who believed in waḥdat al-wujūd’. His importance in transmitting the doctrines of the school of Ibn ʿArabī to various parts of the Muslim world through his students has been emphasised: for example, the Sumatran ʿAbd al-Raʿūf Singkel was a student of his for twenty years. Al-Qushāshī has been identified as a link in one of the still ‘living’ chains of transmission of the khirqa akbarīya. He reportedly claimed the office of Seal of Muhammadan Sainthood for himself, attaining this after having studied under five teachers.

Al-Qushāshī’s interest in theology has been recognised: while the majority of his writings were glosses or commentaries on major sufi tracts (such as al-Jīlī’s al-Insān al-kāmil) as well as works on usūl (the principles of the faith), he thus also compiled three treatises on the issue of kashb (acquisition), a principal concept of Ashaʿīri doctrine, at least one of which invited some controversy. He was also involved in hadith scholarship, encompassing sufi interpretations of hadith and an approach that adumbrated emerging trends that became more distinct in the next generation. On this and other grounds, a possible (embryonic) reformist tendency can be identified alongside his mystical vocation and commitment to maintaining sufi traditions.

Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ṭabarī al-Ḥusaynī al-Makkī al-Shāfīʿī [D] [d.1078/1667]
Born in AH 1002, he studied under his father ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṭabarī and the prominent shaykhs of Mecca and Medina such as ʿAbd al-Wāhid al-Ḥisārī al-Muʿammar, receiving ĩjāzas from them. Among others, Muḥammad al-Shilli Bāʿalawī and al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿUjamī al-Makkī received ĩjāzas from him. He was not as celebrated as his father.
12th century AH

**Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī** {B/C/D/F} [d.1101/1689]

The most outstanding of **Aḥmad al-Qushāshi**’s disciples, he shared a special relationship with his teacher, and became his son-in-law and designated heir. Born in 1023/1615, al-Kūrānī studied a wide range of subjects under many teachers in his native Shahrazur and then in Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo and Medina, where he finally settled. He was initiated into and authorised to teach several *tariqas* including the Shattariyya, Qadiriyya, Chishtiyya and his primary *tariqa*, the Naqshbandiyya. On al-Qushāshi’s death in 1661 he succeeded him as supreme shaykh of the Shattariyya as well as in his major teaching post, and as ‘the chief exponent of Ibn ‘Arabī’s legacy in Medina’.

A Shafi’ī *ʿālim*, al-Kūrānī’s importance to the intellectual life of Medina in his time is such that he has been described as ‘the doyen of the city’s ulama’. His influence reached far beyond Medina, however, as the ‘undisputed leader’ of the school of Ibn ‘Arabī in his epoch. For example, his influence on Indonesian Islam has been documented, mediated through his important Indonesian disciples like ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf Singkel. One of al-Kūrānī’s works on the principle of *wahdat al-wujūd*, *Ithāf al-dhakī*, was written at the request of Indonesian disciples, and another (refuting an earlier denunciation of the principle as heretical pantheism by Nuruddin Raniri [d.1666] of Aceh) was produced for an Indonesian audience. Leading Indian ulama requested a fatwa from him (among the prestigious ulama of the Hijaz) in 1682 on the ideas of Aḥmad Sirhindī (d.1624), founder of the Mujaddidiyya branch of the Naqshbandiyya, whom they opposed.

A versatile and prolific author, al-Kūrānī’s interests encompassed hadith, *fiqh* and *kalām* (theology) alongside *tasawwuf*. His emphasis on hadith as a source for understanding and defining aspects of religion and for shari’ā (and thus his role in the rising 17th–18th century interest in hadith scholarship as a means for reforming *fiqh* and
theology) was such that, after his death, there was a remarkable increase among his Medinan students and junior colleagues in writing commentaries on hadith collections.\footnote{112} Described as having been ‘by nature a conciliator’,\footnote{113} his complex intellectual position reconciled his loyalty to Ibn ‘Arabi’s teaching with commitment to a salafi outlook. He thus interpreted the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* in accordance with the orthodox Islamic view by emphasising the Qur’an and Sunna as the ultimate frame of reference and insisting on the interdependency of the sufi vision and the obligations of shari’a ‘in accordance with *al-salaf al-sāliḥ* (the venerable forefathers’). It seems he undertook to revisit the major issues of sufism and theology with a view to reconstructing their dominant modes (expressed through *waḥdat al-wujūd* and late Ash’ari dogma), in order to bring them into line with what he saw as the original Islamic view, drawing on the legacy of Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Taymiya (and the latter’s student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziya) in projecting his vision of this original view.\footnote{114} On this basis, he stands as a significant precursor to the reformist currents that were to gain powerful expression across the Muslim world during the 18th century. Effectively replacing al-Qushâshi’s authority, he served as an important point of reference for a large number of ulama throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries, contributing to the rehabilitation of Ibn Taymiya and to opening the door for the re-emergence of the salafi school of thought in different parts of the Muslim world.\footnote{115}

**Muḥammad al-Budayrī al-Dimyāṭī** \{B\} [d.1140/1728]

Known as Ibn al-Mayyit, he hailed from a sharifian family whose ancestor came to Dimyat from Jerusalem. After his early education in Dimyat, he moved to al-Azhar. During 1091–92 (1680–81) he joined Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī for a year, became closely identified with him and studied under him works on ṭaṣawwuf, hadith and *fiqh*. While he regarded himself principally as a Naqshbandi (he later shifted this affiliation to a Sirhindī *silṣila* specifically), he had affiliations to several ṭariqas. He travelled between Dimyat, Cairo, Medina and Jerusalem, and became acquainted in each place with the most
illustrious circles of ulama of the time. In Cairo he was closely associated with the Bakrīs, and in Damascus with the circles of ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī and his disciples.\textsuperscript{116} He was highly regarded as a hadith scholar and sufi teacher. Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī studied hadith with him in Jerusalem and was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya by him. Al-Budayrī was also the main teacher of Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī.\textsuperscript{117}

\textit{'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī} [A/E] [d.1143/1731]
Damascene sufi, hadith scholar,\textsuperscript{118} traveller and poet. His prolific writings are underpinned by veneration of Ibn ‘Arabī and defence of his metaphysical system, and dominated by the concept of \textit{wahdat al-wujūd}: he considered himself Ibn ‘Arabī’s spiritual son and disciple, and was his devotee and interpreter. He taught at the Umayyad Mosque and the Salimiyya madrasa at Ibn ‘Arabī’s mosque–tomb complex (from AH 1115), but his self-appointed role was as defender of sufism and its controversial practices and doctrines. His stance provoked serious criticism and attack, especially because he taught the works of Ibn ‘Arabī to common folk as well as to the elite.\textsuperscript{119} Affiliated to the Qadiri and Naqshbandi \textit{ tarīqas,} he seems to have had limited participation and interest in \textit{ tarīqa} sufism, and to have set more store by his own uwaysi or ‘Theo-didactic’ sufism, including especially his link to Ibn ‘Arabī as uwaysi master (although he himself had close disciples, this was not in a \textit{ tarīqa} framework).\textsuperscript{120}

By the age of twelve, ‘Abd al-Ghanī had already received \textit{ ijāzas} (including in Ibn ‘Arabī’s works) in the company of his father Ismā‘īl from \textit{Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī} among other high-ranking ulama such as ‘Abd al-Bāqi Taqī al-Dīn b. Mawāḥib al-Ḥanbalī (the Hanbalī mufti of Damascus). His father, who was his first teacher and who died when he was twelve, appears as the prior link in several of ‘Abd al-Ghanī’s \textit{ ijāzas} in hadith collections and the writings of Ibn ‘Arabī: he had in fact been given the \textit{ ijāzas} of his father \textit{en masse} as a child.\textsuperscript{121} It is noteworthy that one of his last compositions was a commentary on the \textit{ṣalawāt} of Ibn ‘Arabī.\textsuperscript{122}
Transmitters of the prayer

Born in Medina in 1081, he studied with his father Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and other great shaykhs, including his father’s colleagues and associates like al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿUjaymī al-Makkī and ʿAbdallāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī. He took his father’s position as a teacher in the Prophet’s Mosque in Medina and rose to assume the position of Shafi’i mufti in the city for a time. On his father’s death he succeeded him as supreme shaykh of the Shattariyya (but the leading position of the ulama of Medina fell to one of Ibrāhīm’s students). His works include Ikhtisār sharḥ shawāhid al-Riḍā al-Baghdādī. The students who attended his many lessons (through which his father’s teachings continued to be disseminated) included the Indian hadith scholar Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (d.1163/1749), who taught hadith in Medina for twenty-five years to numerous students, among them Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. They included also the great Indian Naqshbandi reformist Shāh Walī Allāh (d.1177/1763). The latter’s stay in Medina during 1731–32 in Ṭāhir’s circle had a lasting impact on his intellectual orientations: according to Shāh Walī Allāh’s son, it amounted to a turning point in his career. Al-Kattani observes that his own transmission from Ṭāhir proceeds via Muḥammad Saʿīd Sunbul, among others.

Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī {A/B/C} [d.1162/1749]
Born in Damascus and reputed to have revived the Khalwati ṭarīqa in the Arab mashriq (east) of the 18th century. He was the most celebrated and important disciple of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī: he read several of Ibn ʿArabī’s works under him during his sojourns in Damascus and his own writings were to be profoundly influenced by Ibn ʿArabī’s thought. He studied hadith under Muḥammad al-Budayrī al-Dimyāṭī in Jerusalem and under ʿAbdallāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī: he was also a student of al-Kūrānī’s son Iyās (d.1138), who had moved to Damascus. He was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya, Qadiriyya and Khalwatiyya, in the latter case by a shaykh who followed the way of the Qarabashiyya branch. Al-Bakrī became his sole
successor on the shaykh’s death in 1121/1709, having earlier been granted a general permission to initiate and appoint khalīfas. He went on to gain many disciples especially in Cairo and Jerusalem: his most important khalīfa was Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī. Al-Bakrī was a prolific writer (mainly on sulūk and adab, the sufi path, its culture and manners, but he also composed awrād {pl. of wīrd}, of which the best known is Wīrd al-sahār). Like his teacher al-Nābulusi (on whom he wrote a reverential biography, and from whom he records that he received a general ījāza for all his lines of transmission and a specific one for his writings), he laid claim to a direct relation to Ibn ʿArabī, and direct authorisation by him. Like him, he too made several extensive journeys, moving especially between Jerusalem and Cairo, where he died.\textsuperscript{129}

Muḥammad Saʿīd (b. Muḥammad) Sunbul [al-Makkī]
{D} [d.1175/1762]
Prominent Meccan scholar and Shafiʿi mufti: he transmitted from Ṣāḥib b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī among others, and to his son Muḥammad Ṣāḥib Sunbul, among others.\textsuperscript{130}

Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī/al-Ḥifnī\textsuperscript{131} {B/C} [d.1181/1767]
An important disciple and associate of Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī involved in renewing activity of the Khalwatiyya in Egypt. He was born in AH 1100 in Hifna, a village in the Bilbis district of Egypt, and studied from a young age in Cairo. On receiving ījāzas from his teachers there (the best known including Muḥammad al-Budayrī al-Dimyāṭī, through whom he received his Naqšbandi affiliation), in 1122 he established lessons in logic, fiqh, usūl, hadith and kalām attended by many students. He produced many works and became known for his karāmāt. He had been introduced to the sufi way by a certain Aḥmad al-Shādhili al-Maghribī (known as al-Maqqari): he then met Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī in 1133, who initiated him into the Qarabashiyya-Khalwatiyya and trained him in its path. Al-Bakrī eventually placed him above all his khalīfas, and he became the only one he had invested with absolute authority who also survived him. Al-Ḥifnāwī
is reputed to have succeeded in reviving the *tarīqa* across Egypt, attracting large numbers of people and introducing it to the community of ulama at al-Azhar. Among his important *khalīfās/disciples* were Maḥmūd al-Kurdi, ʻAbdallāh al-Sharqāwī (Shaykh al-Azhar) and Aḥmad al-Dardayr, who is perhaps the best known.¹³²

Muḥammad al-Tāṣiṭāṭi al-Khalwatī [B] [d.1191/1777]

Brockelmann gives his full name as Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Tāṣiṭāṭi al-Maghribī,¹³³ al-Murādī as Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Mālikī al-Ḥanafī al-Tāṣiṭāṭi al-Maghribī.¹³⁴ The narrative here is based on al-Murādī’s biographical entry.¹³⁵ Born in Morocco, al-Tāṣiṭāṭi first studied under his father, a man of moderate learning. Before reaching puberty he taught students *al-Sanūṣiyya*, which he had studied under Shaykh Muḥammad al-Sa’dī al-Jazā’irī. He travelled to Tripoli and from there to al-Azhar in Cairo. He remained in Egypt for two years and eight months and studied under Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī, among many others. While travelling by sea to visit his mother he was captured and taken to Malta, where he was held for over two years. He engaged there in a lengthy debate on matters of Muslim belief with Christian monks, among them one with some knowledge of Arabic. This monk eventually gave up the debate defeated, astonished that such knowledge could be held by someone young enough to be his grandson. Muḥammad’s renown spread in Malta among monks and notables, and he was treated respectfully wherever he went. A vision he had eventually sealed his release and he made for Egypt, travelling from there to the Hijaz several times. He went to Yemen, Oman, Basra, Aleppo, Damascus and Anatolia (*al-Rūm*) and settled in Jerusalem, where he was appointed Hanafī muftī. His works number some eighty: in addition to his commentary on the prayer (*al-Durr al-aghla bi-sharḥ al-Dawr al-a’lā*),¹³⁶ Brockelmann mentions his *Husn al-istiqṣā’ bi-mā ṣaḥḥa wa thabata fi’l-masjid al-aqṣā*.¹³⁷ Al-Tāṣiṭāṭi appears in the chains of authorities of various later Damascene scholars.¹³⁸
Maḥmūd al-Kurdi {C} [d.1195/1780–81]
A khalīfa of Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī and known also as al-Khalwatī, he was born in Kurdistan. He adopted a life of pious devotion, asceticism and isolation early on, and is reputed to have met frequently with Khīḍr and to have received the contents of al-Ghazālī’s Ḩiyā’ ‘ulōm al-dīn without reading. When aged eighteen he saw al-Ḥifnāwī in a dream, and was told that this was his shaykh. He travelled to Egypt to find him, was initiated by him into the Khalwatī way and eventually granted an ījāza to bring people into it: al-Ḥifnāwī would send those who wished to enter the way to him. He also developed a close relationship with Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, whom he had met when the latter came to Cairo. He was celebrated for his baraka and the fact that he frequently saw the Prophet in dreams. After al-Ḥifnāwī’s death al-Kurdi reportedly brought many people into the way and appointed khalīfas himself. He produced a treatise as the result of a dream in which he saw Ibn ‘Arabī give him a key and tell him to ‘open the vault’ (there is a commentary by his khalīfa and Shaykh al-Azhar ‘Abdallāh al-Sharqāwī on this). He is also author of al-Sulūk li-ābān’ al-mulūk.139

Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, Abū’l-Futūh
{A} [d.1196/1781–82]
Born in Jerusalem in 1143/1731, he was shaykh to the historian al-Murādī (author of the biographical work Silk al-durar).140 Among others, he studied under Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī and Muḥammad, a third son of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. He took the Khalwatī ṭarīqa from his father Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī. His works include a biography of his father, Kashf al-ẓunūn fī āsmā’ al-shurūḥ wa’l-mutūn, a commentary on al-Ṣalāt al-Mashīshīya and a diwan.141

Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī al-Dāmūnī {C} [d. after 1199/1785]
He describes how he was asked by his close and saintly companion Ḥusayn al-Ḥisnī\textsuperscript{143} to elaborate for him the contents of the prayer. Having consulted and sought a guiding sign, he spent a few days in the hope of receiving divine permission to proceed, seeking this through the mediation of Ibn ‘Arabī, who might reveal the prayer’s secrets to him as its author. Once permission was received, he began. Al-Dāmūnī mentions Ibn ‘Arabī first among his teachers ‘whose insight is elixir’. Having detailed his chain of authorities, he adds that he has ‘another, more elevated, chain – for it is from me to [Ibn ‘Arabī]: it was he who gave me to drink of his pure wine, quenching my thirst in the world of similitudes, then guided me to him. It was he who brought me to live in Damascus, and gave me permission to guide elite and common folk alike. Thanks be to God for these momentous blessings, and for the greatest blessing of all: my attachment (intisābī) to this imam.\textsuperscript{144} His father Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī al-Dāmūnī authored a defence of al-Nābulusī, al-Shihāb al-qabasī fī radd man radda ʿalā ʿAbd al-Ghanī.\textsuperscript{145}

\textbf{13th century AH}

\textbf{Ibrāhīm b. Ḩasan al-Nābulusī \{E\} [d.1222/1807]}

Ibrāhīm’s father Ḩasan (b.1085) was the only one of ʿAbd al-Ghanī’s sons to survive him. Born in AH 1138, Ibrāhīm became an outstanding ʿālim of his time.\textsuperscript{146} A prominent member of Damascene society, he inherited his father’s teaching post at the Salimiyya mosque,\textsuperscript{147} and became shaykh qurrā’ (leading Qur’an reciter).\textsuperscript{148} The confluence of several chains of transmission relating to al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyya through him is noteworthy.\textsuperscript{149}

\textbf{Muḥammad al-Jundī al-ʿAbbāsī al-Maʿarrī \{A\} [d.1264/1848]}

He served as Hanafi mufti in his place of origin, Maʿarrat Nuʿman, Syria. Initially a follower of Shaykh Khālid al-Naqsbandī, who was responsible for spreading the Naqsbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya widely
among Arabs, Kurds and Turks during the early 19th century, it is most likely that al-Jundī did not maintain contact with his successors after Shaykh Khālid’s death in 1242/1827.¹⁵⁰

Muḥammad Amīn al-Jundī al-‘Abbāsī al-Ma’arrī
{A} [d.1285/1868]
Born in Ma’arrat Nu’man, Syria in AH 1229, he was educated by his father Muḥammad al-Jundī,¹⁵¹ from whom he took the Khalwati way. In Aleppo he studied hadith under Māḥmūd Efendi al-Mar’ashi and was a student of the mufti ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Mudarris. Returning to Ma’arrat Nu’man, he served there as qādī and then as mufti following his father’s death in 1264, until 1266 when he was summoned to Damascus to serve as Arab scribe of the Turkish army in Syria. In 1277 he was appointed Hanafi mufti of Damascus, and remained in this post until his removal in 1284. Thereafter he was appointed to the Ottoman state shūrā (council) in the capital, and served on several important official missions. His writings (some in Arabic, others Ottoman Turkish) include a work on the excellence of Syria, and a diwan. His Ottoman Turkish commentary on the Dawr was written in 1280, while he was still Hanafi mufti of Damascus. A reformist ‘ālim, he was proficient in the teachings of Ibn ‘Arabī as well as the new sciences of the era. When the Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jazā’īrī settled in Damascus, al-Jundī became one of his close associates: he also participated with him in rescuing Christians, and wrote poetry in praise of him.¹⁵²

Muḥammad Ṭāhir Sunbul [al-Makkī] {D}
Son of Muḥammad Sa‘īd Sunbul, prominent Hijazi scholar who transmitted from his father and transmitted to, among others, Yāsīn b. ‘Abdallāh al-Mīrghani.¹⁵³

Muḥammad Yāsīn b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mīrghani {D}
‘Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mīrghani al-Makkī al-Ṭā’īfī the father (d.1207/1793), known as al-Mahjūb, was a prominent sufi and influential ‘ālim. Born in Mecca into a sharifian family, he attached
himself to Yusuf al-Mahdali (who was known as al-quṭb or the axis of his time) and became an uwaysi sufi after the latter’s death, receiving learning directly from the Prophet. While stories of his karāmāt are plentiful, he also left a substantial number of works.\(^{154}\) He has been counted as part of the late 18\(^{th}\) century reformist network, of which the Haramayn was the crossroads (his students included Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, for example). The Mīrghanī family appears to have been politically active: in 1166/1752–53, a time of political upheaval in Mecca, ‘Abdallāh had moved to Ta’if apparently as a result of his opposition to the Zaydi sharifs.\(^{155}\)

One of ‘Abdallāh’s sons became the father of Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mīrghanī (d.1852). Born a year after his grandfather ‘Abdallāh’s death, ‘Uthmān became one of the most important students of the major reformist Moroccan sufi teacher Aḥmad b. Idrīs (d.1837), and founder of the Khatmiyya (or Mīrghanīyya) order.\(^{156}\) ‘Uthmān’s paternal uncle Muḥammad Yāsīn became his guardian upon the death of his father when ‘Uthmān was ten years old. Himself childless, Muḥammad Yāsīn took on his nephew’s education. Muḥammad Yāsīn later taught hadith to another student of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, the Yemeni al-Ḥasan Ṭakish, when he came to Mecca. He was also a teacher of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Sanūsī (d.1276/1859), Aḥmad b. Idrīs’ closest student and founder of the Sanusiyya tariqa, when he arrived in Mecca in 1241/1826. Muḥammad Yāsīn wrote at least one work, ‘Unwān ahl al-‘ināya ‘alā kashf ghawāmiḍ al-nuqāya, a gloss on al-Suyūṭī’s Itmām al-dirāya.\(^{157}\)

Possibly also known as Shams al-Dīn, he was born in 1225/1810, and was a hadith scholar, sufi and faqīh. He has been described as ‘musnīd bilād al-Shām’ (‘the most important hadith transmitter of Greater Syria’) of his time, and his chains occupied a pivotal role well into the 20\(^{th}\) century in most of Egypt, Syria and the Hijaz. He transmitted from many scholars, including Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Sanūsī, al-Burhān al-Bājūrī and Yāsīn b. ‘Abdallāh al-Mīrghanī (he wrote

---

Transmitters of the prayer

43
COMMENTARY ON AL-WAJIZ
BY ABDALLAH AL-MIRGHANI

A prolific writer, he produced some one hundred works, including many on hadith. His al-Tawr al-aghlā ‘alā al-wārid al-musammā bi’l-Dawr al-a’lā was printed in Damascus, AH 1301. Brocklemann also lists a commentary on Hizb al-bahr entitled Khulūsat al-zahr ‘alā Hizb al-bahr. Noteworthy, too, is his Shawâriq al-anwâr al-jaliya fî asānîd al-sâda al-Shâdhiliya, for al-Qâwuqji was a Shadhili shaykh and founder of a sub-order of the tarīqa which seems to have taken his name. He died in Mecca.

Chains and authorisations

The chains elucidated here are embedded in a vast web of interconnections among members of the āhl al-‘ilm (community of scholars) spanning the centuries of Islamic history, a network of personal contacts forming a highway along which authority, learning and baraka have travelled from the past into the future while criss-crossing the lands of Islam. Individuals sought out ijâzas through personal contact with shaykhs who had themselves acquired ijâzas through personal contact: the ijâza was thus in part ‘an emblem of a bond to a shaykh’. While it served the forging of connections to powerful men of the learned elite (those older and more knowledgeable), it also made possible the appropriation of some of their authority, and that of others in the associated chains of transmission. Finally, it acted as a vehicle for the acquisition and transmission of baraka, of which ‘ilm or learning was one important form.

The conferring of an ijâza thus admitted an individual to a particular scholarly and spiritual genealogy, and this was just as important as the precise identity and content of the work(s) transmitted (if indeed not more important in some circumstances). In general terms, the mujīz (granter of an authorisation) was the key to insertion into chains of transmission of ‘ilm so highly valued that the resulting pedigrees rivalled blood-lines in importance. This importance is reflected in the careful attention given to recording

44
and incorporating chains of transmission of texts, as in the case of the Dawr.

