

Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-Linked Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Egypt

Brill Classics in Islam

VOLUME 9

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/bcii*

Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-Linked Institutions in Nineteenth- Century Egypt

*A Historical Study in Organizational Dimensions
of Islamic Mysticism*

By

Frederick de Jong



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī receives the ṭuruq in his palace in al-Khurunfish during the celebrations of the *mawlid al-nabī* (date unknown, but before 1905 since Muḥammad Ḥusayn Yāsīn, the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Rifāʿīyya*, who died in that year, stands in front of the gate at al-Bakrī's left hand side.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Jong, F. de, 1944- author.

Title: Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-linked institutions in nineteenth-century Egypt : a historical study in organizational dimensions of Islamic mysticism / by Frederick De Jong.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2021] | Series: Brill classics in Islam, 1872-5481 ; volume 9 | Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021014027 (print) | LCCN 2021014028 (ebook) |

ISBN 9789004449091 (hardback ; acid-free paper) |

ISBN 9789004449107 (e-book)

Subjects: LCSH: Sufism--Egypt--History.

Classification: LCC BP188.8.E3 J66 2021 (print) | LCC BP188.8.E3 (ebook) |

DDC 297.40962--dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2021014027>

LC ebook record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2021014028>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1872-5481

ISBN 978-90-04-44909-1 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-44910-7 (e-book)

Copyright 2021 by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill nv incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau Verlag and V&R Unipress.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill nv via brill.com or copyright.com.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Preface	IX
Acknowledgements	XV
List of Maps and Plates	XVI
Note on Spelling and Transliteration	XVII

Introduction 1

1 The Emergence and Institutionalization of Central Authority over the <i>Ṭuruq</i> and <i>Ṭuruq</i>-Linked Institutions	6
1 Al-Bakriyya and Its Leaders	8
2 The <i>Niqābat al-Ashrāf</i>	11
3 The <i>Arbāb al-Sajājīd</i>	11
4 The <i>Ṭuruq</i>	13
5 The Formalization of al-Bakrī's Authority and Muḥammad 'Alī's Policy	19
6 The Shrine- and <i>Takīya</i> -Based <i>Ṭuruq</i>	22
7 <i>Ṭuruq</i> without Material Assets	25
8 The <i>Takāyā</i> and <i>Zawāyā</i>	27
9 The Appointment of Muḥammad al-Bakrī as <i>Naqīb al-Ashrāf</i> and Its Implications	29
10 Demarcation of Authority: The Agreement with al-Azhar	32
11 The Early Phase of the <i>Ṭuruq</i> Administration	33
12 Summary	37
2 The <i>Ṭuruq</i> Realm, the Principle of Right of <i>Qadam</i>, the Nature and Functioning of the <i>Ṭuruq</i> Administration	38
1 The Genesis of the Principle of Right of <i>Qadam</i>	38
2 Al-Bakrī's Authority over the <i>Ṭuruq</i> and the Principle of Right of <i>Qadam</i>	40
3 The <i>Ṭuruq</i> Administration and the Government	48
4 Conflicts about Right of <i>Qadam</i> and Their Resolution	49
5 The <i>Ashrāf</i> as <i>Tarīqa</i> Officials	50
6 Conflicts Not Related to <i>Qadam</i>	51
7 The <i>Mawālid</i> and the <i>Ṭuruq</i>	52
8 The Shrines	56
9 The <i>Mawlid al-Nabī</i> Celebrations	58
10 Additional <i>Mawālid</i> and Other Celebrations Organized and Supervised by al-Bakrī	61

11	The Processions of the <i>Kiswa</i> , the <i>Maḥmal</i> and the <i>Laylat al-Ru'ya</i>	65
12	The <i>Ṭuruq</i> Involved	66
13	Al-Bakrī's Administration and the <i>Ṭakāyā</i>	75
14	Al-Bakrī's Administration, the Cairene Shrines and Their Intendants	83
15	The Nature and Scope of al-Bakrī's Authority	89
16	Demands for Reforms	90
17	Summary	92
3	The Crisis of Authority	93
1	The Circular of 1881, Its Contents, Implications and Consequences	94
2	The Inadequate Maintenance of Rights of <i>Qadam</i>	99
3	The New <i>Ṭuruq</i> , Their Leaders, Their Spread, Their Recognition	104
4	Secessionist <i>Ṭuruq</i>	113
5	The Changing Area of Authority and the Decline of Its Legitimacy	116
6	The 'Urābī Insurrection and Ṭarīqa Involvement	117
7	Summary	120
4	The Promulgation of the Regulations for the <i>Ṭuruq</i>, Their History and Contents	122
1	Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī and the Early Re-assertion of Authority	122
2	The Regulations of 1895	129
3	The Amended Regulations of 1903	133
4	<i>Ṭuruq</i> without Official Status	137
5	The Internal Regulations of 1905	150
6	The Reformist Calls for <i>Iṣlāḥ</i> of the <i>Ṭuruq</i>	165
7	Opposition to and Acceptance of the Internal Regulations	167
8	Status Changes of the <i>Ṭuruq</i>	169
9	The Political Activities of Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī	178
10	Summary	183
	Epilogue	185
	Appendix 1: Translation of the <i>Firmān</i> Issued by Muḥammad 'Alī, Viceroy of Egypt, Investing Muḥammad Efendī al-Bakrī with Authority over the <i>Ṭuruq</i> and <i>Ṭuruq</i>-Linked Institutions	189

- Appendix 2: Translation of the *Maḥḍar* Setting out the Demarcation of the Areas of Authority of the *Shaykh al-Sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, Muḥammad Efendī al-Bakrī, and the *Shaykh al-Azhar*, Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī 191
- Appendix 3: Translation of a Circular Issued by the *Shaykh al-Bakrī* to All the Chiefs of the Religious Sects 193
- Appendix 4: Translation of the Regulations for the *Ṭuruq (Lā'ihat al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya)* of 1895 199
- Appendix 5: Translation of the Amended Regulations for the *Ṭuruq (Lā'ihat al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya)* of 1903 202
- Appendix 6: Translation of the Internal Regulations for the *Ṭuruq (al-Lā'ihat al-Dākhiliyya li-l-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya)* of 1905 204
- Appendix 7a: The Genealogy of Muḥammad Abū l-Su'ūd al-Bakrī 214
- Appendix 7b: Descendants of Muḥammad Abū l-Su'ūd al-Bakrī Down to the Early 20th Century 216
- Appendix 8: Names of Persons Who Held the Supreme Authority Position over the Bakrī Family and the Bakriyya Order in Ottoman Egypt 218
- Appendix 9: Appointees to the *Niqābat al-Ashrāf* from ca. 1750 until 1911 220
- Bibliography 222
- General Index 239
- Index of Arabic and Turkish Terms 246
- Index of Personal Names 251
- Index of Place Names 259

Preface

In consequence of the Arab-Israeli War of 1967, the Egyptian-Dutch Cultural Agreement was de facto suspended. When it came in danger of abrogation by the Egyptian side in early 1968, Jan Brugman, Professor of Arabic Language and Cultural History at Leiden University, made every effort to prevent this. Finding candidates for the student scholarships offered by the Egyptian Ministry of Higher Education for the winter-spring term of the academic year 1967–1968 was crucial in this respect. The concerns he expressed about the future of the Agreement led me to present an application, which was successful and allowed me to register as a student in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Cairo.

In Cairo it was primarily under the supervision of Abū l-Wafā' al-Ghunaymī al-Taftāzānī, Professor of Islamic Philosophy, that I could continue my studies and research supported by scholarships awarded by the Ministry through 1972–1973. His positive annual evaluations and the references written by professors Aḥmad al-Ḥashshab and Ḥikmat Abū Zayd, both of the Faculty of Arts in the University of Cairo, were crucial. For this and for their consistent intellectual and moral support at various stages of research and writing I am grateful. In Cairo, Ladislaus van Zeelst OFM, Director of the Centro Francese di Studi Orientali Cristiani and Ernst Bannerth OP, member of the Institut Dominicain des Études Orientales were generous with their time and advised me in the early stages of my research. I am indebted to the cultural anthropologist P.E.J. de Josselin de Jong and the empirical sociologist J.D. Speckmann (both of the University of Leiden) for their intellectual feedback.

When I started my research in the Cairene archives, few scholars from the West had been allowed to work there. Among them was Daniel Crecelius of California State University, Los Angeles, who was working on Mamluk *waqf* materials. Faced with the same or similar problems of reading the Arabic and Ottoman hands, and of understanding the terminology and abbreviations used in the documents, I found myself in a nearly life-long friendship which continues today, albeit with long periods with little contact. I got to know him as a committed and productive scholar.

Finally, I recall the cherished memories of my deceased friends and colleagues Martin Hinds (1988) and Patricia Crone (2015). They were always great company and sources of intellectual inspiration. I miss them.

Later research in Egypt, notably in 1973, was made financially possible by the Dutch Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (zwo). Here, the

support of professor Jan Brugman was decisive in obtaining several research subventions. His intellectual exchange and practical advice in conjunction with the writing of my PhD dissertation and at later critical junctures of my academic career were crucial. I owe him much.

In 1968, shortly after my arrival in Cairo, fellow students in my hostel took me to the big final night (*laylat al-kabīra*) of the *mawlid* of Imām al-Ḥusayn. Several more visits to *mawlids* followed that year. On these occasions I had my first meetings with leaders and members of *ṭuruq*, I could sit with them in their *ṣiwāns* and be present at *dhikrs*. Several of these contacts gradually developed into personal ties that brought me increasing familiarity with the milieu of the *ṭuruq* in Egypt. I also became aware of the existence of formal regulations pertaining to the affairs of the orders going back to the turn of the nineteenth-twentieth century. The little knowledge about the regulations among those who were subject to them made me decide to try to map the history of the institutions molded by the texts and the texts molded by the institutions. The many research questions that derived from these epistemic goals implied an exploration of their purport and functioning. These can be reduced to the following main research questions: how did the *ṭuruq* become subject to the Regulations of 1903 and 1905, and what determined their contents and composition?

Research took me to public and private archives and libraries and into contact with informants at various levels in the hierarchies of the *ṭuruq* and in various state institutions. Again, my Cairo supervisor, Professor al-Taftāzānī, was instrumental in making this possible, not only in his capacity as professor in the University of Cairo but also as head of a *ṭarīqa* (al-Ghunaymiyya al-Khalwatiyya) and member of *al-Majlis al-‘Alā’ lil-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya*. Without his help and continuous support this book would probably not have materialized.

The illustration on the cover of this book is a photograph of Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī (1870–1932) standing under the porch of the main gate of his palace in the *Shārī’ al-Khurunfish* in Cairo. According to a handwritten note on the back of the original photograph, he is receiving the *ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* on the occasion of *mawlid al-nabī*. I copied this photograph from the original owned by Muḥammad Wafā al-Bakrī at his home in al-Ma‘ādī. Muḥammad Wafā was the son of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Bakrī, and Muḥammad Tawfīq was his father’s brother. Much of the microfilmed material in the Leiden series F.Or.A. 283, 284, and 285 that I used for this study was his property. The materials, including the photographs published as plates II, III, IV, and VI in this book, came down to him through his father, Aḥmad Murād.

The photograph contains historical elements that have the potential to trigger in me “a historical sensation ... an almost immediate contact with the past”,

in the words of the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga (1872–1945),¹ or perhaps, at a less mystical level, “the (intense) wish to be there”, as it was put by Alexandre Popovic.² Al-Bakrī holds his hands in the position of prayer (*du‘ā*) implying that he is saying a prayer or reading *al-Fātiḥa*. The *shaykh* standing on his left was identified as Muḥammad Ḥusayn Yāsīn, the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Rifā‘iyya*. Because he is known to have died in 1905, the photograph must have been taken at about the turn of the century. His presence implies that those standing in front are members of the Rifā‘iyya order, with their banners (on the left), paying their respects to Muḥammad Tawfiq. In the back on his right some persons are visible. Judging from their formal dress and their position (standing immediately behind him), they must be high representatives of the government or the municipality. The banner of Egypt hangs from the flagstaff attached to the porch, and the coat of arms of Khedive Aḥmad Hilmī hangs from the wall. All these elements suggest a major religious occasion on which religious and state hierarchies demonstrate their intimate connection.

