

# JAWANMARDI

**A SUFI CODE OF HONOUR**

LLOYD RIDGEON





# ***Jawanmardi***

## **A Sufi Code of Honour**

**Lloyd Ridgeon**

Edinburgh University Press

# For the Gowland girls

© Lloyd Ridgeon, 2011

Edinburgh University Press Ltd  
22 George Square, Edinburgh  
[www.euppublishing.com](http://www.euppublishing.com)

Typeset in 11/13 Stempel Garamond by  
Servis Filmsetting Ltd, Stockport, Cheshire, and  
printed and bound in Great Britain by  
CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham and Eastbourne

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

ISBN 978 0 7486 4182 6 (hardback)

The right of Lloyd Ridgeon to be identified as author of this work  
has been asserted in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents  
Act 1988.

# Contents

Acknowledgements	iv
Introduction: Medieval Sufi- <i>Futuwwat/Jawanmardi</i>	1
<b>Section I</b>	
Introduction to Suhrawardi's <i>Kitab fi'l-futuwwat</i>	25
Translation of Suhrawardi's <i>Kitab fi'l-futuwwat</i>	42
<b>Section II</b>	
Introduction to <i>Futuwwat Nama of Mirza 'Abd al-'Azim Khan Qarib-i Garakani</i>	99
Translation of <i>Futuwwat Nama of Mirza 'Abd al-'Azim Khan Qarib-i Garakani</i>	108
<b>Section III</b>	
Introduction to the <i>Treatise of Hatim</i>	163
Translation of the <i>Treatise of Hatim</i>	175
Index	215

# Acknowledgements

I have been reading *futuwwat*-related texts for some time; in fact, I commenced with Suhrawardi's treatise almost twenty years ago in Japan. Since then the publications on *futuwwat* in Persian have increased, thanks largely to the efforts of Mihran Afshari, and as a result I was able to complete a monograph, *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: A History of Sufi-futuwwat in Iran* in 2010. Inevitably, a lot of material was utilised in writing this monograph, and some of the important texts could only be analysed there briefly because of space constraints. As a result, I decided that these important texts should be included within a new book, with extensive introductions.

The translations of the three treatises in this book have been completed with the assistance of a number of scholars. The texts do not always reveal their secrets easily, given the occasional arcane terminology, the occasional error in the script and the literary conceits employed by the authors. Fully conscious of the pitfalls that face translators, I have decided that the benefits of publishing translations of these treatises are many. On a number of occasions I have sought clarification from Iranian scholars of Sufism. Two of the most helpful have been Mihran Afshari and Majd al-Din Keyvani. Without their help this book would never have been completed. Thanks are also due to Leonard Lewisohn, who reviewed the general introduction and also the introduction to Section I. The responsibility for errors in translation and any historical inaccuracies, however, rests entirely with me. Other scholars and friends, too numerous to mention, have helped along the way, and I extend my gratitude to them.



---

# Introduction: Medieval Sufi- *Futuwwat/Jawanmardi*

## I. The Various Forms of *Futuwwat/Jawanmardi* in the Early Islamic Period

From the early years of Islamic history until the twelfth century a number of groups appeared in Arabic- and Persian-speaking regions which were described by the term *futuwwat*. The origin of this word can be linked to its Arabic root, *fata*, which means a young man; thus *futuwwat* is a term that denotes ‘young-manliness’, or the state of being a young man. Although *futuwwat* does not appear in the Qur’an, the word *fata*, from which the former is derived, is mentioned on several occasions. One of the first usages of *futuwwat* appears in the poetry of the Shu’ubi poets,<sup>1</sup> who disparaged the clientism and elitism of the conquering Arab forces. The term was also used to describe groups of young Arabs who enjoyed a hedonistic lifestyle, whose parties included singing and wine-drinking. A Persian synonym for *futuwwat* appeared in the early medieval period: *jawanmardi* (literally, young manliness) was attributed to Ya‘qub ibn al-Layth and his followers in the ninth century, who created a form of autonomy in Iranian lands within the crumbling Islamic empire. The *jawanmardi* of these Persians denoted bravery, courage, loyalty and piety. The critics of Ya‘qub ibn al-Layth referred to him in derogatory terms, and indeed, by the eleventh century, *jawanmardi* was associated with a bandit (*‘ayyar*). Despite this, aspects of the world view of some of the *‘ayyar* was similar to that of the Sufis, and such bandits were sometimes portrayed in a positive fashion, especially within popular Persian romance literature in which they were depicted as Robin Hood-type figures.

With the wide range of activities and perspectives associated with *futuwwat* and *jawanmardi* in the Arabic and Persian worlds

## Introduction

it is difficult to offer a watertight definition for the term. However, a common theme is sodality, in which there was a commitment to loyalty among those who shared the same values and lifestyle, and the promotion of certain ethical considerations such as courage, bravery and selflessness. By the eleventh century *futuwwat/jawanmardi* was applied to a wider cross-section of society, for the Persian *Qabus Nama* attributed an idealised form of *jawanmardi* to soldiers, merchants and Sufis. However, the ideal was often far from the reality as, for example, in the Arab world, urban *'ayyari-futuwwat* groups had developed, which engaged in extortion, violence and political intrigue.<sup>2</sup>

Given the growth of these various groups which shared the same general descriptor, it is not surprising that Sufis also investigated and employed the term in their writings. The first Sufi treatise written on the theme of *futuwwat* was by 'Abd al-Rahman Sulami (d. 1021), who noted that a number of leading Sufis from Khurasan were famous for their *futuwwat*. It is somewhat surprising that Sulami's work reveals scant concern for the different non-Sufi groups and individuals who were known by the term.<sup>3</sup> Instead, his *Kitab al-futuwwat* is a compilation of Sufis' sayings and definitions of *futuwwat*. These show that *futuwwat/jawanmardi* was interiorised within the Sufi world view and denoted selflessness, loyalty to family and friends, and the observance of the rights owed to God.<sup>4</sup> Sulami's work does not suggest that Sufi-*futuwwat* existed as a separate social grouping or institution from Sufism: his work is purely a sanitisation and spiritualisation of the *futuwwat/jawanmardi* ethic. As such, his portrayal of *futuwwat/jawanmardi* contrasted with that of the social groups that were described by the term and had become notorious in Baghdad for social unrest and exploitation.<sup>5</sup> After Sulami, the Sufi understanding of *futuwwat/jawanmardi* was developed by subsequent generations of spiritual masters. These included Sulami's student al-Qushayri (d. 1074), Abu'l-Hasan Kharaqani (d. 1033) and Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240). Yet different perspectives on the interpretation of *futuwwat/jawanmardi* were offered: for example, Kharaqani consistently used the word *jawanmardi* in the context of the individual's relationship with God. In effect, *jawanmardi* was the highest spiritual station that could be envisaged in which the individual enjoyed direct communication with the divine. The following is a typical example of how Kharaqani understood *jawanmardi*:

The wind of love will blow on the heart of the person who, in yearning for Him, has been burnt and turned to ashes, and the sky will be filled

with them. You can see there if you wish to be a witness; you can hear there if you wish to be a listener; and you can taste there if you wish to be a taster. You must seek a *mujarrad* and a *jawanmard* there.<sup>6</sup>

A similar metaphysical perspective was taken by Ibn ‘Arabi, who described *futuwwat* in his mystical philosophy at a time when Abu Hafis ‘Umar Suhrawardi (d. 1234 – the author of the first treatise in this collection) was establishing an institutionalised form of Sufi-*futuwwat/jawanmardi* which was based on an orderly and sober understanding of Sufism (see the introduction to Section I). The institutionalised Sufi-*futuwwat/jawanmardi* of the thirteenth century was an attempt to increase the scope of Sufism by the creation of ‘part-time’ associations under the name of *futuwwat*, which engaged in Sufi-style activities. Most members of these groups had little time for metaphysical speculation because of a number of factors, including the reality that many of the members were tradesmen who probably had little time for philosophising and may well have received only a rudimentary education. This is not to say that Sufi-*futuwwat* was reserved for the ‘working’ classes, as the third treatise in this collection was composed specifically with the educated and elite in society in mind. The author of *Risala-yi Hatimiya*, Husayn Wa‘iz Kashifi (d. 1504), was a well-known figure at the court of the late-Timurid ruler, Husayn Bayqara, who asked the former to compose a treatise on *jawanmardi*, and in particular on the life of the pre-Islamic exponent of generosity, Hatim Ta‘i. Thus, although not specifically a Sufi work, this treatise, written by Kashifi, a known Sufi, provides a certain mingling of themes with a Sufi flavour (selflessness, generosity and kindness) and intellectual style and sophistication for the grandees of society. In effect, this illustrates that Sufi-*futuwwat/jawanmardi* cut across a wide spectrum of Persian society in the medieval period, and that an appreciation of its morals and customs requires an understanding of this ethic. Early Sufi writers, living in a society in which there were various forms of sodality, adopted the ethic and gave it a spiritual twist. And as a social ethic it transcended social and literary distinctions, yet in its diverse forms it provided a form of social cohesion. In this sense, the *futuwwat/jawanmardi* tradition continued to be significant until the pre-modern period.

From the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries Sufism developed highly structured and hierarchical institutions which included minute details for communal living. These institutions were the Sufi orders (sing. *tariqa*, pl. *turuq*), which revealed much general conformity in belief

## Introduction

and practice, at the same time permitting varying degrees of diversity.<sup>7</sup> Concomitant with the development of the orders was the emergence of Sufi-inspired *futuwwat/jawanmardi* groups. Although there are many similarities between *futuwwat/jawanmardi* and Sufism, the two should not be considered as completely synonymous.<sup>8</sup> In order to tease out the differences between them it is useful to identify the essential elements of Sufism as revealed in the ‘normative literature’ of the Sufi orders that has been outlined by Knysh and apply these to the tradition of *futuwwat/jawanmardi* as it appears in the emic literature. Knysh identified five key components in the literature of the Sufi orders:

1. a spiritual genealogy that was traced back to the Prophet Muhammad, which asserted the order’s Islamic legitimacy and authority<sup>9</sup>
2. conditions and rituals concerning admission into the order
3. ritual instructions, including those relating to the invocation of God (*dhikr*)
4. instructions pertaining to ritual seclusion (*khalwa/chilla*)
5. rules and regulations about communal life. Manuals also described the mystical states and stations on the path to God.<sup>10</sup>

The literature that emerged from the *futuwwat/jawanmardi* organisations in the medieval period displays most of these features, including a spiritual lineage (*silsila*) which in all cases runs through ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib<sup>11</sup> and then to Muhammad, rules pertaining to initiation and admission into the association, ritual instructions (such as the audition – or listening to Sufi poetry that was sung with music, otherwise known as *sama*)<sup>12</sup> and regulations concerning communal life (in particular communal eating). However, the literature of the *futuwwat* organisations did not, unlike that composed by recognised Sufis, contain descriptions and explanations of *tawhid*, or the unity of God. Sufi literature on the topic is vast, and mystically minded individuals produced a body of ‘Sufi’ writing that ranged from the highly intricate and complex ontology of Ibn ‘Arabi (which has sometimes been termed ‘monist’),<sup>13</sup> to the simpler but profound prose works of ‘Aziz Nasafi,<sup>14</sup> to the poetic flights of ‘Attar in his *Mantiq al-Tayr*.<sup>15</sup> Such theological and philosophical speculation is absent in the treatises of *futuwwat* and typified by those contained in the present volume.

## II. The Participants in Sufi-*Futuwwat/Jawanmardi* Groups

The differences between the emic literature on Sufi-*futuwwat/jawanmardi* and that of Sufism in general may be explained by the readership. It is noteworthy that in the first treatise contained in this volume, there are references to facilitating the path of *futuwwat/jawanmardi* for those who cannot follow more arduous forms of spiritual endeavour. Thus the author of the text, Abu Hafs ‘Umar Suhrawardi, mentioned ‘guards, soldiers, merchants and Turks’,<sup>16</sup> that is, those who were not occupied in Sufism on a full-time basis.<sup>17</sup> That Sufi-*futuwwat/jawanmardi* does not seem to have been a full-time affair is confirmed in another passage, when Suhrawardi remarks, ‘If the master of *futuwwat* has a profession, he should earn whatever is legal from his hard work.’<sup>18</sup> This style of Sufi-*futuwwat/jawanmardi* seems to have continued into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at least, as the celebrated traveller Ibn Battuta remarked that an *akhi* (literally, a brother, or a member of the *futuwwat* organisation) works during the day and brings his earnings after the afternoon prayer to his master of *futuwwat*.<sup>19</sup>

Members of Sufi-*futuwwat/jawanmardi* groups from Suhrawardi’s time could not have been ‘regular’ Sufis because they had to work for their living. Ibn Battuta offered a brief but useful summary of life for a ‘full-time’ Sufi, residing in the *khanaqahs* of Cairo. He mentions the eating customs: communal meals were had twice per day, each Sufi eating from a separate dish; there were separate *khanaqahs* for celibate men and those who were married; the Sufis had to attend the five daily prayers, spend the night in the *khanaqah*, and participate in a [morning?] assembly in a ‘chapel’ in the *khanaqah*. In addition, Sufis held services for Qur’anic recitation and *dhikr* in the morning and the mid-afternoon. It can be gleaned from other sources that full-time Sufis would have been engaged in various Sufi rituals; these would have included spiritual retreats (of up to forty days for meditative purposes) which were often combined with special diets;<sup>20</sup> reading the metaphysical treatises and poetry of past Sufi masters;<sup>21</sup> and taking part in *sama’* rituals. Aside from specific Sufi ritual activity, the Sufis would have had tasks in the *khanaqah*, perhaps sweeping or washing, in addition to keeping themselves and their clothes clean.<sup>22</sup> Of course, there are examples of other daily routines, such as the information that can be gleaned about the life of Sufis around Abu Sa‘id abi’l Khayr (d. 1049), who advised his dervishes to spend any free time they had

## Introduction

to gain knowledge, earn a living and comfort others. Surely it would have been rather difficult in the limited time that the Sufi had during the day to earn a living, especially after having spent the night and early morning in prayer, *dhikr* and Qur'anic recitation.<sup>23</sup> From the above summary it is clear that every hour of the day was accounted for in the life of the full-time Sufi, which prevented tradesmen or those with an occupation from engaging in such a life. Instead, *futuwwat/jawanmardi* opened up an avenue by which elements of the Sufi life could be shared by non-regular Sufis. Who these individuals were will be investigated in the three following sections.

### (i) Pious Believers among Sunnis and Shi'ites

The existing literature on *futuwwat/jawanmardi* does not support the possibility that the tradition was specific to either the Sunni or Shi'ite traditions. From an early period the *futuwwat/jawanmardi* associations were considered useful to promote the Shi'ite cause that was advocated by the Fatimid caliph in Cairo, and which added to existing territory wars among the 'ayyari-*futuwwat* organisations in Baghdad.<sup>24</sup> Although the Fatimid-Shi'ite threat had been snuffed out by Suhrawardi's time, the urban *futuwwat* organisations in Baghdad were still sources of potential unrest and instability, and, indeed, it was following a serious sword fight in Baghdad that the 'Abbasid caliph intervened and attempted to reform the organisation (see below).

The early Sufis who wrote on *futuwwat/jawanmardi*, including Sulami and Suhrawardi, were Sunnis. In addition, the second treatise included in this book, the *Futuwwat Nama-yi Mirza 'Abd al-'Azim Khan Qarib-i Garakhani*, which was probably written in the fourteenth century, was composed by a Sunni author, as it praises Abu Hanifa (founder of one of the great Sunni schools of law) as well as containing a criticism of forms of Shi'ism (see the introduction to Section II). However, there are also a number of treatises on *futuwwat* that suggest a certain proclivity for the Shi'ite tradition. These include a treatise from the fourteenth century by 'Abd al-Razzaq Kashi entitled *Tuhfat al-ikhwan fi khasa'is al-fityan*, where 'Ali is described as 'the Imam of the Imams of the *fityan*', and in which he appears most frequently in anecdotes to manifest the qualities of *futuwwat/jawanmardi*.<sup>25</sup> In the same century a treatise on *futuwwat* was composed by Shams al-Din Muhammad Amuli, who described how the Prophet Abraham is the place where *futuwwat* is manifested: 'Ali

is the pole (*qutb*), and the Mahdi will be its seal (*khatim*).<sup>26</sup> However, caution is necessary when describing such works as ‘Shi‘-ite’, simply because ‘Ali was a great champion in the Sunni world, and his children were also held in great esteem, and Sunnis too believe in the appearance of the Mahdi at the end of time.<sup>27</sup> However, there were authors who displayed more of an inclination to Shi‘-ism; these included ‘Ali Hamadani (d. 1384) and Wa‘iz Kashifi, whose *futuwwat nama* is littered with references to the twelve Imams. The majority of these treatises, however, could have been read and appreciated by both Sunnis and Shi‘-ites, and there is simply insufficient evidence to conclude that during the medieval period *futuwwat/jawanmardi* was favoured by one denomination more than the other. However, this is not to say that some of the individual *futuwwat* groups were formed on a denominational basis.

Despite the non-denominationalism of the tradition, *futuwwat/jawanmardi* did discriminate in other dimensions. This is illustrated in the *Futuwwat Nama-yi Mirza ‘Abd al-‘Azim Khan Qarib-i Garakhani*, which states that membership was excluded to those who did not possess the requisite spiritual virtues and those whose physical characteristics were inappropriate to the tradition. Membership was denied to the gossiper, the tell-tale, he who scorned earning a living, the jealous and miserly, those with dark skin, he who had a physical deficiency (such as being blind or deaf), the hermaphrodite and woman, the innovator in religious practice and belief, the unmarried man, the slave and the wine drinker. In this respect Sufism, in contrast to the ‘part-time’ Sufi-*futuwwat/jawanmardi* organisations, was more of an all-encompassing institution which did not discriminate in terms of skin colour or ‘deficiencies’ such as blindness. Other authors of Sufi-*futuwwat/jawanmardi* treatises, such as Abu Hafsa ‘Umar Suhrawardi, listed a number of character traits, or virtues, that the ideal possessor of *futuwwat* would manifest. According to Suhrawardi there were twelve virtues: six pertained to the exoteric dimension of *futuwwat* and six to the esoteric. Those included within the first category were sexual modesty; eating legally permitted food; refraining from slander; not listening to or looking at anything unworthy of *futuwwat*; not engaging in violent conduct; and not pandering to ambition and desire. The virtues relating to the esoteric dimension were munificence; generosity; humility; compassion; selflessness; and sobriety in the spiritual endeavour.<sup>28</sup> In effect, these were the essential character traits that Sufis aspired to perfect within themselves.

## Introduction

### (ii) Gender and Futuwwat

One of the major differences between the Sufi orders and Sufi-*futuwwat* organisations concerns admission. In the Sufi tradition the orders were sometimes open to women,<sup>29</sup> but the *futuwwat* groups deemed this inappropriate. Thus the *Futuwwat Nama-yi Mirza ‘Abd al-‘Azim Khan Qarib-i Garakani* contains a list of those whose membership was impermissible. This includes women and those whose sexuality was indeterminate:

*futuwwat* is not for the hermaphrodite (*tanjir*), and neither for a woman, because the two are equal. The hermaphrodite is the person who is neither a man nor a woman, and is imputed to [engage] in shameful acts, which are despised among men. And there is no *futuwwat* for women because the Prophet said, ‘*They are incomplete in intelligence and in religion.*’<sup>30</sup>

Although participation for women was not permitted within institutionalised *futuwwat*, it appears that the ideal of *jawanmardi* (bravery, loyalty, hospitality, and so on) were attributes that were appropriate for women. This is indicated in the Persian medieval romance literature, such as *Samak-i ‘Ayyar*, in which females play a prominent role and adopt the attribute for themselves.<sup>31</sup>

The restrictions on women within Sufi-*futuwwat* organisations of the medieval period were legitimised with reference to the prophetic tradition that women ‘are incomplete in intelligence and reason’. This restriction may also be due to a legacy in *futuwwat* that was not conducive to the presence and participation of women; in the tenth and eleventh centuries Baghdad witnessed social unrest in which some *futuwwat* organisations took the law into their own hands, while others attempted to preserve the existing law, although as Hodgson observes, ‘the futuwwah clubs [were not] allowed to reach the dominating position as police bodies in Baghdad they sometimes achieved in other towns’.<sup>32</sup> Although Sufis such as Suhrawardi spiritualised and sanitised the ideal, the *futuwwat* organisations may well have retained an association in people’s minds with roughs, rogues and soldiers.<sup>33</sup> It seems that one of the social functions of *futuwwat* was to provide security for local communities, and, indeed, this is the argument of Ibn Battuta, who remarked that in Anatolia the manner and command of the chief *akhi* is the same as that of princes.<sup>34</sup>

The gender dimension of *futuwwat/jawanmardi* may also be

linked to semi-military forms of activity in territories influenced by a Persian way of life. Writing in the late fifteenth century, Wa'iz Kashifi lists the *ahl-i zur* (strong men), wrestlers and dumbbellists in his *futuwwat nama*, and in this work trades are spiritualised and included within the general ranks of *futuwwat*.<sup>35</sup> Tantalisingly, Ibn Battuta discusses a Pahlawan (a name that was, and is, commonly associated with wrestling and *jawanmardi*) who mustered the support of the local people in Shiraz for a certain cause, in which many people were killed and much money seized. Whether the Pahlawan was a member of a *futuwwat* association, and whether links can be made between the *futuwwat* associations of the medieval period and the Persian institution of the *zurkhana* are points that remain inconclusive.

### (iii) Futuwwat/Jawanmardi and Manual Workers, Tradesmen and Artisans

Possible connections between Sufi-*futuwwat* and the bazaar has a relatively lengthy history. This is suggested in the relationship between the bazaar and the 'Sufi-like' individuals in Khurasan in the ninth and tenth centuries, known collectively as Malamatis, and there are also allusions in literature, such as the eleventh-century *Qabus nama*,<sup>36</sup> and in the *futuwwat* literature describing initiations (Zarkub's fourteenth-century *futuwwat nama*, discussed below). The connection between *futuwwat* and certain trades and activity within the bazaar has been made by Karamustafa, who links the *futuwwat* members (or at least the corporate associations of *futuwwat*) with the bazaar in the ninth and tenth centuries in Khurasan, where the Malamatis were expounding their form of spiritual life. The Malamatis abhorred hypocrisy, to the extent that they shunned external manifestations of Sufi life, which might lead to others favouring them as spiritually minded Sufis. To this end they sought to become invisible in the bazaar and to lead an 'ordinary' life.<sup>37</sup> In this way, it seems probable that the Malamatis mingled with the people in the bazaar and that perhaps there were individuals who straddled both groups. Connections between the Malamatis and the bazaar have also been made with reference to the names adopted by these spiritually minded individuals, which indicate their trades and professions.<sup>38</sup> However, the evidence linking the Malamatis and *futuwwat* is scant, and is suggestive more than conclusive, and the nature of the corporate associations is at best vague.

Another suggestion linking the ethic of *futuwwat/jawanmardi* with the bazaar has been made recently with reference to the *Qabus*

## Introduction

*nama*, a treatise in the genre of ‘mirror for princes’ that was written in the second half of the eleventh century. In this work, the ethic of *jawanmardi* is mentioned and refers to tradesmen, soldiers and Sufis. Mihran Afshari, a contemporary scholar of the *futuwwat/jawanmardi* tradition, believes this reference is not purely a spiritual disposition, but rather a manifestation of particular social organisation. Afshari connects the three-fold taxonomy of *futuwwat* (tradesman, soldier and Sufi) to the *futuwwat nama* of Najm al-Din Zarkub (who died in 1313, some 250 years after the *Qabus nama* was composed). Zarkub described three types of initiation into *futuwwat*: the *qawli* (verbal initiation), *sayfi* (initiation by the sword) and *shurbi* (initiation by imbibing a drink of salt water), each one having a particular belt, or some symbolic material, in the ceremony.<sup>39</sup> Afshari summarises Zarkub’s portrayal:

The *sayfi* group tied their own leather belt around the initiation cup, and the *qawli* group tied a piece of cotton, and the *shurbi* tied a piece of wool. The *duwal*, or leather stirrup was one of the tools of the brigands (‘*ayyaran*) and professional soldiers, and because of this, it was the belt of the *sayfi* group. Perhaps the *shurbiiyan* too, were Sufi, and used to wear wool since their belt was made of wool. Apparently, they [the *shurbis*] were *jawanmardan* who had more contact with the Sufis than the *qawlis*. The latter were *jawanmardan* who were unlike both the *sayfis* [who were] professional brigands, and the *shurbis* who were Sufis. Rather, the *qawlis* were ascetic professional tradesmen who used to wear cotton clothes, like other people.<sup>40</sup>

Afshari’s linkage of initiation into *futuwwat/jawanmardi* and the *Qabus nama*, and his theory about different kinds of initiation based upon trade and lifestyle, cannot be contradicted on the basis of existing manuscript material. Although the theory is somewhat speculative (as it rests on limited textual evidence) and needs to be taken with caution, it is the only hypothesis to be advanced thus far. It is hoped that Afshari will continue his research into *futuwwat* and discover more manuscripts that will either corroborate the theory or else lead *futuwwat* studies in new directions.

Some kind of connection between *futuwwat/jawanmardi* and the market place seems likely, however, and this is supported in the thirteenth-century *Futuwwat Nama-yi Nasiri*. In this text a number of specific trades are denied membership to *futuwwat*: these include the barber, the broker, the weaver, the butcher, the surgeon, the

hunter, the porter and the speculator.<sup>41</sup> Aside from confirming that membership was reserved for good Muslims (wine drinkers were also denied admission, perhaps directed at Christians), the trades that were rejected were those that had contact with ritually impure substances.

By Kashifi's time in the late Timurid period, the linkage of *futuwwat* with trades became more visible. His *futuwwat nama* includes long sections devoted to portraying trades involving public performance (*ma'araka-gir*) and to tradesmen whose craft involved the use of an implement with a handgrip.<sup>42</sup> By including these chapters in his *futuwwat nama* it is clear that he considered the members within these large, all-encompassing professions as among the *ahl-i futuwwat*. Kashifi's chapters on trades in his *futuwwat nama* provided a template for subsequent 'occupational literature' that emerged from diverse trades during the Safavid period in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The content and style in both Kashifi's texts and the 'occupational literature' of Safavid-period trades is more or less the same. Both traced the origins of the profession back to a Prophet (sometimes bestowed by Gabriel), both identified the character traits of the ideal person in the profession, both discussed the implements of the trade in a spiritualised fashion and both used a simple linguistic style – often question and answer. Even though the later occupational literature of the Safavid period did not bear the title of *futuwwat nama* and nor did it even include the word *futuwwat* or *jawanmardi*, the foundation of these treatises was this very ethic. The absence of specific references to Sufism and *futuwwat/jawanmardi* in the occupational literature in the Safavid period may be explained by the hostility of the Safavid authorities to Sufism.<sup>43</sup> The anti-Sufi persuasions of the Safavids are well known, and so it is not necessary to repeat them here.<sup>44</sup> However, it is noteworthy that scholars have indicated that Sufi-style *futuwwat/jawanmardi* declined during this period, which may be attributable to the Safavid authorities associating *futuwwat* with Sufism and treating any deviation from their standards with harsh measures. For example, Zarrinkub argued that there were large numbers of ill-disciplined *futuwwat khanas* in which were present adolescent males,<sup>45</sup> a feature that may have presented the *shari'a*-minded Shi'ite clerics with an excuse to target the *futuwwat* tradition and its Sufi heritage with accusations concerning its immoral conduct. The centralisation of power in Safavid Iran may also help to account for the decline of institutionalised *futuwwat*, which at times seems to have functioned as an alternative source of power, as opposed to *amirs* or sultans, or dynastic rulers. Thus institutionalised

## Introduction

*futuwwat* may have declined in the Safavid period, but its legacy was maintained within the occupational associations in the bazaar.

Even if *futuwwat/jawanmardi* may be considered a less arduous form of spirituality than Sufism, it would still be probable that the adherents of *futuwwat/jawanmardi* associations enjoyed some of the benefits of certain Sufi ritual activity and sentiments of sodality and *communitas* within the immediate group. The functions of the group in providing security for the local community, entertainment and spiritual welfare combined and promoted forms of Sufism in society even if individual members of the trades or *futuwwat* organisations were not affiliated into Sufi orders. The spiritual message of *futuwwat*, and the similarity and parallels of ritual activity with those of Sufism, indicate that during the medieval period in areas such as Anatolia, Persia and Central Asia, society was saturated with Sufi-esque spirituality. Of course the ideal was probably not always something to which all the adherents of the *futuwwat* associations aspired. For example, it is likely that some individuals participated in the *sama'* simply because they enjoyed music and ecstatic dancing. Perceptions of a 'non-spiritualised' *sama'* among the *ahl-i futuwwat* (and among the Sufis) seem all the more possible given the opposition to the performance of the *sama'* among its critics and the care taken by the Sufis and the *ahl-i futuwwat* to portray it as a legitimate spiritual exercise. It is likely too that the *futuwwat* associations attracted individuals who were not concerned with the more 'mystical' dimension of Sufism. Instead the appeal for such individuals was simply membership of a group in which camaraderie and the nurturing of communal ties were primary considerations.

### III. The Persian Question

This introduction has attempted to delineate the tradition of Sufi-*futuwwat* from Sufism, but another point that has emerged in the literature and requires a little elucidation is related to the possibility that *futuwwat* has a Persian origin and, by extension, whether or not medieval *futuwwat* in Persian-speaking lands was distinctive from its Turkish or Arab equivalents. One recent claim is that *futuwwat* originated in Iran, and some of those who argue this case posit a pre-Islamic form of *futuwwat* which persisted within Iranian society after the Arab invasions. This perspective has been advocated sometimes on an emotional (and perhaps political) basis in an attempt to belittle the Islamic contribution to *futuwwat*.<sup>46</sup> However, the pre-Islamic origins

of *futuwwat* have also been emphasised by scholars in sound academic surveys. Thus, Mohsen Zakeri considers *futuwwat* to have originated in the ethical traditions and values of the landowning classes of Sassanian Iran, which subsequently developed and persisted in the region in such movements as the Shu'ubiya until they were adopted by the Sufi and *futuwwat* organisations in the tenth century.<sup>47</sup> Similarly, Mihran Afshari witnesses the origins of *futuwwat* in part in the Persian brigand tradition (namely, that of the *'ayyar* and individuals who were likewise considered 'outcasts' and were called *sa'alik* (sing. *su'luk*). Although these outcasts existed on the margins of society, it was the case that their lifestyle and ethics paralleled those of what became the *futuwwat* tradition, which entailed loyalty, bravery, honesty and courage.<sup>48</sup> Mihran Afshari argues, 'It is not too far from the truth to say that before the appearance of Islam, this tradition [of *jawanmardi*] had reached the Arabian Peninsula from Iran, and in my opinion *jawanmardi* in all the territory adjacent to Iran has an Iranian foundation.'<sup>49</sup>

Such perspectives of a Persian cultural continuity may well have an element of truth;<sup>50</sup> however, the evidence linking medieval Sufi-*futuwwat* with pre-Islamic, Iranian traditions is quite speculative and far from conclusive. Such theories need to be considered in conjunction with the emergence of Sufi-*futuwwat* as a result of reflection on the Qur'an and Islamic traditions. Sufis and composers of *futuwwat* manuals did not tire of indicating that *futuwwat* was derived from the word *fata* (young man) which itself is a term that appears in the Qur'an. As mentioned previously, other social groups described by the term *futuwwat* appear to have little to do with pre-Islamic Iran, but yet manifested the virtues of sodality, camaraderie, loyalty and so on.

Claims of a Persian and pre-Islamic origin to *futuwwat* may not necessarily have any bearing on the emergence of the spiritual tradition of *futuwwat* in the medieval period. However, suggestions of a Persian origin to Sufism (and therefore to *futuwwat*) have recently been voiced. Shafi i-Kadkani has examined the *Risala* of Qushayri, in which he discusses ninety-three Sufis from the earliest of times to his own generation.<sup>51</sup> He breaks these Sufis down by geographical location and concludes that four were from unknown regions, eleven came from Egypt, Damascus, Antakiya and north-west Africa, and the seventy-seven remaining individuals were all from Iran, or else had Persian connections.<sup>52</sup> Of course, the veracity of such a claim depends on how 'Iran' is perceived, that is whether it is limited to its present

## Introduction

geographical location, or whether a Greater Iran that encompasses modern Iraq and Khurasan are included. In addition, the inclusion of those Sufis whose family had their origins in Iran is questionable.<sup>53</sup>

Even if the Persian origin of Sufism is accepted, it does not necessarily follow that Sufism in the medieval period was a reflection of an essential and inherent Persian characteristic. Indeed, by the medieval period it is difficult to identify a Persian form of Sufism, simply because of the diversity of Sufi belief and practice, and the miscellaneous forms of Sufi literature in Persian-speaking regions.<sup>54</sup> This literature includes the mystical verses of Rumi (d. 1273) and Hafez (d. 1390), the detailed manuals of Sufism by individuals including Abu'l-Mufakhir Yahya Bakharzi (d. 1335) and the mystical quatrains and explanations of the unity of being of 'Abd al-Rahman Jami (d. 1492). These forms of Persian Sufism also had their counterparts in Arabic-speaking regions, such as the mystical verses of Ibn Farid (d. 1235) and the gazals and prose works of Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240), among many others. S. H. Nasr rejects any theory that 'reduce[s] Sufism to the genius of a people', but compares Sufism to a seed from heaven that fell in Persian soil, and therefore 'Persian Sufism may be compared to a vast tree with roots and branches extending all the way from Albania to Malaysia'.<sup>55</sup> Nasr's analogy allows for Persian nationalists to bask in Persian glory, yet at the same time permits diversity and development. The same may also be true in the case of Sufi-*futuwwat*. It would be a mistake to consider medieval Sufi-*futuwwat* a purely Persian movement, as many of its roots can be traced back to the Arab (Iraqi) milieu. Moreover, it is interesting that Ibn Battuta emphasised the Anatolian form of *futuwwat* over and above other manifestations that he encountered. On the Anatolian *jawanmardan* (or *akhis*) he said: 'Nowhere in the world have I seen men more chivalrous in conduct than they are. The people of Shiraz and Isfahan can compare with them in their conduct, but these are more affectionate to the wayfarer and show him more honour and kindness.'<sup>56</sup> Yet it is clear that the Arabian, Persian and Turkish traditions of *futuwwat* shared a great deal in common, and regional variations may have been limited to matters pertaining to clothing and the *silsila*, but to consider Sufi-*futuwwat* unique to the Persian tradition would be historically incorrect. Although the three treatises included in this book were all composed in Persian, this should not be understood as an indication that all medieval Sufi-*futuwwat* treatises were composed in this language, as the works of Taeschner and Cahen have indicated.<sup>57</sup> What these three treatises do show, however, is that a sanitised and

spiritualised version of *futuwwat* was espoused by many Sufi-inspired authors, and this message was probably heard and lived (to varying degrees of sincerity) by those not willing to engage in a full-time commitment to the spiritual path, ranging from an educated elite to an impoverished and illiterate underclass.

Sufi-*futuwwat/jawanmardi* in the medieval period was a comprehensive system of courtesies and morals which was largely designed to regulate relations between the ‘brothers’ who lived a ‘semi-Sufi’ lifestyle, sometimes within a communal setting and often enjoying Sufi-esque ritual activity. The rules and regulations mirrored those of full-time Sufi institutions and attempted to promote virtues of hospitality, compassion and bravery. It is likely that the number of those associated with the Sufi-*futuwwat* organisations was very great, and as a result it is vital for scholars and students who wish to appreciate the full contribution of Sufism to medieval society in much of the Islamic heartlands (including Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Iran and Central Asia) to consider the impact and value of the *futuwwat/jawanmardi* organisations in this period.

### *The Texts and Translations*

The three treatises in this book have been carefully selected because they reveal different facets of the Sufi-*jawanmardi* tradition. All three treatises have been published, although their availability is now somewhat limited. I have attempted to make the translations for the first two texts as literal as possible without making them so sterile as to repulse the reader. I have taken more liberty with the third treatise, which was composed by the author in the fifteenth century with an eye to literary considerations. A literal translation would simply not have worked, and in particular I have taken a few liberties in the translation of the poetry. The poetry in all three of the texts has been indented from the margin. The three texts include much citation from the Qur’an and *hadith* literature, and this has been rendered in italics.

### *Notes*

1. The Shu’ubi poets were part of a movement centred in Iran during the eighth and ninth centuries that attempted to redress the social imbalances and discrimination that resulted from the Arab invasion of Persian territories.
2. For the emergence of *futuwwat* in this early period of Islamic history

## Introduction

and the various groups and individuals associated with the term in the Persian world, see Lloyd Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 5–27.

3. The accounts of disputes among the various groups of ‘*ayyar* (and so associated with *futuwwat*) in Sulami’s time have been set out by D. G. Tor, *Violent Order: Religious Warfare, Chivalry, and the ‘Ayyar Phenomenon in the Medieval Islamic World* (Wurzberg: Ergon Verlag, 2007), pp. 253–86.
4. The *Kitab al-futuwwat* discusses *futuwwat* as an ethic, that is, as a body of courtesies (*adab*), the correct one having to be manifested at the appropriate moment. In fact, Sulami argued that there was never a moment when these courtesies should be neglected. He reinforced his point throughout the treatise by citing a large number of sayings of varying length from famous Sufis, such as ‘*Futuwwat* is courtesies’, according to Abu Hafis al-Nayshapuri, cited by Sulami, *Kitab al-futuwwat*, in *Majmu‘a-yi Athar-i Abu ‘Abd al-Rahman Sulami*, ed. Nasrallah Purjawadi (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Danishgahi, 1980–3) p. 300. Other quotations are longer, for example, ‘*Futuwwat* is considering other people’s actions with tolerance while regarding your own with dissatisfaction; respecting the rights of those who are superior, inferior or equal to you; and adhering to your friends despite their mistakes and wrongdoings because when you love someone, his cruelty should incite your loyalty. The beloved’s turning away from you should lead you to him. Anger either felt or expressed should have no part in loving friendship; otherwise love is lacking, and the relationship depends only on interest.’ (Abu ‘Umar al-Dimashqi cited by Sulami, *Kitab al-futuwwat*, in *Majmu‘a-yi Athar-i Abu ‘Abd al-Rahman Sulami*).
5. For Sulami on *futuwwat*, see Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism*, pp. 28–45.
6. The quote can be found in Muhammad Rida Shafi‘i Kadkani, *Niwishta bar Darya*, 2nd edn (Tehran: Intisharat-i sukhan, [1385] 2006–7), p. 215. More on Kharraqani is contained in Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism*, pp. 45–51.
7. Diversity within the practical dimension of Sufism may best be understood with reference to the preferences of some orders for the silent invocation of God, as opposed to other orders that advocated a vocal invocation, different styles of *sama‘* (such as the highly stylised version of the Mawlawiyya order) and eye-catching ritual performances to demonstrate mastery over the body and the ego of the Rifa‘i order (which included piercing the body with knives and walking over hot coals). Diversity on the theoretical level, that is to say, descriptions about the nature of ultimate reality, appear in works such as Hujwiri’s *Kashf al-*

- Mahjub*, trans. Reynold A. Nicholson (London: Luzac & Co., 1976, pp. 176–266) in which the author lists twelve different Sufi perspectives. Although there is no clear indication that these groups actually existed, the point is that Sufi ideas of reality were not completely uniform.
8. The terms *futuwwat* and *jawanmardi* are synonymous. However, different Sufis and authors sometimes gave preference to one term over the other. Thus, in the early thirteenth century Abu Hafṣ ‘Umar Suhrawardi appears to have preferred *futuwwat*, perhaps because he recognised the importance of the Qur’anic roots of the term *fata* and its association with *futuwwat*. On the other hand, in the fifteenth century Wa‘iz Kashifi used the word *jawanmardi*, perhaps as a result of the general preference of Timurid writers for Persian words over Arabic.
  9. The best academic work for tracing Sufi *silsilas* remains J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971).
  10. Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 175.
  11. The eminence of ‘Ali in the *futuwwat* tradition is one of its distinguishing features. Those within the tradition, both Sunni and Shi‘ite, recognised ‘Ali as their ‘patron saint’, which may be related to the image of ‘Ali as a brave and courageous warrior and to his mercy and compassion. The importance of these attributes is discussed further in the introduction.
  12. The Sufi literature on *sama‘* is quite extensive. Early Sufis such as Hujwiri and Qushayri included chapters on *sama‘* in their major works. For contemporary surveys and analysis, see Leonard Lewisohn, ‘The sacred music of Islam: Sama‘ in the Persian Sufi Tradition’, *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 6 (1997), pp. 1–33, and Fadlou Shehadi, *Philosophies of Music in Medieval Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).
  13. See Louis Massignon, ‘L’alternative de la pensée mystique en Islam: monisme existentiel ou monisme testimonial’, *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 52 (1952). Ibn ‘Arabi’s mystical ontology was the subject of much discussion by Sufis in various orders. For example, the Naqshbandi Sufi ‘Abd al-Rahman Jami was a great exponent of the ‘unity of existence’ in fifteenth-century Central Asia. A good example from the Indian Chishti order is Shaykh Muhibb Allah Mubariz Ilahabadi. See W. Chittick, ‘Travelling the Sufi Path: A Chishti Handbook from Bijapur’, in Leonard Lewisohn and David Morgan (eds), *The Heritage of Sufism*, vol. III (Oxford: Oneworld, 1999), pp. 247–65.
  14. See Lloyd Ridgeon, *‘Aziz Nasafi* (Richmond: Curzon, 1998).
  15. For an English translation, see Afkham Darbandi and Dick Davis, *The Conference of the Birds* (London: Penguin, 1984).
  16. Suhrawardi, *Kitab fi’l-futuwwat*, in M. Sarraf (ed.), *Rasa’il-i*

## Introduction

- jawanmardan*, 2nd edn (Tehran: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, 1991), paragraph 138.
17. Suhrawardi also mentions a great 'water channel' of *futuwwat* which is composed of four small water channels (*shari'at*, *tariqat*, *haqiqat* and *ma'rifat*), so that the common members of society can drink from the great water channel and in this way derive benefit from the smaller water channels (Suhrawardi, *Kitab fi'l-futuwwat*, paragraph 18).
  18. Suhrawardi, *Kitab fi'l-futuwwat*, paragraph 48.
  19. Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, vol. II (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1999), p. 419.
  20. See 'Aziz Nasafi, *Kitab al-Insan al-Kamil*, ed. M. Molé (Tehran: Institut Français d'Iranologie de Teheran, 1980), pp. 102–10.
  21. *Ibid.* p. 128.
  22. See John O'Kane, *The Secret's of God's Mystical Oneness*, a translation of Ibn Munawwar, *Asrar al-Tawhid* (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 1992), pp. 493–5.
  23. M. J. Mahjub, 'Chivalry and early Persian Sufism', in Leonard Lewisohn (ed.), *Classical Persian Sufism: from its Origin to Rumi* (London: KNP, 1993). The denominational conflicts between Sunnis and Shi'ites in Baghdad were intense, and no doubt territory wars fuelled these difficulties among *futuwwat* groups. Mahjub gives the example of Ibn Rasuli, a Fatimid sympathiser active in Baghdad, whose arrest in 1081 uncovered a large Isma'ili following under the guise of *futuwwat*. Aside from the political implications of Ibn Rasuli's attempt to popularise Shi'ism, the importance of his activities includes the esotericism of the *futuwwat* tradition and tracing its origins to a chain of Qur'anic Prophets.
  24. See Gerard Salinger, 'Was the *futuwwa* an oriental form of chivalry?', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 94(5) (19 October 1950), pp. 481–93. Textual evidence points to the continuation of disputes between various *futuwwat* organisations well into the thirteenth century. See, for example, Ahmad-e Aflaki, *Feats of the Knowers of God*, trans. John O'Kane (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 526.
  25. This treatise is included in Sarraf, *Rasa'il-i jawanmardan*, pp. 4–57. 'Ali as Imam of Imams is mentioned on p. 38.
  26. 'Risalat-i futuwwatiyya az nafa'is al-fityan', in Sarraf, *Rasa'il-i jawanmardan*, pp. 59–88. The reference to the Mahdi appears on p. 64.
  27. Henry Corbin regards these treatises as Shi'ite and he explicitly equates the Mahdi (the term used in the text) with 'le XII<sup>e</sup> Imam'. See his 'Introduction analytique' in Sarraf, *Rasa'il-i jawanmardan*, p. 29.
  28. Suhrawardi, 'Risalat al-futuwwa', in Sarraf, *Rasa'il-i jawanmardan*, pp. 94–8.
  29. Knysh maintains that main Sufi orders were open to men and women

- (*Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 174–5). Margaret Smith has shown that medieval Islamic literature contains references to lodges for Sufi women in Mecca and Cairo, and in other locations in North Africa. See her *Rabi'a the Mystic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), pp. 173–4. The reports concerning lodges for women in various cities in the Middle East are mentioned in Ahmet Karamustafa, *Sufism: The Formative Period* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 126, 139, n. 53. However, he notes that there is no proof that these institutions were 'Sufi' lodges.
30. This is a variation of a *hadith* found in Bukhari (2.24.541).
  31. See Mahjub, 'Chivalry and early Persian Sufism', p. 562.
  32. Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 282.
  33. See Aflaki, *Feats of the Knowers of God*, p. 419; Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, vol. II, p. 426.
  34. Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, vol. II, p. 434.
  35. Wa'iz Kashifi, *The Royal Book of Spiritual Chivalry*, trans. Jay R. Crook (Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, 2000), pp. 299–304.
  36. Kaykawus ibn Iskandar, *Qabus nama*, ed. Ghulam Husayn Yusufi (Tehran: Intisharat-i 'ilmi wa farhangi, [1373] 1994–5). An English version of the *Qabus nama* has been published by Reuben Levy, *A Mirror for Princes* (London: Cresset Press, 1951).
  37. Karamustafa, *Sufism*, p. 66.
  38. In his *Risalat al-Malamatiya*, Sulami remarked that a Malamati leader was asked about someone's name, and he replied that he preferred the name of 'Abdallah Hajjam ('Abdallah the Cupper) to 'Abdallah the Mystic or 'Abdallah the Ascetic. This treatise is included in Purjawadi (ed.), *Majmu'-yi athar-i Abu 'Abd al-Rahman Sulami*, p. 94. In addition, J. Chabbi has indicated that the names of leading Malamatis suggest that they may have been employed in certain trades: Hamdun Qassar (the bleacher), Haddad (the ironsmith), Khayyat (the tailor). See her 'Remarques sur le développement historique des mouvements ascétiques au Khurasan', *Studia Islamica*, 46 (1977), p. 55, n. 2.
  39. Najm al-Din Zarkub, 'Futuwwat nama', in Sarraf, *Rasa'il-i jawanmardan*, p. 188.
  40. Mihran Afshari, *Futuwwat Nama-ha wa Rasa'il-i Khaksariya* (Tehran: Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies, [1381] 2003), p. 35.
  41. *Futuwwat Nama-yi Nasiri*, in A. Golpinarli, *Futuwwat dar Kishwar-ha-yi Islami* ('Futuwwat in Islamic Countries') (Tehran: Kitabkhana-yi Milli-yi Iran, [1378] 1999–2000), pp. 161–4.

## Introduction

42. Kashifi, *The Royal Book of Spiritual Chivalry*, pp. 271–380.
43. See Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism*, Chapter 5.
44. See, for example, S. A. Arjomand, 'Religious Extremism (Ghuluww), Sufism and Sunnism in Safavid Iran: 1501–1722', *Journal of Asian History*, 15(1) (1981), pp. 117–38.
45. A. H. Zarrinkub, *Arzish-i Mirath-i Suftyya* (Tehran: Amir Kabir, [1369] 1990–1), p. 171.
46. See the case of Karim Zayyani, discussed by Leonard Lewisohn, 'Persian Sufism in the contemporary West', in Jamal Malik and John Hinnels (eds), *Sufism in the West* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 59. 'Zayyani ... considers the tradition of Islamic chivalry (*futuwwat*) to have existed alongside (a non-Islamic type of) *tasawwuf* in ancient Iran for some 3000 years.'
47. Mohsen Zakeri, *Sasanid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society: The Origins of 'Ayyaran and Futuwwat* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995).
48. Such individuals continued to exist in Iran, even after the establishment of Sufi-*futuwwat*. For example, Ibn Battuta mentions an individual by the name Jamal al-Luk in Sijistan, of Persian origin. He states that the name al-Luk means 'having a hand cut off', but it is remarkably similar to the term *su'luk*. In any case, Jamal al-Luk, a near contemporary of Ibn Battuta, had 'under him a large band of Arab and Persian horsemen, with whom he engaged in robbery. He would build hospices and supply food to wayfarers with the money that he robbed from people, and he is said to have claimed that he never employed violence except against those who did not give tithes on their property in alms.' Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, vol. II, p. 405.
49. Mihran Afshari, *Ayin-i jawanmardi* (Tehran: Daftar-i pizhuhish-ha-yi farhangi, [1384] 2005–6), pp. 94–5.
50. Another scholar who argues the case is Julian Baldick, in 'The Iranian Origin of Futuwwa', *Annali* (Istituto Universitario Orientale), 50 (1990), pp. 345–61.
51. Qushayri's *Risala* has been translated into English by Alexander Knysh as *Al-Qushayri's Epistle on Sufism* (Reading: Garnet, 2007).
52. Muhammad Rida Shafi'i Kadkani, 'Irani budan-i masha'ikh-i tasawwuf' ('The Iranian-ness of the Sufi shaykhs'), in his *Qalandariyya dar Tarikh* (Tehran: Sukhan, [1386] 2007–8), pp. 68–73. Shafi'i Kadkani's maths do not add up. He mentions ninety-three Sufis, but breaks them down into groups of four, eleven and seventy-seven, which total ninety-two.
53. However, to complicate matters a little more, it is worth noting that Ibn Battuta mentioned that in the *khanaqahs* of Cairo there were three different congregations: the 'poor brethren, most of whom are Persian';

men of good education; and adepts in the way of Sufism. (Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, vol. I, p. 44.) Of course this contributes nothing to the debate about the origin of the Sufi or *futuwwat* movement, but it may suggest that poor Persians, for whatever reason, were open to forms of Sufism (perhaps Qalandar Sufism), which involved travelling to various *khanaqahs* across the Islamic world.

54. Sufi acceptance of different forms of mystical perspectives is well known. See, for example, the world view of Ibn ‘Arabi. An accessible version of such an all-encompassing perspective is illustrated in Lloyd Ridgeon, ‘Aziz Nasafi’s Six Ontological Faces’, *Iran* (1996), pp. 85–99.
55. S. H. Nasr, ‘The Rise and Development of Persian Sufism’, in Lewisohn (ed.), *Classical Persian Sufism*, p. 2.
56. Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, vol. II, p. 420.
57. For a list of Taeschner’s research on *futuwwat*, see Zakeri, *Sasanid Soldiers*, p. 3, n. 5. For Cahen, see *ibid.* p. 7, n. 15.



---

# SECTION I



---

# Introduction to Suhrawardi's *Kitab fi'l-futuwwat*

One of the towering figures of medieval Sufism is Shihab al-Din Abu Hafṣ ʿUmar Suhrawardi, who was born in 1145 into a family that was steeped in the tradition of Sufism. His maternal uncle was Abu'l-Najib Suhrawardi (d. 1168) who had been one of the most influential and well-known Sufis of the time and, as shall be argued below, had a lasting impact on his nephew. The influence of Abu'l-Najib cannot be overestimated, and indicative of this is that Abu Hafṣ studied courses at the Nizamiyya, the leading religious educational centre in Baghdad where his uncle was professor of *fiqh*,<sup>1</sup> and that Abu'l-Najib also initiated his nephew into Sufism and continued to nurture him in the esoteric dimension of Islam at his *ribat* by the river Tigris.<sup>2</sup> In Baghdad, the capital of the caliphate, the younger Suhrawardi would have had access to great libraries and the teachings of other scholars of Islam.<sup>3</sup> Another major influence upon him was the Hanbali preacher and Sufi ʿAbd al-Qadir al-Jilani, whose legacy may have resulted in Suhrawardi's antipathy to rational theology and logical reasoning (*qiyas*).<sup>4</sup> In addition, it has been argued that Suhrawardi also disliked the metaphysical speculation that was promoted by the likes of Ibn ʿArabi (d. 1240).<sup>5</sup> In 1168 Suhrawardi's uncle passed away, so he commenced preaching in Abu'l-Najib's *ribat* in Baghdad and soon attracted large numbers to his sermons and speeches.

Suhrawardi achieved increasing fame through his written works, perhaps the best-known of which was *ʿAwarif al-maʿarif*, which has been described as 'the last of the classic Sufi compendia'.<sup>6</sup> *ʿAwarif* was widely used among Sufis in the Arabic-speaking world but its influence stretched as far as India where Persian translations made it more accessible to non-Arabic-speaking Sufis.<sup>7</sup> Of greater interest for the present work are Suhrawardi's two Persian works on *futuwwat*: the *Kitab fi'l-futuwwat* and *Risalat al-futuwwat*.<sup>8</sup> These two treatises are

relatively short but hugely important for showing the extent of Sufi influence in forms of *futuwwat* during this period. These two works are very different in content from other treatises on *futuwwat* that were composed at the same time, that is, those that were written in Arabic to describe institutionalised *futuwwat* under the caliph.<sup>9</sup> The latter works offer more contextualised information, such as the names of various *futuwwat* groups in Baghdad, and also the hierarchical formation of individual groups. Suhrawardi's offering is concerned to locate Sufi-*futuwwat* as a genuine manifestation of Islam, which is neither an innovation in practice nor a contradiction of 'normative' belief and which promoted his own sober form of Sufism. He may have been concerned to present a sanitised version of the tradition, divorced from the violence and turbulence that was associated with the *futuwwat* in the backstreets and environs of Baghdad (see below).

Perhaps it was Suhrawardi's popularity among the Baghdadis that caught the attention of the caliph, Nasir li-Din Allah, who had inherited a crumbling empire that he ruled only nominally. With Suhrawardi as a spiritual advisor, the caliph attempted to establish a solid block of support to expand his power base in Iraq and revivify the glory of the caliphate, which had disintegrated in the tenth and eleventh centuries following the establishment of Seljuk power over most of the Eastern Islamic lands. Nasir li-Din Allah's favour of Suhrawardi was evident in 1203 when he presented the Sufi with a *ribat*, the al-Marzubaniyya, located in the west of the capital. He also sent Suhrawardi on various missions, such as that to the Ayyubid leader of Syria and Egypt in 1208, then dispatching him to Hamadan to the Khwarazm Shah in 1218 and to the Seljuq ruler in Rum in 1221. However, the caliph's attachment to Suhrawardi should not be overestimated, as Nasir temporarily stripped him of his direction of the *ribats* and banned him from preaching following the Sufi's receipt of expensive gifts and clothing, and his 'ostentatious pomp and his breach of the rules of a Sufi way of life'.<sup>10</sup>

Some of Suhrawardi's diplomatic missions mentioned above were attempts to promote *futuwwat*. *Futuwwat* groups had existed in Iraq and had caused much communal tension and violence, so it must have been a surprise for many when in 1182 Nasir li-Din Allah requested that he be initiated into the organisation. Moreover, from 1203 onwards, 'al-Nasir personally decided on the admission into the *futuwwat* of princes and governors'.<sup>11</sup> And then in 1207 Nasir made illegal all the *futuwwat* brotherhoods except the one to which he belonged and proclaimed himself '*qibla*', or the central authority and support.<sup>12</sup>

This last move was the result of a serious disturbance that broke out in Baghdad between *futuwwat* groups. Now as head of all *futuwwat* organisations, Nasir li-Din Allah may have believed that *futuwwat* provided him with an institution by which he could unite the empire and its various constituent parts into a pact of loyalty and thus reassert the power of the caliph. To this end he sent Suhrawardi on the diplomatic missions mentioned above. There has been some dispute about Suhrawardi's role in these missions, for he may not have simply been executing the will of the caliph.<sup>13</sup> In a passage in his *Kitab fi'l-futuwwat* Suhrawardi disparages the *khanaqahs* of those shaykhs, the income of which is derived from kings or princes (*muluk wa umara*); and this is contrasted with masters of *futuwwat*, who build their own *khanaqah*.<sup>14</sup> This topic of political interference (relating to the issue of eating the food at a *khanaqah* which derived its income from worldly rulers and in particular whether food eaten there is legally permitted or not) had been a matter of great dispute.<sup>15</sup> At a wider level, Sufis were concerned at the practice that seems to have originated with the Seljuk princes of bestowing patronage upon Sufis through the support of *khanaqahs*.<sup>16</sup> It is not clear from Suhrawardi's text whether his reservations about constructing *khanaqahs* with funds coming from rulers were directed at Nasir or were a general observation that reflected his antipathy to the Seljuk tradition of political interference among Sufism. However, it has been suggested that Suhrawardi was attempting to promote his own form of *futuwwat* which paralleled his version of Sufism (as distinct from Nasir's, which was directed at 'princes' on the one hand, and also at controlling the urban lower classes on the other). Such a possibility has been discussed by Erik Ohlander, who argues that in Suhrawardi's lifetime, Sufism was undergoing structural changes. In particular, the role of the shaykh was developing so that he was more of a directing master who oversaw the progress of his trainees on a more comprehensive level,<sup>17</sup> and thus was not simply a teacher with little concern for the moral or spiritual welfare of those whom he taught. Moreover, Suhrawardi's care and activities in his own *ribats* and his supposed dislike of the speculative, philosophical forms of Sufism and the more ecstatic variety may have caused him to actively promote his own sober version of Sufism through institutionalised *futuwwat*. It is noteworthy that this interpretation of Sufism is also reflected in his treatment of *futuwwat*, in which there is an uncompromising insistence on being scrupulous about matters pertaining to correct manners and courtesies (both between individuals and also between the individual and God). The two passages below,

## *Kitab fi'l-futuwwat* introduction

for example, focus on eating legally permitted food, and they are instructive of both the sober and the more ecstatic variety of Sufism; the first passage is Suhrawardi's while the second is a report of Rumi's perspective on consuming anything that is *haram*:

*Futuwwat* transcends the boasting of the individual who takes a mouthful of food with [no concern] whether it is legally permitted or forbidden.<sup>18</sup>

You should consider what is a licit morsel and what is licit gain . . . Many a licit morsel only results in indolence, fraud and baseness. The morsel which increases longing and ecstatic delight in your soul, and stirs desire for the other world, and stimulates an inclination for the path of the Prophets and the Friends of God – know that it is licit.<sup>19</sup>

Yet another possible reason for Suhrawardi's concern for *futuwwat* is related to his interpretation of the tradition as a less arduous form of Sufism, an indication of which is highlighted below:

There are two kinds of knowledge. One is the *shari'at* and the second is the *tariqat*. One cannot reach the *tariqat* except through the *shari'at*, and one cannot reach the *haqiqat* except through the *tariqat*, and *futuwwat* is through the *tariqat*. In Seth's era, there was no difference between the *tariqat* and *futuwwat*, [indeed], *futuwwat* was the *tariqat* and the *tariqat* was *futuwwat* until Abraham's age when the bewildered ones (*walib-an*), lovers (*'ashiq-an*) and those yearning for God (*mushtaq-an*) approached Abraham and said: 'Oh Prophet of God! We want to move freely among the people, but we cannot bear the weight of the Sufi cloak (*kehrqa*) since we are weak. [This is just as] the Most High said, "Man was created weak (4.28)." Establish a *tariqat* so that we may also find some share in the benefits of those men, for we are [also] yearning for God.' Abraham swam in the ocean of the *tariqat* and found the island of *futuwwat* there. He settled a group of bewildered ones in the boat of the *shari'at* and rowed in the ocean of the *tariqat* until he reached the island of *futuwwat*. He said, 'Make a home on this island, so that you [remain] in safety from Satan's attack.'<sup>20</sup>

Such a call for a less demanding form of Sufism had a precedent in Suhrawardi's lifetime, epitomised in the treatise of his uncle, Abu'l-Najib, entitled *Kitab Adab al-Muridin*.<sup>21</sup> In this work, Abu'l-Najib discussed various kinds of individuals associated with Sufism, ranging

from the master (‘*arif* or *muntabih*), the trainee (*mutawassit*) and the novice (*murid*).<sup>22</sup> A similar classification was adopted by Abu Hafṣ in his Arabic Sufi manual, ‘*Awarif al-Ma‘arif*, in the seventh chapter, entitled ‘The Sufi aspirants and the [Sufi] simulators’ (*fi dhikr al-mutasawwif wa’l-mutashabbihun bihi*).<sup>23</sup> In this chapter Suhrawardi stated that the simulator (or the lay Sufi) possessed faith, the aspirant had wisdom, while the Sufi enjoyed spiritual tasting. Abu Hafṣ indicated that there was a small degree of overlap within these classifications, for the simulator achieved a share of what the aspirant yielded, and the truthful aspirant had a share of what the Sufi enjoyed.<sup>24</sup> The simulator was accepted as a genuine seeker who should be encouraged into the Sufi fold, and Abu Hafṣ cited the *hadith* that ‘he who resembles the group is one of them’.<sup>25</sup> Rather than being identified as a pretender who attempted to derive worldly benefit from association with the Sufis, Abu Hafṣ attempted to draw the simulator within the Sufi tradition by describing him in a positive fashion. He continued the analysis of the Sufi hierarchy by claiming that the Sufi was sincere in the state of tasting and was busy witnessing within the spirit; the aspirant witnessed in the state of wisdom and was vigilant (*muraqaba*) over his heart; and the simulator enjoyed faith and engaged in struggle (*mujahada*) with his ego.<sup>26</sup> It is also worthwhile to note that the positive description of simulators went so far that both Suhrawardis applied the term *muhibbun* (lovers) for them. Abu’l-Najib employed this term in a discussion about lay members receiving scraps of *khirqas* imbued with *baraka* that were torn during the *sama*,<sup>27</sup> and the younger Suhrawardi used the very same term in exactly the same context.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the similarity of *muhibbun* with Abu Hafṣ’s ‘*ashiq-an* (lovers) in the quotation cited above concerning those who could not carry the load of the Sufi cloak is suggestive of the same perspective.