Turning to the plausibility of individual links within our chains and the ijāzas that underpin them, those links identified appear generally compatible with the chronology, known associations (especially relations with shaykhs and teachers) and geographical movements of the figures in question. Of particular interest are nine links underpinned by ijāzas conferred on young children who typically had not yet reached the age of reason.¹⁶⁶ In some cases, as set out above, we have reports of these children receiving ijāzas from the authorities in question in the company of their fathers (and in one case, of the father soliciting ijāzas specifically for them, another common practice).¹⁶⁷ Perhaps a ‘child ijāza’ stands up more successfully to scrutiny when the text concerned is a small prayer which children, accustomed to memorising Qur’an from an early age, could readily have committed to heart at the instigation of fathers eager to place them under its protection, and to acquire for them the potential benefits associated with the accompanying ijāza and chain.¹⁶⁸

Insertion of an individual into one of our chains through an ijāza conferred on them the baraka of the line of transmission, intensifying the baraka of the prayer itself. It also brought them into ultimate contact with the prayer’s author. It was not just a case of acquiring, committing to memory and inscribing on the heart the prayer text (itself undoubtedly baraka bearing and encompassing the ‘perfect and complete’ Word, as we shall see below), something which could be done from a written copy. Initiation into the prayer was thus as much a case of participating in the spiritual lineage anchored in its saintly author and transmitted through a living shaykh.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, it is likely that even into the modern period prayers like the Dawr were mainly experienced as oral performances rather than written texts, further underlining the importance of personal contact.

Regarding certain specifics of our chains, we might ask whether any of our figures appear in chains of transmission associated with other works by Ibn ‘Arabi. Yahya lists a number of such chains which can be compared with the six examined here.¹⁷⁰ {E} from Ibn ‘Arabî
through to al-Suyūtī is repeated in four chains, viz. 2a (attached to RG 13a, *Akbhār mashāyikh al-Maghrib;* RG 30, *’Anqā’ mughrīb;* RG 38, *al-‘Arba’ān ḥadīth;* RG 134, *al-Fāth al-Fāsī;* RG 135, *al-Futūhāt al-Makkīya;* RG 150, *Fusūṣ al-ḥikam;* RG 336, *al-Kashf al-kullī and RG 725, *al-Tafsīr*) and 6a, 6e and 6f (all three attached to RG 135, *al-Futūhāt al-Makkīya*). In like fashion, *{F}* from Ibn ‘Arabī through to al-Qushāshī is repeated in chain 6d attached to *al-Futūhāt al-Makkīya* (with the link between Zakarīyā’ al-Anṣārī and al-Jabarti al-Zabīdī missing, viz., Abū’l-Fath Muḥammad b. al-Qaymānī al-Marā’ī) and from Ibn ‘Arabī through to al-Sha’rānī in chain 6c attached to *al-Futūhāt al-Makkīya* with the same omission. The missing chain of authorities linking al-Qushāshī back to Ibn ‘Arabī in {B} and {C} as elaborated in {F} is thus mostly corroborated by Yahya’s 6d i. Chains 6a, b, c, d, e and f (all attached to *al-Futūhāt al-Makkīya*) all culminate in the grandson of ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, Ibrāhīm b. Ismā’īl (see {E}). Finally, several well-known links appearing in our chains reappear in those listed in Yahya: these include Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī ~ Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī {{A}; Yahya’s 6b and 6d ii) and Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī ~ Zakarīyā’ al-Anṣārī {{A}; Yahya’s 6d}.

Referred to briefly above, al-Qushāshī’s chain of transmission from Ibn ‘Arabī stands out for the important place it occupies on our chain map, for his status, and for his association with the prayer in a further copy, where its attribution to Ibn ‘Arabī and a description of its properties are given on his authority. Al-Tābilātī {B} and al-Dāmnī {C} both refer to this chain without elaboration using the phrase *bi-sanadihi al-muttaṣīl ilā [Ibn ‘Arabī]* (‘through his chain of transmission going back to [Ibn ‘Arabī]’), implying perhaps that it was very well known at the time. (It is noteworthy that the *silsila* of the *khirqa akbarīya* as given by al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī also connects al-Qushāshī to Ibn ‘Arabī without elaboration.) *{F}* provides an indication of one chain from Ibn ‘Arabī to al-Qushāshī, while *{D}* provides an alternative through Zayn al-ʿAbīdīn al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī. More than five generations after Ibn ‘Arabī’s death, key geographical foci in the routes of the prayer mapped through the chains are the Hijaz (Mecca and Medina); Syria (Damascus); Egypt (Cairo);
and Palestine (Jerusalem). Two 17th–18th century figures who served as a nexus between different geographical centres through their travels are Muhammad al-Budayrī al-Dīmīyātī {B} and Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī {A/B/C}177 Al-Budayrī connected the influential Hijazi centre178 with Cairo (where al-Ḥifnāwī studied under him), and with Jerusalem (where Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī studied under him). Al-Bakrī, too, connected Damascus and Cairo (as well as Jerusalem), but without the direct Hijazi link:179 born in 1688 CE, al-Bakrī’s link to Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d.1689 CE) in {C} should most likely be ruled out in favour of an omission, probably of the latter’s son Ilyās, with whom al-Bakrī studied in Damascus. It is noteworthy that al-Tāfīlātī apparently first acquired the prayer from al-Ḥifnāwī during his early sojourn in Cairo, making it possible for him to transmit it during his extensive travels thereafter. Such figures often formed part of very extensive scholar networks, through which the prayer may well have been transmitted into more distant regions of the Islamic world.180

A strong Naqshbandi or Khalwati association is evident among the figures in our chains from the 17th century,181 but for many of them multiple ṭarīqa affiliations were the norm, especially prior to the 18th or 19th centuries. The prayer was thus used alongside liturgical and devotional prescriptions associated with particular ṭarīqa affiliations, whether multiple or single. Prayers attributed to the eponymous founders of ṭarīqas have found a natural constituency among those affiliated to these ṭarīqas, where they have also been routinely recited in collective rituals. Indeed the emergence of an independent ṭarīqa from an existing one has often been accompanied by the composition of new ʿahzāb (pl. of ḥizb).182 Although not associated exclusively with any particular ṭarīqa, the saintly stature of the Dawr’s author appears to have secured its circulation and use within many different ṭarīqas.
A Prayer across Time

**Windows onto Islamic culture and thought**

How can the chains discussed here, which encompass several major figures of Islamic scholarship and *tasawwuf*, illuminate trends in historical Islamic culture and thought? Alongside those who may be described as non-reformist (and who appear to have been uncompromising in their defence of sufi culture, including its more controversial elements), it is noteworthy that these figures also feature ulama of reformist orientation, those critical of aspects of the prevailing religious-cultural milieu and the existing order. Some sought to contain sufi ‘excesses’ by reasserting the interdependence of spheres of *tasawwuf* and shari’a, and addressed other aspects of the dominant culture by emphasising the primacy of the Qur’an and Sunna as the ultimate framework for religious understanding and the source of shari’a. Such ulama often expressed appreciation for the reformist legacy of Ibn Taymīya (d.1328), and their positions evince salafi tendencies, whether in matters of *kalām* or *fiqh*, attitudes towards *madhhab* affiliation, or the emphasis of hadith scholarship as a means to reassert scriptural primacy, for example. Focusing on such figures in the chains serves to highlight the complex, overlapping identities of historical Islamic culture, which could contemplate a profound commitment to sufism (including the embrace of *waḥdat al-wujūd*) alongside a *salafi-inspired* reformist outlook (the latter dimension being at times underreported in the context of Ibn ʿArabī studies). While its content presents no specific doctrinal problem, the use and transmission of the prayer by such figures nonetheless furnishes evidence of their conviction of its author’s importance (and saintly status), underlining an inclusive commitment to his legacy upheld in tandem with salafi tendencies.

In the 9th/15th century, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī’s association with the prayer is noteworthy in the light of his ambivalence towards Ibn ʿArabī, and his favourable view of Ibn Taymīya. His reservations concerning the prayer’s author, such as they were, did not invalidate for him the *baraka* that flowed from use of it, received through a chain
directly from its author. In the 10th/16th century ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha’rānī’s association with the prayer is noteworthy when viewed not in terms of his capacity as an apologist for Ibn ‘Arabī, but as the first in a long line of late reformist or salafi-oriented sufi ulama, followed in the 11th–12th/17th–18th centuries by the highly influential al-Qushāshī (heir to al-Sha’rānī’s legacy) and especially his student Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and the latter’s students of the next generation. As in al-Kūrānī’s case, a number of these later sufi-salafi ulama re-interpreted wahdat al-wujūd, in its capacity as the most controversial aspect of sufi doctrine, to make it conform to Islamic orthodoxy. At the same time, they evinced a rising interest in Ibn Taymiyya’s intellectual legacy (following its virtual eclipse by the mid-14th century with the rise to dominance of tasawwuf allied with Ashʿari theology), and thus perhaps contributed to a re-emergence or revival of the salafi school from the late 17th century. In the 13th/19th century, the two al-Jundis, father and son, can finally be mentioned. The former was a follower of the shariʿa-minded reformist Naqshbandi Shaykh Khālid, who had called for returning to the Qur’an and Sunna, yet read the works of Ibn ‘Arabī and felt a spiritual affinity with him. Muhammad Amīn al-Jundī the son was a reformist ʿālim in his own right and also a close associate of the Amir ʿAbd al-Qādir (whose own reformist tendencies and shariʿa-minded, scripturalist sufism combined with a devotion to Ibn ‘Arabī have been widely noted, and whose ulama followers launched the Salafi reform movement in Syria).

The blending of sufi and salafi thought is thus illustrated by several of the figures associated with the prayer, both in pre-modern and modern periods. Within this blend, which itself became increasingly significant for later reformists or ‘revivalists’, it was salafism that came to prominence under the conditions and pressures of modernity. Were it possible to map the continuation of the chains discussed here across the 20th century, it would be of interest to ascertain the orientations of new links in terms of this framework, and in particular to discover whether any who avail themselves of the prayer’s baraka can be counted as contemporary salafis, seeking
inspiration in Ibn Taymiya’s legacy. A defining aspect in the self-appropriation of the ‘salafi’ banner in the modern world has of course been a powerful anti-sufism, in which Ibn ‘Arabi’s legacy looms large. This is not the whole story, however. Through the inclusive tendencies of some of the most eminent historical figures of ‘ilm and taṣawwuf associated with it, this small prayer of Ibn ‘Arabi points up with striking clarity the anomalous character of the uncompromising salafi–sufi dichotomy perpetuated in some contemporary Muslim circles.
Notes

1. The Turkish collections offer what is arguably the most important manuscript base for the works of Ibn 'Arabī in general. We have supplemented the specific Suleymaniye collection, the largest by far, with copies from the following Turkish libraries: University of Istanbul Library Collection, Ulu Cami (Bursa), Genel (Inebey, Bursa), Beyazid (Istanbul), Mevlana Museum (Konya), Ankara Milli. Relating to the Suleymaniye collection, the following errors in Osman Yahya, *Histoire et classification de l’oeuvre d’Ibn ‘Arabī* (Damascus, 1964), 1, p. 294 (RG 244) can be point out. Düşümlü Baba 4146 and 4137 and Esad Efendi 4036 are unreconisable numbers; Düşümlü Baba 194, Haci Mahmud Efendi 461 and Esad Efendi 1330 are irrelevant. Şehid Ali Paşa 2796 is a fragment of the Awrād that sometimes appears described as Istighātha but here is described as Ḥizb al-Shaykh al-Akbar. Note also that Ulu Cami 954 (Bursa) is irrelevant.

2. All of the copies surveyed here are thus relatively late. It may well be that earlier copies can be uncovered: Yahya, *Histoire*, 1, p. 294 lists those in Damascus, Cairo, Rabat, Paris and Berlin not examined in this study and apparently undated.

3. For details of four of these which have chains of transmission attached and a fifth without, see Appendix. The remaining two, both in Ottoman Turkish, are as follows: (i) ‘Alī al-Waṣīf b. Ḫusayn al-Ḥusaynī (Haci Mahmud Efendi 4217, detailed commentary on individual words and phrases fols. 1a–94a; the text of the prayer is repeated with further comments verse by verse fols. 99b–110a), dated AH 1261. (ii) Anonymous (Haci Reşid Bey 104), undated, 20 fols. For additional copies of some of the commentaries referred to here and further commentaries on the prayer held in collections outside of Turkey, see Yahya, *Histoire*, 1, pp. 294–295.

It has been suggested that the first sustained systematic commentary on a sufi prayer is that composed by Dā’ūd Ibn Bākhilā (d.733/1332) on al-Shādhilī’s Ḥizb al-bahr. See Richard J. A. McGregor, *Sanctity and Sainthood in Medieval Egypt: The Wafā’ Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn ‘Arabī* (Albany, NY, 2004), pp. 34–35.

4. Other examples include Haci Mahmud Efendi 4141 (dated AH 1275), Yazma Bağışlar 2180 (undated and followed by a wārīd attributed to Abū Bakr b. Ḥabdallāh al-‘Ayarūs and an untitled anonymous supplication), A 5705 [University of Istanbul Library] (dated 1793 CE and followed by a prayer by Abū‘l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī and a ṣalawāt attributed to Ibn ‘Arabī: see below), A 4344 [University of Istanbul Library] (dated AH 1318, each line surrounded by a gold-leaf border, with only eight lines per page) and Nafız Paşa 702, on which see note 6 below.

5. For example, I. Note that Ankara Milli 489 binds together the Dawr (as part of an undated hand) with works by Ibn ‘Arabī (e.g. *R. al-Alīf, Mashāhid al-asrār, K. al-Bā‘*) in several hands.

6. Examples include G, K (Ṣalawāt kubrā), M, Şazeli 106 (Istighātha, Awrād, Ṣalawāt kubrā), Esad Efendi 1330 (Ṣalāt sharīfā), A 5705 [University of Istanbul
\textit{A Prayer across Time}

Library] (Salāwāt sharīf), Nafiz Paşa 702 (an undated compilation of the \textit{Awrād} and the \textit{Dawr}), Genel 43 (\textit{Awrād} dated AH 1179, copy made in Damascus) and Arif-Murad 58 (printed, undated, encompassing the \textit{Awrād}). Şazeli 106 encompasses the date AH 1139. Esad Efendi 1330 is dated from AH 1194 to 1219.

7. For example, M. Note that Esad Efendi 1330 includes prayers by al-Nawawi, al-Shādhili and Ibn Mashish. Esad Efendi 267 (undated) encompasses a treatise on the names of the Prophet and one on the names of his Companions who were at Badr, plus a commentary on a prayer by al-Shādhili. Şazeli 106 encompasses prayers by al-Shādhili, al-Nawawi, Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, al-Shāfiʿi, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, Maʿrūf Karkhī, Īmām ʿAlī and supplications of the prophets. I encompasses among others the protective prayer of Abū Madyan Shuʿayb. Genel 43 has \textit{Ḥizb al-nāṣr} by al-Shādhili and others; Arif-Murad adds \textit{Ḥizb al-baḥr} of al-Shādhili, al-Salāwāt al-munjiya and other short prayers.

8. Şazeli 157 (undated), for example, includes prayers and prayer-commentaries, poems and works by İsmail Hakki Bursevi (including a commentary on the prayer of Ibn Mashish), Sari ʿAbdullah Efendi (including \textit{Maslak al-ʿushshāq}) and Nawaʾi Efendi (parts of a commentary on the \textit{Fusūs al-hikam}).

9. Examples are J, F, and Hacı Mahmud Efendi 6287 (possibly dated AH 1252), the latter by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Mawsīlī al-Jīlī. See also Beyazid 7880 (undated), Esad Efendi 3674 (possibly dated AH 1203 or before).

10. The copying of texts was often done out of a desire for benefit or \textit{baraka}, out of love for the author, or as a means whereby the copyist endeavoured to bring themselves into the living or dead author’s presence. For examples relating to devotees of Ibn ʿArabī who copied his works after his death, see Michael Chamberlain, \textit{Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350} (Cambridge, 1994), p. 144. Some believed that copying had a talismanic power bringing spiritual benefit: Chamberlain cites the example of Ibn al-Jawzī, who requested that after his death all the pens with which he had copied hadith should be gathered and heated in water, which was to be used to wash his corpse. Comparing ʿiḥn with prayer, some writers urged copyists to carry out their work only when in a state of ritual ablution. See ibid. p. 136.

11. On the general notion of \textit{sanad}, literally a support or stay, applied to the chain of authorities that validates transmitted knowledge, see ‘Sanād’, EI, Supplement 9–10, p. 702 (for the related term \textit{ısnaād} [pl. asānīd] applied in the context of hadith transmission, see ‘Isnād’, EI, 4, p. 207). In setting out their chains of transmission, some of our sources explicitly use the term \textit{sanad}. Within the chains, some use the verbs \textit{akhadhaʿ} \textit{an} and \textit{rawāʿ} \textit{an} (to take/transmit from) and others \textit{ajāza} (to grant permission, reflecting the fact that an \textit{iḥāza} underpins each link in a chain).

12. A seventh chain attached to the prayer (and the \textit{Awrād}) is recorded in Yahya, \textit{Histoire}, 2, p. 540 (no. 1, attached to RG 16a) and discussed in Ibn ʿArabī, \textit{The Seven Days of the Heart}, pp. 174–175. While we do not discuss this chain here we would point to the fact that the transmitter from Ibn ʿArabī died in AH 727: this suggests a possible ‘child \textit{iḥāza}’ (on which see below). G, apparently its original source, has been the
Notes to Chapter 2

basis of a number of printings (Haci Mahmud Efendi 4179, Düğümlü Baba 490 and 489, for example).

13. Biographical notes provided here vary in length depending on how well known a figure is, the availability of information and the accessibility of sources: detail is provided when this is of interest or relevance to our focus and/or is not readily accessible to the non-Arabist.

14. For a fascinating glimpse of the cultural and social context within which the significance and operation of the ijāza can be properly understood (as played out in late 12th to mid-14th century CE Damascus), see Chamberlain, Knowledge and Social Practice, ch. 4. The author points to the prestige attached to scholarly pedigrees in the form of chains of transmission, and the concern of the learned elite to emphasise them as an integral part of their strategies of social survival, advanced through cultural practices associated with knowledge. The same emphasis is reflected in the production of the mashyakha or mu‘jam literature, a genre listing the shaykhs an individual had studied with or heard hadith from.

Of our chains, [A] and [E] are associated with an ijāza in which the transmitter grants permission to a specific individual to read the prayer, thus perpetuating the chain. Ijāzas addressed to a specific individual arise also in Haci Mahmud Efendi 4141 (fol. 9a, dated AH 1275) and in Esad Efendi 1442 (fol. 52a, undated). In the latter case it encompasses the Awrād as well as the Dawr and is granted to Muḥammad Raḥific Efendi by Muḥammad ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Jalīl al-Baḥdādī, who describes himself as khādim ni‘āl al-sāda al-Qādiriyā, and has added the Dawr and ijāza at the end of this copy of K. al-Rashāḥāt al-anwarīya fi sharḥ al-awrād al-akbariyā: on the margin of the Awrād, the latter is by Ḥasan al-Kurdi. According to Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen litteratur (Leiden, 1943–49) [hereafter ‘GAL’], II, pp. 453, 473, Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Kurdi al-Qādirī al-Bānī al-’Alamānī al-Jilānī al-Kūrānī al-Naqshbandī (d.1148/1735) also wrote Risāla fi gawl al-Shaykh al-Akbar wa qawl al-fātīh and Risāla fi anna ’ilm Allāh muḥīt bi-nafsihi am lā. Yahya, Histoire, 1, p. 289 records him as author of a commentary on Ibn ‘Arabī’s K. al-Hikam (RG 233).


The Maqām Ibrāhīm is the (site of) the miraculous stone on which Ibrāhīm is
believed to have stood while building the Ka’ba, and which bears his footprints. Through the revelation of Q 2: 125, the Prophet established the site as a place of prayer (Ibrāhīm and Iṣmā‘il had reportedly prayed there when they had completed their work of building). In early Islam, the stone was encased in a wooden box and raised on a platform, usually locked inside the Ka’ba. Today it stands in a glass encasement about twenty cubits from the Ka’ba, and pilgrims perform two prayer cycles as close as possible behind it. See ‘Maqam Ibrahim’, EI 2, 6, pp. 104–107.


19. At times alongside his brother, al-Ṣafī al-Ṭabarī: for these examples, see Ibn al-’Īrāqī, al-’Ibadī ’alā al-‘ibār, index. See also al-’Asqallānī, al-Durar al-kāmina, 1, p. 56. It may appear that Raḍī al-Dīn was born too late to have transmitted directly from Ibn ‘Arabī (who died when he was four years old), but the possibility of such a link in the form of a ‘child ijāza’ (perhaps through the agency of his father or another male relative) cannot be ruled out: on such ijāzas see below.

We must mention the possibility that instead of the figure identified here, Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī might be the Shafī‘i mufti and member of the same family Ahmad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī (d.694) listed by Yahya, Histoire, 1, p. 133 as a defender of Ibn ‘Arabī. There is no evidence that the latter was known as Raḍī al-Dīn/ al-Raḍī, however. Other members of the important al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī family appear later in chain (D).


21. Yahya, Histoire, RG 484. See A3320 [University of Istanbul Library], fol. 17a. Note that this ijāza including Ibn ‘Asākir is not recorded in Histoire, 2, p. 393. The same work arises in Halet Efendi 245, where it appears under a different title, R. al-Hurāf bi-l-manzūmāt: fol. 260b records him transmitting the work through an ijāza from Ibn ‘Arabī, and fol. 271a records him receiving an ijāza for it from Ibn ‘Arabī and from his son ‘Imād al-Dīn.

22. See Yahya, Histoire, 2, p. 540, chain 6b.

23. See Esad Efendi 1413, frontispiece. The author thanks Stephen Hirtenstein for this and manuscript information above relating to Ibn ‘Asākir.
Notes to Chapter 2

27. Ibid., p. 123. He does not appear in the index of samā‘īs, however.
28. See Yahya, Histoire, 2, p. 540, chains 6c and d.
29. See Addas, Quest for the Red Sulphur, p. 320.
31. For examples of his students, teaching and transmissions, see al-Dhababī, Dhayl ta‘rīkh al-Islām, pp. 152, 409, 455, 369; al-‘Asqalānī, al-Durar al-kāmina, 3, p. 163.
33. For the former see Ibn al-‘Irāqī, al-Dhayl ‘alā al-‘ibar, 2, p. 492 and Ibn al-‘Imād, Shadharāt al-dhahab, 6, p. 272. For the latter see al-‘Asqalānī, al-Durar al-kāmina, 4, p. 216.
37. In each case al-‘Asqalānī describes his contribution through the expression takhrīj. In relation to works of hadith this typically means ‘to quote, publish or give the isnād’ of a hadith. (It may also indicate ‘bringing out’ the implications of hadith for the rules of fiqh, encompassing an explanation of use and shortness of associated chains of transmission, and making for easy identification of hadith relevant to specific subjects.) See Roy Mottahedeh, Review of Richard W. Bulliet, The Patricians of Nishapur (Cambridge, MA, 1972), Journal of the American Oriental Society 95: 3 (1975), p. 492.
A Prayer across Time


By the term salafi we refer here to a view of Islam shaped by the defining principles of the legacy of Aḥmed Ibn Taymiya (d.1328), whose vision of Islam represented an attempt to restore the pristine faith as understood and practised by the *salaf al-ṣāliḥ* or righteous forefathers of the Islamic community. These principles served to re-establish the ultimate authority of the original Islamic texts against the accumulated Islamic tradition, to protect *tawḥīd*, uphold the absence of contradiction between revelation and reason, and establish the unity of the community. Ibn Taymiya’s call to return to a direct understanding of the Qur’an and hadith was in opposition to the invocation of Greek philosophical concepts/tools by Ash’ari and Mu’tazili theological schools (which threatened to undermine the proper relationship of reason to revelation). It was also set against unreserved following of the opinions of the *madhāhib* (legal school) founders through *taqlīd*. He rejected sectarian and *madhhab*-based divisions and denounced the excesses of popular *tasawwuf* and the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd* for its threatened undermining of *tawḥīd* and divine transcendence. Given its reformist thrust, this legacy was eventually to become a major source of inspiration for those Sunni ulama who sought to challenge the dominant culture of Ash’arism and to reform aspects of Sufi belief and practice. For a concise introduction to Ibn Taymiya’s thought and legacy, see Itzchack Weismann, *Taste of Modernity: Sufism, Salafiyya and Arabism in Late Ottoman Damascus* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 263–268. See further Henri Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taki al-Din Ahmad b. Taymiya* (Cairo, 1939).