The proposed dating of the photograph means that it was taken when Muḥammad Tawfiq was at the height of his career. He was *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, and *naqīb al-ashrāf*. He was also life member of the Jam‘iyya ‘Umūmiyya (General Assembly) and of Egypt’s Majlis *Shūrā al-Qawānīn* (the Legislative Council). He had married into the Wafā‘iyya family of *ashrāf* whose powerful *shaykh al-sajjāda*, Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Sādāt, had become his father-in-law. He had become prominent in politics as one of the protagonists in the manipulations involving Khedive ‘Abbās Hilmī and the British consul, General Lord Cromer. He was about to obtain, or had already obtained, the ultimate legal confirmation of his power over the *ṭuruq* and their leaders, by dint of the proclamation of the *Regulations for the Ṭuruq*. The impact of these *Regulations* lasted beyond 1976, when the new *Law Concerning the Organization of the Sufi Orders*³ was issued, incorporating much from the above-mentioned regulations introduced under Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī.

Deconstructing this photograph reminds me of the words of Wilhelm Dilthey: “we are historical beings before being observers of history, and only because we are the former do we become the latter”.⁴ The photograph made me

1 Paraphrased from J. Huizinga, *Verzamelde werken*, vol. ii, 566, Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink 1948.

2 ‘Annales Islamologiques’, *Bulletin Critique*, vol. xx (1984), 347: “on regrette constamment en lisant le très riche livre ... de ne pas voir vivre les *ṭuruq* égyptiens de l’époque”.

3 ‘Qānūn raqam 118 li-sanat 1976 milādī bi-shā’n niẓām al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya’, *Al-Jarīda al-Rasmiyya*, 37 (11 September 1976).

4 Wilhelm Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World in the Human Sciences* (Ed. Rudolf

acutely aware of the partial convergence of object, that is, the Bakrīs (the past), and the subject (the historian). Muḥammad Tawfīq and his family owe their historical visibility to the historian, as I, in a sense, come into being through them and they through me.

Of all the Bakrī *shaykhs* who held central offices of religious and political authority in the nineteenth century, Muḥammad Tawfīq is the only one whose life has been the subject of a biography.⁵ This indicates not only his prominence but also the presence of source materials, although these materials included only those that had been published. The biographer, Māhir Ḥasan Fahmī, did not use unpublished documents from private or public collections. So he could say little about the twenty odd years Muḥammad Tawfīq was directing the *mashyakha al-turuq al-ṣūfiyya*, a central part of Muḥammad Tawfīq's existence. Chapter 5 of the present study partially fills this void.

Even so, crucial components of Muḥammad Tawfīq's biography are vague or missing. Examples are the involvement of al-Bakrī and the *turuq* in the National Movement in response to British policies and its implications. It seems that the available sources simply do not allow us to piece together the sequence of events leading up to the deterioration of the relationship between al-Bakrī and Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī that resulted in the former's abdication and his confinement in a mental hospital. The question of the authorship of some of al-Bakrī's published books and anthologies of poetry is likewise still open and may never be solved.⁶ What is known about these matters, which must have been major events in his life, is as opaque as is much of the photograph of him standing under the porch of the main gate of his palace in Shāriʿ al-Khurunfish.

The absence of follow-ups to my book, contributing to a more detailed knowledge of the history of the *turuq* before, during, or after "the era of *qadam*", is regrettable. The inaccessibility of public and private archives in Cairo is one explanation for this state of affairs. The protracted procedures involved in obtaining an official research permit and the state of organization of these archives are major impediments, but this does not seem to detract from the persuasiveness of my construction of part of Egypt's past, as evidenced by its reviews⁷ and its wide acceptance by other researchers since the book was first published. Measured on a different scale, it means that it lives up to the criteria for the evaluation of historical arguments as proposed, for instance, by

A. Makreel and Frithjof Rodi), Princeton and Oxford (Princeton University Press) 2002, 297.

5 Māhir Ḥasan Fahmī, *Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī* (Cairo: Dar al-Kātib al-ʿArabī) 1967.

6 Cf. *Al-Muqtataf*, xix (Cairo 1895) 930 ff., and xx, 44 ff.

7 Some ten reviews appeared in the years between its publication and 1984.

Mark Bevir: accuracy, comprehensiveness, consistency, originality, fruitfulness, and openness.⁸ The criterion of comprehensiveness may be fulfilled more substantially by future research, but, as always, the end result is conditioned by the limitations of the sources. In the case of this study, the sources impose an emphasis on the religious domain (and much less on the economic domain); on administration and institutions (and much less, for example, on religious life in the brotherhoods). It has nevertheless been noted that the data clearly do demonstrate “the vigor of dervish life in nineteenth-century Egypt”.⁹

The willingness expressed by E.J. Brill to publish a second edition of a book after more than four decades can only please an author, especially when a perusal of the book demonstrates that none of the basic positions reached and explanations offered have to be retracted or reformulated. The identification of *qadam* as a principle that was pivotal to the administration of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions remains standing.¹⁰ Whenever the substance of the evidence felt less than satisfactory, I found solace in R.G. Collingwood’s “what really happened is what the evidence indicates”.¹¹ Also, my periodization of the history of the *ṭuruq* in Egypt which qualifies the nineteenth century as “the age of *qadam*” retains its usefulness as a synthesizing inference. The explanations for and implications of the various articles in the *Regulations* have remained valid. The Weberian concepts of authority, legality, and legitimacy retain sufficient precision to be useful as analytical tools. Still, much work remains to be done on the history of the *ṭuruq* in Egypt before, during, and after “the age of *qadam*”. May this second edition generate renewed interest and research in the history of the *ṭuruq* in Egypt.

8 Mark, Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1999, 89–90.

9 See the review by M.E. Yapp in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 24/2 (1979) 216–217.

10 Cf. the review by Gabriel Baer in *Bulletin of the SOAS*, 43/2 (1980), 378–379.

11 R.G. Collingwood, ‘Limits of Historical Knowledge’, in William Debbins (Ed.), *Essays in the Philosophy of History*, Austin (University of Texas Press), 1965, 99.

Acknowledgements

The research upon which this study is based has been carried out intermittently since 1969. I am much indebted to the Egyptian Ministry of Higher Education for financial support and for the facilities for study and research put at my disposal—partly within the framework of the Egyptian-Dutch cultural agreement—during most of the period up to Spring 1972. Subsequent research in 1973 was supported by the Dutch Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (z.w.o.).

The members and heads of the *ṭuruq* who have provided me with information and are mentioned by name in the following pages, have my deep gratitude. In addition, many other “ahl al-ṭarīq” have contributed directly or indirectly to the present study as informants, by providing publications, or by giving help in many other ways. They are too numerous to mention individually, but each is remembered gratefully.

For intellectual and moral support received at various stages of research and writing I should like to thank professors Aḥmad al-Ḥaṣḥshāb, Ḥikmat Abū Zayd, and Abū l-Wafā’ al-Ghunaymī al-Taftāzānī of the University of Cairo; my former teachers, professors J. Brugman, P.E.J. de Josselin de Jong, and J.D. Speckmann, of the University of Leiden; professor Daniel Crecelius of California State University, Los Angeles; Dr. Patricia Crone of the University of Oxford; Dr. G. Martin Hinds of the University of Cambridge; and Father Ladislaus van Zeelst O.F.M., Director of the “Centro Francescano di Studi Orientali Cristiani” in Cairo. In addition, I should like to acknowledge my debt to the late Dr. E. Banerth, O.P. member of the “Institut Dominicain des Études Orientales”, whose wide knowledge of the *ṭuruq* in Egypt allowed him to give me valuable advice in the early stages of my research.

This publication of the second edition of the work “Ṭuruq and Ṭuruq-Linked Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Egypt” in Brill Classics in Islam was greatly enabled by Corné Hanssen, lecturer in Arabic and Islam in Utrecht University, and by Jos van Aken, Arabist and Islamologist working for the Immigration Department, the Hague, in the Netherlands. They contributed to the perfection and completeness of the text of the second edition. For this I am most grateful.

Maps and Plates

Maps

- 1–2 Map of Egypt showing the approximate location of the towns and villages mentioned in this study. Villages mentioned on pages 158–159 and not mentioned elsewhere in this book do not appear on the map. Provincial boundaries of 1975 are shown, names of provincial capitals appear in full, names of provinces appear only when different from the names of the provincial capitals. xviii–xix
- 3 Map of Cairo showing the location of *takāyā*, *zawāyā*, shrine-mosques and other establishments mentioned in this study xx

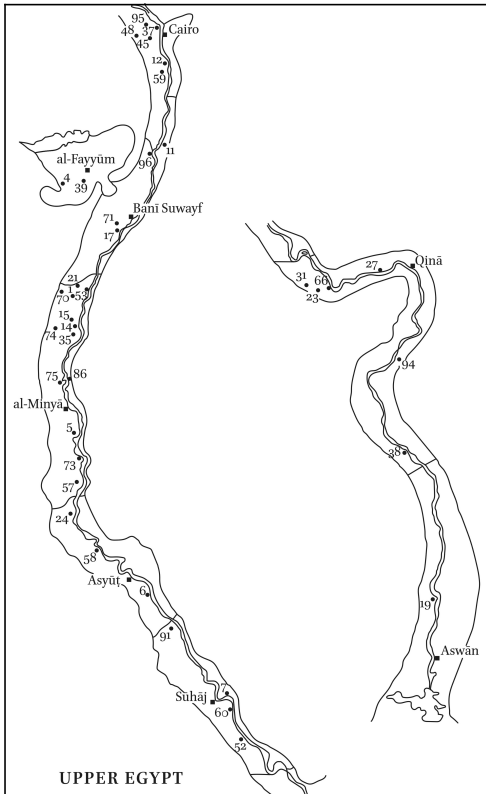
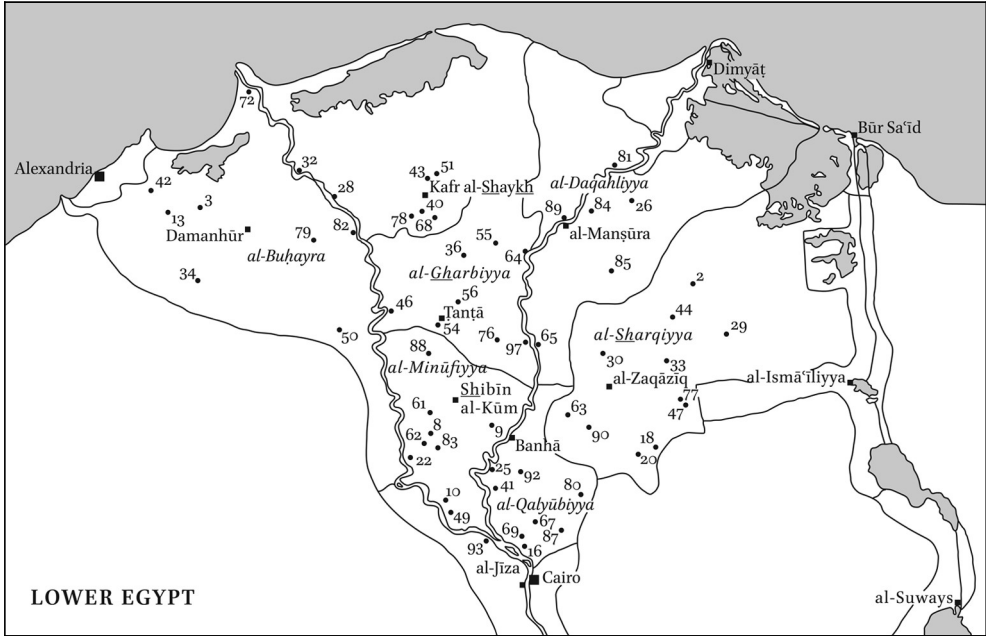
Plates

- 1 The *dawsa* (*dōseh*). (Reproduced from the photograph facing page 58 in E.E. Farman, *Egypt and its Betrayal*, New York 1908; copyright: The British Library) 62
- 2 ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī (1850–1892) towards the end of his life 95
- 3 Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī (1870–1932) in 1898 126
- 4 Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī receives the *ṭuruq* in his palace in al-Khurunfish during the celebrations of the *mawlid al-nabī* (date unknown, but before 1905 since Muḥammad Ḥusayn Yāsīn, the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Rifā’iyya*, who died in that year, stands in front of the gate at al-Bakrī’s left hand side) 134
- 5 Muhammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī and some of the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* photographed during the *mawlid al-nabī* celebrations in front of tents (*ṣawāwīn*) set up on this occasion at the main site of these celebrations at al-‘Abbāsiyya in 1904. The following *mashāyikh* in this photograph could be identified: ‘Alī Abū l-Nūr al-Jirbī (1); Ḥamūda al-Khuḍarī (2); Muḥammad Mashīna (3); Ḥasan Shams al-Dīn (4); Muḥammad ‘Iwaḍ al-Rifā’ī (*khalīfa* of al-Rifā’iyya) (5); Muḥammad Ḥusayn Yāsīn (6); Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī (7); ‘Abd al-Salām al-‘Ulaylī (*wakil al-mashyakha*) (8); Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Malawānī (9); ‘Alī Nuwaytū (10). (After a copy made of the original preserved at the headquarters of the Rifā’iyya order at the Rifā’ī mosque in Cairo) 134
- 6 Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī towards the end of his life. The photograph bears a dedication to Dr. Fāris Nimr, who was one of the editors of the Cairene daily *Al-Muqattam*, and is dated 2 October 1928. (Figures 2, 3, 4, and 6 are reproduced from copies made of the originals owned by Muḥammad Wafā al-Bakrī, Cairo) 183

Note on Spelling and Transliteration

From stylistic considerations I have given preference to the use of Arabic plural forms for the various technical terms which are necessary in a work like the present one, instead of using the bastard construction of the English plural 's' attached to the Arabic singular. Exceptions have been made for the dualis and for nouns following numerals above 10. In both cases the English plural 's' is suffixed to the Arabic singular. Equally for reasons of style I have occasionally chosen to use the English definite article preceding Arabic genitive constructions e.g. the *naqīb al-ashrāf*. Whenever the option presented itself, preference has been given to Arabic over (Ottoman) Turkish spelling and vocalization.