Abu’l-Najib’s Sufi manual was more explicit in accepting lay members than Abu Hafṣ’s ‘*Awarif al-Ma‘arif*. For example, the former discussed how lay members of Sufism received up to forty dispensations (*rukhsa*) by which they were permitted to refrain from certain actions or engage in others that were denied to regular Sufis.<sup>29</sup> Thus lay members were permitted to possess an estate or have a regular income,<sup>30</sup> be occupied in a trade,<sup>31</sup> love leadership,<sup>32</sup> watch amusing things,<sup>33</sup> attend sessions where people could engage in worthless talk<sup>34</sup> and eat tasty food.<sup>35</sup> Abu’l-Najib must have been addressing a certain demand from the local community to spread the benefits of Sufism. It seems unlikely that the creation of space for lay members was an

attempt to popularise a movement that was in decline, as Milson has observed that the affiliation of lay members to Sufi groups was common, even though it was not discussed in Sufi manuals. Is it possible, therefore, that the demand for a non-arduous form of inclusion within Sufi groups from lay members was so great that Abu'l-Najib felt compelled to address the issue in his *Adab al-Muridin*? And was his nephew's attempt to promote *futuwwat* part of the very same phenomenon? On several occasions in his *kitab fi'l-futuwwat* Suhrawardi indicated that *futuwwat* was a more universal path, the benefits of which were available to those who did not have the capacity to traverse the specialist paths of the Holy Law, the Way, the Reality and Gnosis.<sup>36</sup> In other words, *futuwwat* was for the 'people of Form' (*ahl-i surat*).<sup>37</sup> Moreover, according to Abu Hafs it was permissible for such individuals to earn a livelihood, spend their money on their family and give a share of it to the dervishes, just as the lay members in Abu'l-Najib's treatise received similar dispensations. Ohlander's observation concerning the parallel structures of *futuwwat* and Sufism links well with the hypothesis that Suhrawardi's Sufi-*futuwwat* was designed for those who wished to share in some of the benefits of Sufism. Simply put, Suhrawardi's *futuwwat* was an association modelled on his own form of Sufism, but it was a less intense version and was geared for lay members, tradesmen, manual workers and soldiers who could not commit full time to the ascetic and spiritual demands made on regular Sufis. His promotion of *futuwwat* suggests that Sufism was thriving in his age, and the expansion of Sufi-*futuwwat* groups (which may have emerged in part from the more brigand-like activities of semi-military associations in urban regions) supports this theory.

It has been suggested that the granting of *rukhsa* for lay members associated with Sufi groups led to the practice of full-time Sufis acquiring the rights of dispensation, and this resulted in a general weakening of the high aspirations of Sufism. Netton has gone so far as to suggest that the acceptance of *rukhsa* as typified in the writings of Abu'l-Najib resulted in 'instability, decline and return to "society" [i.e. secular society] which herald[ed] the later degeneration in some of the Orders and some areas of tasawwuf'.<sup>38</sup> While this may have been true in individual cases, it is possible that increasing numbers of lay members in Sufi groupings and the spread of Sufi-inspired *futuwwat* organisations enriched the spiritual and social lives of communities across Islamicate lands during the medieval period. The writings of Aflaki confirm the expansion of the Sufi-*futuwwat* (*akhi*) phenomena, and in his travelogue Ibn Battuta appreciates the moral rectitude,

generosity and hospitality of these associations in Anatolia and the surrounding territories.<sup>39</sup>

Although Suhrawardi's form of *futuwwat* may have had the urban and artisanal classes in mind in an attempt to promote his own form of Sufism, it is not the case that he advocated a form of Sufi-*futuwwat* by supporting a 'watered-down' version that was lax, deviated from *shari'a* norms or foregrounded an ecstatic, uncontrollable form of Sufism. Indeed, it may have been the fear of letting loose the more populist forms of Sufism through *futuwwat* that made his presentation of Sufi-*futuwwat* in his *futuwwat namas* rigorously sober and devoid of any mention of potentially 'dangerous' Sufi ritual or activity that would have left the groups open to criticism from the likes of Ibn Jawzi (d. 1201), who had been known for his criticisms of Sufism and *futuwwat*.<sup>40</sup> With the increasing level of popularity that Sufism achieved from the tenth century onwards there had been individuals who sought to benefit from antinomian forms of activity under the guise of Sufism. This is clear from the remarks of Sufis from at least the time of Hujwiri in the eleventh century, who pointed to this problem, as did Hamid Ghazali in the next century, which was picked up by Ibn Jawzi in Suhrawardi's lifetime.<sup>41</sup> The need to rein in this type of behaviour may have contributed to Suhrawardi's adoption of *futuwwat* for lay members wishing to pursue Sufism. The restraining influence of Sufi-*futuwwat*'s rules and regulations may have been an attempt to nip in the bud the attraction and influence that Sufi imposters exerted. This may explain why Suhrawardi did not mention the *sama'* once in his two treatises on *futuwwat*. It is worth noting that Abu'l-Najib discussed the permissibility of lay members being present when the Sufi garments were torn (i.e. during the *sama'*), so that they were able to share in the *baraka* (or blessing) that such material provided.<sup>42</sup> But it is rather ironic that although Suhrawardi argued that some people had requested of Abraham a less intensive spiritual path, his *futuwwat namas* offered initiates a regime of rules and regulations that appear almost as totalising as those designed for full-time Sufis. Under this regime every act and passing thought involved conforming to the demands of the *futuwwat* code of honour. Such a perspective predates Suhrawardi, as Sulami had said the very same thing quite succinctly in his own treatise on *futuwwat* some two hundred years earlier.<sup>43</sup> (Admittedly, Sulami's treatise on *futuwwat* seems to have been targeted at Sufis, rather than at associated and sympathetic lay members.) Suhrawardi actually cited Sulami in his *Kitab fi'l-futuwwat*, in a definition of a *fata* as he who remained free

from created things.<sup>44</sup> In other words, the *fata* had to focus on God and the appropriate behaviour before God at all times, which meant manifesting both the correct inner and outer attributes.

The outer attributes of the *fata* were of great concern to Suhrawardi because of the communal nature of *futuwwat* that he advocated. For example, courteous behaviour within the *futuwwat* group entailed an immaculate appearance, and Suhrawardi stated plainly that shabby or torn garments were not permissible in *futuwwat*, for a person seemed threadbare to onlookers in such a garment even if he were wise and learned.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, a good impression was created if someone had a clean cloak and appeared upright, even if he had no special skill.<sup>46</sup> Concern with dress also held an inner significance because draping oneself in colourful garments was an indication of arrogance.<sup>47</sup> The ideal was not to stand out in a crowd, and for this reason the man of *futuwwat* had to be properly groomed, to the extent that he had to possess certain grooming utensils, even when travelling, such as clippers for his moustache and tweezers to pull out protruding nasal hair.<sup>48</sup>

Attention to outer attributes and correct external behaviour is also evident in the copious attention that Suhrawardi devoted to the rules and regulations for communal eating. The regulations on this point may have been detailed because it was at the dinner table when the brothers were assembled together that the man of *futuwwat* was at his most conspicuous. If he committed an error there then he let down both himself and also his master of *futuwwat*. The correct place to sit, the posture, the manner of eating food, the amount of food to be eaten, when to speak, how to drink, and how to clean oneself after eating are all regulations or courtesies (*adab*) that Suhrawardi outlined.<sup>49</sup> Such detail was an attempt to create perfection in the man of *futuwwat*. Although he was at his most conspicuous at the dinner table, the courtesies and rules were designed to make him invisible, so that he would not be a nuisance or cause disruption.

Given the difficulty of conforming to all the new rules and the fact that the master of the *futuwwat* group might well have had a number of other novices to train in addition to overseeing other matters, the novice was placed under the guardianship of the more advanced trainees, who supervised him with the performance of certain acts and duties. For example, if the novice received a command from the master and he was unsure how to perform the task, he was advised to seek clarification from the other trainees,<sup>50</sup> who carefully observed and instructed the novice in the path.<sup>51</sup> The duration of the training

is not specified in Suhrawardi's texts, but it is clear that it was not an easy apprenticeship and took some considerable time to complete.<sup>52</sup> After finally being accepted within the *futuwwat* group, the master undertook the training of the novice, and again the formalised nature of the regulations is evident in the examples given by Suhrawardi. For example, the novice would have to know the exact wording to use and the appropriate posture to assume when addressing another master of *futuwwat*.<sup>53</sup> The adage of Abu Hafs al-Nayshapuri that '*futuwwat* is *adab*' could not be more appropriate.<sup>54</sup>

Although Suhrawardi's emphasis was indeed on the outer dimension of acts, he also stipulated that perfection in the man of *futuwwat* must also be attained in the inner dimension. That is to say, it was necessary to have the right attitude and intention. The references to the inner dimension are scattered in various locations in Suhrawardi's *futuwwat nama*, but they are not discussed in much depth. In paragraph 105, for example, he included a list of sixty-one attributes, the majority of which are those typically found in Sufi treatises, such as God-wariness (*taqwa*), poverty (*faqr*), generosity (*muruwwat*), contentment (*qana'at*), compassion (*shafagat*), inner purity (*safa*), patience (*sabr*) and annihilation (*fana*). Significantly, Suhrawardi labelled these attributes as those possessed by the Friends of God and the Prophets. With some degree of concern about the inner dimension of the *fata* (which, as mentioned above, were the same as those possessing an eminent spiritual rank) and also with the understanding that *futuwwat* is reached through the *tariqat*, it might have been expected that Suhrawardi would have at least hinted at or suggested some kind of spiritual reward or mystical unveiling for the *fata*. However, this is not the case, indicating perhaps that Suhrawardi realised that the majority of the *fityan* would not reach such advanced spiritual levels.

Suhrawardi's *futuwwat namas* were designed for those who wished to share in the communal benefits of Sufism and who may have hoped to derive elements of spiritual comfort in a communal gathering where devotions including prayer and *dhikr* took place, that is to say, the 'safe' forms of ritual activity. Despite this, Suhrawardi did provide tantalising passages, almost as an afterthought, in which he alluded to an elite group of *jawanmardan*, perhaps believing that these individuals were the recipients of divine favour and unveiling. It is difficult to reconcile the existence of such individuals within a tradition that derived its meaning through communal activity, because on several occasions Suhrawardi portrayed the members of the elite group of *jawanmardan* as those who removed themselves from the world at

large. The first reference to such spiritually enlightened individuals comes in a description of pre-Islamic seekers who proceeded along the path of reality (*rah-i haqiqat*) and chose a corner of a mountain away from people, avoiding social contact and refusing food and drink from the public but engaging in ascetic exercises until refreshment came to them from God.<sup>55</sup> It is clear that Suhrawardi did not regard these individuals as incomplete even though they preceded the coming of the 'perfected' religion of Islam, or because they fled from society, as he attributed to them the names reserved for the elite in the Sufi spiritual hierarchy: *qutban*, *abdal*, *awtadan*, *‘ashiqan*, *muhibban* and *awliya*,<sup>56</sup> adding that they were also known as *jawanmardan*.<sup>57</sup> That Suhrawardi believed such individuals lived in his own time is clear, as he discussed the necessity of wearing clean and suitable clothing yet, importantly, added a caveat that those who were separated from others (*tajrid*) were absolved from this requirement, for they lived in seclusion (*tafrid*) in the level of singularity (*tawhid*) and so did not need to follow the 'outer' regulations of *futuwwat*.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, he also mentioned in passing the '*jawanmardan* Friends of God' who had renounced the world and fled from people, built retreats on mountains and islands and refused to look at anyone in case they fell into temptation.<sup>59</sup> And again, in paragraph 64 Suhrawardi remarked that there were some *jawanmardan* who transcended social rejection or acceptance because they had reached the station of separation (*tajrid*) and seclusion (*tafrid*) in *futuwwat*. According to Suhrawardi, some of the shaykhs had remarked that 'Sufism is an expression for *tajrid* and *tafrid*.' In other words, it seems that this level of *futuwwat* was a station where all activities were completely God-centred and represented an interiorised understanding of *futuwwat* that indeed was synonymous with certain interpretations of Sufism.<sup>60</sup>

This category of *jawanmardan* was not the main focus of Suhrawardi's work; as previously mentioned, his main concern was to delineate *futuwwat* as a communal association for urban and artisanal workers who wished to participate in the less arduous forms of Sufi activity. However, it may have been the case that Suhrawardi envisaged such associations as a preliminary stage to entry into the Sufi order proper. Of course, members of the Sufi orders were social beings too, and many lived in society (within *khanaqahs* that were located in urban settings) and had social intercourse with all kinds of people. Suhrawardi's elite *jawanmardan* should therefore not be associated with regular members of Sufi orders. However, his portrayal of elite *jawanmardan* did in fact have a precedent in the Sufi

world, as Abu'l-Hasan Kharraqani and Ibn 'Arabi (as mentioned in the Introduction) discussed the *jawanmardan* and *fityan* with reference to their intimate contact with God and spiritual unveiling.<sup>61</sup>

The outer and inner attributes of the *fata* then were constructed in to a total ritual regime which was designed to perfect the individual within the communal organisation. The structure of this organisation was strictly hierarchical and was conducive to order. At the bottom level was the utter novice, followed by the advanced trainee and finally the master. (This hierarchy was typical of the Sufi tradition as Abu'l-Najib depicted a similar tri-partite classification.) A description of the Sufi hierarchy (in particular that between the shaykh and the disciple) is provided by Malamud, who argues that such a hierarchy permeated society in Islamic lands in the classical period.<sup>62</sup> This can also be witnessed in the structures and routines that Suhrawardi delineated for the *futuwwat* tradition. In effect, the kind of relationship between the *futuwwat* master and his disciple was normal for people living in Middle Eastern societies in the thirteenth century (even if by contemporary standards in the individualistic West it appears authoritarian and harsh – especially the notion that the novice is kept in a state of perpetual fear).<sup>63</sup> It is also worth keeping in mind that Suhrawardi emphasised the duties of the *futuwwat* master, that is to say, with rights came obligations, and if the obligations were fulfilled in the ideal fashion, then the disciple would have benefited from the master's care and tutelage. An ideal master had to be submissive to the disciple's needs, indicating that power structures within the *futuwwat* organisations were complex and required high levels of self-reflexivity among its adherents for harmonious communal living.

Although the demands of the total ritual regime were exacting,<sup>64</sup> there were dispensations (or *rukhsa*), as *futuwwat* was a more compassionate path than certain understandings of the *shari'a*. For Suhrawardi, *futuwwat* did not contradict the *shari'a* (which he attempted to argue through a philological discussion concerning the shared linguistic root of *futuwwat* and *fatwa*), and he offered several examples of cases in which application of the strict, non-contextualised interpretations of *shari'a* law may be averted by a more merciful understanding. Indeed, Suhrawardi went so far as to assert that the sinner must be forgiven even if he committed seventy sins in one day.<sup>65</sup> This perspective should not be considered an innovation, as the covering of sins had been one of principle features of *futuwwat*, even in Sulami's times. The latter cited the following definition of *futuwwat* from Abu 'Umar al-Dimashqi: '*Futuwwat* is considering other

people's actions with tolerance while regarding your own with dissatisfaction; respecting the rights of those who are superior, inferior or equal to you; and adhering to your friends despite their mistakes and wrongdoings.<sup>66</sup>

Suhrawardi's attempt to link *fatwa* and *futuwwat* are suggestive of his efforts to spread Sufism. It is worthy to note that he remarked that a *fatwa* may be sought from a judge, a wise man, a mufti or a master of *futuwwat*.<sup>67</sup> Such a comment should be understood in light of the changing circumstances of Sufism in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that is to say, the increasing popularity of Sufism. It is interesting to speculate that Suhrawardi was attempting to extend the range of *futuwwat* (and Sufism) by arrogating to the masters of *futuwwat* the traditional function of issuing legal decrees. It is not the case that the *shari'at* was being eclipsed, as Suhrawardi considered that the master of *futuwwat* had to be learned in the *shari'at*, but it is true that he advocated a more tolerant and compassionate interpretation of the holy law. The expansion of *futuwwat* into the *mufti's* jurisdiction is, perhaps, reading too much into Suhrawardi's vision of esoteric Islam. However, given the emergence of Suhrawardi's esoteric *futuwwat* and the expansion of antinomian Qalandar groupings, 'it is not difficult to understand how such developments might have stirred up anxieties within Sunni scholarly circles, due to a mixture of motivations ranging from fear of losing hermeneutical hegemony to a genuine fear of God's wrath'.<sup>68</sup> Certainly there were those who viewed *futuwwat* with caution, if not disdain. For example, Ibn Jawzi, writing just before Suhrawardi's involvement with *futuwwat*, was critical of the hypocrisy of those members of *futuwwat* who oppressed people and confiscated their property.<sup>69</sup> Subsequently, critics of *futuwwat* included Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328) who decried the *futuwwat* organisations as an innovation as they had no basis within the *shari'a*, in particular the special *futuwwat* garments (the trousers) and the initiation ritual of drinking salt water, and he argued that attempts to justify such traditions with reference to reports of 'Ali had little foundation, for such sayings had weak *isnads*. After Ibn Taymiyya's refutation of *futuwwat*, the rejection of the tradition was continued by his student Safi al-Din Idris ibn Biqdin, who disliked the practice of bringing together 'beardless youths' with the most mature members of *futuwwat* and went so far as to accuse the elder members of *futuwwat* of engaging in sodomy with the younger initiates.<sup>70</sup> Suhrawardi's linkage of *futuwwat* with the *shari'a* was probably not an attempt to address such criticisms, as his writings indicate a clear conviction that

*futuwwat* was indeed part and parcel of the *shari'a*. Ibn Biqdin's criticism of *futuwwat* resembles the standard invective that was levelled at any individual or group that was considered outside the pale of the accuser's 'normative' version of Islam. Ibn Taymiyya's view that *futuwwat* represented something of an innovation is perhaps more difficult to refute, but his rather narrow world view was hardly conducive to cultural development and evolution.

Yet at the time of Nasir's adoption of *futuwwat*, the Arabic treatises on the topic indicated that his involvement may have been an attempt to rid the organisations of their excesses. Thus, Ibn Mi'mar (the author of one of these treatises) mentioned how members of *futuwwat* took the law into their own hands, for example in an attempt to preserve the honour of the group, without obtaining permission (or a *fatwa*) from a judge.<sup>71</sup> The significance of Suhrawardi's remark about seeking a *fatwa* from a master of *futuwwat* (who was learned in the *shari'a*) becomes more significant in this light, and again it suggests that he was determined to locate Sufi-*futuwwat* within a sober and orderly framework that abided by the *shari'a*.

Suhrawardi's *futuwwat* permitted a much greater degree of flexibility within society, without having to sacrifice large elements of its Islamic cultural heritage. For example, the continuity of Suhrawardi's form of Sufi-*futuwwat* with that presented by Sulami in his *futuwwat nama* is evident in the emphasis on compassion. But one element that Suhrawardi developed and expanded was the role and eminence of 'Ali ibn abi Talib (who received scant attention within Sulami's work).<sup>72</sup> There is ample evidence of the common associations that were made between 'Ali and *futuwwat* during the period between Sulami and Suhrawardi. For example, in *Kalila wa Dimna* (composed in Persian in the first half of the twelfth century) the legacy of *futuwwat* is obtained through 'Ali, who is described as wise and a Friend of God.<sup>73</sup> Other examples of the association of 'Ali with *futuwwat* from the Seljuq period are present in Maybudi's *Kashf al-Asrar*.<sup>74</sup> (It is interesting to speculate that one reason for the increasing prominence of 'Ali within *futuwwat* may have been the influence of Isma'ilis in Baghdad, which was linked with Ibn Rasuli, who attempted to promote *futuwwat* in Baghdad in the second half of the eleventh century.)<sup>75</sup>

Suhrawardi worked 'Ali into a number of anecdotes that depict *futuwwat* as merciful and universal. As mentioned in the Introduction 'Ali was regarded as a patron saint in the *futuwwat* tradition, and in Suhrawardi's text it was he who rendered *futuwwat* to all seekers. 'Ali commanded that a great water channel should be dug, into which the

water from the channels of the Holy Law, the Way, the Reality and Gnosis should flow. Anyone who imbibed of the great water channel thereby benefited from the water of the four channels.<sup>76</sup> Suhrawardi's use of 'Ali is intriguing, made even more so by the virtual absence of other leading companions of the Prophet in his treatises on *futuwwat*. The only other figure to feature in a major anecdote is 'Umar, but he only serves as an example of a rather stern and literal interpreter of the *shari'a*, whereas, as Suhrawardi pointed out, *futuwwat* attempts to offer a more merciful version of Islam.<sup>77</sup> Perhaps Suhrawardi wished to build upon the legacy of 'Ali (who was also known as a great warrior) that was paramount within the regions in which 'ayyari groups were powerful, thereby making his own Sufi-*futuwwat* organisations more appealing.<sup>78</sup> Yet Suhrawardi must have been aware of the dangerous legacy offered by the urban *futuwwat* groups which appear almost as military-vigilante groups. After all, it was a dispute involving swords that resulted in the caliph's usurpation of the institution.<sup>79</sup> This may explain Suhrawardi's command that the master of *futuwwat* does not regard as permissible any tool or weapon (see paragraph 128).

Suhrawardi's primary focus on 'Ali as an exemplary exponent of *futuwwat* has nothing to do with any denominational leaning. The anecdotes in Suhrawardi's *futuwwat namas* present 'Ali as more of a man of compassion and mercy, and his military role – significant in the context of the semi-military origins of *futuwwat* – is downplayed. The two roles are conjoined, however, in the subsequent generation in the depiction of 'Ali by Jalal al-Din Rumi in his *Mathnawi*, in an anecdote in which 'Ali refused to kill a Magian adversary in battle who had spat in his face. 'Ali threw down his sword until his anger of his carnal soul had subsided, and then he explained that he could not take the life that God had created, and on hearing this, the Magian embraced Islam.<sup>80</sup> In the tradition of *futuwwat* subsequent to Suhrawardi 'Ali continued to enjoy a special, eminent rank as the exemplar of compassion, mercy, bravery and loyalty to God.

It may be the case that Suhrawardi utilised 'Ali to facilitate a smooth transition from semi-military 'ayyar-*futuwwat* to Sufi-*futuwwat*, and, indeed, Suhrawardi adopted several elements of *futuwwat* ritual and custom, which may be regarded as a form of cultural continuity. One example of this is the Sufi-*futuwwat* garment, which, like that of the 'ayyar-*futuwwat* groups, was the trousers (*sarawil*). In his *Risala-yi futuwwat* Suhrawardi remarked that the garment of the Sufis was the *khirqa* whereas that of the people of *futuwwat* was the trousers (*zir-i jama*).<sup>81</sup> In his longer *futuwwat* treatise Suhrawardi mentions

the *yar pirahan* (or *yar-i pirahan*), which was considered to be the particular form of *futuwwat* clothing in Fars.<sup>82</sup> Certainly the tradition of *futuwwat* prior to Suhrawardi was associated with the trousers, as evidenced in the testimony of Ibn Jawzi, although it is interesting that Sulami's Sufi text, *Kitab al-futuwwat*, made no mention of specific *futuwwat* trousers, but always referred to the Sufi cloak. It would seem, therefore, that 'ayyari-*futuwwat* adopted the trousers, and this was incorporated by Suhrawardi within his *Sufi-futuwwat* tradition.

Cultural continuity is also evident in Suhrawardi's discussion of initiation, as he mentions two types: initiation by the sword (*sayfi*) and initiation through a verbal pledge (*qawli*), both of which were compared to the two kinds of robes received by Sufis (the first being the robe bestowed by a true spiritual master, the second being given for the sake of a blessing).<sup>83</sup> Although Suhrawardi did not mention the other major component of *futuwwat* ritual, that is, the imbibing of salt water, it was certainly practised in Suhrawardi's lifetime, as it is mentioned by Ibn Mi'mar in his Arabic *futuwwat* treatise.<sup>84</sup> That Suhrawardi's Sufi-*futuwwat* was borrowing rituals from the earlier *futuwwat* tradition there can be no doubt; however, it is intriguing to speculate whether the three kinds of initiation that appeared in the writings of Zarkub in the fourteenth century existed in Suhrawardi's lifetime. As mentioned above, Suhrawardi's texts discuss the *qawli* and the *sayfi* members, but there is no reference to the *shurbi*. However, some scholars witness a link to this classification with the threefold taxonomy in the eleventh-century *Qabus nama*. If this is a valid connection, then it might have been expected that Suhrawardi would have mentioned the *shurbi* member too. As discussed previously, it has been speculated that the *sayfi* membership was for soldiers (and perhaps those connected with running the state) whereas the *qawlis* were simple tradespeople; the suggestion is that the *shurbis* were the Sufis. A possible reason, then, why Suhrawardi did not mention the *shurbis* was simply because his *futuwwat* *namas* were not targeted at Sufis. His main aim was to encourage the traders, the artisans and the soldiers to embrace his form of the less arduous variety of Sufism – that is to say, he wanted to delineate the *qawli* and the *sayfi* form of initiation.<sup>85</sup> The other possibility, of course, is that the *shurbi* form of initiation emerged after Suhrawardi, and the threefold classification has no connection with the *Qabus Nama*. Whatever the case, it is clear that Suhrawardi utilised existing *futuwwat* ritual practice, and this must have facilitated its adoption as a more lenient form of Sufi practice. It was something with which many people must have been

## *Kitab fi'l-futuwwat* introduction

familiar and clearly assisted in forms of cultural continuity. While later critics viewed *futuwwat* as being an innovation (at least when compared with the practice of Muhammad), it certainly was not an innovation that deviated from some of the ritual practices of *futuwwat* as it existed prior to Suhrawardi.

The text translated here has retained the numbering of paragraphs that were inserted into the published edition by Sarraf. This should help those who wish to check the original Persian. After a lengthy introduction which features the anecdotes about 'Ali and his compassionate interpretation of *futuwwat* the text has five subdivisions (*bab*). These subdivisions (which together are longer than the introduction) present Suhrawardi's parallel version of Sufism, *futuwwat*, in which he offers instructions on how *futuwwat* masters and novices should behave and on aspects related to communal living, such as eating together. The five sections (*abwab*) are of unequal length, some bearing headings. The structure and headings of these sections is rather unusual, given the care that Suhrawardi paid to the form of his other works such as the *'Awarif*, and it may be the case that these divisions were inserted into the manuscript at a later date. Suhrawardi's two *futuwwat namas* are included in a manuscript in the Aya Sophia library (no. 2049), and Sarraf comments that the scribe who copied the work probably lived in the fifteenth century.<sup>87</sup>

The contents of Suhrawardi's treatise, however, are typical of *futuwwat namas* that were to appear in Persian for the subsequent three hundred years. Three main elements recur in *futuwwat* treatises during this period: the theme of compassion and mercy; attempts to demonstrate the linkages between *futuwwat* and Sufism (which perhaps were due to concerns relating to the image of *futuwwat*, that is to say, proponents of *futuwwat* sought to shelter under the protective shade of sober Sufism); and the desire for scrupulousness in observing correct procedures in ritual activity (such as eating and the *sama'*).

### Suggested Reading

Hartmann, Angelika 'Al-Nasir li-Din Allah', *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, vol. VII (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 906–1003.

'Al-Suhrawardi', *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, vol. IX (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 778–82.

Malamud, Margaret 'Gender and spiritual self-fashioning: the master-disciple

- relationship in classical Sufism', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 64(1) (1996), pp. 89–117.
- Mason, Herbert *Two Statesmen of Mediaeval Islam* (The Hague: Mouton, 1972).
- Milson, Menahim *A Sufi Rule for Novices* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975).
- Netton, Ian 'The Breath of Felicity: Adab, Ahwal, Maqamat and Abu'l-Najib al-Suhrawardi', in Leonard Lewisohn (ed.), *Classical Persian Sufism from its Origins to Rumi* (London: KNP, 1993), pp. 457–82.
- Ohlander, Erik *Sufism in an Age of Transition* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).
- Qamar-ul, Huda *Striving for Divine Union* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 13–81.
- Renard, John *Knowledge of God in Classical Sufism* (New York: Paulist Press, 2004), pp. 332–76.
- Ridgeon, Lloyd 'Javanmardi: origins and development until the 13th century and its connection to Sufism', *Annals of Japan, Association for Middle Eastern Studies*, 21(2) (2006).
- Ridgeon, Lloyd *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: A History of Sufi-futuwwat in Iran* (London: Routledge, 2010).
- Salinger, Gerard 'Was the *futuwwa* an oriental form of chivalry?' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 94(5) (19 October 1950).
- Zakeri, Mohsen 'The *futuwwa*—"Houses" at the time of Caliph al-Nasir: some notes', *Halleschen Beitrage zur Orientwissenschaft* (1998), pp. 222–37.

---

# Suhrawardi's *Kitab fi'l-Futuwwat*

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, and we ask Him for help. Praise belongs to God, Lord of the two worlds, and greetings and peace upon our master, Muhammad, and upon all his family.

(1) The start of the book. First one must know that *futuwwat* has been derived from *fatwa*, and the meaning of *fatwa* is as follows. For any task that one performs, or any occupation or action in which one becomes engaged and in which there is a doubt regarding its expediency some will say, '[This task] is expedient, do it,' but others will say, 'It is not expedient, don't do it.' When a helpless person becomes confused about [the expediency of that particular] task he should go to a judge who is just and equitable, or to a wise man who is virtuous, or to a *mufti* with a formal legal opinion and has attained perfection in knowledge, rules (*adab*) and practice (*'amal*), or to a master of *futuwwat* who is adorned with various kinds of knowledge and wisdom. He should consult with such a person, [saying], 'Such and such a problem has befallen me,' or 'I have sworn an oath, and I [want] to carry out such and such a task and business [but] the community is opposed [to it].'

(2) [He says], 'Now, I request a formal, legal opinion. What command does the Holy Law (*shari'at*) give? Can one perform [this task] or not?' If that task or business is proper (*salah*) and recommended, then they write a *fatwa* and give it to him. They say one can perform [that task]. If it is not a proper act (*sawab*), then they do not write out the *fatwa*, and they say that one must not [carry out that act]. So it is clear that a *fatwa* for a task is good because nobody can complain when the *mufti* writes out a *fatwa*. And *fatwa* and *futuwwat* have the same meaning. He who is among the people of *Futuwwat* must also be good and possess justice, fairness and equity.

(3) Another kind of *futuwwat*: There are many things that are impermissible according to both *futuwwat* and *muruwwat*, but permissible under the Holy Law. But this does not mean that *futuwwat* and *muruwwat* contradict the Holy Law. However, the attribute of the people of *Futuwwat* is that if someone does something bad to them then they do something good in return. According to the Holy Law, they would carry out a bad act in retribution for a bad act. But *muruwwat* is a branch of *futuwwat*, and that is also a good quality.

(4) As mentioned above, there are [some] things in the Holy Law which are not among [the customs] of *futuwwat*, and so some of the *jawanmardan* have said, '*Futuwwat* is the essence of the Holy Law, and the Way and the Reality.' Some of the great shaykhs have said, 'The Way is the essence of the Holy Law, and the Reality is the essence of the Way, and *futuwwat* is the essence of the Reality.'

(5) Another kind of *futuwwat* is that *futuwwat* is the acceptable path, the highest rank, just as the Truth Most High has remembered in His eternal speech, '*Verily they were young men who believed in their Lord and We increased them in guidance*' (18.13). The *jawanmardan* have said, 'There are three parts to *futuwwat*. The first is the Holy Law, the second is the Way and the third is the Reality.' So *futuwwat* is composed of the Holy Law, the Way and the Reality. For this reason they have said, 'Whatever is permissible with *futuwwat* is also permissible with the Holy Law for a community which has reached the level of *futuwwat*.' The Holy Law is an expression (*ibarat*) for the speech of the Truth and the reports of Mustafa, but there are two or three aspects in the Holy Law which *futuwwat* does not regard as possessing good qualities because [the *jawanmardan*] renounce their fortune and seek another [kind of] satisfaction. And God permits that which *futuwwat* regards as impermissible. He [permits] justice so that [people] can receive justice. However *futuwwat* does not regard this as permissible, as the *jawanmardan* have said that if someone slanders you, you should pray for this person; and if he deprives you [of something], then at a time when you are in need you should give him something; if he runs away from you, adhere to him [faithfully] and do not desert him; if he hits or strikes you, or if he breaks [one of your] teeth, forgive him. This is *futuwwat* and *muruwwat*, and it is the same as the speech of the Truth. This is because forgiving is derived from mercy. But justice is derived from the Holy Law, just as the glorious Qur'an says, '*Retribution is prescribed for you in the matter of the murdered: the freeman for the freeman, the slave for the slave, the female for the female*' (2.178). However, in the time of 'Ali, the Commander of the

Faithful, some people brought before him someone who had committed murder. [‘Ali] said, ‘You say that retribution is necessary and you cite retribution is prescribed for you in the matter of the murdered.’ The command of the Truth’s word is correct, and retribution should be prescribed, [but] you should have interceded for him. You could have said, ‘Don’t seize him on the basis of this crime.’ This [crime] was his fate; the Pen moves from eternity without beginning, and God’s measuring out (*qada*) has been accomplished, and [the victim] had reached the appointed time of death. You should forgive this helpless individual who has travelled in the vehicle of ignorance. Let me atone for the blood he has spilled.’ [And so ‘Ali] interceded for this person. If [these people] had not accepted [his] intercession, [‘Ali] would have said, ‘Now let me pay the blood money,’ and he would have satisfied them and made them happy by giving [them] the blood money, and finally he would have made peace with them and solved the problem.

(6) If someone committed a theft, and was then brought before the Commander of the Faithful, [‘Ali] would confirm that [this person] had committed the theft, and then order the amputation of his hand on the basis of the word of the Truth, since, ‘*As for the thief, male and female, sever their hands. It is a reward for their deeds, a punishment from God*’ (5.38). It is correct that severing of the hand is necessary, but then he said, ‘Now forgive him. Place his sin upon me. It was not ordained for you in fate. This helpless person has become trapped in the divine measuring out and destiny. The devil whispered to him and led him down [another] path. I will compensate you for your goods.’ [‘Ali] made such intercessions that he satisfied them. If [some people] brought a woman who had committed some crime before him, he would not accept [their accusations] unless they brought forward four just witnesses. Indeed, he would not accept [their complaints] even if they found four just witnesses, for he would demand the attestation of the witnesses’ honourable record. He strove so that the sin [attributed] to that woman could not be proved. In the end he called for the woman and admonished her and made her afraid. If it became necessary, he would command the legal punishments for the woman. But he would [also] criticise the witnesses, and would not accept any further testimonies from them, saying that they had already given testimony to adultery.

(7) In the time of the Prophet someone came and greeted him, and said, ‘Oh Prophet of God! I saw an unknown person with my wife in such and such a house. I locked the door, and came here to present my complaint before the Prophet.’ The Prophet turned away from

him and did not reply. The man stated once more, 'Oh Prophet of God! Something terrible has happened to me! Give me justice!' The Prophet gave no answer. Yet again the man said, 'Oh Prophet of God! Something terrible has happened to me! Give me justice!' The Prophet turned angrily towards him and asked, 'Did you see with your own eyes?' He replied, '[Yes] I saw [with my own eyes]. Oh Prophet of God! I saw this.'

(8) The Prophet said to 'Ali, the Commander of the Faithful, 'Oh 'Ali! Go to this man's house and look around well.' Now, there is a question here. Why did he send 'Ali and not any other person? [Why] did he send Bilal for other tasks, and 'Ali for this [particular] task? The answer is that no one possessed the same [degree of] knowledge as 'Ali. Anyone else [sent by Muhammad] would have seen and would have testified [to the situation] just as it was. But 'Ali was greater than all the others in knowledge and more famous through *futuwwat* – since the Prophet had stated, '*There is no fata but 'Ali, and there is no sword except dhu al-faqar*'<sup>88</sup> – because a part of *futuwwat* is veiling (*sattari*). So he sent 'Ali to go and see, and return and testify according to his knowledge because his testimony would be correct, but that of anyone else would be wrong. The aim was that the adultery should remain hidden, in order to '*veil faults and forgive sins*'. So 'Ali, the Commander of the Faithful, went to that house, opened the door and went inside. He closed his eyes and wandered in the house. Still with eyes closed, he came out of the house, and then returned to the Prophet. He said, 'I swear to God. I didn't see a single person in that house.' He spoke the truth for he had shut his eyes and of course he saw no one. It is for this reason that the Prophet said, 'I am the city of knowledge and 'Ali is the gate.'<sup>89</sup>

(9) So these qualities which are agreeable to God and the Prophet also exist in *futuwwat*. [They may be compared to] a flag ('*alam*), raised at the centre point of the crossroads (*chabar-rah*) of the Holy Law (*shari'at*), the Way (*tariqat*), the Reality (*haqiqat*) and Gnosis (*ma'rifat*). [An analogy of this is] just like that of a person who reached a crossroads; the road from Baghdad went to Mecca, another road headed off to Syria, another led to Turkey and another went to Azerbaijan. The traveller reached a strange place at the head of the crossroads, and he wanted to take one of the roads. He saw a desert, many water channels (*sar-ab*) and roads but there was no one to lead (*rahbar*) [him on the right path], and so he felt helpless ('*ajiz*). When he looked into the distance, he saw a flag that was raised high in the sky. He became happy and rejoiced, and he approached the flag in

order to know [the direction] of the four roads. On the flag it was written that this road leads to the Ka'ba, and this road goes east in the direction of Iraq, and this road heads to the west in the direction of Syria and this road leads to the north in the direction of Turkey. The traveller journeyed down one of the roads, through the blessing of that flag which is [the reality of] *futuwwat*. The flag was the tutor (*ustad*) at the crossroads. Another analogy [is that] whenever a master among the masters of religion, or a *jawanmard* among the elders, desired to carry out charitable works (*khayrati*) or establish and build a *khanaqah*, he would arrange for it to have long walls and a high ceiling if the *khanaqah* were prosperous and flourishing, and if its resources were entirely in order. Then, if a traveller arrived from afar, he would be hungry and thirsty; if the night were closing in his endurance would be running low. He would not see this flourishing place, and so he would be disappointed and hopeless, having no travelling provisions and no beverages, and he would fall down in that very place. The next day, after walking just a little further (*nim farsang*), he would see the great *khanaqah*, affluent with resources in order, including food, beverages, slippers and whatever else is required. The traveller would be astonished that such a prosperous *khanaqah* was so near while the [previous night] he remained in a desolate place without food or drink.

(10) When that great shaykh who was in charge of that *khanaqah* found out [about this situation] he said, 'Something must be done to make the travellers aware.' So through the discernment of intelligence, experience and perfect knowledge, he said, 'A flag with the name of this flourishing *khanaqah* must be erected, so that if a traveller comes near here at night he will be able to see this flag from a *farsang*. So even if he is thirsty and weary, he will continue with some hope and not remain on the road without bread and water, or beverages and food.' Now *futuwwat* is a guide to all good roads, and it leads one to the Prophets, Friends of God, the righteous, the martyrs and to heaven, and to the Truth – the Glorious and Most High. From this perspective, *futuwwat* is the best of all roads. This reality is the custom within Khurasan, for wherever there is a *khanaqah* or a *zawiya*, a flag has been erected, and upon it is the name of that *khanaqah* or *zawiya*, so that travellers who come from far can see that flag and approach that *khanaqah* or *zawiya*.

(11) Another analogy is that the Ka'ba is God's house, and it is the direction of prayer (*qibla*) for the believers, and there are four sides (*hadd*) and four corners (*arkan*) for the *qibla*.<sup>90</sup> However, a flag with

the name of the Ka'ba [written upon it should] be hoisted up, even though the Ka'ba, in truth, is exalted and glorified, and possesses the highest rank. Yet a flag with the name of the Ka'ba written upon it should be raised to augment the splendour and strength of Islam. The reason that the flag unfurls [itself] in the wind [is so that] the Islamic order (*nishan-i musalmani*) can flourish.

(12) In addition, on approaching the Ka'ba those performing the pilgrimage (*hajjiyan*) become happy and cheerful when they see a flag from [a distance] of two *farsangs*. Even though the Ka'ba is God's house, and it is magnificent and exalted, the flag is the reason for an increase in the joy and esprit in the heart of the servant of God.

(13) So just as the four roads of the Holy Law, the Way, the Reality and Gnosis are all valid, the religion of Islam (*din-i islam*) makes them flourish and beautiful.

(14) The foundations (*arkan*) of this crossroads require a flag, and upon that flag [it should be] written that this is such and such a road, and that is such and such a road. Therefore, through the blessing of that flag, whoever goes along that road will be informed about the crossroads.

(15) *Futuwwat* is the essence of these four roads, and in truth, not everyone can follow [it]. However, the Arab, Persian, Turk and Tajik, and the common people, the soldier, the tradesman, [in fact] everyone can follow the form of this road [of *futuwwat*], but no one can follow the reality of *futuwwat*. The perfection of *futuwwat*, which is the right of the Truth (*haqqiyat-i haqq*), is for God Most High, and for the elect of God, Mustafa.

(16) Whoever does not have the receptiveness to walk along this road, but does so nevertheless, will in fact perish and become annihilated in the whirlpool of rage, just as if [such a person] were unaware of himself. These four roads existed in the first age when the Prophets of the children of Israel were alive. There was a group including priests, monks and ascetics who trod the road of the Holy Law of the children of Israel. The monks went along the Way, and they engaged in asceticism and refrained from illegal acts. There was a tribe of itinerants (*siyahan*) in their religious community who wandered to churches, studied and followed the road of Gnosis. Some of the people of *Futuwwat* who went down the road of the Reality were those who practised seclusion from people, and they selected a corner of a mountain, remote from people. They neither turned to anyone, nor ate food or drank beverages [received] from people, but they engaged in asceticism and religious effort until night-time when

food and drink came to them from the Holy Presence of Glory. These [individuals] are the Poles (*qutban*), the Substitutes (*abdāl*), the Pegs (*awtadan*), the Passionate Lovers (*‘ashiqan*), the Lovers (*muhibban*) and the Friends of God (*awliya*), and they are the ones in the Court of the Truth (*dar gab-i haqq*). They are all called *jawanmardan*. These four roads existed in those times.

(17) But the road (*rah*) of *futuwwat* is greater than all of these roads. This is because *futuwwat* passed from Adam to Seth, from Seth to Abraham, from Abraham to Isma‘il, and so on from generation to generation until the era of the prophethood of our master, Muhammad Mustafa. The Holy Law of religion (*shari‘at-i din*) became manifest and the water of these four water channels (*ab-i in chahar jui*) began to flow in this world.<sup>91</sup> Just as [there are four paths, that is] the Holy Law, the Way, the Reality and Gnosis, there are four [other] things in this religion which do not exist in other religious communities. The first is the Night of destiny (*shab-i qadar*),<sup>92</sup> the second is the month of Ramadan, the third is ablution of ritual impurity, the fourth is the *shab-i barat*.<sup>93</sup>

(18) When the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali, was born, these four roads had such splendour, and these four components of the Holy Law (*arkan-i shari‘at*) were extolled, and the water of these four water channels flowed upon the earth. Due to [his] perfect knowledge, complete reasoning, exalted insight and sound experience, he said that these four foundations are good, but it is necessary to raise a flag at the head of the crossroads so that there is an order for the Muhammadan religion (*din-i Muhammadi*) and to increase its splendour. A great water channel must be dug for these four water channels, and its water must flow for the sake of those who do not have the capacity to endure [the practice of all four] and [for the sake of] those whom we said were among the people of Form, and [for the sake of] those who cannot profit from these four water channels one by one. But those who are among the people of Truth have profited from these four ways and so they are the people of *Futuwwat* in truth. But those people who cannot endeavour [along] those four water channels individually, in other words, those people who are the common members of society, should approach the great water channel and drink of it so that they will have drunk [the water] of all four channels through the blessing of that great water channel. And when the individuals of that group who [have availed themselves] at those four water channels, one by one, come to the great water channel, and have imbibed that water, they will have benefited from the water of all four water channels and

passed all the channels. *Futuwwat* is like the water of life, and the glorious word is its advocate: 'We created from water everything alive' (21.30). When this understanding increases in the heart, the most intelligent person in the world, the most eminent sage appears. And if [such a person] regards it as correct and gives a *fatwa*, this is indeed a beneficial state of affairs.

(19) When the Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali, had a problem which he wanted to solve, he went to see the best of all wise men, namely Muhammad. This path was open up to him, and he sought [Muhammad's] council. He said, 'Oh Messenger of God! A person came and killed my brother.<sup>94</sup> I want retribution.' What did the Messenger of God say? He said, '*Retribution is prescribed for you in the matter of the murdered*' (2.178). This is God's command and the rules of the Qur'an. The Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali, said, 'Oh Messenger of God! [Even] if I take retribution, my brother is still dead, isn't he?' He replied, 'Yes, he is dead.' 'Ali said, 'Then I will not spill his blood, but I will bear this tyranny and pardon him. Is this permissible or not?' The Messenger answered, 'May God bless you and those you love and your children.'

(20) Another time, the Commander of the Faithful said, 'Oh Messenger of God! A person entered my house and stole my goods and took them away without any right. I seized him, admonished and advised him, and then forgave him. He came yet again and stole the goods once more.' What did the Messenger of God say? He said, 'The command is God's and the proof is the Word of God, "*As for the thief, male and female, cut off their hands*" (5.37). The hand of he who commits a theft twice must be cut off.' The Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali, said, 'Is it permissible if I forgive him and forget about his crime?' The Messenger answered, 'May God be pleased with you! And may you perform seventy thousand charismatic powers (*karamat*) in this world, and seventy thousand in the next world, and may you traverse all the heavens.'

(21) The Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali, said, 'Oh Messenger of God, today several people were coming to see you, bringing with them a Muslim. They reached me [first] and stopped to greet me. I asked them, "Why have you come here?" They replied, "[We have come to see] the Messenger of God." I asked, "For what purpose?" They said, "A man and woman have committed adultery, and so we have come to see the Messenger to bear witness [against them] in order that they be stoned and punished." I said, "Don't carry out this testimony, but busy yourselves with some other task in which

there is a reward in this world and benefit in the next. What business is it of yours that you must bear witness?” They replied, “It is God’s command and injunction that the adulterer be punished.” I said, “Yes, [it is necessary that] we believe in the word of God and We verify the word of the Messenger, but if you close your eyes [to this adultery] and if then what you saw becomes unseen, and if you do not give testimony, then your reward will be greater.” I prevented them [from proceeding] and did not allow them access to the Messenger. Was my action a good act or a sin?

‘When I had spoken thus, the Messenger said, “God is pleased with what you have done, as for me, the Messenger of God, I [am also pleased]. You will discover reward and recompense in both this world and in the next, and in the courts at the Resurrection, when all creatures will be stripped naked. But you will be clothed in the robes of heaven because you covered [the adultery] of those two Muslims, and did not rend their veil.”’

The Messenger was pleased, and praised ‘Ali for his actions. So the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali, said, ‘I rely upon these qualities.’ And the Messenger of God gave a command and said, ‘Do not take revenge for murder or stealing.’

(22) If a person [intends] to shed blood or steal, you should prevent him if at all possible and admonish him. If this person is ignorant (*jahil*) and sheds blood and steals, as far as possible you should overlook the crime. Recompense the blood-money or value of goods to the aggrieved person, and you will have found [your own] reward. So when the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali, received permission from the Messenger of God to pronounce a *fatwa*, just as we have described, he dug a water channel for the sake of meaning, and the water of the four channels flowed into this [great] channel, just as that flag was hoisted to the top of the four pillars of the Ka‘ba, or at the crossroads in the dessert, so that everyone could practise *futuwwat*, become habituated to it, and so that it would lead everyone to [their] goal. The best wealth is obtained from *futuwwat*: the [*fata*] yields a good name in this world, salvation in the next world, the pleasure of the Truth Most High, yearning, passionate love (*‘ishq*) and witnessing [the Truth]. May God Most High wish it.

(23) But the practice of *futuwwat*, and stepping in the road of *futuwwat*, is not the task for the debauched; the virtue of *futuwwat* is not suitable for the indecent. *Futuwwat* transcends the boasting of the individual who takes a mouthful of food with [no concern] whether it is legally permitted or forbidden, yet satisfies himself with that [food],

or the individual who is tied to his lusts and desires all day and all night, or [pursues] his love for money and wealth in order to double his wealth, or boasts that I am one of the brothers (*akhi*) or one of the [people] of *futuwwat*.

(24) *Futuwwat* prefers cleanliness and purity, and being ready for the command and obedience to the Truth, and not stepping outside the highway of the Holy Law, the Way and the Reality. One should hear and obey the commands of the Truth, fulfil the five prayers according to their allocated times, perform good acts voluntarily, carry out supererogatory acts, engage in fasting and rise up at night [for worship]. These are the attributes of the *jawanmardan*. One must work hard to earn a livelihood and [the *jawanmard*] spends some of it on [his] family, and gives some to the dervishes and those in need. If he is a bachelor, he makes no ties [for himself]. He sacrifices [for the sake of others] whatever comes from the Invisible Realm and he intercedes for people with God according to his capacity and endurance. He 'commands the good and forbids the evil' in accordance with what is required, and he puts in place the necessary commands of the Holy Law, the Way and the Reality. He is constant in his tasks and does not consider the shortcomings of his Muslim brothers, rather he reflects on his own [actions], and makes his own conduct a mirror for the world. It is necessary that nothing is a veil between himself and the Truth. As 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn Husayn al-Sulami<sup>95</sup> said, 'With regards to *futuwwat*, the [*fata*] is free from created things and whatever pertains to them, in order that he can be a servant to Him who made all the created things.' God Most High said, '*And whoever does an atom's weight of good shall see it, and whoever does an atom's weight of evil shall see it*' (99.7). He is satisfied with the morsel of food he obtains through legally permitted methods. The meaning of this verse applies to the book of the heart since '*An account is registered of the legally permitted acts, and a torture is made of the forbidden acts.*' At all times, he considers death in order not to become negligent. Whoever forgets about death becomes negligent and Satan seizes him, distracts him from regarding himself and occupies him with futile things. Thereafter there are many faults in his affairs, and the taste of this world becomes sweet in his heart. He sets to one side [his concern for] the next world because '*verily Satan is an enemy for you*' (35.6). Satan is dangerous, and he desires to be a friend of yours and wants to attract you. His friendship is clearly dangerous because he wants to distance you from God. He has claimed that he would divert everyone from the track, and the proof is in the verse, '*He said, "By your glory,*

*I will seduce them all, except for your sincere servants among them”* (38.82–3). In addition, it has been said that *futuwwat* is derived from *fatwa*, and the meaning of *fatwa* is approved or agreeable. There are four letters in *fatwa* (f t w i) and there are also four letters in *futuwwat* (f t w t).

(25) However, *fatwa* is composed of ‘f’, ‘t’, ‘w’ and ‘a’, but the ‘a’ is not considered [a proper letter] because it is an added ‘a’ (*ya-yi ‘atf*). It is not an ‘a’ in itself, nor is it a letter resembling a hamza which does not count [as a proper letter]. There are [also] four letters in *futuwwat*: ‘f’, ‘t’, ‘w’ and ‘t’. But the [second] ‘t’ is not considered [a proper letter] because it is an added ‘t’ (*ta-yi ‘atf*). So *fatwa* and *futuwwat* both have three letters.

(26) The wise men (*hukuma*) have given many reasons for this. Among them is that once a man is knowledgeable, just, reasonable, a *jawanmard* and virtuous, and becomes accepted through [different] kinds of arts, he has become one whose testimony is trustworthy and acceptable. He has yielded the requirements of orderly behaviour and morality, and understands the meaning of *futuwwat*. If someone says, ‘I am a man of *futuwwat*,’ and this person is [just] a boaster (*mudda‘i*), then one can ask [him] what is the meaning of *futuwwat*, [and he] must give an answer. If he cannot, then it is clear that he is boasting of *futuwwat*. So, they have derived *futuwwat* from *fatwa*, and *fatwa* is the manifest dimension of the Holy Law, and contains four letters, ‘f’, ‘t’, ‘w’ and ‘a’. It contains many things that are approved, polite customs, orderly behaviour and morals. In fact there are twenty-five kinds of required qualities. The [people of *Futuwwat*] are people of Virtue and Skill and they have actual experience [of *futuwwat*] since he who is the master of *futuwwat* puts into practice [his] knowledge, discernment, wisdom, virtue, skill, orderly behaviour, morals and many others which are included in this category. He becomes learned of all the sciences and he practises them all. If someone does not have the capacity for all of them, by necessity he will have been helpless and unsuccessful in obtaining these twenty-five. Such people are the people of the Manifest Dimension of *Futuwwat*, just so that the term *futuwwat* can be applied to them. If someone does not [even] possess the capacity to this extent, it is not proper for such a person to boast of *futuwwat*. The roots of these twenty-five qualities which have been mentioned above have been included within three letters, and they have been approved and adopted by all virtuous people and wise men. Of these twenty-five, seven are within the ‘f’ of *futuwwat*, fourteen within the ‘t’ and four within the ‘w’.

(27) Those which [begin] with 'f' are:

- i. virtue (*fadl*)
- ii. [spiritual] openings (*futuh*)
- iii. eloquent language (*fasahat*)
- iv. freedom [from unnecessary concerns] (*faraghat*)
- v. understanding (*fahm*)
- vi. discernment (*firasat*)
- vii. action (*fi l*)

(28) Those which are derived from 't' are:

- i. trust (*tawakkul*)
- ii. repentance (*tawba*)
- iii. humility (*tawasu'*)
- iv. sincerity (*tasdiq*)
- v. [the power] of imagining (*tasawwur*)
- vi. endurance (*tahammul*)
- vii. voluntary service to others (*tatawwu'*)
- viii. reciting prayers at night (*tahajjud*)
- ix. showing tenderness (*talattuf*)
- x. spiritual blessing (*tabarruk*)
- xi. having the power to put things into practice (*tasarruf*)
- xii. steadfastness (*tamkin*)
- xiii. contemplation (*tafakkur*)
- xiv. tranquillity (*taskin*)

(29) The four others, which have been derived from 'w', are:

- i. loyalty (*wafa*)
- ii. scrupulousness (*wara'*)
- iii. friendship of God (*walayat*)
- iv. connection to God (*waslat*)

These are the twenty-five. Those who are among the people of Skill, Wisdom and Virtue have produced four hundred and eighty qualities, which are all included within these three letters. So it is clear that everything that exists in the Holy Law, in the Way, in Gnosis and in Reality, also exists in *futuwwat*. [In addition], there are ranks within these three letters, and fixed meanings.

(30) But those who possess the attributes of beasts are aware of

neither knowledge nor intelligence. They are pleased when someone says that any old person is one of the people of *Futuwwat* or an *akhi*. They do not fear God, nor do they feel any shame before the [commands of] the Messenger. They do not think of that day when they will be given the books of their deeds, and when it will be commanded, 'Read your book! Your soul is sufficient as a reckoner against you on this day' (17.14). And then they will be asked, 'Did you boast [about *futuwwat* when you were alive] in the terrestrial world? Do you have proof [of your *futuwwat*] or not?' Then they will be embarrassed and feel shame, and they will be sorry for their words and deeds. But they will have no profit from their remorse or regret, and they will be led towards hell. So if one of two individuals – that is the master and trainee – has been firm in his [*futuwwat*], in other words, if the master has understood the manner of *futuwwat* and has shown its proof while he has nurtured the trainee beneath the shade of his goodness and looked after him, on that day [when people are given the book of their deeds] there will be a foundation and a place for him, and he can assist [his] trainees and disciples. However, if the master merely boasted about *futuwwat*, was proud and held secret desires, was unable to cope with the regulations and pillars of *futuwwat*, was not constant in carrying out the necessities [of *futuwwat*] and did not observe other kinds of service, then [in truth] there is no profit in *futuwwat* for the trainee. When the state of affairs is like this, there is neither profit for the *akhi* in [teaching] the trainee, nor is there use for the trainee to learn from the *akhi*. Both remain unaware about [the reality] of the task and conditions [of *futuwwat*]. So woe to the master who sees his own [useless] acts and reaps the harvest. He will be cursed, embarrassed and ashamed, and will be led to hell.

(31) So it is necessary to see the proof and evidence of the *futuwwat* of anyone who boasts about it, and to remember and practise [the principles of *futuwwat*] and to ask about the meanings [of *futuwwat*] in order always to behold [its reality] openly, to try hard and practise [*futuwwat*] as much as [one's] ability and endurance will allow in order not to do anything out of ignorance or negligence, and in order to become a master of all different kinds of skills. This is the proof and evidence for *futuwwat*. Therefore you must know that *futuwwat* is a difficult task and [its] path is far and long. Do not hold others in contempt, so that you in turn will not be held in contempt. Be the pure of the pure since 'the pure ones are in great danger'. The master of *futuwwat* and the pure hold that fear of God increases for he whose purity is greater. The pure person does not give his heart for this world or the

next. He entrusts his heart to the Truth, and removes the pleasures of this world from his heart. There are so many regulations, rules, virtues and morals for the man of *futuwwat* that it is impossible to count them. The reality of these attributes is adopting the character traits of the nature of the Truth, just as the Messenger said, '*adopt the character traits of God*'.<sup>96</sup> Each one is mentioned in its own station. There is an approved time for the man of *futuwwat* when he will be aware of all the regulations and customs, and he will be brimming with all kinds of skills. There will be no imperfection in him. God knows best.