46. Ibid., pp. 617, 554.

Notes to Chapter 2

48. See for example ibid., p.991.
49. Ibid., p.549. For further accounts of Muhammad b. Muqbil transmitting to al-Suyūtī, see pp.627, 634.
50. On the father see ibid., p.270.
51. Ibid., p.910 ff.
52. Ibid., pp.617, 911.
53. Ibid., pp.110–111, 669.
54. Ibid., p.669; al-Taysīr bi-tarājim al-Tabariyīn is also known as al-Tabyīn fī tarājim al-Ṭabarīyīn: see al-Muḥibbi, Khulāṣat al-athar, 2, p.457.
57. See also ibid. p.853.
58. Ibid., pp.755–756.
59. See ibid., pp.619, 755.
60. Ibid., pp.755–756, 677, 684.
61. See ibid. pp.756, 1125, 853, also 958–959.
63. See Michael Winter, Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt: Studies in the Writings of ‘Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha’rānī (New Brunswick, NJ, 1982), pp.54–55; EI’, 11, p.406. For autobiographical accounts transmitted from Zakariyya al-Ansārī to al-Sha’rānī and other accounts related by al-Sha’rānī concerning him, see for example al-Ghazzī, al-Kawākib al-sā’ira, 1, pp.196–198, 200–201. His early reputation for a love of the sufis, for attending their dhikr sessions and studying their works, had led his peers to suggest that he would be ‘no use’ as a faqīh: when he went on to excel in the exoteric sciences, some of them became jealous. See ibid., pp.198, 200.
65. See ibid., pp.203–204 (as al-Ghazzī puts it, ‘He understood through dhawq [spiritual ‘taste’] the words of the folk, and would explain what the people of the way said in the most perfect way, providing excellent answers concerning this if part of it appeared ambiguous to people.’); Knysy, Ibn ‘Arabī, p.212; Th. Emil Homerin, From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Farid, His Verse and His Shrine (Columbia, SC, 1994), pp.69–73; Winter, Society and Religion, pp.163–164. Yahya, Histoire, 1, p.134 lists him among the defenders of Ibn ‘Arabī.
A Prayer across Time

69. Also spelled Sha’rāwī: see Brockelmann, GAL, II, p. 441.

70. See for example Knyschna, Ibn ‘Arabī in the Later Islamic Tradition, p. 311; Winter, Society and Religion, pp. 165–172. The ‘deliberate interpolation’ hypothesis was a historical stratagem used in Islamic culture to deal with difficulties presented by certain texts from the perspective of ‘orthodoxy’. It was used to exonerate Ibn ‘Arabī, for example, by casting doubt on the attribution of the Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam to him in its extant form, on the grounds that specific problematic statements had been inserted into the text.


72. See EI’, 9, p. 316. On him see further Winter, Society and Religion.

73. See for example David Commins, Islamic Reform: Politics and Social Change in Late Ottoman Syria (New York and Oxford, 1990), p. 50; for his attitude towards the madhāhib and madhhab affiliation see Winter, Society and Religion, pp. 224, 236–241.


76. Winter, Society and Religion, pp. 99, 139–140. This was the only one of his many shaykhīs to give him such authorisation. Al-Sha’rānī expressly referred to al-Shinnāwī as al-Aḥmadī. Several of his other shaykhīs were also Aḥmadīs, associated with the Ahmadiyya, ‘the order of Aḥmad al-Badawī’: ibid., p. 98. More commonly known as the Badawīyya, this is characterised by a popular cult centred on al-Badawī, his mawlid and his tomb in Tanta, Egypt. For al-Sha’rānī’s accounts of al-Shinnāwī conversing with al-Badawī at the latter’s tomb see al-Ghazzī, al-Kawākib al-sā’ira, 1, p. 98.


78. This was Abūl-Fāṭḥ Muḥammad al-Iskandarī al-Mazzī. The account here draws on al-Ghazzī, al-Kawākib al-sā’ira, 3, pp. 3–10.


80. See Brockelmann, GAL, II, p. 514.

Notes to Chapter 2

83. See Brockelmann, GAL, II, p.514. He also wrote Risāla fi wahdāt al-wujūd: see al-Muḥibbi, Khulāṣat al-athar, 1, p.244.
84. This paragraph is based on al-Muḥibbi, Khulāṣat al-athar, 2, pp.457–464.
87. See al-Ghazzī, Lutf al-samar, 1, p.97.
90. For his works in this field see al-Ghazzī, Lutf al-samar, 1, pp.108–111.
91. See al-Muḥibbi, Khulāṣat al-athar, 4, p.199.
92. Ibid., p.200; see also al-Ghazzī, Lutf al-samar, 1, p.84.
96. Al-Muḥibbi, Khulāṣat al-athar, 1, p.345.
97. See Elż, 5, pp.525–526. On Singkel see below. Note that al-Qushāshī was centrally involved in the polemic engaged with Sīrīndī’s khāliṣā Ādam al-Banūrī during meetings in Medīna on specific points of doctrine as interpreted by Ādam. See Copty, ‘The Naqṣshbandiyya’, pp.332–337.


103. See al-Muḥîbbî, Khulāṣat al-athar, 1, p. 345.


105. Voll, ‘Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi’, p. 34.


109. Singkel became particularly close to al-Kūrānî, who gave him an ijāza to teach the Shattariyya tariqa. He was the first to introduce the tariqa to Indonesia, establishing it there as a moderate force as part of a broader reconciliation of mystics and legalists, and was thus a major influence on the revival of orthodox sufism, combined with shari’a, in Sumatra. See van Bruinessen, ‘Kurdish Ulama’, p.4; Voll, ‘Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi’, p.39; idem, ‘Abdallah Ibn Salim al-Basîr’, p.370; Anthony Johns, Islam in Southeast Asia: Problems and Perspectives, in C. D. Cowan and O. W. Walters, eds., Southeast Asian History and Historiography: Essays Presented to D. G. E. Hall (Ithaca, NY, 1976), pp. 314–319.


111. Al-Kūrānî responded himself and also asked his student Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rasūl al-Barzanjî to respond. The latter wrote two treatises (dated 1682 and 1683) severely criticising Sirhindi: these were endorsed by leading ulama of the Hijaz, who agreed unanimously that Sirhindi’s ideas amounted to serious deviation. (It is unlikely, however, that al-Kūrānî would have agreed that Sirhindi be labelled an unbeliever [kāfir]: see Copty, ‘The Naqshbandiyya’, pp.338–345, which also illuminates the political context of the Indian request for a fatwa, and the interests of the Sharif of Mecca in his relations with the Mughal ruler.) Many more works of the same kind appear to have been written in the context of this controversy over Sirhindi’s views: see further Yohanan Freidmann, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi: An Outline of his Thought

On Sirhindi, who projected himself as the renovator of the second millennium and sought to replace the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd* with that of *wahdat al-shuhūd*, mounting a comprehensive reformist challenge to the *tariqas* aimed at reconciling *tasawwuf* with the shari’a and reinstating the centrality of the Sunna, see further Muhammad Abdul Haq Ansari, *Sufism and Shari’ah: A Study of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi’s Efforts to Reform Sufism* (Leicester, 1986).

Nafi, ‘Tasawwuf and Reform’, pp. 324–235, 247 points out that when al-Kūrānī joined the Naqshbandiyya through al-Qushāshī this was not through the Sirhindi line: later in his career, however, his students were initiated through this line.


114. As Nafi, ‘Tasawwuf and Reform’ pp. 323–324 points out, al-Kūrānī’s view of Ibn Taymiyya was positively influenced by his main Damascene teacher, Hanbali mufti and the most eminent Hanbali ’ālim in Damascus at the time, ’Abd al-Baqi Taqī al-Dīn b. Mawāhib al-Ḥanbali (d.1070/1660). See also idem, ‘He was a Teacher’.

In relation to issues of *kalām* and late Ash’arism, Nafi surveys al-Kūrānī’s treatment of such questions as the Qur’an and the divine speech, the attributes of God, and the concept of *kasb* (acquisition of actions), pointing out where he parted company with late Ash’ari dogma and declared his adherence to the salafi position, at the same time serving the end of rehabilitating the latter in dominant sufi–Ash’ari circles. See Nafi, ‘Tasawwuf and Reform’, pp. 330–334, 339–342. He suggests that, in rejecting corporeity, anthropomorphism and allegorical interpretation, al-Kūrānī effectively constructed ‘a salafi foundation for Sufism’. See ibid. p. 337. For details of al-Kurānī’s views on *wahdat al-wujūd*, which amount to ‘an attempt to legitimate [it] not only in the eyes of the strict Muslim but even in the eyes of the…salafi’, see ibid. pp. 337–338.

It is noteworthy that ’Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī disagreed profoundly with al-Kūrānī’s (strongly salafi) view regarding the issue of *kasb*: see von Schlegell, *Sufism*, p. 19 n.51. For other reactions to his views on free will, see El-Rouayheb, ‘Opening the Gate’, p. 281 n. 86.

Note finally an *ijāza* and advice from al-Kūrānī addressed to specific individuals (dated AH 1095 and 1096, respectively) concerning their perusal of Ibn ‘Arabī’s works.
A Prayer across Time

and the issue of reading these with/to others. He clarifies the attitude and approach appropriate to a beneficial and blessed reading and discussion of Ibn 'Arabi’s words (viz., bi-shart al-îmân bi'l-mutashâbihât ma’a laya kamithlihi shay’), warning that holding rigidly to the belief of the theologians (mutakallimûn) in such reading will be fruitless. Thus, if they find someone with the right attitude (idhâ ra’aytum ahdan yu’min bi’l-mutashâbihât al-qur’ânîya wa’l-tanzîh), then it is fine to read with him. See A 3239 [University of Istanbul Library], fol. 151a.


118. His Dhakhâ’ir al-mawârîth fî’l-dâlâla ‘alâ mawâdî’ al-ahâdîth set out all the books of sound hadith collections by the first transmitters’ names: see von Schlegell, Sufism, p. 3.

119. Ibid., p. 49.


121. See von Schlegell, Sufism, pp. 33, 43, 250–251. Al-Nâbulusi explicitly mentioned in relation to al-Futûhât al-Makkîya that he had inner (bâtini) paths of transmission which he could not make public.

122. See ibid., p. 8.


125. On him see Nafi, ‘He was a Teacher’; Voll, ‘Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi’.


Notes to Chapter 2


131. Note that in chain (B) ‘al-Ḥanafi’ is a misreading of al-Ḥifnī by the copyist. The same copyist misreads al-Bakrī as al-Kubrā.


Al-Dardayr introduced certain changes to the litany of the Khalwati *ṭariqa*, incorporating into this his *Ṣalawāt* and *Manzūma* (see ch. 1 n. 4). These changes were retained by most of the *ṭariqa* branches that emerged later. See de Jong, Mustafa Kamal al-Din al-Bakri, pp. 127, 132 n. 82.


134. Al-Murāḍī, *Silk al-durar*, 4, p. 102. The Wadi Tafilat in the southeast region of Morocco was the centre of the Kharijite emirate centred on Sijilmassa (8th–9th centuries CE). The Idrisid dynasty originated from this region.


136. B; A 4305 [University of Istanbul Library] is another copy (40 fols.) apparently dated AH 1273.


143. Son of an important notable family of Damascus.

144. C, fols. 2b–3a.


146. Al-Bitar, *Hīyat al-baṣar*, 1, p. 3.

A Prayer across Time


149. See Yahya, Histoire, 2, pp. 540–541.


Khālid al-Naqṣbandī (1776–1826) was born in Shahrazur in northern Iraq. He studied there, in Damascus and the Hijaz and travelled to Delhi, where he studied with the leading Naqṣbandī master, who gave him an ijang and an instruction to spread the tarīqa in the Ottoman lands. His successes in this during the first part of the 19th century (he appointed at least 67 khalīfās among Kurds, Turks and Arabs) were such that the line he initiated became known as the Naqṣbandiyā-Khalidiyya (or Mujaddidiyya-Khalidiyya). He lived consecutively in Sulaymaniyya, Baghdad and Damascus. On him see Albert H. Hourani, Sufism and Modern Islam: Mawlana Khalid and the Naqṣbandi Order, in Hourani, ed., The Emergence of the Modern Middle East (London, 1981), pp. 75–89; Weismann, Taste of Modernity, chs. 1–2; van Bruinessen, ‘Kurdish ’Ulama’, pp. 9–10; Butrus Abu-Manneh, ‘Salafiyyya and the Rise of the Khalidiyya in Baghdad in the Early Nineteenth Century’, Die Welt des Isams 43:3 (2003), pp. 364–367.

151. In chain [A] Amīn al-Jundī refers to his father simply as Muḥammad Efendi al-Jundī, while his note at the end of the commentary identifies his father as ‘Muḥammad Saʿīd Efendi min sulālat ʿĀl Ramaḍān b. al-ḥajj Isḥāq Efendi al-muṭṭī ḍi maḍīnāt Aṭaṇa [al-astānai?] ḍi-mā maḍā min al-zamān.’ (A, fol. 52a) He also signs himself in the same place as ‘Jundī Zāde Muḥammad Amīn al-ʿAbbās al-muṭṭī bi-Dimashq’. Al-Bitar, Ḥilyat al-bashar, 1, p. 343 confirms Amīn’s descent from al-ʿAbbās, the Prophet’s uncle, and includes in his full name a mention of Isḥāq thus: Amīn Efendi b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Isḥāq b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Jundī al-Maʿarrī. (Note the existence of a near contemporary also named Amīn b. Muḥammad Saʿīd in al-Bitar, Ḥilyat al-bashar, 1, p. 342.)


On the thought of the Amir ʿAbd al-Qādir and the Akbari awakening among the ulama of Damascus associated with him, see Michel Chodkiewicz, The Spiritual Writings of Amir ʿAbd al-Kader (Albany, NY, 1995); Weismann, Taste of Modernity, chs. 5–6; Commins, Islamic Reform, pp. 26–30: on his rescue of Christians, p. 28.

153. See al-Kattani, Fihris al-fuḥāris, p. 1137; R. S. O’Fahey, Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad b. Idris and the Idrisi Tradition (London, 1990), p. 66 n. 44. There is some confusion in the literature surrounding this man. Al-Kattani records a Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Saʿīd Sunbul al-Makkī [index and e.g. pp. 364, 805, 1147], but also gives a Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Saʿīd Sunbul al-Madani [e.g. pp. 199, 694], as given also by O’Fahey. (In places, al-Kattani refers simply to a Muḥammad Ṭāhir Sunbul. To add to the confusion, al-Bitar, Ḥilyat al-bashar, 2, p. 747 gives a Ṭāhir b. Saʿīd Sunbul
known as ‘Sunbul al-Dimashqî’ (1150–1218): see also 3, p.1325, where he gives Muḥammad b. Saʿīd Sunbul (d.1218). The verification in the literature of the existence of a Muḥammad Ṭāhīr b. Saʿīd Sunbul of the Hijaz, who transmitted from his father and to Yāsīn al-Mīrganī, is ultimately what concerns us: al-Kattani’s crucial reference gives Yāsīn transmitting from Ṭāhīr without specifying whether he is al-Makkī or al-Madanī: see p.1137. On his association with the Mīrganī family, see O’Fahey, Enigmatic Saint, pp.65–66.


157. See O’Fahey, Enigmatic Saint, pp.93, 132–133, 143 n.34. See further al-Kattani, Fihris al-fahāris, pp.103, 122, 197, 253, 557, 904, 906 and 1143.

158. On this transmission, see for example al-Kattani, Fihris al-fahāris, p.1137.


160. A second printing is entitled K. al-Ṭawr al-aghlā fī sharḥ al-Dawr al-a’lā (Cairo, n.d.).


162. See D, front page and p.159, for example. His own shaykh was reportedly a Shadhili namesake of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Shārānī, whom al-Qāwūqjī admired greatly and whom he projected as an important link in chains of Shadhili teachers: see Winter, Society and Religion, pp.70, 88. He also wrote Barwāriq al-anwār al-jāliya fī asānid al-sādāt al-shāfiyya: al-Kattani, Fihris al-fahāris, p.254.


164. See Chamberlain, Knowledge and Social Practice, p.89.

165. See for example ibid., pp.109–110.

166. The principle of the pre-eminent value attached to oral testimony in Islamic culture was maintained from early times through an increasingly elastic application of the ijāza to transmissions that could not be guaranteed by direct study of the text transmitted and the effective meeting between a transmitter and a receiver capable of understanding the text (which could often require a considerable period of companionship between the two). While early authorities such as al-Shāfī’ī expressed serious reservations concerning this, ijāzas that did not denote a genuine authentication of learning actually accomplished became widely accepted in practice. The ‘child ijāza’ is one of several such categories: others are ijāzas granted to children still unborn or for works yet to be written; those obtained through a casual encounter or short,
unplanned interview; those requested and granted through correspondence without any actual meeting between the authority and the receiver (signalling an ‘approval’ of existing knowledge rather than actual transmission), and the ‘general ijāza’ encompassing an entire oeuvre and typically granted without the actual hearing of texts. See ‘Idjaza’, EI’, 3, pp.1020–1022; further von Schlegell, Sufism, pp.53, 125–128; Richard W. Bulliet, The Patricians of Nishapur (Cambridge, MA, 1972), p.50. Note that by focusing on the ijāza as an authentication of knowledge acquired through transmission based on the direct study of a text and the effective meeting between a transmitter and a receiver capable of understanding it (and designating all other kinds of ijāza in contrast as ‘formulaic’ or ‘fictitious’), there is a danger of neglecting other dimensions of its significance and role. Highlighted here, these other dimensions come to the fore in the case of a small prayer such as the Darw, which required neither great feats of understanding nor a lengthy spell of companionship and direct study.


167. To give another example, when the historian ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Abū Shāma’s son died aged eight, his father wrote that he had taken him to hear hadith and other texts from over one hundred and seventy shaykh. See Chamberlain, Knowledge and Social Practice, p.140. Fathers would take their sons to shaykh for baraka. In hadith transmission, they might take them very young to the oldest shaykh in order to shorten the chain between them and the Prophet, raising concerns that ‘one’s shaykh and their shaykh were too young to understand the content of what they transmitted’. See ibid., p.139; cf. Bulliet, The Patricians of Nishapur, pp.50–51, emphasising that ‘the most important educational link was between the child and the old man’. In general, the insertion of young people into chains of transmission formed a central part of their initiation into the culture of the learned elite. See Chamberlain, Knowledge and Social Practice, pp.88, 118–119, 124–125, 139–140.

168. Compare, for example, with Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī’s general ijāza, received from his father Badr al-Dīn who died when he was seven, in all 41 of Zakariyā al-Anṣārī’s works. See al-Ghazzī, al-Kawākib al-sā‘ira, 1, p.202.

169. As a general point, young people in medieval Damascus were cautioned against ‘taking texts as shaykh’ and were urged to read only under the personal supervision of a shaykh: among other things, this would link them with all those who had transmitted the text before them, conferring on them the baraka of the line of transmission. See Chamberlain, Knowledge and Social Practice, pp.138–139, 141–142, 148.

170. See Yahya, Histoire, 2, Addenda B and D.

171. The same chain from Ibn ‘Arabī to al-Suyūṭī appears in al-Kattani’s description of one route via which he transmits all of Ibn ‘Arabī’s works (and all that the latter himself transmitted): see Fihris al-fāhāris, p.319.
172. The chain from al-Qushâshî back to Zakarîyâ al-Ansârî appears also in an ijāsa in al-Qushâshî’s hand for the Šāhîh: see al-Kattani, Fihris al-fahâris, p. 971.


174. In this context the possibility of this being shorthand for a direct, unwysi connection to Ibn ‘Arâbî is greatly weakened by the specific phraseology used.

175. See Addas, Quest for the Red Sulphur, p. 320.


177. It has been argued that the travels of ulama combined with the wide influence of sufi tariqas to make the 18th century in particular a time of increasing cosmopolitan interaction in parts of the Muslim world. See Levzioni and Voll, Introduction, in Levzioni and Voll, eds., Eighteenth-Century Islamic Renewal and Reform, p. 5.

178. The Haramayn were an important meeting place given their central location and the requirement for the pilgrimage, but scholars and students also came there from all parts of the Muslim world specifically to teach and study: rich exchange took place there among scholars, particularly in Medina. See ibid., p. 7; Voll, ‘Hadith Scholars and Tariqahs’, pp. 264 ff. As Copty, ‘The Naqshbandiyya’, pp. 321–322 details, the reputation of the Haramayn as centres of learning was enhanced as a result of Mamluk and Ottoman support for institutions and positions associated with both ‘ilm and tasawwuf.

179. As well as serving as gateways to the Haramayn, Cairo and Damascus were important centres of learning in their own right.

180. On general patterns of communication and interaction among scholars at this time, see Levzioni and Voll, Introduction, p. 8.

spread there of originally non-Arab ẓuruq, such as the Naqshbandiyya and the Khalwatiyya.

182. McGregor, Sanctity and Sainthood, p. 74 points to the Wafá’iyya’s emergence from the Shadhiliyya as a case in point.

183. Note that he also appears in chains attached to al-Futūḥat al-Makkīya: see Yahya, Histoire, 2, p. 540, 6b and 6d ii.


The affiliation of several of these ulama to the Naqshbandiyya is noteworthy: Medina was a major centre for the ṭarihqa during the 17th century. See van Bruinessen, ‘Shari’a Court’, p. 179; Voll, ‘Hadith Scholars and Tariqahs’, p. 268; Copty, ‘The Naqshbandiyya’, p. 322. While one cannot generalise about this ṭarihqa as a whole, it was to develop a strong tradition of reform at least through the Mujaddidi line. On attitudes towards Ibn ‘Arabī in the ṭarihqa prior to Sirhindī, see Hamid Algar, ‘Reflections of Ibn ‘Arabī in Early Naqshbandi Tradition’, JMLAS X (1991), pp. 45–66.

186. See Algar, ‘Reflections of Ibn ‘Arabī’, p. 60. On his legacy, see Weismann, Taste of Modernity, ch. 2. As Abu-Manneh, ‘Salafiyyah’ demonstrates, Shaykh Khalīd’s call came substantially as a reaction (and challenge) to the expansion in Baghdad of an at least partly Wahhabi-inspired Salafi worldview. He provided an alternative religious path for the community, projected as better reflecting the substance of Islam than Salafi beliefs alone (as embodied in the city’s rising Salafi trend). Shaykh Khalīd was heir to the legacy of Shāh Wālī Allāh, ‘whose belief in wahdat al-wujūd did not stop him from writing a treatise on the virtues of Ibn Taymīya and embracing a range of his ideas’. See Nafi, ‘Abu al-Thana’ al-Alusi’, p. 488.


189. Such a line of enquiry might also be pursued by expanding the characterisation of contemporary users summarised earlier.
Many who have presented or transmitted the prayer during the last four hundred years have emphasised the importance of reciting it diligently and of taking it, as one puts it, ‘as a regular practice (wird)? Several recommend that it be recited every morning and evening, and some in the morning only. Others add that it should also be recited in times of difficulty or distress. One way to encourage regular reading has been to tie the prayer to the Awrād, as in some ijāzas associated with it among certain contemporary sufi circles discussed earlier. In one copy the prayer is integrated into a daily/nightly reading cycle, repeated fourteen times: an opening prayer (ḥizb iftitāḥ), a numbered interface text (ḥisār), Ibn ‘Arabi’s wirk for the day/night, the Dawr and a concluding prayer (ḥizb al-ikhtitām). Other copies incorporate it after the full complement of the Awrād: where this is not the case, the owner of an Awrād copy sometimes adds it by hand at the end. Yet there are many more cases where the prayer is not associated with the Awrād, and several copies offer specific advice concerning what should be recited before and after it without reference to the Awrād. Such recommendations typically encompass the ṣalawāt, invocations of Divine Names and formulae emphasising God’s unique power, but there are many variations.

In more substantial treatments recommendations concerning recitation of the prayer are intertwined with a detailing of its special properties (khawāss), for the latter are activated only through its proper use. Commentators and copyists outdo each other in
I ask Allāh...that [the prayer] may benefit whoever recites it with sincerity and firm inner belief, and that it may achieve their desired end for whoever perseveres in the benefits it contains, for He is the One who Bestows with Noble Generosity, the One who Knows the condition of those who recite. Whoever uses what is in the prayer or recites it with complete inner belief may achieve their desired goal, but whoever recites it or uses its benefits while raising objections will gain nothing but distress and corruption. I include...some of the benefits of this great prayer, in respect to which the response will never fail provided that one has a pure heart. Among its benefits are the following:

Whoever reads it regularly and diligently morning and evening need not fear poverty, blindness or broken bones. He will be in God’s secure custody en route and at rest on land and at sea. He need not fear beasts of prey, loss of his possessions, accidents, aches and pains, illnesses, shadow companions (male and female), disobedient and insolent jinn, or malicious storm demons. He need not fear the arrows of war, for he will always be victorious, never defeated. He need not fear any kind of enemy, human or jinn. He need not fear highway robbers, for Allāh will rip to utter shreds anyone who stands against him. If the one who recites the prayer boards a ship, he need not fear harm or malady, being taken captive, drowning, or any epidemic, be it airborne or earth-bound, on land or at sea, nor the ship being holed and torn apart.