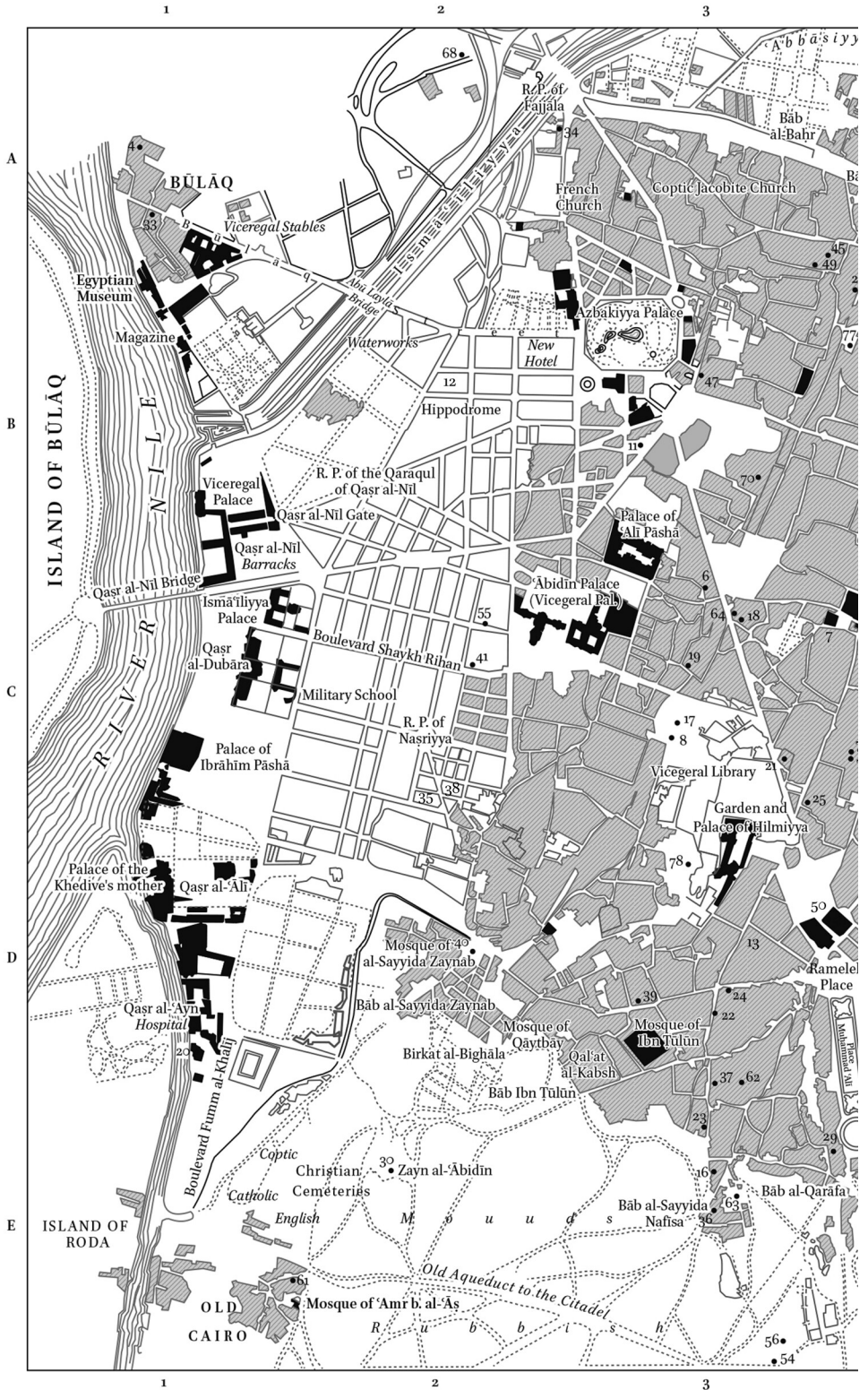
Names of towns and villages are vocalized in accordance with *Wizārat al-Māliyya* (Maṣlaḥat al-Misāḥa), *Al-Dalīl al-Jughrāfī li-Asmā al-Mudun wa l-Nawāḥī al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo (Būlāq): al-Mṭ. al-Amīriyya 1941.

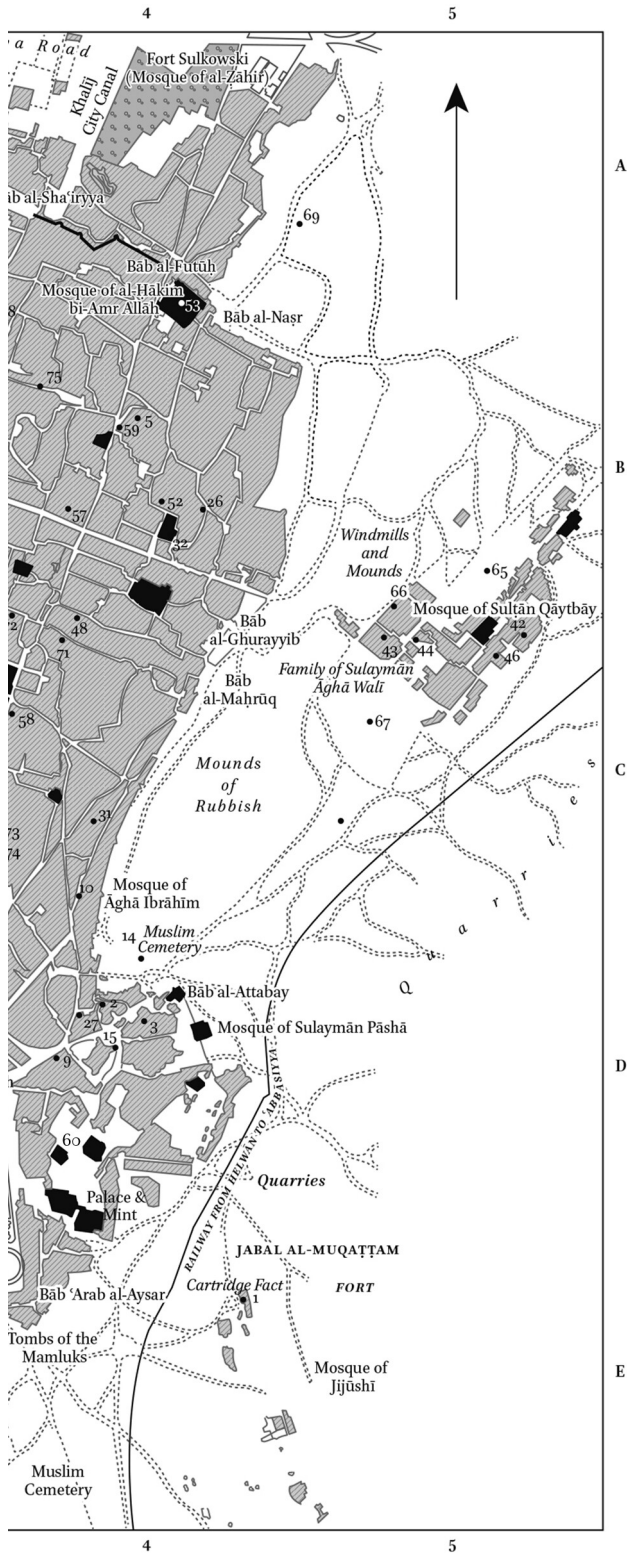


MAP 1 AND 2

Map of Egypt showing the approximate location of the towns and villages mentioned in this study. Villages mentioned on pages 158–160 and not mentioned elsewhere in this book do not appear on the map. Present-day (1975) provincial boundaries are shown, names of provincial capitals appear in full, names of provinces appear only when different from the names of the provincial capitals.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 1. Abā 'l-Waqf | 36. Ibshawiyya (Ibshawā'ī 'l-Malaq) | 65. Mīt Ghamr |
| 2. Abū Hīrayz | | 66. Naj' Hammādi |
| 3. Abū Hūmmuş | 37. Imbāba | 67. Nawā |
| 4. Abū Jandīr | 38. Isnā' | 68. Nimrat al-Başal |
| 5. Abū Qurqāş | 39. İtşā | 69. Qalyüb |
| 6. Abū 'l-Tij | 40. 'İsbat al-Shawādifi | 70. al-Qāyāt |
| 7. Akhmīm | 41. Kafr al-'Ammār | 71. Qumbush al-Ĥamrā' |
| 8. al-'Āmira | 42. Kafr al-Dawwār | |
| 9. 'Arab al-Raml | 43. al-Kafr al-Gharbī (Sidī Ghāzī at present) | 72. Rashīd |
| 10. Ashmūn | | 73. al-Rawḍa |
| 11. Aţfiḥ | 44. Kafr Şaqar | 74. Şaft Abū Jirj |
| 12. Badrashin | 45. Kafr Ṭuhurmus | 75. Samālūt |
| 13. Balaqţar | 46. Kafr al-Zayyāt | 76. al-Sanţā |
| 14. Banī Mazār | 47. Khalwat Abū Misalīm | 77. al-Şawwa |
| 15. Bardūna al-Ashraf | | 78. Shannū |
| 16. Bāsūs | 48. Kirdāsa | 79. Sharnüb |
| 17. Bibā | 49. al-Kitāmiyya | 80. Shabīn al-Qanāţir |
| 18. Bilbays | 50. Kūm Ĥamāda | 81. Shirbīn |
| 19. Binbān | 51. al-Kūm al-Ṭawil | 82. Shubrā Khīt |
| 20. Dahmishā | 52. Jirjā | 83. Shubrā Zanji |
| 21. Dahrūt | 53. Maghāgha | 84. Shuhā |
| 22. Damallij | 54. Maḥallat al-Jawhariya | 85. al-Sinbillāwayn |
| 23. Dayr al-Sa'āda | 55. al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā | 86. al-Sirīriyya |
| 24. Dayrūt | 56. Maḥallat Rūḥ | 87. Siryāqūs |
| 25. Dijwa | 57. Mallawī | 88. Talā |
| 26. Dikirnīs | 58. al-Manfalūt | 89. Ṭalkha |
| 27. Dishnā | 59. al-Marāzīq | 90. Tilbāna |
| 28. Disūq | 60. al-Minshā | 91. Ṭimā |
| 29. Fāqūs | 61. Minshāt Sulţān | 92. Ṭukh (al-Malaq) |
| 30. Farsīs | 62. Minūf | 93. Umm Dīnār |
| 31. Farshūt | 63. Minyā al-Qamḥ | 94. al-Uqşur |
| 32. Fuwa | 64. Mīt (Minyat) Samanūd | 95. Warrāq al-'Arab |
| 33. Hihyā | | 96. al-Wāştā |
| 34. Hūsh 'İsā | | 97. Ziftā |
| 35. Ibshāq al-Ghazāl | | |





MAP 3
 Map of Cairo showing the location of *takāyā*, *zawāyā*, shrine-mosques and other establishments mentioned in this study

This map is based on the *Plan of Cairo in 1882* in possession of the Royal Geographical Society, London (London: War Office 1882; inset on sheet 3 of Lower Egypt). The following maps were consulted in order to locate the various establishments mentioned: *Plan générale de la ville du Caire* by Gran-Bey, Paris: Imp. Lemerancier 1874 (British Museum 64480 (8)); *Map of Cairo* published by the Survey Department of Egypt in 1914 (reproduced on a smaller scale in M. Clerget, *Le Caire Étude de géographie urbaine et d'histoire économique*, ii vols., Cairo 1934, vol. i, map 4); *Plan des Archives égyptiennes et de la partie avoisinante de la Citadelle*, appended to J. Deny, *Sommaire des Archives Turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930; *Map of Cairo showing Mohammedan Monuments*, printed and published by the Survey of Egypt in 1950.