## Chapter One

### *[Explaining] the Meaning of the Master's Duty with the Trainee, and the Trainee's Duty with the Master*

#### (32) The first duty

The master's duty with the trainee is that his heart, mind and attention must be on the trainee at all times. He must not forget about the trainee even when he is absent or among a crowd. The master must pay attention to the trainee when the latter is present, or alone, or in a group; he must be present in whatever action the trainee takes. If he makes one [act] or many, the master must be present and a spectator of them all. He must fix his attention upon them all. If the trainee commits an error, the master [shows his surprise by] biting his [lower] lip and censures him. This occurs when the trainee is still continually conscious and attentive of the master; his ears, consciousness, soul and heart are all directed to the master. They are both attentive to each other and observe one another through signs. The master makes a sign if there is something urgent, and the trainee must be aware of it and attend to it.

(33) We have come now to the heart of the discussion. When the master witnesses that [wrong] action of the trainee, he bites his [lower] lip [in shock] and stares gravely at him so that his seriousness and disapproval are clear. The trainee is embarrassed if he becomes aware of what he is doing, and desists from that act. If he remains unaware of the master's serious and disapproving look, he [eventually] understands in a moment of silent reflection when no one else is there, and he approaches his master, hands placed together, head downcast, tears rolling down his cheeks, and feels guilty because of his weakness and helplessness. The master asks, 'What has happened? It is unclear to me even if the brother knows.' (*mara ma'lum nist ba anke akhi-ra*

*ma'lum bashad*). [The trainee] explains in a humble and wretched manner, saying, 'I am a sinner and I am culpable. I have committed an act of oppression against myself. I have been discourteous, and have been rude in the presence of my master, and brother and guide. I deserve a chastisement and rebuke.' [This rebuke] is necessary if he has caused trouble in order that this discourteous oppressor may take warning.

(34) There is no doubt that the trainee will come humbly before [the master] and say, 'How have I sinned?' whether he knows what he has done or not.

(35) When the master sees that the trainee has approached him in this fashion, he takes his head and kisses his eyes and forehead, and says, 'This error was committed because of your heedlessness. [Your] ears and understanding should be like [your] heart, and you should be very attentive when alone or in a group. Don't think that I am not with you. Know that I am present wherever you may be; our insight (*dida*), heart, eyes (*chishm*), ears, consciousness, thoughts and effort (*himmat*) are directed towards you. Indeed, I was aware and present when you carried out this act. Wherever you may be, I am present and aware of whatever happens to you, where you go, and your actions.'

(36) If the master does not possess this friendship (*walayyat*), then in truth he is not a master, he is a fake (*majazi*), not a real master. [He says], 'It should be clear for you that whenever I am unaware (*ghafil*) about your conditions, I have no valid claim over you. Remember this and be attentive.' Any master who carries out these regulations and lives according to these requirements [will keep] the trainee in a continual state of fear, and he will desist [from bad acts] and will not be rude.

(37) When [the master] has observed and taught the trainee in this way on two or three occasions, the trainee will never again commit [such] an unnecessary act. He will be fearful constantly and will remain attentive with the [correct] courtesy. Even when the master is absent [physically] he will be [in a state of] fear. If Satan steals along his road, he recalls [both] that action he performed in the presence of the master and the brother, and [the subsequent] session of questions and answers by the brother, and [in this way] he will desist from that act, and tremble [in fear of it]. He holds the reins of his lower self (*nafs*), and extinguishes the fire of his lust in the water of fear, and he stamps on the fire of lust with the foot of patience and steadfastness. Patience and steadfastness are the armour of his world. If, however, he

is not patient, and he commits that act, even unwillingly, he will be in a state of fear and unease when he returns before the master.

(38) One condition is that when the trainee has been absent for a while from serving the brother, when he returns to his presence and serves him once again, the master must stare gravely at him with such a look to terrify and punish him. And [in this way] the trainee considers the brother's action as praiseworthy and he remembers his own sin, causing him to blush in embarrassment. Recalling his own sin, he apologises, regrets his actions, begs forgiveness and repents.

(39) The master says, 'Do you think that I am unaware of what you do? [Do you think] I do not know that you were absent in this period, and that you fled from the people of the Way and *Futuwwat*, and that you let the reins slip? Now, go because you are no longer a man of this road [of *futuwwat*].' He says this much and keeps him out of his sight for a while. If [the trainee] returns in repentance and begs for forgiveness, and [the master] takes him back, it is well and good, and a blessing. If [the trainee] does not return, but gives up on [the master], then [the master] must call him back and train him.

(40) If he agrees, they take compensation [from the trainee] and they are reconciled. If [the trainee] does not accept this justice and does not beg forgiveness, then [the master] must paint [the trainee's] hands, rub make-up on his cheeks, cover his head with a colourful scarf and send him into the desert, since he diverted from the path of the *jawanmardan*. After that, they consider him one of the women.

(41) Whenever the master abandons this training [of the trainee], the latter becomes rude and lets go of the reins of his ambitions. Day by day, he falls into more sin. Both the master and trainee are responsible and at fault: '*He loses this world and the next world*' (22.11). God knows and judges best.

## Chapter Two

(42) The second duty is that [the master] always trains his own trainee. The word 'trainee' (*tarbiya*) is derived from 'training' (*tarbiyat*), and the word 'master' (*sahib*) is derived from 'association' (*subbat*). [The meaning of] training is that the [master] teaches and educates [the trainee] the courtesies (*adabat*), teaching (*tarbiyat*) and qualities that are used in this section. And he recalls the experiences of those who have passed away, for example, such and such a master of *futuwwat*, and such and such a brother said this and did this, and such and such a trainee did and said this, so that his trainees remember and derive

benefit when they hear [these things]. [Indeed] they benefit from each discourse, and they become a master in each kind of learning. Day by day, their acts, courtesies, teaching and practice increase, and they are eager [to improve further]. They [continually] come to the master, and they are always reflecting on the teaching, courtesies and secrets that they are learning.

(43) The master must always attract people's hearts and minds to himself through purity, honesty, piety, chastity, speaking well of everything and showing kindness. He does not speak harshly, but behaves with humility in greeting and answering people. He is not proud, self-conceited or selfish, so that people [in turn] become kind and compassionate, and choose to associate with him. In this way, they discover manifest and non-manifest security, rightness and piety through the blessing of his association. May God Most High wish it.

(44) The third duty is that to the greatest extent possible, the master is always liberal in generosity, *muruwat* and altruism, and he is not insincere. He does not withhold anything from the trainees or other people. He always has an open table based on the custom of the *khanaqah*. The *futuwwat* lodge (*futuwwat khana*) is similar to the *khanaqah* although the master of *futuwwat* builds [his *futuwwat* lodge through his own] toil, whereas the *khanaqah* has been established by someone else. Kings and princes have built most [of them]. The wealth [of the *khanaqah*] comes from them, and it is speculated whether this is forbidden or not. *Futuwwat* has renounced anything that is forbidden. The master of *futuwwat* is the builder of [his own] *khanaqah*, but the shaykh and others are all children (*tufayl*).

(45) Anyone who comes [to the *futuwwat* lodge] receives a share [of the food] there and derives some advantage, such as food, drink, clothing, slippers, a stipend,<sup>97</sup> knowledge, discernment, wisdom, gnosis and courtesy. What difference is there between the *futuwwat* lodge or the *khanaqah* and ruins, when the door of the *futuwwat* lodge is locked, and the travellers, strangers, the poor and seekers of knowledge come to the *khanaqah* and see that it is locked and so they remain destitute and comfortless?

(46) So when someone derives no comfort there it is neither a *futuwwat* lodge nor a *khanaqah*, but the house of a worldly person. As far as possible one should send a portion of whatever comes one's way to those serving God.

(47) The trainees are like children whose supplications fall upon their fathers, and the supplications of each one must be fulfilled in the

right manner. If a gift arrives for the master, whether it is edible, or some clothing, or gold or silver, he places it before the trainees, not concealing it, saying, 'So and so gave me this gift.' He shows it to them and places it in front of them, saying, 'This is for you.' If they accept it, so much the better. If they do not accept it, he places it before one of them who is worthy and who is in need of that thing. And he gives it away. If it is something edible, he gives a call [to all present] and divides it up. If it is a [gift] of money, he offers an invitation to a feast – an open invitation. He spends [all] the money, leaving nothing over, and has no regrets [about this].

(48) If the master of *futuwwat* has a profession (*pisha-kar*), he should earn whatever is legal from his hard work. At the end of the week, on Friday or on another day (although Friday is best), it is forbidden to engage in work before the communal prayers, so [the master] stops work. He keeps Friday for resting from work and worldly business. He gives an invitation for that day, and [offers] whatever he has produced in that week, having no claim [over that produce]. This is the way of *futuwwat*.

(49) He [himself] is a source of knowledge who teaches the trainees, for just as the son does whatever he sees his father do, so too the pupil does what he sees the teacher do. So, too, the trainees adopt these manners (*tarbiyat*) when they witness them in the master. They stand firm in this way since they have witnessed [this form of behaviour] in the master and brother, and they cast avarice from their hearts, and instead open them up in generosity (*sakhawat*), *muruwwat* and altruism. They adopt the character trait of *muruwwat* through the blessing of those good and agreeable acts that they have witnessed from their master, teacher and brother. So several individuals will find security and release (*faraghat*) from this world and the next world because of that master's blessing. Through the blessings of generosity, *muruwwat* and altruism of that one *jawanmard*, several will be saved, and will become a master among all the masters and [attain] a rank of dignity through the blessing of that one act.

(50) Whenever [the master] acts contrary to this, but draws the purse-strings tight and collects whatever is *haram* or *halal* and keeps it in [his] house, and gives nothing to anyone and also covets what others possess, then the others who associate with him will adopt the very same habits. The pleasures of this world will become sweet in their hearts and they will become parsimonious and stingy. They will count each penny and become very stingy, and niggardliness will settle in their hearts. They will be those who take from God and

people. A load and burden remain on the shoulders of that master because he was their trainer and guide.

(51) The fourth duty of the master [in his relationship] with the trainee is that his trainees are put to the test in every task and act they perform. This [trainee] is entrusted with [one particular task] and that [trainee] with [another]. The trainees rely upon each other so that if [one of them] performs an incorrect act, unseen by his master, then whoever sees and knows of this act tells him and explains to him quickly in order that he does not become lost or waste himself in that act. On the first occasion that he sees this [inappropriate] act of the trainee, he advises him and he is content with [giving] this [single] warning. He does not say anything more than this, for that would be a torment, and he does not annoy [the trainee]. Rather, he says, 'This act was the deed of Satan and Iblis. Repent and do not repeat it. Refrain from association with the debauch and fornicators. Don't give way to those who steal, tell tales, drink wine, defame others, tell lies, envy, interfere, don't perform prayers, are treacherous and eat forbidden food. Flee from the company of such people. If, after this, you then repeat the same deed, you deserve chastisement for the whole of your life.' He offers this advice, making it brief, and [the trainee] stands erect in a repentant fashion and endures the rebuke for [his] discourteous act. And it is well and good if the trainee repents, begs pardon for his sin, apologises, regrets his deed and does not repeat that act again.

(52) But if he commits an unnecessary act a second time, the [brother] speaks firmly with him. He says, 'Don't associate with us any more! Don't come and sit among our helpers, trainees, friends and children. Don't mix with this group.' If he begs forgiveness again and apologises, he gives him twenty-five lashes and hangs a bucket around his neck. He stands in repentance and takes his punishment. He waits there for four hours, with a bucket of water hung around his neck.

(53) There are differences of opinion on this, whether the lashes are given before the punishment of standing upright with the bucket, or after. But it is necessary, however, that it takes place before the punishment because the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar – may God be pleased with him – punished his own son 'Abd al-Rahman. The reason is that a Jewish woman tricked him [and due to her] deceit and guile she gave him wine to drink. When he became drunk and unconscious, that foul, wicked [woman] took him, embraced him and massaged him until 'Abd al-Rahman awoke from his drunken slumber. He was a small man, still young with a weak constitution.

When he woke up, he said, 'What are you doing?' The wicked woman replied, 'I have yearned for you, so do not blame me. You are my only hope. I will suffer because of my love for you. If you grant me my desire, I will affect you so that after ten days you will be very strong, your sallow complexion will become healthy and you will be full of energy and powerful.' 'Abd al-Rahman was a child, and the wicked woman was full of guile and tricks. And Iblis became an associate of that wickedness. She caressed 'Abd al-Rahman, and he was aroused. The helpless 'Abd al-Rahman fell into the hands of four enemies, particularly decree (*qada*) and destiny (*qadar*). He shut his eyes because '*when the decree comes, fortitude is blind*'. He held out his arms to the Jewish woman and let her have her desire. When the wicked woman had satisfied her desire she said, 'Now, every day you must come to this lover of yours so that I will give you your medicine to build you up and make you powerful and strong.'

(54) When 'Abd al-Rahman left the accursed [woman] he asked himself, 'What can I do? My father would kill me if he knew about my sin. I [can only] await death. But what answer can I give to God? How can I bear the embarrassment before God? Woe is me and my reputation and shame.' He remained patient and cried.

(55) After a short while, the wicked woman came to 'Abd al-Rahman and said, 'You have made me pregnant, why are you ignoring me?' 'Abd al-Rahman did not answer her but turned his back and went away. The wicked women also left. After a while she gave birth, picked up the child and wrapped it in a sheet and took it to the entrance of the mosque. The Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar, came to the entrance of the mosque, and [the woman] placed that child in front of him. The Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar, said, 'Whose orphan is this that you have brought here?' She said: 'He is not an orphan. [The child] has a father who is the most important person in this age! [The father] is the successor of the Messenger and the caliph upon the earth.'

(56) When the Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar, heard this he was surprised. He said, 'Oh sly woman! Tell me what has happened. I am unaware of what is behind all this.' That accursed, sly woman said, 'Know that I am a Jewish woman. Your son 'Abd al-Rahman came and wronged me. He embraced me and made me pregnant, and I gave birth to the child. I have not found a situation more pitiless than this.' The Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar – may God be pleased with him – trembled when he heard her words, and his companions were all embarrassed and hung their heads low.

(57) After calling for his son, the Commander of the Faithful said, 'Son, did you do this?'

'Yes my father,' he replied.

'Have you heard the word of God?' asked the Commander of the Faithful.

'Yes, Oh deputy of God and deputy of His Messenger,' answered 'Abd al-Rahman.

'What did you hear?' asked 'Umar.

'*The adulterer and adulteress, lash them a hundred lashes*' (24.2). 'Abd al-Rahman said.

Since 'Abd al-Rahman admitted [fornication] with his own tongue and confessed [his] sin, no witness was needed. If a witness had been brought forward, 'Abd al-Rahman's embarrassment would have increased because he had drunk wine and committed adultery. The Commander of the Faithful said, 'This woman is an unbeliever.' He isolated her. He would have ordered a stoning had she been a Muslim.

(58) The Commander of the Faithful had a servant called Aflah. He said, 'Aflah! Go and bring the lash,' so [the servant] went to get it. The Commander of the Faithful took the lash in his hand. Some say that the whip was seven *mann* in weight, and others say that it was seven *ratl-i baghdadi*. He said, "'Abd al-Rahman! You should have been obedient to the command of the Truth.' He replied, 'I hear and obey.' The Commander of the Faithful held out the lash to Aflah and said, 'Beat him, Aflah.' Aflah took the lash and approached 'Abd al-Rahman. The friends of the Prophet cried out [in shock], 'Oh Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar, the Prophet, said, "*He who is repentant of his sin is like he who has not sinned.*" ['Abd al-Rahman] has repented and since then has occupied himself in good deeds. Forgive him since that unbelieving, Jewish woman was full of deceit and trickery, and the accursed Iblis has been hostile [to him]. Forgive him and have mercy.' 'Umar said, 'If he were a stranger and had repented, I would have accepted [your intercession]. But he is my son. God forbid that you should say that I should show him special favour because he is my son. I don't want another Muslim to have a sinful life because of me. Beat him Aflah!' After fifteen lashes 'Abd al-Rahman said, '*Our father! Ask forgiveness of our sins for us*' (12.97). The Commander of the Faithful said, '*Verily God is with the patient*' (2.153). When he had received twenty lashes, 'Abd al-Rahman cried out [again,] '*Our father! Ask forgiveness of our sins for us.*' The Commander of the Faithful replied, '*Truly, the most patient, God is*

*with the patient.*' When he had received thirty lashes, 'Abd al-Rahman cried out [again], '*Our father! Ask forgiveness of us for our sins.*' The Commander of the Faithful said, '*Verily the patient will be paid their wages without stint*' (39.10). When he had received forty lashes, 'Abd al-Rahman cried out [again], 'You have charged me [with this crime], and [now] I bid you farewell father and Aflah.' All the companions [of the Prophet] began to cry.

(59) His mother came and put her arms around her son's neck and kissed his eyes and head. She said, 'Oh Commander of the Faithful! He cannot endure any more.' The companions said, 'Oh Commander of the Faithful! Sixty lashes remain. Beat us and release him for he cannot endure any more.' The Commander of the Faithful said, '*No one carries the crimes of another person*' (6.164). When he had received sixty lashes, 'Abd al-Rahman could endure no more. He became thirsty and asked for water. Aflah wanted to give him some but the Commander of the Faithful shouted at him. He said, '*Be steadfast my son! God will let you drink the water of Kawthar.*' When he had received seventy lashes, 'Abd al-Rahman cried out, 'Stop, Aflah!' Aflah stopped. 'Abd al-Rahman turned to the companions and sought forgiveness from them and uttered a farewell benediction. He said, 'May God be patient with me, and with you, father.' Then he reaffirmed his faith and entrusted his life to God. [Then] he said, 'Continue, Aflah.' When he had received eighty lashes, 'Abd al-Rahman passed away. [Aflah] beat him the remaining twenty lashes so that the punishment would be complete.

(60) The Commander of the Faithful, 'Umar, took his son's head, kissed his face and said, '*Truly Satan is an enemy for you*' (35.6). That night, after they had buried him, ['Umar] saw him in a dream. ['Abd al-Rahman] was strolling contentedly in heaven everlasting. His father came to him and ['Abd al-Rahman] kissed his father's feet and said, 'May God be pleased with you, for you saved me from becoming ashamed in front of God and His Messenger, and from being ashamed on the Day of Judgement. I have been blessed in this eternal heaven with hours and palaces because of this punishment that you meted out upon me.'

(61) The purpose of [telling] this story is so that you understand for sure that when someone becomes afflicted with sin and it is necessary to impose the *hadd* punishments [on him], one should not have any inclination or desire for the *hadd* because Gabriel brought the lash for discipline from heaven (due to Sara and Job<sup>98</sup>). If that trainee repents a second time and begs forgiveness, then his apology must be accepted.

This is permissible in *futuwwat*, but accepting apologies for sins is not acceptable according to the *shari'at*.

(62) According to *futuwwat*, if someone apologises after committing sins seventy times, then his apology must be accepted. The Truth Most High commanded His friend – Muhammad Mustafa – that an apology must be accepted of he who does not persist in sin, even if he has sinned seventy times in one day. On another occasion, the Messenger said, '*The repentant person is the beloved of God.*' So one must accept the repentance of such a person. But one must call the friends [to the right path] and be resolute in justice.

(63) According to the *shari'a* if someone breaks his promise [not to sin] a third time then it is necessary to lash him a hundred times. Some of the people of *futuwwat* have said, 'Since he will be cast out of our circle [of *futuwwat*], give him the lashes. Moreover, paint and decorate his hands with henna, just like a woman, anoint his eyebrows and lashes with collyrium, and wrap colourful, fine linen around his head and give [him] a report [which] says, "You did not have the strength [to endure] the way of the *futuwwat* of the *jawanmardan*. Thrice you broke your promise. Now you fallen to the level of a wicked woman. Your recompense is having the colourful hands and clothing of a woman. Keep away from him and don't let him approach you because he is a dissenter. The misfortune of his disobedience can contaminate a hundred people.'"

(64) And there are some other *jawanmardan* whose way is way-faring in the reality, and they transcend both rejection and acceptance because there is separation (*tajrid*) and seclusion (*tafrid*) for them in *futuwwat*. Once the possessor of *futuwwat* has reached this level of detachment and isolation, he has acquired the station about which the shaykhs have said, 'Sufism is an expression for detachment and isolation,' but God knows best.

(65) The fifth duty for the master with the trainee is that he tests each one according to his ability. He knows the knowledge and gnosis of each one, and the amount he has acquired. He takes measures to know what skill and quality each one possesses, and which one is more clever, possesses more gnosis and is more learned in certain skills. He has tested [them] in loyalty, keeping promises, being generous and modesty. And he has understood who has knowledge, discernment, wisdom, skill, discipline, courtesy and special power, and who is a [suitable] person for asceticism, God-wariness and piety, and who is a [suitable] person for the way, *futuwwat*, security and religiosity, and who is a wayfarer of the reality. And he has understood

who is a [suitable] person for delivering messages, public speaking and eloquence, who should have access to the living quarters [of the master] (*harim haram*) and who should have intimacy (*maqbul-i khalwat*). This is so that he can utilise these skills which we have described when needed.

(66) Such a person must be given special tasks so that he does not remain ignorant and unworthy of those special tasks. [The master] does not order that task for he who is not suitable. If [the trainee] becomes busy with that task but he cannot complete it, then he will certainly feel regret and remorse. It is clear that for as long as humans live, they have [certain] needs, such as [need of] a wise man of religion, a king, one of the '*ulama*', a master of *futuwwat*, a good husband or wife, a governor or a craftsman in order to fulfil some need, or a place to carry out trade. When [the master] has tested all [the trainees] and has understood the need, suitability and endurance of each one, then he sends [a particular] person for a [particular] task, and that person is suitable for carrying out that task. This is because there are many people whose inner qualities are not like their outer qualities. And just as the trainee is under the command and order of the master, it is necessary that the master is also involved in the trainee's business, except for unworthy tasks.

(67) It is said that once there was one person among the *futuwwat* members who had a woman in [his] house. And they say that he was an old man, that is, one of the great shaykhs of *futuwwat* who lived with an old woman, his legal wife, who had spent many years serving him. There are differences of opinion on this matter. The most important thing to know is that this person was one of the shaykhs because he was a member of *futuwwat* even though he was married. He had a trainee who was among the trusted people and he was granted intimacy and had access to the inner quarters of [the shaykh's] dwelling, and he had seen and witnessed his master's wife many times. However, he who is not worthy of access to the living quarters and having intimacy should not be allowed there when no one else is around. But the shaykhs have become accustomed to this [habit] because they think their disciples should enjoy access to their living quarters and enjoy intimacy since the disciple is [like] a child and the *pir* is the father and his wife is the mother. Indeed, the trainee is also like a child. But the master of *futuwwat* has the art of knowing and testing each one's station.

(68) Just suppose that a *pir* was sitting in [his] house with a disciple in attendance. Suddenly the *pir*'s wife came in, and the disciple glanced

in her direction and saw her beautiful face. The disciple was a young man and was incomplete in courtesies. His mood changed, he felt unsettled and the colour drained from his face. When the *pir* looked at his face and saw him in that way, he understood that the disciple had seen his wife. The next day he asked the disciple, 'What has happened? I see a change in you.' The disciple did not confess [anything] and kept his condition hidden. The shaykh pressed him further [and asked], 'Surely you can tell me about your mood?' The disciple said, 'Yesterday I was sitting with the *pir* in the house, and I saw a woman with a beautiful face come in. I have fallen in love with her.' The *pir* said, 'She is our neighbour whose husband has divorced her. Rest at ease, and if you wish, I shall request her for you. Be brave!' [The disciple] said, 'Yes, I wish it.' The *pir* said, 'Relax, for this is an easy task.' The disciple left the house happily when he heard these words. This was a shaykh who was a member of *futuwwat* [!] The shaykh who is not a member of the *futuwwat* is unworthy of shaykh-hood because the perfection of *futuwwat* in shaykhs is derived from *futuwwat*.

(69) The *pir* went and asked the woman, 'How many years have we been together?' She replied, 'Thirty years.' The *pir* said, 'If you consider that these years together have been proper and that I have been happy and content with you, you must listen to me.' The woman said, 'Perhaps. Go on.' The *pir* said, 'Know and understand that something has happened. Someone has witnessed something [and this has created a difficulty] for us. Our child and disciple desires something [that he has seen] which is forbidden (*haram*) for us. [So] I want to give you to the disciple, and you must make him happy and be content.'

(70) When the woman heard this, she began to cry and said, 'I cannot be separated from you. How can I ever be content?' The *pir* replied, 'From the very beginning we were destined to have such circumstances between us,' and he added, 'You must obey me and follow my instructions so that no guilt or sin befall you.' The woman said, 'How is this possible?' The *pir* replied, 'Don't be afraid! I am happy with you in this matter, and I am satisfied with God's pre-destination (*taqdir*). [The disciple] is not our natural (*sullbi*) child and is not related [to us]. If he had been someone permitted access (*harim haram*) [then] this impertinence (*fazuli*) would have been inconceivable for him, and he himself would have regarded all of us in this house as his father, mother and sister.' In the way of the people of *Futuwwat* it is impermissible [for the trainee] to look inside his master's house, or the house of his *pir* or others. The day passed and the next day the *pir* called the disciple [to him] and asked, 'Are you ready or not to

proceed after yesterday's discussion?' The disciple said, 'Yes.' The shaykh said, 'You must have patience until the waiting time of this woman passes, for her husband has divorced her in these couple of days [past]. Yesterday I went to see her and I told her about your state. I exaggerated very much and made her happy, and I insisted to the utmost and I did my best.'

(71) To sum up, when several days had passed, and the waiting period established by the Holy Law had elapsed, he called the disciple and took his hand, and completed the marriage according to the Holy Law, and gave the woman to the disciple. When night came, he sent the woman, with all the more honour, and with clothes and household goods to the disciple's lodging. Then they presented the bride to the groom and emptied the house of all strangers. When the groom looked at the bride's face, he found her [expression] was disturbed. He said to himself, '[My] bride is embarrassed.' He held out his hands to the bride and pulled her towards him. [Suddenly] she yelled at him, 'Show some respect! Are you, a discourteous and wicked boy, a groom?' He said, 'You are a legal bride and you are mine, you are my legal wife.' She replied, 'May such a bride be cursed (*khak bar sar-i chunin 'arus*)!' He asked, 'Why?' and she replied, 'I am the lawful wife (*halal*) of your *pir* and your mother. I have spent thirty years in his company. Today you have distanced me from him through one despicable act.'

(72) When the helpless, unfortunate groom heard these words, he began to tremble and lament, and sat down [in shock]. The next day he arose and went to the woman with his head hung low. He said, 'Now that I have committed this crime, what should I do? How can I get rid of this shame?'

(73) The woman asked, 'Do you regret what you have done?' He replied, 'Yes.' She said, 'You must apologise.' The disciple performed fresh ablutions and carried out the morning-prayer. Then he picked up a dish, went to his mother and with his own fingers he plucked out his two eyes and placed them on the dish. He said, 'Oh mother, take me to the shaykh for the sake of God Most High, since there is no excuse for me before the *pir*. These eyes have committed a sin, therefore I have plucked them out as a punishment. Take this plate in one hand and with the other, take this hand of mine, a cruel sinner, and lead me to the *pir*.'

(74) The woman got up, took the plate in one hand and the hand of the helpless [disciple] in the other, and led him to the *pir*. She greeted [the *pir*] and placed the plate in front of him. The disciple hung his head low and folded his hands in front of him, standing in all humility.

(75) ‘What has happened?’ the *pir* asked. The woman told him the story, and the *pir* contemplated on this for a while. [Finally] he said, ‘I see through the pre-determination of the Merciful or the guile of Satan.’ He called the disciple and kissed his eye[lids] and head, and asked him, ‘How are you?’ [The disciple] replied, ‘I am blind and full of remorse,’ just as the poet said:

When the eyes became the guardians of the heart and the soul  
A thousand imperfections afflicted the heart.  
Whoever possesses guardians has faith  
[Yet] all our calamities come from the guardians.

(76) This observation among humans serves as a similitude. If someone does something and does not succeed in his aim, he says, ‘I am blind and full of remorse,’ if someone asks how he is. Speaking about blindness and remorse is the legacy of that disciple who was embarrassed and ashamed of his acts. [The *pir*] then asked the woman, ‘How are you?’ She replied, ‘I am subjected to the command of God, and I submit to the decree and order of the Truth and your satisfaction.’

(77) The *pir* arose and performed two cycles of prayers, took off his turban and ordered [the woman and the trainee] to uncover their heads, and then he uttered a prayer to the Creator. He said, ‘Oh God, my Master, by Your might, in reverence of Your unavoidable fate and cause, and in reverence of Your constant mercy, and in reverence of the remorse of this servant of Yours, and the right due to the pleasure and submission of this servant, according to Your veiling [of sins], and in reverence to the fortitude and endurance of this weak sinner, through Your power which has no like, may You heal the eyes of this helpless, sincerely remorseful sinner, and restore the working order of the pupils of this weak one.’ The *pir* offered this prayer and [the woman and the disciple] trusted [in God], and the *pir* rubbed his hands over the disciple’s eyes, and the eyes of that youth were healed through the power of the Creator, as if they were new.

(78) The meaning behind this story is to give counsel, to advise and to point out a moral. If the *pir* or master of *futuwwat* had taught that individual, if [the *pir*] had understood that [the disciple] was not [suitable to enter his] living quarters or [enjoy] intimacy, then he would not have allowed [the disciple] to see the woman’s face and thus commit his discourteous action. So, [the *pir*] should have taught and understood each person’s acts. It is clear what the reward is for

each act, and who is worthy of [a particular] station. If [the *pir*] does not know, then [the disciple] will feel regret [about his act] and will be disappointed, and there is imperfection [in] the master of *futuwwat*, and [in] his knowledge and level.

(79) If [the trainee] is distant from the master's breast, then the result will be inappropriate, improper and unworthy in some other place. Those with hearts and the masters of *futuwwat* take the responsibility, not the trainee – only the master – since he was and has been his director. The master must take the responsibility for all [the trainees'] faults and skills, except when he continues to attend the master, for then [the trainee] is like a dead body in the hands of an undertaker. If he is not like this, and if the master does not spare any effort in counselling and advising him, and if [after] giving counsel and advice [the trainee] is disobedient, what can the helpless master do? This story must be told so that the bad behaviour of the trainees and disciples becomes clear.

(80) The sixth duty of the master with the trainee is that he must make the trainee an expert in various fields of knowledge. If the master of *futuwwat* sends the trainee on a mission he says, 'Go and give the greetings of this weak one to that master of *futuwwat*, and ask him to come here and visit this house of sorrow of the dervishes.' The condition for giving an invitation, or some other mission, is that the trainee must be an expert in passing his own master's greetings to the [other] master of *futuwwat*. After [that] greeting, anything else he says is not verbal because the message comes from the master and the greeting comes from God. He delivers his greeting from God verbally, but he gives his message from the master through signs (*bi-isharat*). Thus, he approaches that master and greets him according to the regulations and courtesy, offering greetings and service, and he bows forward and [then he gives] the master's greeting in a friendly and all the more courteous manner, and stands in an appropriate place.<sup>99</sup>

(81) [The trainee] says, 'The master of this weak one sends you his greetings,' and he extends his right arm and bows forward. He does not take a single step forward from the very place where he has offered the greeting. If that master is more eminent in knowledge, discernment, wisdom and altruism, or his level in these attributes is more eminent than his own master, [the trainee] says, 'The master of this weak one is at your service and sends his prayers.' But if that master is lesser in knowledge or discernment or wisdom or altruism or age than his own master, he says, 'My master sends his prayers and greetings.' He waits with his eyes, heart, ears and sense all focused upon

that master in case that master of *futuwwat* looks at him and asks him where he is from.

(82) [The trainee] answers benevolently, slowly and with perfect courtesy. He says, 'My master sends his greeting and is at your service. A group among the people of knowledge, wisdom and correctness, and the people of *futuwwat* are ready and waiting, desiring to see you. If you visit us, you will honour and delight that group.' He is exceedingly polite, courteous and [displays] *muruwwat*. He says this and takes that master's shoes from [their] place, cleans them with his robe, and places them in front of him in a specified place where shoes are kept. If he rests there for a while, and that master of *futuwwat* does not ask or question him about anything, he must take the shoes or clogs of that master of *futuwwat* and arrange them, keeping the backs of the shoes facing himself and the front facing outwards. He pays attention to that master of *futuwwat* until he turns and looks at his face. Then the trainee kisses that master's shoes and places them before him in the regular place.

(83) The way of the masters of *futuwwat* is that in all circumstances they behave with [appropriate] courtesy and decorum so that no one becomes anxious because of them, [rather, everyone] likes them. The masters of *futuwwat* must possess knowledge, wisdom, clemency and altruism in order that they can instruct and educate their trainees in these regulations.

(84) A condition is that if someone has recently been initiated and desires to place [himself] under the care of a master of *futuwwat*, become his trainee, tie the belt of service around his own waist and surrender his soul to [the master], the master should not accept him, not having seen or trained him. He says, 'I hear and obey, but the time has not yet come. However, be optimistic and maintain your aim. Keep the company of our children and friends and keep away from the people of innovation, those who are improper, have bad thoughts, eat unlawful food, tell tales, lie, fornicate and have no order in the lives and do not pray. Stay close to the people of *futuwwat*, *muruwwat* and the pious. Always seek the way of the people of *futuwwat* and *muruwwat*, and associate with possessors of hearts, for when your heart, inner dimension and desire are oriented to this group and you have become just like one of our children, then we are with you at all times, our hearts and inner dimensions observe you and we are not negligent of what you say and do.' [The master] entrusts the [aspirant trainee] to another trainee, and he says, 'Be in accord with his desire [for *futuwwat*] and maintain him within the [bounds of] the Holy Law. Stop him if he

desires to engage in an unnecessary act, and teach him, and show him the regulations, courtesy and service. Watch him at all times, and care for him with kindness and generosity. Command him for the sake of his virtue, and forbid him [committing acts of] disobedience.'

(85) If [the aspirant trainee] is kept in this manner, develops through sincerity, purity and correct belief, has an inclination to that group [of *futuwwat*], increases [his] desire daily, comes and goes in that group with joy and free will, learns the regulations of their way, exercises himself [in this way], becomes sincere and pure in that task, whether he becomes pure or not, there will be no share of *futuwwat* for him until a long time has passed. When [the master] sees that he has become adorned and arranged with all [the necessary attributes], has adopted the right method and acceptable qualities, and increases them daily, has become adorned with reason, knowledge and courtesy, then [the master] accepts him. He accepts him for himself, ties the belt around him and gives him commands. He says to him, 'Do not stray from this group. Be a member of this acceptable way, since this is the rule.' This meaning is spoken according to his station. God Most High willing.

(86) If he is not strong enough to live a good and suitable life but loosens the reins on his ego, desire, appetites and lust at his own command, and [if he is not able to] renounce the characteristics of youth and the pleasure of worshipping the ego, he flees from the association of the *jawanmardan* and trainees when they command him to righteousness, admonish him about unpraiseworthy and unsuitable acts and order him to carry out the exercises [of *futuwwat*], satisfaction, loyalty and abstinence. He no longer associates with those *jawanmardan*. God knows best.

(87) The seventh duty of the master over the novice is that whether he is in public or private he does not forget the trainee, and he remembers him when it is time for the fivefold obligatory prayers to God. He says, 'Oh God! By the might of the majesty of Your pre-determination, and by the right of the perfection of Your infinite grace and generosity, I entrust those servants of Yours and myself, a wretched sinner, to You, the munificent God, since they are Your servants and [Your] creation. You are more tender than a mother and father. Forgive those people, accept their worship, and favour their virtue because they have turned to Your court and have chosen the path of virtue. They reach out to Your protection and magnificence.'

(88) 'Oh God, my master! Increase the sweetness of faith in their hearts. Illuminate their hearts and inner dimension with the light of gnosis and *jawanmardi*. Make their eyes see by means of their own

faults. Grant them the eyes of experience. Bestow Your kindness in their day-to-day affairs. Through their hands and tongues, expel that and permit that which pleases You and in which is their virtue.'

(89) 'Oh God! For the right due through the blessing of the *jawan-mardan's* wayfaring, the sincerity of the sincere, the submission of those who suffer, the satisfaction, patience and endurance of those who are sick and those who are imprisoned, forgive and have mercy upon Your servants, our comrades and friends, the mother and father of this wretch, the master, strangers, acquaintances, and upon this humble servant. Do not take us to task for our trespasses, and do not look upon our acts and deeds, just as the Most High said, "*Our Lord! Don't take us by our own bad acts. Don't let the unmerciful dominate us.*" These are the master's duties [concerning] the necessary acts that he performs for the trainee, and these are seven points that should be chosen very readily so that [the trainee] can observe and perform them while on a journey or at home, or wherever he may be.'

(90) In addition, there are forty-one regulations and courtesies within the necessary duties of the trainee when he is at the service of the master or the teachers of trainees who are in the service of the master.

(91) The first is that [the trainee] must always persevere in the service of the master and [he must also] be attentive to him with his mind [and observe the] courtesy [and] regulations, [and be in a] sober state, [with full] concentration. [His] eyes, ears, consciousness and the soul of his heart are oriented towards his master. He looks neither left nor right, and he does not laugh. He does not interrupt when someone is speaking, or point to something with his finger, or fiddle with his moustache and beard. He does not speak unless it is necessary, but he answers if someone speaks to him. If someone calls from afar, he does not answer from where he is standing but goes closer to give his answer.

(92) When food is prepared and laid out, and there is a place for [the trainee] to sit, he sits there when he is shown. There is a time for sitting. He should sit down when the table is set and when people start to eat food, and when those who are standing are told to be seated. If there is someone in the group that has been standing, he is brought before the master and sits in the place [shown to him] (*maqam-i ma'lum*). But if someone is [already] sitting there, he sits next to him; lower than him, not higher. [The trainee] takes some food when the others begin to eat. He observes the courtesies and regulations when he begins to eat, and there are many courtesies to observe when eating food. Each piece of guidance will be explained later on.

(93) If there are guests sitting [for the meal] and there is not much space, it is necessary that [the trainee] obtains the consent of the friends before sitting down. There may be someone to whom the masters (*ustadan*) do not give permission to sit, [but] if [the brothers] intercede and sit him down, he should not sit higher than his [usual] place, rather he should sit somewhere lower. It is not necessary for those individuals who are standing to sit down until those who are sitting and eating have finished and departed from the meal. [Then] those standing outside come and commence eating somewhere else. If someone gives them some food, they should take it but not eat it standing up. They may crouch and eat and then get up.

(94) If the master gives a sign to the trainee, the latter must be attentive when that sign has been made, and he must be ready to carry out [whatever is behind that sign]. If he does not understand the sign, it is not necessary for the trainee to ask, 'What did you say?' He can ask a friend or another trainee who is more advanced in knowledge and more skilful. He says, 'My master made such and such a sign, but I do not understand it.' If [the second trainee] understands the manner [of the sign] he says so quickly, and [the first trainee] becomes busy with performing that task.

(95) It is important that the master has been the kind of teacher who is adorned in knowledge, courtesy and skill because there is a specific amount of knowledge, reasoning, discernment, skill and ability in each [trainee], so [the master] must be aware of the circumstances of each one. When he requires [someone] to undertake a mission, he appoints that person who has the most ability for that task or mission because [such] a person can do it. If there is a task or mission or some work that needs to be done, and [the master] gives the sign to one of the trainees who does not know [how to complete that task], then there is imperfection between the two, both the master and the trainee. It is possible that [if the master] is impatient the task will be problematic. In addition, the trainee must stand in readiness, in the service [of the master] and [he must be] attentive, just as we have described. He must stand up straight with his hands placed together, paying attention with the eye of the heart, his ears and his consciousness. There are forty-one courtesies in standing in readiness, but God knows best.

### **Chapter Three**

(96) It is necessary for the trainee who is seated to keep his place and remain in his own space.

(97) Second, while sitting in the presence of the master, they must not be shoulder to shoulder.

(98) Third, when sitting, the trainee must not be cross-legged. The left leg should be outstretched and the foot of the right leg should be set on the ground. He should sit decently and upright, not leaning upon anything. He should neither speak, nor stroke his moustache or beard, nor interrupt others speaking.

(99) If someone tells a joke, he should not laugh [out loud]. And he should cover his mouth with his hand if he smiles.

(100) If someone speaks to him, he should reply in a mild manner. If he has the opportunity to speak, he should do so slowly. He should not boast if he is skilled [in something], and if he is not skilled then he should not say that he did this and said this. He should not talk [about his] virtue, intellect, clemency and wisdom.

(101) If someone says something which is mistaken or erroneous, he should not turn to him and say that this is not so. [It is permissible] if they are alone and if it is necessary. If it is not [necessary] it does not matter if he tells him or not. He should hold his tongue and say nothing.

(102) He should make space when standing or sitting for others, in other words, he should make room for them. From those discourses spoken by others, he should pay special attention to any discourse which is important to him, and he should not forget [it]. [In this way] he will not need to ask another person about that particular discourse in a time of trouble. These are the twenty-seven courtesies and regulations (which have been set out in this chapter) which are for the sake of trainees when they consume food. God is Most Knowledgeable and Most Wise.

## Chapter Four

### *The Rules and the Courtesy of Partaking of Food*

(103) When food is presented, the trainee should sit in silence, just as we have described according to the [correct] courtesy and regulation. The time [for the trainee] to [actually] take the food is after the elders of *futuwwat* or people who occupy a higher rank than [the trainee]. When [the trainee] wants to eat, he must [first] wash his hands, sit upon his left leg, invoke verbally the name of God, stretch out his hand to the food but not place a large handful in his mouth. He must chew [the food] well and swallow it when it has been chewed

completely. He should not stretch across his seated companions. If a juicy and better portion of food is placed in front of the companions and fellow eaters, then he should not touch or eat it. He should not seek the portions of others. He should not speak while eating, [and in addition] some have said that it is not permissible to scratch one's head or body. When all the food is finished [the trainee] keeps his hands [to himself], and when the tablecloth is removed [from its place] the crumbs and leftovers are removed, [the trainee] returns to his [previous] place and sits down, saying, 'Praise belongs to God, Lord of the two worlds.'

(104) When water is brought forth, and the hands are washed, [the trainee] in that group should not wash his hands [first], rather, he should get up and go to the back of that group and wash his hands [last]. He may wipe his hands if a napkin is brought, but he should not use a toothpick to clean his teeth. If he is a slow and old man, he may use the toothpick, but he should raise his left hand in front of his mouth and then use it. When [the trainee] wants to leave, he gets up and leaves in such a way that he does not turn his back to the master of *futuwwat*. These are the twenty-seven courtesies and regulations that have been explained, making [the task] of the seeker and listener that much easier. They are of [great] benefit in the life of the seeker. He should read a book on any knowledge known in the world and learn it and put it into practice.

(105) [The trainee] must not be a servant or a slave, nor should he be a debtor. If he has a debt, then he must be able to [pay back] that amount and more; he should not have any illness that is chronic or incurable. He must be an expert in many kinds of skills, for if he is in an assembly of wise men, religious scholars and masters of *futuwwat*, someone may be a boaster and ask [the kind of question] for which [the trainee] will have to be artful so that [the boaster] cannot pick any holes or make any small criticisms of him. This is not possible [for the trainee] except by toil [to acquire these qualities] in the way of complete transcendence [from worldly things] and [possessing] strong will. [Then] he will acquire [qualities] such as wisdom (*ilm*), discernment (*hilm*), knowledge (*hikmat*), virtue (*fadh*), asceticism (*zuhd*), scrupulousness (*wara'*), contentment (*qana'at*), God-wariness (*taqwa*), sincerity (*sidq*), ritual purity (*taharat*), obedience (*ta'at*), satisfaction (*rida*), the power of imagination (*tasawwur*), correctness (*salahiyat*), transcendence (*faraghat*), humility (*tawada'*), discipline (*riyadat*), effort (*mujahida*), praising God through the *tasbih* beads, praising God through the *shabada* (*tablil*), glorifying God (*tamjid*),

attentiveness (*hudur*), stability (*sukun*), permanence (*thabat*), the way (*tariqat*), sufism (*tasawwuf*), poverty (*faqr*), modesty (*maskanat*), the reality (*haqiqat*), verification of the reality (*tabqiq*), divine favour ('*inayat*), solitude [from all except God] (*tajrid*), faithfulness (*imanat*), religiosity (*diyanat*), *muruwat*, generosity (*sakhawat*), putting others first (*ithar*), compassion (*shafagat*), pleasantness (*hulwat*), respect (*ta'zim*), righteousness (*istaqamat*), security (*salamat*), giving guidance (*hidayat*), pure friendship (*ikhlas*), loyalty (*wafa*), consideration (*biya*), inner purity (*safa*), endurance (*tahammul*), endeavour (*tajahhud*), patience (*sabr*), attention (*mahal*), reflection (*ta'mmul*), annihilation (*fana*), annihilation of annihilation (*fana'-yi fana*), friendship (*walayyat*), witnessing (*mushahada*), worship ('*ibadat*), subsistence (*baqa*), singularity (*tafrid*) and unity (*tawhid*). All of these are the attributes of the Friends of God and the Prophets. The inheritance of the Prophets comes to the people of *futuwwat*, just as the master [Muhammad] said, '*The wise men are the inheritors of the Prophets.*'<sup>100</sup> This is because the people of *futuwwat* are Lordly wise men, and the perfection of prophecy and friendship of God has been through *futuwwat* for all the Prophets and Friends of God. These are the sixty-one attributes. For this reason '*God is an odd number and He likes odd numbers.*'<sup>101</sup> Now, when [the trainee] has become adorned with all the different skills, and loyalty, purity, annihilation and subsistence have become the same, then he must have eight sound [things]; a sound soul, heart, tongue, eyes, ears, hands, legs and memory. These are the eight sound things.

(106) First, the soundness of the soul is when the soul [of the trainee] is at his command and order. It is submissive because he has the reins of the soul in his grasp. He does not allow it to be inattentive or habituated [to anything] through [any] whim, caprice, lust or pleasure.

(107) Second, a sound heart is when the heart is attentive and worthy of all kinds of skills and necessary qualities, and refrains from [picking up those things] which are unnecessary and unpraiseworthy. Thus it becomes adorned with love, yearning and passionate love of the Truth. A healthy heart is when the eyes do not pursue vain temptations, for the eyes are the spies of the heart. The heart does not know or consider if the eyes do not see. So it is clear that the error of the heart [lies] in the eyes. The heart is strong and sound in the person who lowers his eyes and does not look in all directions.

(108) Third, a sound tongue is through submission and patience. Anyone who possesses patience, submission and endurance will

neither tremble in a wind nor become scorched. He listens to bad-tempered discussions and endures them. He is patient when there is injustice and tyranny, and he endures troubles and disease, and he surrenders to and shows satisfaction in this, and he would not need those who have lost the health of their tongue. When the tongue is safe and sound, the whole existence, from top to toe, is safe and sound. But if [someone's] tongue is not under control or order, he would be upset by every word and ruined by injustice and oppression, and he would complain because of each torment and loss [that he suffers] and when one [word] is sufficient for an answer [to a question] he gives ten. He is hostile and antagonistic to everyone, and if a rival has the same power as he does, then he will have palpitations. If the rival is greater [in power], then he will be in danger of dying [of jealousy]. But if the rival is weaker than he is, then he will persecute him and carry out unmanly acts (*na-jawanmardi*). So it is clear that a sound tongue is possible through patience and submission.

(109) Sound ears [lie in] acts of supererogation, humility and attentiveness because the ears of a man [who engages in] *dhikr* and reflection upon God (*fikr*) are secure, safe and sound. This is because when he is busy in himself, he does not listen to the sounds of the harp, bells, lute, flute or organ. His ears and consciousness remain within himself. When he is engaged within himself, he does not listen to those who lie and slander [others], and those who [engage in] idle talk, foolish tales and fables, rather he rises above them. However, if he does not perform acts of supererogation, does not possess humility or attentiveness, then he will listen to various discourses and his heart will have a desire [in listening] to every point made, and every moment he will be greedy in futile yearning, and at every breath he will be suffering because of something, and he will be sorrowful and grief-struck continually. He will have lost [his] religion and he will not be successful in the affairs of this world: '*He has lost this world and the next world*' (22.11).

(110) A sound hand. If [the trainee] is content, then his hand is secure and under his command; just as we said at the beginning, patience, endurance and surrender makes his life virtuous. He remains in peace whenever he makes patience, endurance and surrender his custom because some of the *jawanmardan* have said, '*Futuwwat is the renunciation of making claims and keeping meanings safe and the possibility of being wronged.*' Contentment comes by itself, without any nuisance or suffering. From this perspective it is clear that everybody's capital is patience, and eating illegal food

and engaging in forbidden acts comes through [one's] lusts. Injustice and tyranny occur because of hatred. Theft and excess in seeking something come about through desire and longing. All of these are hidden sins and destroy the soul.

(111) Sound legs are like sound hands because the legs are the vehicle of the body, and the hands are the servants of the body. The eyes, ears and sense of smell are the body's spies. The tongue is its interpreter, and the heart its ruler (*sultan*). Whenever the spies are unaware of [various events], the sultan remains in his position of rulership without being troubled by others. But he becomes uncomfortable and afraid whenever the spies deliver information about various circumstances. Sometimes he rules with hatred, malice and the fire of anger and sometimes he is greedy to increase [the size] of the country. Sometimes he [rules with] desire and pleasure, sometimes with wrath and anger. Sometimes [he rules] with joy, pleasure, gentleness and his blessing. Sometimes there is stinginess, cupidity, envy, avarice and greed.

(112) A sound memory. The memory (*khatir*) is wisdom's secretary and it is [also] the sultan's servant. Its task is collecting and being the sentinel over whatever the eyes see and the heart thinks. Memory remembers while [the faculty of] understanding (*fabm*) stores [these things]. A mount is required for them to ride upon when they perform their tasks in order that they can reach their destination. So the legs become the mount, and they walk, and the hand takes and [the faculty of] understanding guards [the knowledge of these skills]. When they perform their tasks, a mount is required for them to ride upon, and they are all connected and obedient to wisdom (*'aql*). Wisdom commands and the heart thinks. The memory travels and delivers [the memories], and [the faculty of] judgement (*ra'i*) guards [them], love (*'ishq*) arranges them and yearning (*dhawq*) seizes them. So it is clear that the soundness of them all is derived through the eyes.

(113) All [of the aforementioned eight things] will be safe, tranquil and sound if the eyes are sound. Whenever the eyes are not sound all [the aforementioned eight] have hardship and are afraid and anxious. As long as the eyes are unaware [of any situation] the body [feels] safe or tranquil. And when the eyes become diverted here and there (*parakanda shud*) all the parts of the body perform their tasks [independently], and the body is in great danger, and the ruin of the soul is imminent. But wisdom does not hesitate for the eyes [to function properly], because it gives out instructions without seeing something, and it forms a plan, recalls much to memory and activates passion (*'ishq*). Yet there is no benefit [in this] if the eyes are not its compan-

ion. The reality is clear that someone who is blind, even if wise and clever, cannot yield any knowledge himself unless something comes under his power and he touches that thing and becomes aware of its nature through [his] action and [through his] fingertips and from its external appearance. Thus he can tell if [an object] is firm, frail, soft, long, short, stout or thin. And the fingertips are one of the five senses that the wise men have discussed, and which they have called touch. It relates to the eyes because there can be no difference for any part of the human body in terms of [distinguishing qualities such as] good and bad, or blessing or evil, except [with the help of] the eye. And so [the sense of] touch too benefits from the eye.

(114) The eyes have many tasks, but the sense of touch has few. The tasks of the eyes depend on [their] capacity because they perceive much, such as black and white, big and small, beautiful and ugly, long and short, and various colours. They yearn as a result of each beauty [they see], but they cannot approach [that beauty] themselves, nor can they possess it.

(115) The sense of touch has four tasks; [distinguishing] firmness, frailness, softness and hardness, and it can hold things and convey the nature of [these qualities] to the heart. In addition, it can bring [objects] near to itself and hold them until it lets them go of its own volition. That object cannot escape from [the hand] unless it is taken by force. And these faculties (*alat-ha*) are active and passive (*in alat-ha fa'il wa ma'ful and*), and each one has two tasks. First, the eyes see and [second, they] distinguish between good and bad, black and white, and the proper way and the improper way. In the same way, the ears have two tasks. First is hearing and carrying information, and second is that the ears imagine (*tasawwur mi-kunad*). Some are incited by beautiful or coarse voices, and others convey aversion. On the basis of this reasoning, the sense of smell also has two tasks. One is to smell and give information, and the second is to distinguish between pleasant and unpleasant smells.

(116) The tongue also has two tasks. One is speaking and teaching, although teaching pertains to the memory. But the memory cannot recall [anything] as long as the ears do not hear or the eyes do not see or the tongue does not speak. So the tongue is a tool that communicates. The second [task] is that it causes comfort and brings good tidings, and it also causes vexation and rancour.

(117) In addition, there is the palate, which is in the mouth. Anything that fails to pass through the mouth cannot reach the palate. And its task is causing something to come close or causing something

to be repelled. Another task is conveying taste (*dhawq*) and flavour to the heart. It knows what food and its pleasure are. These are the five active and passive agents, and these five are in the head, and one is in the hand, and that is touch, just as we have described.

(118) And the wise men have named these five seeing, speaking, smelling, hearing and touch. They have called these five faculties 'the five senses', and another name is the eye, ear, nose, tongue and palate, and hand. The leg helps [the human] and it is the sixth, and they call the six faculties the six motives (*jihat*). [The faculty of] wisdom ('*aql*') rules over them. If none of them oppose any of the other [faculties], then the discord of them all [can only] come about through the eyes. The whole body, the limbs and the faculties are safe and secure whenever the eyes are observing.

(119) But when the eyes are distracted, the faculties will not be focused on their commands and orders. A group of God's special servants, such as the Poles, the Pegs and the Substitutes and *jawan-mardan* Friends of God who have renounced this world and flee from people and have built retreats on mountains and islands, refuse to observe anyone's face. Their purpose is [to protect] their eyes. As long as the eyes do not observe or see, they cannot have [any] desire. It is for this reason that they flee from people. Of course, it is these six human faculties that convey good and evil to the servant. God Almighty has created them all as active and passive agents through the perfection of [His] power.

(120) It is necessary for the man of *futuwwat* to be aware of and know all of these circumstances and to have experienced them all in order that he does not require someone's help in times of need. Whoever is lacking in this knowledge that we have described will be reproached for the smallest [fault] and he will be deficient, and it is necessary that the man of *futuwwat* is not deficient. He must be steadfast, complete and perfect in everything so that he can speak of love and *futuwwat*. There are many pretenders and those opposed to a skilful person [full] of wisdom, or a master of *futuwwat*, or possessor of opinion. If it happens that a group of those heart-possessing men who have virtue, knowledge and wisdom meet together and one of them is a claimant [of *futuwwat*] or [wishes] to prove [himself], he [is asked] about the teachings [and] the courtesies and regulations, and then questioned about all of these [qualities] that have been described. If he is ready with an answer, then he is more worthy and has a higher level. If he cannot reply then he is still imperfect, and he becomes miserable and embarrassed. They say to him, 'You cannot fulfil this. Go

and serve the masters (*ustadan*) until you have perfected the tasks [of *futuwwat*].’ If he has an answer ready then he is mature.

(121) It is necessary for the man of *futuwwat* to read and write because the reader and writer of whatever [must be] read, written or taught will become a master in this knowledge sooner. If there is something he does not know then he looks in the books of the masters and searches in treatises, and he reads and remembers and teaches himself. And he becomes a wise man in that [particular field of] knowledge without having caused trouble or having to ask a favour from someone. He reaches all of his purposes sooner. But he will get no benefit from treatises and books if he does not know how to read or write, and he will need to listen. If he is very clever and wise and if he possesses understanding and sagacity then he will remember a tenth of what he hears. But the person who has no understanding or sagacity will not be able to take in one hundredth, and he will still be incomplete [even if] he spends the whole of his life in learning. Therefore it is clear that the wealth [that comes] through knowledge is derived through a teacher (*dabir*). For kings and rulers there is nothing more acceptable for man than a teacher.

(122) In addition the man of *futuwwat* should endeavour to learn words in different languages such as Arabic, Parsi, Turkish, Persian, Greek, Hindi and other languages because the wise men have taken into account all human languages, and this is a worthwhile knowledge. It happens many times that a man needs to know a single word, and he gets much benefit if he knows and understands [the meaning] of that word. And there are many occasions that through a single word he is able to save his soul from the hands of a tyrant or an impure person. But if he does not know that word then he may be in danger and [he may] lose his life.

(123) In addition, the man of *futuwwat* should not adorn himself in finery such as earrings and finger rings, or clothe himself in coloured and decorative garments. But [it is permissible] if the finger ring has a useful stone in it, such as a ruby, or cornelian, or emerald. But these kinds of useful stones must be set in silver so that they are not forbidden [by law]. These stones have two benefits. One is that they repel snakes, scorpions, venom, opium and lightning. The second is that they have many qualities in them such as [a cure] for the poisoned person, the mad person and anyone unconscious whom the wise men have tested and understood. All of these are the attributes of the man of *futuwwat* and they are on the path of reality and they have trust in the truth.

(124) In addition, each stone that is valuable and has a high price, such as a ruby, sapphire, diamond or emerald, and each stone that is worth five hundred or a thousand *dinars* is a form of capital for all [the brothers] at a time of need, and one can do many things with that [capital]. It can be used to see to the needs of others, and this is the essence of *futuwwat*. But wearing coloured and decorative robes is for women. It is not allowed for young men (*jawanmardan*), in particular for the people of *Futuwwat* who are on the path of *futuwwat* and are [also] on the path of the *shari'at*, *tariqat* and *haqiqat*. And the five paths of *shari'at*, [*tariqat*], *haqiqat*, gnosis and unity (*tawhid*) are the path of *futuwwat*. If someone has an imperfection in [following] one of these paths then he is imperfect in the *futuwwat* path. For this reason mountain passes (*shi'b-ha*) lead upwards, in such a way that they pass all the praiseworthy attributes, just as we described previously. Whenever a master of *futuwwat* embellishes himself [in decorative robes], then imperfection is his rank, and imperfection is impermissible for the people of *Futuwwat*. This is because it is incumbent that one must increase and become more embellished with all [the right] kinds of skills.