Whoever recites the prayer will be safe from enemies and evil oppressors and from all the unjust and envious in all the worlds. He will be respected and well-liked by all who see him, and they will be unable to endure being away from him. He will be like the sun and the moon among the stars: the heavenly and
Properties

earthly worlds will love him all his life. He will be protected from migraine, headache, throbbing and shooting pain, tooth, ear, eye and stomach ache, facial palsy, hemiplegia, convulsions, and every malady that afflicts humankind. He will be protected from devilish insinuations and thoughts, will have pleasant dreams, and will see only what gladdens him in all his days.

Whoever recites [the prayer] will be released from imprisonment, constraint and captivity, especially if his reciting is deep-rooted and strong. [Reciting the prayer] makes childbirth easy for the divorcee, and through it every pressing need is met. It removes fevers and chills, and brings home strays and runaways. It reminds one of the Testimony of Faith (shahāda) at the time of death, and helps one in the questioning of the two angels, and in the fear caused by sudden death. It awakens the heart from the slumber of heedlessness, and helps in sincere repentance and in erasing one’s lapses and errors. It elevates one to the highest stations, in this world and after death. It preserves one from association with the Evil One and from the serious afflictions that affect babies. It safeguards the one who recites it from all kinds of jinn, from colic and neuralgia, and from all winds, especially the ill wind of the evening and morning. It protects against the sting of scorpions and the bite of vipers and snakes, against infectious diseases and plague, and whatever harms humankind. It thwarts black magic and all machinations, and the knots of ill-intent. It repels from whoever recites it the army and soldiers of the enemy, bequeaths the memorising of knowledge and the meanings of the glorious Qur’an, and preserves the heart and mind from thoughts [insinuated by] the accursed [Satan]. If recited after ‘aṣr it removes misery and poverty, especially if surat al-Wāqi‘a is recited too, because this saara is an irresistible force.

We have mentioned just some of the benefits: strive for them, you who have freed yourself from bondage to habits. Benefit is in accordance with sincerity, faithfulness and firm inner belief; lack of benefit results from distrust and ignominious objecting.
The one who firmly believes will be in enduring felicity in this world, in the isthmus (barzakh) and on the Appointed Day, while the one who raises objections will be in a painful torment: hell suffices for him, an evil resting place.

These results arise only through the [spiritual] breaths (al-anfâs), that is, by receiving [instruction regarding] them from Masters of Wisdom (al-sâda al-akyâs). If someone is without these [spiritual] breaths, it is as if he builds a wall without a foundation. However, if he can’t find a perfect one (al-kâmîl), then he should make pure his intention in this matter, and perhaps he will acquire some of these benefits, if his innermost intention is good. What we have mentioned is sufficient for those who seek, and the [prayer’s] benefits are not hidden from the perfect ones.

Many of the properties detailed above and in comparable lists reflect the preoccupations of a pre-modern world in which forces of nature, often attributed to active but imperceptible spirits such as the jinn, were a potent reminder of the precariousness of human life. Special liturgical texts attributed to various saints of early and medieval Islam served at the front line in the effort to ward off these threats to life and limb, by subduing such forces. They could also be used to neutralise the potential hostility or harmful intentions of jinn in any other circumstances, as indeed those of fellow men. The protective power attributed to such texts conferred a talismanic character upon them, reflected in the sense which has become attached to terms such as ḥizb and hîrz commonly used to designate them (and in the instructions for use that often accompany them). The power or baraka of such texts is perceived to derive from that which inheres in the Qur’anic verses, salawât (and sometimes muqâtta’ât or letter clusters prefacing certain sûras) they encompass. The saintly stature of their authors confers a particular efficacy upon them, for it is believed that the prayers of a saint are more likely to be heard. As inspired compositions bestowed only upon saintly figures, such texts indeed serve as vehicles for their authors’ spiritual authority and, of more immediate interest to the supplicant, for the unique inter-
cessory potential that flows from their closeness to God as His friends.

Taking its place in this liturgical arsenal, the *Dawr* appears along-
side a wide range of other protective prayers in our sources, no-
tably the *ahzāb* of Abū’l-Hasan al-Shādhili and the *hirz* of Abū Madyan, but also less well-known prayers with properties of heal-
ing or defending against the plague, for example. Commentators
draw out the protective potential of the *Dawr* by sketching talisms
and ‘magic squares’ with words, letters and numbers: these repres-
ent individual verses, and are often accompanied by details of their
specific uses. Copyists enhance this protective quality by inserting
additional supplications with protective force. While most of our
sources stress the importance of *reciting* the prayer if its protective
and other benefits are to be enjoyed, the talismanic character of the
text is highlighted by the latest of our commentators, al-Qāwuqjī,
who suggests that such benefits accrue from simply carrying the
text. The dead, too, can benefit, he adds, for if it is buried with them
they will be protected from the torment of the grave.

As al-Dāmūnī’s list makes clear, the prayer’s powers also encom-
pass the materialisation of ‘positive’ effects with regard to relations
in the world, in particular the awakening of esteem and affection
in people’s hearts. Some mention that it can bring forth obedience ‘in
both earthly and heavenly realms’ to whoever recites it. Other lists
add to this the power to facilitate exigencies of buying, selling and
other kinds of transaction. Of particular interest to those who travel
the spiritual journey of *tasawwuf*, further benefits are reflected in
the prayer’s title. One copyist thus offers the following version of this:
*Hizb al-wiqāya li-man arāda al-wilāya*, ‘prayer of protection for one
who strives for close friendship [with God]’. Commentators and
copyists repeat that people of verification who are sincere in service
have ‘tried and tested’ the prayer’s special properties. Through their
pure, elevated spiritual resolution (*himmā*), they have experienced its
benefits and witnessed uncountable secrets.

According to commentators and copyists, the prayer is thus ‘an
eternal secret’: it is ‘a sharp sword’ that emanates from ‘the most
secret of affairs’. As in the case of other prayers, they attribute the powers of the Dawr to the Qur’anic verses and Divine Names it encompasses. The benefits associated with both elements are explained, but commentators pay particular attention to the Divine Names, citing well-known Qur’anic and hadith texts that urge use of these in supplication and detail the benefits that are associated with them. As al-Dāmūnī puts it, the Names are thus ‘the door – indeed the keys to the locked doors, and they encompass a speedy response for anyone who orients his heart to his Lord.’ Al-Tāfilātī repeats a caution advanced by scholar-mystics that the Divine Names should be used not for the exclusive end of earthly fortune, but out of pure obedience to His command to use them in supplication. Thus entrusting matters to God, he explains, it becomes possible for one to succeed in worshipping Him as the goal, and in having one’s earthly requests met consequentially.

Like al-Dāmūnī, most commentators and copyists single out as a sine qua non for actualising the prayer’s benefits the sincerity of the reader’s intention, and their purity of heart. Some explicitly add to this the need, to which al-Dāmūnī alludes, for ‘permission from a guide (murshid) perfect in knowledge and conduct’. In the absence of such guidance, however, recitation of the prayer is still encouraged (with pure intention), as is the hope for actualising at least some of its potential benefits. This suggests that such recitation without a specific ijāza was countenanced, in evidence and perhaps even relatively widespread by the late 18th century, adumbrating popularisation of the prayer in the following centuries.

The text and its contents

It seems more appropriate in discussing a prayer like the Dawr to think in terms of a stable text and its variants, rather than a critical edition. As a living text in constant use, versions displaying small differences have become established as equally acceptable across time, reflecting a cumulative process of variation taking place at the
The text and its contents

interface between oral transmission and committing to writing, and possibly compounded by the operation of personal preference and tricks of memory. The variants of which they are aware (which they may have discovered in written copies they have surveyed) have indeed been carefully marked by some who have presented the prayer in the last few centuries, pointing to a conviction of the equal validity and prayerful importance of each of these. At the same time, copyists and commentators implicitly showcase their own ‘personal’ text, which they may have received through an authorisation from a shaykh.

Towards establishing a stable text of the prayer and identifying accepted variations in this we surveyed a wide range of written copies, in the hope of building a picture of how it has been recorded (and thus recited) and transmitted through the last four centuries. There are numerous differences in these copies: perhaps somewhat surprisingly, these also touch the Qur’anic content. In some cases this reflects a legitimate Qur’anic alternative, but in others it must be attributed to inaccuracy of presentation. Many apparent textual differences in prayer copies can of course be put down to errors of hearing, memorisation, reading or copying, but there are also interpolations, some pious, others explanatory in character. We do not mention each and every difference in the notes accompanying the text, as is often done in critical editions. As our target is a text we hope may serve as a ‘standard’ version that is readily usable, only significant and interesting differences felt to constitute genuine variations are recorded. In preparing the text the aim was to bring out in the best possible form the meanings of the prayer and the sentiments that infuse it, while paying due attention to internal structure and consistency (both of the overall text and its individual verses), literary dimensions, and aspects of auditory texture like rhythm and fluency.

One might legitimately ask why it is worthwhile to produce such a text. First, from a devotional perspective it can be important for those who use the prayer to be confident of reciting an authentic and accurate text. Differences between printed versions specifically (i.e.
those actually in use today for devotional purposes) reviewed by the present author may not appear great, but they are significant enough to be noteworthy. Moreover, there are grammatical errors and spelling inaccuracies in several of these. Second, the identification of a stable text makes possible a well-founded mapping in the prayer of characteristic motifs and subtleties of its author’s perspective.

The text we present is based on thirteen copies set out in the Appendix, all but one of them in the form of unpublished manuscripts. These are the most important of the copies reviewed, selected for their association with a chain of transmission, a specific date (paying particular attention to the earliest specifically), or a known figure.\textsuperscript{51} Two further copies with full vowels were closely consulted for clarity. Five of the copies used arise in commentaries on the prayer. Particular care must be exercised in working with these as the greater volume of text involved can make it more likely for the copyist (or scribe) to introduce errors.\textsuperscript{52}

The \emph{Dawr} has thirty-three verses, suggesting the image of the traditional string of prayer-beads (\textit{tasbīḥ}; \textit{subḥa}). Its recitation also evokes the image of a necklace: Divine Name pairs and Qur’anic texts form focal points of precious stones, strung together and set off by supplications and rhythmic word chains. Each verse begins with the invocation of two Divine Names and ends in Allāh, the Complete or Unifying Name (\textit{al-īsm al-jāmī‘}), with which the prayer as a whole also begins (\textit{Allāhummā}).\textsuperscript{53} Within each prayer verse the Names invoked, the specific object of the supplication and the Qur’anic text are integrated, the latter (more precisely its Qur’anic context) effectively furnishing an illustrative and explanatory scenario for the former.

As Qur’anic texts and invocations of Divine Names form the prayer’s outstanding features, the notes that accompany the translation elaborate on these areas specifically.\textsuperscript{54} Where this is not given in the prayer we provide the full Qur’anic verse, indicating how the author of the prayer has quoted this.\textsuperscript{55} We detail the immediate context of each Qur’anic text quoted, making it possible to elaborate the relationship between this and the specific object of supplication.
The notes also identify Names invoked that do not derive from the traditional list of ninety-nine, pointing up those among them that can be found in the Qur’an.

In rendering the Names into English we have drawn on Ibn ‘Arabi’s explication of these in his *Kashf al-ma‘na ‘an asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā.* Here he provides a threefold elaboration of the qualities of each Name as the servant might relate to them: first, from the perspective of the servant who has ‘absolute need’ for these qualities, since they denote the Essence (*al-ta‘alluq*); second, a spiritual knowledge and realisation of the meanings of these qualities as they relate to the Divine Himself and as they relate to the servant (*al-tahāqquq*); and third, in the manifestation of these qualities in the servant in a manner appropriate to the servant, just as they appear in Him (*al-takhalluq*). To bring out this understanding of the qualities of the Names it was necessary in several cases to provide extended meanings in the translation, given in square brackets. Beyond this, a few such brackets are also used as an aid to accuracy and clarity in rendering the sense of the original (including some Qur’anic texts) into English.

With respect to the prayer’s Qur’anic content, over a third of the Qur’anic texts incorporated take the form of a direct divine address to a prophet, or appear on the tongue of a prophet. Moses (*Mūsā*) features most frequently among them, but there are also utterances by Abraham (*Ibrāhīm*) and Joseph (*Yūsuf*), for example. Prayer verse 13, which incorporates part of a Qur’anic verse concerning Joseph, serves to illustrate the rich and subtle composition which shapes the prayer text, while pointing also to the operation of different levels of meaning within it. Taken from the story of Joseph in *sūrat Yūsuf*, the Qur’anic verse in question tells of the impact of Joseph’s stunning beauty on the women invited by the wife of the Egyptian in whose employ he was. They had been whispering maliciously that she had been soliciting him, but when they saw him they were so astounded that they cut their hands with the knives provided for the banquet to which she had invited them. The verse ends with their exclamation ‘This is no mortal; he is no other than a
noble angel!’ In verse 13 of the prayer, the supplicant solicits a vision of the Divine Beauty, as in the vision experienced by the women of the beauty embodied by Joseph. The request is addressed through the Names of Majesty (invoking explicitly the Names al-‘Jalīl and al-Kabīr), so that through them the Divine Beauty will descend in His Solicitous Majesty. Verse 13 thus alludes to an experience of utter awe in the face of Beauty which discloses the Divine Majesty, Perfection and Solicitude (ījālāl, ikmāl, iqbal).\(^6\) The framing of the request in terms of the metaphor of ‘clothing with a robe’ resonates immediately with Joseph’s own ‘cloak of many colours’, but also with the khīrqa or sufi mantle, a symbol of those Perfect Servants in whom the divine qualities appear through the mysteries of takhallūq referred to above.

Regarding the literary style of the prayer, while it is impossible to emulate the original an effort has been made to retain characteristic features of this in translation, particularly those relating to auditory texture. These include the ending of each of the prayer’s verses in ‘Allāh’,\(^6\) and the frequent multiple word chains. In the latter case repeated word patterns that help build rhythm (using particular forms of the verbal noun, for example) cannot be repeated in translation.\(^6\)

It remains finally to underline the embedded-ness of the prayer text (like other works of Ibn ‘Arabī) in the universe of traditional Muslim piety, a universe ultimately rooted in the revealed text with its leitmotifs of man’s utter dependence and vulnerability, and the potential nobility of his aspirations and destiny.
TRANSLATION AND ARABIC TEXT
The Most Elevated Cycle
that brings one close to
Every Station of The Most High

by
Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn
Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-ʿArabī
الدَّوْرُ الأَعْلَى
المُقَرَّبٌ إِلَى كُلٍّ مَقَامٍ الأَعْلَى

للشيخ محي الدين محمد بن علي بن العربي

تحقيق سهى التاجي الفاروقي
The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

In the Name of Allāh, the All-Compassionate, the Most Merciful

1. O Allāh! O You who are the Ever-Living, the Self-Subsisting! In You I establish my protection: shelter me with the shielding, protective sufficiency and safeguarding, the reality and proof, the stronghold and security of In the Name of Allāh.64

2. Admit me, O You who are the First and Last, to the hidden domain of the unknowable, secret and encompassing treasure of As Allāh wills! There is no power save in Allāh.65

3. Unfurl over me, O You who choose Clemency [over censure], who Veil in Protection,66 the sheltering wing, the covering veil, the preservation and deliverance of Hold fast to the bond of Allāh.67

4. Build around me, O You who are the All-Encompassing,68 the All-Powerful, the secure, encircling wall, the glorious canopy, the might and majesty of That is better, that is of the signs of Allāh.69

5. Place me under Your protection, O You who are Observant [of all needs] and Responsive [to all requests]: preserve my soul and faith, my family and children, my home and estate, through the watchfulness, protectiveness and timely relief and assistance of But [Satan] will not hurt them anything, save by the leave of Allāh.70
Translation and Arabic text

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَانِ الرَّحِيمِ

للهِ يَا حَيٌّ يَا قَيُومَ بَلْ تَحْصَّنَتْ فَاحْمَنِي بِحَمَائِي كِفَآيَةً وَقَآيَةً حَقِيقَةً

بِرَحْمَانِ حَرْزِ آمَانِ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ

وَأَدْخِلْنِي يَا أَوْلِيَ الْحَقِّ أَحَدًا مَّكْتَنُنَّ غَيْبَ سَرِّ دَايِرَةَ كِنْزٍ مَّا شَاءَ اللَّهُ لَا قَوَّةَ

بَلْ بِاللَّهِ

وُاسِبْ عَلَيْ يَا حَلِيمِ يَا سَتَارُ كَنْفِ سَبْرِ حَجَابِ صِيَانَةٍ نَجَاةً

وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحِجَابِ اللَّهِ

وَأَبْنِ يَا مُحِيطٌ يَا قَادِرٌ عَلَيْ سُوَى آمَانَ احْتَاطَةٍ مَّجِدٍ سَرَادِقٍ عَزِ

عَظْمَةُ ذَلِكَ خَيرٌ يَذَلِكُ مِنْ آيَاتِ اللَّهِ

وَأُعَدَّنِي يَا رَقِيبُ يَا مُجِيبُ وَأَحْرِسْنِي فِي نَفْسِي وَدُنْبِي وَأَهْلِي

وَوَلَدِي وَدُلَّى وَمَالِي وَمَالِي فِي نَكْلَاءَ اِعْتَاصَةً اِعْتَصَةً وَلَسْ بِمَضَارِعِهِمْ شَيْئًا أَلَّا

بِذَنِّ اللَّهِ

---

1. A: word missing. B: missing but gives as alternative
2. D omits ذاك خير but gives as alternative
3. Order of the last four words varies, some omit مالي or داري
4. D, E and M add اعتائة
5. D: وما هم بمضارين به من أحد (Q.102:2)
The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

6. Shield me, O You who Protect [from corruption] and Repel [all evil],\(^1\) by Your Names, Verses and Words, from the evil of Satan and of the powerful, such that if an oppressor or tyrant treats me unjustly, he will be taken by an *enveloping chastisement of Allāh.*\(^2\)

7. Deliver me, O You who Abase [those who would set themselves above You] and who Avenge [without pardon], from Your iniquitous slaves who wrong me and from their minions, such that if one of them intends me ill, Allāh will forsake him, *Setting a seal upon his hearing and his heart, and laying a cover on his seeing. Who then will guide him, after Allāh?*\(^3\)

8. Protect me, O You who Seize and Vanquish, from their treacherous deception: repel them from me censured, driven away in blame and routed, through the damaging, corrupting and destruction in *And there was no host to help him, apart from Allāh.*\(^4\)

9. Let me taste, O You who are Ever Glorified and Praised,\(^5\) Ever Sanctified and Holy, the sweet delight and intimate converse of *Come forward and fear not; for surely you are among those who are secure*\(^6\) in the shelter of Allāh.
Translation and Arabic text

6 وَقَنَّى يَا مَارِيُّ يَا دَافِعُ ۖ يَاسِمَاتُكَ وَآيَاتُكَ وَكُلُّ مَا تَسْتَقِيمُ شَرِّ الشَّيْطَانِ
والسَّلَّطَانُ فَأَنَّ طَالِمٍ أوُجِبَ بِغِيَّٰلِيَةَ أَحْدِهِ غَاشِيَةً مِّنْ عَذَابِ اللَّهِ

7 وَنَجِنُّي يَا مُذِلُّ يَا مُنَتْقِمٍ مِّنْ عَبِيدِكَ الظَّلَّةِ الْبَاغِينِ عَلَىٰ وَأَعْوَانِهِمُ
فَأَنَّهُمْ لَيْ مِنْهُمْ أَحَدٌ سُوءُ حَذَاةِ اللَّهِۚ وَحَتَّىٰ عَلَى سَمَعِهِ وَقَلْبِهِ وَجَعَلَ
عَلَىٰ بَصَرِهِ غِشَاوَةً فَمَنْ يَهْدِيهِ مِنْ بَعْدِ اللَّهِ

8 وَأَكَفَّنِي يَا قَابِضٌ يَا قَهَّارٌ جَعدَةٌ مَكْرُهُمْ وَأَرْدَدُهُمْ عَنْيَ مَدْمُوْمَ
مُدْمُوْمِنِينَ مَدْحُورِينَ بِتَحْسِيرٍ تَقُيَّبِرُ تَدَمِّرُۚ فَمَا كَانَ لَهُ مِنْ فَتْهٍ يَنْصِرُونَهُ
مِنْ لُقُوَّةِ اللَّهِ

9 وَأَذِقْنِي يَا سَبْحَى يَا قَدْوُسُ لِذَّةٍ مَنَاجِىَةٍ أَقِيمُ وَلَا تَخَفِّنَ اِنْكَ مِنْ
الآمِنِينَ فِي كَنَفٍّ ۖ اللَّهِ
10. And let them taste, O You who inflict Harm and take away Life, the exemplary punishment, the evil consequences and annihilation in *So the last remnant of the people who did evil was cut off. Praise belongs to Allāh.*

11. Make me safe, O You who are Peace of Perfection, the Giver of Security, from the sudden sorties of the enemy forces, through the aim of the beginning of the verse *For them are good tidings in the life of this world and in the hereafter. There is no changing the words of Allāh.*

12. Crown me, O You who are the Sublimely Magnificent, the One who Raises in Honour, with the crown of the awesome grandeur, the majestic dominion, the sovereignty, might and magnificence of *And do not let their saying grieve you. Indeed the honour and glory belong to Allāh.*

13. Clothe me, O You who are Solicitous in Benevolent Majesty, the Incomparably Great, in the robe that renders the august majesty, complete perfection and attentive solicitude in *And when they saw him, they so admired him that they cut their hands, saying 'May we be saved by Allāh!’* 

14. Bring down upon me, O You who are the Eminent in Affection, the Constant in Love, love [extended] from You, so that through it the hearts of Your servants will be guided to me, yielding to me with love, affectionate and unwavering, from the filling with love, the softening of hearts and the coming into loving union in *They love them as if it were love for Allāh, but those who believe are more ardent in love for Allāh.*
Translation and Arabic text

10. And the truth is: He is [the] M justified, and He is [the] Judge of the worlds who will judge them and will know them. We will see them as they were seeing others.

11. And the Truce in the Doubting is a clear evidence, and He is [the] Lord of the Worlds. He will give them theDurma after the Dissolution (of the truce) in this world, and in the Hereafter, He will substitute their words. He is the Lord of the Worlds, He is the Lord of the Worlds, He is the Lord of the Worlds.

12. And He will give them a sign, a clear sign, a clear sign, a clear sign. He will give them a sign, a clear sign, a clear sign. He will give them a sign, a clear sign, a clear sign. He will give them a sign, a clear sign, a clear sign. He will give them a sign, a clear sign, a clear sign.

13. And He will give them a sign, a clear sign, a clear sign. He will give them a sign, a clear sign, a clear sign. He will give them a sign, a clear sign, a clear sign. He will give them a sign, a clear sign, a clear sign. He will give them a sign, a clear sign, a clear sign.

14. And He will give them a sign, a clear sign, a clear sign. He will give them a sign, a clear sign, a clear sign. He will give them a sign, a clear sign, a clear sign. He will give them a sign, a clear sign, a clear sign. He will give them a sign, a clear sign, a clear sign.