Asterisked names indicate buildings not existing anymore in the early 1970's.

takāyā

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---|
| 1. | ‘Abd Allāh al-Maghāwīrī E4 | 22. | al-Rukubiyya (al-Lu’lu’) D3 |
| 2. | al-Bukhārī (Bāb al-Wazīr) D4 | 23. | al-Sayyida Ruqayya E3 |
| 3. | al-Bukhārīyya (Niẓām al-Dīn) D4 | 24. | Shaykhūn D3 |
| 4. | Būlāq (al-Rifā’iyya) A1 | 25. | al-Surūjiyya (al-Sulaymāniyya) D3 |
| 5. | Darb Qirmiz (with shrine of al-Shaykh Sinān) B4 | 26. | Umm al-Ghulām B4 |
| 6. | al-Ghannāmiyya (al-Ghannām) C3 | 27. | al-Uzbek (takīyat Muḥammad Taqī ‘l-Dīn al-‘Ajāmī al-Biṣṭāmī in Darb al-Labbān) D4 |
| 7. | al-Gulshaniyya C3 | | |
| 8. | al-Ḥabbāniyya* C3 | | <i>Shrines and shrine-mosques</i> |
| 9. | Ḥasan al-Rūmī (al-Naqshbandī) D4 | 28. | ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī B4 |
| 10. | al-Hunūd C4 | | al-Sulṭān al-‘Ādil Tūmān Bāy (in al-Abbāsiyya; not in map) |
| 11. | al-‘Iẓām B3 | 29. | al-Sayyida ‘Ā’isha E3–4 |
| | al-Jamāliyya (not located) | 30. | al-Sayyid ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn E2 |
| 12. | al-Ustādh al-Maghribī B2 | 31. | al-Sayyida Fāṭima al-Nabawiyya C4 |
| | al-Manshiyya (not located) | 32. | al-Imām al-Ḥusayn B4 |
| 13. | al-Mawlawiyya D3 | 33. | al-Ṣulṭān Ḥusayn Abū ‘l-‘Alā’ A1 |
| 14. | al-Mīrghaniyya D4 | 34. | al-Sāda al-‘Ināniyya A2–3 |
| 15. | Muḥyī ‘l-Dīn al-Rifā’ī D4 | | al-Shaykh Ismā’īl al-Imbābī (at Imbāba; not in map) |
| 16. | al-Sayyida Nafisa (al-Ashraf) E3 | | al-Imām Layth b. Sa’d (s. of the tombs of the Mamlūks; not in map) |
| 17. | al-Naqshbandiyya C3 | | Muḥammad al-Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī (near al-‘Abbāsiyya) |
| 18. | al-Naqshbandiyya (Ḥūsh al-Sharaqāwī)* C3 | | |
| 19. | Qanṭarat (Aq) Sunqur* C3 | | |
| 20. | Qaṣr al-‘Aynī* D1 | | |
| 21. | al-Qawṣūniyya (Qayṣūn; takīyat al-Khalwatiyya) C3 | | |

35. al-Sultān Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī C2–3
36. al-Sayyida Nafisa E3
37. al-Sayyida Sakīna E3
38. al-Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Abū Ḥadīd C3
al-Imam al-Shāfi'ī (s. of the tombs
of the Mamlūks; not in map)
39. al-Ustādh Sulaymān al-Khuḍayrī D3
40. al-Sayyida Zaynab D2
41. al-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh C2
42. 'Abd Allāh al-Minūfi C5
43. 'Abd Allāh al-Sharqāwī C5
'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dīrīnī (in Manyal
al-Rawḍa; not in map)
44. 'Abd al-Karīm Maṣṣūr & descen-
dents C5
45. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Dashṭūtī A3
46. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-'Afifi C5
47. Abū 'l-Ma'ālī al-Jawharī B3
48. Aḥmad al-Dardayr & al-mashāyikh
al-Sibā'iyya B–C4
49. Aḥmad al-Zāhid A3
50. 'Alī Abū 'l-Shubbāk (formerly the
zāwiyat al-Rifā'iyya, presently the
Rifā'i mosque) D3–4
51. 'Alī al-Bayyūmī A4
al-Sāda al-Bakriyya (adjacent to
the shrine-mosque of al-Imām
al-Shāfi'ī; not in map)
52. Faraj al-Suṭūḥī (Jāmi' al-Ḥifnī) B4
53. al-Ḥākīm bi-Amr Allāh A–B4
54. Ḥammad al-Ibādī al-Sammānī E3
55. Sīdī Ḥamza al-Sirsī C2
'Īsā al-Qādirī b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-
Jilānī (in al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā, e. of
al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī; not in map)
56. Ismā'īl Ḍayf & descendents E3
57. al-Sādā al-Jawhariyya (mosque of
al-Jawhari) B4
58. Maḥmūd al-Kurdī C4
59. Sīdī Marzūq al-Aḥmadī al-Yamānī
B4
60. mosque of Muḥammad 'Alī D4
61. Muḥammad al-Anwar E1
62. Muḥammad Kishk E3
63. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Barmūnī
& descendents (in the shrine of
al-Sayyida al-Jawhara) E3
64. Muḥammad al-Nu'man (al-Shaykh
Nu'mān) C3
65. Muḥammad b. Salīm al-Ḥifnī B5
66. Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Marzāqī &
descendents (*ḥawsh* only) B5
67. Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī C5
68. Sīdī al-Qulālī A2
al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya (s.e. of al-
Imām al-Shāfi'ī; not in map)
69. Yūnis al-Shaybānī A5
- Zawaya* and other establishments
70. zāwiyat al-Fāsiyya B3
71. zāwiyat al-Jūdariyya C4
72. zāwiyat al-Marzūqī C4
73. zāwiyat Surūr Āghā C4
74. al-zāwiya al-Tijāniyya C4
75. Dār al-Kiswa B4
76. Dīwān Muḥāfazat Miṣr C3
77. Sarāy of al-Sāda al-Bakriyya (al-
Khurunfish) B4
78. Sarāy al-Sāda al-Wafā'iyya D3

Introduction

This is primarily a historical study of organizational dimensions of Islamic mysticism in Egypt during the 19th century. It is the result of my efforts to answer a number of questions that had emerged in the course of research which had been focused originally on the *ṭuruq* in Egypt after the revolution of 1952. These questions were relative to the origins and the contents of the two sets of regulations which served as the basis for the administration of the *ṭuruq* from the first decade of the 20th century until 1976—the *Lā'ihat al-Ṭuruq al-Şūfiyya* proclaimed by khedivial decree in 1903 and its complement, the *Lā'iha al-Dākhiliyya li-l-Ṭuruq al-Şūfiyya*, which had been in force since 1905—, and can be reduced conveniently, albeit unsophisticatedly, to the following terms: how did the *ṭuruq* become subject to these regulations and what has determined their contents and composition?

A reasonably adequate answer to these questions appeared to entail, in the course of subsequent research, the need for a discussion of the organizational arrangements for the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions, presented in this monograph, from the prelude to the institutionalization of central authority starting in 1802, until the endorsement of the *Lā'iha al-Dākhiliyya* by the members of the *Majlis al-Şūfi* in 1905. Since this was only six years before Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī, the man who left his lasting impact on the *ṭuruq* in Egypt, abdicated as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, *naqib al-ashraf* and *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-şūfiyya*, I have found it apposite to treat the period until the end of his career in 1911 as an integral part of a historical sequence of events stretching over most of the 19th century.

The *ṭuruq* dealt with in this study are hierarchically-organized initiatory associations founded on a mystical conception of Islam. This conception finds its expression in each association's body of teachings and religious practices which is referred to by "Way" as distinct from *ṭarīqa* and its synonym *şūfi* order. This specification, however, is meant to be a valid characterization only of the religious groupings which are the principal concern in the following pages. It is in no way intended as a definition of a distinct social category containing the elements for an adequate, i.e. an operational typology for the study of the *ṭuruq* in general, whose characteristics have differed so widely in place and time that they preclude any successful attempt to this effect.¹

1 Cf. N.R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, Saints and Sufis. Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500*. Berkeley-Los Angeles 1972, 4 f.; and M. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt. An Essay in the Sociology of Religion*, Oxford 1973, 4 f.

It would seem equally preclusive to define the establishments known as *takāyā* and *zawāyā* in a way which would encompass the great diversity of organizational arrangements, social functions and architectural lay-outs of the establishments themselves—which are by no means the least important variables—denoted by these terms in a wide variety of spatio-temporal settings. In all these settings, however, as well as in the setting of 19th-century Egypt, *takāyā* and *zawāyā* existed by dint of a variety of provisions allowing for fairly permanent forms of communal residence and worship in a building erected or allocated for this purpose.

For most of the *ṭuruq* dealt with, *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and also shrines or shrine-mosques, constituted an integral part and in some cases the nucleus, of their organization. Moreover, many of the *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines were entirely independent units which were in no way part of the organization of a *ṭarīqa*, but were frequently controlled and inhabited by people who were generally, but not necessarily, members of a particular *ṭarīqa*. All these establishments came to function within the framework of the *ṭuruq* administration in the course of the 19th century and are subsumed under the heading *ṭuruq*-linked institutions.

The most explicit sociological concepts used in this study have been drawn from the work of Max Weber. These comprise his notion of authority (“... die Chance, für spezifische (oder: für alle) Befehle bei einer angebbaren Gruppe von Menschen Gehorsam zu finden”)² of which the legitimate forms³ can be conceived of as part of a legitimate order. By this is meant “a normative system which is upheld by the belief in the actors of its binding quality or rightness”.⁴ In this sense every *ṭarīqa*, *takīya*, *zāwīya*, or shrine(-complex) may be defined as a legitimate order, which existed or exists by dint of the legitimacy of the authority exercised by their supreme heads or intendants. Legitimate authority might also be defined as—and used interchangeably with—institutionalized leadership as long as the *ṭarīqa*, *takīya*, *zāwīya* or shrine(-complex) has the character of a voluntary association and when the head or intendant consequently does not owe his authority to power in the Weberian sense (“... jede Chance, innerhalb einer sozialen Beziehung der eigenen Willen auch gegen Widerstreben durch-zusetzen, gleichviel worauf diese Chance beruht”),⁵ but to consent.

2 M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tübingen 1972, 122; cf. *ibid.*, 28.

3 See *ibid.*, 122 ff.

4 Cf. M.E. Spencer, ‘Weber on legitimate norms and authority’, *British Journal of Sociology*, xxi (1970), 123.

5 See Weber, *ibid.*, 28.

At various times and places, however, the various legitimate orders constituted by the various *ṭuruq*, *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines, were either dominated by or part of a legal order, which required the potential or *de facto* incumbents to the position of head or intendant to obtain legal sanction of their specific claims for authority and jurisdiction. Frequently, as in Ottoman Egypt, legal sanction in many cases took the form of registration of these claims as (an) office(s) in the claimant's name in the Court registers. In early 19th-century Egypt, however, existence of the various *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions became dependent upon acceptance by their heads of a distinct legal order, which was made incumbent upon them when authority over the *ṭuruq*, *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines—entailing right of jurisdiction (which may be conceived of as a mode of authority)—was granted to the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya* by vice-regal decree. Within this new order, legality of tenure became dependent upon formal appointment by the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*. Appointments made by the incumbent to this office implied official recognition of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions concerned and superseded all earlier forms of procedure. The ways in which the heads of various *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions acquired or lost official status and thus obtained or were deprived of the legal mode of their authority, as well as the way in which the authority of *al-mashāyikh al-Bakriyya* transformed itself as a normative system are among the chief concerns in the following pages.