(125) In addition, [wearing] colourful clothing is analogous to self-conceit, and this is not permissible for the *jawanmardan*. Moreover, [the man of *futuwwat*] must not wear ripped robes that are torn and ragged. In particular, in the region of Fars they call the '*yar pirahan*' the 'finishing garment' (*tamam jama*). That is to say, if [a man of *futuwwat*] has put on all his clothes but has not yet clothed himself in the *yar pirahan*, it is as if he has nothing on. So it is clear that the *khirqa* of the people of *Futuwwat* is composed of two garments: the *yar pirahan* and the *khirqa*. One has the outer form and the other has the inner form. The 'finishing garment' is the inner form and the *khirqa* is the outer form. Most of the people of *Futuwwat* have been those who have worn a *yar pirahan* made of sheepskin – tight trousers (*pacha[yi] tang*). If one is travelling or at home, and if the *yar pirahan* is torn, it is necessary to have thigh-length boots<sup>102</sup> (*muza-yi yar 'anin* [sic. *ra'nin*]) so that the tear cannot be seen. If [the tear] is seen then it is a deficiency in *futuwwat*. And there is nothing worse than worn-out and torn clothing because a shortcoming or deficiency in a man's soul (*nafs*) may not appear in his speech or his acts. But [a man of *futuwwat*] with worn-out clothing seems threadbare to the people even if he is wise, a gnostic and learned, and adorned with all the skills [of *futuwwat*]. But he seems magnificent for the people even if he has no [knowledge] or skill, but has clean clothing and is upright

in body, and these people of *Futuwwat* are at the manifest level [of understanding]. And the people of *Futuwwat* who are separated from others (*tajrid*), live in seclusion (*tafrid*) and [in] the level of singularity (*tawhid*) are absolved from [the requirement of having] these manifest attributes. And it is necessary that a master of *futuwwat* should not eat from a plate that has been broken and fixed together, especially one that has been fixed with twine. And he must not drink water from a beaker (*kawza*) with a cracked edge. The beaker from which he drinks water must have a wide opening so that the water can be seen in it.

(126) If the mouth of the [beaker] is narrow and water cannot be seen, then one should not drink from it unless water has been poured into it in one's presence. Otherwise one may pour water into a bowl and then drink it. But it is preferable to drink water from a clean cup (*pangan*) since there is no doubt [about its benefits]. Most of the wise men, the learned and the people of *Futuwwat* have drunk water in a cup. This is because they do not do anything in ignorance.

(127) It is foolish if one drinks from a narrow-mouthed beaker [any] water that has not been poured in one's presence. This is because someone who bears enmity or is jealous may pour something into that beaker which should not be drunk, like poison or drugs, which he has prepared out of [his] treachery. There are many enemies and pretenders for he who is a master of skills, and the jealous [attempt] to deceive him. The water will make him ill if he drinks it, and he himself will have been ignorant. Because he did not prevent [this] ignorance, he is incomplete in *futuwwat*. It is because of this we remarked that the attribute of those people who are in the outer dimension of *futuwwat* abide in [the outer] form and meaning [of *futuwwat*] and those who are free of worldly cares (*mujarrad*) through *futuwwat* transcend these attributes.

(128) The master of *futuwwat* does not regard as permissible [any] tool or weapon unless [he is] on a journey or in danger. When he is travelling he must have with him tools and weapons. But when he is at home he does not require [any] tool or weapon because he is pious and inoffensive and people are kept in safety and comfort through his hands and tongue. He has no enemy that he would need a weapon and [any] enemy [would be] abject. There are many enemies for people who vex [others]. An enemy cannot do anything wherever there is safety, goodness, obedience, God-fearing, asceticism and piety.

(129) But there are seven things that are necessary for [the man of

*futuwwat*] among the tools and implements that he uses [frequently]. A knife, clippers (*nakhun chin*), razor (*sar tarash*), comb, tooth cleaner, *mil*<sup>103</sup> and tweezers (*maqgash*). These seven are necessary.

(130) First, the [reason] for a knife is obvious, for it has many uses for the [the man of *futuwwat*], such as cutting meat, slicing melon, fashioning toothpicks and others.

(131) The comb. It is necessary to groom the beard and moustache with a comb. And it is necessary that the comb is in good order and does not have broken teeth. The purpose is that there should be no deficiency [in the man of *futuwwat*] so that perfection is his level.

(132) A razor is necessary because if [the man of *futuwwat*] does not have a razor when he wants to use it, he will be dependent on someone else, and this would be abandoning a rule [of *futuwwat*]. The function of a razor and what it does are clear. But the rule is abandoned whenever people are aware [that he does not have a razor]. But if he has a razor with him then no one will be aware when he has need of it, and the veil will remain unturned.

(133) Clippers are necessary because if one of his children and trainees has a long moustache he must cut it quickly himself before anyone sees, so that he alone witnesses the defect and he does not become dependent on anyone at a time of need.

(134) Tweezers and a *mil* are two perfect tools because the tweezers are like the clippers. If someone has a long nose-hair that grows out from his nostril, then he must get rid of it with those tweezers and rectify the problem. This is a great defect among men. In the same way that others become needy of [the tweezers, the man of *futuwwat*] also uses them at a time of need. If someone has a thorn in his finger he gets it out with them. The *mil* is used to remove the grime from one's ears because the grime in one's ears is like negligence (*ghuflat*), and negligence is impermissible in the master of *futuwwat*. He who permits negligence [in his path] has a deficiency and has become deficient, and this is not allowed in *futuwwat*.

(135) And a tooth cleaner is a custom in the religion of Islam and the custom of the *jawanmardan* who went before. The benefit of performing prayer with clean teeth is ten times or seventy times greater than performing the prayers with unclean teeth. So it is clear that the better way with a wooden stick tooth cleaner is ten times more rewarding or seventy times. If [the man of *futuwwat*] does not have one then he is an ignoramus. We have come to the rules of eating food and the courtesies that we mentioned before.

## Chapter Five

### *The Regulations of Eating and its Courtesies*

(136) The possessor of *futuwwat* must not partake of food unless his soul (*nafs*) is really in need and he is hungry. There is no necessity for him to eat [any more food] after he has eaten well and it is still in his stomach. He should not eat alone when it is time to eat; [there should be] other companions and guests at the table. This is because eating alone is caused through stinginess. Stinginess is not allowed wherever *futuwwat* exists. But it is permissible [to eat alone] if it is absolutely necessary. It is a sign of the deficiency in *futuwwat* wherever a trace of stinginess appears. If [the man of *futuwwat*] has been hungry for four hours, he should endure the hunger and not eat alone until a companion comes, and then he may eat. It is necessary for the food to be pure, as if it has been thoroughly cleaned. That is to say, [the man of *futuwwat*] must eat legally permitted food (*halal*). He should try [to ensure] that the cook is a man. If the cook is a woman, she must be a woman of her word, trustworthy and clean, and she must be very skilled in cooking food. If there are many people at the table when [the man of *futuwwat*] wants to eat food, then he stretches out to take bread when the people take food and start to eat. He looks around at them all, and [if he sees] someone at a distance who seems worried, he calls him over or gives him some food, and then he takes some food for himself. He does not hurry when eating the food so that he does not get wind. There are many courtesies on this matter and they have been discussed in the chapters about the courtesies of the trainees. The morsel which is juicier and better is placed before the guest and companion. It is right for [the man of *futuwwat*] to glance to the left and right in order to see that each person has the same amount of food as he does, or less. If someone has less, then [the man of *futuwwat*] takes some food from his own [plate] and gives it to his guest. And he must not annoy his guest or companion. In other words, he takes that amount that is his portion and gives it [to his guest], when [the guest] had less food. And he calls out to bring more if there is nothing left in front of him. If there is no food left, [the man of *futuwwat*] gives [the guest] the morsel which was his share. So [the man of *futuwwat*] gives away all his portion. If there is something [that needs to be seen to] then it is permissible for [the man of *futuwwat*] to tell [his guest], but it is not permissible for the trainee. If there is something [that needs] to be said which can be conveyed

through allusion, it is right to allude to it (*bi-isharat guyad*), and not to speak about it.

(137) If [the man of *futuwwat* wants] to drink water he takes the cup in his right hand, and then raises the left hand to the cup. [He places] the back of [his] hand on the base of the cup and the palm faces the people, and then he can drink the water. If [he is drinking from] a beaker (*pangan*), in other words, a bowl-like cup (*tas*) so that it is not possible to hold it with one hand, then [the man of *futuwwat*] holds it with both hands, and he does not throw his head back [to gulp down the water] but drinks water in moderation. When the [guests] leave the table [the man of *futuwwat*] wipes away the crumbs. If [the man of *futuwwat*] uses a toothpick, he holds a napkin or his left hand over his mouth, as we have mentioned. The back of his hand covers his mouth, but it is better to use a napkin so that his teeth are not seen.

(138) These are the courtesies for eating which we have summarised to make it easy for readers and seekers, and so that it will be useful [for them] quickly. The explanation will be difficult for guards, soldiers, merchants and Turks who are continually travelling and have stopping places that are scattered [here and there] if it is too long. The most important points have been covered so that when people undertake a journey (*suluk*) they will perform [those courtesies correctly] and they will be able to succeed and they will remember the writer, reader, author and master of this book in [their] pious prayers. Praise belongs to the Lord of the Worlds, and greetings and peace upon our master, Muhammad, and his family.

## Notes

1. Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History*, p. 193.
2. *Ibid.* p. 196.
3. On Suhrawardi and his teachers, see A. J. Arberry, 'The Teachers of Shihab al-Din 'Umar Suhrawardi', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Islamic Studies*, 13 (1950), pp. 339–56.
4. See 'Abd al-Rahman Jami, *Nafahat al-Uns*, ed. M. 'Abidi (Tehran: Intisharat-i Itila'at, [1370] 1991–2), pp. 515–16.
5. Suhrawardi's antipathy to Ibn 'Arabi is discussed by Angelika Hartmann in 'Al-Suhrawardi', *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. IX, p. 779. Hartmann's views have been challenged recently by Erik Ohlander in his *Sufism in an Age of Transition*, pp. 132–3.
6. Renard, *Knowledge of God in Classical Sufism*, p. 58. Renard's work includes translations of the first three chapters of this work.

7. See, for example, the Persian translation of Abu Mansur ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min Isfahani, which was completed in 1266 and published in Tehran under the title '*Awarif al-Ma'arif*', ed. Qasim Ansari (Tehran: Intisharat-i 'ilmi wa farhangi, [1374] 1995–6). For a list of the various Persian translations of Suhrawardi's work, see W. Chittick, 'Awaref al-Ma'aref', *Encyclopedia Iranica*, online edition, 1989, available at [www.iranica.com/articles/awaref-al-maaref-kind-gifts-of-mystic-knowledge-a-classic-work-on-sufism-by-sehab-al-din-abu-hafs-omar-b](http://www.iranica.com/articles/awaref-al-maaref-kind-gifts-of-mystic-knowledge-a-classic-work-on-sufism-by-sehab-al-din-abu-hafs-omar-b); Erik S. Ohlander, 'A New Terminus ad Quem for 'Umar al-Suhrawardi's Magnum Opus', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 128(2) (2008), pp. 285–93.
8. These two treatises are found in Sarraf, *Rasa'il-i jawanmardan*. The *Risalat al-futuwwat* is found on pp. 89–102. It has also been translated into English; see Ridgeon, 'Javanmardi: origins and development until the 13th century and its connection to Sufism', pp. 49–74. The *Kitab fi'l-futuwwat* appears in *Rasa'il-i jawanmardan* on pp. 103–66.
9. On these, see Zakeri, 'The futuwwa-“Houses” at the time of Caliph al-Nasir: some notes', pp. 222–37.
10. Hartmann, 'Al-Suhrawardi', *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. IX, p. 779.
11. Hartmann, 'Al-Nasir li-Din Allah', *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. VII, p. 999.
12. Herbert Mason, *Two Statesmen of Mediaeval Islam*, p. 120.
13. There is not much indication from Suhrawardi's *futuwwat* treatises about the relationship between *futuwwat* and caliph. This in itself may be suggestive, as other Arabic *futuwwat* treatises included *silsilas* that recognised the caliph as the inheritor of the lineage from Muhammad and 'Ali. Perhaps Suhrawardi's silence on the matter was intentional and was meant specifically as a snub at political interference.
14. See Paragraph 44.
15. See the arguments of Ghazali, summarised by Karamustafa, *Sufism*, pp. 126–7.
16. See the comments of Matthew B. Ingalls, 'Between centre and periphery: the development of the Sufi fatwa in late-medieval Egypt', in John J. Curry and Erik S. Ohlander (eds), *The Nexus of Sufism and Society: Arrangements of the Mystical in the Muslim World, 1200–1800 C.E.* (London: Routledge, forthcoming). For the attempts by Seljuk princes to ingratiate themselves with the popular Sufis of the times, see Hamid Dabashi, 'Historical conditions of Persian Sufism during the Seljuk period,' in Lewisohn (ed.), *Classical Persian Sufism*, pp. 137–74, in particular pp. 153–68.
17. Ohlander, *Sufism in an Age of Transition*, p. 193.

18. Suhrawardi, *Kitab fi'l-futuwwat*, paragraph 23.
19. Aflaki, *Feats of the Knowers of God*, pp. 128–9.
20. Suhrawardi, *Risalat al-futuwwat*, paragraph 11.
21. An abridged translation of this Arabic work has been published by M. Milson as *A Sufi Rule for Novices* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975).
22. Ibid. section 40, p. 35.
23. Abu Hafs 'Umar Suhrawardi, *'Awarif al-Ma'arif* (Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-'Arabi, 1983).
24. Milson, *A Sufi Rule for Novices*, p. 66.
25. Suhrawardi, *'Awarif al-Ma'arif*, p. 69. Abu Hafs repeated this saying with reference to the simulators in a discussion about two kinds of *khirqat*. The *khirqat al-irada* was bestowed by the Sufi shaykh upon his full-time pupils, whereas the *khirqat al-tabarruk* was for the simulator. The latter *khirqat* resembled the former, and 'he who resembles the group is one of them'. *'Awarif al-Ma'arif*, p. 99.
26. Suhrawardi, *'Awarif al-Ma'arif*, p. 67.
27. Milson, *A Sufi Rule for Novices*, section 151, p. 66.
28. Suhrawardi, *'Awarif al-Ma'arif*, p. 202.
29. Milson, *A Sufi Rule for Novices*, sections 166–206, pp. 72–81.
30. Ibid. section 167, p. 73.
31. Ibid. section 167, p. 73.
32. Ibid. section 179, p. 76.
33. Ibid. section 184, p. 77.
34. Ibid. section 185, p. 77.
35. Ibid. section 186, p. 77.
36. See Paragraph 18.
37. See Paragraph 18.
38. Ian Netton, 'The Breath of Felicity', pp. 480–1. Netton is aware that this 'does not represent the whole picture' and he quotes from personal correspondence from Leonard Lewisohn that *rukhsa* should be regarded more as a form of tolerance.
39. See Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism*, pp. 80–2.
40. See Ibn Jawzi's criticisms of *futuwwat* as cited by Anne Lambton, 'The internal structure of the Seljuq empire', in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 274.
41. See Karamustafa, *Sufism*, pp. 155–66. See also Hujwiri's famous citation of Abu'l-Hasan Fushanja that 'today Sufism is a name without a reality, but formerly it was a reality without a name', Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, ed. M. 'Abid (Tehran: Surush, [1386] 2007, p. 59). The 'abuse'

of Sufism was also indicated by Ghazali, who composed a Persian work entitled *Hamaqat-i abl-i ibahat* ("The Stupidity of Libertines"); see Nasrallah Purjawadi, *Daw mujadidd: pizhubish-ha-yi dar bara-yi Muhammad Ghazali wa Fakhr-i Razi* (Tehran: Markaz-i Nashr-i Danishgahi, [1381] 2002). Ibn Jawzi seems to have been familiar with an Arabic version of this work (Karamustafa, *Sufism*, p. 160), and his rant against Sufism and *futuwwat* appears in his *Talbis Iblis*; see the English translation by David Margoliouth in *Islamic Culture*, 1935–8, 1946–7: *Daw mujadidd* vol. 9, pp. 1–21, 187–208, 377–99, 533–57; vol. 10, pp. 20–39, 169–92, 339–68, 633–47; vol. 11, pp. 267–73, 393–403, 529–33; vol. 12, pp. 108–18, 235–40, 352–64, 447–58; vol. 20, 181–9, 297–310, 408–22; vol. 21, pp. 73–9, 172–83, 394–402.

42. Milson, *A Sufi Rule for Novices*, section 151, p. 66.

43. Sulami, *Kitab al-Futuwwat*, vol. II, p. 228.

44. See Paragraph 24.

45. The practice in the tradition subsequent to Suhrawardi, inevitably perhaps, did not always match the theory. Ibn Battuta describes how one of the *fityan* from Anatolia, who was 'wearing shabby clothes and had a felt bonnet on his head', invited the traveller and his companions to a meal. Surprised, Ibn Battuta remarked, 'This is a poor man, and he has not the means to entertain us and we do not like to impose a burden on him.' Ibn Battuta's associate replied, 'He is one of the shaykhs of the Young Akhis. He is a cobbler, and a man of generous disposition. His associates number about two hundred men of different trades, who have elected him as their leader and have built a hospice to entertain guests in, and all that they earn by day they spend by night.' Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, vol. II, p. 420. Of course the context does not provide sufficient details to allow for further judgements, as it may be that the cobbler was dressed in his work clothes, rather than any smart, 'official' *futuwwat* garment. However, the passage is extremely interesting if only for the fact that it testifies to the numerical strength of *futuwwat* associations, that they built their own hospices/*khanaqahs* (in agreement with Suhrawardi) and that they were largely self-financing, engaging in work and trades (again, reflecting the information provided in Suhrawardi's treatises).

46. See Paragraph 125.

47. See Paragraph 125.

48. See Paragraphs 129–35. It is interesting to compare the ideal appearance of the *fata*, who was supposed to exercise extreme caution with his appearance, with the advice given by Abu'l-Najib that the Sufi should not be concerned about his clothing, although his garment should be

- kept clean (the possession of only one garment was recommended). Milson, *A Sufi Rule*, sections 114–19, pp. 55–7.
49. See Paragraphs 103, 104, 126, 127, 136, 137.
50. See Paragraph 94.
51. See Paragraphs 51, 52.
52. See Paragraph 85.
53. See Paragraphs 81–2.
54. Cited by Sulami, *Kitab al-futuwwat*, vol. II, p. 305. A similar quote from Abu Hafis Haddad al-Nayshapuri is found in Abu Mansur ibn ‘Abd al-Mu’min Isfahani’s Persian ‘translation’ of ‘*Awarif al-ma‘arif*, p. 23: ‘The whole of Sufism is maintaining [the correct] courtesy (*adab*). There is a courtesy for each moment, for each spoken word and for each action. Whoever guards the particular details of courtesies will reach [his] goal, and whoever is destitute of keeping courtesies is remote [from the goal] even if he supposes that he is near.’
55. See Paragraph 16.
56. Schimmel has commented that from the time of Hakim al-Tirmidhi (d. c. 932) a hierarchy of saints evolved: ‘The highest authority is the *qutb*, “axis, pole”, or *ghauth*, “help”. He is surrounded by three *nuqaba*’, “substitutes”, four *autad*, “pillars”, seven *abrar*, “pious” forty *abdal*, “substitutes”, three hundred *akhyar*, “good” and four thousand hidden saints.’ See Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p. 200.
57. See Paragraph 16.
58. See Paragraph 125.
59. See Paragraph 119.
60. It is interesting to note that the thirteenth-century Sufi ‘Aziz Nasafi portrayed two types of Perfect Man. The first possessed good words, good actions, good morals and gnosis. The second, the ‘Free Perfect Man’ ([*Insan-i*] *kamil-i azad*), possessed good words, good actions, good morals, gnosis, abandonment, seclusion, satisfaction and anonymity. See ‘Aziz Nasafi, *Kitab al-Insan al-Kamil*, pp. 8–9. Specific examples of ‘Sufis’ who sought to distance themselves from society to concentrate on their spiritual welfare include those who became associated with the Qalandar movement (to which Suhrawardi was vehemently opposed). Ahmet Karamustafa has claimed that Suhrawardi was unaware of the nascent Qalandar movement that emerged in the early thirteenth century in Damascus; see Ahmet Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2006), p. 35. Suhrawardi’s negative comments about the Qalandars may simply have been his response to the literary trope that developed within Persian poetry. (However, Leonard

Lewisohn offers another perspective and claims that Qalandar individuals were indeed a social phenomenon in the early thirteenth century, otherwise the story of ‘Iraqi travelling with a group of Qalandars all the way to India would simply not make sense.) In the early thirteenth century two native Iranians, Jamal al-Din Sawi and Qutb al-Din Haydar Zawagi, adopted a life of seclusion and practised austere forms of Sufism, sometimes abandoning the use of clothing or else simply covering their genitals with leaves, or wearing heavy, coarse cloth material. See Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, pp. 39–49 for these two individuals and pp. 34–6 for Suhrawardi’s criticism of such Qalandar individuals. The examples of the Qalandars have been offered simply to provide an example of the diversity of Sufism in the thirteenth century, and it seems highly probable that there were individuals who adopted the lifestyle described by Suhrawardi but did not go to the extremes of the Qalandars. An example of this is Ahmad Jam (1050–1141) who, after adopting a spiritual life in his twenties, assumed a life of recluse in the mountains until he was forty. See Karamustafa, *Sufism*, p. 145. It has been suggested that the emergence of institutionalised Qalandars in the thirteenth century was partially the result of the organised Sufi orders (in which Suhrawardi participated). See Ingalls, ‘Between centre and periphery’.

61. See Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism*, Chapter 2.
62. Malamud, ‘Gender and spiritual self-fashioning’, pp. 89–117. Malamud’s general argument related to the hierarchical nature of Islamic society has been questioned by Ovamir Anjum. See his ‘Mystical authority and governmentality in medieval Islam’, in Curry and Ohlander (eds), *The Nexus of Sufism and Society*.
63. See Paragraph 37. It is interesting to note the comments of Dr Nurbakhsh, the leader of the Ni‘matullahi order in the West, during a conference in London in 1997: ‘Western culture and Eastern culture are two contraries. Western culture teaches you to “take care of yourself”, whereas Eastern culture responds to this saying: “Serve others and take care of them.” Therefore, a Western[er] can never become a dervish.’ Cited in Lewisohn, ‘Persian Sufism in the contemporary West’, in Malik and Hinnels (eds), *Sufism in the West*, p. 57.
64. Milson’s *A Sufi Rule for Novices* (section 42, p. 36) illustrates this well, and he cites the Malamati Abu Hafs al-Haddad to verify his perspective: ‘Junayd disapproved of the manners of Abu Hafs al-Haddad and termed them, ironically, princely manners. To this Abu Hafs answered, “External *adab* reflects the inner *adab*.”’ This is precisely the same argument that Abu Hafs ‘Umar Suhrawardi wished to convey. His

uncle continued his passage on *adab* by stating: "It is said that the whole of Sufism is *adab*; each moment (*waqt*), each state and each station has its *adab*. 'Adab is the support of the poor and the decor of the rich.'" Milson, *A Sufi Rule for Novices*, section 42, p. 36.

65. See Paragraph 62.
66. Sulami, *Kitab al-futuwwat*, vol. II, p. 300.
67. See Paragraph 1.
68. Ingalls, 'Between centre and periphery'.
69. Lambton, 'The internal structure of the Seljuq empire', p. 274.
70. For Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Biqdin's criticisms of *futuwwat* see Qamar-ul Huda, *Striving for Divine Union*, pp. 27–30.
71. Zakeri, 'The futuwwa-"Houses"', p. 233.
72. Sulami, *Kitab al-futuwwat*, in *Majmu'a-yi Athar-i Abu 'Abd al-Rahman Sulami*, ed. Nasrallah Purjawadi, p. 227. For the portrayal of 'Ali within the medieval Persian Sufi tradition, see Leonard Lewisohn, 'Ali ibn abi Talib's Ethics of Mercy in the Mirror of the Persian Sufi Tradition', in H. Ali Lakhani, R. Shah-Kazemi and L. Lewisohn (eds), *The Sacred Foundations of Justice in Islam* (London: World Wisdom Books, 2007), pp. 111–45.
73. In 'Chivalry and early Persian Sufism' (p. 556), Mahjub cites the Persian verse rendition by Qani'i Tusi (who died in the thirteenth century) of *Kalila wa Dimna*. This was a versification of Abu'l-Ma'ali Nasrallah ibn Muhammad's own Persian prose rendition, made in about 1144, of Ibn Muqaffa's Arabic version of the Pahlavi folk tales; see A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1958), p. 95. Qani'i Tusi's version includes sections on *futuwwat* (pp. 28–9) and *javanmardi* (pp. 31–2) in his introduction to the work. References to 'Ali appear on p. 29. See *Kalila wa Dimna*, ed. M. Tudawa (Tehran: Intisharat-i farhang-i Iran, [1358] 1979–80).
74. See Mahjub, 'Chivalry and early Persian Sufism', p. 554.
75. For more on Ibn Rasuli, see Zakeri, 'The futuwwa-"Houses"', pp. 235–6; Mahjub, 'Chivalry and early Persian Sufism,' pp. 577–80.
76. See Paragraph 18.
77. Suhrawardi, *Kitab al-futuwwat*, paragraph 63.
78. For the role of 'Ali in groups prior to Suhrawardi's involvement with *futuwwat*, see Louis Massignon, 'La "Futuwwat" ou "Pacte d'honneur artisanal" entre les travailleurs musulmans au Moyen Age', *La Nouvelle Clio*, IV (1952).
79. The incident is described by the thirteenth-century chronicler Ibn al-Sa'i. His report has been translated by Salinger, 'Was the *futuwwa* an oriental form of chivalry?', pp. 485–6.

80. Jalal al-Din Rumi, *Mathnawi*, vol. I, ed. and trans. Reginald A. Nicholson (London: Luzac & Co., 1925), lines 3,761–4,000.
81. Suhrawardi, *Risala-yi futuwwat*, p. 94.
82. Suhrawardi, *Kitab al-futuwwat*, paragraph 135.
83. Suhrawardi, *Risalat al-futuwwat*, paragraph 35.
84. Qamar al-Huda, 'The prince of diplomacy: Shaykh 'Umar al-Suhrawardi's Revolution for Sufism, futuwwa groups and politics under Caliph al-Nasir', *Journal of the History of Sufism*, 3 (2001), p. 268.
85. The possibility of this was outlined to me by Dr Khachik Gevorgyan in a recent discussion that we had in Armenia. Dr Gevorgyan admitted it was highly speculative, and there is no manuscript evidence for this kind of theory.
86. Although Sufi-*futuwwat* as a social institution declined, *futuwwat* remained an essential component of the desired attributes of the Sufis. Moreover, such an attribute, and some of the rituals associated with the medieval social organisations, were preserved within the guilds of the Ottoman and Safavid times. See Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism*, pp. 123–65.
87. Sarraf, 'Muqaddama-yi Musahhah' (editor's introduction), *Rasa'il-i jawanmardan*, p. 24.
88. *Dhu al-faqar* was a sword used by Muhammad which he subsequently gave to 'Ali. The saying is included in Shaykh al-Mufid, *Kitab al-Irshad*, trans. I. K. A. Howard (London: Muhammadi Trust, 1981), pp. 56, 58.
89. *Hadith* found in al-Hakim al-Nayshaburi, *al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3 (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Nasr al-haditha, n.d.), pp. 126–7.
90. The corners of the *qibla* (or Ka'ba) is the term used here to render *arkan*, which has a number of meanings. As a technical term with reference to the Ka'ba it usually refers to the four corners of the Ka'ba: *rukn al-aswa*, *rukn al-'iraqi*, *rukn al-shamsi* and *rukn al-yaneni*. See A. J. Wensinck and L. Jormier, 'Ka'ba', *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. IV, p. 317.
91. Fazlur Rahman has observed that the *shari'a* originally meant 'the path or the road leading to the water', *Islam*, 2nd edn (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1979), p. 100. Care with the original semantic meaning of the term may explain Suhrawardi's change of analogies from roads to water channels (with the manifestation of the *shari'at-i din*).
92. *Shab-i Qadar* according to Islamic tradition is the night upon which revelation given to Muhammad commenced.
93. *Shab-i barat* is the night of the fifteenth month of *Sha'ban*. In the *hadith* literature it is reported that God gives special attention on

this night to His creation. He pardons all except idolators and those who harbour enmity. A list of numerous *hadith* on the topic is given in Moulana Fazlur Rahman 'Azmi, *Shabe Baraat* (New Delhi: Idara Isha'at-e-Diniyat, 2000). Ibn Battuta described the practice of people visiting the Qarafa cemetery in Cairo, 'a place of vast repute for blessed power ... where they spend the night in mid of Sha'ban, and the market-people take out all kinds of eatables', *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, vol. I, pp. 45–6. H. A. R. Gibb added in a footnote that this evening 'has in all Muslim lands taken on many of the traditional features of a New Year's Eve. Special services are held in mosques and various ceremonies are observed, often in commemoration with the dead.' *Ibid.* p. 46, n. 139.

94. It is a 'spiritual' brother that is meant here.
95. 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn Husayn al-Sulami, the famous Persian Sufi who died in Nayshapur in 1021, and who composed his own work on *futuwwat* entitled *Kitab al-futuwwat*. His best-known work is a biography of five generations of Sufis. See his *Tabaqat al-sufiyya*, ed. Johannes Pedersen (Leiden: Brill, 1960).
96. A saying attributed to Muhammad which was included in the works of many scholars and Muslims, including al-Ghazali, 'Ayn al-Qudat Hamadani and Ibn 'Arabi. See W. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1989), p. 408, n. 9.
97. By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was common for Sufis to receive stipends in the *khanqaqah*. Aflaki mentions that Rumi's followers received half a dinar each day, and that Sadr al-Din Qunawi had many stipends to give out. See Aflaki, *Feats of the Knowers of God*, p. 302.
98. See Qur'an 38.44, where Job is instructed to take a bundle of twigs with which to strike. Islamic tradition holds that he was instructed to beat his wife gently with the sticks for having been deceived by Satan. For a discussion of Job in the Qur'an and in the *tafsir* literature, see Brannon M. Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran: An Introduction to the Quran and Muslim Exegesis* (London: Continuum, 2002), pp. 157–60.
99. This was a very important courtesy in *futuwwat* and Sufism, and an interesting episode is included by Aflaki in which he describes how Rumi was approaching the lodge of Sadr al-Din Qunawi when its servant (*khadim*) came out and said, 'The shaykh is not in the lodge.' Rumi replied, 'Be silent! Haven't you learnt this much from your shaykh that you don't say something that you haven't been asked.' Aflaki, *Feats of the Knowers of God*, p. 152.
100. A saying that is often quoted by Sufis; see, for example, 'Attar,

*Conference of the Birds*, trans. Afkham Darbandi and Dick Davis (London: Penguin, 1984), p. 35.

101. As Chittick has observed, 'odd' refers both to an odd number and to 'a prayer said after the night prayer. It consists of an odd number of cycles, varying from one to eleven, but most commonly three or five.' W. C. Chittick, *The Faith and Practice of Islam* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1992), p. 242, n. 136.1.
102. The text reads '*muza-yi yar 'anin*'. The last word should read *ra'nin*.
103. The purpose of this implement is discussed below in paragraph 134.



---

## **SECTION II**



---

# Introduction to *Futuwwat Nama* of Mirza ‘Abd al-‘Azim Khan Qarib-i Garakani

The manuscript of the *futuwwat nama* in this second section had been kept in the private collection of Mirza ‘Abd al-‘Azim Khan Qarib-i Garakani (who was a professor of Persian literature at Tehran University under Reza Shah).<sup>1</sup> A microfilm copy is held in the University of Tehran (no. 3154) from which Mihran Afshari recently produced an edited version.<sup>2</sup> Although the author is not mentioned in the text of the *futuwwat nama*, it is possible to estimate a date of the fourteenth century for its composition, for it includes poetry that has been attributed to Shaykh Awhadi, who died in 1337/8. All other poets and individuals included in the text died before this date. The author must have been inspired by and sympathetic to the Sufi tradition, given the number of leading Sufis and Sufi poets cited in the text. The Sufi persuasion of the text is most clearly evident in the inclusion of a *silsila* for the bestowal of the Sufi cloak (*kbirqa*), which contains a number of individuals bearing the name Rifa‘i. Therefore it can be assumed that the author of the text was a member of the Rifa‘i order, which is linked with the Basran Sufi, Ahmad Rifa‘i (1119–83). The Rifa‘i order soon became associated with the more eye-catching and populist forms of Sufi activity; for example, Aflaki reported that Sayyid Taj al-Din Muhammad Rifa‘i (who may have been a close relative of Ahmad al-Rifa‘i)<sup>3</sup> visited Konya (an event that must have occurred in the thirteenth century), and these dervishes were associated by the people of Konya with walking on fire, placing heated iron in their mouths, swallowing snakes, sweating blood and other outlandish acts.<sup>4</sup> Yet such forms of Sufi activity are absent from the presentation of *futuwwat* in this *futuwwat nama*. Indeed, the author presents a version of *futuwwat* that conforms to the image of the tradition as it appears in other Sufi-*futuwwat namas* of the period (such as those included in Sarraf’s

collection). Aside from adhering to a version of Sufism and *futuwwat* that was not antinomian, the author also demonstrates a certain mastery of Qur'an and *hadith*, which are sprinkled throughout the text, to legitimise certain aspects of the *futuwwat* path. In addition to these sacred texts, the author had a detailed familiarity with the events in the Prophet Muhammad's life. Thus, the anecdotes and stories that are related can be found in the biographies of Ibn Ishaq, Ibn Hisham and al-Tabari.<sup>5</sup> The learning of the author is further revealed by his use of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali's Persian work, *Kimi'a al-sa'adat*.<sup>6</sup> In Chapters five and six of the text the author makes such extensive use of *Kimi'a al-sa'adat* that Mihran Afshari has remarked, 'Many of the sentences and expressions of [Ghazali's text] have been reproduced exactly or with little change without referring to the source.'<sup>7</sup> This was a standard practice in the medieval Islamic work, just as Ghazali himself had utilised Abu Talib Makki's *Qut al-Qulub*. The author's erudition is also revealed in his inclusion of Persian poetry from masters such as Sa'di (who may well have been a master of *futuwwat* himself),<sup>8</sup> Rumi and Awhadi, and in prose stories derived from 'Attar. The author was probably a Sunni Muslim, as he refers to the 'great Imam', Abu Hanifa,<sup>9</sup> who is regarded as the founder of the Hanafi school of Sunni law, and also uses the term *ahl-i sunnat wa jama'at* (which is a name used to designate the Sunnis) in a positive sense.<sup>10</sup> Yet his text does not reveal a specific antagonism to Shi'ism, and he includes many anecdotes, stories and symbolic tales that champion 'Ali as a great hero of *futuwwat* (which, however, is not necessarily indicative of any denominational leaning) and Hasan and Husayn. This is to be expected, given the significance that 'Ali assumes in the tradition of *futuwwat*. One last point relating to the identity of the author is that he was probably a Persian, for not only was the text written in Farsi, but he also includes Sa'di's anecdote about Abraham's refusal of hospitality to a Zoroastrian. It would have been possible to include other examples from Persian literature in which such inhospitality to non-Muslims is manifested, but the specific choice of Zoroastrianism and fire-worship may be significant, indicating that Zoroastrians may have lived in proximity to the author. Based largely on linguistic argumentation, Mihran Afshari has speculated that the author may have been an inhabitant of Azerbaijan.<sup>11</sup>

The *futuwwat nama* commences by placing the tradition squarely within a Qur'anic context by listing those individuals and Prophets attributed with the term *fata*. This was a fairly typical practice within

the Sufi-*futuwwat* tradition, and indeed it is not specific to this tradition, as the Shi'ite sympathiser Ibn Rasuli, writing in eleventh-century Baghdad, included a genealogy for *futuwwat* that started with Adam and passed through Seth, Noah and Abraham.<sup>12</sup> The *futuwwat nama* Mirza 'Abd al-'Azim Garakani links this genealogy to the Prophet Muhammad and 'Ali and thenceforth to four companions. The aim is clearly to legitimise *futuwwat* and show that it continues in the author's age. The descriptions of the four companions that were initiated by 'Ali through the investiture of special *futuwwat* clothes indicates a certain structural defect, which continues throughout the text. As a didactic text, the author could have presented stories around each of the four companions to flesh out the nature of *futuwwat*. Instead, there is an short explanation for the initiation of Khalid ibn Walid (the first of these companions), which is followed by an ambling anecdote which very briefly touches on the second companion (Salman-i Farsi). The third companion is explained away in one line, while the fourth at least enjoys one paragraph. Such structural flaws may have been due to the author wishing to foreground his knowledge of certain aspects of the early history of the Islamic community with which he was familiar. Nevertheless, the first chapter sets the scene for *futuwwat* as an Islamic tradition which bears an ancient heritage.

The second chapter builds on this Islamic foundation by discussing the three kinds of *futuwwat* that were mentioned in the introduction to this book, namely the initiation by imbibing salt water, by a verbal pledge and by the sword.<sup>13</sup> The origins of initiation by imbibing salt water are traced to the Qur'an (35.12 and 21.30), and the initiation is also given prophetic sanction in a rather lengthy description of the struggles between the pre-prophetic Muhammad and Abu Jahl. Likewise, the verbal pledge has a Qur'anic basis ('Am I not your Lord?' (7.172) – a verse much pondered by Sufis) and again a prophetic basis is offered for the pledge in a meandering rendering of the episode of the 'pledge beneath the tree'. By contrast, the third initiation, by the sword, is explained almost as an afterthought in two paragraphs, but here once more it is justified with reference to the Qur'an and *hadith*. From the *Futuwwat Nama of Mirza 'Abd al-'Azim Khan Qarib-i Garakani* it is not clear if one pledge was considered superior to another. The only information supplied is that it is possible for an initiate through the verbal pledge to turn to a new master and also to receive a cloak of blessing from another master. This is in contrast to the initiate through the sword, who

does not have the same possibility. There is no concrete evidence, however, that these forms of initiation were determined by the occupation of the initiate. It may be possible that the different pledges reflected certain degrees of commitment to the *futuwwat* tradition. The discussions on the origins of the three pledges are followed by anecdotes in which the tradition of girding (*miyan bastan*) is traced to Abraham, and maintained in the girding of ‘Ali by Muhammad. The chapter is drawn to a conclusion in a rather strange fashion with an anecdote about the Prophet’s grandsons, Hasan and Husayn, in which the former refuses to let the latter take revenge for his impending death due to poisoning. The teaching of the story pertains to telling tales (which renders *futuwwat* null and void), and should be located several paragraphs further down in the treatise. Perhaps the fault lies in scribal error.

The third chapter, on those who may not be initiated into *futuwwat*, provides much interesting information on what makes *futuwwat* distinct from the more universal Sufi tradition; this has been examined in the introduction to this book, so we shall not discuss it further here. The relationship between *futuwwat* and Sufism becomes entwined in the fourth chapter, in which the author presents two *silsilas*: one is related to the *futuwwat* tradition, while the second appears to be a Sufi *silsila* of investiture through the *khirqā*. The table below reveals that the *isnad* of the Garakani *futuwwat nama* is almost identical to that offered by al-Khartabirti, who recorded the official lineage of *futuwwat* for the Caliph Nasir li-Din Allah. Although the start of the *isnad* of the Garakani *futuwwat nama* is missing, the *isnad* links of Garakani and Khartabirti are virtually the same, with one or two additions (differences in names may simply be the result of scribal error, such as misplaced or omitted dots above or below the Persian script). This demonstrates that although the caliph attempted to establish a princely association through *futuwwat*, the lineage through the caliph’s *futuwwat* initiator (Akhi Salih or ‘Abd al-Jabbar Salih) continued in directions that encompassed less eminent social groups. Nevertheless, the importance of the *isnad* was a significant component of *futuwwat* identity, and perhaps the realisation that one of the masters of *futuwwat* also initiated the caliph assisted in sentiments of pride and grandeur. However, it is probable that more relevant for the members was the linkage back to Salman-i Farisi (or Salman-i Farsi), which in turn led back to ‘Ali and Muhammad.

***Isnad of Garakani***

**Official *isnad* of Caliph Nasir li-Din Allah<sup>14</sup>**

	Salman Farisi
	Safwan b. Umayya
	Hudhayfa b. Al-Yamani
	Miqdad b. Al-Aswad Kindi
	Abu'l-‘Izz Nubi
	Basri (Hasan?)
	Hafiz Kindi
	‘Awf Qunnai
	Abu Muslim Khurasani
	Abu'l-Izz al-Muti‘ al-Naqib
	Hilal Nabhani
	Bahram Daylami
	Ruzbih Farisi
	Hasan b. Rabi‘a Makhzumi
Amir Hasan (Amir Hasan b. Rabi‘a al-Makhzumi)	
Amir Husayn Farari	Jawshan Fazari
Abu'l-Hasan Najjar	Abu'l-Fadl Qurayshi
Abu'l-Fadl bin Burhan <sup>15</sup>	Ra‘ys Salman
Suliman <sup>16</sup>	Shibl Abu'l-Makarim
Shaykh Shibli	Fadl b. Ziyad ‘Irqashi
Fadl bin Ziyad Qari	Abu'l-Hasan Najjar
Malik Abi Kajar <sup>17</sup>	Malik Abu Kalinjar
Amir Awi	Amir Wahran
Nasir al-Din bin abi Na‘ja	Qaid ‘Isa
Sayyid Abu ‘Ali	Nasir al-Din Ibn Abi Na‘ja
Muhanna-yi ‘Alawi	Abu ‘Ali Sufi
Na‘man bin al-Yan	Muhanna ‘Alawi
Shaykh Abu'l-Qasim	Nu‘man b. Al-Binn
(Nafis) ‘Abdallah	Abu'l-Qasim b. Abi Hayyan
Baqa’ bin al-Tabbakh	Nafis ‘Alawi
Abu'l-Hasan (ibn al-Shariban) <sup>18</sup>	Baqa b. Tabbakh
Abu Bakr (al-Jahish) <sup>19</sup>	Abu Bakr b. Jahish b. al-Sarbar
‘Umar Rahad <sup>20</sup>	‘Umar al-Rahhas
‘Abdallah bin al-Qayyir	‘Abdallah b. al-Qayyir
Amir ‘Ali ibn al-Za‘im	‘Ali b. Za‘im
Akhi Salih <sup>21</sup>	‘Abd al-Jabbar Salih
Ahmad bin al-Husayn	
Akhi ‘Ali ‘Uryan	
Akhi Sadiq	
Shuja‘ al-Zanjani	
Yusuf Tabrizi	
Husam al-Din	
Akhi Kamal al-Din Hasan bin Yusuf	
Sayyid Taj al-Din Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Rifa‘i	

## *Futuwwat Nama* introduction

The second *isnad* in the chapter does not indicate what the *silsila* is actually for (as the manuscript is corrupt); however, it is relatively safe to assume that it is for investiture of the Sufi *khirqā*.<sup>22</sup> The following *silsila* includes a number of famous Sufi figures, and indeed it matches the *silsilas* that were offered at an early stage of *silsila* development.<sup>23</sup>

### Sufi *isnad* of Garakani

Najm al-Din?  
Ahmad bin ‘Ali al-Rifa‘i  
Sayyid Qutb al-Din Abu’l-Hasan ibn ‘Abd al-Rahim al-Rifa‘i  
Sayyid Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Rifa‘i  
Sayyid Mahazhzhah al-Din ‘Abd al-Rahim ibn al-Rifa‘i  
Sayf al-Din ‘Ali ibn Rifa‘i  
Muhi al-Din Ahmad Kabir<sup>24</sup>  
Shaykh ‘Ali bin al-Qari al-Wasiti<sup>25</sup>  
Abu Fadl ibn Kamakh<sup>26</sup>  
Shaykh ‘Ali Badpa‘i  
Shaykh Abu ‘Ali Ghulam Turkan  
Sari al-Saqati<sup>27</sup>  
Ma‘ruf al-Karkhi<sup>28</sup>  
Dawud al-Ta‘i<sup>29</sup>  
Habib al-‘Ajami<sup>30</sup>  
Hasan al-Basri<sup>31</sup>  
‘Ali ibn abi Talib  
Muhammad

The inclusion of this Sufi *silsila* in this chapter related to initiation within *futuwwat* within a treatise on *futuwwat* is more than sufficient evidence to cite this treatise as an example of how the tradition of Sufi-*futuwwat* continued after Suhrawardi. Suhrawardi’s works on *futuwwat* were very different in their content, as his aim was to institutionalise a form of *futuwwat* squarely within his own form of sober Sufism in which the role of the teaching and guiding shaykh was paramount. Such a perspective is not apparent in the Garakani *futuwwat nama*, which is more concerned simply to locate *futuwwat* within both an Islamic tradition (which it does by referencing the Qur’anic and prophetic origins of *futuwwat*) and a Sufi tradition.

The two closing chapters of the Garakani *futuwwat nama* bear some similarity with Suhrawardi’s *futuwwat namas* because they both foreground the communal dimension of *futuwwat* at the expense of

the theological and mystical, and perhaps it is at this point that it is possible to distinguish the difference between Sufism and *futuwwat*. Of course, Sufism too had, and still has, its communal and practical dimensions, yet there is a conspicuous absence in *futuwwat* treatises of detailed discussion about mystical union or ontological issues. (In the present chapter there are scant references to what might be considered ‘mystical’ themes. In passing, there are mentions of *dhawq* and *fath* – terms that are usually understood in a mystical sense of spiritual tasting and unveiling respectively).<sup>32</sup> It is for this reason that Sufi-*futuwwat* may be considered a form of Sufism that was more conducive to those who were not ‘full-time’ Sufis and worked in various trades and occupations, but who were inclined to simple and uncomplicated Sufi beliefs and practices. Thus the communal nature of *futuwwat*, that is to say, its practices, such as hospitality and rules for eating, appear consistently in *futuwwat* treatises.

Perhaps the most controversial of all communal Sufi rituals was the *samaʿ*, or mystical dancing. Despite the criticisms of the *samaʿ* by theologians such as Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328),<sup>33</sup> the Sufi ritual continued unabated. On reading the Sufi hagiographies of the medieval period one might be forgiven for assuming that Sufi life was one long *samaʿ*; a cursory reading of Shams al-Din Ahmad Aflaki’s chapter on Rumi in his *Manaqib al-ʿarifin* would have been sufficient for Ibn Taymiyya to denounce Rumi for not following the correct form of *samaʿ*, which was listening to Qur’anic recitation or chants and poems that encourage virtuous behaviour. Sufi-style ecstatic *samaʿ* and dancing were not permitted, according to Ibn Taymiyya’s interpretation. In the Garakani *futuwwat nama* the author is keen to balance the forbidden and permitted types of *samaʿ*, but it is clear that he is sympathetic to its spiritual practice and also to ‘dancing’, which for Ibn Taymiyya was beyond consideration. The general impression created by the writings of Aflaki and Ibn Battuta is that performance of the *samaʿ* was frequently spontaneous and not necessarily reserved for special occasions. Indeed, Ibn Battuta’s travelogue includes accounts of him arriving in certain locations, and of being offered hospitality by the ‘brothers’ in their *futuwwat khana*. This suggests that the *futuwwat khana* was not simply a place that was used merely once a week for communal gathering and ritual practice of the *samaʿ*.

At the end of the chapter on *samaʿ* in the Garakani *futuwwat nama* there is a short paragraph in which there is a reference to ‘placing the *khirqas* in the middle’ and a call for bringing an animal skin.<sup>34</sup> The meaning of this is unclear, although it may have something to do with

the practice of tearing the *khirqas* into small pieces, as it was believed that the mystical state bestowed by God during the *sama* somehow infused the *khirqas* with a blessing (*baraka*) which could be shared by those who subsequently possessed a part of the *khirqas*. This practice was discussed in some depth by Abu'l-Najib Suharwardi,<sup>35</sup> who outlined the rules and permissibility of the practice. (It is of interest to note that he stated clearly that even lay members (*muhibbun*) should get a piece of the *khirqas*, and thus enjoy this form of merit transfer.)<sup>36</sup> It was further elaborated upon by Abu'l-Mafakhir Yahya Bakharzi (d. 1335/6).<sup>37</sup> Thus the practice was not an innovation by *futuwwat* members but was well established within Sufi circles, some of which even permitted non-Sufis to participate. This is another example of how the agenda of the two Suhrawardis of expanding Sufism within a less rigid and formal Sufi setting was successfully transferred to the *futuwwat* organisations.

The final chapter of the Garakani *futuwwat nama* focuses upon the necessity to offer hospitality. That hospitality and communal eating among the Sufi-*futuwwat* organisations was not merely a theoretical nicety but actually a practical issue is nowhere more apparent than in the writings of Ibn Battuta. These discussions of hospitality and munificence in the tradition of *futuwwat* reflect the importance of these themes in the Qur'an. The *futuwwat* tradition celebrates Abraham not only because he is called a *fata* in the Qur'an and was loyal to God and prepared to sacrifice his son, but also because of his exemplary hospitality. Another model found in the Qur'an, *hadith* and *sira* was Muhammad, who encouraged the believers to be loyal to God and to show mercy and generosity to the needy, orphans, the poor and the destitute. With the death of the Prophet, the message was continued through a series of companions, the most important being 'Ali, whose actions mirror those of Abraham and Muhammad. In effect, the various champions of *futuwwat*, from Abraham and Muhammad to 'Ali, offered the adherents of *futuwwat* a wider range of stories and anecdotes to illustrate the same fundamental message.

While the Garakani *futuwwat nama* advocates hospitality purely on spiritual grounds, in practice the tradition of *futuwwat* may well have emphasised hospitality as a means to ensure a greater degree of social security. Guests, travellers and all those who were unfamiliar (who might have been spying) were best received in the controlled environment of the *futuwwat khana* where the young men of the community gathered and could demonstrate the power and strength of their following, and in this way deter any threat or unrest. Here

the model of ‘Ali assumes significance because in the tradition of Islam and *futuwwat*, ‘Ali is an exemplar par excellence of bravery, selflessness and munificence.

The six chapters of the Garakani *futuwwat nama* establish *futuwwat* on an Islamic basis, with constant reference to the Qur’an, *hadith* and stories of pre-Islamic Prophets and episodes in the life of Muhammad. Moreover, the author envisaged *futuwwat* as a form of Sufism, as no distinction is made between the two; there is not even a suggestion that *futuwwat* is a part of Sufism (which is a claim made by most other medieval Sufi-*futuwwat* *namas*, including Suhrawardi). Although the treatise lacks a certain structural maturity, it is an excellent example of a piece of work that may have been composed by an author who was not so articulate and educated as Suhrawardi or Kashifi. The treatise was a piece of writing from someone within the tradition, a member of a *futuwwat* organisation who was also a Sufi – and as such manifests *futuwwat* as it was lived in the fourteenth century.

### *Suggested Reading*

- Breebaart, D. A. *The Development and Structure of the Futuwah Guilds*, Princeton University Doctoral Dissertation, 1961.
- Corbin, Henry ‘Introduction analytique’, in M. Sarraf (ed.), *Rasa’il-i jawanmardan*.
- ‘Juvénilité et chevalerie en Islam iranien’, *L’Homme et Son Ange* (Paris: Fayard, 1983), pp. 207–60.
- Lewisohn, Leonard ‘The sacred music of Islam: Sama‘ in the Persian Sufi tradition’, *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 6 (1997), pp. 1–33.
- Ridgeon, Lloyd ‘Javanmardi: origins and development until the 13th century and its connection to Sufism’, *Annals of Japan, Association for Middle Eastern Studies*, 21(2) (2006), pp. 49–74.
- Shehadi, Fadlou *Philosophies of Music in Medieval Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

---

# ***Futuwwat Nama of Mirza ‘Abd al-‘Azim Khan Qarib-i Garakani***<sup>38</sup>

---

Introduction

Chapter One: Confirming the Proof of the *Futuwwat* Clothing (*libas*) and its Origin

Chapter Two: Explaining the different kinds (*asnaf*) [of initiation]: the reality of initiation by the sword, by the verbal pledge and by imbibing salt water

Chapter Three: People who cannot wear *futuwwat* garments

Chapter Four: *Silsilas* for *futuwwat* garments and the Sufi *khirqa*

Chapter Five: Explaining whether *Sama‘* is permitted or prohibited

Chapter Six: The virtues and etiquettes of hospitality

---

In the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful

## **Introduction**

It is related that the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib, said, ‘I heard the Messenger say, “At the resurrection there will be two groups for the folk (*jama‘at*) who have been characterised by the name *futuwwat*.”’

[First,] the *futuwwat* of the resolute (*sabit-qadam*) and those true to their word (*sadiq al-qawl*), because they have traversed honestly [in] the path of God, Holy and Most High, and they have avoided what is hated (*makruh*) and have been constant in [their] resolution, just as the Glorious Word relates, ‘Among the believers, there are men who fulfilled what they pledged to God’ (33.23). When the trumpet is blown a group of angels will be present at the grave of each one. Holding gowns (*hulla*) of light and [the reins of] Buraqs,<sup>39</sup> the angels will greet them when they rise from [their] graves, and put the gowns on them, and they will ride on a mount beneath the banner of

Abraham and the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib. And the other group . . .<sup>40</sup>

The children of Jacob were ashamed and hung their heads low. Joseph said, ‘All of that was [due to] Satan’s whispering, otherwise how would a brother permit treachery upon a brother’s right?’ So, whoever is adorned with these attributes deserves the name *futuwwat*.

Third, in this [Qur’anic] chapter too, the Most High speaks about the right of Joseph’s treasurers: ‘*He said to his servants (fitiyanihi), “Put their merchandise in their bags”*’ (12.62). They are remembered by the name of *futuwwat* because they looked after the trust (*imamat*) and protected religion (*diyanat*).

Fourth, in the Qur’an, the chapter *al-Kahf*, the Most High speaks of the people of the Cave: ‘*When the youths (fityatu) took refuge in the cave, they said, “Our Lord, accord us from Yourself mercy, and guide us well in our affair”*’ (18.10).

Fifth, also in this chapter, the Most High says, ‘*They were young men (fityatu) who believed in their Lord and We increased them in guidance*’ (18.13). The secret (*sirr*) of *futuwwat* is the sentence ‘There is no god but God’ since the Truth – Most High – said in this chapter too, ‘*They were young men who believed in their Lord.*’ The people of the Cave discovered *futuwwat* by embracing faith (*iman*) and renouncing pleasures, carnal desires and love of fame, and looking after [their] dog<sup>41</sup> on the day of escape (*ruz-i farar*) without the invitation of the Prophets. Therefore, the Truth – Most High – honoured them with more guidance. So, whoever is created (*mustakhalq*) with these attributes is worthy of the name *futuwwat*.

Sixth, concerning Yush‘a b. Nun, the Most High says in this chapter too, ‘*When Moses said to this servant (fata), “I will not give up until I reach the confluence of the two seas”*’ (18.60). [The servant] was the son of Moses’ sister and he was generous and a helper (*amin*). When Moses went in search of Khidr he asked the tribes of Isra’il to let [Yush‘a] accompany [him] so that they could find Khidr. After that he sent him back, and made him a preacher and a helper for the tribes of Isra’il. After Moses’ death he attained to prophecy, he used to invite the Tribes of Isra’il [to religion] and taught [them] knowledge (*ilm*). Sixty thousand<sup>42</sup> people from the tribes of Isra’il celebrated his name, were busy in attaining knowledge, went to wage war, and they overcame most of the infidels. In this level God Holy and Most High remembered him [with the attribute] of *futuwwat* because of [his] upright conduct, protection [of his] love and [his] strength and courage, [just as] the Most High says, ‘*[Moses] said to his servant*

(fata), “Bring us food; we have been exposed in our travels to a lot of fatigue” (18.62).

Among all of the people whom the Truth – Most High – has remembered with the name *futuwwat*, there are three who were possessors of the clothes (*sahib-i libas*) and masters of invitation (*sahib-i da'wat*), and were designated to glorify the dervishes, give generously [their] wealth and prosperity, make grants to the poor and be of service to travellers. But the people of the Cave and Joseph's Treasurers did not acquire the clothes. [However], due to the praiseworthy character traits and pleasant acts that have been mentioned, the Truth Most High honoured and glorified them, and remembered them with the name of *futuwwat*, and He placed them in the category of *fatiyan*. Success is through God.

In addition, Moses the Kalim<sup>43</sup> asked His Excellency the Lord – Most High – ‘What is *futuwwat*?’ The answer came, ‘Turning the self towards Me in [a state of] purity.’ And one's purity is when [the self] is rendered pure from attachment to this world so that it can turn to His Excellency the All-Mighty.

Furthermore, the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib, said that the Prophet said, ‘*Futuwwat is five things: humility with wealth, forgiving the powerful, generosity [even] with small things, [offering] gifts without placing an obligation and advising the whole community.*’

Harith Muhasibi<sup>44</sup> said that *futuwwat* is being just without receiving justice [in return]. In other words, [people] do not embarrass or shame anyone, and they inspire the brothers to apologise for their sins.

### *Anecdotes (hikayat)*

Abu Hafs Haddad<sup>45</sup> said, ‘One of the brothers committed an offence against me. When I saw him my heart was filled with indignation. I apologised to myself [on his account] but my heart did not accept [the apology]. Even when I apologised to my heart seventy times, still it did not accept it. I said to myself, “Oh unfortunate and sad heart, your brother has committed an offence against you, and seventy apologies were offered, and still you won't accept [an apology]?” I got up and went to that brother's house and I made up with him (*insaf dadam*).’

And Fudayl ibn ‘Iyad<sup>46</sup> said, ‘*Futuwwat is forgetting the brothers' sins.*’

Abu Bakr Warraq<sup>47</sup> said, ‘*The fata is he who has no enemy,*’ in other

words, he is not busy with anything that causes someone to become an enemy.

‘Amr bin ‘Uthman<sup>48</sup> said, ‘Futuwwat is good character traits.’

Dhu al-Nun Misri<sup>49</sup> said, ‘Futuwwat is three things: giving food, propagating Islam and behaving well with [one’s] family.’ And he said, ‘Futuwwat is manifesting a blessing and keeping love a secret.’

Akhi Yusuf Tabrizi went to the Commander of the Faithful in Baghdad. The latter said to him, ‘Oh Yusuf. What is *futuwwat* in your opinion?’ He replied, ‘God knows best.’ The caliph said, ‘Of course, but tell me [your opinion].’ Brother Yusuf said, ‘In my opinion, *futuwwat* is that whatever you do not permit for yourself you should not permit for any creature, and whatever you allow for yourself you should also allow for others.’ In an instant, the Commander of the Faithful clothed him in the *futuwwat* garment (*libas*) that he was wearing and let him depart.

## Chapter [One]: Confirming the Proof of the *Futuwwat* Clothing (*libas*) and its Origin

When the incomparable Creator – exalted by His power – brought Adam, the chosen one, from the desert of non-existence to the plains of existence and honoured and glorified him among the creatures, He mixed his pure clay in His hand of power for forty mornings, ‘He mixed Adam’s clay for forty mornings.’<sup>50</sup> And when his blessed body was complete He attached His holy spirit to that blessed body: ‘When I have fashioned him and breathed into him of My spirit, fall down prostrating yourselves to him’ (15.29). Then God the Glorious and Most High sent Gabriel, Michael, Hushma’il with seven thousand angels to visit (*ziyarat*) Adam, and He blessed him with two [pieces] of clothing (*hulla*) from heaven: one was a green robe and the other was a sash (*izar*), and that is the origin of the *futuwwat* clothes (*libas*). They placed a throne (*takht*) of emerald on the spot of the Ka‘ba, and they say that it was the [same] size as the blessed *haram*. Adam, the chosen one, wore those garments and sat on the throne. The angels came in groups to visit Adam, and God Most High and Blessed sent down inspiration (*wahi*) to Adam: ‘Oh Adam! I have designated four blessings for you.’

First, I have brought you from the desert of non-existence to existence, and I have made the angels prostrate to you, as the Most High commanded, ‘prostrate yourselves to Adam’ (2.34).

Second, I have clothed you in the garments of *futuwwat*, as the

Most High says, *'Oh children of Adam, We have provided you with clothing and finery to cover your private parts. But the attire of piety is the best. Such are God's signs'* (7.25).