15. K adds: some change the order to: inexorable punisher

16. Some give instead: جبال and جبال some add جبال and vary the order

17. A: حتى تنقض وتتضرع

18. G, H, I, J, L and M omit word

15. Show upon me, O You who are the Manifest and Hidden, traces of the luminous mysteries of He loves them and they love Him: [they are] soft towards the believers, hard on the unbelievers, striving in the path of Allâh.\(^{82}\)

16. Turn my face, O Allâh, O You who are the Eternal Refuge, the Essential Light, with the sheer purity, beauty, intimacy and illumination of So if they dispute with you, say, ‘I have surrendered myself to Allâh’.\(^{83}\)

17. Beautify me, O You who are the Originator [in Beauty] of the heavens and the earth,\(^ {84}\) who possess Sublime Majesty and Ennobling Generosity, with the flawless fluency, supreme eloquence and surpassing skill in ‘Unloose the knot upon my tongue, so that they understand my words’\(^ {85}\) through the kindly, merciful gentleness of Then their skins and their hearts soften to the remembrance of Allâh.\(^ {86}\)

18. Gird me, O You who are the Most Severe in Assault,\(^ {87}\) the All-Compeller, with the sword of awesome forcefulness and invincible power, from the glorious strength, omnipotence and might in There is no help to victory except from Allâh.\(^ {88}\)

19. Give me ever, O You who Expand and Open up to Victory, the joyful delight in ‘My Lord, lay open for me my chest, and ease for me my task’\(^ {89}\) through the subtle sentiments, the inner affections in Did we not lay open for you your chest?,\(^ {90}\) and through the happy exuberance and glad tidings in That day the believers shall rejoice, in the victorious help of Allâh.\(^ {91}\)
15 وأظهر عليّ يا ظاهر يا باطن آثار أسرار أنوار يحبهم ويحبونه
اذلّة على المؤمنين أعزة على الكافرين يجاهدون في سبيل الله
16 ووجه اللهم يا صمد يا نور وجهي بصفة جمال أنس اشراق
فان حاجوك فقل أسلمت وجهي لله
17 وجمالني يا بديع السماوات والأرض يا ذا الجلال والأكرام
بالفصاحه والبلاغة والبراعة17 وأحلل عقيدة من لسانى يفقهوا قولى
براقعة رحمة22 رقة ثم تلبن جلودهم وقلوبهم الى ذكر الله
18 وقلدنني يا شديد البطش يا جبار بسيف الهيبة23 والشدّة والقوة
والمنعة من باس جبتر عزة وما النصر الا من عند الله
19 وأدم عليّ يا باسط يا فتاح بهجة مسيرة رب اشرح لي صدري
ويضر لي آمري بإطائف عواطف24 فالم نشرح لك صدرك وبابشائر
بشائر25 ويومنذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

20. Some add to this chain جلال or بجهة ضياء, or وفاء or بهجة.
22. B, D omit word.
23. G and H omit word.
20. Send down upon my heart, O Allāh, O You who are the Most Subtly Benevolent, the Supremely Kind [who establishes True Welfare], faith, tranquillity and peaceful calm, that I may be of Those who have faith and whose hearts are at peace in the remembrance of Allāh.

21. Pour over me, O You who are the Superlatively Forbearing and Steadfast, to Whom all Gratitude is due for Your blessings, the steadfastness of those who have armed themselves with the unshakable resolve, certitude and empowerment of ‘How often has a small unit overcome a sizeable one, by the permission of Allāh.’

22. Preserve me, O You who are the All-Preserving Guardian, to Whom all things are Entrusted, before me and behind me, on my right and on my left, above me and below me, through the ever-present, witnessing, assembling hosts of He has attendant angels, before him and behind him, watching over him by the command of Allāh.

23. Plant firm my feet, O Allāh, O You who are the One who Stands [over every soul], the Forever Enduring, as You made firm the one who said ‘How should I fear what you have associated [with Him], when you do not fear [the fact] that you have established associates beside Allāh?’

24. Help me, O You who are the Best Protector, the Most Excellent Helper, against the enemy, in the way that You helped the one to whom [his people] said ‘Are you making fun of us?’ He replied, ‘I take refuge in Allāh.’

25. Support me, O You who Demand and Prevail in Victory, with the strengthening support of Your Prophet Muhammad, upon whom be the blessings and peace of Allāh, who was given the mighty and honoured rank of We have sent you as witness, bearer of good tidings and Warner, so that you [all] may have faith in Allāh.
Translation and Arabic text

26. B, F, K and M add
واللَّهُ الَّذِي يَطَفُّ يَا رَوْفُ يِنْقِلْبُ الْإِيمَانَ وَالْإِطَّمِينَانَ

27. C, H and M: تَكَثَّرُوا


26. Suffice me, O You who Suffice in every need,\textsuperscript{105} who Restore [to Wholesomeness],\textsuperscript{106} against [all] afflictions and ills, through the great benefit and lesson in If We had sent down this Qur’an upon a mountain, you would have seen it humbled, reduced to rubble out of the fear of Allāh.\textsuperscript{107}

27. Confer upon me, O You who Bestow Blessings Freely, who Provide Nourishment and Sustenance, the arising, arriving and accepting of the arranging, making easy and rendering suitable for use [contained] in Eat and drink of the provision of Allāh.\textsuperscript{108}

28. Enjoin on me, O You who are Wholly and Only One,\textsuperscript{109} the Utterly Unique,\textsuperscript{110} the [constant duty of the] word of Oneness, which You imposed upon Your beloved Muhammad, upon whom be the blessings and peace of Allāh, when You said Know then that there is no god but Allāh.\textsuperscript{111}

29. Invest me, O You who are the Close Friend and Patron, the Supremely High, with Your close friendship, protective care and keeping, and flawless wholesomeness, through the utmost provision, favour and support of That is of the grace of Allāh.\textsuperscript{112}

30. Give me, O You who are Rich beyond need, the Noble who respond in Generosity [to all requests], the honour of felicity, esteem, munificence and unconditional forgiveness, as You honoured Those who lower their voices in the presence of the Messenger of Allāh.\textsuperscript{113}
Translation and Arabic text

26 واَكْفُنِي لَا كَافِيٍّ لِّي شَافِيٍّ الْآدَوَاءِ وَالْعَسَائِرِ ٣٠ بِعَوَائِدٍ فَوَآئِدُ لَوْ
اَنْزِلْنَا هَذَا الْقُرْآنَ عَلِيٍّ جَبَلٍ لِّرَأِيَهُ خَاشِعًا مُتَصَدِّعًا مِنْ خَشْيَةِ اللَّهِ

27 وَأَمَنَّنَّهُ عَلَيْهِ يَا وَهَأَبَّ يَا رَزَّاقٌ بِحُصُولِ وُصُولِ قَبْلَتِ تَذِيبٍ ٣١ تَيْسِيرٍ
تَسْجِيرُ كُلُوا وَأَشْرَبْوا مِنْ رَزْقِ اللَّهِ

28 وَالْزَّمَنُ يَا وَاحِدُ يَا أَحْدُ كَلَّمَةِ التَّوْحِيدٍ ٣٢ كَمَا الزَّمَنُ حِبْيَكَ مُحَمَّدًا
صَلّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَيَّةً قَلِتْ فَاعْلَمْ أَنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

29 وَتَوَلَّنِي يَا وَلَيِّي عَلِيٍّ بِالْفَوْلِيَّةِ وَالْعَلَّاِيَةِ وَالرَّعَاءِ وَالسَّلَامَةِ بِمُزْيَدٍ
إِبْرَادِ اسْتَعَادَةِ امْتَدَادٍ ٣٥ ذَلِكَ مِنْ فَضْلِ اللَّهِ

30 وَأَكْرُمْنِي يَا غَنِيٌّ يَا كَرِيمٌ بِالسَّعَادَةِ وَالسُّيّادَةِ وَالْكَرَامَةِ وَالطَّفْرَةِ
كَمَا أَكْرَمْتُ الَّذِينَ يَغْضَوبُونَ أَصْوَاتِهِمْ عِنْدَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ

30. Some give instead of الادواء. Some split the pair of Names, giving in varying order:
32. A, B, C, E, F, H and K give التقوى
34. Some omit this or the preceding word or change their order
35. C, D and J add ذاك خير
36. F and L give instead ذلك فضل الله (Q. 57:21; 62:4)
31. Turn to me, O You who Turn constantly in Forgiveness, the Clement, with pardon and counsel, so that I may be of Those who, when they commit an indecency or wrong themselves, remember Alläh and ask for forgiveness of their wrong-doings – and who forgives wrong-doings save Alläh?\textsuperscript{114}

32. Seal my days, O You who are the All-Compassionate, the Most Merciful, with the finest conclusion [of] those who are delivered and [those] who are full of hope: \textit{O My servants who have transgressed against yourselves, do not despair of the mercy of Alläh.}\textsuperscript{115}

33. Bring me to dwell, O You who are the All-Hearing, the Ever-Near,\textsuperscript{116} in a Garden prepared for the god-fearing: \textit{Their call therein is ‘Glory to You, O Alläh’, their greeting therein is ‘Peace’, and their call culminates in ‘Praise belongs to Alläh’.}\textsuperscript{117}

\textbf{O Alläh, O Alläh, O Alläh, O Alläh!}

\textbf{O You who are Pure Beneficence,}
\textbf{O You who are Pure Beneficence,}
\textbf{O You who are Pure Beneficence,}
\textbf{O You who are Pure Beneficence!}

\textbf{O All-Compassionate One, O All-Compassionate One,}
\textbf{O All-Compassionate One, O All-Compassionate One!}

\textbf{O You who are Sheer Mercy, O You who are Sheer Mercy,}
\textbf{O You who are Sheer Mercy, O You who are Sheer Mercy!}
Translation and Arabic text

31 وَتَبَّ عَلَىٰ يَا تَوَّابُ ٰيَا حَلِيمٞ
فَعَلُوا فَاحْتِشَاءٌ أَوْ ظَلَّمُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ ذَكَرُوا اللَّهَ فَأَسْتَغْفَرُوا لِذُنُوبِهِمْ وَمِنْ يُغْفِرُ الْذِّنُوبَ الاَّلَّهُ

32 وَاتَّبَعْ لَيْ يَا رَحْمَانُ يَا رَحِيمُ بِحُسْنِ خَاتَمَةِ النَّاجِينَ وَالرَّاجِينَِّ
عَبْدُِ الْدِّينِ أَسْرَفُوا عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ لَا تَقْنُطُوا مِنْ رَحْمَتِ اللَّهِ

33 وَأَسْكَنِيْنِيْ ٰيَا سَمِيعُ يَا قَرِيبٍ جَنَّةٌ أَعْدَتْ لِلَّمِتَّقِينَ دُعُواهمْ فِيهَا
سُبُحَانَ اللَّهِ وَتَحْيِيْتَهُمْ فِيهَا سَلَامُ وَأَخْرُ دُعُواهمْ أَنَّ الْحَمْدَ لِلَّلَّهِ

يَا اللَّهُ يَا اللَّهُ يَا اللَّهُ
يَا نَافِعٍ يَا نَافِعٍ يَا نَافِعٍ
يَا رَحْمَانُ يَا رَحْمَانُ يَا رَحْمَانُ
يَا رَحِيمُ يَا رَحِيمُ يَا رَحِيمُ

37. F, I and K give instead يَا حَكِيمٞ يَا تَوَّابُ G gives instead يَا تَوَّابُ يَا رَحْمَانُ
38. H and J omit verse 31
40. Some (including A, B, D and L) addٌ عَدُونَ
42. The copies vary in the number of repetitions of these Names. The Names
I ask of You through the sacred sanctity of these Names, Verses and Words, an authoritative strength that brings success, a bountiful livelihood, a joyful heart, abundant knowledge, beneficent works, a luminous grave, an easy account [on the Day of Reckoning] and a goodly portion in Paradise. May Allāh bless our master Muhammad and his family and companions; may the peace of Allāh be upon them, a plentiful peace, until the Day of Resurrection. Praise be to Allāh, Lord of the worlds.
Translation and Arabic text

وَأَسْتَلَكَ بِحُرْمَةَ هَذِهِ الَّاسْمَاءِ وَالآيَاتِ وَالكُلمَاتِ
سُلُطُانًا نَصِيرًا وَرَزَقًا كَثِيرًا وَقُلْبًا فَرِيرًا
وَعَلَمًا غَزِيرًا وَعَمَلًا بَرِيرًا وَقُرْنًا مُنِيرًا
وَحَسَابًا يَسِيرًا وَمُلَاكًا فِي الفَرَّادِسِ كَبِيرًا
وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدَنا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى الَّلَّهِ وَصَحِيحٍ
وَسُلُّمَ تَسْلِيمًا كَثِيرًا
إِلَى يَوْمِ الْيَمِين
وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ

used also vary, with the occasional addition/substitution of e.g. رافق ودَافع and شور. Alongside the one represented here, another common version is as follows: يَا يا نافع يا رحمة يا رحيم; if 3 or 4 x 1. At this point further text is added in K (al-Ḥisārī comments on fol. 120a that he received this version through a chain connecting his shaykh to Ibn Ḥarīb); it appears as an alternative in A and D. The version given here follows K with some amendments:

43. E, J, K and L add
44. E and K add
45. Some add or substitute
46. Phrase missing in J
47. Phrase missing from G and H
48. Phrase missing from F, G, H and J; given as alternative in M
49. Some copies give different expanded versions of the ṣalawāt

97
The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

al-Dawr al-a‘lā
al-muqarrib ilā kulli maqām al-a‘lā

Bismi-llāhi-r-raḥmānî-r-raḥîm

1. Allāhumma yā Ḥayy yā Qayyûm, bika taḥâṣṣantu fa-ḥminî bi-ḥimāyati kifāyati wiqāyati ḥaqīqati burhāni ḥirzi amāni bismi-llâh

2. wa-adkhilnî yā Awwal yā Ākhir, maknûna ghaybi sirri dâ’irati kanzi mā shā’u-llâh lâ qâwata illâ bi-llâh

3. wa-asbil ‘alayya yā Ḥalîm yā Sattâr, kanafa sitri ḥijâbi şiyânati najâti wa-‘taṣîmî bi-ḥabî-llâh

4. wa-bnî yā Muḥîṭ yā Qâdir ‘alayya sûra amâni ihâtati majdi surâdiqi ‘izzî ‘aẓamati dhâlika khayrun; dhâlika min âyâti-llâh

5. wa-a’idhnî yā Raqîb yā Mujîb, wa-ḥrusnî fî nafsî wa-dînî wa-ahlî wa-waladî wa-dârî wa-mâlî, bi-kalâ’ati i’âdhati ighâthati wa-laysa bi-ḍârrîhim shay’an illâ bi-idhni-llâh

6. wa-qinî yā Mâni’ yā Dâfî’ bi-asma’îk wa-ayâtik wa-kalîmâtik sharra-sh-shaytânî wa-s-sulţân, fa-in zâlimun aw jabbâr baghâ ‘alayya akhadhathu ghâshiyatun min ‘adhâbi-llâh

7. wa-najjinî yâ Mudhill yâ Muntaqim min ‘abîdika-z-ţalama al-bâghîn ‘alayya wa a’wânihim, fa-in hamma lî minhum aḥadun bi-sû’ khadhalahu-llâh wa-khatâma ‘alâ sam’ ihi wa-qalbihi wa-ja’ala ‘alâ başarihi ghishâwatan fâ-man yahdîhi min ba’ di-llâh
8. wa-kfinī yā Qābiḥ yā Qahhār khadī’ata makrihim, wa-
rdudhum ‘annī madhmūmīn madhʿūmīn madḥūrīn bi-takhsīri
taghyīri tadmīri fa-mā kāna lāhu min fī’atīn yanṣurūnāhu min
dūnī-llāh

9. wa-adhiqnī yā Subbūḥ yā Quddūs ladhdhata munājāti aqbīl wa-
lā takhāf; innaka mina-l-āminīna fī kanafi-llāh

10. wa-adhiqhum yā Ḍārr yā Mumīt nakāla wabāli zawālī fā-qūṭī’ā
dābiru-l-qawmi-lladhīnā zalāmū; wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāh

11. wa-āmnīnī yā Salām yā Muʾmin șawlātā jawlati dawlati-l-aʿdāʾi
bi-ghāyati bidāyati ʿayati lahumu-l-bushrā fī-l-ḥayāti-d-dunyā wa-
fi-l-ākhira; lā tabdīla li-kalimāti-llāh

12. wa-tawwijnī yā ‘Aẓīm yā Muʿizz, bi-tājī kibriyāʾi jalāli sulṭānī
malakūtī ʿizzī ʿażamāti wa-lā yahzunka qawluhum; inna-l-
ʿizzata li-llāh

13. wa-albinsī yā Jalīl yā Kābīr, khilʿata ijlāli ikmāli iqbāli fa-lammā
raʿaynahu akbarnahu wa-qatṭaʿna aydiyahunna wa-qulna ḥāsha
li-llāh

14. wa-alqī yā ‘Aẓīz yā Wādūd ʿalayya maḥabbatān minkā fa-
tanqāda wa-takhḍaʿā lī biḥā qulūbū ʿibādika bi-l-maḥabba wa-
laʾazza wa-l-mawadda, min taʿṭīfī talṭīfī taʾlifī yuḥibbānūnum
ka-ḥubbī-llāh; wa-lladhīnā āmanū ashaddu ḥubbīn li-llāh

15. wa-azhir ʿalayya yā Zahir yā Bāṭin āṯārā asrārī anwārī
yuḥibbuhum wa-yuḥibbūnāhu adhillatin ʿala-l-muʿminīn aʿizzatin
ʿala-l-kāfirīn yujāhidānū fī sabīlī-llāh

16. wa-wajjihi-llāhumma yā ʾṢamad yā Nūr wajhī bi-ṣafāʾī jamālī
unsi ʾishrāqī fa-in ḥājjūka fā-qul aslamtu wajhī li-llāh

99
The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

17. wa-jammilnī yā Badī‘a-s-samāwāti wa-l-arḍ, yā Dha-l-Jalāli wa-l-Ikrām, bi-l-faṣāḥa wa-l-balāgha wa-l-barā’a wa-ḥlul ʿugdatan min lisānī, yafṣahā qawlī bi-ra‘fati raḥmati riqqati thumma talīnu juldūhum wa-qulūbuhum ilā dhikri-llāh

18. wa-qallidnī yā Shadīda-l-baṭsh yā Jabbār bi-sayfī-l-hayba wa-sh-shidda wa-l-qūwa wa-l-mana‘a, min ba‘si jabarūti ‘izzati wa-ma-n-naṣru illā min ‘indī-llāh

19. wa-adim ‘alayya yā Bāsiṭ yā Fattāḥ, bahjata masrārat rabbishraḥ lī šadrī, wa-yassir lī amrī bi-laṭā‘i fi‘awaṭifī a-lam nashraḥ laka sadrak wa-bi-ashā‘iri bashā‘iri wa-yawma‘idhin yafrahū-l-mu‘minūna bi-naṣri-llāh

20. wa-anzil allāhumma yā Laṭīf yā Ra‘ūf bi-qalbī-l-īmān wa-l-iṭmīnān wa-s-sakīna, li-akūna mina-lldhīna āmanū wa-taṭma‘innu qulūbuhum bi-dhikri-llāh

21. wa-afrigh ‘alayya yā Šabūr yā Shakūr šabra-lladhīna tadarra‘ū bi-thabāti yaqīni tamkīni kam min fi‘atin qālīlatin ghalabat fi‘atan kathīratan bi-idhni-llāh

22. wa-ḥfaqānī yā Ḥafīz yā Wakil min baynī yadayya wa-min khalfī, wa-‘an yamīnī wa-‘an shimālī, wa-min fawqī wa-min taḥtī, bi-wujūdī shuhūdī junūdī lahu mu‘aqqibātun min baynī yadayhi wa min khalfīhi, yahfaqūnahu min amrī-llāh

23. wa-thabbiti-llāhumma yā Qā‘im yā Dā‘im qadamayya, kamā thabbatta-l-qā‘il wa-kayfā akhāfu mā ashraktum wa-lā takhāfi‘na annakum ashraktum bi-llāh

24. wa-nṣurnī yā Ni‘ma-l-Mawlā wa-yā Ni‘ma-n-Naṣīr ‘ala-l-a‘dā‘i naṣra-lladhī qīla lahu atattakhidhunā huzuwā; qāla a‘ūdhu bi-llāh
25. wa-ayyidni yā Ṭālib yā Ghālib, bi-ta’yi di nabiyyika Muḥammad šalla-llāhu ’alayhi wa-sallam, al-mu’ayyad bi-ta’zīzi tawqīri innā arsalnāka shāhidan wa mubashshiran wa-nadhīrā, li-tu’minū bi-llāh

26. wa-kfīnī yā Kāfī yā Shāfī, al-adwā’a wa-l-aswā’a, bi-‘awā’idi fawā’i di law anzalnā hadha-l-qur’āna ’alā jabalin la-ra’aytahu khāshi’an mutaṣaddi’an min khashyati-llāh

27. wa-mnun ‘alayya yā Wahhāb yā Razzāq bi-ḥuṣuli wuṣūli qabūli tadbīri taysīri taskhīri kulū wa-shrabū min rizqi-llāh

28. wa-alzīmnī yā Wāhid yā Ḥād kalimata-t-tawhīd kamā alzamta ḥabībaka Muḥammad šalla-llāhu ’alayhi wa-sallam, ḥaythu qulta fa’-lam annahu lā ilāha illa-llāh

29. wa-tawallanī yā Walīy yā ‘Alīy bi-l-wilāya wa-l-‘ināya wa-rī’āya wa-s-salāma bi-mazīdi īrādi is’ādi imdādi dhālika min fādli-llāh

30. wa-akrīmnī yā Ghanīy yā Karīm bi-s-sa’āda wa-s-siyāda wa-l-karāma wa-l-maghfira kamā akramta-lladhīna yaghuḍdūna aṣwātahum ‘inda rasūli-llāh

31. wa-tub ‘alayya yā Tawwāb yā Ḥalīm tawbatan naṣūḥā, li-akūna mina-lladhīna idhā fa’alū fāḥishatan aw zalamū anfusahum dhakaru-llāh fa-staghfārū li-dhunūbīhim wa-man yaghfiru-dh-dhunūba illa-llāh

32. wa-khtim lī yā Raḥmān yā Raḥīm bi-ḥusni khātimati-n-nājin wa-r-rājīn yā ‘ibādiya-lladhīna asrafu’ alā anfusihim lā taqnaṭī min raḥmati-llāh

33. wa-askinnī yā Samī’ yā Qarīb jannatan u’iddat li-l-muttaqīn, da’wāhum fiḥā subḥānaka-llāhumma wa-tahiyyatuhum fiḥā salām, wa-akhiru da’wāhum anī-l-ḥamdu li-llāh
The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

yā Allāh, yā Allāh, yā Allāh, yā Allāh

yā Nāfi‘, yā Nāfi‘, yā Nāfi‘, yā Nāfi‘

yā Raḥmān, yā Raḥmān, yā Raḥmān, yā Raḥmān

yā Raḥīm, yā Raḥīm, yā Raḥīm, yā Raḥīm

wa-as’aluka bi-ḥurmati hādhihi-l-asma’ wa-l-āyāt wa-l-kalimāt sulṭānan naṣīrā, wa-rizqan kathīrā, wa-qalban qarīrā, wa-‘ilman ghazīrā, wa-‘amalan barīrā, wa-qabran munīrā, wa-ḥisāban yasīrā, wa-mulkan fi-l-firdawsi kabīrā, wa-ṣalla-llāhu ‘alā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-‘alā ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi wa-sallama tasliiman kathīrā, ilā yawmi-d-dīn, wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāhi rabbī-l-‘ālamīn
Notes to Chapter 3

Notes

1. The following discussion draws only on Arabic sources: further examples in
Ottoman Turkish arise in Yazma Bağışlar 2934 and Hacı Mahmud Efendi 3950, for
example.
2. See F, fol. 144b. The signification of wırd here is that of a specified time de-
ved regularly to such practice. The wırd is thus often understood to comprise a set,
supererogatory personal devotion observed at specific times, usually at least once
during the day and once more at night. See ‘Wırd’, p. 209.
3. See Hacı Mahmud Efendi 4061, Esad Efendi 1442, Düğümülü Baba 506, I.
4. Beyazid 7880 recommends reading it three times in the morning. M recom-
mends that it be read a little before the dawn prayer, D and F after it.
5. Nafız Paşa 702: for a complete cycle, see for example fols. 4a–14b.
6. G, M, Arif-Murad 58, Şazeli 106, Genel 43, the latter added in a different
hand.
7. For example, Esad Efendi 1442: the Dawr is added at the end of K. al-Rashahat
al-anwarıya fi sharh al-awrād al-akbarıya, itself on the margin of the Awrād.
8. The great majority of copies of the Awrād likewise appear without the prayer.
To mention an early example, Veliyuddin 1833 encompasses (alongside the Awrād) K.
Mawāqi’ al-nujūm, K. al-İsrā (copy dated AH 977, made in Damascus at the shrine of
Ibn ’Arabî by Jibrîl b. Zayn al-‘Abidîn al-Ghażzî), extracts from al-Futuhat al-
Makkîya and parts of the Tarjumān al-ashwāq, plus a supplication for the Day of
‘Arafā, from al-Futuhat al-Makkîya.
9. Beyazid 7880 recommends that Hamīd Wahhāb be recited 76 times before each
reading of the prayer. M recommends beginning with the salawāt and then repetition
of ya Ḥaqq, ya Qayyūm 174 times. Genel 43, fol. 29b details the following ‘keys’ to the
prayer:

O Allāh! O You in whose hand are the keys of the secrets of the unknowns, and
the lamps of the lights of the hearts! I ask You through our master Muḥammad
(may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him), to open for me the locked
doors of these treasures, and to unveil for me the realities of these symbolic
allusions. Yā Hā yā man Hā (7 times). I ask You to bless the Sun of the gnostic
sciences of Your Names, the Source of the secrets of Your light, who is the
noble original Light-Tree and the radiant outpouring of the Origin, and the
one who possesses the knowledges of the chosen (al-‘ulūm al-işţifā’iya), under
whose banner the prophets march. [I ask you to bless him] by the number of
those You have created and sustained, from whom You have taken life and to
whom You have given life, until You resurrect those You have annihilated. Yā
Latiﬁ (129 times), al-salāt wa’l-salām ∼alayka yā rasūl Allāh (29 times), Allāhu latiﬁ
bi-‘ibādīhi yarzuqu man yashā’ wa huwa’l-Qawī al-‘Azīz (10 times).
The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

10. Haci Mahmud Efendi 4137 and Genel 43 recommend reciting sūrat al-Insirāḥ and the ṣalawāt three times on completion. Haci Mahmud Efendi 4146 recommends reciting Yā lā ilāha illā Allāh al-Raṣī’ jālālatan 15 times. One copy on which our copy ‘I’ draws gives a special supplication at the end, the only one in our sources that encompasses specific mention of the prayer’s author as saintly intercessor. The supplication proceeds thus (fol. 64a):

O Allāh, by Your permission and grace grant that the spiritual reality (rūḥānīyya) of the Muhammadan Heir, the shaykh and my master Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-ʿArabī (may Allāh sanctify his secret) be of support to us, that it intercede and mediate for us with the Envoy of Allāh (may the peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him), and that it bring us glad tidings of the Compassionate Beatitude. Expand my chest, elevate my standing, and provide for me my sustenance without debit or credit, and be for us not against us, O You from Whom all help is sought. Amen. By Your Mercy, O Most Merciful of the Merciful.