One of the principal sources for this study has been a collection of *dafātir* and single documents which were part of the Bakrī family archives at Cairo. This collection was microfilmed by the author in 1972 and 1973, when these archives were still entirely in private possession.⁶ The original microfilms have been added to the holdings of Leiden University Library as F.Or.A. 283, 284 and 285.⁷ This microfilmed material consists mainly of transcripts of letters

6 According to Muḥammad Wafā' al-Bakrī, the brother of the last *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya*, the late Aḥmad Murād al-Bakrī (d. 1970), a part of these archives including the microfilmed *dafātir* preserved at Leiden University Library under accession-number F. Or. A. 283, was transferred to the Dār al-Maḥfūzāt al-'Umūmiyya at the end of 1974.

7 The following system of reference is adopted: F. Or. A. 283, followed by the serial number (I–V), the sheet number (i.e. referring to the collection of somewhat differently arranged prints of this series), the page number of the *dafātir* between brackets when not identical with sheet number, a number indicating the rank-order of the transcribed document in the page mentioned, followed by the date between brackets; e.g. F. Or. A. 283, v-1 (8)/7(4 Ram. 1296). Prints and exposures correspond as follows:

I- (1–89): Iⁱ (1–29), IIⁱⁱ (1–36), IIIⁱⁱⁱ (1–24);
 II- (1–37): IIⁱ (1–18), IIⁱⁱ (1–29);
 III- (1–35): IIIⁱ (1–20), IIIⁱⁱ (1–15);
 IV- (1–37): IVⁱ (1–8), IVⁱⁱ (1–29);

from and to ‘Alī al-Bakrī, who was *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* and *naqīb al-ashrāf* from 13 April 1855 to 27 October 1880, these letters being mainly official or semi-official in nature and dealing with the administration of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions in particular.

In addition, this study is based upon documents preserved at the Shar‘iyya Court Archives (Daftarkhānāt al-Maḥkama al-Shar‘iyya, referred to as DMS), at the National Archives (Dār al-Wathā‘iq al-Qawmiyya, referred to as DWQ), at the Ministry of Awqāf (Wizārat al-Awqāf, referred to as WA),⁸ all in Cairo,⁹ and at the Public Record Office in London. Other unpublished materials used include several original and microfilmed manuscripts and documents preserved in Leiden University Library. An incidental manuscript and many of the publications mentioned were consulted in public and private libraries in Alexandria, Cairo and Ṭanṭā.

The majority of the oral testimonies which are used in this study as historical sources, were collected in the course of anthropological field-work conducted among the various *ṭuruq* which had an active membership in Egypt in the late 1960’s and the early 1970’s. I have made use of these verbal accounts only if they could be substantiated by evidence derived from other oral or written historical sources. In several cases, however, this evidence is not as complete and convincing as could be required, and therefore some of the accounts drawn upon are not as reliable as historical sources as might have been desired. To leave these testimonies aside in this study would have meant the exclusion of a corpus of orally transmitted historical information which, even if partly untrustworthy,

v- (1-52): vi (1-20), vii (1-7), viii (1-24); F. Or. A. 284, followed by the serial number (1-11), followed by the exposure number and by the date e.g. F. Or. A. 284,111/7(11 Raj. 1301); F. Or. A. 285, followed by the serial number (1-11), the sheet number (i.e. referring to the collection of somewhat differently arranged prints of this series), a number indicating the rank-order of the (transcribed) document in the exposure mentioned, followed by the date between brackets; e.g. F. Or. A. 285, 11, 21/22 (20 Hijja 1313). Prints and exposures correspond as follows:

1- (1-122): D (last 25 exposures), E (26-63), C (64-101), A (102-122);

11- (1-117): F (1-29), Bⁱⁱ (1-26), Bⁱ (1-45), D (1-16).

8 Reference is to the *waqfiyyāt* kept at the Daftarkhāna in the basement of the Ministry, unless otherwise stated.

9 Browsing not being permitted in any of these archives at the time of my research, the documents mentioned in this study had to be located by means of the indexes kept at each of these establishments. No separate mention of this material has been made in the bibliography.

For references to descriptions of these archival collections see D. Creelius, ‘On Archival Sources for Demographic Studies of the Middle East’, an unpublished paper presented to the Conference on the Social and Economic History of the Middle East held at Princeton, June 1974. This paper also gives an accurate description of the almost insurmountable difficulties the prospective researcher faces in gaining access to these archival collections and in their exploitation.

might at least be of value as historical source material¹⁰ to future scholars who might modify or corroborate these testimonies and thus change or refine the picture presented in the following pages.

- ¹⁰ For a review of the various positions held regarding the value of oral tradition as historical source material, the reader is referred to J. Vansina, *De la tradition orale. Essai de méthode historique*, Annales—Série en 8°—Sciences Humaines no. 36, Tervuren: Musée Royal de l’Afrique Centrale, 1961, 6–11.

The Emergence and Institutionalization of Central Authority over the *Ṭuruq* and *Ṭuruq*-Linked Institutions

Upon the French withdrawal from Egypt in 1801, the new Ottoman *walī*, Muḥammad Bāshā Khusraw, removed Khalīl al-Bakrī from the *niqābat al-ashrāf* and the *sajjādat al-Bakriyya*. Khalīl al-Bakrī, whose family had been prominent in Egypt since the 15th century, had been *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya* from the end of 1793.¹ Following the French occupation of Cairo in 1798, the then *naqīb al-ashrāf*, ‘Umar Makram, fled the country and the French installed Khalīl in this office which had been held earlier by members of the Bakrī family.² He was also made a member of the *Dīwān* of Cairo, installed by the French, where he co-operated faithfully with the invaders throughout the period of the French occupation.

Muḥammad Khusraw’s action, as it appears from al-Jabartī’s account of the event,³ was the result of pressure of public opinion. Khalīl al-Bakrī was considered to be a collaborator with the unbelievers and unworthy of holding his offices. The *Bāshā*, who must have been susceptible to this pressure in the course of re-establishing Ottoman reign in Egypt, gave in. The former *naqīb al-ashrāf* ‘Umar Makram, who had returned to Egypt, was reinstalled. The new *walī* invested Muḥammad Abū ʾl-Su‘ūd al-Bakrī, as *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya*, even though he was a poor and unknown member of a branch of the Bakrī family whose members had been Khalīl’s rivals.⁴ It is probable that Muḥammad Khusraw welcomed the possibility of appointing this member of the rival branch: it effectively blocked possible future claims to this power-

1 See Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Siddiq*, Cairo 1323, (hereafter *B.S.*), 144 for the text of the *taqrīr* of the *qāḍī l-quḍāt* appointing him. On the term *shaykh al-sajjāda* (occupier of the prayer-rug of the founder of a *ṭariqa*, i.e. the incumbent), see J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 173.

2 Cf. the list of appointees to the *niqābat al-ashrāf* in appendix 9, page 236.

3 Cf. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Jabartī, *‘Ajā’ib al-Āthār fi l-Tarājim wa l-Akhbār*, iv vols., Būlāq [1297] (*‘Ajā’ib* hereafter), iv, 87.

4 See appendix 7 for Muḥammad Abū ʾl-Su‘ūd al-Bakrī’s genealogy. The name Muḥammad Sa‘id given in *‘Ajā’ib*, iv, 87, 165, appears to be a corruption of Muḥammad Abū ʾl-Su‘ūd. See also *B.S.*, 46–47, 141, and ‘Alī Mubārak, *Al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyya al-Jadida li-Miṣr al-Qāhira wa Mudunihā al-Qadima wa l-Shahira*, xx vols., Būlāq 1305/6 (hereafter *Khit.*), iii, 125.

position by Khalīl or by his only male descendant.⁵ Moreover, since the new incumbent of the office lacked financial means, there were better prospects for lasting loyalty to and control by the *Bāshā*, who installed him in a house, gave him a substantial amount of money and a number of financial privileges.⁶

“From then onwards”, al-Jabartī reports, “his authority spread and his name became well-known ..., and the *khulafā*’ of the fallacious *ṭuruq* and those possessing unlawful instruments, like al-Aḥmadiyya, al-Rifā’iyya, al-Burhāmiyya and al-Qādiriyya,⁷ appealed to him for judgement and he decided [according to] their common rules”.⁸ This explicit reference by al-Jabartī to the emergence

5 In the *‘Ajā’ib* no mention is made of Khalīl’s son Aḥmad, who was a trader. On Aḥmad, see A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au xviii^e siècle*, ii vols., Damas 1973–1974, ii, 423.

The children of Dhū l-Faqār ‘Alī al-Bakrī, who had been married to the daughter of Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Kabrī, are also reported to have been claimants; cf. N.-C.D., ‘Bait as-Siddik. L’aristocratie religieuse en Égypte’, iv (1908), 260.

6 Cf. *Khit.*, iv, 165.

7 These *ṭuruq* or groups of *ṭuruq* take their names from Aḥmad al-Badawī (596–675: 1199–1276), Aḥmad al-Rifā’ī (512–572: 1118/19–1176/77), Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī (d. 687: 1288), and ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī (d. 561: 1165/66). They are considered to be the founders of four great Ways and are known as *al-aqtāb al-arba’a*; cf. Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Suṭūhī, *Al-Taṣawwuf wa Aqtābuhu*, Cairo 1970, *passim*. For further references and information concerning these mystics, see Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders, passim*.

8 *‘Ajā’ib*, iv, 165. The same lines are reproduced in *B. s.*, 46 f. Al-Jabartī, known for his critical attitude towards popular mysticism, speaks about al-Bakrī’s jurisdiction over “*khulafā’ al-ṭarā’iq al-ṣūriyya wa aṣḥāb al-ashāyir al-bid’iyya*”. It must be noted that Muḥammad Tawfiq omits the derogatory epithets *ṣūriyya* and *bid’iyya*.

According to Aḥmad Amīn, the term *ashāyir* denotes the *adawāt al-dhikr*. i.e. the instruments used in a *dhikr*; cf. Aḥmad Amīn, *Qāmūs al-Ādāt wa l-Taqālid wa l-Ta’ābir al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953, 47. These instruments were also colloquially referred to by the term ‘*idda* or ‘*edda* (litt. ‘*udda*). Every *khalifa* used to own at least some of the following items, which were considered as necessary to his equipment (cf. F. Or. A. 283, IV-1/2–3, n.d.: 1288 approx.): musical instruments like the various kinds of drums and tambourines (*tubūl*, *bāzāt*, *lūrān*), copper castanets (*kāsāt*), various kinds of flutes, flags, banners, signboards (*a’lām*, *bawāriq*, *yufaṭ*), a *zayy* (a kind of lamp), ‘*uṣyī* (sticks with metal or ivory decorations at the top), sashes (*ḥazimāt*) in the distinctive colours of the *ṭariqa* (on these colours, see E.W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London 1963, 248 ff., and *Khit.*, iii, 130), *mashā’il* (iron baskets attached to poles which are filled with flaming wood; cf. Lane, 175), and sometimes a *surādiq* (a large, pavilion-type tent); cf. P. Kahle, ‘Zur Organisation der Derwishorden in Egypten’, *Der Islam*, vi (1916), 159 ff.

In addition the term *ashāyir* denotes certain revenues from *awqāf* as well as from other sources specifically destined for maintenance of the *ashāyir* in the former sense, i.e. of the material culture of a *ṭariqa* (or of a *sajjāda*; cf. appendix 4, article 2). Some *ṭuruq* Aḥmadiyya received annual payments from the *ṣundūq al-Aḥmadī* for this purpose. These payments were known as *murattabāt al-ishāra* and were distinct from the *murattabāt al-sajjāda*, which were annual payments from the same source to the heads of these *ṭuruq* as contribution

of Muḥammad Abū l-Su'ūd's jurisdiction over the *ṭuruq* seems apposite indeed, since never before had authority over *ṭuruq* or *ṭuruq*-linked institutions been held by one of the preceding incumbents of the *sajjādat al-Bakriyya*.⁹

1 Al-Bakriyya and Its Leaders

Authority over the descendants of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq in Egypt was held by the descendants of Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, who settled in Cairo in 841 (1437/38) as the first of this branch of *ashrāf*.¹⁰ It must have been in the second

to the expenses that their heads had to make in this capacity; cf. F. Or. A. 283, IV-29 (20)/I (Muḥ. 1305). For a clarification of these terms I am grateful to Aḥmad Muḥammad Ṣhams al-Dīn, the present-day head of al-Marzūqiyya al-Aḥmadiyya in Egypt.

The term *ishāra* also denotes a procession of *ṭariqa* members (cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, Leyde 1877, i, 800, and also Lane, 449). The term *arbāb al-ashāyir* is used as equivalent to *arbāb al-ṭuruq*, i.e. the members of the *ṭuruq*; cf. *ʿAjāʿib*, ii, 111, iv, 120. See also chapter 2, note 126. For its use as the equivalent of *ṭariqa* in earlier pre-19th-century texts, see e.g. Abū ʿl-Faraj ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī, *ʿAl-Naṣiḥa al-ʿAlawiyya fi Bayān Ḥusn Ṭariqat al-Sāda al-Aḥmadiyya*, MS Berlin 10.104, fol. 37^a.