Third, I have allotted a garden (*jannat*) for you, as the Most High says, *'Adam, dwell you and your wife in the Garden'* (7.19).

Fourth, I have given you deputyship over everything on the earth, as the Most High says, *'I am placing a deputy upon the earth'* (2.28).

As a result of [Adam] transgressing the divine prohibition of eating wheat (*gandum*), the *futuwwat* clothing was stripped from his body and [Adam and Eve] were embarrassed by their nakedness, just as the Qur'an informs [us], *'Oh children of Adam, do not let Satan lead you astray as he drove your parents out of the Garden, stripping them of their clothes so as to show them their private parts'* (7.27). And they began searching for leaves with which to cover themselves. They say that no tree gave leaves to them except for the fig tree, as the Most High says, *'and they started to cover themselves with the leaves of the Garden'* (7.21). So they covered themselves in its leaves, and they descended to the lower world from the highest garden, as the Most High says, *'And We said, "Go down, being enemies one to the other. And you will have an abode and sustenance for a while"'* (2.35).

Adam prayed, and he cried for forty years and sought forgiveness until the Lord Most High, may His name be glorified, accepted his repentance, as the Most High says, *'then Adam received words from his Lord, Who forgave him'* (2.36). Gabriel came to Adam, the chosen one, from the Lord of the worlds and said, 'God, Blessed and Most High – sends you greetings and he said that he accepts your repentance and your begging for forgiveness.' Adam said, 'If my repentance has been accepted return that garment of mine which was the robe (*khil'at*) of His Excellency.' Gabriel went in an instant to the Garden of Eden, and he brought the *futuwwat* clothes with sixty thousand angels to Adam, the chosen one, and said, 'God – Mighty and Majestic – says that this piece of clothing is one of His signs.' The Most High says, *'these are God's signs, that they may take heed'* (7.25). And it is a root, most firm, so its branch will also be most firm, and he put that garment (*libas*) on Adam and said, *'Oh Adam, We hand on to some of you [then] to others,'* in other words, pass this *futuwwat* cloak (*jama*) from one to another, and on the basis of the eternal command entrust it to the ones who succeed you. So at the end of [his] life [Adam] made his son, the Prophet Seth, wear this garment, and he instructed him

much not to violate the rights [associated with] it. Twelve thousand angels were present, and were witness to this. Seth passed it on to Noah, and it came to Abraham Khalil<sup>51</sup> from Noah.

And it is reported that when the Messenger ascended on the Night of Ascent (*mi'raj*)<sup>52</sup> he saw a trunk of light and a key upon it in the seventh heaven. He asked Gabriel, 'Oh brother Gabriel! What is this trunk, and what is inside it?' He replied, 'Oh Messenger of God! In the [name] of God who sent you to the creatures as Messenger, I too do not know.' There came a command from the Almighty: 'Oh Gabriel! Open the trunk. There is one of My cloaks (*khil'at*) inside it. It is the clothing (*libas*) of *futuwwat*, and I have made it for My beloved, for you and for the select of your community since "*the garment of piety is the best*"' (7.26). And Gabriel put the garment on the Messenger. They say it was a white robe (*hulla*) and the Prophet wore it for a while and then he put it on the Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali ibn abi Talib. They relate from Imam Ja'far Sadiq<sup>53</sup> the reason that ['Ali] was made to wear [the cloak]. One day Hasan and Husayn were sick. The Commander of the Faithful and Fatima made a promise to God that they would fast for three days if God Almighty and Majestic cured [them]. God Almighty and Majestic cured them, and the Commander of the Faithful and Fatima prepared to fast [for three days]. In the evening the Commander of the Faithful brought [home] a little flour, and Fudda [the servant] made five small bread loaves; one each for 'Ali, Fatima, Hasan, Husayn and one for Fudda. When night fell, they performed their prayers and then they brought out the bread rolls to break the fast. A beggar came and said, 'Oh people of the [Prophet's] house (*ahl-i bayt*)! I have not eaten for two days. Have mercy [on me] so that God Most High may have mercy on you.' The Commander of the Faithful said, 'Feeding him takes priority because I have not eaten anything for one day.' So he gave his bread loaf to him, then Fatima, and Hasan and Husayn, and Fudda, at the permission of the Commander of the Faithful, gave the four bread loaves to the dervish, and they intended [to continue] the fast. On the second day, they made five loaves, and a beggar came just at the moment of breaking the fast, and he said, 'Have mercy on me that God may have mercy on you. I haven't eaten for three days.' The Commander of the Faithful said, 'He takes priority, for we haven't eaten for two days but he hasn't eaten for three days', and he gave his bread to the dervish. And with ['Ali's] permission the others also gave their bread to the dervish. In the same way, on the third day they gave [their bread] to a dervish, and they ate nothing. On the

fourth day, Gabriel came to the Messenger and he informed him of what had taken place, and he brought this verse regarding them, as the Most High says, ‘*and they give their food, despite their love for it, to the destitute, the orphan and the captive*’ (76.9). In other words, ‘Ali and Fatima decided to feed the dervish because of love for the Truth – Most Generous and High – ‘*We fear from our Lord a dark and dreadful day*’ (76.10), since we are scared from our God of a terrifying day which is the day of resurrection, ‘*but God will guard them against the evil of that day*’ (76.11). The Most High said, ‘*and reward them for their forbearance with a garden and silk*’ (76.12) and reward them for their forbearance in the [next] world with heaven and in this world with deputyship on the earth. When this verse was given to the Messenger, [Gabriel] said, ‘God the Blessed and Most High commands that you clothe the Commander of the Faithful and the Imam of the pious, ‘Ali ibn abi Talib, in the *futuwwat* clothing (*libas*).’ The Messenger was happy and went to the mosque and saw the Commander of the Faithful there, and he said, ‘Oh ‘Ali, I am coming to your house.’ He went with Abu Bakr,<sup>54</sup> ‘Umar,<sup>55</sup> ‘Uthman<sup>56</sup> and ‘Abbas<sup>57</sup> to the Commander [of the Faithful’s] house. The Commander of the Faithful was ashamed since he had nothing [to offer them]. When they reached his house, Fatima came out to welcome the Messenger. The Messenger said, ‘Oh light of my two eyes! We have come as guests. What do you have? Bring [us something].’ Fatima said, ‘Oh Messenger of God! There is nothing ready, but I will make something.’ The Messenger said, ‘Go and look in the house. Is there anything there?’ Fatima entered the house and saw a plate had been set and a cloth had been placed over it. She picked it up and gave it to the Messenger. There were ripe dates [on the plate] when they took off [the cloth]. The Messenger and his friends ate from the plate, and the more they ate the more they enjoyed the food. When they were eating a beggar came and started to beg. The Messenger shouted at him. Fatima said, ‘Oh Messenger of God! It is surprising that you shouted at the beggar.’ The Messenger said, ‘Oh Fatima! That wasn’t a beggar, it was Satan who had smelt the fruits of heaven and wanted to eat them. He was driven from heaven and the Truth Most High has made the fruits of heaven forbidden (*haram*) to him.’ When they finished eating the dates, the Messenger said, ‘There is good news for you, for God Most High has sent a verse on your behalf and He has allotted you the garment of *futuwwat* which is one of the cloaks (*khil’at*) of God Most High, and I wore this garment of *futuwwat* on the Night Ascent.’ After that he put it

on the Commander of the Faithful and said ‘*There is no youth (fata) except ‘Ali, and no sword except dhu al-faqar.*’<sup>58</sup> And *dhu al-faqar* belonged to the Messenger, and he instructed the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali, to keep the garment and give it the proper respect, and he explained about its virtue, and about the Tuba Tree<sup>59</sup> and the Lote Tree of the Furthest Boundary<sup>60</sup> – which is the resting place (*astana*) of Gabriel, and he explained to the companions the Tree of *Futuwwat*, its root and branches, which he had witnessed on the Night Ascent. All of the companions had gathered there. The Messenger gave permission that from this point the Commander of the Faithful could accept trainees (*tarbiya*), and cultivate the way of *futuwwat (tariqat-i futuwwat)*, since he was worthy of the *futuwwat* garment.

After that he put it on him and [his] friends congratulated him, and the Messenger indicated to Salman Farsi<sup>61</sup> and Bilal Habashi<sup>62</sup> that they should express a willingness to become trainees. And Khalid ibn Walid<sup>63</sup> was also willing and stood up so that the Commander of the Faithful could accept him. The Messenger said ‘Khalid, do you accept ‘Ali as a master (*sahib*)?’ He said, ‘Yes, Oh Messenger of God.’ [The Messenger] said, ‘On any point on religion (*din*) seek his approval, and don’t turn away if someone attacks.’ He said, ‘I will do [as you say] Oh Messenger of God.’ The Messenger tied the Commander of the Faithful’s sword to Khalid ibn Walid with his own blessed hand, and he gave *dhu al-faqar* to the Commander of the Faithful. After that, each one of the Companions expressed their willingness, one by one, [to become trainees]. Ja‘far Sadiq relates from his father and grandfather that on that day a hundred and sixty-two people among the faithful expressed their willingness to the Commander of the Faithful to become trainees. They performed prayers and the Commander of the Faithful clothed four people in the garment of *futuwwat*. The first was Khalid ibn Walid on the day of the victory at Khaybar.<sup>64</sup> On that day Khalid ibn Walid never left the side of the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali, and he defended him from any arrow or sword that they hurled, and he devoted himself to him. And at the fortification (*bisar*) there was a man whose name was Na‘im and he had a wife who was called Safiyya.<sup>65</sup> They say that in those days there was no one more beautiful than her. When the Commander of the Faithful killed Na‘im and saw that woman, he sent her with Khalid to the Messenger. They say that when Khalid took Safiyya to the Messenger he said, ‘Who is this, Oh Khalid?’ Khalid did not know whether she was male or female. When the Messenger saw Safiyya he put his mantle (*rida-yi khud*) on her

head and married her. After that, Khalid did not take for himself any of the booty that they divided up. On that day, the Commander of the Faithful clothed Khalid ibn Walid in the *futuwwat* garment and gave him permission (*ijazat dad*) to take trainees.

The second [person] that the Commander of the Faithful clothed in the garment (*libas*) of *futuwwat* was Salman Fars on the day of the Battle of Hunayn,<sup>66</sup> and it is related that the Arab tribes that had fled from the Islamic armies had gathered at Ta'if [having come] from the desert. And because the Messenger had gone to Mecca [the Arab tribes] wandered around the outskirts of Ta'if and they sought help to increase [their] numbers. They made a man from the tribe of the Hawazin and whose name was Malik bin 'Awf<sup>67</sup> their commander. Malik had gathered an army of about thirty thousand and he came [to a place] that was two days' journey from Mecca, called Hunayn, and they stopped there and brought together all the tents, animals, women and children so that they could not escape, and they [could] wage war.<sup>68</sup> Then the Messenger heard that the army had come, so he assembled [his own] army; about two thousand<sup>69</sup> had come from Medina, and there were about another two thousand composed of newly converted Muslims from Mecca whose hearts had not yet really warmed to being Muslim. The Messenger made Islam sweet in their hearts by bestowing something upon them, [and so] they call them 'those whose hearts have reconciled' (*mu'allafa al-qulub*). So the Messenger left with twelve thousand men<sup>70</sup> from Mecca. It was the seventh day of Shawwal and a Meccan was captured, and his name was 'Ubbad bin Usayd. The Messenger departed and on the way there was a big hill upon which 'Abbas bin 'Abd al-Muttalib<sup>71</sup> was positioned. He looked at the army and said, 'They cannot reproach us for being few in number. No one can dominate us because [of our] large numbers.'<sup>72</sup> The Messenger said, 'Oh Uncle! Don't say that. Say, "*Victory comes only from God, the Mighty, the Wise*"' (3.126).

Then they brought the armies face to face [but] the Muslim army fled as a result of the words that 'Abbas had spoken. [However] once more God Most High gave [them] a victory, as the Most High says, '*God gave you victory in numerous places and on the day of Hunayn when you were pleased with your large number, but it availed you nothing and the land became too straight for you despite its breadth whereupon you turned and fled*' (9.25). '*Then God sent down His tranquillity upon the Messenger and upon the believers, and He sent down soldiers that you did not see*' (9.26). He sent down an army from

heaven to destroy the enemy and when the Messenger faced the army of the unbelievers (*kuffar*), Malik bin ‘Awf drew up the army lines and had placed his children behind the ranks. The Messenger placed those two thousand men from Mecca further away, and he lined up with the believers. The Messenger sat on a white camel, ‘Abbas bin ‘Abd al-Muttalib had taken the reins of the camel, a foot guard was standing by, Abu Sufyan bin Harb<sup>73</sup> was standing behind the camel, ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib had drawn his sword in front of him and was pacing around, and Abu Bakr and ‘Umar were standing with the Emigrants (*muhajir*) and the Helpers (*ansar*). Suddenly the enemy army attacked and routed the Muslims. Of the ten thousand who were with the Messenger nine people remained with him: first Abu Bakr, second ‘Ali, third ‘Abbas, fourth ‘Abbas’s son, al-Fadl, fifth Abu Sufyan,<sup>74</sup> sixth Salman Farsi, seventh Rabi‘a,<sup>75</sup> eighth Abu ‘Ubayda,<sup>76</sup> ninth Usama bin Zayd.<sup>77</sup>

One of the infidels saw the Messenger and [began his] attack, but the Commander of the Faithful stopped and killed him. They fought in front of the Messenger, and many men from his army were killed. The people of Mecca whose belief in Islam was still weak, were happy and they said, ‘Muhammad thought that they are Meccan so he would kill them.’ Safwan bin Umayya,<sup>78</sup> who was a recent convert, (*naw musulman*) said, ‘*The magic is not working today*’, that is, Muhammad’s magic.

So when the Messenger saw that the enemy were winning, he said to ‘Abbas, ‘Oh Uncle! On the day of [the battle of] Uhud<sup>79</sup> the soldiers deserted me, just as they flee now, [but] they gathered together again at your call (*awaz-i tu*). Call them together again today.’ ‘Abbas called out loudly, ‘*Oh helpers of God and His Messenger! Where are those Companions of Allegiance (ashab al-bay’ia) and Companions of ‘Aqaba (ashab al-‘aqaba)? Where are the Companions of the Tree? Where are those Companions who swore allegiance to God and His Messenger under the tree?*’

Those among the Emigrants who had fled had headed for Mecca, and those among the Helpers who had fled had hidden in the Valley of Hunayn. When they heard ‘Abbas’s call, they came out from hiding and assembled into a group five thousand strong,<sup>80</sup> and they attacked [the enemy]. The Messenger dismounted from the camel, drew his sword and fought more [furiously] than any other person, and he said, ‘*I am a Prophet, not a liar. I am the son of ‘Abd al-Muttalib.*’

And they say that except for this, the Prophet only fought against his own soul, and the infidel army was routed. Many of [their soldiers]

were killed and their banner fell to the ground. Then Malik bin ‘Awf fled towards Ta’if where there was a solid fortress. He came out of there and let into the fortress anyone who was from the [tribes of] Hawazin and Saqif. He said to the bedouin tribes, ‘Flee to the desert and return to your tribes.’ The army of Islam chased them in all directions and they killed those that they captured, and they took as loot the riches, women and children. The Messenger sent a group of soldiers after those who took flight and another group to get the booty, and he made Salman Farsi the commander for this task because of his truthfulness and trust. Salman captured six thousand women and children. The Messenger set out to besiege Malik bin ‘Awf, and Mas‘ud bin ‘Umar guarded the booty with a thousand men. On that day the Commander of the Faithful clothed Salman-i Farsi in the *futuwwat* garment for his guarding of love and trust, and [his being prepared] to sacrifice his life for the Messenger. This was the reason behind Salman-i Farsi’s *futuwwat*.

The third person that he clothed [in the *futuwwat* garment] was Safwan bin Umayya on the day of the battle of Siffin.<sup>81</sup>

The fourth person that he clothed was Abu Darda<sup>82</sup> when he was dying. After the [time of the] Prophet, Abu Darda was sick, and the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali, had gone with the companions to visit [him]. They saw that he was on the point of dying. They shed many tears because he had served the Prophet much, and Abu Darda requested the *futuwwat* clothing from the Commander of the Faithful. He said, ‘Oh ‘Ali! I wanted to receive the *futuwwat* clothing (*libas*) from you when I was healthy, but I was afraid that I was not worthy of it. On the Day of Resurrection I shall be embarrassed and shameful before his excellency, the Prophet, and before you. Now that my life is at an end, I want you to give me the *futuwwat* clothing and to put me on the path of the young men (*fatiyan*). Perhaps though the honour of the blessed clothing and because of that noble post [i.e. *futuwwat*] God Most High will have mercy and forgive my sins so that I will be resurrected under your banner on the Day of Assembly.

The Commander of the Faithful dressed him in the *futuwwat* clothing and ‘Abd al-Rahman bin ‘Awf recited a *futuwwat* sermon (*khutba*), and [Abu Darda] drank the salt water, and he survived for three days. On the fourth day Abu Darda passed away. He had instructed that he should be washed in his clothes (*libas*) and placed into the grave in his clothes. There is no tradition that one should be put into the grave in one’s clothes.

## Chapter [Two]: Explaining the [Different] Kinds (*asnaf*) [of Initiation]: the Reality of [Initiation] by the Sword, by the Verbal Pledge and by Imbibing [Salt Water]

Know – may God glorify you in the two worlds – that there are three kinds (*qism*) of *futuwwat*: first is by imbibing [salt water]; second is verbal; and third is by the sword. The reality of all three is [that they are] one, for they are Muslim ways (*madhabib-i musulamani*).

But for the *fatiyan* there are three ways for *futuwwat*: some of them are [initiated] by imbibing, some by the verbal pledge and some by the sword.

### [The Reality of the Pledge by Imbibing Salt Water]

In the beginning, before the descent of prophecy in the time of the Prophet, Abu Jahl<sup>83</sup> attributed to himself the name of *futuwwat* in his childhood, and he used to invite the Meccan youths [to *futuwwat*], making it their custom. Their worship was such that whoever was so inclined would drink a cup of wine [that was given] by Abu Jahl, and the praise (*ibadat*) and inclination (*mayl*) of the trainee was to wine. About four hundred youths supported him, and they used to gather before him and engage in corrupt and disgraceful acts. Just like for Abu Jahl, there were youths who were followers (*hamzad-an*) of the Prophet, and who never left the side, day or night, of the Prophet, and they never associated with Abu Jahl's group. At that time they called the Prophet 'Muhammad Amin' (Muhammad the Safe). They were never absent, for just one moment, from his light-filled presence and his life-giving companionship. They never did anything without the command or order of the Prophet. When the Prophet was fourteen and the light of prophecy radiated from his blessed mien, those of the same age as his excellency asked the Prophet whether they could drink in the name of Muhammad, and they [expressed their] desire to him, and made him their leader. They explained this to the Prophet: 'May our bodies, our wealth and our souls be devoted to Muhammad. We want to drink to, and pronounce your blessed name, for the sake of *futuwwat*.' The Prophet said, 'I am not yet worthy of this way because, first, the *futuwwat* of the person who has not married is not proper, and it is not permissible for him to accept trainees.' He said, '*There is no futuwwat for the single man.*' 'Second, I am still young (*kudak*) and I have no worldly possessions. This path is hazardous and there are many conditions and rules in it. It is [a very] narrow

[path]. It was the way of my ancestor, the Friend (*khalil*) of God [Abraham]. Abu Jahl does not understand the root and reality of this way, and will fall into mischief.’ Until the Prophet married Khadija,<sup>84</sup> those of the same age as the Prophet went to him and they used to say, ‘Oh Muhammad! We are all your servants, and we devote our bodies and souls to you. We want you to accept us as servants and trainees because we have seen in you upright conduct, a good disposition, generosity and bravery.’

When the Messenger saw in them a true inclination, he accepted their request on the condition that there would not be wine in the path (*tariqat*), for wine obstructs the intellect (*‘aql*) and whatever obstructs the intellect is forbidden (*madhmum*). The nobility of humankind over other animals is through intelligence and speaking, and the thing that destroys intelligence and causes it to fall to the lowest rank, without a doubt is forbidden. He said, ‘Our drink is milk and salt’, and they produced a cup of milk, and with his blessed hand he poured a little salt into it. Those forty companions of the Messenger drank from his hand with complete love and desire [for him], and gave themselves [in] servitude to the Messenger. They surrendered their souls and wealth at the Messenger’s feet, and with all sincerity they offered themselves in servitude, and they explained to others and invited them to the virtue of the way (*husn-i sayrat*), and [described to others] the disposition and the companionship of the Messenger. Day and night, they were never separated from the life-giving companionship (*subbat-i janbakhsb*) of the Messenger, and they served those close to the Ka’ba, travellers to the shrines and the poor at Mecca. Because of this state of affairs, Abu Jahl became jealous (*ta’assub*) [of Muhammad and his followers] and he said, ‘Muhammad is starting something that has been my custom, and he seeks equality with me.’ And he commanded his friends, ‘Insult and fight the Messenger’s friends whenever you see them.’ Some of the Messenger’s friends wanted permission [to confront their enemies] but he did not give them permission, but told them to have forbearance.

One day Abu Jahl stood in front of the Messenger at the entrance to the Ka’ba, and he said, ‘Oh Muhammad! Aren’t you ashamed that you have appropriated the name of *futuwwat* for yourself? From where is your *futuwwat* derived?’ The Messenger said, ‘I am the *fata*, son of the *fata*.’ He said, ‘*Futuwwat* was given to my ancestors, and it appeared from the family of my ancestor, the Prophet Abraham. What good is there for you in this jealousy?’ [‘Abbas bin] ‘Abd al-Muttalib arrived there and he scolded them.

They say that one day the Messenger came outside with his companions, and Abu Jahl had gathered his companions [amounting to] four hundred young men. They charged towards the Prophet to fight him. The Prophet's friends also began to fight. Some were mutilated and injured, but the companions of Abu Jahl were put to flight. They fled to the glorious Ka'ba, and there was great unruliness among them. Every day there was fighting among the followers of Muhammad and Abu Jahl. The elders of Mecca could not prevent them [from fighting] on numerous occasions. Finally, the [elders] gathered together and said, 'Our children are getting mutilated and wounded because of this [conflict]. If Abu Jahl has a quarrel with Muhammad, they should wrestle, and *futuwwat* and greatness lies with the one who throws the other.'

They gathered on Saturday. Our Prophet was present with forty of his companions, and Abu Jahl came with four hundred followers, arrogant and swaggering, drunk and strutting around. The members of the Messenger's family and clans [including] Abu Talib, Hamza,<sup>85</sup> 'Abbas bin 'Abd al-Muttalib [all] said, 'Muhammad engages in asceticism day and night and is weak, and Abu'l-Hakam<sup>86</sup> is always busy in something disgraceful and drinking, and Muhammad cannot rebuff him.' The Messenger said, 'Oh Uncle! Even though I am weak, my God is my helper. If the truth is with me I say He will give me victory. If I am in the wrong, the victory will be with him.'

All of the Arab tribes had assembled and were standing [nearby], and Muhammad and Abu Jahl came face to face. Abu Jahl said, 'Oh Muhammad! Here, grab hold of me.' Muhammad said, 'You grab first.' Abu'l-Hakam, with the utmost arrogance, grabbed Muhammad's waist, and although he exerted much force he could not move the Messenger. One attack, two attacks, three attacks, and after that Abu'l-Hakam stood up. Muhammad grabbed the waist of Abu'l-Hakam, and in an instant he picked him up and threw him to the ground in such a way that he fell unconscious. Everyone was amazed. They picked up Abu Jahl and took him home. They say that he vomited blood for forty days [afterwards].

From the age of fourteen to forty, the Messenger followed the way of *futuwwat*, and revelation came when he reached forty and he became a Prophet. The first people to have faith were those forty who were the Messenger's followers.

When the Messenger reached the most remote mosque (*masjid al-aqsa*) on the Night of the Ascent, he dismounted Buraq and tied him to a ring of the door. Then he performed two cycles of prayer.

When he came out [of the mosque] Gabriel came up to him, two goblets in his hands, one full of milk and the other full of wine from heaven. The Messenger took the goblet of milk, just as he said: '*I came with Buraq, and he is a long, white beast, bigger than a donkey and smaller than a horse. I rode him until I reached the sacred house, and I tied him up there. Then I entered the mosque, and I recited two cycles of prayer. Then I came out and Gabriel approached me, with a cup of wine and a cup of milk. I chose the milk and Gabriel said, "You chose the nature (fitra)" and then he ascended into the heavens. And the Prophet spoke the truth.*'<sup>87</sup>

When he was beneath the tree with his companions and the Meccans, and they swore allegiance, he gave them milk with [a little] salt. Drinking it [symbolised] that they would not break the promise. And when the Prophet clothed the Commander of the Faithful with *futuwwat*, he gave him milk with salt to drink.

They say that after the death of the Messenger, the Commander of the Faithful was surrounded by infidels (*kuffar*) during a raid (*ghaza*). The Commander of the Faithful fought one of the infidels, and they struggled with each other for a long time. [Then] the infidel's sword broke, and he said, 'Oh 'Ali! Give me your sword.' In an instant, 'Ali gave his sword to the infidel. The infidel was surprised at this and said, 'Oh 'Ali! What you did was not the act of a wise man. I intend to kill you, yet you give me your weapon. Don't you realise that I will kill you?' The Commander of the Faithful said, 'The Messenger designated me for *futuwwat* among the companions and he said, "*There is no fata except 'Ali and there is no sword except dhu al-faqar.*" It is impermissible for me to reject your request. If I did not accept it, I would not be following the [duties] of *futuwwat*, and dying in one's path would be better than living [in a state] of unmanliness (*na-jawanmardi*).' At that moment the infidel dismounted his horse and professed faith, and expressed his devotion (*iradat*) to the Commander of the Faithful and he petitioned [to enter] *futuwwat*. The Commander of the Faithful accepted his request and said, 'Bring water and salt', and they brought it to him. Abu Darda was present among the companions there. He said, 'Oh Commander of the Faithful! You have made an innovation. You have used water instead of milk.' The Commander of the Faithful said, 'Oh Abu Darda! It is not an innovation since milk is not found in all places. Water is the substitute for milk, according to this verse, "*The two seas are not the same; one is sweet clear and delectable to drink and the other is salty and bitter*"' (35.12). The origin of the animals is water, for the Most High says, '*And We created everything*

from water' (21.30), and it purifies everything that is impure. It also cleanses the impurity of infidelity from within, and the flavour of most of God Most High's blessings is salt. If there is no salt the food spoils. So salt and water too are permissible, but it is better if it is milk.'

### *The Reality of the Verbal [Pledge]*

The origin of the verbal pledge is that when the Lord, Glorified and Most High, commanded the human essences to come forth from Adam's loins and it was asked of them, 'Am I not your Lord?' they all replied, 'Yes.' The Most High said, 'Am I not your Lord? And they said, "Yes"' (7.172). Some remained steadfast in that promise, and others violated it and said, 'No.' Of those who said 'No', some [later] said 'Yes', and some remained in 'No.' The group that did not turn away from that promise and remained faithful to it were the spirits of the Prophets (*anbiya*), Friends of God (*awliya*) and young men (*fatiyan*).

Those who said 'No' and then 'Yes' were the spirits of the wicked (*fasaqa*) who finally repent, and those who said 'No' and [then] did not say 'Yes' were the spirits of the infidels who remain in error and perdition. This is the promise that in the Prophet's time caused some to have faith in an instant when they heard it, and some denied it for a while but accepted it in the end. Some denied it permanently.

Those who had faith in an instant and had made an oath were loyal, such as Khadija al-Kubra, Abu Bakr al-Saddiq, 'Ali ibn abi Talib and Bilal Habashi.<sup>88</sup> And those who at first denied and then became Muslims in the end included 'Abbas, Abu Sufyan and Safwan. And those who remained in infidelity included Abu Lahab,<sup>89</sup> Abu Jahl, Utba, Shayba and others. And [there was] another group who pledged allegiance to the Messenger under the tree, and some [of them] violated that [pledge].

### **Anecdote [The Pledge Under the Tree]**

When the Messenger emigrated from Mecca and came to Medina, the Medinans became Muslims and there was much warfare. In the sixth year after the emigration, in the month of *dhu al-Qa'ada*, the Messenger said to his friends, 'We are going to Mecca to perform the *hajj* and the *'umra*.' Even though there were enemies en route they did not obstruct them. Until that time, the people of Mecca did not obstruct any enemy from performing the *hajj* and *'umra*. The Prophet set out with about 1,500 men, composed of Emigrants and

Helpers, and he commanded that no one should carry a weapon, so that the Meccans would feel safe. They all put on the pilgrim's garment (*ihram*), and when they arrived at Dhu al-Halifa, 'Umar bin al-Khattab said, 'Oh Messenger of God! The people of Mecca are at war with us. We will have a lot of problems, for they are seeking any opportunity. It is not right for us to proceed without weapons.' The Prophet saw the expediency of these words and he sent some people to bring weapons.

When the Meccans were aware of the Messenger's approach they all assembled together and came out of the city and prevented him from performing the *hajj*. They gathered in a place called Dhu Tuwa. The Prophet approached Mecca, but sent Khalid bin al-Walid on ahead with weapons. On the Meccan [side], 'Ikrama bin Abi Jahl<sup>90</sup> had come with more than five hundred soldiers, and he faced Khalid bin al-Walid, who attacked and defeated 'Ikrama, and he drove him back to the Meccans. Five hundred other men came to assist 'Ikrama, and Khalid bin al-Walid said the *takbir* 'God is great', and attacked and defeated them, and they returned to the Meccans. [Then] all at once the Meccan soldiers started to fight, and Khalid bin al-Walid and the companions fought back. God – Most Glorious and High – gave victory [to Khalid] and routed the infidel soldiers, and they fled back to Mecca.<sup>91</sup> The Prophet too, behind Khalid, went to a desert [that was located] to one side of Mecca and he wanted to enter Mecca [but] his camel sat down, and however much [the Prophet] tried, it would not move. The companions were astonished, and the Messenger said that the camel had been prevented from entering Mecca at the command of God Most High.<sup>92</sup> The Prophet ordered [his followers] to dismount, but there was no water there. The Meccans said [that] the Prophet's soldiers would all perish [in] that place for the companions needed water, and although there was a well there, it was old and no water was found in it. The Prophet gave [one of] his arrows to someone, and told him to shoot it into the well. When he shot it into the well, the water began to flow so much that it satisfied all the soldiers.<sup>93</sup>

After that the Meccans sent Budayl [bin Waraqa']<sup>94</sup> to the Messenger on a mission to find out what he had come for. When Budayl appeared before the Messenger, the Prophet said, 'I have not come for war. I have not come in enmity. I have come to [go to] God's house and to perform the *hajj* and 'umra.' The messenger [Budayl] returned to Mecca and reported the circumstances and said, 'I have seen many kings and rulers, but I have not seen any king possess that army and that dignity which Muhammad enjoys. If he gives the sign they all

give their bodies and souls, and when he spits it does not fall on the ground!’<sup>95</sup>

The Meccans were afraid when they heard this account and once more they sought to make peace with the Messenger, and the Prophet sent [Kirash b. Umayya al-]Khuza‘a<sup>96</sup> to them in Mecca. The troublesome ones of Mecca shot at Khuza‘a’s camel and killed it, and so he returned to Muhammad and told him what had happened. When night fell, two hundred Meccans<sup>97</sup> came and went around Mustafa[’s camp] until they found one of the Helpers, Zinaym, and killed him. When the Prophet became aware he sent two hundred people to look for them, and they went as far as the gates of Mecca. They captured four of their [Meccan] men and brought them to the Messenger. He did not kill them, but released them with kindness and magnanimity, and the Prophet sent ‘Uthman to the Meccans to make peace so that they would allow them to perform the *hajj* and *‘umra*.

When ‘Uthman reached Mecca the Meccans seized him and did not let him return. When the Prophet became aware that ‘Uthman had been seized he made plans to besiege Mecca. There was a large tree in that place which was called Samara. The Prophet stood in the shade of that tree and he swore allegiance to and made a covenant with the Emigrants and the Helpers,<sup>98</sup> and he made an agreement, just as the Glorious Word states, ‘*Allah was well pleased with the believers, when they paid you homage under the tree*’ (48.17). They intended to fight. The Meccans were fearful and so they released ‘Uthman and made peace with the Messenger. They also promised that the Prophet should return and come next year when the Meccans would leave the city, so that the Prophet and his companions could have the Great Ka‘ba for three days to perform the *hajj* and *‘umra*. Then the Prophet departed from that place.

So, the origin of the promise (*qawl*) appeared here, and this is the root of the verbal (*qawli*) [pledge]. From within this community that gave a promise and allegiance to the Messenger, [some] reneged and broke the agreement. Some were Muslims and became apostates. When the Prophet became aware of the apostasy he did not require them [to accept] Islam again, because those who take the verbal pledge may, whenever they wish, turn away from the master (*sahib*) to whom they have made the pledge, and they may incline to another master – in contrast to those who make the pledge by the sword (*sayfiyan*) – such as the group which was affiliated to Hamza. They had been followers of Hamza (*iradat bi-Hamza*), and then after that they were followers of the Commander of the Faithful. This was because the

affiliation to Hamza was verbal and the affiliation to the Commander of the Faithful was by the sword.

It is the way of the verbal pledge (*tariqa-yi qawliyan*) that the person who accepts the invitation of a perfect man and gives his word to a worthy trainer must [never] go back [on his promise]. But if it is for the sake of a blessing (*tabarruk*) one may put on new garments [bestowed] by a different master. And it is permissible to take another master if [the trainee] witnesses his [original] master perform something contrary to the way of *futuwwat*, or if there is a weakness in the chain of initiation (*isnad*).

In addition, it is permissible for those young men whose trainer and master is verbal (*qawli*) and whose approval (*ijaza*), lineage (*shajara*) and *futuwwat* clothing has come from the verbal pledge, to take the [*futuwwat*] clothing from another master for the sake of a blessing if the [second] master is more complete [than the first] in knowledge and practice. This discussion has been about the reality of the verbal pledge and its way. Success is through God.

### *Discovering the Reality of [the Pledge] by the Sword*

The origins of the pledge by the sword lie with the Commander of the Faithful, at the command of the Prophet. Until the sword verse [of the Qur'an was revealed] it was common that when someone entered Islam against their will, that person would subsequently apostatise. If this did indeed take place there was no decree that such a person should be compelled and tortured [for apostasy]. But then the *jarh* verse was revealed. Moreover, it was related that when the Prophet emigrated from Mecca and went to Medina (the community that had come with him was called the Emigrants, and the community that became Muslim in Medina was called the Helpers), the Emigrants and the Helpers sought permission from the Messenger to wage war with the infidels, but he did not allow [this]. When the verse '*fight the polytheists altogether*' (9.36) was revealed, he allowed the friends (*yanan*) to fight, so they went to Mecca and killed the infidels and the group who had not been faithful to their promise. Then the Prophet said, 'Oh 'Ali! From now on kill whoever is not faithful to his word and apostatises from Islam.'

They asked the Commander of the Faithful, 'What is the truth of the pledge by the sword?' He said, 'The truth is that in form (*dar surat*) one fights the infidel for the sake of the Truth Most High and he gives the Muslims victory. In essence (*dar batin*) one struggles with his self

and his desires.’ And on returning from fighting, the Messenger said, ‘*We have returned from the lesser jihad to the greater jihad.*’ This is the entire explanation of the kinds of *futuwwat*.

### Anecdote [Discovering from Whom Girding Originates]

Know that girding has its origins in Abraham. It is told that when Abraham had amassed much property and many possessions, and the [numbers of his] camels, mules and sheep passed all bounds, they said one day, ‘[If] God Most High has made this world loathsome (*madhmum*), and He has made the people of this world loathsome, why then is the Prophet Abraham busy with it? Oh God Most High! Why have you made him your friend (*khalil*)? How is it possible for love of this world to exist alongside love for God Most High?’ There came a voice: ‘Oh Gabriel. There is nothing in the heart except love for Me in My beloved. If you want to know, try [him?].’ Gabriel appeared in the form of a bedouin (*a‘rabi*) and from the top of a hill called out in a loud voice, full of passion, ‘*Glory be to God, praise belongs to God, there is no god but God, God is great.*’ When Abraham heard Gabriel’s cry he hurried to the mountain. He saw Gabriel in the form of a bedouin and he did not recognise him. He said, ‘Oh bedouin! Say that again, because you called the name of my God so well.’ Gabriel said, ‘If you want me to say it once more, promise to give me half of your property and possessions.’ Abraham said, ‘I promise by the might of that name of God.’ Gabriel called once more, with a strong voice, ‘Glory be to God.’ Abraham cried out loud and became unconscious. When he regained consciousness, he said, ‘Oh brother (*akhi*). May I be your humble servant. Repeat it once more.’ [Gabriel] said, ‘Give me the other half [of your wealth] and I will repeat it.’ Abraham said, ‘By the might of that God who has called me His friend I give it all to you. Everything that I have, small and large, I give to you, [if] you repeat it.’ And so Gabriel began to say, ‘Glory be to God, praise belongs to God ...’ Abraham said, ‘How well you remembered my God with sincerity, purity, inner clarity, and without hypocrisy. Now come and take what is your right,’ and he took Gabriel into his house and gladly and cheerfully gave him whatever he had, including cash, goods, sheep, camels and other things. Gabriel asked, ‘Have you given me everything?’ Abraham replied, ‘I have.’ [Abraham] said, ‘After [giving me] this, what provisions do you have for [your] children and family.’ He replied, ‘The name of my God is sufficient as a provider.’ Gabriel was astounded with the generosity of God’s friend. He said, ‘It is right that God, the Generous and Most High, has called you His

friend.’ He added, ‘Oh Abraham! I am Gabriel, and I have tested you. I don’t want to take anything.’ Abraham said, ‘Oh brother Gabriel! If you don’t need [these things] I don’t need them either, as I too depend on God Most High. How could I take back the gift, for I would immediately fall from *futuwwat*, and I do not consent to surrender the love of remembering my God.’ He said, ‘You are a witness that I have made a bestowment (*waqf*) of everything I have in the path of God, the Blessed and Most High upon the other destitute people, the poor, the beggars and the dervishes because ‘*He gave everything to the person who has everything.*’ He called Isma‘il and said, ‘Oh my child! A task has come our way, which makes it necessary [for us] to serve the poor and the destitute.’ Upon the blessed shoulders of the Friend (*khalil*) was a sash (*mayzar*)<sup>99</sup> made from the wool of that ram that had come from the garden as a sacrifice for Isma‘il. He took that sash with his blessed hands and put it on Isma‘il, and he said, ‘Oh Isma‘il! I have tied [the sash] around your waist so that you will be ready to serve the travellers, the dervishes and rich guests.’

### Another Anecdote

On the day of the Khandaq victory the Messenger girded the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali ibn abi Talib.

When the Prophet was in Medina, and all the Medinans had become Muslims, they invited the Arab tribes around Medina [to Islam]. They plundered [the property] of whoever did not accept the faith, and they sped on towards Mecca, and killed Meccans and scattered the Jews of the Banu Nazir. Huyayy bin Akhtab and Kinana bin abi'l-Huqayq<sup>100</sup> were [the leaders] of two great tribes, and they fled to the fortress of the Banu Qurayza and the fortress of Khaybar.<sup>101</sup> The Banu Qurayza had made an agreement with the Prophet. But a year later Huyayy bin Akhtab went to Mecca with several individuals from the Banu Qurayza to see Abu Sufyan, the leader of Mecca, and they complained of the Prophet, and they agreed that they should all gather at Medina and wage war, and all the Arab tribes would assemble. God Most High sent down a verse, and made the Prophet aware of the army’s approach: ‘*Have you not considered those who receive a portion of the book? They believe in idols and demons*’ (4.51).<sup>102</sup> So the Messenger called together the companions and told them about the approach of the army and consulted with them to decide the best policy. ‘Abdullah bin Ubayy<sup>103</sup> said, ‘Let us leave the city,’ and others said, ‘Let us cut some thorns and strew them around the fortress so that they cannot pass.’ Salman-i Farsi said, ‘Oh Messenger of God! In

Fars it is the custom that when a large army comes, the Persian kings dig a ditch around the fortress so that no one can leave and the enemy cannot enter the city.<sup>104</sup> The Messenger approved of this policy and he said, ‘We will do just this!’ This was on a Friday at the beginning [of the month] of Sha‘ban in the fifth year of the *hijra*. The Messenger girded [Salman] with the sash (*mayzari*) and said, ‘In accordance and in conformity with my [fore]father Abraham.’ He drew a line around Medina with his own blessed hand, and he gave an axe to the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali, and he took his own sash (*mayzar*) and tied it around ‘Ali. He said, ‘Just as my [fore]father the Prophet Abraham girded his son Isma‘il, I gird you to serve the dervishes and the poor, in the interests of the Muslims and to prevent the evil of the infidels.’ After that, the Messenger sat on a rock and cut a piece of leather into long strips, and Abu Bakr girded the Medinans with these [because they had been] digging the ditch. The Prophet said, ‘When forty Muslim believers are girded for a [special] task in the interests of religion, God Most High makes that task easy through His bounty and mercy.’

### Anecdote

They say that when they poisoned the Commander of the Faithful, Hasan, and his liver became weak, his brother Husayn sat by his pillow and said, ‘Oh my dear brother! Tell me who did this to you so that I can cut off his head. Such treachery was possible on the family of the Prophet!’ He said, ‘Oh Husayn! I am an advocate of *futuwwat*. If I tell you, I will have become an informer (*ghammazi*), and then I will have fallen from the rank of *futuwwat*. How could I then look at my father’s face and my ancestors when I die and on the Day of Resurrection?’ Then he died.

## Chapter [Three]: People who Cannot Wear *Futuwwat* [Garments]

Know that there are eight groups (*ta’ifa*) for whom *futuwwat* is utterly impermissible, unless they repent.

The first is a gossip (*ghammazi*), for in principle *futuwwat* is incompatible with the gossip because the Prophet said, ‘*My intercession is forbidden for three groups: those who seduce others, those who associate with gossipers and those who make trouble between friends.*’

Second, a tell-tale (*nammam*), that is, a gossip, is not tolerated because the Prophet’s intercession is forbidden for the tell-tale, just

as the Most High says, ‘*Gossiper, going around, bearing calumny*’ (68.11), and in another place [the Qur’an] says, ‘*Woe unto every gossiper and slanderer*’ (104.1). In Moses’ time there was a drought and a great famine. Several times [the people] had offered prayers for rain, but [their prayers] were unanswered and still the rain did not fall. In the end a voice (*wahi*) came to Moses. ‘Oh Moses! I will not accept your prayer for as long as there is a tell-tale among you.’ He said, ‘Oh God! Who is it that we should cast out of our community?’ He said, ‘Oh Moses! I am the enemy of the gossiper, so how should I tell tales?’ Moses said, ‘We will all repent,’ and they did so. Finally it began to rain.

Third is the person who scorns (*mi‘yar*) the means of earnings, for the *futuwwat* of such a person is, in principle, incorrect because *futuwwat* is based upon two things: the first is causing comfort to people, and the second is giving the brothers relief from their burdens (*takalluf*). If someone who scorns the earning that comforts people – and mankind must eat and wear clothing – does not earn [a living] then he must beg (*su‘al*), and begging is impermissible in *futuwwat*. If someone has a little worldly wealth and scorns earning, then know for sure that it will soon be spent and then he will become reliant on others.

Fourth, jealousy and miserliness is also utterly impermissible, because the Truth Most High said, ‘*He is indeed prosperous who is guarded against the avarice of his soul*’ (59.9). And the Prophet said, ‘Do not be miserly. The people before you who perished, died because of miserliness.’

In addition, the great Imam, Abu Hanifa,<sup>105</sup> said, ‘I do not consider the miser a lawful witness (*ta‘dil nakunam*) and I do not listen to his testimony.’ Yahya bin Zakariya said, ‘I saw Iblis, and I asked him, “Who do you like the most? And who do you dislike the most?” He said, “I prefer the ascetic miser (*zahid-i bukhil*) who is in the agony of death. He worships [but] miserliness obliterates it. And I dislike most the generous sinner (*sakhi-yi fasiq*) because [even though] he increases his pleasure today I fear that God Most High will be merciful to him because of [his] generosity and repentance.”’

Fifth is having a dark (*asfar*)<sup>106</sup> complexion. The Prophet said, ‘*Anyone who has a dark complexion is unfortunate except ‘Ali.*’<sup>107</sup> So those with a dark complexion are not suitable for *futuwwat*. This is because there must be a felicitous meeting (*didar-i mubarrak*) with the master of *futuwwat* because the desire, love and amity for masters comes before and after [everything else]. In other words, when [men

of *futuwwat*] rise at dawn, they look at the master's face in order [to receive] a blessing (*mubarraki*), and when they look at the brother it is like seeing the full moon.

Sixth is the innovator, and his belief is not that of the *ahl-i sunnat wa jama'at*.<sup>108</sup> *Futuwwat* is not permissible for him. They asked the Commander of the Faithful, 'In whom is *Futuwwat*?' He said, '*He who believed whatever the companions and the righteous predecessors believed.*' So, the desire for an innovating master is impermissible; moreover, liking [the innovating master] is also impermissible, and the Prophet said, 'There is no booty for innovators, and it is permissible to avoid and reproach them because there is shame in [innovation] and [innovators] stray from the path of religion.'

Seventh, the person who is born imperfect, either blind, deaf or lame, is definitely not suitable for *futuwwat* based upon analogy because the Prophet said, '*All the imperfect are cursed.*' Whoever should be cursed is not worthy of *futuwwat*, for *futuwwat* is the origin of good. So [the man of *futuwwat*] must have a good condition (*wajh*). And in addition it is said, '*Seek the good from those who have a good condition.*'

It is related that one day Jesus passed some children who were playing. One of them was blind and he had sat down in a corner and was feeling sad because of his blindness. Jesus had mercy on him and he prayed, 'Oh God! Let him see.' And God made him see. He got up when he could see, and went amongst the children and started to hit them. He scared them and harmed some of them. He hurt others [by] calling them names. Jesus saw what he was doing and he realised that the boy's lack of sight was more expedient than [bestowing] sight upon him. In an instant he regretted [his prayer to God] and he asked [God] for forgiveness and said, 'Oh my God and Master! You are the independent Creator and the One possessing absolute power. You know better the expediency of everything. You know the secret and hidden things.' He prayed so that the boy became blind once more.

Eighth, *futuwwat* is not for the hermaphrodite (*tanjir*), and neither for a woman, because the two are the same. The hermaphrodite is the person who is neither a man nor a woman, and is imputed to [engage] in shameful acts, which are despised among men. And there is no *futuwwat* for women because the Prophet said, '*They are incomplete in intelligence and in religion.*'<sup>109</sup>

There are other people too for whom *futuwwat* is impermissible because they have no beard. This is because the Prophet said, '*No*

*futuwwat, no man.*' First, [God] gave *futuwwat* to Adam. When the Truth brought Adam and Eve from the hiding of non-existence to existence there was no beard on his face, and they say that Eve did not respect him, nor was she afraid. Adam complained, 'Oh God! Eve does not respect me.' God Most High granted Adam a beard, and when Eve saw Adam's blessed beard, fear and wonder fell into her heart, and after that, without saying anything, she had such modesty before Adam that they say she never spoke a word to his face, and she never smiled in front of his beard.

In addition, there is no *futuwwat* for the unmarried man (*mard-i 'azab*) because the Prophet said, 'There is no *futuwwat* for the single person,' unless he has mortified his carnal soul (*nafsash*) for the satisfaction of the Truth, [and] on that day he is worthy of *futuwwat*.

In addition, *futuwwat* is not permissible for the slave until he is free, for he is the property of another.

In addition, *futuwwat* is impermissible for people who are wine drinkers, unless they repent, because the Prophet said, 'It is as if the repentant sinner has no sin.'

It is related that there was a city at the edge of the sea and it was the custom there that the people would make their king for one year the person whom they found first on New Year's Day at the gate of the [city] walls at the edge of the city. They would not refuse his commands and prohibitions. When the one-year period was over, they would take the king and cast him on an island in the sea, and they placed there provisions that would last for three days, and they themselves returned [to the city]. [The king] would die of hunger, thirst or grief. By chance they saw a wise man outside the city by the gate at the beginning of the year, and they made him king. When he realised that he would be abandoned on the island when the year came to an end, he ordered that boats be built and he sent them to the island. And the people built pavilions there, and he sent servants and beautiful slave girls. He gathered provisions and stores and made the surroundings plentiful. When the year came to an end, the people took him to the island and left him there and [then] returned to the city. [But] he had previously sent his provisions [to the island], and so he prospered. In the same way, when the wise man in this world realises his place is a tomb, he must do likewise and get ready his houris, servants and provisions. Shaykh Awhadi<sup>110</sup> said:

If you won't sit with him for a while, what then can I do?

If you don't save yourself, what then can I do?

He is nearer to you than [your] jugular vein.<sup>111</sup>

[If] you don't have the eyes to see, what then can I do?

## Chapter [Four]: [Silsilas for Futuwwat Garments and the Sufi Khirqa]

When Adam descended to the earth, he taught each one of his children a service (*khidmat*) and a trade (*san'ati*). Each one had a specific service except for Seth.

When Adam's life drew to an end, and when he knew that he would be transported from the temporary realm to the subsistent realm, he called each of his children to him. He expressed [his will] that they should be inclined to their work. Adam regarded Seth in a different way, [that is, Adam] looked with pleasure on him, because the whole of [Seth's] heart was occupied with the tasks of the next world. He was celebrated in the path of the Prophets and the Sufis, and the light of purity shone from his inside, and he sought the next world and felicity. [Adam] said, 'I do not think any task or trade is worthy for Seth, except for that pertaining to the clothes of *futuwwat*, for God Most High gave me the [*futuwwat*] garment and it illuminated and embellished me.' And Adam prayed for Gabriel from the Lord Most Blessed and High, and in an instant, Gabriel came to the Prophet Adam with sixty thousand angels. He paid homage to Seth and he put on him the *futuwwat* garment and [Adam] made his [last] will, and the angels and Gabriel were witnesses to the homage paid to Seth and his pledge to the conditions of the *futuwwat* garment. After that Adam passed away and Seth the Prophet clothed Noah [in the *futuwwat* garment], and at the time of the storm Noah had worn that *futuwwat* garment in the ark. Since the whole world was flooded, all [those] creatures perished that were outside from the ark. The Prophet Noah was afraid that this was due to a curse (*du'a-yi bad*) that he had uttered.<sup>112</sup> He said, 'Oh God! I have made a mistake and committed a sin. I have uttered a curse, and all [those] creatures have perished because of my curse. Forgive what I have done. In consideration of this *futuwwat* in which you clothed my father, Adam, don't be angry with me.' A voice called out, 'Oh Noah! What you have done was unworthy of manliness (*muruwat*). I would have killed you, but you swore an oath to Me on the *futuwwat* clothing.' [*Futuwwat*] passed from Noah to Shem, and from Shem to Faruq, and from Faruq to Qaydar. In Qaydar's times there were many circumstances (*ahwal*), too many to discuss here. When Qaydar died, the clothing returned to heaven.

When Abraham bequeathed all of his sheep, as has been described, Gabriel came and said, ‘Oh Friend of God! You have used your property in the path of God. God Most Great and Majestic has sent you a garment, which is *futuwwat*,’ and he clothed the Prophet Abraham in the garment of *futuwwat*. Abraham clothed his son Isaac, and Isaac clothed Isma‘il. And it reached Joseph from Isaac, then it went from Joseph to ‘Ad, and from ‘Ad to Shu‘ayb, from Shu‘ayb to Jonah, from Jonah to Zayd, from Zayd to Fa‘al, from Fa‘al to Yush‘a bin al-Nun, from Yush‘a to the children of Isma‘il, [the first of whom was] called Ka‘b.<sup>113</sup> None of these that have been mentioned wore the garment except for Adam, Seth, Noah, Abraham, Joseph and Yush‘a bin al-Nun. But it is well known that it was passed on to those persons that have been mentioned, and until God gave them permission, they did not wear it. From Ka‘b it came to Murra, and from Murra to Kilab, from Kilab to Qusayy – who was called Zayd – and it went from son to son after Qusayy until it reached ‘Abd al-Manaf. ‘Abd al-Manaf had four brothers but he was the best of them, and they used to call him Qamar. Qusayy was the leader of Mecca.

[The practice of] flying the flag is derived from Qusayy, and whoever becomes the chief (*mahtar*) does four things: the first is the administration of the poor tax (*zufada*, [*rifada*]), the second is lighting the fire (*nayyaran*), the third is [flying] the flag and the fourth is leadership of the council (*nadwa*).

The administration of the poor tax comes from when *hajjis* left ‘Arafat<sup>114</sup> and were hungry, and they came to Muzdalifa in the middle of the night.<sup>115</sup> Qusayy made food for them so that all the *hajjis* would become full, and he would give provisions and a camel to any impoverished person, and he would give clothes to the naked.

*Nayyaran* comes from when the *hajjis* returned from ‘Arafat and it was dark; they would light great fires on the mountain tops so that the *hajjis* would be able to return to Mecca from the light of the fires.

*Liwa* is a white flag. They carried it to ‘Arafat.

*Nadwa* is a place near to the sanctuary (*haram*) and the Arab tribes, and the people of Mecca gathered there whenever there was an important issue to discuss. And they called that house *dar al-nadwa*. These four things *zufada* [*rifada*], *nayyaran*, *liwa* and *nadwa* originated from Qusayy. ‘Abd al-Manaf was the chief after Qusayy, and he respected these four customs and gave all the *hajjis* food. ‘Abd al-Manaf had four sons; the first was ‘Abd al-Shams, the second was Hashim, the third was Muttalib and the fourth was Nawfil. The wisest and most

generous and munificent was Hashim. When he was dying, ‘Abd al-Manaf declared his will to Hashim, [saying], ‘These are important things, and I do not see anyone more generous and munificent than you. I entrust to you this way of *jawanmardi* and hospitality to *hajjis* and respecting travellers. Take care that you respect this duty.’ And he entrusted him with the leadership (*mahtari*) and *futuwwat*, and Hashim was greater than his father in status and magnanimity. When Hashim passed away [the trust] passed to ‘Abd al-Muttalib. The light of prophecy and the tree of *futuwwat* passed to ‘Abdallah, and then passed to his excellency the Messenger. This is the lineage of *futuwwat* from Adam, the chosen one, to his excellency Mustafa. There is a group that is deficient in the understanding of this meaning.

Abu’l-Qasim, Muhammad son of ‘Abdallah, son of ‘Abd al-Muttalib, son of Hashim, son of ‘Abd al-Manaf, son of Qusayy, son of Kilab, son of Murra, son of Ka‘b, son of Lu‘ayy, son of Ghalib, son of Fihri, son of Malik, son of al-Nadr, son of Kinana, son of Khuzayma, son of Mudrika, son of Iliyas, son of Mudar, son of Nizar, son of Ma‘add, son of ‘Adnan, son of Adad,<sup>116</sup> son of Al-Yas‘a,<sup>117</sup> son of Al-Himyas‘a,<sup>118</sup> son of Salman and Salaman<sup>119</sup> son of Al-Layth,<sup>120</sup> son of Hamal,<sup>121</sup> son of Qaydar,<sup>122</sup> son of Isma‘il, son of Abraham, the Friend of God (may God bless them all). Connecting (*miyan-i*) Abraham the Friend there are twenty-eight generations, twenty-one from the Arabs and seven from non-Arabs.<sup>123</sup> Abraham, son of Azar, son of Tarukh,<sup>124</sup> son of Sharu‘,<sup>125</sup> son of Ar‘awi,<sup>126</sup> son of Qalagh,<sup>127</sup> son of ‘Amar,<sup>128</sup> son of Salih,<sup>129</sup> son of Arfakhshadh,<sup>130</sup> son of Sam, son of Nuh (peace be upon him), son of Kumal, son of al-Manusalakh and he is Ukhnukh, son of Ziyad, son of Hala, son of Qaniyan, son of al-Hush and the Prophet Idris, son of al-Turab. This is the lineage of the gates of the Prophet.

But the mother of the messenger (peace be upon him) was an Arab, and her name was Amina, daughter of Wahab, son of ‘Abd al-Manaf. The [maternal] ancestors of the messenger (peace be upon him) were six. Three were called ‘Atika. ‘Atika daughter of Murra, [‘Atika] the mother of Hashim and ‘Atika the daughter of Waffas, the mother of Wahab. And the Prophet was always proud [and said]: ‘*I am the son of the ‘Atikas*’. And three of them were called Fatima: Fatima the daughter of Sa‘d the mother of Qusayy; Fatima the daughter of ‘Amr the mother of Asad; and Fatima the daughter of Asad the mother of ‘Ali ibn abi Talib (may God glorify him).

They say that 1,200 years passed between Adam and Noah (peace be upon them), and 1,042 years passed between Noah and Abraham,

and 565 five years passed between Abraham and Moses, and 569 years passed between Moses and David, and 1,205 years passed between David and Jesus, and 605 years passed between Jesus and Muhammad. So in total 6,426 years elapsed. After the messenger Abu Bakr (may God be satisfied with him) became the caliph for two years, three months and eight days. After him, ‘Umar was the caliph for ten years, six months and seventeen days. After him ‘Uthman was caliph for eleven years, eleven months and nineteen days. After him the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali was the caliph for six years, eleven months and twelve days. After him, Mu‘awiya<sup>131</sup> was the caliph for twenty-four years. After him, Yazid<sup>132</sup> son of Mu‘awiya [was the caliph] for three years.<sup>133</sup>

So then *futuwwat* clothing ...<sup>134</sup>

### *[Initiation with Futuwwat Clothing]*

Amir Hasan initiated Amir Husayn Farari [with *futuwwat* clothing], who initiated Abu’l-Hasan Najjar, who initiated Abu’l-Fadl bin Burhan, who initiated Suliman, who initiated Shaykh Shibli, who initiated Fadl bin Ziyad Qari, who initiated Malik Abi Kajar,<sup>135</sup> who initiated Amir Awi, who initiated Nasir al-Din bin abi Na‘ja, who initiated Sayyid Abu ‘Ali, who initiated Muhanna-yi ‘Alawi, who initiated Na‘man bin al-Yan, who initiated Shaykh Abu’l-Qasim, who initiated ‘Abdallah, who initiated Baqa’ bin al-Tabbakh, who initiated Abu’l-Hasan, who initiated Abu Bakr, who initiated ‘Umar Rahad,<sup>136</sup> who initiated ‘Abdallah bin al-Qayyir, who initiated Amir ‘Ali ibn al-Za‘im, who initiated Akhi Salih,<sup>137</sup> who initiated Ahmad bin al-Husayn, who initiated Akhi ‘Ali ‘Uryan, who initiated Akhi Sadiq, who initiated Shuja‘ al-Zanjani – who was one of the shaykhs of the path (*tariqa*) – who initiated Akhi Yusuf Tabrizi (God’s mercy upon him), who initiated Akhi Husam al-Din, who initiated Akhi Kamal al-Din Hasan bin Yusuf, who initiated Sayyid Taj al-Din Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Rifa‘i.<sup>138</sup>

...<sup>139</sup>

### *[Initiation with the Sufi Khirqah]*

was initiated by his maternal uncle Najm al-Din ... and Ahmad bin ‘Ali al-Rifa‘i was also initiated by Sayyid Qutb al-Din Abu’l-Hasan ibn ‘Abd al-Rahim al-Rifa‘i, who was initiated by Sayyid Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Rifa‘i, who was initi-

ated by his paternal uncle Sayyid Mahazhzhah al-Din ‘Abd al-Rahim ibn al-Rifa’i, who was initiated by his brother Sayf al-Din ‘Ali ibn Rifa’i, who was initiated by the Sultan of the Poor, our Master and our Friend, Muhi al-Din Ahmad Kabir, who was initiated by Shaykh ‘Ali bin al-Qari al-Wasiti, who was initiated by Abu Fadl ibn Kamakh, who was initiated by Shaykh ‘Ali Badpa’i, who was initiated by Shaykh Abu ‘Ali Ghulam Turkan, who was initiated by Sari al-Saqati, who was initiated by Ma’ruf al-Karkhi, who was initiated by Dawud al-Ta’i, who was initiated by Habib al-‘Ajami, who was initiated by Hasan al-Basri, who was initiated by the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali ibn abi Talib who was initiated by his excellency Mustafa. After this, whoever is a follower of *futuwwat* must be continually obedient in order for his heart to remain luminous (*rawshan*) and for him to remain sinless.