11. An example of such introductory and concluding recommendations currently circulating in print in Damascus is that provided by Abū’l-Yusr ʿĀbidīn, referred to earlier.


13. The Arabic plurals qurānā’, tawābī’, marada and zawābī’ require clarification. Used in the Qur’ān eight times, qarīn (pl. qurānā’) denotes an inseparable or intimate companion, commonly referring to man’s spirit companion. According to Q 4: 38, Satan can be a qarīn (he indeed follows men everywhere), and Q 43: 36 describes God assigning ‘a satan’ to man as a qarīn when he turns away from the remembrance of Him. See also Q 50: 27. The oldest exegetical tradition posits a qarīn at the side of every human in the form of a satan or jinn who tempts him to evil (even prophets have such a satan-companion, but the Prophet Muḥammad converted his own to Islam). At the same time, there is at his side an angel, who induces him to good. These figures should not be confused with the recording angels. See ‘Qarin’, EI², 4, pp.643–644. There are several hadith references to the qurānā’: see for example Muslim, 4, 260 and 50: 69 [after A.J. Wensinck, A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition (Leiden, 1927)].

Ṭābī’a (pl. tawābī’) refers to a jinn female, who loves a man and follows him everywhere: it does not appear in the Qur’ān. Mārid (pl. marada) denotes someone who is insolent in rebellion: it is used in the Qur’ān thus, and applied by extension to Satan (it is also a bad jinn’s name). Zawba’ā (pl. zawābī’) denotes a suddenly rising wind that whips up whirling sand or dust clouds, but also a terrible and malicious jinn believed to preside over such windstorms and hurricanes.

14. On the jinn in the Qur’ānic worldview and in Muslim folklore, see The Message of the Qur’ān, tr. and explained by Muhammad Asad (Bristol, UK, 2003), Appendix III; ‘Djinn’, EI², 2, pp.546–549.

15. Suggested here are the kinds of property associated with al-Shādhili’s popular Hīzb al-baḥr, which asks that the sea be ‘subjugated’ to those who are crossing it.
16. Associated with the evil eye, envy is recognised as a source of harm in Q 113: 5. The phrase mā shā’a Allāh (As God wills!) is used as protection against it: see Padwick, Muslim Devotions, p. 88.

17. A popular belief that the jinn could inflict various illnesses, especially those involving paralysis (such as hemiplegia) is noteworthy here. See ‘Djinn’, p. 548.

18. On the shahāda as the desired final utterance at the moment of death and the visitation and questioning of the two angels Munkar and Nakīr on the first night in the tomb (according to the hadith), see Padwick, Muslim Devotions, pp. 132–133, 278–279, respectively.

19. qarīn al-sū: literally ‘the one who associates with evil’ or ‘the one for whom evil is an associate’, Satan. According to Q 4: 38, ‘the one for whom Satan is a companion; what an evil companion he has!’

20. This is a loose rendering of umm al-ṣibyān. Classical dictionaries suggest this may denote baby colic, or epilepsy. According to a hadith the Prophet said ‘When a man has a newborn child and utters the adhān (the call to prayer) in his right ear and the iqāma (the second call) in his left ear, umm al-ṣibyān will not affect the child.’ Cited by al-Ghazālī under ‘Etiquette Concerning Having Children’, in Marriage and Sexuality in Islam: A Translation of al-Ghazali’s Book on the Etiquette of Marriage from the Ihya’, tr. Madalain Farah (Salt Lake City, UT, 1984), p. 114, including details of the hadith. Note finally the association of the root meaning of the word with the (sterile) east wind.

21. Literally the red wind: al-rīh al-aḥmar. The general association in this list of jinn (themselves fashioned out of ‘the fire of scorching winds’ according to Q 15: 27) with winds that cause ill health is noteworthy. For examples of the Prophet’s prayers for protection from the evil of the wind, see A. H. Farid, Prayers of Muhammad (Lahore, 1999), p. 233.

22. al-‘uqūd, literally knots; also compacts or bargains struck. Note also ‘aqada nāṣiyatahu: he tied his forelock in preparation to attack or do harm to someone, and Q 113: 4, where the ‘blowing upon knots (‘ugad)’ denotes occult activities.

On the widespread persistence in Muslim societies of the belief in and practice of magic (and the role in it of the jinn, under the command of a practitioner), advice concerning how to protect oneself from its effects and attitudes towards it among various contemporary Muslim authorities, see for example Remke Kruk, ‘Harry Potter in the Gulf: Contemporary Islam and the Occult’, British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 32: 1 (2005), pp. 47–73; http://www.muttaqun.com/jinn.html and http://www.islamawareness.net/Jinn/. Texts of Qur’an and hadith of course affirm the reality of magic, but tend to refer to it in condemnatory terms (with some exceptions).

23. Literally: ‘an army difficult to repel’.

the perfume of these breaths...they come to know a divine person who has the mystery which they are seeking and the knowledge which they want to acquire...’

25. To take an example from Damascus, al-Budayrī’s chronicle of daily life in the city during a period of al-Dāmūnī’s lifetime records floods, severe cold, earthquakes and windstorms (as well as swarming locusts, the spread of leprosy and devastating outbreaks of plague). See al-Budayrī, Hawādith Dimashiq al-yawmīya, pp. 52, 56–57, 223, 228, for example.

26. As Michael Gilson, Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt: An Essay in the Sociology of Religion (Oxford, 1973), pp. 33–34 points out in relation to the notion of baraka, according to the traditional Muslim view there is a whole complex of forces, thought in an ultimate sense to constitute as well as to govern the world. There are maleficent powers to be warded off by the saints, by amulets, talismans, verses of the Qur’ān, the virtuous life, and trust in God. And where the balance turns against you there is the final radical explanation of the mystery of God’s will.’

27. As Padwick, Muslim Devotions, pp. 23, 25 points out, use of the term hizb evinces an ‘unacknowledged tendency...towards semi-magical protection’, while the term hirz (often used as synonymous with hizb) in the title of a prayer can indicate its use as a talisman or amulet. A hizb or hirz often comprises a selection of Qur’ānic verses and small supplications printed in a tiny booklet which can be easily carried on the person: this may be referred to by a further synonym, hijāb. A very well-known example printed as a tiny booklet and frequently carried is al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām rabb al-ʿālāmīn (‘The Impregnable Fortress from the Words of the Lord of the Worlds’), compiled by Shams al-Dīn M b. M al-Jazari (d.833/1429): see below. Use of the term taʿwīd (and other derivatives from the same root) to denote protective or ‘refuge-taking’ prayers, often worn as amulets, must finally be noted (these include the final two sûras of the Qur’ān, al-muʿawwidhatān). See further Padwick, Muslim Devotions, ch. 6; ‘Tilsam’, EI, 10, pp. 500–502; ‘Tamima’, EI, 10, pp. 177–178. For examples of the Prophet’s prayers in the formula of seeking refuge in God, see Farid, Prayers of Muhammad, pp. 245–249.

28. Indeed, as Padwick, Muslim Devotions, p. xxii notes, some are simply strings of Qur’ānic verses ‘with more or less connection of subject’, put together for devotional use.

For an introduction to perceptions concerning the power of the Word of God and prayer, and the general spheres of use to which sufi prayers have been put, see Carl Ernst, The Shambhala Guide to Sufism (Boston and London, 1997), pp. 89–91.


30. Eight different prayers by al-Shādhilī appear in our sources, the most frequent being Ḥizb al-bahr (which has been described as the most famous of all ahzāb: see ‘Hizb’, p. 513) and Ḥizb al-naṣr. On Ḥizb al-bahr see McGregor, Sanctity and Sainthood, pp. 34–35; on the use of ahzāb attributed to al-Shādhilī in the contemporary Tunisian Shadhiliyya, see idem, ‘A Sufi Legacy in Tunis’, pp. 269–271.

31. Abū Madyan Shuʿayb b. al-Husayn al-Anṣārī (d.549/1198), a seminal figure of sufism in Muslim Spain and North Africa and profoundly influential on Shadhili and
Notes to Chapter 3


The juxtaposition of prayers associated with the Shadhili tradition (that of Ibn Mashīsh can also be mentioned in this context) with those of Ibn ‘Arabī reflects the strong appreciation within this tradition for the legacy of Ibn ‘Arabī. Perhaps also relevant in this regard is the appearance of muqatṭa‘āt in some versions of the prayer ending, as form a prominent feature of al-Mahdawī’s ṣalawāt (see Pablo Beneito and Stephen Hirtenstein, ‘The Prayer of Blessing [upon the Light of Muhammad]’ by ’Abd al-‘Azīz al-Mahdawī, JMIAS XXXIV (2003), p. 28 n. 43 and p. 30 n. 47), and of Ḥizb al-bahr (the latter encompassing the same letter clusters that appear in some of the Dawr endings).

32. For an example of the former, see L, fol. 133 onwards; for the latter, see Hasan Husnu Paşa 583 fol. 212b, where the prayer is followed by a supplication concerning plague reported from Abū Ḥanīfa. Șazeli 106 presents a particularly interesting range of aḥzāb and ḥvrāz with many different uses, including soothing crying babies and meeting enemies, for example.

While individual prayers have been associated with specific spheres of protection there does not appear to have been a strict division among them, and copyists may have drawn on a common pool of properties. Thus the description of the Dawr’s properties in Düğümülü Baba 490, fol. 31b–32a, appears also in G, fol. 66a–67a, where it applies to Abū Madyan’s Ḥirz al-aqsām, which prayer is omitted from the former compilation (on the relationship between these two compilations see Appendix): the copyist simply replaces Ḥirz with Ḥizb al-wiqāya throughout the description of properties. Note also in this regard the comprehensive scope of the properties attributed to al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥasīn, set out in the preamble to it.

33. Particularly in D, but al-Dāmūnī also states his intention in his commentary to ‘bring out some of the talismans and secrets’ of the prayer (see C, fol. 3b), and provides some squares towards the end of his work. On talismanic ‘magic squares’, typically consisting of 9 or 16 compartments incorporating numbers or letters representing words (for example the letters of the Name Allāh written in a different order four times), see ‘Tilsam’, p. 501; ‘Wafq’, EI, 11, pp. 28–31.

34. For example Nafiz Paşa 702 adds on the margin of eight out of fourteen copies of the prayer presented a supplication that begins thus (towards the end of the prayer, for example fol. 25b) and ends with sūrat al-Ikhlas (note that the same supplication is woven into the prayer before the end ṣalawāt in I):

I establish my protection from all of His creatures in a fortress whose foundation is lā ilāha illā Allāh, whose wall is Muḥammad rasūl Allāh, whose key is lā hāwla wa lā qūwata illā bi’llāh al-‘Alīy al-‘Azīm…

M follows his recommendation concerning the prayer’s recitation (see n. 9 above) with this supplication (fol. 109b):
The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

This is a magnificent, blessed protective prayer. In the Name of God the Creator, the Greatest: a protection against what I fear and am wary of. There is no power for any creature before the Creator. Kāf Hā’ Yā’ ‘Ayn Šād. Hā’ Mīm Sīn Qāf. All faces submit to the Living, the Self-Subsisting [Q 2: 111]. May whoever perpetrates oppression fail. God is sufficient as Protector and He is the Most Excellent Trustee.


37. See for example F, fol. 144b; D, p. 6; Düğümlü Baba 506, fol. 2a and I, fol. 62a.

38. Yazma Bağışlar 2934, fol. 39b. D, p. 6 points to its benefits for ‘reaching the ranks of spiritual mastery’ (bulūgh marātib al-siyāda).

39. See B fol. 2a; F, fol. 144b.

40. See K, fol. 51b; F, fol. 144b; D, p. 3.

41. Al-Hišārī indeed refers to the prayer as al-Hizb al-qur’ānī. See K, fol. 51b. It is noteworthy that some copyists mark Qur’anic verses in red (e.g. G), while others mark the Divine Names thus (e.g. I). A few add the numerical value of each Name close to it (e.g. Hasan Husnu Paşa 583, fol. 211b–212b).

The preamble to al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn furnishes an example of this intense focus on the power of Qur’anic verses and Divine Names, the former as a remedy (shifā’) and vehicle for mercy, the latter as a medium for supplication, in the context of a popular hīrāz.

42. Certain commentaries elaborate at length on the choice, location and significance of Divine Names in the prayer: their treatment must form the subject of a separate study.

43. See C, fols. 5a–b; B, fols. 3a, 4a; I, fol. 62a (the explanation in the latter is given on al-Qushāšī’s authority). Qur’an 7: 180 and Muslim, Dhikr, no. 6, respectively, are cited.

44. C, fol. 5a. It is a fundamental principle of all prayerful supplication (du’ā’) for requests to be addressed to God through the evocation of His Names and Attributes, for His Essence is unknowable and unapproachable, and He cannot be understood in an affirmative way in respect of it: the particular Names and Attributes used thus define and shape the supplication. This pattern assumes a sophisticated expression in the Dāwr, as illustrated below. See ‘Du’ā’, EI’, 2, p. 618; Padwick, Muslim Devotions, pp. 104–107.

45. B, fol. 3b. He cites the similitude of someone who seeks the good offices of one of the ministers serving the most powerful king on earth in seeking the corpse of a dog or a donkey: the king will surely respond by throwing him out.

46. Note that al-Dāmūnī repeats in his preamble and concluding remarks the need for ‘complete inner belief’, reflecting a central principle elaborated in discussions of the conditions and rules (adab) of prayer (du’ā’), that contribute towards a
Notes to Chapter 3

guarantee of efficacy: for it to be received by God, one must pray with a feeling of conviction that the prayer will be answered. See ‘Du’a’ p. 618. On the common emphasis of sincere intention in the preamble to prayers see also Padwick, Muslim Devotions, pp. 52–54. This emphasis is well illustrated in the preamble to al-Hiṣn al-ḥasīn.  
47. B, fol. 2b; I, fol. 62a, for example.  
48. See ibid. By way of further encouragement for its use without a guide, I and B cite the saying ‘If you are not one of them, then emulate them, for there is success and salvation (jalāḥ) in emulating the noble.’  
49. Variants are denoted by the term nuskhā (copy) in the margin.  
50. Among others, examples of such inaccuracies arise in the following copies and verses of the Dawr: A verse 15, C verse 23, and H verse 7.  
51. Given that four chains of transmission pass through Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, the apparent source of H, the question arose as to whether there might be consistency between H, B, C, D and F (and possibly also I, which apparently emanated from al-Qushāshi, from whom al-Kūrānī received the prayer). In the event the attempt to identify an al-Kūrānī (or any other) ‘family’ or ‘version’ of the prayer was not felt to be a fruitful approach (by way of illustration, we would cite the existence of differences even between H and H2: see Appendix).  
52. Copyists can forget to distinguish the text of the prayer from that of the commentary (often done using red ink or a red over-line), or mark parts of the commentary thus as prayer text. Confusion can also arise when an unmarked word from the prayer text appears in a gloss on another word in it, or when the commentator’s explanations require him to alter the constructions in which specific words or phrases appear, and the associated vowels. Examples arise in B, fols. 9a, 23b, 24b, 27b, 34a; C, fol. 76a; and D, p. 37.  
53. This All-Comprehensive Name denotes ‘not only the Essence of God but also the sum total of every attribute that the Essence assumes, in relationship to the creatures.’ See Chittick, The Sufi Path of Knowledge, p. 20. For an introduction to the Divine Names and Attributes in Ibn ’Arabi’s thought see ibid., pp. 8–11; 33 ff.  
54. We also comment in passing on similarities with the Awrād, but no systematic or thorough comparison is attempted. In addition, we point out examples of resonances with certain traditional prayers of the Prophet.  
It should be noted that we do not attempt a detailed analysis of the content, structure, imagery and literary composition of the prayer, and the commentaries identified earlier are not applied to such an end. It is felt that the associations within each verse (between verbs used to express supplications, Names invoked, Qur’anic texts and word chains), and progressions within and between particular clusters of the prayer’s verses, are best left to the reader’s close contemplation.  
The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

56. The traditional list according to a well-known version of a hadith transmitted by Abū Hurayra can be found in Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, The Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God: al-Maṣṣad al-asnā fī sharḥ asmāʾ Allāh al-ḥusnā, tr. with notes by David B. Burrell and Nazih Daher (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 49–51. Another version of this list, also given on the authority of Abū Hurayra, substitutes other Names for some of the ninety-nine in the first one: see pp. 167–169.

57. Some Names appear in neither version of the list but are noted as such in the Qur’ān or derived from expressions associated with the Divine therein. See ibid., pp. 167–169.


59. See ibid., p. 11. For elaboration, see Chittick, The Sufi Path of Knowledge, pp. 21–25 (on takhalluq) and pp. 48, 60 (on ta’alluq). The same terms were used by al-Mahdawi and apparently first expounded by Abū Madyan: see Beneito and Hirtenstein, ‘The Prayer of Blessing [upon the Light of Muhammad] by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Mahdawi’, p. 30 n. 49.

60. There does not appear to be any direct correlation between the structure of the prayer as a whole and the inclusion (and order of inclusion) of particular prophets, however. It is also noteworthy that supplications by prophets in the Qur’ānic text are used in the prayer in an indirect manner, as illustrated by verses 17 and 19, in contrast with such usage as arises in Ḥizb al-bahr, for example: see McGregor, Sanctity and Sainthood, pp. 44–46.


62. For this reason we do not use the translation ‘God’.

63. Another example of the use of such word chains in the genitive case in a text attributed to Ibn ‘Arabī arises in Khutba ukhrah [Another Preface] (Şehit Ali 1341, fols. 405b–406a, part of a collection of Ibn ‘Arabī’s works dated AH 724). Here we see, for example, bi-wisāli ittiṣāli jamāli kamāli and ifitīḥāi arwāhi irtiyāhi misbāhi rawāhi riyyāhi and ʿidrāji ʿibrāji zujāji sīrājī wahhāji. The author thanks Stephen Hirtenstein for this information.

64. Every sūra of the Qur’ān but one is prefaced by ‘In the Name of Allāh, the All-Compassionate, the Most Merciful’, and the Daur, like all other all prayers, opens with it. Both this and a contraction of it (‘In the Name of Allāh’, referred to in short-hand as the basmala) permeate Muslim oral and written expression. On its application before action as a consecration, its quality as a word of power, and its popular use as an amulet (its description in this verse as a hirz is noteworthy), see Padwick, Muslim Devotions, pp. 94 ff.

65. Q 18: 39, in full: ‘Why did you not say, on entering your garden, “As God wills! There is no power save in God!”, If you see me less than you in wealth and children.’ Part of the parable of the two men, one of them boasting to the other that he has been given greater wealth and strength, declaring that he did not believe his
Notes to Chapter 3

garden would ever perish, nor that the Resurrection would come to pass. On observing his attitude, his companion asked why he did not acknowledge God's generosity and power, for He may invert their fortunes, and ruin his garden, as indeed happened.

Like the basmala, the phrases mā shā‘a Allāh and lā qūwata illā bi’llāh (and the expanded version of the latter lā ḥawla wa lā qūwata illā bi’llāh, referred to in shorthand as the ḥawqala) also permeate Muslim expression. Note that the ḥawqala is described as a treasure (kanz) also in the Sunday morning prayer in the Awrād, where it is also tied to the unknowable (min khazā‘in al-ghayb): see Ibn 'Arabī, Wird, p. 7.

66. Al-Sattār is not one of the ninety-nine Names, but appears in supplications and devotional literature. For example, the Wednesday morning prayer in the Awrād encompasses anta Sattār al-‘uyāb (You are the One who Veils shortcomings), and invokes God through this attribute (yā Sattār): see Ibn 'Arabī, Wird, p. 32.

67. Q 3: 103, in full: 'Hold fast to the bond of God, together, and do not scatter; remember God's blessing upon you when you were enemies, and He brought your hearts together, so that by His blessing you became brothers. You were on the brink of a pit of Fire, and He delivered you from it; thus God makes clear to you His signs, so haply you will be guided.' The verse is addressed to those who have attained to faith.

68. The Name al-Muḥīṭ appears in the alternative version of the list of ninety-nine given on the authority of Abū Hurayra, and the expression muḥīṭ appears several times in the Qur’an in reference to the Divine, as in Q 2: 19, 3: 120, 8: 47, 41: 45, 85: 20, 4: 108, 4: 126 (e.g. ‘God encompasses everything’; ‘God encompasses the things they do’).

69. Q 7: 26, in full: ‘Children of Adam! We have sent down on you a garment to cover your nakedness, and as a thing of beauty; and the garment of godfearing (libās al-tagwā) – that is better; that is of the signs of God; haply they will remember.’

70. Q 58: 10, in full: ‘Conspiring secretly together is of Satan, that the believers may sorrow; but he will not hurt them anything, except by the leave of God. And in God let the believers put all their trust.’ Q 58: 9 urges the believers not to conspire secretly together in sin, enmity and disobedience to the Prophet, but in piety and godfearing.

The root ‘awadhā, which signifies seeking God’s protection or refuge, is of course always applied in relation to the seeking of protection against Satan, as in the formula a‘ūdhu bi’llāh min al-shaytān al-rajīm. On refuge-taking or protection seeking (ta‘awwudh) in Muslim prayer, see Padwick, Muslim Devotions, ch. 6.

71. Al-Dāfī‘ is not one of the ninety-nine Names, but is used in supplications and devotional literature (for example, yā Dāfī‘ al-balā‘: O You who Repel misfortune). The Tuesday morning prayer in the Awrād encompasses idā‘ annī kāy al-ḥāsidīn (‘Repel from me the deceitful plots of the envious!’), and the Wednesday morning prayer invokes God through this attribute (yā Dāfī‘): see Ibn 'Arabī, Wird, pp. 25, 32, respectively.

72. Q 12: 107, in full: ‘Do they feel secure that there shall come upon them no
enveloping of the chastisement of God, or that the Hour shall not come upon them suddenly when they are unaware?’ Q 12: 106 provides the reference: ‘And the most part of them believe not in God, but they associate other gods with Him.’ Ghāshiyā refers specifically to the Resurrection (which covers and encompasses all of mankind), or to Hellfire, which will overspread the faces of the unbelievers.

This verse of the prayer is the first of several in which an imprecatory aspect is expressed, through which the suppliant seeks harm for those who justly deserve it.