9 Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī in his *Bayt al-Ṣiddīq*, 379, claims that the *mashyakhat al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* was an 'office' (*wazīfa*) held by members of his family from the 11th century. Statements by some Western scholars that the *shaykh al-Bakri* acted as the principal director and co-ordinator of the *ṭuruq* in Egypt during the Ottoman period, also appear to be based on this contention; see e.g. D. Crecelius, 'The Emergence of the Shaykh al-Azhar as the pre-eminent religious Leader in Egypt', *Colloque International sur l'Histoire du Caire*, [Cairo] Grafenhainchen (D.D.R.) pr. [1972], 113; Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid Marsot, 'The Ulama of Cairo in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in N.R. Keddie (ed), *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis*, 151; A. Raymond, *Artisans*, ii, 420; S.J. Shaw, (trsl., introd. and notes), *Ottoman Egypt in the Age of the French Revolution by Huseyn Efendi*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964 (Shaw/Huseyn hereafter), 100. The Egyptian scholar Tawfiq al-Ṭawīl, *Al-Taṣawwuf fi Miṣr ibbāna l-ʿAṣr al-Uthmānī*, Cairo 1946, 90 ff., has shown decisively that there is no evidence of the existence of such an office in Ottoman Egypt. I may add that there is no evidence of a *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* having held any authority over any *ṭariqa* besides the Bakriyya.

From the beginning of the era of ʿAlī Bek al-Kabīr onwards, the *shaykh al-Bakri* was responsible for the celebrations of the *mawlid al-nabī*. See Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, *Taʾrikh al-Iḥtifāl bi-l-Mawlid al-Nabawī*, Cairo 1948, 157 ff.; cf. *ʿAjāʿib*, iii, 191. The exact nature and extent of his co-ordinative role in these celebrations is obscure until the beginning of the 1870's. In this respect, a relatively clear picture of his role during the last three decades of the century emerges from Leiden F. Or. A. 283.

10 He came to Cairo from the village of Dahrūt in Upper Egypt. This village used to be known as Dahrūt al-Bakriyya or Dahrūt al-Ashrāf; cf. Muḥammad Ramzī, *Al-Qāmūs al-Jughrāfi li-l-Bilād al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953–1958, vol. iii, 2nd part, 247. For a number of years he had been *mufṭī* and a teacher in al-Fayyūm; cf. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt*

half of the 16th century, when Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Abyaḍ al-Wajh was supreme head,¹¹ that this family group transformed itself into a mystical initiatory association or *ṭarīqa ṣūfiyya*. Abyaḍ al-Wajh had been initiated in a number of *ṭuruq*¹² and had composed a distinctive liturgy, the *Ḥizb al-Faṭḥ*, also known as *Ḥizb al-Bakrī*.¹³ Its reading was one of the obligations laid on his disciples, and hence gave that group a distinct identity.¹⁴ In the course of time various functions had come to be attached to the supreme leadership position of this group, including the administration and supervision of *awqāf* and the supervision of a number of shrines with the right to appoint intendants.¹⁵ The position entailed the right to certain pensions and stipends.¹⁶

al-Sughrā, Cairo 1970, 50 ff.; *idem*, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, ii vols., Cairo 1954, ii, 138; *B.S.*, 7; *Khit.*, iii, 133; Najm al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sā'ira fī A'yān al-Mīāt al-Āshira*, iii vols., Beirut 1945–1959, i, 248, and *B.S.*, 100. He was a contemporary of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Dashṭūtī (d. 924: 1517) who had made him *nāzir* of his *waqf*. This office was held by members of the Bakrī family until the end of the 19th century. It implied the responsibility for the celebration of his *mawlid*; cf. *Khit.*, iii, 134.

- 11 He lived from 930 (1523/4) to 994 (1586); cf. *B.S.*, 81. For biographical information, see al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Buraynī, *Tarājim al-A'yān min Abnā' al-Zamān*, ii vols., Damascus 1959–1963, i, 257; Muḥammad Amīn b. Faḍl Allāh al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Hādī 'Ashar*, iv vols., Cairo 1284, i, 117 f.; Ibrāhīm b. 'Amir al-'Ubaydī, *Umdat al-Tahqīq fī Bashā'ir Āl al-Ṣiddīq*, Cairo 1287, 153.

What the extent of the competence of this family-head was is not clear. It is likely that he held a sort of jurisdiction over the descendants of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, similar to the earlier *niqābat*, like the *niqābat al-'Alawiyyin* and the *niqābat al-Ṭalībīyyin* and identical to the later *niqābat al-ashraf*; cf. *B.S.*, 394 f., and E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'Organisation judiciaire en pays de l'Islam*, ii vols., Paris/Beyrouth, ii, 329–341.

- 12 Amongst others in al-Shādhiliyya, al-Suhrawardiyya, and al-Abhariyyat al-Akbariyya by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī. He had also taken the *'ahd* from al-Dashṭūtī; see Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī, 'Tibyān Wasā'il al-Ḥaqā'iq fī Bayān Salāsīl al-Ṭarā'iq', *MS Ibrāhīm Efendī (Süleymaniye)* 430–432, i, fol. 104^a.
- 13 Various editions exist, e.g. Muḥammad Abyaḍ al-Wajh b. Abī '1-Ḥasan al-Bakrī, *Ḥizb al-Faṭḥ*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Ādāb 1318. For his works, see *GAL*, G ii, 339; the *ḥizb* is not mentioned.
- 14 Al-Ḥarīrī, i, fol. 131^a, mentions him as the founder of the *ṭarīqa*. In *B.S.* no distinction is made between the *ṭarīqa* and the original *sāda al-Bakriyya*, i.e. a family group related by their descent from Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq.
- 15 Al-'Ubaydī, 153, speaks about *sā'ir wazā'if* without specifying the various offices. This suggests that these offices were generally known. They are likely to have included the *nizāra* of al-Ḥusayn mosque (cf. *Ajā'ib*, iv, 189), the *nizāra* of the mosque and *awqāf* of al-Dashṭūtī (cf. note 10.), and possibly of some of the 44 *waqfs* referred to by Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, 'A socio-economic sketch of the 'Ulamā' in the eighteenth Century', *Colloque International*, 318.
- 16 Cf. Shaw/Ḥuseyn, 42; *Description de l'Égypte, État Moderne*, (hereafter *Description*), ii vols., 3 parts, Paris 1809–1822, i, 379, (from *al-khazīna* to al-Bakrī, 2538 médins for expenses

The term *shaykh al-sajjāda* does not seem to have gained much currency in denoting this complex of functions before the end of the 17th century.¹⁷ The earliest occurrence of this term with respect to the descendants of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq is in the relatively recent and well-known *Riḥla* of al-Nābulusī. This scholar relates how the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Mawāhib (d. 1125: 1713), at the time of his visit to Cairo in 1108 (1696), told him that he had been invested by his father and predecessor Muḥammad b. Abī l-Surūr Zayn al-Ābidīn (d. 1087: 1676) in the presence of the '*ulamā*', the virtuous and the eminent.¹⁸ This action was obviously meant to prevent disputes about succession. It was repeated later by two other *mashāyikh al-Bakriyya*, viz. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im (d. 1153: 1740/41),¹⁹ and by Muḥammad Abū l-Su'ūd (d. 1227: 1812),²⁰ both of whom arranged for their succession before their deaths.

Legal incumbency appears to have been dependent upon compliance by the groups mentioned above.²¹ Legal exercise of functions attached to this office could be achieved only if the claims of a new incumbent were recognized by the *qādī l-quḍāt*, followed by due registration in the court registers.²² From about the end of the 12th (18th) century onwards, this was preceded by investment by the *walī*. The first *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* for whom this was the case, was Muḥammad Efendī al-Bakrī al-Kabīr, invested in 1195 (1781), who also held the office of *naqīb al-ashraf*.²³

during *al-mawlid al-Aḥmadī*), and i, 383 (payment from the *ṣurra*, 260.900 médins); and Marsot, 'A socio-economic sketch', 318.

An idea about the value of these amounts which were paid at the eve of the French occupation of Egypt may be obtained when compared with the yearly expenditure of an Upper-Egyptian *jellāh* in terms of money, computed at 1980 médins (*paras*) for the year 1800; cf. Fuad Sultan, *La Monnaie Égyptienne*, Paris 1914, 32.

17 Cf. al-Muḥibbī, iii, 465f., who writes about *ra'īs al-bayt al-Bakrī*, and al-'Ubaydī, 108, who mentions *al-khilāfa al-Bakriyya*. Earlier sources e.g. al-Buraynī (d. 1024: 1615) and al-Sha'rānī (d. 973: 1565/6) do not use any term suggestive of a central authority position in their biographies of *mashāyikh Bakriyya*; cf. al-Buraynī, i, 256–259; al-Sha'rānī, *Ṭabaqāt, passim*. See appendix 8, for a list of persons who held the supreme authority position of the Bakrī family and the *ṭariqa al-Bakriyya* in Ottoman Egypt.

18 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, 'Al-Ḥaqīqa fī Riḥlat Bilād al-Shām wa Miṣr wa l-Ḥijāz', ms Berlin 6145, fol. 211a.

19 Cf. *Ājā'ib*, i, 157, 221.

20 See below page 18.

21 Cf. *Ājā'ib*, ii, 72, where he refers to Muḥammad Efendī al-Bakrī al-Kabīr as having taken over the *sajjāda* (after the death of his predecessor) with the unanimous agreement of the élite and the plebs (*bi-ijmā' al-khāṣṣ wa l-'amm*) suggesting that this was the most appropriate and most desirable state.

22 Cf. al-'Ubaydī, 153. See also *B.S.*, 144, for the text of the *taqrīr* from the *qādī al-quḍāt* of Egypt appointing Khalil al-Bakrī as *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya*.

23 *Ājā'ib*, ii, 72.

2 The *Niqābat al-Ashrāf*

The incumbent of the *niqābat al-ashrāf* had various rights and duties with respect to the descendants of the Prophet, including the exclusive right to punish *ashrāf* and to execute punishment demanded by others.²⁴ He also had the right to ten per cent of debts paid owing to his intervention.²⁵ Among the more important of his duties was keeping a record of their genealogies, assisting *ashrāf* in obtaining their rights, supervision of their *awqāf* and distribution of the revenues to those who had rights to a share in them.²⁶

The *naqīb al-ashrāf* in Istanbul annually appointed, or reappointed, the *naqīb* in each province, and for this a high premium was paid.²⁷ The office was held by Turks until about the middle of the 18th century when a native Egyptian, Muḥammad Abū Hādī l-Sādāt, obtained the appointment. After the latter's death in 1168 (1754/55) his relative Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Sādāt was invested.²⁸ He held this office until 1176 (1762/63) when he abdicated in favour of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bakrī, the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya*.²⁹ It was to be held by incumbents of the *sajjādat al-Bakriyya* until the beginning of the 20th century, except for the following periods: November 1793–September 1798, February 1802–February 1816 and April 1895–March 1903.³⁰

3 The *Arbāb al-Sajjād*

The term *shaykh al-sajjāda* was used equally with regard to the leaders of al-ʿInāniyya, al-Khuḍayriyya and al-Wafāʿiyya, who traced themselves back to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib respectively. These groups of *ashrāf*, like the corporation of descendants of Abū Bakr al-

24 Shaw/Ḥuseyn, 42; *ʿAjāʿib*, iii, 15. See also M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii vols., Paris 1788–1824, ii, 278.

25 D'Ohsson, *ibid.*

26 Cf. Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. M. b. Ḥabīb al-Māwardī, *Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniyya* (Tr. F. Fagnan, *Les statuts gouvernementaux ou règles de droit public et administratif*), Alger 1915, 199–297; see also Tyan, *Histoire*, ii, 329–341.

27 H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, ii parts, London 1950–1957, ii, 100.

28 The last Turkish *naqīb* mentioned by al-Jabartī is ʿAlī Efendī, who died on 18 Shawwāl 1153 (7 January 1741); cf. *ʿAjāʿib*, i, 160. The first reference by this author to an Egyptian *naqīb* is to Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad Abū l-Amdād's maternal grandfather Muḥammad Abū Hādī l-Sādāt. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl succeeded Muḥammad in 1168 (1754/5); cf. *ʿAjāʿib*, i, 315–316.