If you do not want to waste your good life  
Don’t say anything but good things to the elite or the common people.  
And don’t say anything except to the person  
Who can benefit from you or if you can benefit from him.

If you want good from the world  
It is sufficient if you do one of these two things;  
Either give to someone the benefit that you know,  
Or take from someone the benefit that you don’t know.

### **Anecdote**

They relate that ‘Abdallah Khafif had two disciples who served him. One was Ahmad Kah and the other was Ahmad Mah, and they always attended to the shaykh. But the shaykh’s favour was greater towards Ahmad Kah. A group of companions asked, ‘Ahmad Kah is your disciple and servant along with Ahmad Mah, and both of them are equal in obedience, work and service, but you always favour Ahmad Kah, and your blessed consideration is directed towards him.’ He replied, ‘If you want to know the reason, you should test Ahmad Mah when Ahmad Kah is not around.’ He said, ‘Ahmad Mah! Take my camel onto the roof.’ Ahmad Mah said, ‘Oh shaykh! How can a camel go onto the roof?’ After that the shaykh said, ‘Call Ahmad Kah,’ and they called him. He said, ‘Ahmad Kah! Take my camel onto the roof,’ and in an instant he fetched the camel and led it to the bottom of the ladder. The shaykh said, ‘Ahmad Kah! Do you think that a camel can go on the roof?’ Ahmad Kah said, ‘Oh shaykh! I wanted to carry

out your command [so] what is the use of complaining?’ The shaykh said to his companions, ‘You see the pure sincerity of Ahmad Kah? It is greater than that of Ahmad Mah. For this reason my inclination towards him is greater.’

Take some advice and make an effort, just for a few days.

So that you may die before you die, just for a few days.

This world is nothing but an old hag, so it is better

Not to associate with her, just for a few days.<sup>140</sup>

The Friends of God are always hoping for death because this world is the believer’s prison. The Prophet remarked, ‘*This world is the believer’s prison and the garden of the unbeliever.*’ Mawlana<sup>141</sup> observed,

Others have wanted a reprieve from death.

The lovers say, ‘No, no! It must come soon.’

## **Chapter [Five]: Explaining whether *Sama*‘ is Permitted or Prohibited**

Know (may God glorify you in the two worlds) that there is a secret for the Truth, Blessed and Most High, in the human heart. [This secret] is hidden in the same way that fire is [concealed] in iron. When [iron] strikes a stone [a spark of] fire is yielded and [fire] appears in cotton. In the same way a pleasant and harmonious voice excites the jewel of the heart, and something appears there even without the individual wishing it:

I do not know, brother, what makes ecstatic melody

Without I also know who may the listener be.<sup>142</sup>

‘A’isha<sup>143</sup> related that on a holiday the negroes<sup>143</sup> were singing something and dancing in the mosque. The Prophet asked if she wanted to see [them], and she said ‘yes’. He stood at the door and held out his hand, and she rested her chin on his hand and watched. Then he said, ‘This is enough.’ But she said, ‘No.’ This is a reliable report. From this report there are five things that become clear: first, that playing (*bazi*), amusement (*lahw*), and watching [the *sama*‘] on occasion are not legally forbidden; second, that they all did it in a mosque; third, according to the report, the Prophet took [her] to that place; fourth, in the beginning he asked ‘A’isha if she wanted to watch; fifth, he stood

with ‘A’isha for a long time. So it is clear that the suitability of such acts is good with God Most High.<sup>144</sup>

In addition, ‘A’isha related that two female servants played the drum (*daff*) near her and they were enjoying themselves on a holiday. The Prophet came, and lay down in [his] night clothes and turned in the opposite direction. Abu Bakr came in and tried to stop them, and he said, ‘These flutes (*mazmar*) and drums in the Prophet’s house are the work of Satan.’ The Prophet said, ‘Leave them alone, for it is a holiday.’ So it is clear that playing the *daff* and enjoying oneself is permissible and lawful according to this tradition, and there is no doubt because the Prophet heard it.<sup>145</sup>

But there are five circumstances when it is forbidden (*haram*); first is when [someone] listens to the *sama’* that is sung by a woman or a youth, for then it is a place for passions where Satan whispers in one’s ear.

Second is when there are forbidden (*haram*) instruments like the lute (*chang*), lyre (*barbat*) and the Iraqi flute (*nay-yi ‘iraqi*). These instruments (*rud-ha*) are forbidden, not because they produce pleasant sounds, but rather, if someone plays unharmoniously (*na-maw-zun*) it is forbidden, contrary to the *shahin* drum, and the *daff* drum even if it has bells around it – which is not forbidden.

Third [is] when there is satire or a taunt on the people of religion, like that in the poetry of the Shi‘ites. But it is not forbidden if there is [mention of] the tress,<sup>146</sup> the mole,<sup>147</sup> beauty, connection and separation. It is forbidden when imagined in a *haram* fashion:

I do not know, brother, what makes ecstatic melody  
Without I also know who may the listener be.

Fourth, it is permissible (*mubah*) when the common people perform the *sama’* for pleasure (‘*ishrat*) and out of custom (‘*adat*), on the condition that they do not make it a habit and they do not persevere [in its practice].

Fifth, it is blameworthy (*madhmum*) in the singer’s heart when a person loves someone and seeks [to satisfy his sensual] desire, and that fire becomes stronger when he performs the *sama’*. So the *sama’* is forbidden for that person unless he loves someone who is permitted [for him] by the *shari‘a*.

But there may be a praiseworthy attribute in the heart which the *sama’* strengthens, like love for the village, or performing the *hajj*, or love for fighting. When [the heart] is engaged in that the fire of yearning becomes dominant in God’s house so that in fighting one

abandons one's own soul in the path of one's God. This is a pious deed.

In addition, [it is not blameworthy in] singing a lamentation (*nawha*) in which the heart is moved to tenderness, and the individual remembers his sins and deficiencies, and he is overcome with tears; just like David's lamentation, when he cried so much that [you would think] they had brought corpses before him.<sup>148</sup>

In addition, it is not forbidden if the *sama'* is for something that causes great happiness and which is not legally prohibited. This includes a marriage banquet, a birth, returning from a journey, happiness at someone's arrival and honouring great people who arrive or depart. For example, the people of Medina welcomed the Prophet when he took the city. They played the *daff* and other instruments, and sang poetry for him. One of the poems was this:<sup>149</sup>

*The full moon appears for us from the folds of a desert!*

*Our gratitude is obligatory for those who have requested this from God.*<sup>150</sup>

In the same way, it is permissible when friends sit together and want to please each other; they perform the *sama'* and enjoy themselves.

In addition, [it is permissible] if love for God Most High exists in the heart because [love] is the foundation of that [*sama'*], and [the lover] reaches the extremity of love.<sup>151</sup>

One day the Prophet said to 'Ali, 'Oh 'Ali, you are from me and I am from you.' Out of happiness at hearing this, the Commander of the Faithful began to dance, which was the custom of the Arabs. He said to [Zayd b.] Harith,<sup>152</sup> 'You are our master and our brother.' He too danced. If dancing was forbidden they would not have done it in front of the Prophet.<sup>153</sup>

So when [the brothers] are ready to perform the *sama'* it is necessary that they sit with proper etiquette, with their heads lowered, not looking at each other. Each person pays complete attention to himself and does not say a word during the *sama'*, just as in the profession of faith during prayers. The whole of the heart is focused on the Truth Most High, and [the brother] waits until a tasting (*dhawq*) or an opening (*fath*) comes from the unseen world, and he does not occupy the heart with anything [else].

First, it is necessary that the Qur'an recitors (*huffad*) chant the Qur'an. Abu Talib Makki<sup>154</sup> saw the Prophet one night in a dream, and said, 'Oh Prophet! What is your opinion about the *sama'* of the common people?' [The Prophet] replied, 'With regard to the *sama'*,

Qur'anic recitation is necessary at its beginning and end. If the hearts [of the listeners] have not wandered to the non-obligatory, the Truth Most High is forgiving.' So there [must be] Qur'anic recitation at the beginning of the *sama*<sup>ʿ</sup> and at the end. The *huffad* recite the Qur'an so that peoples' hearts derive benefit and [their] thoughts stay in that world.

When recital of the Qur'an is finished the singer [of the *sama*<sup>ʿ</sup>] begins to sing using the same scale (*parda*) and in the same musical mode (*maqam*) which the Qur'an reciters had used. The reason for this is that certain of the sciences have declared that the twelve musical modes have been adopted from the twelve houses of the zodiac, and the seven songs (*awaz*) from the seven fixed stars.<sup>155</sup>

When the master of the *sama*<sup>ʿ</sup> rises, all those present rise in conformity, and if a foreign traveller is present, they invite him [to participate]. The master of invitation must not always be engaged in dancing. It is a pious act if fragrant incense is used during the *sama*<sup>ʿ</sup>. And if someone takes off his *khirqqa* [the others should] conform and they should place their turbans in a clean place. And [those present] should prevent anyone from speaking during the *sama*<sup>ʿ</sup>. Even when they sit down, they should say nothing. When the singer (*guyanda*) finishes, immediately the *huffad* once again begin the recitation of the Qur'an because then they listen to the Qur'an<sup>156</sup> ...

... but it has become the custom that when the singer (*guyanda*) has finished, the [brothers] put [their] *khirqas* in a pile (*dar miyan arand*). They offer benedictions while the *khirqas* are all piled up in the middle. [The brothers then] clamour (*ghalaba kunnand*) for someone to fetch the [cloak of] animal skin (*pustin*). [That is to say] after [the animal skin has been brought forth] they pile the cloaks in the middle [of the group] and [only then] is the Qur'an recited.<sup>157</sup>

After the Qur'an, the chief (*naqib*) rises and he places the *khirqqa* in a pile (*dar miyan awurd*). He remembers Mustafa and his companions with benedictions and he also recites benedictions for the spirits of the shaykhs, the possessors of *futuwwat* and the master of the station, and then if there are edibles they eat.

## Chapter [Six]: The Virtues and Etiquettes of Hospitality

Hadith: *Respect the Guest even if he is a Kafir*

They have said that a bedouin came to the door of 'Ali's house and said, 'I have come from far away and faced many difficulties. For three

days I have not eaten a thing. For God's sake give me some food!' 'Ali said, 'Bring any food that is in the house.' Fatima replied, 'There is nothing except for three round loaves of bread.' He took that bread with some salt and water and gave it to the Arab. The bedouin wasn't able to eat the bread. 'Ali said, 'I will send you to a place where there is good food, and you can eat until you become full. Go to such and such a location and sit down when you get there.' That [place] was Hasan's house; a large mansion where there were many servants. The [bedouin] went there [and he found that] many people had gathered. He gave a greeting and sat down. After an hour different foods, various soups and halvás were brought out. The multitude began their feast. It was Hasan's custom that once the food had been set out he would stand by and serve [the guests]. That Arab ate with great pleasure due to the diversity of food, and he thought to himself, 'I will take a plate of food to the person who sent me here.' He prepared a plate, and Hasan took it and placed it on [the bedouin's] shoulder and he carried it to 'Ali. Hasan sent servants to follow so that they could see whether he had taken the plate to sell or whether he had taken it to his family. Hasan told the servants that if he carried the plate to his family's house, they should give him a hundred dinars, but if he sold the food then they should give him nothing. [The bedouin] took the plate to 'Ali [and said], 'I have brought some food for you from that lord's house.' 'Ali laughed and picked up his prayer mat, saying, 'Look!' The bedouin looked, and beneath his prayer rug were rubies and jewels. He said, 'Why don't you sell some of these and enjoy yourself, and free yourself from these loaves of bread?' He said, 'Oh bedouin! We have divorced ourselves from this world and everything that is in it.' The bedouin replied, 'We have heard that it is 'Ali who has divorced [himself] from this world.'

### **Anecdote**

It is related that Shaqiq-i Balkhi<sup>158</sup> and Abu Turab Nakhshabi<sup>159</sup> went to visit Bayazid.<sup>160</sup> The shaykh offered them food, and one of the shaykh's followers served [them]. Abu Turab said [to Bayazid's follower], 'Join us.' [Bayazid's] follower replied, '[But] I'm fasting.' Abu Turab said, 'Eat, and take in recompense a fast for one month.' He repeated, 'I'm fasting.' Shaqiq [insisted and] said, 'Eat, and take a year's fast in recompense.' He said, 'I'm fasting.' Bayazid [finally interjected and] said, 'Leave him alone, for he has been driven away from the Divine Presence. Just a while ago he was captured stealing and they cut off his hands.'

It is related that Junayd of Baghdad<sup>161</sup> was continually fasting. When the followers came [to him] he would break the fast and say that the virtue of conforming with the brothers is no less than the virtue [acquired] from performing the supererogatory (*nafile*) fast.

The Prophet said, *'Human evil is through eating on one's own.'* So there is more reward when there are more people eating. The Messenger said that no one should eat on their own because Satan is the partner of the person who eats alone. With regard to the etiquette of eating it is necessary that first one says, *'In the name of God,'* and then ends with *'Praise belongs to God.'* The Prophet said, *'Whoever says "In the name of God" before food and says "Praise belongs to God" after food, there is no worth in that food. It is better to say, "In the name of God" for the first mouthful and "In the name of the Merciful" for the second, and "In the name of the Merciful, the Compassionate" for the third.'* It should be said in a loud voice to remind others and [in addition, the food] should be eaten with the right hand, for the Prophet said, *'Eat from your right hand and drink from the water in front of you.'* [Any] mouthful should not be taken until the preceding one has been swallowed. Do not find fault with any food. If you have eaten, be happy, and if you don't like it, leave it.

Abu Bakr Kattani<sup>162</sup> said, *'When I was young a dervish invited me [for a meal] and he placed some cooked meat in front of me, but it was rotten. I looked at it with distaste and I didn't eat it. The dervish was embarrassed. At that time I was about to go on hajj, but I got lost in the desert and I was afraid that I would die for I had no food. So, I bought a dog for a hundred dinars and I ate it out of hunger. Then I heard a voice saying, 'Oh Abu Bakr! You were repulsed by the food given to you by the dervish, so why are you now eating dog meat?' At that point I threw up.*

It is related that whoever eats should lick his fingers clean at the end of the meal and should lick the bowl, for if he does not then Satan will do it. And there is a tradition that one should clean the bowl with one's finger. According to a report (*khabar*) the bowl says for whoever does this, *'Oh Lord! Save him from the punishments of hell, just as you have released me from Satan,'* and when he has finished the food he says, *'Thank God who has fed us, made us drink, given us sufficiency, made us safe, and given us sustenance without our effort, and there is no power or strength except in God,'* and he recites, *'Say: God is one,'* and *'For the protection of the Quraysh'* (106.1).<sup>163</sup> And one gives thanks when there is a mouthful of permitted food, but one takes care if there is doubt [regarding its state], and after eating one washes

one's hands and mouth. One keeps these rules whether alone or with friends, but if one eats with a friend, there are seven rules to be kept.

The first is that the tablecloth (*sufra*) is not to be touched for as long as the master does not touch it. If the tablecloth is touched, then the others will not wait.

The second is that there should not be strict silence, rather [the brother] should speak of pleasant times. However, he should not speak of idle things. Silence while eating is the habit of the Jews.

Third is that he should strive to eat less than others. If he eats more [than others] then his quantity of food is forbidden. It is better if he places the food in front of his companion, and if his friend eats slowly, he should say three times, 'Eat up,' and he should not insist [that his friend should eat].

Fourth, if his friend doesn't say, 'Eat up,' he should eat slowly in conformity [with others].

Fifth is that he should look at his own plate and not at others' food.

Sixth, he should not cast away from his plate the food that is placed there.

Seventh, he should wash his hands after eating.

The etiquette of drinking water is that he takes the cup in his hands and says, 'In the name of God.' He should not drink standing up or lying down, but he should sit, for it is forbidden to be standing.

There is a tradition from 'Abdallah bin Ziyad that the Prophet was asked about drinking when standing up and the Prophet said, '*Eating food [when standing] is more evil and more wicked.*'

When the cup is taken in the hands, the cup should be inspected to make sure there are no straws in it, and no more than three mouthfuls should be swallowed, for the Prophet said, '*Drink three mouthfuls of water.*' Whatever has been taken into the mouth must not be spat back into the cup. On finishing, the mouth should be cleaned with a towel next to the jug, and one should say, '*Thanks to God who made it delicious and sweet through His mercy, and did not make it bitter because of our sins.*' All of these courtesies have been fixed, and [the brother] reveals his ingratitude for a blessing if these [rules] are not observed.

### Anecdote

They have said that for seven days guests had not come to Abraham's house, and during that period he had not broken the fast. On the eighth day [Abraham] saw people coming from afar. In happiness, he went to greet them and he saw that they were of terrifying appearance (*mardum-an-i hawl*). But they greeted Abraham when they reached

him, and he replied and felt reassured. After, Abraham took them to his house, shooting away the herd. Sara had a calf that she loved, which was allowed in the house, having a golden collar tied around its neck. [Abraham] hurried back to get a sheep but instead he killed the calf, just as the Most High says, *'They brought a fattened calf'* (51.26). And they say that Abraham was such a person that would kill a sheep for each guest, and so God – Most Glorious and Majestic – said, *'Oh Abraham! Honour your guest!'* So he killed a camel for each guest. Once again the same voice said to him, *'Honour your guests!'* He said, 'Oh God! I don't have anything larger than a camel unless I sacrifice myself.' A voice said, 'Serve [them] yourself!' And so he would serve every guest that came with his own hands, and he would wash the feet of any traveller in warm water with his own hands. When they cooked the calf and brought it before the guests, Abraham ate but the guests did not. He said, 'Why don't you eat?' They said, 'We do not eat food unless [it possesses] goodness (*biha*).' Abraham said, 'The goodness of my food is such that when you pick it up you should say *'In the name of God'* and when you have finished eating you should say, *'Praise belongs to God.'*' They said, 'We are angels and we do not eat food. We have come with good news. A son.' The Most High said, *'the good news of a clever boy'* (51.28).

In any case, you must not disdain your guests, and your service [to them] must be respectful, even if the guests are unbelievers. For three days Abraham had no guests. After three days, an old man appeared, and so Abraham went to greet him and he saw that [the man] had a sack on his shoulder. Abraham relieved the old man of his sack and carried it himself, and he led him to the house. When he placed food in front of the old man Abraham said, *'In the name of God.'* The old man said nothing. When they finished eating the food, the old man did not say, *'Praise belongs to God.'* Abraham asked, 'Oh old man! When you eat food, why don't you remember God's name?' He replied, 'I am a fire worshipper.' Abraham understood that he was an unbeliever and that he had idols in his sack. When Abraham realised this, he drove [him] away. But a voice said:

A hundred years I've given him his daily bread and life,  
 Yet you've an aversion to him all in a moment!  
 Though he prostrates himself before a fire  
 Why hold you back the hand of bounty?<sup>164</sup>

After that he vowed not to make any difference between [his] guests.  
 When someone arrives from the road, greet him with a welcoming

smile, and ask him about the difficulty of [his] journey, and take care of him, and bring food to him immediately, for the Prophet said, 'There is no hurry except for five circumstances: first, food for a traveller; second, marriage for a mature daughter; third, settling debts; fourth, repentance of sin; fifth, burying the dead. And one must not consider a dervish traveller with contempt.

They say that Khwaja 'Ali Sarkari sat at the tomb of Shah Shuja' Zanjani.<sup>165</sup> Khwaja 'Ali was a follower of *futuwwat*, and he would not eat alone. He was hungry and said, 'Oh God! Send a guest, so that I can eat something.' Not a moment had passed when a dog passed through the door of a mosque. Khwaja 'Ali shouted at the dog, which ran away. A secret voice said, 'You wanted a guest, and when We send one you drive it away!' In an instant, Khwaja 'Ali got up and looked for the dog in the city. Suddenly he saw it outside the city, in a corner, asleep. He placed the food in front of the dog, but it paid no attention to it, saying, 'Oh Khwaja 'Ali! You didn't accept me as a guest. If it had not been [for the respect due] at the tomb of Shah Shuja' you would have seen what [punishment was due to you].' So Khwaja 'Ali took of his turban and stood asking for forgiveness.

God have mercy upon the believers and upon scribes.

## Notes

1. Mirza 'Abd al-'Azim Khan Qarib Garakhani edited many well-known Persian works, including *Kalila wa Dimna* and Sa'di's *Gulistan*. He died in 1966.
2. Mihran Afshari and Mihdi Madayini (eds), 'Futuwwat Nama of Mirza 'Abd al-'Azim Khan Qarib Garakhani', in *Chahardah risala dar bab-i futuwwat wa asnaf* (Tehran: Nashr-i chishma, [1381] 2002–3).
3. Ahmad Rifa'i had no son but was succeeded by his nephew. See Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, p. 38 and p. 38, n. 2.
4. See Aflaki, *Feats of the Knowers of God*, p. 498.
5. The biographical literature has been rendered into English by Alfred Guillaume under the title *The Life of Muhammad* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1955).
6. Husayn Khadiv Jam (ed.), *Kimiya-yi sa'adat* (Tehran: Intisharat-i 'ilmi wa farhangi, 1983).
7. Afshari and Madayini (eds), 'Futuwwat wa Asnaf', in *Chahardah risala dar bab-i futuwwat wa asnaf*, p. 103, n. 1.
8. Muhammad Rida Shafi i Kadkani, 'Sa'di dar salasal-i jawanmardi' ('Sa'di

- in the *jawanmardi* chains of initiation'), in Kadkani, *Qalandariyya dar tarikh* (Tehran: Sukhan, [1386] 2007–8), pp. 527–36.
9. Afshari and Madayini (eds), 'Futuwwat Nama of Mirza 'Abd al-'Azim Khan Qarib Garakhani', p. 88.
  10. Ibid. p. 89.
  11. Mihran Afshari's introduction to 'Futuwwat Nama of Mirza 'Abd al-'Azim Khan Qarib Garakhani', in *Futuwwat wa Asnaf*, p. 51.
  12. Mahjub, 'Chivalry and early Persian Sufism', p. 578.
  13. Suhrawardi discussed two types (the verbal and the pledge by the sword); see Ridgeon, 'Javanmardi: origins and development until the 13th century and its connection to Sufism' (where there is a translation of Suhrawardi's *Risalat al-futuwwat*), p. 72. In the post-Mongol period the three types of initiation were detailed by Najm al-Din Zarkub (as discussed in the Introduction). Najm al-Din Zarkub, 'Futuwwat Nama', in Sarraf (ed.), *Rasa'il-i jawanmardan*, pp. 188–96.
  14. Massignon, 'La "Futuwwat" ou "Pacte d'honneur artisanal" entre les travailleurs musulmans au Moyen Age', in Louis Massignon, *Opera Minora*, vol. I (Beirut: Dar al-Maaref, 1963), p. 420.
  15. Afshari and Madayini (eds), *Futuwwat wa Asnaf*, p. 98, n. 1 notes that Dasuqi gives the name as Abu'l-Fadl ibn Turhan.
  16. Afshari and Madayini (eds), *Futuwwat wa Asnaf*, p. 98, n. 2 notes that Dasuqi gives the name as Al-Naghas Salman.
  17. Massignon, 'La "Futuwwat" ou "Pacte d'honneur artisanal"', p. 420 suggests that this may be the Buyid prince Abu Kalijar (d. 1048).
  18. Afshari and Madayini (eds), *Futuwwat wa Asnaf*, p. 98, n. 12 refers to a *futuwwat nama* of Ahmad Naqqash (Efendi, Istanbul, microfilm 472 in the central library of the University of Tehran).
  19. Ibid.
  20. In Khartabirti's list, 'Umar al-Rahhas is described as a *shahid* (or martyr), and Massignon, 'La "Futuwwat" ou "Pacte d'honneur artisanal"', p. 420 speculates that this may reflect the persecution of *futuwwat* groups in Baghdad in 1137. See also Salinger, 'Was the *futuwwa* an oriental form of chivalry?', p. 489.
  21. Afshari and Madayini (eds), *Futuwwat wa Asnaf*, p. 98, n. 12 refers to Ahmad Naqqash, who states that Akhi Salih is Shaykh Salih 'Abd al-Jabbar (d. 1187), who initiated the 'Abassid Caliph, al-Nasir, with the *futuwwat* trousers in 1182.
  22. The Persian construction reads '[fulan kas] pushid az [fulan kas]'.
  23. Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, pp. 261–3, provides a useful comparison to this *silsila*.
  24. Ahmad Kabir is Ahmad Rifa'i (1106–82), who is regarded as the founder

- of the Rifa'iyya Sufi order. In his edition of Jami's *Nafabat al-Uns*, p. 892, 533/22, M. 'Abidi states that in one of the manuscripts used to prepare his critical edition there are five links from Ahmad Rifa'i until Shibli. 'He [Ahmad Rifa'i] received the *khirqā* from Shaykh 'Ali Qari, he received it from Shaykh Abu Fadl ibn Kamakh, he received it from Shaykh Abu 'Ali Ghulam Ibn Turkan, who received it from Shaykh Abu 'Ali Bari [Rudbari] [d. c. 934], who got it from Mamla 'Ajami, and he got it from Shibli [861–945].' It is possible to find other *silsilas*; for example, in *Tara'iq al-haqa'iq* Ma'sum 'Ali Shah lists the following (p. 350): Ahmad Rifa'i, 'Ali al-Farsi, Abu'l-Fadl al-Kamuh, 'Ali ibn Ghulam al-Turkaman, 'Ali al-Barbari, Tamimi al-'Ajami, Ma'ruf al-Karkhi, 'Ali Rida – the eighth Shi'ite Imam. Ma'sum 'Ali Shah lists two further *silsilas* (pp. 350–1) which offer slight variants of those already given, but all *silsilas* lead to one of the recognised Sufi masters. See Ma'sum 'Ali Shah, *Tara'iq al-haqa'iq*, ed. M. J. Mahjub, vol. II, 2nd edn (Tehran: Intisharat-i Sana'i, [1382] 2003–4).
25. See Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, p. 37, citing 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani (d. 1565).
  26. Ma'sum 'Ali Shah gives the following *silsila* for the 'Jalila-ya Ma'rufiyya' Rifa'i: Shaykh 'Ali al-Rifa'i, Shaykh Abu'l-Fadl al-Kamuh, Shaykh 'Ali ibn al-Ghulam al-Turkman, Shaykh 'Ali al-Barbari, Shaykh Tamimi al-'Ajami, Shaykh Abu Bakr Shibli. See Shah, *Tara'iq al-haqa'iq*, p. 350. There is obvious similarity between this and the *silsila* in the text above. The differences may be ones of pronunciation or errors on the part of the scribe.
  27. Sari al-Saqati (772–867), a Baghdadi ascetic, was the maternal uncle of Junayd and is discussed by many of the eminent Sufis. See, for example, Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 110–11.
  28. Ma'ruf al-Karkhi (d. 815) was an eminent Sufi; see Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 113–15.
  29. Dawud al-Ta'i (d. 781) was 'distinguished by his severe austerities and acts of self-mortification'. See Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 109–10.
  30. Habib al-'Ajami (d. 772) must have been a non-Arab, as his name indicates. Sufi authors included him in their hagiographies; see, for example, Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 88–9.
  31. Hasan al-Basri (642–728) is considered by many Sufis as one of the earliest Sufi teachers. See Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 86–7.
  32. See p. 140.
  33. On Ibn Taymiyya's criticisms, see Shehadi, *Philosophies of Music in Medieval Islam*, pp. 95–114.
  34. The *pustin* may have been a sheep skin or goat skin, or indeed may

- have been made from any animal that had been captured. Persian miniatures abound of Sufis with a fur cloak around their shoulders. See, for example, the image in the British Museum entitled ‘Dervish blowing a horn’ (ref: AN23099001).
35. See Milson, *A Sufi Rule for Novices*, pp. 64–6. This practice was also mentioned by Hujwiri in his chapter on *samaʿ* in *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 417–18. Hujwiri’s discussion, however, is limited to the rending of garments by Sufis, and not by anyone else who may be sympathetic to the Sufi cause.
  36. Milson, *A Sufi Rule for Novices*, pp. 64–6.
  37. Abu al-Mafakhir Yahya Bakharzi, *Awrad al-Abbab wa Fusus al-Adab*, ed. Iraj Afshar (Tehran: Danishgah-i Tehran, 1966), pp. 213–20.
  38. The treatise does not include such a title page with details of the contents. I have added this to make the text more ‘reader friendly’.
  39. According to tradition, Buraq is the mount Muhammad used on his Night Ascent when he was taken from his bed in Arabia to Jerusalem and from there ascended through the heavens to meet God, then returned the same night to his bed in Arabia.
  40. There is a lacuna in the text here. There is no information about the second group that was mentioned at the start of the treatise, and, in addition, the subsequent discussion about those mentioned in the Qu’ran by the term *fata* (or terms derived from *fata*) is incomplete. It is likely that the ‘original’ text would have discussed Abraham, as he is a seminal figure in the tradition. In addition, the discussion about Joseph includes only a final segment and does not include the Qu’ranic reference to Joseph as a *fata*: ‘Ladies in the city said, “The wife of ‘Aziz is seeking to seduce her slave (*fataha*) [Joseph]” ’ (Qur’an 12.30). Other *futuwwat namas* of the medieval period include references to Joseph and *futuwwat*. For example, the *futuwwat nama* written by the fourteenth-century ‘Allama Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Muhammad Amuli includes the following references to Joseph: “The Prophet, peace be upon him, said, “*Brother Joseph was one of the fatas*”, for he said to his brothers, “*Let there be no reproach against you today*” ’ [Qur’an 12.92], Sarraf, *Rasa’il-i jawanmardan*, p. 63.
  41. The Qur’an leaves the numbers of the sleepers in the cave unclear, but it explicitly mentions their dog (18.23).
  42. The text reads *shast hizar hizar*.
  43. Many of the Prophets have ‘nicknames’, and Moses is termed al-Kalim (he who spoke to God).
  44. Harith Muhasibi is often considered to be an early Sufi. He died in 857. Several of his Arabic works are extant and have been edited

- and published. See, for example, *Kitab al-ri'aya li-huquq Allah*, ed. Margaret Smith (London: Luzac & Co., 1940).
45. Abu Hafs Haddad (d. c. 878/9) was associated with the Malamati school in Khurasan. He left no writings of his own but was a major influence in his time in Nayshapur and also in Iraq, where he had meetings with Junayd. See Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 123–5.
  46. Fudayl ibn 'Iyad (d. 803), from Central Asia, left no work, but anecdotes about him were frequently included in later Sufi literature. See Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 97–100.
  47. Afshari and Madayini, *Futuwwat wa Asnaf*, p. 56, n. 7 identifies this individual as Abu Bakr Muhammad bin 'Umar Warraq al-Tirmidhi, of the tenth century. See Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 142–3.
  48. Amr ibn 'Uthman al-Makki (d. c. 909) was a disciple of Junayd, and Hallaj was associated with him for a time. See Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 138–9.
  49. Dhu al-Nun Misri (c. 796–860) is celebrated as an early Sufi from Egypt. No writings of his exist, but there are numerous anecdotes in Sufi literature involving him. See Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 100–3.
  50. *Hadith* are frequently found in Sufi texts. See, for example, Ahmad Sam'ani, *Rub al-arwah*, cited in William Chittick, *Sufism: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2000), p. 113.
  51. Just as Moses had the nickname Kalim, Abraham too had a nickname, Khalil, reflecting the Qur'an 'God took Abraham as a friend (*khalil*)' (4.125).
  52. For the Night Ascent and its various interpretations, see Brooke Olson Vuckovic, *Heavenly Journeys, Earthly Concerns* (London: Routledge, 2005).
  53. Ja'far Sadiq (699–765) is often regarded by the Sufis as one of their own. For Shi'ites he is the sixth Imam.
  54. One of the earliest converts of Islam, and the first caliph after the death of Muhammad. He was also the father of Muhammad's wife, Khadija.
  55. The companion of Muhammad who became the second caliph after the Prophet's death.
  56. The companion of Muhammad who became the third caliph after the Prophet's death.
  57. Muhammad's uncle.
  58. This *hadith* is much quoted by the writers on the theme of *futuwwat*. *Dhu al-faqar* is the sword that Muhammad gave to 'Ali.
  59. In the *hadith* literature this tree exists in Paradise and is of immense size. The inhabitants of paradise make clothes from its leaves.

60. According to Islamic tradition, this is where Gabriel descended to reveal verses of the Qur'an to Muhammad (see 53.13–15).
61. Salman Farsi was the Persian companion of the Prophet who achieved acclaim for his advice to build a trench around the believers at the Battle of the Ditch (or the Battle of Khandaq). (The text explains this below.) See Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, pp. 95–8.
62. Bilal Habashi was an Ethiopian companion of the Prophet whose strong voice was used to call the faithful to prayer.
63. Khalid ibn Walid was originally a staunch opponent of Muhammad (such as when he was a leading participant in the Battle of the Khandaq) but accepted Islam at a late stage in the Prophet's life.
64. The Battle of Khaybar was fought in 629 between the Muslims and the Jewish tribes of Khaybar who were causing Muhammad difficulties in Medina. See Ibn Hisham, *Sirat Rasul Allah*, pp. 510–15.
65. Safiyya b. Hayay. Her father had been instrumental in intriguing with the Jewish tribe of Banu Qurayzah against the Prophet. See Martin Lings, *Muhammad: His Life Based on the Earliest Sources* (London: Islamic Texts Society, 1983), p. 268. Traditionally, Safiyya's husband is called Kinanah b. abi'l-Huqayq, a very influential Jew at Khaybar. He married Safiyya only a few months before Muhammad had set out to take Mecca towards the end of his life. Ibn Hisham, *Sirat Rasul Allah*, pp. 514–15. The text here refers to Na'im as Safiyya's husband.
66. The Battle of Hunayn occurred in 630 (Ibn Hisham, *Sirat Rasul Allah*, p. 566).
67. Malik bin 'Awf was from the tribe of Hawazin and was opposed to Muhammad and Islam. At the age of thirty, 'with a reputation for bravery and princely munificence', (Lings, *Muhammad*, p. 304) he led the opposition to Muhammad at Hunayn but subsequently accepted Islam and fought in the Islamic conquests after Muhammad's death.
68. Early sources state that Malik did this thinking that it would make his men fight all the more bravely. Ibn Hisham, *Sirat Rasul Allah*, p. 566.
69. Ibn Hisham (*Sirat Rasul Allah*, p. 567) remarks that ten thousand men had gone with him to capture Mecca. This number plus the two thousand from Mecca equals twelve thousand, which is the total mentioned later in the text.
70. See note 69.
71. Although 'Abbas bin 'Abd al-Muttalib was a paternal uncle of the Prophet, he was a few years older than Muhammad. He protected Muhammad whilst the latter was in Mecca and only accepted Islam after the Battle of Badr, two years after the emigration to Medina.
72. Ibn Hisham reported the words of an opponent of Muhammad: 'One of

- the Meccans told me that when the Prophet left Mecca for Hunayn and saw the great number of God's armies that were with him he said, "We shall not be worsted today for want of numbers." Some people allege that a man of B. Bakr said this.' (p. 569).
73. Abu Sufyan was for a long time a great opponent of Muhammad but ceased to oppose the Prophet once it became clear that the Muslims would soon take Mecca. He subsequently fought for the spread of Islam in Arabia.
  74. Ibn Hisham (*Sirat Rasul Allah*, p. 569) states that this is Abu Sufyan b. al-Harith.
  75. Ibn Hisham (*Sirat Rasul Allah*, p. 569) states that this is Rabi'a b. al-Harith.
  76. Abu 'Ubayda, one of the earliest to embrace Islam, was an emigrant to Abyssinia but returned to join Muhammad at Medina and participated in the various battles between the Muslims and their opponents.
  77. Usama bin Zayd was the son of Zayd ibn Harithah, Muhammad's slave (and later adopted son) who had been given to the Prophet by Khadija.
  78. Safwan bin Umayya was a staunch opponent of Muhammad who converted to Islam after the Battle of Hunayn. Ibn Hisham (*Sirat Rasul Allah*, p. 569) provides a different version of events: 'Jabala b. al-Hanbal cried . . . "Surely sorcery is vain today." Safwan said, "Shut up! God smash your mouth! I would rather be ruled by a man of the Quraysh than a man of Hawazin."'
  79. The Battle of Uhud occurred three years after the emigration to Medina.
  80. Ibn Hisham (*Sirat Rasul Allah*, p. 570) states that the number was 100.
  81. This was the battle between 'Ali and Mu'awiya in 657.
  82. Abu Darda was a Jew from Medina who converted to Islam after the Battle of Badr.
  83. Abu Jahl was one of the fiercest opponents of Islam and Muhammad. He died in 624, still bitterly antagonistic to Islam.
  84. Khadija was Muhammad's first wife and bore him four daughters. Muhammad never took another wife whilst Khadija was alive.
  85. Hamza was the paternal uncle of Muhammad.
  86. Abu Jahl (Father of Ignorance) is the name given to Muslims to Abu'l-Hakam (Father of Wisdom), who was also a member of the Quraysh, the same tribe as Muhammad.
  87. Variations of this *hadith* and discussions on them are included in Vuckovic, *Heavenly Journeys, Earthly Concerns*, pp. 25–39.
  88. Bilal Habashi was an Abyssinian slave who, despite the cruelty and torment of his owner, was a steadfast Muslim and became famous because of his strong voice which called the faithful to prayer.

89. Abu Lahab was a paternal uncle of the Prophet but was one of his fiercest enemies. He is even mentioned in the Qur'an (111.1): 'Perish the hands of Abu Lahab, and may he perish too!'
90. 'Ikrama was the son of Abu Jahl, Muhammad's great enemy, and fought for his father against Islam.
91. For Khalid bin al-Walid's acceptance of Islam see Ibn Hisham, *Sirat Rasul Allah*, pp. 484–5.
92. Ibid. p. 501.
93. Ibid. p. 501.
94. Lings, *Muhammad*, p. 249.
95. Similar words are attributed to 'Urwa b. Mas'ud al-Thaqafi in Ibn Hisham, *Sirat Rasul Allah*, p. 503.
96. Ibid. p. 503.
97. Ibn Hisham states there were forty or fifty men (Ibid. p. 503).
98. Ibn Hisham calls this pact 'the Pledge of al-Ridwan' (Ibid. p. 503).
99. Steingass offers the following entries under *mi'zar*: a veil; breeches, trousers, an apron. *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1975).
100. See note 65.
101. Ibn Hisham, *Sirat Rasul Allah*, p. 461.
  
102. The gist is that the Jews of the Banu Nazir (perhaps Kinana bin abi'l-Huqayq) did not have as full a revelation as that bestowed upon Muhammad. The Qur'an mentions how the people of the Book distorted (2.75), changed (2.59) and twisted with their tongues (4.46) their scriptures, or wrote it with their own hands (2.79).
103. 'Abdallah ibn Ubayy had been one of the most powerful and important men at Medina prior to Muhammad's arrival there. As a result of the Prophet's emergence at Medina he was somewhat eclipsed, and Islamic tradition regards him as one of the main members of the 'hypocrites'.
104. Ibn Hisham attributes the idea of digging the ditch to Salman, *Sirat Rasul Allah*, p. 764, n. 700.
105. Abu Hanifa (699–765) was the founder of the Hanafi school of Islamic jurisprudence.
106. More commonly this word means 'yellow', but this would make little sense in the context of the treatise. 'Ali Dikhuda's *Lughatnama* (Tehran: Tehran University Publications, 14 vols, 1993–4) offers an alternative meaning of 'black' (*siyah*). See the article 'Asfar' (vol. II, p. 2,347).
107. Ibn Hisham (*Sirat Rasul Allah*, pp. 725–6) cites 'Ali ibn abi Talib, who said that '[Muhammad] was neither too tall nor unduly short but

of normal height; his hair was not too curly nor lank, but definitely curly; his face was not fat nor rounded; it was white tinged with red.' Muhammad is said to have had fair skin, which may explain this kind of tradition.

108. An expression used to designate 'orthodox' Sunni Muslims.
109. This is a variation of a *hadith* found in Bukhari (2.24.541), which explains the reason for the Qur'anic verse 2.282.
110. Afshari and Madayini (eds), *Futuwwat wa Asnaf*, p. 92, n. 1 states that this quatrain is not found in the edited collection of his poetry (*Asha'ir-i Awhadi Maragha'i*, ed. Sa'id Nafisi), nor is it found in the collection of quatrains attributed to Shaykh Awhad al-din Kirmani. However, the mention of 'Shaykh Awhadi' (assuming that it is the poet who lived between 1271 and 1338) at least helps in the dating of the text.
111. Reference to the Qur'an 50.16.
112. The nature of Noah's curse is unclear. The Qur'an includes Noah's chastisement of those who ignored his warnings, such as, 'If you scoff at us, we shall surely scoff at you, as you scoff, and you shall know to whom will come a chastisement degrading him, and upon whom there shall alight a lasting chastisement' (11.38). One of the problems with this is that the flood seems to come about as God's decision rather than as a result of any curse uttered by Noah. Traditionally Noah's curse is associated with his son Ham. Al-Tha'labi states the following: 'Ham had intercourse with his wife on the ark, and Noah prayed to his Lord . . . and Ham's sperm became altered, and he brought forth black (offspring) . . . Noah ordered that no male should approach a female as long as they were in the ark.' *Ara'is al-majalis fi qisas al-anbiya* or *Lives of the Prophets*, trans. and annotated by William M. Brinner (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 97. An alternative curse that is reported by Muslim scholars including Ibn Kathir is that which Noah uttered upon his son, Ham, who did not cover his father's genitals that were exposed when he had fallen asleep. As a result Noah cursed his son, whose sperm was in some way changed so that he produced black children. See Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran*, p. 60.
113. The text has the vocalisation inserted 'Ku'ub'. This contradicts the vocalisation given in the genealogies provided in Ibn Hisham, *Sirat Rasul Allah*, for example, in p. 3, where one reads Ka'b. Afshari and Madayini (eds), *Futuwwat wa Asnaf* has suggested that Ku'ub may have been the way that the copier or scribe, and the people immediately around him, pronounced the word.
114. One of the locations where Muslims pray to God during the pilgrimage to Mecca.

115. Another of the locations that Muslims visit during the rituals of the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba.
116. The text states 'Adnan, son of Ad, son of Adad'. This would make thirty generations between Muhammad and Abraham, whereas the text states there are twenty-eight. Mihran Afshari has said in private correspondence that in the editing process, an additional Ad (or Adad) was inserted into the text. Ibn Hisham includes only Udd (or Udad) in his list. For this reason, I have translated only 'Adad' in the text. The numbers still don't seem correct, however, for if twenty-eight generations are counted from Abraham the final link is with 'Abd al-Muttalib.  
Up to this point, the genealogy follows that found in Ibn Hisham, *Sirat Rasul Allah*, p. 3.
117. Ibn Hisham calls the person Muqawwam. *Sirat Rasul Allah*, p. 3. 118.  
Ibn Hisham calls the person Nahur. Ibid. p.3.
119. Ibn Hisham calls the person Tayrah. Ibid. p.3.
120. Ibn Hisham calls the person Ya'rub. Ibid. p. 3.
121. Ibn Hisham calls the person Yashjub. Ibid. p. 3.
122. Ibn Hisham calls the person Nabit. Ibid. p. 3.
123. The distinction between the Arab and non-Arab generations is unclear.
124. Ibn Hisham states that Azar was called Tarih. Ibid. p. 3.
125. Ibn Hisham states that the father of Azar was Nahur. Ibid. p. 3.
126. Ibn Hisham states that the next link was Ra'u. Ibid. p. 3.
127. Ibn Hisham states that the next link was Falikh. Ibid. p. 3. 128.  
Ibn Hisham states that the next link was 'Aybar. Ibid. p. 3.
129. Ibn Hisham states that the next link was Shalikh. Ibid. p. 3.
130. Ibn Hisham gives the same name here, and also for the next two links. After Nuh the genealogical tree is as follows: Lamk, b. Mattushalakh, b. Akhnukh, b. Yard, b. Mahlil, b. Qaynan, b. Yanish, b. Shith, b. Adam (ibid. p. 3). The similarity in the names of the individuals given by Ibn Hisham with those found in this *futuwwat nama* suggests that the scribe was familiar with this lineage. It may be that the pronunciation in his time and location was different from the classical Arabic of Ibn Ishaq, that he was copying from a text in which there were errors or that the scribe himself made the mistakes in copying the text.
131. Mu'awiya was the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty. He reigned from 661 to 680.
132. Yazid was the son of Mu'awiya who was responsible for the defeat and murder of Husayn at Karbala. He reigned for three years (680-3) after his father's death.
133. The text actually reads '*si sal'*, or thirty years.
134. There is a lacuna here. However, the subsequent list of individuals who

receive the *futuwwat* clothing is basically the same as the *isnad* for *futuwwat* initiation that was attributed to the ‘Abbasid Caliph, Nasir. This *isnad* was recorded by his contemporary writer on *futuwwat*, Khartabirti. The *isnad* in the *Futuwwat Nama of Mirza ‘Abd al-‘Azim Khan Qarib-i Garakani* is more or less the same as Khartabirti’s from the second half onwards, suggesting that the first half has been lost from the manuscript. There are differences in spelling, but these can be explained as reflecting local pronunciation or scribal error. Khartabirti offers the following (tracing the line back from the caliph): ‘Abd al-Jabbar Salih, Amir ‘Ali ibn Za‘im, ‘Abdallah ibn al-Qayyir, Za‘im Shahid ‘Umar al-Rahas, Abu Bakr ibn Jahish ibn al-Sarbar, Baqa ibn Tabbakh, Nafis ‘Alawi, Abu al-Qasim ibn abi Hayyan, Qa‘id Nu‘man ibn al-Binn, Muhanna ‘Alawi, Abu ‘Ali Sufi, Nasir al-Din ibn abi Na‘ja, Qa‘id ‘Isa, Amir Wahran, Malik Abu Kalinjar, Abu al-Hasan Najjar, Fadl ibn Ziyad ‘Irgashi, Qa‘id Shibli Abu al-Makarim, Ra‘ys Salman, Abu al-Fadl Qurayshi, Jawshan Fazari, Hassan ibn Rabi‘a, Ruzbih Farisi, Bahram Daylami, Hilal Nabhani, Sharif Abu al-‘Izz al-Muti‘ al-Naqib, Abu Muslim Khurasani, ‘Awf Qunnai, Hafid Kindi, [Hasan] Basri, Salman Farisi. This *isnad* is reproduced by Massignon, ‘La “Futuwwat” ou “Pacte d’honneur artisanal”, vol. I, p. 420. Another *silsila* that is worthy of comparison is that contained in Dasuqi’s *Futuwwa ‘and al-Arab* (Futuwwat and the Arabs) (Cairo: Maktaba Nuhdat Misr, 1959), which appears to have originated in *Kashf al-Zunun*, written by Hajji Khalifa (or Katib Çelebi), who lived from 1609 to 1657. (*Kashf al-Zunun* is an Arabic bibliographical encyclopedia which lists more than 14,500 books in alphabetical order.) The *silsila* (which appears on pp. 240–3 in Dasuqi) starts with ‘Ali and continues in the following fashion: Salman Farsi, Safwan bin Umayya, Hudhayfa ibn al-Yaman, al-Miqdad ibn al-Aswad, Abu’l-‘Izz al-Tawbi, al-Hasan al-Basri, al-Hafid al-Kindi, ‘Awf al-Kinani, Abu Muslim al-Khurasani, Sharif Abu al-‘Izz, Hilal Nabhani, Bahram Daylami, Ruzbih Farisi, al-Amir Hassan ibn Rabi‘a al-Makhzumi, al-Amir Jawshan al-Fazari, Abu al-Hasan al-Najjar, Abu al-Fadl ibn al-Tarhan, al-Na‘s Salman, Shibl, al-Fadl ibn Ziyad al-Farsi, al-Fadl, al-Mulla Mirawi, Nasir al-Din ibn abi Na‘ja, Abu ‘Ali al-Sufi, Mihna al-‘Alawi, Na‘man, Abu’l-Hasan ibn al-Sharban, Abu Bakr al-Jahaysh, ‘Amr al-Rahas, ‘Ali al-Jabbar ibn Salih, al-khalifa al-Nasir li-din Allah.

135. Massignon suggests that this may be the Buyid prince Abu Kalijar (d. 1048).
136. In Khartabirti’s list, ‘Umar al-Rahas is described as a *shahid* (martyr), and Massignon speculates that this may reflect the persecution of *futu-*

*wwat* groups in Baghdad in 1137. See also Salinger, ‘Was the *futuwwa* an oriental form of chivalry?’, p. 489.

137. Afshari and Madayini (eds), *Futuwwat wa Asnaf*, p. 98, n. 12 refers to a *futuwwat nama* of Ahmad Naqqash (Efendi, Istanbul, microfilm 472 in the central library of the University of Tehran) and states that Akhi Salih is Shaykh Salih ‘Abd al-Jabbar (d. 1187), who initiated the ‘Abassid Caliph, al-Nasir with the *futuwwat* trousers in 1182.
138. Afshari and Madayini (eds), *Futuwwat wa Asnaf*, p. 99, n. 1 points out that Sayyid Taj al-Din Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Rifa‘i appears in Aflaki’s *Manaqib al-‘arifin*. On his entrance into Konya, many of the leading people went to welcome him, including the masters of *futuwwat*. See Aflaki, *The Feats of the Knowers of God*, p. 498.
139. Text is missing in the edited version.
140. Afshari and Madayini (eds), *Futuwwat wa Asnaf*, p. 102, n. 2 states that this is a quatrain from Shaykh Awhad al-din Kirmani (d. 1337/8), included in *Diwan-i ruba‘iyat Awhad al-din Kirmani*, ed. Ahmad Abu Mahjub (Tehran: Surush, [1366] 1987–8), p. 194, quatrain no. 809.
141. Afshari and Madayini (eds), *Futuwwat wa Asnaf*, p. 102, n. 3 notes that this verse is not found in Rumi’s *Diwan-i Kabir*.
142. The verse is from Sa‘di’s *Gulistan*, trans. G. M. Wickens as *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), no. 1970. Sa‘di’s version is slightly different in that it reads ‘I’ll not say’ (*na-guyam*) instead of ‘I don’t know’ (*na-danam*).
143. Third wife of Muhammad, who died in 678.
144. Afshari and Madayini (eds), *Futuwwat wa Asnaf* has noted the similarity of this passage with a passage in Jam (ed.), *Kimiya-yi sa‘adat*, p. 475.
145. The same tradition is reported in Jam (ed.), *Kimiya-yi sa‘adat*, p. 477. This tradition was discussed by Ibn Taymiya, who pointed out that the two females were still young (‘pre-puberty’) and ‘were with their mistress ‘Aisha, a young woman, on a day of feasting and celebration, and were reciting verses of Arab poets that describe courage in war and other noble virtues’. Shehadi, *Philosophies of Music in Medieval Islam*, p. 105.
146. William Chittick comments, ‘In the language of [Sufi] Love . . . the Beloved’s tresses veil His Face, and thus pertain to separation. Or rather, they are a two-edged sword. They conceal the Face, but in the last analysis they are His *tresses*. So they are a chain which, when grasped, will save from drowning in the sea of multiplicity.’ Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Love* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1984), p. 294.
147. The mole, or beauty spot, on the cheek of the beloved was a trope often used by Persian poets. As Michael Fischer and Mehdi Abedi observed,

- ‘[The Sufi] poet is pierced or burned by love through the sight of a small black spot . . . the arrow of an eyelash . . . the chain of a lock of hair.’ Michael Fisher and Mehdi Abedi, *Debating Muslims* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1990), p. 453.
148. In the Islamic tradition, the Prophet David is known for his beautiful singing voice. Awza’i reported, ‘‘Abdallah b. Amir says that David was given an excellent voice unlike anything that had been given before. It was so excellent that the birds and the wild animals used to stay with him until they died of thirst and hunger.’ See Wheeler, *Prophets in the Quran*, p. 261.
149. This paragraph reflects the contents of Jam (ed.), *Kimiya-yi sa’adat*, p. 479.
150. Found in Jam (ed.), *Kimiya-yi sa’adat*, p. 479.
151. This paragraph reflects the contents of Jam (ed.), *Kimiya-yi sa’adat*, p. 479.
152. Jam (ed.), *Kimiya-yi sa’adat*, p. 479 is explicit in mentioning Zayd ibn Haritha (588–629), who was the adopted son of Muhammad.
153. This paragraph reflects the contents of Jam (ed.), *Kimiya-yi sa’adat*, p. 479.
154. An Arabic couplet that is also found in Jam (ed.), *Kimiya-yi sa’adat*, p. 479.
155. On the relation between music played and heard on Earth and the belief in the music of the celestial spheres, see Shehadi, *Philosophies of Music in Medieval Islam*, p. 83. The medieval tradition inherited from Classical Greek philosophers such as Pythagoras and developed by the Ikhwan al-Safa (‘philosophers’ of the tenth century) and al-Kindi held that the spheres (stars) produced music. Although this view was rejected by some influential philosophers, such as al-Farabi and Ibn Sina, the belief in the music of the heavens is evident in the thought of those including al-Hasan al-Katib (d. eleventh century) who believed in the ‘similarity between the harmony of music and the harmony of the soul, as well as between the harmony of human music and celestial harmony’.
156. There is a lacuna in the manuscript at this point.
157. For a more detailed explanation of what Sufis do with their *kbirqas* during the *sama*<sup>c</sup>, see Yahya Bakharzi, *Awrad al-Ahbab wa Fusus al-Adab*, pp. 213–20.
158. Shaqiq-i Balkhi (d. 809/10) was a master from Khurasan who is often discussed with reference to trust in God (*tawakkul*) and renunciation (*zuhd*). See, for example, *Al-Qushayri’s Epistle*, trans. A. Knysh, pp. 30–1.

159. For Abu Turab Nakhshabi (d. 859) see Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 121–2.
160. For Abu Yazid al-Bastami (also known as Bayazid-i Bastami), see *Al-Qushayri's Epistle*, trans. A. Knysh, pp. 32–3.
161. Junayd of Baghdad is the famous 'sober' Sufi from Baghdad. See *Al-Qushayri's Epistle*, trans. A. Knysh, pp. 43–5. Examples of his writings are included in Ali Hassan Abdel-Qader, *The Life, Personality and Writings of Al-Junayd* (London: Luzac & Co., 1976).
162. Abu Bakr Kattani (d. 934) was a Sufi from Baghdad, associated with Junayd. See *Al-Qushayri's Epistle*, trans. A. Knysh, p. 64.
163. To make sense of this it is necessary to give the full chapter in which this verse appears:  
*For the protection of the Quraysh: their protection in the summer and winter journeyings.*  
*Therefore let them worship the Lord of this House who fed them in days of famine and shielded them from all perils.*
164. Wickens, *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned*, lines 1,200–1.
165. Afshari and Madayini (eds), *Futuwwat wa Asnaf* notes that this story is derived from 'Attar's *Tadhkirat al-awliya*, ed. M. Isti'lami (Tehran: Zawwar, [1374] 1995–6), p. 381. The episode occurs in the entry for Shah Shuja' Kirmani (d. 883–4), He is regarded as a great exponent of *futuwwat*. See *Al-Qushayri's Epistle*, trans. A. Knysh, p. 52.

---

## **SECTION III**





---

# Introduction to the *Treatise of Hatim*

How frail are riches and their joys!  
Morn builds the heap which eve destroys;  
Yet can they leave one sure delight—  
The thought that we've employed them right.

What bliss can wealth afford to me,  
When life's last solemn hour I see?—  
When Mavia's sympathising sighs  
Will but augment my agonies?

Can hoarded gold dispel the gloom  
That death must shed around his tomb?  
Or cheer the ghost which hovers there,  
And fills with shrieks the desert air?

What boots it, Mavia, in the grave,  
Whether I loved to waste or save?  
The hand that millions now can grasp  
In death no more than mine shall clasp.

Were I ambitious to behold  
Increasing stores of treasured gold,  
Each tribe that roves the desert knows  
I might be wealthy, if I chose.

But other joys can gold impart;  
Far other wishes warm my heart;—  
Ne'er may I strive to swell the heap  
Till want and woe have ceased to weep.

### *Treatise of Hatim* introduction

With brow unaltered I can see  
The hour of wealth or poverty:  
I've drunk from both the cups of Fate,  
Nor this could sink, nor that elate.

With fortune blest, I ne'er was found  
To look with scorn on those around;  
Nor for the loss of paltry ore,  
Shall Hatem seem to Hatem poor.<sup>1</sup>

The above poem, composed by a pre-Islamic Arab, is evidence of a tradition of generosity and munificence prior to the blossoming of Sufism, and even of Islam. The author, Hatim Ta'i, lived just prior to the advent of Islam, although tradition has it that Muhammad came to hear about him and his renown for munificence.<sup>2</sup> The early Islamic sources recount how 'Ali was sent to destroy the temple of the Banu Ta'i, and in the process captured Hatim's daughter and brought her before Muhammad. She begged the Prophet to free her and described the noble, generous character of her father. Muhammad replied, 'Let her go, for her father loved noble ways, and God likewise loveth them.'<sup>3</sup> The Prophet's kindness to Hatim Ta'i's daughter and his high opinion of her father permitted poets and the literati to wax lyrical about Hatim, who became celebrated for his generosity and *futuwwat*. Stories about him appeared in the early period of Islamic history, such as in the *Aghani*,<sup>4</sup> and his fame spread further once Persians began to compose in Farsi and anecdotes about his life and character were reported in a number of works. He was mentioned frequently in the writings of Rumi,<sup>5</sup> Sa'di<sup>6</sup> and Awfi<sup>7</sup> among others. The significance of *futuwwat* in Persian-speaking lands from the eleventh century onwards inevitably resulted in the figure of Hatim Ta'i assuming increasing importance as a means to promote the ethic. This is evident in the inclusion of anecdotes related to Hatim in *futuwwat namas* which were composed for members of organised Sufi-*futuwwat* associations,<sup>8</sup> yet it seems that the ideal of generosity, munificence and kindness was one that appealed to the ruling classes too. This is nowhere more evident than in the *Treatise of Hatim*, the work translated here in the third section, which was composed by Husayn Wa'iz Kashifi in 1486.

## Husayn Wa‘iz Kashifi’s Commitment to Sufism

Kashifi was one of the illustrious members of the Timurid royal court which had its capital in Herat. The court offered patronage to a range of artistic and literary endeavours; as Munfarid says, ‘the period of Sultan Husayn Bayqara [the Timurid monarch] ... was one of the most glorious of times for Herat in attracting scholars, artisans, skilled craftsmen, writers and seekers of wisdom’.<sup>9</sup> Kashifi’s literary output epitomises the diverse and sophisticated tastes of the Timurid court, as he composed treatises on astrology, Qur’anic interpretation, ethics, epistolography and alchemy, as well as a treatise commemorating the murder of Husayn at Karbala,<sup>10</sup> and several works on Sufism.<sup>11</sup> In addition to being a prolific author Kashifi had experience of employment as chief judge in Sabzawar,<sup>12</sup> and he also became celebrated for his popular preaching (thus his nickname Wa‘iz, or preacher), resulting in a hectic schedule at various prestigious venues from Tuesday through to Friday.