73. Q 45: 23, in full: ‘Has thou seen him who has taken his caprice to be his god, and God has led him astray out of a knowledge, setting a seal upon his hearing and his heart, and laying a cover on his seeing? Who then will guide him, after God? What, will you not remember?’ Note that the part of this Qur’anic verse cited in the prayer forms the second part of a conditional clause (thus pointing to a hypothetical future): in the Qur’anic verse it describes something past.

74. Q 28: 81, in full: ‘So, We made the earth to swallow him and his dwelling and there was no host to help him, apart from God, and he was helpless.’ This refers to Qārūn, one of the people of Moses to whom God had given great treasures, but who became insolent towards his people and boastful. The prayer captures the significance of Qārūn’s destruction both for the suppliant and for those who have mistreated him. (Qārūn is often identified with the Biblical Korah, but this has been called into question. See The Message of the Qur’an, p. 672 n. 84.)

Note the occurrence of the phrase ‘driven away in blame and routed’ (madh‘ūman madhīrān) in Q 7: 18, addressed to Iblis on his expulsion from Paradise.

75. Al-Subbāh is not one of the ninety-nine Names. It appears twinned with al-Quddās in the Wednesday evening prayer of the Awrād: see Ibn ‘Arabī, Wird, p. 29; further Ibn ‘Arabī, The Seven Days of the Heart, p. 87.

76. Q 28: 31, in full (beginning with a continuation of the divine address to Moses from within the burning bush): “Cast down your staff!” And when he saw it quivering like a serpent, he turned round retreating, and did not turn back. “Moses, come forward and fear not; for surely you are among those who are secure.”

77. Q 6: 45. Truncated here, the Qur’anic verse continues: ‘the Lord of the worlds’. It appears at the end of a series addressed to the Prophet, explaining how messengers were sent to communities before him, how they forgot what they had been reminded of, and how they were suddenly seized and confounded.

The pairing of verses 9 and 10 of the Daur is noteworthy. In verse 9, the suppliant requests what is desirable and beneficial for himself; in verse 10, he seeks what is harmful for his enemies. Benefit bestowed by the Divine (through the Name al-Nāfi’) pivots on the provision of that which is enjoyable (laddhīha, mentioned in verse 9) according to Ibn ‘Arabī, while the Names al-Nāfi’ and al-Dārr are twinned opposites. See Ibn ‘Arabī, K. Kashf al-ma’na, p. 178.

78. Q 10: 64, in full: ‘For them are good tidings in the life of this world and in the hereafter. There is no changing the words of God; this is the mighty triumph.’ Q 10: 62–63 provides the reference: ‘Surely God’s friends – no fear shall be on them neither shall they sorrow. Those who believe, and are godfearing – …’
I13
87. This is not one of the ninety-nine Names. Q 85: 12 gives ‘Surely your Lord’s assault is terrible (inna butsha rabbika la-shadid)’. See also Q 44: 16.

88. Q 3: 126, in full: ‘God ordained this but as a glad tiding to you, and that your hearts might thereby be at rest. There is no help to victory except from God, the All-Mighty; the All-Wise.’ The Qur’anic context is the battle of Uhud; the immediate reference is to the reminder that God’s help would be forthcoming, as it was at Badr (two clans among the Prophet’s forces at Uhud had been on the point of losing heart and joining the deserters). See also Q 8: 10, referring to the battle of Badr.

89. Q 20: 25–26, part of a supplication uttered by Moses, on receiving the divine instruction to go to the transgressing Pharaoh, continued by the Qur’anic verses included in prayer verse 17: see n. 85 above.

90. Q 94: 1. The opening verse of sūrat al-Inshirāh, used in times of difficulty. Revealed very soon after Q 93 during the early hours of his mission and a time of considerable trial for the Prophet, it reassures him of God’s continuing help. The juxtaposition in the prayer verse of this Qur’anic verse with Q 20: 25, conveying Moses’ request for the ‘expansion of his breast’, is noteworthy.

91. Q 30: 4–5, in full (including 3): ‘The Byzantines have been vanquished in the nearer part of the lands; after their being vanquished, they will be victorious in a few years. To God belongs the Command before and after. That day the believers shall rejoice in the victorious help of God; He helps whomsoever He will, and He is the All-Mighty, the All-Compassionate.’ ‘That day’ is understood to be a prediction of the battle of Badr which took place 8–9 years later, during which the Muslims would rejoice at their decisive victory over the unbelievers of Quraysh. (It refers also to the victories of Heraclius over the Persians: Badr coincided with a stage in these.)

92. This pair of Names appears (in reverse order) in the Wednesday morning prayer of the Awrād. See Ibn ’Arabi, Wird, p. 32.

93. On ihtīmān and sakīna, the latter denoting both God-inspired peace of mind and the presence of God, see Padwick, Muslim Devotions, pp. 122–125.

94. Q 13: 28. Truncated here, it ends: ‘Surely in God’s remembrance the hearts are at rest.’

95. Q 2: 249, uttered on the tongue of the small band of believers who went out with Saul (Ṭālūt) to meet Goliath (Jālūt) and his hosts, then routed them by the leave of God. In full: ‘And when Saul set out with his forces he said “God will try you with a river; whoever drinks of it is not of me, and whoever does not taste it is of me (as are those who scoop just a mouthful).” But they drank of it, except a few of them. When he crossed it, together with those who believed along with him, they said “We have no power today against Goliath and his forces!” Yet those who were certain that they would meet God said “How often has a small unit overcome a sizeable one, by the permission of God! God is with those who are patient in adversity.”’ Note that Q 2: 250 continues with their supplication on meeting Goliath and his forces, thus: ‘Our Lord! Pour out over us steadfastness, make firm our feet and give us aid against the people of the unbelievers.’ The prayer verse 21 uses the same language and imagery as arises in their supplication (affīgh ’alaynā sabrān wa thabībt aqḍāmanā...).
96. Q 13: 11, in full: ‘He has attendant angels, before him and behind him, watching over him by the command of God. God changes not what is in a people, until they change what is in themselves. If God wills evil for a people, there is no turning it back. Apart from Him, they have no protector.’ Q 13: 9–10 explains the encompassing of the unseen and the visible by the Divine Knowledge, with the following effect (achieved through the surrounding recording angels): ‘Alike of you is he who conceals what he says and he who proclaims it, he who hides himself in the night, and he who sallies by day.’

Note the resonance in this prayer verse with a request that appears in a prayer attributed to the Prophet, which he reportedly recited every morning and night: Al-lāhumma aḥfaznī min bayna yadayya wa min khalfī wa ‘an yaminī wa ‘an shimālī wa min fāwqī… For details of the hadith see Farid, Prayers of Muhammad, pp. 150–151.

97. Al-Qā’im is not one of the ninety-nine Names but appears, for example, in Q 13: 33: ‘What, He who stands over every soul for what it has earned? And yet they ascribe to Allāh associates (a-fā-man huwa qā’im ‘alā kulli naṣṣīn bi-mā kasabat wa ja’alā lillāh shurakā’).


99. Q 6: 81, in full: ‘How should I fear what you have associated [with Him], you when do not fear [the fact] that you have established associates beside God, concerning which He has not sent down on you any authority? Which of the two parties has better title to security, if you have any knowledge?’ This is on the tongue of Abraham, while he was disputing with his people concerning his repudiation of their polytheism.

100. These two Names appear thus together in Q 8: 40 (see also 22: 78); for further examples of references to God as the Protector of those who believe, see Q 47: 11 and 3: 150. They are not among the ninety-nine Names.

101. Q 2: 67, in full: ‘And when Moses said to his people “God commands you to sacrifice a cow.” They said, “Are you making fun of us?” He replied, “I take refuge in Allāh lest I should be one of the ignorant.”’ The context is the well-known exchange between Moses and his people, which culminated in their sacrificing the cow.

102. Al-Ṭālib is not one of the ninety-nine Names. It arises in the Wednesday morning prayer of the Āwrād (anta…al-Ṭālib wa’l-maṭlūb) for example: see Ibn ‘Arabī, Wird, p. 31. Cf. Q 58: 21.

103. Al-Ghālib is not one of the ninety-nine Names but is used in the Qur’ān of the Divine in 12: 21, thus: ‘Allāh prevails in His purpose, but most men know not’ (wa Allāh ghālib ‘alā amrihi wa lākin akthar al-nās là ya’lamūn). Cf. Q 58: 21.

104. Q 48: 8–9, in full: We have sent you as witness, bearer of good tidings and Warner, so that you [all] may have faith in God and His Messenger, and succour Him and reverence Him, and that you may give Him glory dawn time and evening.’

105. Al-Kāfī appears in the alternative list of ninety-nine Names given on the authority of Abū Hurayra: see al-Ghazālī, The Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God,
The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

pp. 167. In the sense of sufficiency, the root verb appears of the Divine several times in the Qur’an in relation to His sufficiency as a Guardian (wakil), a Reckoner (hasib), a Helper (nasir), a Protector (wall), as One who knows (‘alim), and as a Witness (shahid), for example. See for example Q 4: 81, 33: 39, 25: 31, 4: 45, 4: 70, 4: 166; also 33: 25.

106. Al-Shafi’i is not one of the ninety-nine Names: the root is used in the Qur’an to characterise its own contents (e.g. Q 17: 82 and 41: 44); see also Q 10: 57; 9: 14.

107. Q 59: 21. Truncated here, the verse ends: ‘And those similitudes – We strike them for men; haply they will reflect.’

108. Q 2: 60, in full: ‘And when Moses sought water for his people We said, “Strike with your staff the rock”, and there gushed forth from it twelve fountains; all the people knew now their drinking place. “Eat and drink of the provision of God, and do not make mischief in the earth, spreading corruption.”’ The part of this verse quoted in prayer verse 27 is on the tongue of Moses.

109. This Name, which appears in the traditional list of ninety-nine, is always twinned in the Qur’an with al-Qahhar. See Q 40: 16, 39: 4, 38: 65, for example.

110. Al-Ahad appears in the alternative list of ninety-nine Names given on the authority of Abū Hurayra: see al-Ghazālī, The Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God, p. 167. (See also Q 112: 1: ‘Say: “He is Allāh, One.”’)

111. Q 47: 19, in full: ‘Know then that there is no god but God, and ask forgiveness for your sin, and for the believers, men and women. And God knows your comings and goings and your lodging.’ The word of Oneness (kalimat al-tawhid) is shorthand for the first part of the šahāda.

112. Q 12: 38, in full thus: ‘And I have followed the creed of my forefathers Abraham, Isaac (Ishāq) and Jacob (Ya’qūb). Not ours is it to associate others with God. That is of the grace of God to us, and to all mankind; but most men are not thankful.’ This is on the tongue of Joseph, in the context of a discussion of their dreams with his fellow prisoners: he had been imprisoned following his refusal to bow to the demands of his employer’s wife.

Note that the three terms in the phrase bil-wilāya wal-‘ināya wal-ri‘āya appear together also in the Sunday morning prayer of the Awrād, thus: bi-‘ayn al-rahma wa’l-‘ināya wa’l-hifz wa’l-ri‘āya wa’l-ikhtisās wa’l-wilāya. See Ibn ‘Arabi, Wird, p. 9.

113. Q 49: 3, in full: ‘Surely those who lower their voices in the presence of the Messenger of God, those are they whose hearts God has tested for godfearing; they shall have forgiveness and a mighty wage.’ The verse appears in a sequence advising the believers how they should behave in the presence of the Prophet and towards each other.

114. Q 3: 135. Truncated here, after a pause the Qur’anic verse ends: ‘and who do not knowingly persist in the things they did.’ This verse appears in a sequence describing the righteous, whose reward will be Paradise. Note that the Qur’anic verse begins with ‘And’, which is omitted in prayer verse 31.

115. Q 39: 53, in full: ‘Say! “O My servants who have transgressed against yourselves: do not despair of the mercy of God. Surely God forgives sins altogether; Surely He is the All-Forgiving, the All-Compassionate.”’

116

117. Q 10: 10. Truncated here, it ends: ‘Lord of the worlds.’ Q 10: 9 provides the reference: ‘Surely those who believe, and do righteous deeds, their Lord will guide them for their belief; beneath them rivers flowing in gardens of bliss.’

‘A Garden prepared for the god-fearing’ is a contraction of a description appearing in Q 3: 133: ‘And vie with one another, hastening to forgiveness from your Lord, and to a Garden whose breadth is as the heavens and the earth, prepared for the god-fearing.’

118. Perfect and complete, the power of the Word of God is repeatedly acknowledged in prayer and invocation (see for example ‘Tamima’, p.177; Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p.86). The Prophet is reported to have said that whoever recites the formula *a´ūdhu bi-kalimât Allâh al-tâmmât min sharri mā khalaq* in the morning and the evening will never come to harm: for details of the hadith see Farid, *Prayers of Muhammad*, p.150. Ibn `Arabî advised use of this formula (incorporating the word *kullihā* after *kalimât Allâh al-tâmmât*) by the traveller alighting for rest during the night, to protect his night-camp from harm: see Ibn `Arabî, *al-Futûhât al-Makkîya* (Beirut, n.d.), IV, p.505.

119. *Sulţân naṣîr* arises as the object of a request in Q 17: 80 (which furnishes a much-used supplication), thus: ‘And say: “My Lord, lead me in with a sincere ingoing, and lead me out with a sincere outgoing; grant me from You an authoritative strength that brings success.”’
APPENDIX

Manuscript copies and chains of transmission

Copies A–I used in presenting the Arabic text are detailed below. With respect to chains of transmission, the lengthy epithets attached to figures are omitted unless they are of specific help for the purposes of identification: titles and positions are retained. Of these chains, to our best knowledge only D and G have been printed.

A. Haci Mahmud Efendi 3950
Al-Jundî commentary (in Ottoman Turkish) dated AH 1280: 52 fols., some vowels. Al-Jundî claims that this chain (fol. 50b–51a) encompasses the Dawr and ‘all of Ibn ‘Arabî’s other awrâd and writings’. He provides an ijâza in the Dawr and the şalawât of Ibn ‘Arabî to ‘Abd al-Nâfî Efendi.


B. Düğümülü Baba 506
Al-Tâfilâtî commentary (in Arabic) copy dated AH 1251 (Medina): 30 fols., with some vowels. Al-Tâfilâtî claims that this chain (fol. 3a) encompasses the Dawr and ‘all of Ibn ‘Arabî’s writings’. He adds that he has chains of authorities other than this one, but does not specify them.

Muḥammad al-Tâfilâtî al-Khalwatî, Muftî of Jerusalem ~ his teacher Muṣṭafâ al-Kubrâ (sic) al-Khalwatî and his shaykh Muḥammad
Appendix

b. Sālim al-Ḥanafī (sic) al-Miṣri; the latter two ~ their shaykh Muḥammad al-Budayrī al-Dimyāṭī ~ his shaykh Mullā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī al-Madānī ~ his shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī al-Dajānī al-Madānī, via his chain to Ibn ‘Arabī

C. Haci Mahmud Efendi 4212
Al-Dāmūnī commentary (in Arabic) undated: 83 fols., no vowels. Chain appears fol. 3a.

D. Al-Qāwuqjī commentary
Printed version in Arabic (Damascus, AH 1301), copy of Haci Mahmud Efendi 4213: 160 pp., with few vowels, ending in a commentary on the salawāt of Ibn ‘Arabī (pp. 106 ff.). Al-Qāwuqjī explains that he transmits the Dawr ‘like Ibn ‘Arabī’s other resplendent works’ through this chain (pp. 3–4).

E. Haci Mahmud Efendi 4053
Copy of prayer alone, undated: 5 fols. with full vowels. Chain (fol. 5a) added in a different hand, viz. that of ‘Alī Efendi, granting an ijāza to read the Dawr to Aḥmad Muṣṭaffar b. Muṣṭafā Masʿūd.
‘Alī Efendi b. Sulaymān b. al-shaykh Muṣṭafā b. al-shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm (may be crossed out) ʿUmar, teacher in Dār al-ʿAlīya ~

120

F. Reşid Efendi 1051
Personal compilation of prayers, ṣalawāt, Qur’anic verses, supplications, poems (including Ka‘b b. Zuhayr’s famous Bānat Su‘ād), an alphabetical list of the names of the Companions who fought at Badr (compiled apparently at the request of a ruler), fragments from al-Buṣayrī and al-Suyūṭī, a ḥizb by Abū‘l-Ḥasan al-Shādhili, a list of the Prophet’s names, his wives and a summary of the signs of the Mahdi drawn from the hadith. The hand throughout is apparently that of Muḥammad Musāwīd Zāde al-Ṭārābzūnī. No vowels, 160 fols. Note that fol. 144a carries the date AH 1169 (the Dawr begins on fol. 144b). (The earliest date in the compilation is 1159; the latest is 1171.) The chain appears on fol. 145a.


121
Appendix

G. Laleli 1520
Beautiful gold-embellished compilation in a single hand of prayers attributed to Ibn ‘Arabi (the Awrād, Dawr al-a’lā, Ḥizb al-ahdīya, Tawajjuh waqt al-saḥar; Taḥṣīn) followed by a prayer attributed to Abū Madyan and a list of the names and dates of death of the rightly guided caliphs and the imams of the main four Sunni fiqh madhāhib: 70 fols., dated AH 1164 (f. 67b). The introduction gives an ‘open’ ijāza (to anyone wishing to read the texts in question) and a chain which appear to be associated with the entire contents of the compilation of ‘awrād and adhkār’. (See manuscript frontispiece; Beneito and Hirtenstein, The Seven Days of the Heart, pp. 174–175, giving a translation and discussion of this ijāza and chain. We give the chain below for the sake of completeness). The Dawr text (fols. 31a–36a) is very clear and has full vowels. (Note that, sometimes omitting some of the smaller texts, Düğümlü Baba 490 and 489 and Haci Mahmud Efendi 4179, the last used by Beneito and Hirtenstein, all printed facsimiles, are versions of Laleli 1520, retaining the ijāza and chain.)


H. Hamidiye 1440
Compilation in a single hand of works by Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī: Majmūʿat rasāʾil, including Maslak al-taʿrīf bi-tahqīq al-taklīf’alā mashrāb ahl al-kashf wa’l-shuhūd al-qāʾilīn bi-tawḥīd al-wujūd,1 200 fols., addressing theological issues relating to the doctrine of waḥdat al-wujūd. Contents recorded from AH 1086 to 1094 in al-Kūrānī’s presence in Medina by a disciple, several of them in al-Kūrānī’s home on the outskirts of Medina2 and one at the rear of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf al-Nabawī (the Prophet’s Noble Sanctuary) there.3 The Dawr (fols. 31b–32b) is the only prayer in this collection and the only text not by al-Kūrānī. It has few vowels. Note that the copy of the text ending on fol. 31a is dated AH 1089 (and made at al-Kūrānī’s house on the outskirts of Medina), which is likely also to
be the date of the Dawr copy, which it can be presumed was recorded from al-Kūrānī alongside his own works. It is noteworthy that Ragib Paşa 1464 (193 fols.) is a second compilation of the same overall title as H, in a different hand from the latter: there is no evidence in this case that the scribe was al-Kūrānī’s disciple. It seems that al-Kūrānī requested that a second copy of H (which we can call H2) be made after that compilation had been completed in 1094. Some texts thus give the same details of time/place as texts in H. Others then add a ‘final copy’ date some five or six years later. The Dawr (fols. 31a–32 b)\(^4\) follows on the same page on the end of a text by al-Kūrānī concerning which it is recorded that the rough copy was made from al-Kūrānī in his house on the outskirts of Medina in AH 1089 and the final one copied out in his house adjacent to Bāb al-Raḥma of the Prophet’s Mosque in AH 1094.\(^5\) The Dawr is followed (fol. 32b) by a verse from al-Shāfiʿi, an anonymous supplication and an untitled and un-attributed portion of Ibn ‘Arabī’s Tuesday morning würd.

I. Pertev Paşa 644
Compilation in a single hand of works by or attributed to Ibn ‘Arabī (K. al-Hū, K. al-Ḥaqq, K. al-Jalāla, K. al-Bā’, K. al-Naṣāʾiḥ, R. al-Anwār) plus various other texts, including a fragment from al-Sulamī and a prayer by Abūl-Ḥasan al-Shādhili. The Dawr (fols. 62b–64a) is prefaced by a discussion of its properties. Undated, but the preface suggests that this version was received from al-Qushāshī.

J. Murad Buhari 320
Personal compilation of prayers, talismans, poems, etc. dated AH 1203 (fol. 127a) in the hand of, and signed by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥādi. The Dawr (fols. 60b–63a) is without vowels.

K. Izmirli Hakki 3635
Compilation in a single hand of prayers (including al-Ṣalāt al-kubrā attributed to Ibn ‘Arabī and prayers by al-Shādhili) and accompanying commentaries, 160 fols. Commentary on the Dawr by Ḥusayn
Appendix

b. İsmâ’îl b. Muştafa al-Hişârî (fols. 51b–120b, the text of the prayer repeated fols. 121b–125b), entitled *Kashf al-kurūb wa fath jamī‘ al-abwāb wa kashf al-lughūb*. Copy dated AH 1282 (fol. 125b), but the preamble has the author report that he wrote the commentary in AH 1205 (fol. 51b). (Copy A 3470 [University of Istanbul Library] is incomplete and undated.)

L. Esad Efendi 415
Collection in a single hand of Ottoman Turkish and Arabic religious texts and prayers (including the *ḥirz* of Abû Madyan), 161 fols. The *Dawr* (fols. 158b–161a) has some vowels and is dated AH 1220.

M. Reşid Efendi 501
Compilation in a single hand of prayers by Ibn ‘Arabî (*Ḥizb al-‘ārif bi’llāh, Du‘ā’ asmā’ Allâh al-ḥusnâ, Ḥizb al-nūr, the Awrād, Ṣalawāt sharī‘a*) and others (including those by ‘Abd al-Qâdir al-Jilānî, al-Shâdhilî, ‘Abd al-Ghanî al-Nâbulusî, ‘Abd al-Wahhâb al-Sha’rânî, al-Shâfi‘î and Imâm ‘Alî), as well as anonymous supplications and protective prayers, all in one hand, 126 fols. Possibly dates to the lifetime of al-Nâbulusî, i.e. before AH 1143, as the copyist, possibly his disciple, refers to him twice in terms that suggest he was still alive (e.g. fol. 94a). The *Dawr* (fols. 109b–111b) has full vowels and plentiful marginal alternatives.

Alongside these copies, particular attention was paid in producing the text to two copies with full vowels: Naﬁz Paşa 702 and Ankara Millî 489.

In addition to those referred to throughout our text and notes, the following copies were also consulted: Izmirli Hakki 1516 (undated), Esad Efendi 1405 (undated), Ulu Camî 936 (dated AH 1194), Esad Efendi 3430 (undated).
Notes to Appendix

Notes

1. Knysh, ‘Ibrahim al-Kurani’, p. 41 n. 10 refers to a copy of the same title in what may be a comparable collection: Majmū’a, Yahuda Collection, #3869.

2. For example folios 29a, 30a–b, 34b. Texts here end with comments such as the following (fol. 29a): ‘Our shaykh the author, may God cause us to benefit from him, said: “The rough copy was completed at noontime on Tuesday 11th Šafar 1086, in my home in the outskirts of al-Madīna al-Munawwara: the best prayer and blessing be upon the most excellent of its inhabitants…”’

3. See fol. 46a, dated 1088: his disciple (the scribe) here asks God to keep al-Kūrānī safe, to preserve him and give him strong health.

4. The text of the Dawr in H2, which has many vowels, is identical to H with the exception that the scribe fails to incorporate four marginal additions, on one occasion adds his own insertion in the margin (sirr after majd in verse 4), and chooses yahdīhi in verse 7 (given in the margin in H) over the erroneous yahdī (given in the text in H). These differences do not merit its separate inclusion in preparing our text, but they do serve to point up the extent to which copyists and scribes have felt justified in showcasing a ‘personal’ version of the prayer.

5. For example, fol. 31a has: ‘The author, may God cause us to benefit from him, said: “The rough copy was completed before noon on Thursday 30th Muḥarram at the beginning of 1089 in my house on the outskirts of al-Madīna al-Munawwara… the final copy (lit. its copying out and embellishment) was completed on the afternoon of Saturday the 22nd of Rajab 1094 in my house adjacent to Bāb al-Raḥma of the Prophet’s Mosque.”’ Similar examples arise in folios 30a and 26a.