29 See *ʿAjāʿib*, i, 316. He was known as Abū Bakr al-Bakrī; cf. *ʿAjāʿib*, i, 221.

30 Cf. the list of appointees to the *niqābat al-ashrāf* from ca. 1750 until 1911 in appendix 9.

Şiddîq, had transformed themselves from family groups into mystical associations. The position of the leaders of these groups was very similar to the position of the *shaykh al-sajjâdat al-Bakriyya*. As with this position, their legality of tenure depended upon recognition of their claims by the *qâdî* and due registration in the court registers.³¹ They had also acquired extensive assets,³² they played a role in the administration of the country³³ and held an amorphous right of jurisdiction.³⁴ The leaders of these four *ṭuruq* were collectively referred to as *arbâb al-sajjâd*.³⁵

In addition, the descendant of ‘Abd al-Wahhâb al-Sha‘rânî (d. 973: 1565), who controlled the saint’s shrine near Bâb al-Sha‘riyya and supervised its *awqâf* was also referred to as *shaykh al-sajjâda*,³⁶ Whether he was concomitantly head of the *ṭarîqa al-Sha‘riyya* is not clear from the sources. The fact that the names

31 Cf. Muḥammad b. Khalifat al-Shawbarî, ‘Al-Tarjamat al-Wafâ’iyya’, ms Leiden Or. 14. 437, *passim*. The identical nature of al-‘Inâniyya and al-Khuḍayriyya makes it likely that the heads of these groups obtained legality in a similar way. The *shaykh al-sajjâdat al-Wafâ’iyya* was commonly known as the *shaykh al-sâdât*.

32 Cf. Hayyim Nahum, *Recueil de Firmans Impériaux Ottomans adressés aux Valis et aux khédives d’Égypte, 1006H–1322H (1597 J.C.–1904 J.C.)*, Cairo 1934; the *farmânât* 4, 11, 15 and 23.

33 Cf. Shaw/Ḥuseyn, 42: “They attended the Small Council (al-Diwan al-Khuṣūṣî), gave legal interpretations in all matters ...”. See also Raymond, *Artisans*, 430, where mention is made of a meeting in 1737, convened by the *Bâshâ* in order to fix prices, and in which the “*arbâb al-sajjâd*” participated. For involvement of the heads of the orders on similar occasions, cf. Raymond, *ibid.*, 749, 755.

34 Cf. al-Shawbarî, fols. 7^a, 7^b, 8^b.

35 See the Arabic text of Ḥuseyn Efendî’s report published by Shafiq Ḡhurbâl under the title ‘Mişr ‘inda Mafriq al-Ṭuruq’, *Majallat Kulliyat al-Âdâb al-Jâmi‘at al-Mişriyya*, iv/1 (May 1936), 25. It seems incorrect to translate this term by “the chiefs of the Dervish Orders” as done by Shaw/Ḥuseyn, 42, or as “les chefs des confréries” as done by A. Raymond in a different context; cf. Raymond, *Artisans*, 430. The relevant passage in Ḥuseyn Efendî’s report itself already suggests a more restrictive meaning, since it omits mention of any other *ṭarîqa* head in its enumeration. That only these four were considered to be *arbâb al-sajjâd* and that they actually stood in a category by themselves is confirmed by the way in which these groups developed in 19th-century Egypt. See below.

If this more restrictive meaning has to be added to this term, the commonly accepted view that the *ṭuruq* had an overwhelming social importance in Ottoman Egypt before the 19th century would have to be revised, since all the references to the *arbâb al-sajjâd* in the relevant sources supporting this view would have to be interpreted differently; cf. e.g. Aḥmad Çelebi, ‘Awḍâḥ al-Ishârât fî man tawallâ Mişr al-Qâhira min al-Wuzarâ’ wa l-Bâshât’, Yale University Library, Landberg ms no. 3, fols. 85^a, 194^b; Muştafâ b. Ibrâhîm al-Maddâḥ al-Qînalî, ‘Majmu‘ Laṭîf yashtamil ‘alâ Waqâ’i’ Mişr al-Qâhira’, Nationalbibliothek, Wien, ms. Hist. Osm. 38, fols. 65^b, 93^{a,b}, 94^b, 123^a.

36 *‘Ajâ’ib*, i, 364.

of those mentioned by al-Jabartī as *shaykh al-sajjāda*³⁷ do not figure in the *silsila* of the *ṭarīqa*³⁸ suggests that this had not always been the case.

4 The *Ṭuruq*

Among the *ṭuruq* referred to in the quotation from al-Jabartī above, the term *shaykh al-sajjāda* was applied to the heads of the various Aḥmadiyya *ṭuruq*. Jurisdiction over these *ṭuruq*, which were originally known as *buyūt*, i.e. subsections of a *ṭarīqa* with some degree of autonomy, had been exercised by the *khulafāʾ* of the shrine of Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā for about two and a half centuries after his death. A change took place early in the 15th century, when the authority of the heads of five of these *buyūt* over their members, which had apparently existed *de facto* for some time, became recognised *de jure* by the *khalīfat al-maqām*, ‘Abd al-Majīd.³⁹ A *ḥujja* was drawn up to this effect and approved by a number of dignitaries attached to the Aḥmadī shrine and mosque.⁴⁰ This act created a formal basis for the existence of these five *buyūt*, viz. al-Kannāsiyya, al-Manāyifa, al-Marzūqiyya, al-Imbābiyya and al-Salāmiyya, collectively known as *al-bayt al-kabīr*.⁴¹ Other *ṭuruq* emerged from these in the

37 Cf. *ʿAjāʾib*, *ibid*. For an enumeration of the intendants of the shrine until the late 17th century see also Muḥammad Muhyī l-Dīn al-Miljī, *Al-Manāqib al-Kubrā, Tadhkirat Ūlī l-Albāb fi Manāqib al-Shaʿrānī Sīdī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb*, Cairo 1330, 163 ff.

38 For this *silsila* see ‘Risāla fi Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq’, Leiden F. Or. A. 302; 34 ff.

39 I.e. the intendant of the shrine of Aḥmad al-Badawī. The first to hold this office was one of al-Badawī’s disciples, ‘Abd al-ʿĀl (d. 754: 1353), who was succeeded by his brother ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 789: 1387). The nature and scope of the authority entailed by this office prior to the 18th century are not clear. From the period of office of ‘Abd al-Majīd (d. 965: 1557/8) onwards, however, the *khalīfat al-maqām* held only authority over the officials attached to the shrine (*khuddām al-maqām*); cf. Aḥmad Ṭuʿayma, *Ḥayāt al-Sayyid al-Badawī*, Cairo n.d., 108–109.

40 Cf. Saʿīd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr, *Al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī, Shaykh wa Ṭarīqa*, Cairo 1967, 208 f.

41 Abū l-Wafāʾ al-Ghunaymī al-Taftazānī, ‘Al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya fi Miṣr’, *Ḥawliyyāt Kullīyyat al-Ādāb Jāmiʿat al-Qāhira*, xxv/2 (December 1963), 55–84, 73.

The first four of these *buyūt* trace themselves back to and take their names from Muḥammad al-Kannāsī, Ramaḍān al-Ashʿath al-Minūfī, Marzūq al-Yamānī and Ismāʿil al-Imbābī, respectively. All of them are held to have been contemporaries and disciples of Aḥmad al-Badawī.

The real founder of al-Manāyifa, however, is held to be Ramaḍān’s nephew ‘Abd Allāh al-Minūfī (d. 748: 1347/8; cf. al-Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 2, and ‘Kitāb al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya bi-l-Diyār al-Miṣriyya’, ms Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, no. 3737 *Taʾrikh* (Leiden, F. Or. A. 303)), who figures third in the *silsila* of the *ṭarīqa*; cf. ‘Risāla fi Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq’, 10 f. His

course of time, viz. al-Ḥalabiyya, al-Zāhidiyya, al-Shinnāwiyya, al-Suṭūḥiyya, al-Bayyūmiyya, al-Ḥumūdiyya, al-Shu‘aybiyya and al-Tasqiyāniyya. The first four of these are sometimes referred to as *al-bayt al-ṣaghīr*.⁴²

In the beginning of the 18th century the *shaykh al-Marzūqiyya* obtained a position of supreme authority over all the *ṭuruq Aḥmadiyya* in Egypt as well as over the Aḥmadiyya shrines.⁴³ Geographical limitations were set to his authority, however, and these could not be lifted even by periodic reconfirmation of the legality of its exercise.⁴⁴

De facto control, even over the most important shrine of Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā—which had been vested in the descendants of Muḥammad al-Shinnāwī (d. 932:1526),⁴⁵ one of the first *khulafā’* of Aḥmad al-Badawī, since the middle of the 16th century⁴⁶—remained with them although *de jure* it had been obtained by the head of al-Marzūqiyya.

shrine is in the Qarāfat al-Mujāwirīn, near the shrine-mosque of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-‘Afiī.

Al-Ḥalabī, fol. 37^a, gives Muḥammad al-Shishī as the first *shaykh* of the *bayt al-Salāmiyya* (which he mentions as having been incorporated initially with the *bayt al-Marzūqiyya*). Muḥammad al-Shishī, however, does not figure in any of the *salāsil* of al-Salāmiyya (or of al-Marzūqiyya) which I have been able to trace, and of which the oldest (contained in ‘Risāla fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq’) dates back to the early 19th century. All of these *salāsil* start with a certain ‘Alī al-Jawharī, who is presented as a disciple of Aḥmad al-Badawī. The members of al-Salāmiyya in present-day Egypt attribute to him the foundation of their *ṭarīqa*, whose name is said to refer to the peace (*salām*) it will inevitably bring to its followers.

42 Al-Taftāzānī, ‘ibid’. These *ṭuruq* trace themselves back to Aḥmad al-Ḥalabī, Aḥmad al-Zāhid (d. 819: 1416/7), Muḥammad al-Shinnāwī (d. 932: 1526), and Muḥammad al-Suṭūḥī. Al-Ḥumūdiyya, al-Shu‘aybiyya, and al-Tasqiyāniyya were founded by Muḥammad Ḥamūda, Ibrāhīm al-Shu‘aybī (d. 1796 approx.), and ‘Abd Allāh al-Tasqiyānī respectively.

43 See Muḥammad Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Shams al-Dīn, *Al-Mawā‘iz al-Ṣūfiyya fī l-Ṭariqat al-Aḥmadiyya*, Cairo 1332, 27, for the text of the *qarār* of the *qādī l-quḍāt* confirming Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn into office. In an *ijāza* of al-Marzūqiyya, which was consulted by the author at the headquarters of this *ṭarīqa* in Cairo, Muḥammad’s father, Shams al-Dīn ‘Ashish al-Khalwatī, was referred to as *muftī* and teacher of *ḥadīth* at al-Azhar mosque. He was also the first person mentioned in the *silsila* as *shaykh al-sajjāda*. This would suggest that he was the first person to hold this office at all. He resided in al-Jamāliyya in the *takiya* of a *khalifa* of Aḥmad al-Badawī, Sidī Marzūq al-Yamānī. Evliyā Çelebi, who visited Egypt at the end of the 17th century, when Shams al-Dīn ‘Ashish must have been alive, also reports the *khalifa* of Aḥmad al-Badawī to be resident here; cf. Evliyā Çelebi, *Seyāhatnāme*, Istanbul 1938, x, 237.

44 For the relevant documents, see Shams al-Dīn, 26 f., 29 f.

45 See on him al-Ghazzī, i, 97, and al-Sha‘rānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 132. His shrine is in Maḥallat Rūḥ. On al-Shinnāwiyya, see below page 38.

46 Ṭu‘ayma, 105.

Nearer to Cairo, however, the heads of this *ṭarīqa* could completely actualize their authority, and they were apparently powerful enough to intervene in the intendency of shrines in the province of al-Jīza.⁴⁷ This even allowed them to give control of the shrine of Ismāʿīl al-Imbābī, the founder of al-Imbābiyya, to persons who had no links with this saint nor with his *ṭarīqa*; the situation became a source of rivalry and conflict between the heads of al-Imbābiyya and the intendants of the shrine, and this remained so until well into the 20th century.⁴⁸ All these *ṭuruq Aḥmadiyya*, of which the supreme leader was referred to as *shaykh al-sajjāda*, had the following attributes in common: they had been established *ṭuruq* for many years, their leaders controlled shrines, were beneficiaries of *awqāf* revenues and held *nizārāt* over *awqāf* which had become virtually hereditary within their respective families.