This ‘Renaissance-type figure’<sup>13</sup> was an extremely quick-witted individual, and this is illustrated well in the following anecdote. Kashifi’s association with leading Sunnis at the court in Herat resulted in the predominantly Shi‘-ite townsfolk of Sabzawar (Kashifi’s own hometown) adopting a rather hostile view of him. One day Kashifi was engaged in preaching at the congregational mosque of Sabzawar, and he spoke of Gabriel appearing twelve thousand times before Muhammad. An old man, seemingly wanting to expose Kashifi’s Sunni leanings, asked him how many times Gabriel had appeared before ‘Ali. Kashifi was able to answer the question and satisfy Sunni and Shi‘-ite perspectives by stating that Gabriel appeared twenty-four thousand times before ‘Ali, because of the *hadith* that reported that Muhammad was the city of knowledge and ‘Ali was the gate. So if Gabriel appeared twelve thousand times for the city of knowledge, on each occasion he would have to enter and exit the gate.<sup>14</sup>

It appears that Kashifi had left Sabzawar initially because of a dream in which he had been summoned by Sa‘d al-Din Kashgari (d. 1455), a Naqshbandi *pir*. Kashifi finally learnt that Kashgari was in Herat, but when he arrived in that city he discovered that the *pir* had passed away. However, at Kashgari’s tomb Kashifi became acquainted with the celebrated Sufi ‘Abd al-Rahman Jami (d. 1492), a connection that was strengthened when Kashifi married Jami’s sister. The sympathy that Kashifi had for the Naqshbandis may have been the motivation for his treatise entitled ‘The Generations of the

Khvajagan-i Naqshbandiyya',<sup>15</sup> and for dedicating another to the eminent Naqshbandi shaykh, 'Ubaydallah Ahrar (d. 1490).<sup>16</sup> Kashifi's Sufi connections may also be witnessed in his appointment by Sultan Husyan Bayqara<sup>17</sup> as shaykh of a *khanaqah* that was 'constructed expressly for him' in the central bazaar in Herat.<sup>18</sup> Despite all of this, Munfarid has cast some doubt on Kashifi's particular attachment to the Naqshbandi order, as there is no evidence of formal initiation to the Naqshbandis through either Jami or Ahrar.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, Munfarid claims that even though several of Kashifi's treatises indicate a firm inclination for Sufism, this gnostic predilection is minor in relation to the totality of his oeuvre.<sup>20</sup> Munfarid's caution about the specific nature of Kashifi's Sufi affiliation is well founded;<sup>21</sup> however, his reservation about the latter's attachment to Sufism is overly judicious. Sufism thrived in the Timurid period, epitomised by the esteem enjoyed by the Naqshbandi Sufis mentioned above. For example, Mir 'Ali Shir Nawa'i, the minister to Sultan Husayn Bayqara, was close to Jami, and undertook a period of Sufi retreat, subsequently founding and endowing a *khanaqah* in Herat.<sup>22</sup> (Jami himself enjoyed tax exemptions from Bayqara, and was permitted to receive the revenues on some land.)<sup>23</sup> However, it would be incorrect to view Sufism as receiving special treatment under the Timurids, for non-Sufis were also the recipients of royal favour; as Maria E. Subtelny argues, 'Under the Timurids, the granting of *vaqfs* [bestowments] became a way of rewarding the members of the religious establishment and at the same time, by giving them a stake in the economy, of ensuring their continued support for a government that safeguarded the stability of the economy.'<sup>24</sup> Subtelny has also commented that Sultan Husayn Bayqara liked to boast that 'during his reign, the pious endowments that under previous rulers had been allowed to go to ruin, were all restored and that there were in Herat nearly one hundred educational institutions (*hauza-'i dars*) all supported by income from *auqaf*'.<sup>25</sup> The same kind of reasoning can be applied to Husayn Bayqara's request to Kashifi to compose a treatise on Hatim Ta'i. Such a work, under the patronage of the Sultan, would squarely locate the ruler within the tradition of *jawanmardi*, and thus increase his prestige and reputation among the court, the educated and accomplished. Kashifi was most likely aware of the political considerations when composing the treatise, for not only did he include the conventional praise of his patron at the start of the work, but he also added a crucial passage at the end in which Husayn Bayqara is not merely compared to the great exponent of *jawanmardi*, Hatim Ta'i, but is elevated to a superior ranking. The following is not

found in Schaefer's edition (which is translated following this introduction), but it is included in Na'ini's and so it is reproduced here.

Even a fraction of the charity which the glorious endeavour of the architect of his Majesty [Husayn Bayqara] has prepared and brought to fruition (such as embellished mosques, flourishing *khanaqahs*, higher seminaries and many *ribats*, and others including gardens, bridges, shrines and tombs, and for each one of them he has greatly endowed [with] income and plantations) never passed the mind of Hatim Ta'i. The success of these kinds of buildings was not the companion of [Hatim's] time. If anything [of benefit] had really been derived from those buildings, its trace would have been visible, or reports of it would have appeared in the scrolls of the learned and in written reports. So it is clear that Hatim's generosity was different from the munificence and liberality of Sultan of the World ...

And if Hatim were alive in this age he would consider [that] the duties of manliness and the habits of *jawanmardi* would be derived from the close companions of [his] Royal Majesty and the pillars of the powerful state of a master of astrological conjunction ...

So, on several accounts it is clear that the rank of munificence of His Majesty has been higher, more complete, more eminent and more generous than the kindness and generosity of Hatim al-Ta'i.<sup>26</sup>

The point, to spell it out, is that if Husayn Bayqara endorsed and promoted *jawanmardi* and was superior to Hatim in generosity, kindness and selflessness, then so too should all his subjects.<sup>27</sup> Less reason then, for any malcontents in the Timurid court to support any potential opposition to the ruler in the late fifteenth century, a period in which Timurid power was weakening. The political reading of the text, however, cannot be divorced from the Sufi ethic, as the projection of the Sultan as the ideal *jawanmard* was performed in conjunction with the Sultan's support of Sufism (through the commissioning of literature and the bestowment of *awqaf*).

Kashifi's commitment to Sufism is also evident in his magisterial *Futuwwat Nama-yi Sultani*, the most comprehensive of all Persian treatises on *futuwwat*. In this work Kashifi claimed that he had studied all the existing treatises on *futuwwat* (he refers to those of the 'Great Shaykh', who is likely to be Suhrawardi, especially as the next text he mentioned was 'Awarif al-ma'arif'),<sup>28</sup> but the *Futuwwat Nama-yi Sultani* is much more than a simple compendium of diverse materials. Kashifi intended to write twelve chapters (although only seven appear

## *Treatise of Hatim* introduction

in the two extant manuscripts) in which the rituals and regulations, and the spiritual attributes and character traits both of members of the *futuwwat* organisations and of Sufis appeared side by side. Moreover, he also included two long chapters in which he described copiously the tasks of two large groups of workers and tradesmen, simultaneously portraying the spiritualised reality embedded within each trade.<sup>29</sup> The famous twentieth-century Iranian scholar Malik al-Shu‘ara Bahar remarked that ‘the *futuwwat namah-i sultani* ... is a useful book and if we did not have it in hand, we would have lost a valuable source of information on the social history of medieval Iran ... it is the key to all [the *futuwwat* treatises]’.<sup>30</sup> Many occupational treatises exist in manuscript form and these reveal strikingly close resemblances with *futuwwat* treatises,<sup>31</sup> which I have highlighted elsewhere.<sup>32</sup> For Kashifi, the ethical perspective of *futuwwat* was an integral part both of Sufism and also of the everyday life of tradespeople. Indeed, the impression that Kashifi leaves is that *futuwwat* permeated Timurid society. Since an excellent translation of Kashifi’s *futuwwat nama* was published in 2000, it is not necessary to deal further with this work. Instead, the focus of this particular chapter lies in a much shorter work, but one that should also be considered as a manifestation of the Timurid interest in *futuwwat*. This work is Kashifi’s *Treatise of Hatim* (*Risala-yi Hatimiyya*), which was commissioned by the ruler himself. Kashifi stated that Husayn Bayqara desired to hear ‘the circumstances of the kind and those possessing *muruwwat*, [and to hear] the stories of the generous and those possessing *futuwwat*’, and so he asked Kashifi to assemble a book about the life and stories of Hatim Ta’i, which the author completed in 1486.

## **The *Treatise of Hatim***

### (i) Style

Suhrawardi’s works on *futuwwat* were intended to present Sufism to a wider audience and promote his own form of orderly Sufism through *futuwwat* that outlined various regulations and the ‘pact’ between the spiritual master and his disciple. The *Futuwwat Nama-yi Mirza ‘Abd al-‘Azim Khan Qarib-i Garakani* attempted to locate *futuwwat* squarely within both Islamic (and prophetic) history and Sufi ritual activity. The *Treatise of Hatim* presents a version of *futuwwat* that was designed for the aristocratic, learned connoisseur who could appreciate not just the altruistic, Sufi message of *futuwwat* but also

Kashifi's refined linguistic skills. The copious inclusion of couplets and hemistiches (from masters including Sa'di, Rumi, Hafiz and Jami) is indicative of this, for it was a method by which Kashifi was able to demonstrate his erudition and sophisticated literary style.<sup>33</sup> This style reflected accepted Timurid norms, a period that has been described as the 'most "literate" of all periods in medieval Islamic Central Asian history'.<sup>34</sup> Two of the features of Timurid literature were, first, the avoidance of excessive Arabic and, second, composition in Persian and Turkish. Yet it seems that Kashifi was unable to resist the temptation to manifest his vast diction, as his prose works (such as *Anwar-i Suhayli* and *Risala-yi Hatimiyya*) contain a few Qur'anic and *hadith* citations, but also have a high percentage of Arabic words.<sup>35</sup> Yet the educated Kashifi was aware of the fluid nature of changing literary tastes (the controversy in the Timurid period over poetic style, the excesses of form over content, was certainly raging) and at the beginning of his work he humbly added the proverb that the person commissioned to do a work is excused (as he also did in the *Anwar-i Suhayli*). However, this may simply have been a conventional phrase of humility that was used by authors.

Kashifi was not merely the compiler of old stories but was also an expert at fashioning diverse old tales into seamless and refined prose.<sup>36</sup> The short episodes and anecdotes in the *Treatise of Hatim* are crafted with rhetorical skills and the conceits of language that would have brought smiles to the faces of readers and listeners. Consider the following in which Kashifi relates how a jealous king thought of killing Hatim:

So with the help of the mariner of reflection (*malab-i fikr*) I will cast the ship of his life into the whirlpool of annihilation (*girdab-i fana*), and with the assistance of the teacher of thought I will delete the letters of his name from the book of life.

Kashifi's reputation as a literary stylist has suffered much at the hands of British orientalists. For example, E. G. Browne, the famous English scholar of Persian literature, remarked that Kashifi's *Kalila wa Dimna* was 'florid and verbose', and a generation later Arberry spoke of 'aesthetic corruption'.<sup>37</sup> There can be little doubt that Kashifi's polished Persian text is not an easy read for non-native readers. However, his style and diction, and his penchant for oscillating between poetry and prose were deliberate rhetorical devices. His utilisation of double-worded metaphors, antithesis and Sufi technical terms (all contained

## *Treatise of Hatim* introduction

in the quote above) were carefully selected to embellish the underlying ethical message. The verbosity of ‘aesthetic corruption’ was a literary conceit that was designed to encourage not just a single reflection, but multiple appraisals in which the meanings of the text would gradually unfold.<sup>38</sup>

Despite the rhetorical skill and the pleasant and smooth flow of the anecdotes, interspersed with Persian poetry, the *Treatise of Hatim* seems to have existed in the shadow of Kashifi’s other literary achievements. Indeed, it seems that very few copies of the work were made: in his catalogue of Persian manuscripts Munzawi lists only three manuscripts.<sup>39</sup> By contrast, mention should be made of the hundreds of copies of Kashifi’s Qur’anic commentary, *Mawahib-i ‘aliyya*,<sup>40</sup> or his celebrated text *Rawdat al-Shuhada*, on the martyrdom of the third Shi‘ite Imam, Husayn at Karbala, which achieved popularity soon after Kashifi’s death in Iran because of the establishment of Shi‘ism as the official religion of the new Safavid dynasty.<sup>41</sup>

### (ii) Contents

It is not easy to categorise or classify the contents of the treatise, aside from pointing to the very loose chronological frame. Kashifi did not insert any divisions or headings into the text; perhaps the relative brevity of the treatise was deliberate in order that the treatise would be read or recited in one sitting. The treatise has a short introduction in which Kashifi praises the patron of the treatise, and then follow approximately twenty stories and anecdotes of varying length. The first few stories set the stage without focusing primarily on Hatim. It is true that the first anecdote briefly recounts Hatim’s infancy in which the signs of his future *jawanmardi* become manifest; however the second concerns his marriage to Mawiya (in which Hatim is not the main protagonist; nevertheless it is an amusing anecdote that illustrates the nature of *jawanmardi*) and the third is a account told by Hatim’s son ‘Adi. This third anecdote is the first of three stories that feature *jawanmardi* and kingship; the first reflects a wise king whose clemency wins over an arrogant and ambitious general. The second and third story featuring kings reflect their jealousy of Hatim and how the latter’s *jawanmardi* eventually saves his own life and earns the respect of the king. Following these anecdotes Kashifi included several stories in which Hatim manifests his *jawanmardi* to poor and lowly members of society. Perhaps Kashifi deliberately juxtaposed the stories of sovereigns and abject individuals simply to

demonstrate that *jawanmardi* was applicable to all, and Hatim made no distinction based on wealth or prestige. Subsequently, Kashifi inserted several edifying statements from Hatim which illustrated his kindness, humility and recognition of how to achieve a tranquil life. Finally, the treatise is concluded with several anecdotes that illustrate both how Hatim's life was remembered in posterity and how even in death his ethical values resulted in miracles around his grave.

Although the treatise contains no specific mention of Sufism, it is appropriate to consider this work a treatise that bears the stamp of *Sufi-futuwwat*. As already outlined above, Kashifi was a committed Sufi who accepted openly that *futuwwat* was indeed part of the Sufi way. However, there is a certain tension between the Sufi aim of complete selflessness and the desire within *futuwwat* to earn a good reputation and name (which is indeed manifest in Kashifi's treatise). The general message of the *Treatise of Hatim* is the ethic of hospitality and generosity, which is offered for both altruistic and self-interested purposes:

No praiseworthy attribute or pleasing quality lasts as long as [either] a good name on the page of time [or] a good recollection on the pages of the books of night and day, because they are derived through the nature of benevolence and *jawanmardi*, and the path of generosity and performing good acts. The evidence for this is that it is the year 1486 (891 *hijri*), and nine hundred and thirty- six years have passed since the date of Hatim Ta'i's death, and the meadow of his good name blossoms with eulogies and approval.

This tension does not sit well with Sufi ideals of selflessness, yet the above quote is not an isolated example of the desire for lasting fame, as on several occasions Kashifi has Hatim relate that a good name is a major motivation for him. The control of the ego (*nafs*) was one of the Sufis' principal endeavours, and many a Sufi paid special attention to a spiritual struggle in which the ego and the reputation were belittled. This is in contrast to stories and anecdotes relating to Hatim Ta'i, which may reflect the heritage of a pre-Islamic Arab past where honour and virtue were twinned in the name of the individual and the tribe.<sup>42</sup> Although the Malamati spiritual tradition (see the Introduction to this book) appears to have died out, its legacy remained strong in the general Persian-Sufi worldview. The tension between selflessness and the desire to leave a good name needs to be tempered with other teachings in the treatise, such as the emphasis on

## *Treatise of Hatim* introduction

generosity and humility. Kashifi has Hatim recognise how some peasants outstrip him in generosity, yet the point is made with reference to Hatim's praise of these peasants and his appreciation of his own comparative lack. Otherwise the treatise accords well with a Persian Sufi tradition with its self-reflexive and introspective nature which was always careful to consider the needs of others first and foremost.

The life of Hatim as depicted in the treatise would certainly be impossible to imitate, as on numerous occasions he offered to the needy and destitute everything he owned, or exceeded the amount that he was expected to give. Yet this is, of course, a pedagogical tool and functions in the same way as exaggerated tales found in Sufi hagiographies. Such narratives force readers into uncomfortable corners from which they must contemplate not necessarily the literal veracity of the tale but the general application of the story, myth or parable to their own lives. Kashifi was extremely skilled in this art, for if his readers scorned Hatim's generosity because of his inherited fortune, the ethical requirement for generosity was still present in the stories of the peasants' munificence (as mentioned above). Moreover, the hyperbolic parables in the story were most likely designed to shame and guide the wealthy and well-positioned into a more compassionate lifestyle. It was the wealthy and the literate who were most likely to have read or listened to the treatise as its style was clearly not intended for the uneducated tradesperson who was probably not versed in the literary conceits with which Kashifi embellished the work.

Another interesting feature of the text concerns the portrayal of women. Several of the anecdotes present women in a positive fashion, even to the extent of getting the better of men. This includes Mawiya, Hatim's wife, who reveals the capricious nature of two of her suitors; Hatim's mother who manifests the unworthy character of Hatim's brother; a wretchedly poor woman who outshone Hatim in generosity; and Hatim's daughter, who successfully negotiated her freedom from the Prophet. Although these stories did not originate in Kashifi's era, the fact that he included these four episodes, portraying women in a positive fashion, suggests that he felt comfortable with such gender roles, a reflection of the culture in which he was writing.<sup>43</sup> (Of course it is also possible that the presentation of 'strong' women who were a match for men may have been deliberate, that is to say, to shock the audience, making them concentrate all the harder.)

Kashifi's *Treatise of Hatim* offers a contrast to the preceding two treatises in this book. Whereas Suhrawardi's work on *futuwwat* and the *Futuwwat Nama-yi Mirza 'Abd al-'Azim Khan Qarib* have his-

torical interest (and may be appreciated for their spiritual insights as well), Kashifi's work is arguably more appealing ethically and spiritually, and its literary merits are by far superior. There are only three known versions, and it was in 1883 that the work was first published.<sup>44</sup> A more recent version was published in Tehran in 1941.<sup>45</sup>

One final point concerns the translations of the poetry in the *Treatise of Hatim*. Kashifi's polished prose work in this treatise was complemented by about ninety pieces of poetry, ranging from quatrains to pieces of *mathnawi* and sections from *gazals*, each of which have different rhyming schemes and metre. I first translated the poetry in a literal fashion, but when I read the text back I found that the prose and the poetry just did not fit together. For this reason, I decided to make the poetry rhyme. Inevitably this has meant that something of the original meaning has been lost in translation (although I have attempted to keep the general meaning and preserved the major technical terms used by Kashifi). I make no claims to be a poet; there is no consistent metre and the rhyming scheme is a rather unsophisticated form of simple rhyming couplets. However, in the spirit of Kashifi's writing, I felt that the advantages of rendering the poetry in this fashion far outweighed those of what would be a rather stagnant, literal, prose version of the poetry.

### *Suggested Reading*

#### Persian

Afshari, Mihran and Madayini, Mihdi *Chahardah risala dar bab-i futuwwat wa asnaf* (Tehran: Nashr-i chishma, [1381] 2002–3).

Mahjub, M. J. Introduction to his edition of Kashifi's *Futuwwat Nama-yi Sultani* (Tehran: Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1971).

Munfarid, M. F. *Payvand-i siyasat wa farhang dar 'asr-i zuwal-i Timuriyan wa zuhur-i* (Tehran: Anjuman-i athar wa mufakhir-i farhang, 1382), pp. 315–49.

Sarraf, M. (ed.) *Rasa'il-i jawanmardan*, 2nd edn (Tehran: Institut Français en Iran, 1991), pp. 226–39.

#### English

Amanat, Abbas 'Meadow of the Martyrs: Kashifi's Persianization of the Shi'i Martyrdom Narrative in the Late Timurid Herat', in F. Daftary and J. Meri (eds), *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), pp. 250–75.

### *Treatise of Hatim* introduction

- Babayan, Kathryn *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 161–96.
- Kashifi, Husayn Wa‘iz *The Royal Book of Spiritual Chivalry*, trans. Jay R. Crook (Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, 2000).
- Loewen, Arley ‘Proper conduct (*Adab*) is everything: the *futuwwat-namah-i sultani* of Husayn Va‘iz-i Kashifi’, *Iranian Studies*, 36(4) (December 2003), pp. 543–70.
- Sands, Kirstin Zahra ‘On the popularity of Husayn Va‘iz-i Kashifi’s *Mavahib-i ‘aliyya*’, *Iranian Studies*, 36(4) (December 2003), pp. 469–83.
- van Ruymbeke, Christine ‘Kashifi’s forgotten masterpiece: why rediscover the *Anvar-i Suhayli*?’ *Iranian Studies*, 36(4) (December 2003), pp. 571–88.

---

# The *Treatise of Hatim*

In the name of God, the all-Bountiful,  
The Arranger of all His servants acts,  
The all-Bounteous who formed hearts and spirits.  
He created the world through His munificence,  
And in the arena of great esteem  
Raised Muhammad's banner.

The most felicitous Word contains such great wisdom which confirms that '*you will not attain to piety until you spend of that which you love*' (3.86), and from a sound *hadith* the master of the world exclaimed, '*Generosity is [being] close to God, close to paradise, close to the people, but distant from the fire.*' So it is clear from these first lines that this book concerns praiseworthy ethics, morals, generosity (*sakha*) and kindness (*karam*). There is no crown more noble for the head of worthy aspiration, and no garment of honour (*khil'at*) more exquisite upon the tall frame of merit than generosity.

Nothing's better than generosity.  
With kindness comes wealth for eternity.  
Renounce cash! Earn the cache of certainty.

Not one of the virtues that exalt humans by their acquisition is greater than the benefit of generosity because the purpose of the class of worshippers who rise at night and the group of ascetics who are abstinent and endure the load of worship night and day, and fast during the day and rise at night, is to be saved in the next world and to attain the wealth of this world. They obtain this goal through kindness and generosity: '*And whoso is saved from his own greed – such are they who are successful*' (59.9).

Increase your kindness, for on the Last Day  
*Jawanmards* will be on salvation's way.

The great ones have compared munificence to a sapling because its fruit has a meritorious name in the world and a good end in the hereafter.

Benevolence is a sapling that grows  
In place of fruit, pearls and jewels it shows.

In the traditions it is related that generosity is a tree in the garden. *Jawanmardi* is a tree that grows in the meadow of paradise, and generosity is a sapling that is nurtured at the river banks of *Kawthar*;<sup>46</sup> it has raised its head into Heaven, and its branches reach there. The nature of the person who is inclined to munificence and generosity has touched one of this tree's branches. This tree raises [such a person] from the nadir of abjectness to the pinnacle of acceptance by the attraction of [divine] succour. On this subject it is stated in the *Mathnawi* of Mawlana<sup>47</sup>:

Generosity – a branch of paradise  
And the man who let's go pays a heavy price.  
Generosity is the strongest tie,<sup>48</sup>  
It pulls the soul from the earth to the sky.  
Oh you of good faith, it surely takes you  
Back to your place of origin anew.<sup>49</sup>

By decree, existence without munificence (*wujud bi jud*) is non-existence (*'adam*), and even if the beneficent man dies he will be remembered by the [whole] world.

Through kind remembrance, eternal's a name,  
The harvest of man's days will bring him fame.

No praiseworthy attribute or pleasing quality lasts as long as [either] a good name on the page of time [or] a good recollection on the pages of the books of night and day, because they are derived through the nature of benevolence and *jawanmardi*, and the path of generosity and performing good acts. The evidence for this is that it is the year 1486 (891 *hijri*), and 936 years have passed since the date of Hatim Ta'i's death, and the meadow of his good name blossoms with eulogies and approval.

Hatim Ta'i is no longer with us, and yet  
 His name, known for goodness, in stone is set.<sup>50</sup>

[Panegyric for the Patron, Husayn Bayqara, Ruler of Herat]

[He is] endowed with the kingship of kings, his victorious majesty, the sovereign of Islam, the shadow of the Omniscient King over human kind, the commander of [both] land and time, the manifestation of the lights of peace and security, the sun in the heaven of glory and worldly governance, the unique jewel of the sea of greatness and royalty, the escalating steps of sovereignty and rulership, the rising ascent of miracles (*karamat*) and power of the great sultan, greatest lord of the Arab and Persian kings.<sup>51</sup> [He is an] army destroying Khusraw and emperor of territories, king of kings, ruler of the East and West, the shadow of the truth, of the absolute light and king of the conjunction of planets,<sup>52</sup> king Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan Husayn, Mu'izz-i Mulk [wa] Din,<sup>53</sup> it is said that people and Jinn pray for his majesty, May God Almighty extend his shadow all over the Earth.

He is decorated by his own essence and his innate generosity, and adorned with the nobility of munificence and bountifulness. He is exalted by the abundance of generosity and high aspiration. According to [the wisdom of] '*indeed, only the erudite know the value of the erudite*', he always pulls the reins of desire to hear the circumstances of the kind and those endowed with *muruwwat*, [and to hear] the stories of the generous (*sakha*) and those possessing *futuwwat*, and to investigate their circumstances and study their tales. Proof of this is that the king gave a felicitous decree to this humble man, Husayn al-Kashifi, to write in Persian whatever I have seen in a book or heard from a dear friend about the stories and works of Hatim Ta'i, whose breath of kindness and *muruwwat* abides in the gardens of tongues and on people's lips. The flashes of the magnificent sun and generosity of [Hatim Ta'i] are clear, like a bright day, for all the people. [I accepted the command] so that [the king] could obtain greater awareness and more information about his states, just as they were. According to the principle that 'the commissioned person is excused' [I] put these stories together and recounted a little of what has appeared in the genealogies, the reports and writings of Hatim, whatever is mentioned in the reliable histories and reputable books worthy of consideration. It is hoped that it will be acceptable to His Excellency [the king], the insight [of whom] has the affect of

alchemy, because the meekest would be proud and honoured by the acceptance of these unworthy presents, which accord with the value of the giver.

The soul of riches, this gift we bestow,  
Not worthy of you, its merit so low.

[Now to begin.] The truthful, intelligent narrators, reporters who are sincere in relating, those knowledgeable in genealogy and those who recognise the Arab tribes [all] agree that the Arabs are the descendants of Qahtan or 'Adnan. But the Arabs from the region of Yemen are all descendants of Qahtan. In the districts of Yemen he built and established Sana'a, Hadramut, 'Adan and Taghar. Qahtan was the son of the Prophet Hud, and they called him 'Abid ('worshipper') in Syriac, and there are three generations from him to the Prophet Noah. Qahtan had a son called Ya'rab; he was the first person to speak Arabic and he lived in the region of Yemen. They used to call him Abu'l-Yemen. He had a son called Yashjab, which in Syriac means blood-shedding (*khunriz*). A son was born to him called Zayd, and when he grew up he was continually busy in taking prisoners (*basabi*), that is, capturing people and plundering, and for this reason they nicknamed him Saba. Saba had three sons: Kahlan, Mar and Hamir. God gave Kahlan a son, and he called him Adad. They used to call Adad 'the loud voice'. He had a son called Jalham, and he was always travelling and would pass by caravanserais and stations, and so they gave him the nickname 'Ta'i' (pass by). He was the father of the tribe of Shad (*qabila-yi shad*) of Yemen, and they used to call him Ta'i. Hatim was one of his descendants, and there are twelve generations [from Jalham] to Hatim. Among the tribe of Ta'i no one has ruled as king, but there have been famous individuals among them. The forefathers of Hatim had always enjoyed a high status in the tribe, and the authority of the Ta'i children was unquestionable. Hatim's father, 'Abdallah b. Sa'd Hashraj<sup>54</sup> was connected to the Banu Lakhm, and among the Banu Lakhm there had been rulers (*padshahan*) as the histories have affirmed, and Hatim was connected through his mother to a king (*malik*).

Traces of greatness were evident even when he was born. It has been narrated from Hatim's mother that when she gave birth to him, he refused to suckle, and he would close his mouth whenever she tried to drop milk into it. Only when an unknown child was brought forth and suckled until it was full would Hatim take the nipple and

drink milk. It is clear from this that each person is given something in pre-eternity, and it is sent with him or her to the world of corruption and decay. So it has been said,

Prior to time, love was my sweetheart's gown  
I brought it with me – could not cast it down.

Many traces [of greatness] flashed across and appeared on the surface of his face.

In the meadow is a bud, fresh and new,  
Of notice at first, its scent and its hue.  
At the break of dawn the world becomes bright,  
And slowly the day manifests its light.

As a child Hatim did not eat unless he had a companion or friend with him, and he never sat down to dine alone. He would offer something to the beggars from his own hand without anyone else helping, and he tried to satisfy the people in need as much as possible. Those with vision (*abl-i basarat*) saw a noble countenance in his face and the masters of insight (*arbab-i basirat*) studied the magnanimous proofs in the pages of his states.

People of reasoning at him would just stare,  
With all their hearts, a prayer for him they would share:  
'This is such a pleasing jewel,' remarked one,  
'And he'll seize the world when all is said and done.'  
One sage said, 'This is a new moon in the sky –  
And from love it will wax perfect, up on high.'

When Hatim reached the age of maturity, and the sapling of his stature arose in the meadow of fortune, all the intrinsic (*lazim*) praiseworthy attributes were present in his essence, but his benevolence (*ihسان*) had an extrinsic affect (*muta'di*) on other people. He had all good qualities in his temperament, but [his] kindness affected many other people and was universal. The sea of his pearl-giving palm embarrassed the generous hands of the clouds in bestowing gifts. His universal generosity humiliated the light-giving sun in extending benevolence:

Swelling with kindness, he was a great sea,  
Gifts in his palm caused the clouds jealousy.<sup>55</sup>

He emptied treasuries in donating alms.  
And enlightened folk's hearts by his loving charms.

The tongues of the time could only praise him continually, and the ear of the age heard nothing but the voice blessing him among the low and high born; the rain of his grace washed away the dust of poverty and need from the pages of the horizon; and his general favour (*in'am-i 'amm*) was amazing because it gave release from the degradation of need.

Through generosity the poor were made glad,  
Neither needing to beg – nor made to feel sad.

Hatim was famous and well known among the aforementioned tribes for munificence and kindness and for having a good reputation in reviving [the fortunes of] the Arabs. The benefit of this state, in its very essence, became manifest for the nobles of each tribe. The bud of a wish blossomed in the meadows of the leaders' breasts that they would arrange a connection to him through their family. They [wanted to] marry a noble pearl of theirs with that jewel of benevolence. But due to the demands of his lofty endeavour (*'ulu himmat*) Hatim did not pay attention to any of his peers or equals. Moreover the reins of [his] intent could not be directed to anyone superior to him among the Arab tribes of Yemen. Finally fate fell upon the name of Mawiya Tamima, and in the *Tuhfa-yi Maliki* it is reported that Mawiya bint 'Afzar was an Arab of noble birth (*buzurgzada*), possessing superior lineage and descent, free from imperfection and possessing perfect beauty. The divine, skilled painter sketched her face with the pen of '*We created man in the best of forms*' (95.4), and the divine hand of power cleansed the radiant mirror of her face with the polish of '*He fashioned you in a shapely fashion*' (40.66).

Her stature erect, and her face so fair,  
Her eyebrow a bow; a lasso her hair.  
In a field she's a cypress tree, so to speak,  
Her locks waft violet, jasmine the cheek.

And although Mawiya possessed unlimited virtue, and was adorned with a good character and a pure heart, the beauty of [her] face was evident for all.

Bemused at its meaning! I see your face.  
So your nature too, must be full of grace.

Mawiya's father left the decision of marriage [to her], and its timing would be at her satisfaction so that she could marry whomever she found worthy and suitable. Making a marriage tie would let her rest her head in peace on her pillow. When the news of this spread around Yemen, the reputation of Mawiya's perfection, beauty and lineage became well known. All of the Arabs of noble birth showed themselves to Mawiya and tried to find means to send messages [expressing their] inclination [for her]. Mawiya wanted to test each and every one of them, and she wanted to see if there was a defect in their standards. If there was a defect she would draw a mark of rejection upon the page of each person's disposition. In short, Hatim was also interested in marrying Mawiya, and it pulled the reins of desire in him, and he made preparations for the journey and made her tribe aware [of his arrival]. At that time Nabigha DUBYANI,<sup>56</sup> who was one of the Arab luminaries, set out for Mawiya's residence with one of the leaders of Yathrib, who had the same intention, and by chance they [all] reached the halfway point on the road to Hallam. They approached Mawiya's [dwelling] in companionship and agreement with each other, and [when they reached their destination] they all told Mawiya's intimates their request.

Each suitor has a proposal to make.  
Which of them will she eventually take?

Mawiya was aware of the guests' situation, and she sent a message to the effect that 'You have now arrived and have endured the hardship of journeying and the troubles of being away from home. Tonight in the lodging that [I have arranged] you should compose a poem on your genealogy, virtues and qualities, and mention the glory and good traits of [your] fathers and ancestors. Bring [the poems] to me in the morning, so that I can assess the quality of the poem, the delicacy of your minds and the circumstances (*ahwal*) and genealogy of each of you, and then I will inform you of my decision [of marriage].' They went to their lodgings and Mawiya departed and ordered those in her service, one by one, to slaughter a camel, and they sent it to [the guests'] tents. [Then] she put on some old clothes to disguise herself as a beggar, and she went to the entrance of each one of the lodgings and began to solicit for camel meat. Nabigha gave her the tail, and the

Yathribi gave her the liver and pieces of spleen. But because of his inherent kindness, Hatim gave her some thigh meat and some of the hump. Mawiya took all the meat to her house and ordered her servant to cook it all. The next day the guests gathered for the assembly, and they presented their poems. Mawiya made some remarks about the worthiness of their poems and then commanded [her servants] to prepare the meal. Placed before [the suitors] were the very same offerings, cooked, which they had donated as alms. Out of miserliness and meanness Nabigha and the [guest] from Yathrib arose and departed from the assembly in utter humiliation, and they prepared their baggage for the [return] journey on [their] camels. As a result of [his] kindness and great magnanimity (*'ulu himmat*) Hatim sat content, as the choice of fate had fallen upon him. So, in great happiness and prosperity they were married, and Hatim's name for nobility and great fame multiplied among the Arabs because of this:

Hatim's delight with this fine marriage grew.  
His name to the Hijaz from Yemen flew.

Hatim and Mawiya had two sons. The elder was called Malik and the younger 'Adi. When grown up they always accompanied their father, and waited in assistance, just like servant boys. One day Hatim called them and said, 'Oh children! There is no one in the world without a problem, and no one has a disposition without some desire. I want you to tell me what your hearts covet and what your secret wishes are. Don't hide your desires, claims, goals or aims from me. I want to know your circumstances, so tell me, in short, your desires and hopes.' Malik kissed the ground out of respect, and after a prayer he said, 'Oh honourable father! All of my aspiration (*himmatt*) is confined to [thinking about] how to gain much wealth, countless goods and treasures. [I want to be] the lord and master over [my] peers and companions, indeed over all the dignitaries of the time. I want to make the servants competent, and I want war-worthy armaments made for me so that I can hunt on horseback or engage in battle with a number of people.'

Both fishing and hunting I wish to go,  
So I shall select the lasso and bow.  
Onager catching and lasso hurling,  
Now free to explore, the world unfurling.  
Drawing the bow, and from fear of this dart –  
At war draw blood from the enemy's heart.

Hatim turned to [his younger] son [and said], ‘Oh son! What do you say, and what are your heart’s secrets and the aims that you have set?’ ‘Adi replied, ‘Oh Beauty of the Arabs! All my aspiration is limited to freeing slaves, and enslaving the free. I always wish to buy a slave and then release him, and to be kind to a free person and thereby enslave him.’ Hatim said, ‘I heard bravery (*shuja‘at*) from your brother, and I detect the scent of generosity from you.’ ‘Adi said, ‘Nothing is hidden from your blessed mind, for there is no need of bravery for he who is generous because he can control the leader of the rebellious people through benevolence (*ihsan*), and he can bring the neck of the rebels into the collar of obedience through the rope of good works.’

Through kindness, the heart you can firmly enchain.  
 A friend from a foe it can certainly gain.  
 In placating the heart of the enemy  
 Better is munificence than bravery.

‘I have heard an anecdote, and in order to support this argument, I shall tell it [to you] if you give permission and if you are good enough to listen to me.’ Hatim assented, and ‘Adi said, ‘I have heard that one of the rulers had a commander-in-chief (*sipahsalar*) who was endowed with a strong mind and made influential decisions, and he was famous and well known in that country because he defeated armies and killed enemies. He was well received by the king and was one of the eminent persons of the domain, and the king did not reject his policies or advice.’

Each royal garden thrived – twas to him due –  
 Through his grip on power the army grew.

‘Those who bore a grudge told the king, “Your commander-in-chief wants to divert from the path of obedience, proceed along the road of rebellion and mutiny, and follow the route of revolt and insurrection.” [The king] thought, “If he loosens the reins of resolution many of the army grandees and the leaders of the guards will oppose us. It will be a terrible disgrace for the country if he rebels and it will also weaken the foundations of the kingdom. The idea of rebellion would affect those who until now had been obedient and orderly in our royal court; they would contemplate rebellion and disobedience. Before anything occurs and before pandemonium spreads it is necessary to prepare and respond to the threat.”’

Avoid a disease because it can spread.

It cannot be cured should it reach a head.

‘So, he took counsel with the state elite and the trustworthy, and everyone’s advice on this matter confirmed that [the king] should arrest [the *sipahsalar*]. The king applauded them for the wisdom of [their] advice and the soundness of their opinions, and he praised [them] by approving their words. He moved quickly and the next day he sought the commander (*amir*) and called him to a meeting in a location more dignified than usual. In glowing terms that were all the more exaggerated [the king] enumerated [the commander’s] laudable qualities and praiseworthy course of action in public. [The king then] ordered exquisite items from his treasury and ready cash [for the commander], the amount of which was more than he deserved. When the opportunity came, the leaders of good opinion who had seen the welfare and the right course of action in putting [the commander] in fetters asked what the reason was for the change [in the king’s] mind. The king smiled and said, “I have not acted contrary to your opinion, and I have not opposed your policy, but I wanted to tie him in stronger fetters, and fasten up all his bodily members and limbs. After consideration, I saw no fetter stronger than benevolence (*ihsan*), and no place for restraining [him] better than his heart. Each fetter works on a particular part of the body, so I wanted to place a fetter on his heart, for the heart is the Sultan, and the bodily members and limbs are its servants and attendants. When the source is placed in a fetter the members that are subservient to it will also be tied. Iron chains that are placed on limbs can be broken with a file, but the chains of kindness and benevolence that are put on a heart cannot be loosened by anything. In sayings (*amthal*) it is told that a man is a follower of benevolence. The wild beast can be taken by a snare, and [a man] through benevolence and generosity.”’

Be kind! For a man captured, oh my son,

Is made wild by chains or through kindness won.

Through your kindness enchain the enemy;

With a sword the lasso is not cut free.

With kindness and gentleness treat the foe,

His rancour will vanish from head to toe.

‘And so, this [message] had come to the blessed mind of the king. The fire of the commander’s opposition was extinguished by immeasur-

able generosity, and the root of rancour was completely removed from the bottom of his heart by such great kindness. The commander, like the servants of pure intention, stood in the service of sacrifice to the king with sincere heart, and he did not leave the path of obedience for the rest of his life.’

Because of the kindness he received  
Not once disloyalty he conceived.

‘So it is clear from this story that the bud of generosity is greater than the fruit of bravery, for in bravery embarking on hazardous trials is necessary, and deliverance from this may be doubtful. But freedom from peril and dangerous places comes through the grace of generosity, and there is no doubt about the wisdom in this.’

Generosity is returned in lieu!  
Your praise of others falls back upon you.  
If to your enemy kindness you send  
No doubt he’ll become your devoted friend.

When ‘Adi had finished his story, Hatim took him to one side and kissed him on his head and on his face and said, ‘You are the dearest to me among my children.’

The father of this son will never die,  
More noble than his son; morals so high.

After that he took care of his education. ‘Adi had become adorned with high aspiration and innate kindness, and finally he had the privilege of being in the noble companionship of His Excellency [Muhammad] and put on the mantle of Islam, and was included among the noble companions. A little of this story will be mentioned later.

As the years passed the fame of Hatim’s generosity and *jawanmardi* increased so that [news of it] reached Syria and Rum.<sup>57</sup> At that time the Sultan of Rum was Hirqul,<sup>58</sup> whom the Arabs called the Great Ruler of Rum, and they told him that Hatim had a horse, fleet as the wind, that could cover long distances, could fly far like an arrow [shot] from a bow that passes quickly like a precious life, could run steadily, had a bite that was like molten iron and was fast when running and graceful when walking.

Like tears shed by lovers, so fair of face,  
It runs faster than Shabdiz in a race.<sup>59</sup>  
When charging, like lightening it flashes,  
Like a gale when through a field it dashes.

The king of Rum said to his vazir, 'The news of Hatim's generosity is widespread across Arabia and Persia, and his fame for *jawanmardi* has spread from East to West. I have heard that he has a horse with such and such an attribute and finesse. I desire to own [such] a mount [and I want] to check the reliability of this [rumour] and test the claim. So I shall send someone to [his] tribe to search for that horse.'

From Hatim I'll ask that Arabi mare  
If he is kind he'll comply with no care.  
The cash of goodness in him will I see,  
Or a hollow drum should he not agree.<sup>60</sup>

So he sent an envoy with gifts and presents that were worthy of Hatim. In a short time the king's envoy reached the territory of Hatim's tribe and stopped in the region where Hatim lived. As fate would have it rain and snow began to fall, thunder rumbled and lightning flashed as the envoy approached even closer. Hatim [came and] comforted him, and led [him] into his cosy dwelling. At once Hatim ordered for a beast to be killed and prepared for a meal. [The food] was given to the guest, and, after the meal, the bedding [for the night] was prepared. Hatim left the tent, and that night not a[nother] word was spoken. In the morning after Hatim went to greet his guest, the envoy showed him the firman and the gifts that the king of Rum had sent. When Hatim understood the [purpose of the] firman's contents he fell into deep contemplation, and because of the look of worry that appeared on his brow the envoy said, 'Oh *jawanmard*! We will not make such a hullabaloo if you refuse to give [us] a horse.' Hatim said, 'It is beyond the realm of imagination for me to refuse a horse, even if a lesser person had asked me, and even more so as a great king of high prestige makes the request and has sent to this unfortunate man such an eminent envoy. But I feel bewildered and I regret that I was not informed sooner so that that horse was not wasted.'

[From] that wind-coursing, Duldul-hast'ning beast,<sup>61</sup>  
For you last night I made a kebab feast.

In front or behind because it was black  
To the cattle no one could find a track.  
Since there was no choice for me any more  
Only that horse stood at my chamber door.  
Through *murūwwat* I did not desire  
My famished guest would have to retire.  
I want my name spread through the realm of course,  
So now let's not mention that famous horse.<sup>62</sup>

So he sent many horses and countless gifts to the king of Rum, and he showed friendship to the envoy by showering him with presents, and he departed from Hatim in a far more prosperous fashion. When the king of Rum was informed of the gist of what had taken place he considered it just and in line with *futuwwat* to [consider] Hatim [with appropriate] fairness. This story is related by the Shaykh Muslih al-din Sa'di (may God's mercy be upon him).

[Sa'di] told another story that is also in the *Bustan*. In Hatim's time there was a king in whom the attributes of kindness and generosity prevailed, as did the qualities of benevolence and *murūwwat*. The food of his benevolence was always prepared for both the elite and common folk, and the drink of his bounty (*an'am*) was delicious in the mouths of the needy and destitute.

When generosity's hand is unfurled  
The habit of begging wanes in the world.

He alone wanted to be remembered in the name of kindness and for the qualities of munificence and generosity, and [for it] not to be [just] hearsay. It would fan the flames of his anger when someone said in front of him, 'You possess Hatim's attribute.' He would chastise that person and reply, 'Hatim is a desert-dweller, merely a subject in my kingdom. He does not possess a kingdom, and neither enjoys the rank of sovereignty nor has the power of a conqueror.'

He has no throne, no crown, or treasury.  
He gets no tribute that folk give to me.

'It is clear what sort of kindness comes from him and how much kindness he shows from the [paltry] number of horses, sheep and camels that he has. I give to beggars in one day whatever Hatim has in

one year. The lunch that I give to guests is equal to a hundred of his dinners.'

Look at the difference! No comparison!

In short, one day the king of Yemen held a great festival, and he invited the elite and the common folk to a great party. Every day he gave money to people just as the sun [radiates light to all], and he treated the poor and the needy by satisfying their needs and fulfilling their desires. But

One of the guests Hatim's name did raise,  
This only opened the gates of praise.

The king was vexed by this, and it aroused a blaze of resentment in him and stimulated the perspiration of jealousy. He thought, 'People will persist in [their] recollection of Hatim, and will not forget his attributes of performing good deeds and hospitality. So with the help of the mariner of reflection, I will cast the ship of his life into the whirlpool of annihilation, and with the assistance of the teacher of thought I will delete the letters of his name from the book of life.'

For as long as Hatim remains alive  
My good reputation will never thrive.

In his capital there lived a bandit (*'ayyar pisha*), who for [just] one dinar would take unjustly the life which was worth a hundred. In the hope of a little benefit he would burn many people in the fire of injustice.

Like the eyes of the lovely ones, murderous!  
Like the locks of the lovely, seditious!

The king of Yemen sent for him, relying on royal promises that would lead him to the tribe of the Banu Ta'i, and to kill Hatim by any trick. That bandit promised to slay Hatim, and he went to the Banu Ta'i tribe and reached their dwelling. He met a polite, handsome young man whose large face was luminous beneath his brow, and whose glory of happiness radiated from his face. With courtesy and in a sweet tongue, the young man asked him courteously, 'Where do you come from, and where are you going?' The bandit replied, 'I have

come from Yemen and I am travelling towards Syria.’ The young man then implored him, ‘Pay me the honour of stepping into my dwelling for one night so that we can informally offer you the food that has been prepared. In giving me this honour you will illuminate my humble abode with your presence.’

Come in and enlighten our evening.

The bandit became attached to the young man because of that kindness and affability, and he stepped into his dwelling.

With kindness, joy and sweet-talking flair  
Elephants can be pulled by a hair.

In short, that night the rituals of a feast were respected in a way the guest could never have imagined. However, he never disclosed [the secret in] his heart, because the traditions of *muruwwat* and the manners of humanity dictate that the smallest obligation should not be made of anyone. In addition hope cannot be pinned on any companion for even a thousandth degree of help. [Even so] hour by hour, [the bandit] admired the kindness of that young man in [his] heart, and he praised and lauded [him].

Thank God for morals and manners refined,  
You’ve surpassed all men through your acts so kind.

Minute by minute the host brought new dishes, and prepared various foods and colourful drinks [for the guest].

At every moment at this repast  
He served a dish tastier than the last.

This continued past the dark night until the morning light dawned on the horizon. The guest arose with tearful eyes and said goodbye to the host and expressed this sad verse:

This parting gives my heart much regret!  
Imagine if we had never met?

The young man implored the guest to stay, but the bandit offered all kinds of apologies and declined [the offer].

‘Need brought me here,’ he said with contrition,  
‘I must complete an important mission.’

The young man said, ‘You can be intimate with me and tell me of the mission.’ When the guest observed the kindness, the good morals, the *jawanmardi* and the affability of the host, he considered that, ‘My mission cannot be completed without the help of such a friend or the aid of this support which is the essence of *murūwwat*, assisting tasks, aspiration of *futuwwat* and kindness to strangers. There is no better course of action than revealing the task, so I will tell him my secret. I will complete this mission through this noble man (*azad mard*) whom I have befriended.’

Into the friend’s hands has fallen this quest,  
So take a seat, at ease may you rest.  
The friend will finish your troublesome feat,  
Your mission the companions will complete.

So at first he made the youth swear to keep the mission a secret, and after endless emphasis of this he divulged the secret and said, ‘I have heard that in these parts Hatim is the name of someone who is the pillar in *jawanmardi*, and who is an esteemed grandee in benevolence and kindness. The king of Yemen is vexed in his heart and is anxious because of him. I am a man afflicted by the times, and my circumstances are wretched. So, I derive my livelihood through banditry and thieving. In these circumstances the Sultan of Yemen sought me out and promised [me] much wealth and riches on the condition that I find Hatim and kill him. I have come to this region, but I don’t know who Hatim is, and I don’t know the way to his dwelling. Due to your kindness to the poor and your care of strangers it will be no surprise if you show Hatim to me, or if you cooperate and assist me in his murder. With your help I can be freed from the responsibility of carrying out my pledge and made rich through the king of Yemen’s promises.’ The young man listened to these words:

‘But I am Hatim,’ he said with a laugh.  
‘Now please take a sword and slice me in half.’<sup>63</sup>

‘Oh guest! Arise. Cut off my head before my servants come, and take it to the king. You can achieve your aims.’

So quickly Hatim obeyed the request  
That a sob emerged from the bandit's breast.<sup>64</sup>

Suddenly he fell to the ground in front of Hatim, kissed his hands and feet, and said:

'If a flower in your kind face I hurl  
No man am I among men, but a girl.'  
The bandit embraced him and kissed his eyes  
And departed to where the Yemen lies.<sup>65</sup>

Hatim prepared the provisions for the journey and dispatched them, and the bandit came to the king of Yemen and told him of what had taken place. Through his innate kindness, the king acted justly and through the path of freedom and *jawanmardi* acknowledged that kindness had never been created to this extent before and it was impossible for anyone to have generosity to this degree.

There are *jawanmards* with fortunes to give.  
But giving one's life is the way to live!

## Story

It is said that in spring, when flowers blossom, and the chamberlain of divine power has spread the colourful stall of '*the earth has taken on her ornaments*' (10.25) and the new arrivals from the unseen world are brought from the act of creation to the vantage point of '*Look therefore, at the traces of God's mercy*' (30.49), and the tongues of remembrance of those sitting in isolation in [their] earthen cells are dragged outside because of this melody, [Hatim] wanted to look at the meadows.

The garden is verdant from the showers of spring.  
Both colour and warmth the tulip-candles bring!

Hatim had come out to see the meadows with a group of his young servant boys, and he sat on swift horses that crossed the land. Suddenly their track passed over an even field and a plain suitable for racing horses. The Arab spectators were racing and watching horses, and they were naming them according to the [horses'] excellence in galloping, like 'Winner' (*mujalla*) and 'Second' (*musalli*), and they

had all the more pride through the horseracing. Hatim, too, wanted to gallop horses on this plain, and he let the racing horses loose in the arena. He galloped away, and even the wild, light-footed horse of the spheres would not catch him, and from its intense love the sun followed him like a shadow.

Horseshoe crescents in the earth were landing,  
Horse's ears, like spears, were upright standing.

They raced across [the course] and at the side of the field for horseracing stood a poor man wearing shabby clothes and drinking something rancid.

Enduring agony, much was he strained,  
Groaning, his frame was excessively pained.  
Poverty-stricken, indigent and meek,  
Nowhere to go, just a future so bleak.

Hatim saw the poor man while racing [his] horse and jesting with the Hejazi travellers. He stopped watching [the racing], rode towards [the poor man] and said, 'Oh poor man! Why are you standing in all this dirt and dust? Why have you focused your eyes of anxious expectation towards the horse arena?' The poor man didn't recognise Hatim and said, 'I am a destitute, poor man, enchained to the prison of poverty and need. I heard that Hatim Ta'i was racing horses and was hitting the ball of merriment with the polo stick of pleasure. I want the dust from Hatim's horse's hooves to settle on my head, for he is a man of good fortune. Perhaps I will be liberated from the suffering of adversity and misfortune, and the yoke of bad luck and affliction.'

Alchemy's the quality of your eyes,  
They glance at the ground, to gold they give rise.

Hatim dismounted and he gave the horse that he had been riding to him, along with the reins and saddle full of gold and ornaments. He took off his clothes and put them on [the poor man], and he gave him whatever the horses and servant boys had with them. He apologised and then started to walk home without clothes. Because of this liberality and benevolence [his] name for doing good deeds was recorded and written on the page of the period.

Inscribed in gold on this veil of green,  
‘Silver and gold won’t always be seen.’  
Rich man! Comfort the poor – bear this in mind,  
All that endures is the good of the kind.<sup>66</sup>

### Story

One day one of the bedouin came to Hatim because [he was] extremely thin and emaciated. He held a bag in his hand and said, ‘Oh Hatim! Fill my bag with flour and save my family from starvation.’ Hatim said, ‘I knew what you wanted, but you did not know whom to ask.’ So he ordered his treasurer, ‘Fill the bag of this Arab with pure, red-tinged gold in the place of white flour from my treasury.’ The treasurer obeyed the command and filled the bag with pure gold and held it out for the poor Arab. He wanted to take it but he could not because of his extreme weakness, emaciation and utter weakness. He said,

‘Until this kindness you gave me to drink,  
Destitution had brought me to the brink.  
The world’s gold does not rest long in your hand,  
In despair gold-mines on their heads pour sand.’

‘I am a very small man and your gift is very large, I can’t take it away without your camel.’ Hatim smiled and ordered that his servants give him the red-haired camel, and he put him in expensive clothes, and the Arab rode away holding on to his bag of gold. He said, ‘I asked the question of a man reduced to captivity (*asirana*) and received a princely (*amirana*) reply. I begged [for something] befitting my circumstances and state, and received a gift that was greater than my worth.

I asked but a drop. I was offered a sea!  
I asked but a stone. Pearls were given to me!

One of those dear to Hatim complained and said, ‘That beggar’s request of you was a bag of flour, so why must you give him such an amount of gold? The great ones said [that] the gift for each person should be in proportion to his request, and the [recipient of the gift] won’t be able to appreciate it if it is more [than he requested].’

The mosquito's maw simply cannot hold  
The elephant's mouthful, or so I'm told.

Hatim said, 'He asked for something that was appropriate for his circumstances, but I gave him [something] that matched his endeavour (*himmat*).'

The beggar asks something fit of his state,  
My generosity shows on his plate.  
So I don't regard the beggar so meek,  
It's my generosity that I seek.

In [Sa'di's] *Bustan* there are stories as the following.

An old man came walking to Hatim's store –  
'Spare a few grains of sugar, nothing more!'  
As I recall the narrator's report  
He received a sackful more than he sought.  
Hatim's wife said, 'Is this economy?  
Only a few grains was the old man's plea!'  
On hearing this, said that great one of Ta'i,  
'Oh Precious of the tribe! Must you ask why?  
He may have asked according to his need  
But to *jawanmardi* I must pay heed.'<sup>67</sup>

### Story

In *Zalal al-Safa fi sirat al-Mustafa* it is said that Hatim was a good example, the essence of generosity, the cream of kindness and the title page of the book of gifts. One day he was walking alone in the desert, and a number of Arabs approached him. They had taken a prisoner from the tribe of their enemies, tied him up and taken him with them. The prisoner recognised Hatim and began to implore him for help. Seeking assistance, he said,

'Oh kind one, who from generosity  
The garden of hope's as lush as can be.  
What would happen if my fate befell you?  
Your protection is needed! Help me do!  
Just through your kindness I could be set free.  
Think for a while and consider my plea.'

By chance, Hatim did not have anything with him, and in reply he said, ‘Oh poor man! It is unfortunate that you have called out my good name to the wind of scorn, and you have asked me for help in a place where you have found me penniless. In truth, right now, I would have given you anything in terms of generosity or help if I could.’

Look not for cash in a hand that is bare,  
It can't be kind when there's nothing to share.

So Hatim looked around him, to the left and right, and he saw nothing, and he did not have the strength to remove the fetters from the prisoner's hands and feet. Finally he undid the fetters [around the prisoner's] limbs and tied them around his own. Hatim [proposed] that he write a letter of release upon the register of [the prisoner's] fate, and the [Arabs] would bind him and release the prisoner. [Hatim] would remain in those fetters and chains until his helpers arrived and purchased him with a large sum of money from that group. He was remembered verbally and recollected in people's minds because of this kindness and generosity among the tribes.

Through kindness Hatim Ta'i nurtured his name.  
If you are kind, forget the money game.  
'In fortune's meadow,' so the saying goes  
'No sapling is there that like kindness grows.'  
Fortune's fruit on kindness' branch is borne.  
For the kind-souled, grace is bestowed each morn.

In addition to possessing the attribute of generosity Hatim also [understood] the finer points of wisdom, and the benefits of his judgements have been recorded in Arab poetical works and histories. For example, he advised his children, ‘You should make the performance of good deeds and benevolence the means to yield your goals, and the way to actualise your aims and plans. The goals of the *jawanmard* are realised according to their desire without his effort and endeavour.’

Open the door of kindness if you dare!  
From the unseen realm your dreams arrive there.  
Provide for others' wishes if you can  
And they'll provide for you, one to a man.

In addition, he said that you should distance yourself from vile-ness before it abandons you. Don't bother yourself hiding treasure. Rather, remedy the trouble by giving away the treasure.

Why must you be vexed with this world's appeal?

Worldly treasures are what others conceal.

In addition, he said, 'I want you to be cherished, so despise gold. People cherish and treat kindly the person who despises gold. All people despise and consider worthless the person who cherishes gold.'

To protect the body useful is wealth.

He who for wealth sacrifices his health  
Will find guardless wealth and body to be.

The kind folk see gold as their enemy  
And they are cherished more eternally.

### *Story*

Someone asked Hatim, 'Who has tranquillity in the world?' He replied, 'He who gives tranquillity to the people.' Then they asked, 'Who has tranquillity without vexation in the world?' He replied, 'He who can transform a poor man's troubles into comfort.'

If a Khosraw or Dara you are in might<sup>68</sup>

Do not fail to respect another man's right.

If generous you are despite your defects

Your ugliness then your own beauty reflects.

They said to Hatim, 'Among the Arabs there are many people wealthier than you, and around the world there are countless kind people and *jawanmardan*. So why has your name become famous and well known for the attributes of munificence and kindness among the Arabs and Persians?' He said, 'I have done two things about which others have been negligent, or was clear to them but they feigned negligence. One is that I never kept any beggar waiting. I placed beside him the object of his desire without promising [to help later] today or tomorrow':

If seeking help a dear friend implores you,

Take care of him. That's the least you can do.

If your help cannot improve his poor state,  
Don't lie, give false hope or tell him to wait.

'Second, I have never made a beggar feel indebted by a gift, rather I have felt indebted, and I have asked forgiveness. I have deliberated that if the duty to give alms has been incumbent on me, then my duty [to give] alms has been evident for him. He has begged for something from me because he has had a good opinion of me and thinks I am worthy. The duty of honouring [someone] is greater than the duty of [giving] alms. So his duty takes precedence over mine, and his duty of honouring me should not be lessened through service.'

Wherever the tree of kindness takes root  
Higher than the heavens it branches shoot.  
If you then have hope of its fruits to eat  
Don't place obligation's saw at its feet.