Note that the latter part of this compilation encompasses two additional texts by al-Kūrānī (one of them recorded in 1084 and another after his death) and two by al-Ghazālī. From f. 95a (encompassing one of the additional al-Kūrānī texts) it is in a second hand.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Printed sources

Ansari, Muhammad Abdul Haq. Sufism and Shari‘ah: A Study of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi’s Efforts to Reform Sufism (Leicester, 1986).
Asad, Muhammad, tr./explanation. The Message of the Qur’an (Bristol, 2003).
References

Bibliography

Printed Sources

Encyclopaedia of Islam, eds. C. E. Bosworth et al. (Leiden, 1954—), new edn., selected articles.
Farîd, A. H. Prayers of Muhammad (Lahore, 1999).
Bibliography


——— *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (Beirut, n.d.).


Printed Sources


——. Delaliʿul Hayrât ve Şevârikʿul Envâr (Istanbul, n.d.).


——. Islamic Mysticism: A Short History (Leiden, 2000).


al-Murādī, Muḥammad Khalil b. ʿAlī. Silk al-durar fī a’yān al-qarn al-thānī ʿashar (Cairo, 1301).


—— ‘He was a Teacher of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab: Muḥammad Hayāt al-Sindi and the Revival of the Traditionist Methodology’, unpublished paper.


Rizvi, Athar Abbas. *A History of Sufism in India* (New Delhi, 1983).
Schimmel, Annemarie. *And Muhammad is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1985).
Bibliography


Internet sources

http://www.ibnarabisociety.org/Publications.html
http://www.islamawareness.net/Jinn/
http://www.kitsan.com
http://www.muttaqun.com/jinn.html
http://www.as-shifa.org.uk/ulum/shaykhsamir.htm
INDEX

‘Ābidīn, Abū’l-Yusr 6, 7, 13n8, 104n11
Abraham (Prophet Ibrāhīm) 53n16, 77, 115n99, 116n112
Abū Hurayra 110n56, 111n68, 115n98, 115n105, 116n110, 117n116
Abū Madyan 52n7, 106n31, 110n59, 122
Abū Shāma, ‘Abd al-Rahmān 66n167
Abū Ṭawq, Hāshim 12n5
adab 38, 108n46
Aḥmadī/Ahmadiyya (Badawiyya) 29, 58n76
al-‘Alawī, Wajih al-Dīn 58n81
Aleppo 22, 24, 26, 39, 42
al-‘Amm, Salīm 12n5
al-anfās (sing. nafās) 72, 105n24
Ash’ārī; Ash’ārism 26, 33, 35, 49, 56n44, 61n114
‘Āshīrūr, Muḥammad Amīn 11n4
Awrād (al-usbū’) 3n1, 3n3, 7–9, 13n6, 13n11, 16n26, 51n1, 53n14, 109n54, 111n65, 111n66, 111n71, 112n75, 114n92, 115n102, 116n112, 122–124
al-‘Ayyārūs, Abū Bakr b. ‘Abdallāh 51n4
al-Azhar 35, 39, 40, 63n132
Bā’alwī, Muḥammad al-Shillī 33
Bāb al-Rahmā (Prophet’s Mosque, Medina) 123, 125n5
al-Bābīli, al-Shams Muḥammad 32
al-Badawi, Aḥmad 13n6, 29, 58n76
Badawiyya see Aḥmadī/Ahmadiyya
Baghdad 23, 34, 64n150, 68n186
al-Bajārī, al-Burḥān 43
al-Bakrī, Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn b. Muṣṭafā 40
al-Bakrī, Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn 12n5, 13n7, 36–38, 40, 47, 63n129, 67n173, 119, 120
Banū ‘Asākir 22
al-Banūrī, Ādām 59n97
baraka 8, 12n4, 25, 40, 44, 45, 48, 49, 52n10, 66n167, 66n169, 72, 106n26
al-Barzanji, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rasūl 60n111
basmala 14n16, 110n64, 111n65
al-Baṣrī, ‘Abdallāh b. Sālim 33, 37, 59n94, 61n112
Beshara 9–10
al-Biqā‘ī, Burhān al-Dīn 27, 28
al-Budayrī al-Dimyāṭī, Muḥammad 35–38, 47, 120
Cairo 22, 24, 28–30, 34–36, 38–40, 46, 47, 67n179
Celvetiyye 16n24
Chishtiyya 34
Dalā‘il al-khayrāt 6, 8, 13n10, 15n19
Damascus 5–8, 15n21, 23, 24, 29–31, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 53n14, 61n114, 63n143, 64n150, 66n169, 68n187, 106n25
al-Dāmūnī, Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī 41
al-Dāmūnī, Muḥammad
b. Mahmūd 40, 41, 46, 70, 73, 74, 106n25, 107n33, 108n46, 120
al-Dardayr, Aḥmad (also al-Dardayrī) 12n4, 39, 63n132
dawr (cycle) 3n4
‘deliberate interpolation’ hypothesis 29, 58n70
al-Dhahabi, Shams al-Dīn 25
dhikr (pl. adhkār) 29, 30, 57n63
Dimyat 24, 35

135
Index

al-Dimyātī, 'Imād al-Dīn 24
al-Dimyātī, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu‘min 23, 24, 66n166, 67n173, 121
Divine Names 3n1, 7, 12n5, 69, 74, 76–78
du‘ā’ see supplication
Du‘ā’ asmā’ Allāh al-husnā 124
Egypt 9, 23, 26, 27, 30, 38–40, 43, 46
evil eye 105n16
Fatma Hanım 9, 16n24
fihris 1, 26, 27
fiqh; faqih 24, 26, 28, 29, 32–35, 38, 43, 48, 55n37, 56n47, 57n63
Fusūs al-hikam 15n21, 46, 52n8, 58n70
al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya 13n8, 15n21, 23, 41, 46, 62n121, 68n183
al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamīd 40, 125n5
al-Ghazzī, Badr al-Dīn 28–31, 46, 66n166, 168, 119, 121
al-Ghazzī, Jibrīl b. Zayn al-‘Ābidīn 103n8
al-Ghazzī, Najm al-Dīn 30, 31, 46, 66n166, 66n168, 119, 121
al-Ghazzī, Raḍī al-Dīn 30
al-Ghurāb, Māḥmūd Māḥmūd 6, 7
Goliath (Jālūt) 114n95
Gümüşhanevi, Ahmed Ziya’üddin 1, 8
al-Ḥādi, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh 123
hadith 6, 22–38, 42–44, 48, 52n11, 54n20, 55n37, 56n44, 61n112, 62n118, 63n138, 66n167, 74, 104n13, 110n56
al-Ḥalabī al-Ṣīrāfī, Muḥammad
b. Muqbil 24, 26, 27, 57n49, 121
Hanafī 39, 41, 42, 60n102
Hanbali 26, 36, 56n47, 61n114
al-Ḥanbali, ‘Abd al-Baqī’ Taqī al-Dīn
b. Mawāhīb 36, 61n114
Ḥaram (Meccan Sanctuary; Sacred Precinct of Mecca) 28, 60n102
Haramayn (Mecca and Medina) 31, 32, 43, 58n81, 67n178, 67n179
al-Ḥarāwī, Nasīr al-Dīn Muḥammad
b. ‘Ali, 24, 66n166, 121
al-Ḥārūn, Ahmad 6–7
al-Ḥāshīmī, Muḥammad (al-Jāz‘irī
al-Tīlīsmānī) 14n14
hawqala 107n34, 111n65
al-Ḥifnāwī, Muḥammad b. Sālim
(also al-Hifnī) 13n7, 36, 38–40, 47, 67n173, 120
Hijaz 22, 23, 27, 28, 32, 34, 39, 43, 46, 60n111, 64n150, 65n153
himmā 73
hirz (pl. ahrāz) 3n4, 72, 107n32, 108n41, 110n64
Hirz al-āqṣām 73, 107n31, 107n32, 124
al-Ḥiṣārī, ‘Abd al-Wāḥīd
al-Mu‘āmmar 33
al-Ḥiṣārī, Husayn b. Ismā‘īl 97n42, 108n41, 124
al-Ḥiṣn al-haṣīn 106n27, 107n32, 108n41
al-Ḥiṣnā, Ḥusayn 41
hizb (pl. ahzāb) 3n4, 47, 69, 72, 73
Hizb of al-Nawawī 7, 15n19, 56n40
Hizb al-ahādīya 122
Hizb al-‘ārif bi‘llāh 124
Hizb al-bahr 44, 51n3, 52n7, 104n15, 106n30, 107n31, 110n60
Hizb al-naṣr 52n7, 106n30
Hizb al-nūr 124
Hūdayi, Aziz Māḥmūd 16n24
al-Ḥusaynī, ‘Alī al-Waṣfī
b. Ḥusayn 51n3
Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad 37
Ibn ‘Arabī, ‘Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad
b. Muḥyī al-Dīn 54n21
Ibn ‘Arabī, Muḥyī al-Dīn (Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn; the Shaykh
al-Akbar) 1, 2, 3n1, 5–9, 11n4, 14n12, 15n21, 17, 22–29, 33–38, 40–42, 45, 46, 48–50, 51n1, 51n5, 52n12, 54n19–21, 58n70, 61n114, 67n176, 77, 104n10, 107n31, 110n61, 110n63, 117n118, 119–124
Index

Ibn ‘Arabī, Sa’d al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥyī al-Dīn 22, 23, 121
Ibn Bākhilā, Da‘ūd 51n3
Ibn al-Bukhārī, al-Fākhr 26
Ibn Fāhūd al-Makki, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (‘Izz al-Dīn) b. ‘Umar 27, 28, 120
Ibn Fāhūd al-Makki, Muḥammad (Taqī al-Dīn) 27
Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, 25–28, 46, 48, 55n37, 119
Ibn Idrīs, Aḥmad 43
Ibn Mashīsh, ‘Abd al-Salām 52n7, 107n31
Ibn al-Shuwaykh, Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Maqdisī 30
Ibn Ṭūlūn 28
ījāza 5–8, 18, 23, 24, 26–8, 30–33, 36, 38, 40, 44, 45, 52n11, 54n21, 61n114, 65n166, 69, 74, 119, 120, 122
‘child ājāza’ 36, 45, 52n12, 54n19, 65n166
‘ilm (and ahl al-‘ilm) 44, 52n10
Indonesia 34
Iraq 23, 64n150
al-Iṣfahānī, shaykh Abū Shujā’ Zāhir b. Rustam 54n19
al-ism al-jāmi’ 76
Ismail Pasha 9, 16n23
Istanbul 8, 16n24, 17
Iṣṭiglāṭha 51n1, 51n6
al-Jabartī al-Zabīdī, Ḥsam’al 23–25, 46, 67n176, 121
al-Jazāʿīrī, ‘Abd al-Qādir (Amīr) 42, 49, 64n152
al-Jazāʿirī, Muḥammad al-Sa’dī 39
al-Jazārī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Abūl-Khayr Shams al-Dīn (also
Ibn al-Jazārī) 67n176, 106n27
al-Jazūlī, Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān 6
Jerusalem 32, 35–40, 47, 119
al-Jīlī, ‘Abd al-Karīm 25, 33
jinn 70, 72, 104n13, 104n14, 105n17, 105n22
Joseph (Prophet Yūsuf) 77–78, 116n112
al-Jundī, Muḥammad 41, 42, 49, 119
al-Jundī, Muḥammad Amīn b. Muḥammad 42, 49, 119
kalām see theology
karāma (pl. karāmāt, act of spiritual grace) 7, 12n4, 14n12, 28, 38, 43
takī (acquisition) 33, 61n114
al-Kattani, ‘Abd al-Hayy b. ‘Abd al-Kabīr 37, 66n171
Khālid al-Naqshbandī, shaykh Diyyā’ al-Dīn 41, 42, 49
Khālidiyā see Naqshbandiyā-Khālidiyā
Khawāṣṣ (special properties) 2, 69–74
Khīdīr 40
khirqa 23, 30, 33, 46, 78
K. Kashf al-ma’na ‘an asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā 77
K. al-Mu’ashsharāt al-maymūna 23
K. al-Rashāḥāt al-anwārīyā fi sharī al-awrād al-akbārīyā 53n14, 103n7
al-Kūrānī, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan 32, 34, 35, 37, 47, 49, 67n173, 109n51, 120–123
al-Kūrānī, Ilyās b. Ibrāhīm 37, 47
al-Kūrānī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm 40
al-Kūrānī, Tāhir b. Ibrāhīm (Muḥammad Abūl-Tāhir) 37, 38, 120
al-Kurdi, Ḥasan b. Mūsā 53n14
al-Kurdi, Mahmūd (al-Khalwātī) 39, 40, 120
Index

London 9, 17
Ma’arrat Nu’man 41–42
madhhab (pl. madhāḥīḥ) 22, 33, 48, 56n44, 58n73, 122
al-Maghribī, Ahmad al-Shādhilī (al-Maqqarī) 38
magic squares 73
Mahallat Ruh 29, 30
al-Mahdālī, Yusuf 43
al-Mahdawi, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz 107n31, 110n59
majlis (pl. majālis) al-ṣālat ‘alā al-nabī 5, 6
Majmū‘at al-ahzāb 1, 8
Malatya 22
Maliki 32
Malta 39
Manzūmat asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā al-Dardayrīya 12n4, 63n132
Maqām Ibrāhīm (‘Station of Abraham’) 22, 31, 53n16, 54n19
al-Maqdisī al-Ṣālīḥī al-Hanbalī, al-Ṣālāḥ Muḥammad 26
al-Marāghī, Muḥammad Abū’l-Faḥūṣ (al-Marāghī al-ṣaghīr) 26–28, 121
al-Mar’āshī, Maḥmūd Efendi 42
mārid (pl. marāda) (disobedient and insolent [jinn]) 70, 104n13
Maryam bint Muḥammad (Khāṭūn) 53n15
mashyakha 27, 53n14
mausoleum of Ibn ‘Arabī (also shrine; tomb) 5, 15n21, 36, 103n8
Mecca 22, 26, 27, 31–33, 42–44, 46, 60n102
Medina 26, 30, 32–6, 46, 67n178, 68n185, 119, 121–123
al-Mirghani, Muḥammad ‘Uthmān 43
al-Mirghani, Muḥammad Yāsīn b. ‘Abdallāh 42, 43, 120
Mirghaniyya see Khatmiyya
Morocco 39, 63n134
Moses (Prophet Mūsā) 77, 112n76, 113n85, 114n89, 114n90, 115n101, 116n108
al-Mudarris, ‘Abd al-Rahmān 42
Muḥammad see Prophet Muḥammad
al-Muhibbi, Muḥammad b. Faḍlallāh (Amīn) 22, 31, 33
Muhyyiddin Ibn ‘Arabī Society (MIAS) 9, 10
mu’jam shuyūkh (pl. ma‘ajim shuyūkh) 23–25, 27, 28, 53n14
muqāṭta‘āt 72, 107n31
al-Murādī, Muḥammad Khalīl b. ‘Alī 40
murid 5, 6, 29, 30
al-Murshidī, al-Jamāl Muḥammad (Abū’l-Mahāsīn) 25, 56n40, 120
al-Murtūdā al-Zabīdī (Muḥammad Murtūdā) 24, 43, 46
Mu’tazili; Mu’tazilism 56n44
al-Nābulusī, Ibrāhīm b. Ismā’il b. ‘Abd al-Ghanī (grandson of ‘Abd al-Ghanī) 41, 46, 66n166, 121
al-Nābulusī, Ismā’il (son of ‘Abd al-Ghanī) 41
al-Nābulusī, Ismā’il (father of ‘Abd al-Ghanī) 32, 36
al-Nābulusī, Ismā’il (great-grandfather of ‘Abd al-Ghanī) 30
Naqshbandi/Naqsbandiya 8, 15n19, 30, 32–38, 47, 61n111, 67n181, 64n150, 68n185
Naqshbandiya-Khalidiyya (also Mujaddidiyya-Khalidiyya) 1, 64n150
Naqshbandiya-Mujaddidiyya 34, 41, 68n185
al-Naṣṣ, Mamdūh 7
al-Naṣṣ, Muḥammad Sāmīr 7, 14n14
Palestine 27, 40, 47
Prophet Muḥammad (Messenger; 138
## Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Envoy of God)</td>
<td>7, 14n16, 40, 43, 54n16, 103n9, 104n13, 105n20, 113n79, 113n85, 114n90, 115n96, 116n113, 117n118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prophet's Mosque (Medina)</td>
<td>37, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(al-Masjid al-Nabawî)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prophet's Noble Sanctuary (Medina)</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(al-Haram al-Sharîf al-Nabawî)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qadiri/Qadiriyâ</td>
<td>32, 34, 36, 37, 107n31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qarabashiyâ (Khalwatiyya)</td>
<td>37–39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qarîn (pl. quranâ”) (spirit companion)</td>
<td>70, 104n13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qarîn al-su‘î (the Evil One; Satan)</td>
<td>71, 105n19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qârûn</td>
<td>112n74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qâwqâjî, Muḥammad b. Khalîl (Abû’l-Maḥâsin)</td>
<td>43, 44, 73, 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qûnawî, Ṣadr al-Dîn</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qur’ân (also Qur’anic worldview)</td>
<td>31, 35, 45, 48, 49, 56n44, 61n114, 71, 74, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qur’anic quotations (also texts; verses)</td>
<td>2, 74–77, 106n26–28, 108n41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qushâshî, Ṣâfî al-Dîn Aḥmad</td>
<td>31–35, 46, 49, 61n111, 67n176, 120, 121, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ramlî, al-Shams Muḥammad</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rauf, Bülent</td>
<td>9, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sakhâwî, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmân</td>
<td>26, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-salaf al-sâliḥ, 35, 56n44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salaf/salafism</td>
<td>26, 29, 35, 48–50, 56n44, 61n114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaf/Salafiyya (19th-century reform movement)</td>
<td>49, 68n186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şalawât; taṣâliya; al-salâl ‘alâ al-nabî (calling down peace and blessings upon the Prophet Muḥammad)</td>
<td>11n4, 12n5, 14n16, 69, 72, 103n9, 104n10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Salât al-Mashâshiyya</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şalât/Şalawât of Ibn ‘Arabî (Salawât kubrâ; Salawât and Salât sharîfû)</td>
<td>3n3, 36, 51n6, 119, 120, 123, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şalawât of al-Dâdâyîr</td>
<td>12n4, 63n132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sâlihiyya</td>
<td>5, 14n12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salimiyya madrasa</td>
<td>36, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samâ’ (certificate of audition)</td>
<td>24, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şanad (chain of transmission or authorities)</td>
<td>2, 18, 41, 44–46, 48, 49, 52n11, 66n167, 76, 119–122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sânûsî, Muḥammad b. ‘Alî</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satan</td>
<td>71, 104n13, 105n19, 111n70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saul (Tâlût)</td>
<td>114n95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shadhîli/Shadhîliyya</td>
<td>14n14, 27, 32, 43, 65n162, 106n31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Shâdîli, Abû’l-Ḥasan</td>
<td>73, 121, 123, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shafî’î</td>
<td>22, 23, 25–31, 34, 37, 38, 54n19, 59n85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Shâfî’î, Muḥammad b. Idrîs (al-Imâm)</td>
<td>65n166, 123, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shahâda</td>
<td>71, 105n18, 116n111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahrazur</td>
<td>34, 64n150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sha’rânî, ‘Abd al-Wâhâb</td>
<td>28, 29, 46, 49, 57n63, 58n76, 121, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sharbînî, ‘Abd al-Rahmân</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shari’â</td>
<td>34, 35, 48, 60n109, 61n111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sharqâwî, ‘Abdollâh</td>
<td>39, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shattariyya</td>
<td>30, 32, 34, 37, 60n109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaykh Muḥyî’-Dîn Mosque</td>
<td>5–7, 15n20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Shinnâwî, Abû’l-Mawâhib Aḥmad b. ‘Alî b. ‘Abd al-Quddûs</td>
<td>29–32, 67n176, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Shinnâwî, ‘Alî b. ‘Abd al-Quddûs</td>
<td>29, 67n176, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Shinnâwî, Muḥammad</td>
<td>29, 58n76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şîbghatullâh b. Rûhullâh al-Sîndî (al-Barwâjî; al-Barûjî)</td>
<td>30, 32, 58n81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silsila</td>
<td>23, 35, 46, 67n176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Sîndî, Muḥammad Ḥayât</td>
<td>37, 59n94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singkel, ‘Abd al-Râ’ûf</td>
<td>33, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirhindî, Ahmad</td>
<td>34, 35, 59n97, 68n185</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

al-Sulami, Muhammad b. Ḥusayn (Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) 123
Sunbul, Muḥammad Saʿīd 37, 38, 120
Sunbul, Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Muhammad Saʿīd 38, 42, 64n153, 120
Sunna 35, 48, 49, 61n111
supplication (duʿāʾ) 3n4, 103n8, 108n44, 108n46, 117n119
sūrat al-ʿA’rāf 14n16
sūrat al-Fātiha 7, 11n4, 12n5, 14n16
sūrat al-Ikhlaṣ 107n34
sūrat al-Inshirāh 14n16, 104n10, 114n90
sūrat al-Waqiʿa 71
sūrat Yā Sīn 12n4, 13n7
sūrat Yūsuf 77, 113n80
al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn 26, 27, 30, 43, 46, 57n49, 66n166, 66n171, 67n176, 121
Syria 23, 27, 32, 41–43, 46, 49

al-taʿalluq 77
al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā 31, 33, 120
al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā 31, 33, 120
al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā 31, 33, 120
al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā 31, 33, 120
al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā 31, 33, 120
al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā 31, 33, 120
al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā 31, 33, 120
al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā 31, 33, 120
al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā 31, 33, 120
al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā 31, 33, 120
al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā 31, 33, 120
al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā 31, 33, 120
al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā 31, 33, 120

takhrīj 55n37
talisman 73, 106n27, 107n33
al-Tanūkhī, Burhān al-Dīn Abū Ishāq ʿIbrāhīm (al-Burhān al-Shāmī) 23–25, 119
ṭarīqa (pl. tariqāt) 5, 11n1, 14n12, 18, 28, 29, 32–36, 47, 61n111, 67n177
Tājumān al-ʿashrāf 103n8
Tawajjuh waqt al-sahar 122
taʿwīd; taʿawwudh (taking refuge) 106n27, 111n70
theology (kalām) 33–35, 38, 48, 61n114
al-Tilimsānī, Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn 32
al-ʿUjāymi al-Makkī, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, 33, 37
umm al-ṣibyān 71, 105n20
al-Uskudārī, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbdallāḥ 62n126
uṣūl (principles of the faith) 33, 38
uwaysi sufism; uwaysi suffi 36, 43, 67n174

wahdat al-wujūd (Oneness of Being) 31, 33–36, 48, 49, 56n44, 61n114, 67n181, 68n186, 122
Wali Allāh, Shāh 37, 68n186
al-Wānī, Nūr al-Dīn Abūʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿUmar 23, 66n166, 121
wird (pl. awrād) 3n4, 38, 69, 103n2
Wird al-sahar 12n5, 38

Yemen 25, 32, 39
Yivlik, Ahmed 8, 15n21

Zakariyā al-Anṣārī, 26–30, 46, 66n166, 67n172, 173, 119, 121
al-Zarrūq, ʿAbd al-Qādir 13n6
zawbāʾa (pl. zawbāʾi) (storm demon) 70, 104n13

140
‘Whoever recites this prayer will be like the sun and the moon among the stars’

This is the first study of a widely used and much-loved prayer by Ibn ‘Arabī. The Ḍawr al-aʿlā (‘The Most Elevated Cycle’), also known as the Ḥizb al-wiqāya (‘The Prayer of Protection’), is a prayer of remarkable power and beauty. It is said that whoever reads it with sincerity of heart and utter conviction, while making a specific plea, will have their wish granted.

This precious book provides a definitive edition of the Arabic text, a lucid translation and a transliteration for those unable to read Arabic. In addition, there is an illuminating analysis of the transmission and use of the prayer across the centuries. Of particular interest are the major figures in Islamic scholarship and mysticism who have been associated with it, and perceptions of its properties.

Suha Taji-Farouki is Research Associate at the Department of Academic Research and Publications, The Institute of Ismaili Studies (London), and Lecturer in Modern Islam at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter. She has published widely on aspects of modern Islam and Islamic thought.