Hatim has expressed this really well because an obligation nullifies a gratuity, for generosity is when a load is removed from the sore heart of a poor man. When someone removes the burden of poverty from the neck of a helpless wretch, and he places the load of obligation (which is a thousand times heavier) around his neck, in fact his munificence is of no use to the beggar, rather, it is as if he has removed a straw and replaced it with a mountain. And the author of 'The Rosary of the Pious',<sup>69</sup> *may the shadow of its truths spread on the heads of the good people*, alludes to this reality:

If you lift poverty from someone poor  
On his neck don't place obligation's straw.  
Though poverty's stack is the poor man's fate  
The straw of obligation has more weight.  
So when alms are offered, God is the prize,  
Not one obligation comes from the wise.<sup>70</sup>

According to Hatim's words, one should not befriend a beggar who causes you loss but a beggar who gives you benefit. This proverb, '*jawanmardi* is all benefit', comes from him. From *jawanmardi* is derived any happiness that comes to you and whatever happiness you have in mind, [such as] fame, wealth, fortune, felicity, a good recollection and good name.

*The jawanmard is the spirit's sweetheart.*

*The spirit's purity from this does start. The wine of joy is his only  
potion,*

*In his name is the sign of devotion.*

*If you want the truth, the jawanmard's the wali,<sup>71</sup>*

*Kindness is the trade of the King of Men, 'Ali.*

They blamed Hatim for too much kindness, and this expression alludes to this criticism of him: *There is no charity in extravagance.*<sup>72</sup> In an instant Hatim turned their words on their head, for he said, '*There is no extravagance in charity.*' The meaning is that extravagance is not dependent on the quantity that someone gives in charity. Rather, extravagance occurs when someone spends something which is not for the purpose of charity.

*If a man gives alms just for God's pleasure,*

*A thousand bags of gold – 'tis short measure If*

*he then spends a penny on a whim,*

*For extravagance will be known of him.*

They asked Hatim, 'What is kindness?' He replied, 'Giving whatever there is to whomever there is.' They asked, 'Have you seen anyone more generous than you?' He replied, 'Yes. When I went alone into the desert, I thought that I would reach my destination at the beginning of the day, but in short, my arrival at that dwelling was not possible at that place. The greatest luminary was scorching, and the air caught fire like the ironsmith's furnace because of the sun's strength, and because of the effect of the heat the ground became like the ethereal sky. The heat prevailed over me and I sought refuge, and I rode my horse in all directions. Suddenly in the distance I saw the top of an old tent, worn out, and sheep were tied at the back. As I approached, the people in the tent heard the sound of my horse's hooves, and an old woman came out and welcomed me. She said hello and welcome and took my horse's reins, and with many supplications she implored me to dismount [from my horse]. The effect of the sincerity of her invitation appeared on my heart, and I accepted her requests. I went into the dwelling, and a place had not yet been made for me when the woman's son came and greeted me as cheerfully as possible, and he repeated this poem:

*At the dwelling arrived a distinguished guest,*

*Where the bird of good fortune had built its nest.*

I was pleased to see the faces of the mother and son, and I was happy and glad with their smiling faces and pleasant morals. The old woman said to her son, “Oh my dear! Hurry and slaughter this sheep so that we can prepare some food for our guest.” The son said, “Mother, I will go first and bring a little firewood, for it won’t be possible to cook [anything] without it, and there is none ready here.” His mother said, “Oh son! It will take a long time if you go into the desert to get firewood, and leaving a guest hungry is against the [principles] of *murūwwat*.” Behind the tent were two spears. The old woman hurried outside and ordered [her son] to break those spears [for firewood], and he slaughtered the sheep, and soon they had made the food and laid it before me. After eating the food, I looked carefully. They had no possessions except humble food, that sheep and those two spears. And because of their innate *murūwwat* and generosity, they sacrificed it for the sake of a guest, and they did not omit anything for a minute in [their] hospitality.’

*Giving to a guest what’s at hand, or more,  
Is good from the rich, better from the poor.*

Hatim continued, ‘I said to that old woman, “Do you recognise me?” She said, “No.” I said, “They call me Hatim Ta’i, and the place for my cattle and entourage is over there. If you come to my tribe I will give you service there. I will give you whatever is required of a host for a guest.” The old woman replied, “Oh Hatim, I have heard your name and of your fame for giving riches, and I suppose that you are a refined and perfect man. But I did not know that you would invite a guest for the purpose of buying and selling. We are not the kind of people who take rewards from guests or sell bread or soup at a high price. Good cheer to you, but we don’t consider the corner of the desert as equal to [your] fabulous garden, and we prefer bread and herbs (*tara*) to Hatim’s chicken and lamb.”’

*Swap poverty’s realm for two worlds?<sup>73</sup> No way!  
We’d rather a cup of dregs than eau glacée.*

‘Although I insisted and implored them on this matter, still I got nowhere, and they would not agree to come to my tribe. I handed them everything that I had with me: my horse and armour, but they paid no attention in the slightest. So they are more [worthy of being called] *jawanmard* and more worthy of being praised for kindness and generosity than me.’

*Seeking in exchange for what you bestow  
Is the custom of traders, high and low.  
Munificence comes free with nothing exchanged,  
From hypocrisy, craving, be estranged.  
You should then give to whomever you see,  
Lay no obligation, give it all free!*

This kind of story is recounted in Sa'di's *Gulistan*. The gist of what they said is that they asked Hatim, 'Have you heard of anybody nobler and dearer than yourself.' He replied, 'Yes, I have seen a dear one whose bird of endeavour would not rest at the phoenix's nest, and the bird of his thought would fly only to the world's highest pinnacle.'

*Endeavour's eyes from the world looked away,  
They disdained the world – a place of decay.*

They said, 'Explain this condition and the manner of this station to us in detail, not in short.' He said, 'One day I had sacrificed a camel and a sheep, for I had invited [some] Arab leaders to a party. In the middle of this I went into the desert and I saw an old man digging up and gathering scrub. Through toil he had collected much straw and scrub. I said, 'Oh poor man! Why don't you come to Hatim's party? A number of people have sat down at tables laden [with food] and gifts from his table of benevolence.' Silently, the poor man raised his head and said:

*'He who from his labour eats his own bread  
Is not obliged to Hatim to be fed.<sup>74</sup>  
Though he's the greater man, it must be said.*

*Do not long for someone else's lamb roast,  
Be satisfied with your own herbs and toast.  
Don't look at the tablecloth in the sky  
More than the goods that on your table lie.  
The sun which in the high heavens does shine  
Nurtures the fruits of the earth, which are thine.'*

And in the seventh year after the birth of the Prophet (peace be upon him and his family) Hatim made his last journey, and it is more surprising that the death of King Anushirwan occurred in the same year.

In respect of justice [Anushirwan] was superior to previous rulers, and in the field of combat he overran the prior kings.

*Through his justice and alms much cheer did he bring,  
For the sake of fame he did everything.*

These two men who excelled in their time in justice and kindness were people of the world who journeyed from the territory of annihilation to the inn of subsistence in accordance with one another. The left a reputation for justice and the magnificence of generosity as a keepsake for the world.

*Munificence and justice both made a name  
For Hatim and Anush who still enjoy fame.*

They have related that when the stall of Hatim's life was folded away, the circumstances of the Banu Ta'i were difficult because the people no longer enjoyed the benefits of his munificence and benevolence. The leaders and grandees of the tribe contrived plans and consulted with one another. In order not to lose [either] their name for generosity [or] the brightness from the lamp that Hatim had shone through [his] kindness, [they] continued to light the corners of the Arab lands. And after a difference of opinions, it was agreed that Hatim's brother should succeed him. Each one of the grandees of the tribe donated a certain amount of the wealth and food that he could afford, and [Hatim's brother] held a feast of generosity for all the people, for the elite and the commoners, so that the way of kindness [would remain] among the Banu Ta'i [and] the basis and foundation of generosity in that tribe would stay firm and strong. News [of this] reached Hatim's mother, and she said, 'Alas! Alas! Forget about illusions and useless thoughts.' And she recited this poem:

*To get God's grace a jewel pure must be.  
Not any black stone can be a ruby.*

'Forget about Hatim's brother. A Hatim cannot be expected of him. After his birth, Hatim would not drink milk from my breast until I gave milk to another unknown baby. But his brother had one breast in his mouth and the other in his hand so that any other child could not see it and drink its milk. How is it possible for such a person to become Hatim? This person is very similar to Hatim

in his looks, but without any doubt he is the opposite of him in personality.

*Emeralds and grass are both the same hue,  
One's in a ring, the other donkeys chew.  
Dal seems like dhal when written in a book,  
696 less is dal – go take a look.<sup>75</sup>*

It is well known that the grandees of the tribe paid no attention to the mother's words, and they appointed and established [Hatim's] brother [in] his castle. It had forty windows and was the throne of authority and the seat of power. A beggar's voice would reach each window in Hatim's time, and he would place the requested alms into his robe of hope.

*No one was a beggar around that gate  
His wish was granted, it never came late.*

When Hatim's brother succeeded him, his mother put on beggars' clothes and went beneath a window and started to beg. Hatim's brother gave something. The old woman returned and begged at the next window. Once again [Hatim's brother] gave alms. The third time, in the same fashion, he gave her alms appropriate to her condition. The fourth time that she started to beg from the fourth window the endurance of Hatim's brother gave out. He said, 'Oh shameless beggar! Aren't you ashamed of begging in this fashion so persistently, and of crying out whereby you increase [your] importuning to an extreme. Why is it that three times you have been given alms but still you knock on the door of need and claim to be poor and then you [pretend] to be in the same state [as before].'

*Half-empty glasses the greedy men see.  
If the shell's unhappy no pearl there'll be.*

His mother removed her veil (*niqab*) from her face, and said, 'Oh son! Aren't you ashamed to sit in Hatim's place? Once, in order to test [Hatim] I dressed up as a beggar, and I asked for something from him beneath each of the forty windows each time he saw me. The more he saw me, the more he gave, and he showed no reluctance in this. He never accused me of persistency or importuning. But on the fourth occasion you got into a state and called me "shameless",

“greedy” and “wearisome”. Get up and go, for this is not your place.’

*This is not the place for you. Get up and go!  
You can't carry out this task, your actions show.*

In *Jawahir al-Imarat wa 'Anasir al-Wuzara* it is recounted that when Hatim died they buried him in a tomb which was located near a path for the people. Once it rained heavily and a terrible flood came and nearly destroyed Hatim's tomb. His son wanted to transport his corpse to another location where it would be safe from this kind of danger. When they opened his tomb, all his limbs and members had decayed except his hand, which was healthy. The people were surprised and astonished at this circumstance. There was a pious old man among the spectators who said, ‘Oh people! Don't be surprised at this, and don't wonder at the health of Hatim's hand, because it is through this hand that he gave so much to beggars. His hand has remained healthy through the support of charity and kindness. If the hand of an idol-worshipping infidel remains healthy from injury through alms giving, it is no surprise if the body of a God-worshipping believer remains safe from the calamity of the fire through sincerity in the path of God. Because obtaining eternal wealth, indeed, connection to the happiness of Lordly pleasure is dependent on establishing the foundation for obedience and worship, and an attachment to strengthening the forms of charity and good deeds.’

*The prosperous from the world turn away  
For wealth is yielded through kindness each day.  
By burning its soul a candle's life runs  
One's needs in the path are donating funds.  
The alley of bliss through kindness does wind,  
And martyrs through kindness their feast do find.*

Among the amazing reports pertaining to Hatim is that a group from the Banu Asad reached his grave at the end of the day after his death, and since they had no place to go to, they set down their equipment for the night. All the travellers' provisions were finished, and most of them were hungry and helpless. The travellers' chief, who was called Abu'l-Bukhtari, had camels with him, but there were no provisions at his table and his harvest stack had no ears of corn.

*His path's provisions lacked any expense,  
His kitchen was bare, there was no pretence.  
They were all so famished but he had nought,  
They moaned from hunger, a repast they sought.  
The harvest of patience was fully spent,  
At Hatim's sepulchre a look he sent.  
Supplications he made, a eulogy,  
Then he shut his eyes so he could not see.  
He said, 'The scroll of greed stretched out it lies,  
Your kindness needed by covetous eyes.  
You beat the drum of generosity  
Sprinkling water of liberality.  
The voice of kindness was heard from your door.  
If all this fame is worth its weight for sure  
Then to the poor travellers give some aid,  
Please solve our problems, anxious and waylaid.  
Exhausted and helpless that's what we are,  
We need your kindness since we've come so far.  
Our hopes on your charity now depend,  
Be kind! For our table provisions send.'*

Abu'l-Bukhtari went on, but his friends stopped him from saying these sort of words, as they did not like such brashness and rudeness. He had taken the path of importuning, had passed the limit in solicitation and had been excessive in seeking help. Suddenly, in front of his camels a two-humped, fat and strong-bodied Bactrian camel became weak and could not stand up:

*All at once its exhaustion became clear  
Now shaking, now moaning, its end was near.  
It fell to the ground – this lumbering wreck.  
The spirit released for its final trek.  
And so, 'In God's name' said the hungry crew  
Eating the beast was the best thing to do.  
To the men and women now with no care  
The chief of the group gave them all their share.  
Old men and young boys they all took a seat  
A feast of kebabs and juicy cooked meat.*

Abu'l-Bukhtari's friends said disparagingly and full of reproach, 'Oh discourteous one! Didn't we say that you shouldn't be rude to that

great Arab and not to open the stall of banter and brashness? Now see what came from the unseen. A camel this good has been wasted and your baggage remains on the ground.' Abu'l-Bukhtari said, 'I had some confusion about Hatim's kindness. It is clear for me that he was generous, but [only] through other people's purses, and he gave bread but only from this or that person's table.' The people did not prevent him any more from saying these [kind] of words. That night came to an end in anxiety and discomfort for the travellers' leader but in comfort and blessing for the others. In the morning the radiance of the monarch of stars and the great brightness of the planets dressed the world in luminous clothes, and the white hand of the sun drew aside the black head-covering of the night and the ambergris face-veil from the world.

*The day's good fortune is the sun's radiance,  
Raising for the world the flag of luminance.*

The travellers prepared to set off, but Abu'l-Bakhtari was troubled, for he could not see any solution for the camel's [weighty] baggage. In the end, the travellers agreed that they would divide the baggage between their own camels. His heart was delivered from anxiety and the gates of tranquillity opened in his mood. Then suddenly there rose a cloud of dust in the direction of Najd. From the cloud appeared [someone], holding the reins of a great two-humped camel. The camel was like a furious lion, raging and crying out, intelligent and sharp of hearing like Rustam's Rakht.

*His head held high, with his face like the sun,  
Through deserts and up mountains he would run.  
This wild beast was a raging inferno  
Running like the wind through plains he would go.*

When he came near, the travellers looked and saw it was Hatim's son who was approaching. When he reached them, after observing the rules of courtesy and the salutations of the period of ignorance (*jahili*), he asked which one of them was Abu'l-Bukhtari. The travellers pointed him out. He dismounted from his camel, embraced and hugged him in friendship, and said, 'Last night I dreamed of my father, and he said to me, "Oh my son! Tonight several guests have arrived, and they are asking for something from me. Since there was no food ready, I borrowed a camel from Abu'l-Bukhtari, and I sacrificed it for them, but

the camel's baggage remains on the ground. At dawn go to my tomb and take a famous camel and give it to Abu'l-Bukhtari in exchange for his camel. And offer many apologies.”” He handed over the camel to Abu'l-Bukhtari, and he left on the same track on which he had come.

*The tribe inspected, he then set off fast.  
To the camel leader the reins he cast.  
Shocked were the group at where events had led  
And pearls from the shells of their eyes were shed.  
For the generous the two worlds are small,  
Their presence or absence means nought at all.  
Whoever like Khwaju<sup>76</sup> wanders with mirth,  
With generosity has sown the earth.*

And ‘Adi, who was Hatim’s son, was known as one of the kind people in the world, although his generosity was less in comparison with that of his father. Because of this, [‘Adi’s] fame did not reach the [same] level [as Hatim]. In *Jam‘i al-Hikayat*<sup>77</sup> it is reported that Hatim’s son used to drink water from an earthen bowl and would sit on an old carpet, but he always set out the table of his kindness, and he made ready the things for hosting guests and was kind to the poor. Each year he used to give 80,000 dinars in gifts to poets, and he gave to strangers and the poor according to their needs. He behaved with generosity and kindness so that they would praise him and open their mouths in eulogy. People from all walks of life had planted the seed of his love in the earth of their breasts.

*He who lifts a flag through a soul that’s kind,  
Sows the seeds of his love that all may find.*

One day one of the insolent people said in criticism, ‘Oh ‘Adi! You were born of a great man, why have you stepped out of the circle of esteem? The Arabs blame you because you give the goods and clothes of the house as provisions for the poor people, and you busy them with food and drink. Why is it that you drink water from precious vessels and you order silk carpets and stalls?’ ‘Adi said, ‘I have accounted for these things. Each year 50,000 dinars of pure gold is spent, and I prefer to use this amount for the poor and needy, so that they praise me while I am still alive, and so that after my death they pray for me. Through this gold, [I hope that] these eulogies will be accepted and these benedictions reach their objects and are beautiful.’

*Charity and a good name – life's fruits are few.  
All passes away if you neglect these two.<sup>78</sup>*

Since ‘Adi intended this kind of expenditure, God most Glorious and High extended the nobility of Islam to him, and this is the reason that His Holiness, the refuge of prophecy, in the month of *Rabi‘ al-awwal*, of the ninth year after the *hijira*, sent the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali, with a gathering composed of groups from the Emigrants and [some] well known individuals among the Helpers, to the tribe of Ta‘i. At the command of the Lord of Mankind suddenly they attacked that unprincipled tribe and destroyed their temple which was the objective and their direction of prosperity. ‘Adi bin Hatim, who was the leader of the tribe, fled towards Syria, and the Companions took much booty as well as capturing Hatim’s daughter. Two swords hung around their idol’s neck, which was called Fils. They said that one was a sharp sword and the other was a sharp piercing sword. They took [the swords] and brought them to Medina for the Sultan of Prophecy, the Champion of Glory, the King who manifested neither oppression nor rancour, the Master who was honoured with the high status of ‘*I am the Prophet of China.*’

*The sword of his punishment heads would sever,  
The sword of his tongue scattered words so clever.  
Between these two wound his own special track.  
By these two swords guarded, protecting his back.*

And it has been recorded that Hatim’s daughter had come to the noble gathering of the Messenger and she said, ‘Oh Prophet of God! The stall of my father’s life has finished, and they have pursued the horse of the dynasty, my brother, ‘Adi. Yesterday was the spring of my pleasure which [remained] fresh through the [warm] sun of my father and the kind sweat of my brother. If you ever do me the favour of helping me and giving me my freedom, you will have made me a servant through this freedom, and your universal kindness and great favour will not be considered unusual.’ His Excellency, the Master of the World, set her free, and he clothed her in a new garments, and he commanded that [she be given] a camel and gold. And he sent her back to the tribe of Ta‘i at [her] wish and according to her desire.

There is a famous story saying that the infidels of the Banu Ta‘i were being killed, and the daughter of Hatim was freed. Because of her innate kindness she said to the executioner, ‘Kill me too, because I

cannot stand to see my relatives being killed.’ These words are remembered in the following:

*‘Strike with your sword,’ through her tears she said.*

*‘Like the others, chop off my head. Freedom from slavery’s not muruwwat*

*When all my friends still in prison are sat.’<sup>79</sup>*

In short, Hatim’s daughter returned to her tribe, and from there she went to Syria to find her brother. With great effort she led [‘Adi] to the gates of prophecy and said, ‘Oh brother! Surely, if he is truly a Prophet, your rights will not perish if you place yourself in the service of that Master who brings felicity. And if he is [one of] the kings your glory and nobility will remain for you.’ So with the escort of eternal happiness ‘Adi proceeded towards Medina and hurried to [place himself in] the service of His Excellency the Prophet, and he was treated with magnanimity. It is said that he spread out his own pure mantle for ‘Adi, and invited him to sit on it, and he himself sat on the ground. This respect and kindness was the cause of honour for both houses. So he made the mirror of [‘Adi’s] heart pure and clear from the rust of denial with clear counsel and perfect advice.<sup>80</sup> In that very meeting ‘Adi became a Muslim, and he raised the flag of sincerity and the banner of purity. In religion, from the perspective of certainty, he was a perfect man and a virtuous *jawanmard*. Traditions about hunting by trained dogs have been related from him,<sup>81</sup> and he is considered among the great companions.

*Remembered for goodness and known for virtue,*

*And he had the good fortune to serve him too.*

This was a summary of the reports of Hatim Ta’i’s generosity and kindness, and the *muruwwat* and *futuwwat* of his family, the marks of which have been confirmed by the pen. God’s grace is given to Whomever He wishes.

## Notes

1. ‘On Avarice’, attributed to Hatim Ta’i and included in W. A. Clouston, *Arabian Poetry* (Glasgow: privately printed, 1881), pp. 99–100.
2. Many of the Ta’i tribe worshipped at the pagan temple dedicated to Fils, although there were some, like Hatim and his son ‘Adi, who

- were Christian (as claimed by Ibn Ishaq). See Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 637. A meeting between ‘Adi and Muhammad is recorded in which the Prophet asked ‘Adi, ‘Are you not half a Christian?’ The term used is *rasuki*, which according to Guillaume’s footnote means someone who changes their religion, and he surmises that ‘Adi was a convert ‘but not a practising Christian in the full sense’ (p. 639, n. 1).
3. Lings, *Muhammad*, p. 315.
  4. *The Book of Songs*, compiled by Abu’l-Faraj al-Isfahani in the ninth century.
  5. Rumi does not narrate stories about him, but uses expressions such as ‘Hatim of the age’ to denote the ideal of generosity to which seekers should aspire. Such references are scattered throughout the *Diwan-i Shams* (for page references see the index in vol. VII, p. 486, entry for ‘Hatim’). *Diwan-i Shams*, ed. B. Furuzanfar (Tehran: Amir Kabir, [1363] 1984).
  6. See the references in translation in this chapter.
  7. See the references in the footnotes to this translation.
  8. For example, an anecdote relating to Hatim’s generosity is included in the *Futuwwat Nama-yi Nasiri* the whole text of which is included in Golpinarli, *Futuwwat dar Kishwar-ha-yi Islami*, p. 163, lines 111–21.
  9. Munfarid, *Paywand-i siyasat*, p. 326. In the realm of painting, the court of Herat was particularly celebrated. E. Bahari has remarked, ‘The school of Bihzad in Hirat dominated the arts of the book in the Timurid territory and, indeed, in almost all the Islamic lands of the period.’ See ‘The Sixteenth Century School of Bukhara Painting and the Arts of the Book’, in A. J. Newman (ed.), *Society and Culture in the Early Modern Middle East* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 251.
  10. The *Rawzat al-shuhada* became a well-known text following the establishment of the Shi‘-ite Safavid dynasty in Iran. On Kashifi and the *Rawzat al-shuhada*, see Amanat, ‘Meadow of the Martyrs’, pp. 250–75. The uncertainty of Kashifi’s Shi‘-ite or Sunni leanings needs to be understood in the light of the Sunni Sultan Husayn Bayqara’s own acts, as at one point he attempted to have the *khutba* recited on behalf of the Twelve Imams. See B. S. Amoretti, ‘Religion in the Timurid and Safavid Periods’, *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. VI (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 612. Amoretti also noted that Bayqara venerated and visited the shrine of the eighth Imam at Mashhad (p. 616).
  11. For a list of his works, see Gholam Hosein Yousofi, ‘Kashifi’, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. IV, pp. 704–5; Munfarid, *Payvand-i siyasat*, pp. 330–46; Maria E. Subtelny, ‘Kashefi’, *Encyclopedia Iranica* (forthcoming). Kashifi’s works on Rumi include *Lubab-i mathnawi fi intikhab-i Mathnawi* and *Lubb-i lubab-i Mathnawi*.

12. Subtelny, 'Kashefi', *Encyclopedia Iranica*.
13. Expression used by Subtelny, 'Kashefi', *Encyclopedia Iranica*.
14. Munfarid, *Payvand-i siyasat*, pp. 324–5.
15. Yousofi, 'Kashifi', *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. IV, pp. 704–5.
16. Munfarid, *Payvand-i siyasat*, p. 320.
17. For Sultan Husayn Bayqara, see Hans R. Roemer, 'Hosayn Bayqara', *Encyclopedia Iranica*, online edition, 2004, available at [www.iranica.com/articles/hosayn-bayqara](http://www.iranica.com/articles/hosayn-bayqara)
18. See Subtelny, 'Kashefi', *Encyclopedia Iranica*. See also Munfarid, *Payvand-i siyasat*, p. 320.
19. J. S. Trimingham has noted that Jami was not an initiating Sufi shaykh; see Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, p. 94. See also Munfarid, *Payvand-i siyasat*, p. 320.
20. Munfarid, *Payvand-i siyasat*, p. 320.
21. The specific Naqshbandi influence on Kashifi's thought is difficult to discern because there was much commonality among the different Sufi orders in Central Asia and Iran, although Loewen has attempted to identify the Naqshbandi slant in Kashifi's *futuwwat nama*. See Loewen, 'Proper conduct', pp. 543–70. Doubt on Kashifi's specific Naqshbandi leanings is supported by his own record of initiation into Sufism which passes through Muhammad of Qayin and then back through a number of links including 'Ala al-Dawla Simnani, Najm al-Din Kubra, Abu'l-Najib Suhrawardi and Junayd of Baghdad. See Crook, *The Royal Book of Spiritual Chivalry*, pp. 120–1. The Persian original has been edited by M. J. Mahjub as *Futuwwat Nama-yi Sultani* (Tehran: Bunyad-i Farhang-i Iran, 1971), and is a lengthy work of some 393 pages.
22. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, p. 94. A more detailed discussion is found in Maria E. Subtelny, 'A Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation: The Ikhlasīyya Complex of 'Ali Shir Nava'i in 15th-Century Herat and its Endowment', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 111(1) (1991), pp. 38–61.
23. Maria E. Subtelny, 'Socioeconomic Bases of Cultural Patronage under the Later Timurids', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 20 (1988), p. 484.
24. *Ibid.* p. 482.
25. Subtelny, 'A Timurid Educational and Charitable Foundation', p. 56.
26. Sayyid Muhammad Rida Jalali Na'ini (ed.), *Risala-yi Hatimiyya* (Tehran: Nihzat, [1320] 1941), pp. 60–1. Kashifi's flattery must be read in the context of Husayn Bayqara's policy of generous bestowment of *awqaf*, of which he was keen to make others aware.
27. Kashifi then declared that God had bestowed upon the Sultan the

- attributes of pre-Islamic kings from the *Shahnama*, such as the justice of Anushirvan, the royal glory (*farr*) of Faridun, the majesty of Jamshid, the aspiration of Kay Khosraw and the terror of Afrasiab. Na'ini (ed.), *Risala-yi Hatimiyya*, p. 61.
28. Mahjub (ed.), *Futuwwat Nama-yi Sultani*, p. 3.
  29. Mahjub (ed.), *Futuwwat Nama-yi Sultani*, pp. 271–380.
  30. Cited in Loewen, 'Proper conduct,' p. 545, n. 8.
  31. Sarraf (ed.), *Rasa'il-i jawanmardan*, pp. 226–39, and Afshari and Madayini, *Chahardah risala dar bab-i futuwwat wa asnaf*, for example pp. 151–64, 219–22.
  32. Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism*. See Chapters four and five.
  33. It seems to have been common practice for a poet to have memorised up to 20,000 couplets from past (and present) masters. See Maria E. Subtelny, 'The Persian Poetry of the Late Timurid Period', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 136 (1986), p. 61. Thus Kashifi's inclusion of poetry was not merely to edify his audience but was also to reveal his own mastery of literature. Kashifi himself was not a prolific poet although a *diwan* has been attributed to him (see Subtelny, 'Kashefi').
  34. Maria E. Subtelny, 'Scenes from the Literary Life of Timurid Herat', in R. Savory and D. Agius (eds), *Logos Islamikos: Studia Islamica in Honorem Georgii Michaelis Wickens* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), p. 151.
  35. Van Ruymbeke, 'Kashifi's forgotten masterpiece', p. 577.
  36. Kashifi regarded himself as a compiler of existing material, in his own words a humble 'gatherer of wheat-kernels from the threshing-floor of the best-known, and borrower of light rays from the most celebrated [works] of accomplished erudite persons and preminent scholars'. See his *Badayi' fi al-afkar fi sanayi' fi al-ash'ar* [Wondrous Thoughts on Poetical Tropes] cited in Marta Simidchieva, 'Imitation and innovation in Timurid poetics,' *Iranian Studies*, 36(4) (December 2003), p. 509.
  37. Ibid. p. 573.
  38. Christine van Ruymbeke indicates the need to reassess the views of previous generations of British orientalisks. See van Ruymbeke, 'Kashifi's forgotten masterpiece', *Iranian Studies*, 36(4) (December 2003), pp. 571–88.
  39. Ahmad Munzawi, *Fibris-i nuskhah-ha-yi khatti-yi farsi* (A Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts), vol. 5 (Tehran: Regional Cultural Institute, 1969), line 3,674.
  40. See Sands, 'On the popularity of Husayn Va'iz-i Kashifi's Mavahib-i 'aliyya', p. 469.

41. Amanat, 'Meadow of the Martyrs'.
42. Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* (Muhammedanische Studien), ed. S. M. Stern, trans. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern, vol. 1 (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1967), p. 22.
43. An alternative reading is that the males who were ridiculed and embarrassed deserved their fate as they were shown up by females.
44. Charles Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane à l'usage des élèves de l'école spéciale des langues orientales* (Paris: Leroux, 1883), pp. 174–203.
45. Na'ini (ed.), *Risala-yi Hatimiya*. This edition provided additional material to that of Schefer, but this material did not include anything that substantially contributed to the biography of Hatim. The extra material of about five pages in Na'ini's edition compares Hatim's generosity and munificence with that of Husayn Bayqara. Kashifi must have deemed it wise to laud Bayqara over Hatim. The text translated in this book is that of Schefer.
46. Reference to the pool into which the rivers of Paradise empty. See Qur'an chapter 108.
47. Mawlana, otherwise known as Jalal al-Din Rumi, the eponymous founder of the Mevlevi Sufi movement.
48. The strongest tie is a reference to 'urwat al-wusqa, Qur'an, 31.22.
49. Rumi, *Mathnawi*, line 1273.
50. Sa'di, *Gulistan*, p. 142.
51. This paragraph is composed in *saj'*, or rhymed prose, and I have made no attempt to mimic this stylistic feature. It also contains honorific epitaphs that would have been suitable to begin a book or treatise that was composed for a ruler or king.
52. *Sahib-i qiran*, the master of the conjunction of planets, refers to the time when two planets or stars appeared within the same constellation. This was considered very fortunate for anyone who was conceived during this period.
53. Mu'izz-i Mulk [wa] Din. This title literally means the person through whom respect comes to the country and the religion.
  54. Al-Tabari portrays the genealogy of 'Adi (the son of Hatim) in the following way: 'Adi b. Hatim al-Jawad (the generous) b. 'Abdallah b. Sa'd b. al-Hashraj b. Imri' al-Qays b. 'Adi b. Akhzam b. Rabi'a b. Jarwal b. Thu'al b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth b. Tayy. See *The History of Al-Tabari: Biographies of the Prophet's Companions and their Successors*, vol. XXXIX, trans. Ella Landau-Tasseran (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1998), p. 86.
55. In this verse there is a play on the word 'palm' which means either the palm of the hand or sea froth.

56. Naghiba was a well-known poet of the time, and several of his verses are contained in Hisham. The latter mentions that Naghiba was also known as Ziyad b. ‘Amr b. Mu‘awiya. (See Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 722, n. 203.)
57. Completed in 1257, this story appears in Sa‘di’s *Bustan* (which Kashifi acknowledges at the end of the narration) and in the English translation; see Wickens, *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned*, pp. 85–6. There are many Persian editions of the *Bustan*. The one that I have used and compared with Kashifi’s text was edited by Ghulam Husayn Yusufi, *Bustan-i Sa‘di* (Tehran, [1359] 1980–1), lines 1,356–410.
58. Heraclius, who ruled the Roman Byzantine Empire between 610 and 641.
59. Shabdiz was the famous horse of King Khosraw Parviz. See Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis, *Persian Myths* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1993), p. 66.
60. Wickens, *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned*, line 1,439; Yusufi, *Bustan-i Sa‘di*, line 1,395.
61. Duldul was the female mule owned by the Prophet Muhammad, who gave it to ‘Ali. See Ahmad Mahdawi Damghani, ‘Doldol’, in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, online edition, 1996, available at [www.iranica.com/articles/doldol](http://www.iranica.com/articles/doldol).
62. Wickens, *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned*, lines 1,448–50; Yusufi, *Bustan-i Sa‘di*, lines 1,403–7.
63. Wickens, *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned*, line 1,476; Yusufi, *Bustan-i Sa‘di*, line 1431.
64. Wickens, *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned*, line 1,478; Yusufi, *Bustan-i Sa‘di*, line 1,433.
65. Wickens, *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned*, line 1482; Yusufi, *Bustan-i Sa‘di*, lines 1,436–7.
66. Part of a ghazal composed by Hafiz. See *Diwan-i Hafiz*, ed. Parwiz Natil Khanlari (Tehran: Khwarazmi, 1983), no. 176. An English translation can be found in Peter Avery, *The Collected Lyrics of Hafiz of Shiraz* (Cambridge: Archetype, 2007), p. 235, no. 173.
67. Wickens, *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned*, lines 1,504–8; Yusufi, *Bustan-i Sa‘di*, lines 1,459–63.
68. Khusraw is another name for the Sassanian King, Anushirvan. Dara, or Darab, refers to two kings, Dara I and his son, Dara II. The younger Dara was supposedly the half- brother of Alexander the Great. See the two articles by Ahmad Tafazzoli, ‘Dara(b) I’ and ‘Dara(b) II’, in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, online edition, 1996, available at [www.iranica.com/articles/darab-1#ii](http://www.iranica.com/articles/darab-1#ii).

69. *Subbat al-Abrar* ('The Rosary of the Pious') is a work by Jami. It is a *mathnawi* that is included in his *Haft Awrang* ('Seven Thrones'), vol. 1, ed. Dad-<sup>c</sup> Alishah, Janfada and Tarbiyat (Tehran: Centre for Iranian Studies, 1997).
70. Jami, *Subbat al-abrar*, p. 658, lines 2,031–3.
71. *Wali* is a term usually translated as 'friend', and is understood by Sufis to refer to themselves, as Friends of God.
72. The sentence (and the following sentence in italics) is given in Arabic, which Kashifi then translates into Persian.
73. This is a reference to this world and the afterlife.
74. This anecdote and these verses are found in Sa'di, *Gulistan*, p. 158.
75. In Arabic arithmetic the letters of the alphabet were given numerical values. The value of *dal* was 4, while *dhal* was 700.
76. Khwaju Kirmani (1281–1341?) was a poet who wandered around Iran composing works at various courts. See E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), p. 225.
77. Sadid al-Din 'Awfi, *Jam'i al-Hikayat*, *Encyclopedia Iranica*, online edition, 1989, available at [www.iranica.com/articles/awfi-sadid-al-din](http://www.iranica.com/articles/awfi-sadid-al-din). On 'Awfi see J. Matini, "'Awfi', *Encyclopedia Iranica*, vol. III, pp. 117–18. The *Jam'i al-Hikayat wa lawami' al-riwayat* is a Persian work of prose anecdotes taken from history books, belles lettres, stories, reports and data on poets and prose writers.
78. Reference to Qur'an, 55.26.
79. This episode appears in Sa'di's *Bustan*. See Wickens, *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned*, lines 1,493–503, Yusufi, *Bustan-i Sa'di*, lines 1,448–78.
80. 'Adi's meeting with his sister and his subsequent meeting with Muhammad were included in Ibn Ishaq's biography. See Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, pp. 638–9.
81. Schefer's text (p. 204) reads *ahadith-i ahkam-i 'anbasa*, which does not make sense. Na'ini's version reads *ahadith-i sayd* (p. 56).

# Index

- ‘Abbas, bin ‘Abd al-Muttalib, 116, 117, 120, 121, 135, 151n71, 155n116
- ‘Abbasids, 6, 156n134
- abdal*; 34, 48, 90n56; *see also* substitutes
- ‘Abdallah Khaffif, 137
- ‘Abdallah b. al-Qayyir, 103, 136, 156n134
- ‘Abd al-Jabbar Salih, 102, 103, 156n134; *see also* Salih
- ‘Abd al-Manaf, 134
- ‘Abd al-Muttalib, 134
- ‘Abd al-Rahman bin ‘Umar, 60–3
- ‘Abd al-Razzaq Kashi, 6
- ‘Abd al-Shams, 134
- Abu ‘Ali Ghulam Turkan, 104, 137, 148n24
- Abu ‘Ali Sufi, 103, 156n134
- Sayyid Abu ‘Ali?, 136
- Abu Bakr b. Jahish b. al-Sarbar, 103, 136, 156n134
- Abu Bakr Kattani, 143, 159n162
- Abu Bakr al-Saddiq, 114, 117, 123, 129, 136, 139
- Abu Bakr Warraq, 110, 150n47
- Abu’l-Bukhtari, 203–6
- Abu Darda, 118, 122, 152n82
- Abu’l-Fadl bin Burhan (Abu’l-Fadl ibn al-Tarhan?), 103, 136
- Abu Fadl ibn Kamakh, 104, 137, 148n24
- Abu’l-Fadl Qurayshi, 103
- Abu Hafs al-Nayshapuri, 33, 90n54, 110; *see also* Abu Hafs Haddad
- Abu Hafs Haddad, 19n38, 90n54, 91n64, 110, 150n45; *see also* Abu Hafs al-Nayshapuri
- Abu’l-Hakam, 121, 152n86; *see also* Abu Jahl
- Abu Hanifa, 6, 100, 130, 153n105
- Abu’l-Hasan Najjar, 103, 136, 156n134
- Abu’l-‘Izz Nubi (Abu’l-‘Izz al-Tawbi?), 103
- Abu’l-Izz al-Muti’ al-Naqib (Sharif Abu al-‘Izz?), 103
- Abu Jahl, 101, 121; *see also* Abu’l-Hakam
- Abu Lahab, 123
- Abu Muslim Khurasani, 103, 156n134
- Abu’l-Qasim b. Abi Hayyan (Shaykh Abu’l-Qasim?) 102, 136, 156n134
- Abu Sufyan bin Harb, 117, 123, 128, 152n73
- Abu Talib Makki, 100
- Abu Turab Nakhshabi, 142, 159n159
- Abu ‘Ubayda, 117, 152n76
- Abu ‘Umar al-Dimashqi, 35
- Abraham, 6, 28, 31, 48, 100, 101, 102, 106, 109, 113, 120, 127, 128, 129, 134, 136, 144, 145, 149n40, 150n51, 155n116
- Abu Sa‘id Abi’l-Khayr, 5
- ‘Ad, 134
- adab*, 16n4, 32, 33, 42, 57, 90n54, 91n64; *see also* courtesies
- Adab al-Muridin*, 28, 30
- Adam, 48, 101, 111, 112, 123, 132, 133, 134, 135
- ‘Adi, b. Hatim Ta’i, 170, 182, 183, 185, 206–7, 208n2, 212n54, 214n80
- Aflah, 62–3
- Aflaki, 30, 94n99, 99, 105

- Afshari, Mihran, 10, 13, 99, 100, 155n116
- Aghani*, 164
- ahl-i zur*, 9
- Ahmad bin al-Husayn, 104, 136
- Ahmad Kah, 137–8
- Ahmad Mah, 137–8
- Ahmad Rifa‘i, 99, 104, 137, 147n24; *see also* Muhi al-Din Ahmad Kabir
- Ahrar, ‘Ubaydallah, 166
- ‘A’isha, 138, 139, 157n143, 157n145
- akhi*, 5, 8, 14, 30, 51, 54, 55, 89n45, 102, 111, 127, 136,
- ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib, 4, 6, 7, 17n11, 18n25, 36, 37, 38, 40, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 87n13, 92n72–3, 92n78, 93n88, 100, 101, 102, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118, 122, 123, 126, 128, 129, 135, 136, 137, 140, 141, 142, 164, 165
- ‘Ali Badpa‘i, 104, 137
- ‘Ali bin al-Qari al-Wasiti, 104, 137
- ‘Ali ‘Uryan, 103, 136
- ‘Ali b. Za‘im, 103, 136, 156n134
- Amir Husayn Farari (Jawshan Fazari?), 103, 156n134
- Amir Wahran (Amir Awi?), 103, 136, 156n134
- Amir Awi?, 103
- al-Mulla Mirawi? 156n134
- Amr bin ‘Uthman, 111, 150n48
- Amuli, Shams al-Din, 6, 149n40,
- Anatolia, 8, 12, 14, 15, 31
- Anushirwan, 200–1
- Anwar-i Suhayli*, 169
- Arabic language, 1, 14, 25, 26, 29, 37, 39, 81, 169
- ‘Arafat, 134
- Arberry, A. J., 169
- ‘*ashiq*, 28, 29, 34
- ‘Attar, Farid al-Din, 4, 100, 159n165
- awliya*, 34, 48, 123
- ‘*Awarif al-ma‘arif*, 25, 29, 40, 167
- ‘Awf Qunnai, 103, 156n134
- Awfi, 164
- Awhad al-din Kirmani, 154n110, 157n140
- Awhadi Maragha‘i, 99, 100, 132
- awtad*, (*autad*), 34, 48, 90n56
- ‘*ayyar*, 1, 2, 6, 10, 13, 16n3, 38, 39, 188, 194; *see also* brigand
- Baghdad, 2, 6, 8, 18n23, 25, 26, 27, 37, 45, 101, 147n20, 157n136
- Bahar, Malik al-Shu‘ara, 167
- Bahram Daylami, 103, 156n134
- Bakharzi, Abu’l Mufakhir Yahya, 14, 106
- Banu Qurayza, 128, 151n65
- Baqā b. Tabbakh, 103, 136, 156n134
- Bayazid [Bastami], 142, 159n160
- Bayqara, Sultan Husayn, 3, 165, 166, 167, 168, 177, 209n10, 210n26, 212n45
- bazaar, 9, 10, 166
- beaker, 83
- beard, 36, 72, 74, 131, 132
- Bilal, 45, 115, 123, 151n62
- brigand, 10, 13, 30; *see also* ‘*ayyar*
- Browne, E. G., 169
- Bustan*, 187, 194
- Cairo, 5, 6, 20n53
- chilla*, 4
- clippers, 32, 84
- cloak, 28, 29, 32, 39, 99, 101, 112, 113, 114, 141, 149n34; *see also* *khirqā* and *khil‘at*
- comb, 84
- Companions of Allegiance, 117
- Companions of ‘Aqaba, 117
- Companions of the Tree, 117
- courtesies, 15, 16n4, 27, 32, 56, 57, 58, 64, 66, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 80, 84, 85, 86, 90n54, 144, 188, 205; *see also* *adab*
- daff*, 139, 140
- David, 140, 158n148
- Dawud al-Ta‘i, 104, 137, 148n29
- dhawq*, 105, 140
- dhikr*, 4, 5, 6, 29, 33, 77
- Dhu al-Nun Misri, 111, 150n49
- dhū al-faqar*, 45, 93n88, 115, 122, 150n58
- dispensation, 29, 30, 35; *see also* *rukhsa*
- drum, 139
- Fa‘al, 134
- Fadl b. Ziyad ‘Irqashi (Fadl bin Ziyad Qari), 103, 136

- Faruq, 133  
*fata*, 115, 120, 122, 149n40  
 Fatima (Muhammad's daughter), 113, 114, 142  
 Fatimids, 6, 18n23  
*fath*, 105, 140  
*fatwa*, 35, 36, 37, 42, 49, 50, 52, 87n16  
 flag, 46, 134  
 flute, 139  
 food, 7, 20n48, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 58, 60, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 80, 84, 85, 111, 114, 123, 134, 142–6, 186, 187, 189, 199, 200, 201, 205, 206  
 forty companions, 120, 121, 129, 153n97  
 Fudayl ibn 'Iyad, 110, 150n46  
 Fudda (servant of 'Ali), 113  
*futuwwat*  
   initiation, 4, 9, 10, 36, 39, 101, 102, 104, 108, 119, 126, 136, 147n13, 156n13  
   institutionalised *futuwwat*, 3, 8, 11, 26, 27  
*futuwwat khana*, 11, 58, 105, 106  
*Futuwwat Nama-yi Nasiri*, 10  
*Futuwwat Nama-yi Sultani*, 167
- Gabriel, 11, 63, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 122, 127, 128, 133, 134, 165  
 garments, 32, 36, 38, 81, 82, 89n45, 89n48, 108, 111, 112–16, 118, 124, 126, 129, 133–4, 149n35, 175; *see also* cloak  
 generosity (*sakha*), 3, 7, 31, 38, 59, 71, 76, 106, 110, 120, 127, 130, 164, 167, 171, 172, 175, 176, 179, 180, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 191, 194, 195, 197, 199, 201, 204, 206, 208  
 Ghazali, Hamid, 31, 100  
 girding, 102, 127, 128, 129; *see also* *miyan bastan*  
 gnosis (*ma'rifat*), 30, 38, 45, 47, 48, 53, 58, 64, 71, 82, 90n60  
 gossipper, 129  
 Greek language, 81  
*Gulistan*, 200
- Habib al-'Ajami, 104, 137, 148n30  
 Hafez, 14, 169  
 Hafiz Kindi (al-Hafid al-Kindi), 193
- hair, 32, 84, 154n107, 158n147, 180, 189  
 Hamadani, 'Ali, 7  
 Hamza, 121, 125, 126, 152n85  
*haqiqat*, 18n17, 28, 45, 76, 82; *see also* Reality  
 Harith, 140, 158n152  
 Hasan, 100, 102, 113  
 Hasan al-Basri, 103, 104, 137, 148n31, 156n134  
 Hasan b. Rabi'a Makhzumi, 103  
 Hashim, 134  
 Hatim Ta'i, 3, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173  
 Hawazin, 116, 118, 151n67, 152n78  
 Herat, 165, 166  
 Hilal Nabhani, 103, 156n134  
 Hindi, 81  
 Hirqul, 185  
 holy law, 30, 37, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 67, 70; *see also* *shari'at*  
 hospitality, 8, 15, 31, 100, 105, 106, 108, 135, 141, 171, 188, 199  
 Hudhayfa b. Al-Yamani, 103, 156n134  
*huffad*, 140, 141  
 Hujwiri, 16n7, 17n12, 31, 88n41, 149n35  
*hulla* (gown, robe), 108, 111, 113  
 Hunayn, 116, 117, 151n66, 151n67, 152n72, 152n78, 170  
 Husam al-Din, 103, 136  
 Husayn, 100, 102, 113, 165  
 Huyayy bin Akhtab, 128
- Iblis, 61, 62, 130; *see also* Satan  
 Ibn 'Arabi, 2, 3, 4, 14, 17n13, 21n54, 25, 35, 86n5, 94n96  
 Ibn Battuta, 5, 8, 9, 14, 20n48, 20n53, 30, 89n45, 94n93, 105, 106  
 Ibn Biqdin, 36, 37  
 Ibn Farid, 14  
 Ibn Hisham, 100  
 Ibn Ishaq, 100  
 Ibn Jawzi, 31, 36, 39, 88n40, 89n41  
 Ibn Mi'mar, 37, 39  
 Ibn Rasuli, 18n23, 37, 92n75, 101  
 Ibn Taymiyya, 36, 37, 105, 157n145  
 'Ikrama bin Abi Jahl, 124, 153n90  
 Imam Ja'far Sadiq, 113, 115  
 Isaac, 134  
 Isfahan, 14

- Isma'īl, 48, 128, 129, 134, 135  
*izar* (sash), 111
- Jacob, 109
- Jami, 'Abd al-Rahman, 14, 17n13, 165, 166, 169, 214n69
- Jawanmardi*, 1–15, 17n8, 71, 135, 166, 167, 170, 171, 176, 185, 186, 190, 191, 194, 197
- Jawshan Fazari (Amir Husayn Farari?), 103, 156n134
- Jesus, 131
- Jews, 144
- al-Jilani, 'Abd al-Qadir, 25
- Job, 63, 94n98
- Jonah, 134
- Joseph, 109, 110, 134, 149n40
- Junayd of Baghdad, 143
- Ka'b, 134
- Ka'ba, 46, 47, 50, 111, 120, 121, 125
- Kafsh al-Asrar*, 37
- Kalila wa Dimna*, 37, 169
- Kamal al-Din Hasan bin Yusuf, 103, 136
- Karamustafa, Ahmet, 9, 90n60
- Kashgari, Sa'īd al-Din, 165
- Kashifi, Husayn Wa'iz, 3, 7, 9, 11, 17n8, 107, 164–73
- Khadija, 119, 123, 150n54, 152n77, 152n84
- Khalid ibn Walid, 101, 115, 116, 124, 151n63
- khalwa*, 4
- khanaqah*, 5, 20n53, 27, 34, 46, 58, 89n45, 94n97, 166, 167
- Kharaqani, Abu'l-Hasan, 2, 16n6, 35
- al-Khartabirti, 102, 147n20, 156n134, 156n136
- Khaybar, 115
- Khidr, 109
- Khil'at*, 112, 113, 114, 175
- khirqa*, 28, 29, 38, 82, 88n25, 99, 102, 104, 105, 106, 108, 133, 136, 141, 148n24
- khirqa al-irada*, 88n25
- khirqa al-tabarruk*, 88n25
- see also cloak and garments
- Khurasan, 2, 9, 14, 46, 150n45
- Kilab, 134
- Kimi'a al-sa'adat*, 100
- Kinana bin abi'l-Huqayq, 128, 151n65, 153n102
- Knysh, A., 4
- lay members (of Sufism and *futuwwat*), 29, 30, 31, 106
- al-Layth, Ya'qub ibn, 1
- liwa*, 134 (see also flag)
- Lote tree, 115
- al-Luk, Jamal, 20n48
- lute, 139
- lyre, 139
- Mahazhzhah al-Din 'Abd al-Rahim ibn al-Rifa'i, 104, 137
- Mahdi*, 7, 18n27
- Malamatis, 9, 19n38, 91n64, 150n45, 171
- Malamud, M., 35
- Malik Abu Kalinjar (Malik Abi Kajar?), 103, 136, 156n134, 156n135
- Malik bin 'Awf, 116, 117, 118, 151n67
- Ma'ruf al-Karkhi, 104, 137, 148n24, 148n28
- al-Marzubaniyya, 26
- Mawiya bint 'Afzar, 170, 172, 180–2
- Mawlana, 138; see also Rumi
- Maybudi, 37
- mazyar* (sash), 126, 129
- merchants, 2, 5, 86
- milk, 120, 122, 123, 178, 179, 291
- Milson, M., 30
- Miqdad b. al-Aswad Kindi, 103, 156n134
- mi'raj*, 113; see also Night Ascent
- miyan bastan*, 102; see also girding
- mole, 139
- Moses, 109, 110, 130, 136, 149n43
- moustache, 32, 72, 74, 84
- mufti*, 36, 42
- Muhammad, 4, 40, 42, 45, 48, 49, 64, 76, 86, 87n13, 93n88, 93n92, 100, 101, 102, 106, 107, 117, 119, 120, 121, 124, 125, 136, 164, 165, 175, 185
- Muhanna 'Alawi, 103, 136, 156n134
- Muhasibi, Harith, 110, 149n44
- Muhi al-Din Ahmad Kabir, 104, 137; see also Ahmad Rifa'i
- muhibban* (*muhibban*), 29, 34, 106
- Murra, 134

- Muruwwat*, 33, 43, 58, 59, 70, 76, 133, 168, 177, 187, 189, 190, 199, 208  
*Mutawassit*, 29  
 Muzdalifa, 134
- Nabigha Dubyani, 181, 182, 213n56  
*nadwa*, 134  
 Nafi s ‘Alawi, 103  
 Najm al-Din, 104, 136  
 Naqshbandis, 165, 166  
 al-Na’s Salman (Suliman?), 103, 136, 156n134  
 Nasafi, ‘Aziz, 4, 90n60  
 Nasir al-Din Ibn Abi Na’ja, 103, 136, 156n134  
 Nasir li-Din Allah, 26, 27, 37, 102, 103, 147n21, 156n134, 157n137  
 Nasr, S. H., 14  
 Nawfil, 134  
*nayyaran*, 134  
 Netton, I., 30, 88n38  
 Night Ascent, 114, 115, 121, 149n39, 150n52; *see also mi’raj*  
 Nizamiyya, 25  
 Noah, 101, 113, 133, 134, 135, 154n112, 178  
 Nu‘man b. Al-Binn (Na‘man bin al-Yan), 103, 136, 156n134
- Ohlander, Erik, 27, 30
- Pahlawan, 9  
 Persian *futuwwat*, 12–15  
 Persian language, 81, 87n7  
 Pole, 80; *see also qutb pustin*, 141, 148n34
- Qabus-nama*, 2, 9, 10, 39, 7, 9, 11, 17n8, 107, 164–73  
 Qaid ‘Isa, 103  
 Qalandars, 21n53, 36, 90n60  
*qawli*, 10, 39, 101, 125, 126; *see also verbal pledge*  
 Qaydar, 133, 135  
 Qusayy, 134  
 Qushayri, 2, 13, 17n12  
*Qut al-Qulub*, 100  
*qutb*, 7, 34, 48, 90n56; *see also pole*  
 Qutb al-Din Abu’l-Hasan ibn ‘Abd al-Rahim al-Rifa’i, 104, 136
- Rabi’a (b. al-Harith), 117, 152n75  
 Ra’ys Salman, 103, 156n134  
 Razor, 84  
 Reality, 30, 38, 43, 45, 47, 48, 51, 53; *see also haqiqat rifada*, 134  
 Rifa’i order, 16n7, 99, 148n24  
 rings (earrings, finger rings), 81  
 robe (*bulla*), 108, 111, 113  
*rukhsa*, 30, 35, 88n38; *see also dispensation*  
 Rumi, Jalal al-Din, 14, 28, 38, 94n97, 94n99, 100, 105, 164, 169, 209n5, 209n11; *see also Mawlana*  
 Ruzbih Farisi, 103, 156n134
- Sa‘di, 100, 164, 169, 187, 194, 200  
 Sadiq, (Akhi Sadiq), 103, 136  
 Safavids, 10, 11, 12, 93n86, 170, 209n10  
 Safiyya (wife of Muhammad), 115  
 Safwan bin Umayya, 103, 117, 118, 152n78, 156n134  
 Salih (Akhi Salih), 102, 103, 136, 147n21, 156n134; *see also ‘Abd al-Jabbar Salih*  
 Salman-i Farsi (Salman-i Fars), 101, 102, 103, 116, 117, 118, 128, 129, 151n61, 153n104  
 salt (water), 10, 36, 39, 101, 108, 118, 119, 120, 122, 123; *see also shurbi sama’*, 4, 5, 12, 16n7, 17n12, 29, 31, 40, 105, 106, 108, 138, 139, 140, 141, 149n35, 156n134  
 Samak-i ‘Ayyar, 8  
 Sara, 63  
*sarawil*, 38; *see also trousers*  
 Sari al-Saqati, 104, 137, 148n27  
 Satan, 28, 51, 56, 60, 63, 68, 94n98, 109, 112, 114, 139, 143; *see also Iblis*  
 Sayf al-Din ‘Ali ibn Rifa’i, 104, 137  
*sayfi*, 10, 39, 101, 125; *see also sword initiation*  
 Sayyid Abu ‘Ali, 103, 136, 156n134  
 Abu ‘Ali Sufi?, 103, 136, 156n134  
 Seth, 28, 48, 101, 112, 113, 133, 134  
*shab-i barat*, 48, 93n93  
*shab-i qadar*, 48, 93n92  
 Shafi i-Kadkani, M. R., 13  
 Shah Shuja’ Kirmani, 146, 159n165

- Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Rifa’i, 104, 136
- Shaqiq-i Balkhi, 142, 158n158
- shari‘a* (*shari‘at*), 11, 18n17, 28, 31, 35, 36, 38, 42, 45, 64, 82, 93n91, 139; *see also* holy law
- Shem, 133
- Shibl Abu’l-Makarim (Shibl?), 103, 136, 156n134
- Shi‘ites, Shi‘ism, 6, 7, 17n11, 18n23, 18n27, 100, 139, 165, 170
- Shiraz, 9, 14
- Shu‘ayb, 134
- Shuja‘ al-Zanjani, 103, 136
- shurbi*, 10, 39; *see also* salt water
- Shu‘ubi, Shu‘ubiya, 1, 13, 15n1
- silsila*, 4, 14, 17n9, 87n13, 99, 102, 104, 108, 133, 148n24, 148n26, 156n134
- sitting (for food), 72–5
- sodomy, 36
- soldiers, 8, 10, 30, 39, 47, 86, 116, 117, 118, 124
- substitutes, 80; *see also* *abdal*
- Subtelny, Maria, 166
- Sufi aspirant, 29, 70, 71
- Sufi simulator, 29, 88n25
- Suhrawardi, Abu Hafs, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 17n8, 18n17, 25–40, 107, 147n13, 167, 168, 172
- Suhrawardi, Abu’l-Najib, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 89n48, 106, 210n21
- Sulami, ‘Abd al-Rahman, 2, 6, 16n3–5, 19n38, 31, 35, 37, 39, 51, 94n95
- Suliman (al-Na’s Salman?), 103, 136, 156n134
- su‘luk* (*sa‘alik*), 13, 20n48
- sword, 6, 38, 45, 93n88, 115, 117, 122, 150n58, 184, 190, 207, 208
- sword initiation, 10, 39, 101, 108, 119, 125, 126, 147n13; *see also* *sayfi*
- al-Tabari, 100
- Taj al-Din Muhammad Rifa’i, 99, 103, 136, 157n138
- tajrid* (solitude), 34, 64, 76, 83
- tamam jama*, 82
- tariqa(t)*, 3, 18n17, 28, 33, 45, 76, 82, 115, 120, 136
- Timurids, 3, 11, 17n8, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 209n9
- toothcleaner, 84
- toothpick, 75, 84, 86
- tradesmen, 3, 6, 9, 10, 30, 168
- tree, 14, 101, 112, 115, 117, 122, 123, 125, 135, 150n59, 176, 180, 197
- tress, 139
- trousers, 36, 38, 39, 82, 147n21, 153n99, 157n137; *see also* *sarawil* and *zir-i jama*
- Tuba tree, 115
- Turkish language, 81, 169
- tweezers, 32, 84
- ‘Ubbad bin Usayd, 116
- ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab, 38, 60–3, 114, 117, 124, 136
- ‘Umar al-Rahhas (Rahad), 103, 136, 147n20, 156n134
- Usama bin Zayd, 117, 152n77
- verbal pledge, 101, 108, 119, 123, 125, 126, 147n13; *see also* *qawli*
- water channel, 18n17, 37, 38, 45, 48, 50, 93n91
- way, 30, 38, 43, 45, 47, 48, 51, 53, 57; *see also* *tariqat*
- wine, 1, 7, 11, 60, 62, 119, 120, 122, 132, 198
- women, 8, 18n29, 57, 61, 82, 116, 118, 131, 172, 204
- Yahya bin Zakariya, 130
- yar piraban*, 39
- Yush’a b. Nun, 109, 134
- Yusuf Tabrizi, 103, 136
- Zakeri, M., 13
- Zarkub, Najm al-Din, 9, 10, 39, 147n13
- Zarrinkub, A. H., 11
- zawiya*, 46
- Zayd, 134
- [Zayd b.] Harith[a], 140, 158n152
- Zayyani, K., 20n46
- zir-i jama*, 38; *see also* trousers
- zurkhana*, 9