With respect to two other *ṭarīqas*, al-Qādiriyya and al-Burhāmiyya, which had known some form of centralized authority in Egypt before the Ottoman occupation, the term *mashyakha* is used to indicate this position.⁴⁹ The *mashyakhat al-Qādiriyya*, which already existed as an office in Mamlūk Egypt,⁵⁰ had been held by members of the Jizī family for most of the 18th century and they had combined this office with that of secretary of the *niqābat al-ashrāf*.⁵¹ In the late 18th century their position was challenged by the descendants of Zayn al-Dīn al-Qādirī, the first *naqīb al-ashrāf* of Baghdād,⁵² who had migrated to Egypt and had succeeded in obtaining control over the shrine of ʿĪsā al-Qādirī.⁵³ Moreover, various Qādiriyya *takāyā* existed in Egypt, of which the

47 Cf. Shams al-Dīn, 30.

48 No documentary evidence showing that the *shaykh al-Marzūqiyya* made this appointment is available. However, as part of the explanation of the protracted conflict existant today between the heads of al-Imbābiyya and of al-Kannāsiyya, all the present day heads of the *ṭuruq* involved, al-Marzūqiyya, al-Imbābiyya and al-Kannāsiyya, stated independently from each other that this had been the case. This appointment is likely to have been effected around 1192 (1778), since in that year a *firmān* was issued which reaffirmed the supreme authority position of the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Marzūqiyya* within al-Aḥmadiyya in particular in the province of al-Jīza; cf. Shams al-Dīn, 26. A member of the Nuwaytū family is said to have been put in charge of this shrine. Later documentary evidence (see below p. 157, note 141) seems to confirm the reliability of their statements.

49 See e.g. *ʿAjāʾib*, ii, 89, 150; and al-Nābulusī, fol. 269^a.

50 Cf. Abū l-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb wa Bughyat al-Ṭullāb fi l-Khiṭaṭ wa l-Mazārāt wa l-Tarājim wa l-Biqāʿ wa l-Mubārakāt*, Cairo 1937, 81 f.

51 Cf. Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-ʿAzūzī, *Aʿlām Madīnat Fās, al-musammā bi-l-Uns wa l-Istīnās*, Bayrūt n.d., i, 220. See also *ʿAjāʾib*, ii, 89, 150.

52 See Hāshim al-Aʿzamī, *Taʾrīkh Jāmiʿ al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Kilānī wa Madrasatihi al-ʿIlmiyya*, Baghdad 1971, 97.

53 This part of the oral tradition of the Qādiriyya in Egypt is largely corroborated by the

heads had no formal links with the incumbent of the *mashyakha*. Among these were the takīyat Shaykhūn and the takīyat al-Surūjīyya.⁵⁴

The Burhāmiyya had been subject to the authority of members of the ‘Ashūr family since the days of the Mamlūk Sultan Qāyitbāy. This Sultan had granted a *marsūm* to Muḥammad ‘Ashūr, grandson of Šāliḥ ‘Ashūr and one-time supervisor of a *madrasa* founded by him,⁵⁵ giving him and his descendants exclusive authority over the members of the *ṭarīqat al-Burhāmiyya*.⁵⁶ The claims of the members of this family based on this *marsūm*, were respected throughout the Ottoman era.⁵⁷ Although the nature and effectiveness of the incumbent of the office would vary with the times, the fact that it was held by members of the same family for this prolonged period made it exceptional among the *ṭuruq* in Egypt. Their authority outside Cairo, however, seems to have been restricted: this is suggested by the fact that the two main branches of this *ṭarīqa*, al-Shahāwiyya⁵⁸ and al-Sharnūbiyya,⁵⁹ arose in the Delta, and also by the fact that they never controlled the shrine of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī at Disūq.⁶⁰ Customarily, however, they received annual payments from the income of this shrine⁶¹ which not only consisted of donations from visitors, but also of allowances paid from the state revenues.⁶² Therefore it is probable that the heads of al-

sources referred to in notes 50–52. On ‘Īsā al-Qādirī and his shrine in the Qarāfa al-Kubrā see al-Sakhāwī, 310 f.

54 In takīyat Shaykhūn, a Qādiriyya community under a *shaykh* belonging to this *ṭarīqa* had been resident at least since the middle of the 17th century; cf. Çelebi, *Seyāhatnāme*, x, 240; al-Ḥarīrī, iii, fol. 129^a. For al-Surūjīyya (al-Sulaymāniyya) see *Khit.*, vi, 56.

55 I.e. of the Madrasat al-Mālik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāyitbāy; cf. ‘Risāla fi Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq’, 28.

56 See al-Nābulusī, fol. 269^a.

57 This appears from the remarks made in this context by al-Nābulusī, ‘ibid.’ Since the *silsila* of the *mashāyikh* of the *ṭarīqa* given in ‘Risāla fi Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq’ and the *salāsil* which figure in the *ijāzāt* of the *ṭarīqa* are identical and have the same uninterrupted sequence of *mashāyikh*, there seems every reason to suppose that this office had been held continuously by members of this family in the 18th century.

58 Named after Muḥammad al-Shahāwī, born in Nimrat al-Baṣal near al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā in 874 (1469/70), where he also died in 949 (1542/3). His shrine is in the same village; cf. Aḥmad ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh Khalaf Allāh, *Min Qādat al-Fikr al-Šūfi l-Islāmī, al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī*, Cairo n.d., 311 f.

59 Named after Aḥmad ‘Arab b. ‘Uthmān al-Sharnūbī (931–994: 1524/5–1585/6) who was a disciple of Muḥammad al-Shahāwī. The village of Sharnūb in al-Buḥayra province became the centre of the *ṭarīqa*; cf. Khalaf Allāh, *ibid.*, 312 f.

60 Cf. Aḥmad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Karakī, *Ḥayāt Shaykh al-Islām Abī l-Aynayn al-Quṭb al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī* (Ed. Aḥmad ‘Izz al-Dīn Khalaf Allāh), Ṭanṭā 1969, 5, 7, 191 f.

61 Cf. e.g. F. Or. A. 283, 1–63/2 (17 Rab. 11 1288).

62 Cf. *Description*, i, 379.

Burhāmiyya took an active interest in the appointment to the office of intendant of this shrine.

It is striking that al-Jabartī neither uses the term *shaykh al-sajjāda* nor the term *mashyaka* when referring to the *ṭuruq* which had recently become active in Egypt, or to *ṭuruq* where leadership did not imply the right to certain assets. For these groups the terms *khilāfa*, *shaykh ṭā'ifa*, *shaykh al-sāda*, and *shaykh al-fuqarā'* are used.⁶³

Among the four groups of *ṭuruq* referred to by al-Jabartī in the quotation above, the Rifā'iyya is the only one for which the available data do not suggest the existence of a central authority position.⁶⁴ Instead, various autonomous Rifā'iyya groups existed, perpetuating the Rifā'iyya Way. Each of these groups was known as *bayt* and the name of its founder was used in order to distinguish it from other Rifā'iyya *buyūt*. The most notable were the *buyūt* of al-Bāz (al-Zaqāziq area), al-Ḥarīrī, al-Malakī (northern Delta), al-Banafirī and al-Mazāriqī.⁶⁵ The *mashāyikh* of the last-named *bayt*, which had its origin in the *bayt* of al-Ḥarīrī, were in a key position among the various Rifā'iyya groups in Egypt, since they controlled the *zāwiyat* al-Rifā'iyya near the citadel;⁶⁶ this *zāwiya* contained the shrine of 'Alī Abū l-Shubbāk, great-grandson of Aḥmad

63 See e.g. *Ajā'ib*, i, 210; ii, 189; iv, 265.

64 A central authority position over al-Rifā'iyya may have existed, however, in Mamlūk Egypt; cf. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīziyyat al-musammā bi-l-Mawā'iz wa l-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa l-Athar*, iv vols., Cairo 1324–1326, iv, 294, where reference is made to the *shaykh al-fuqarā'* al-Aḥmadiyya al-Rifā'iyya.

Amīn Sāmī, *Al-Ta'lim fi Miṣr*, Cairo 1917, *mulḥaq* 7, is in error here when he states that this *shaykh* was the head of al-Aḥmadiyya in Egypt.

65 Named after Manṣūr al-Bāz al-Baṭā'iḥī (cf. al-Sha'rānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, i, 134), 'Alī Abū l-Naṣr Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥarīrī (cf. Muḥammad Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī, *Tanwīr al-Abṣār fi Ṭabaqāt al-Sādat al-Rifā'iyyat al-Akhyār*, Cairo 1306, 38), Shams al-Dīn al-Qibābī al-Malakī (mentioned in the document referred to in note 68), Maḥmūd al-Banafirī (or al-Banūfarī; cf. 'Risāla fi Bayān Salāsīl al-Ṭuruq', 3), and 'Abd Allāh al-Mazāriqī respectively.

The first three of these *mashāyikh* lived at the end of the 11th and in the early 12th century. The last two must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century as appears from the Rifā'iyya *silsila* given in 'Risāla fi Bayān Salāsīl al-Ṭuruq', 3 ff. Only the *bayt* named after the last of these *mashāyikh*, al-Malakiyya, had not spread into Egypt from elsewhere, but had emerged in the country itself. For representatives of al-Rifā'iyya active in 13th century Egypt not belonging to any of these *buyūt* see al-Ṣayyādī, *Tanwīr*, 56. For such representatives active in 15th century Egypt, see *idem*, *Khiṣānat al-Imdād fi Akhbār al-Ghawth al-Kabir al-Sajjād Mawlānā l-Sayyid 'Izz al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ṣayyād*, Cairo 1326, 114 ff.

66 In this *zāwiya* an active Rifā'iyya community had been resident since the middle of the 17th century at least; cf. Çelebī, *Seyāhatnāme*, x, 237.

al-Rifāʿī, the founder of the *ṭariqa*.⁶⁷ Within the latter *bayt*, other groups arose in the course of the 18th and early 19th centuries, who transformed themselves into independent *buyūt*, notably the *bayt al-Labbān* and the *bayt al-Manāḥ*, out of which the *bayt al-Ḥabībī*⁶⁸ emerged. Moreover, a community of Turkish Rifāʿīs resided in a *takīya* in Būlāq.⁶⁹

The fact that the *mashāyikh* of the smaller or recently emerged *ṭuruq* (see below), did not make appeals to al-Bakrī, suggests that the larger *ṭuruq* mentioned above had lost some of their capacity to solve conflicts themselves since they had been transformed into large-scale complex organizations. The emergence of Muḥammad Abū l-Suʿūd al-Bakrī as an arbiter, and the rise of his authority over these *ṭuruq* lacked official sanction from the rulers and had no roots in tradition, since there had been no precedent of a Bakrī holding authority over the *ṭuruq*. His authority must therefore have been owing to personal qualities and was thus of the charismatic type; the state of anarchy prevailing in Egypt at the time, the concomitant breakdown of the judicial structure, combined with a preference for submitting disputes to a non-Turkish arbiter must all have contributed to the rise and consolidation of this authority. The exact nature of his jurisdiction, the ways in which he could intervene in disputes and whether and how his decisions were enforced is not clear. Moreover, there is nothing to suggest that potential incumbents of the authority positions over these *ṭuruq* were dependent upon his approval before they could have these offices registered in their names in court.⁷⁰ Muḥammad Abū l-Suʿūd al-Bakrī's compliance, however, may have contributed to the legitimacy of the authority claimed. His authority did not transcend the *ṭuruq* realm and remained politically insignificant as is shown by the absence of his name from al-Jabartī's account of the events preceding Muḥammad 'Alī's final consolidation of power by 1812.⁷¹

67 For biographical details and mention of the event to which he owed his *laqab* see al-Ṣayyādī, *Tanwir*, 47 f.

68 All these *buyūt*, with the exception of al-Ḥabībīyya which was to become a separate *ṭariqa*, still exist today as semi-independent sub-sections within *al-ṭariqat al-Rifāʿīyya*. In a document (*darj*) recording genealogies of Sīdī Manṣūr al-Bāz al-Baṭāʾihī (cf. note 65) in the possession of the author (for a photocopy of the relevant section, see MS Leiden Or. 14431/1), al-Baṭāʾihīyya, which seems to be used as an alternative name for al-Bāziyya, claim authority over al-Malakiyya; this mirrors the fluctuating claims for suzerainty between the various *buyūt* and confirms the absence of a central *mashyakha* or *sajjāda*.

69 See *Khit.*, vi, 55 f.

70 See the texts of the various *hujaj* in *Shams al-Dīn*, 24 ff., and DMS, al-Bāb al-ʿAlī, *sijill* 3, *mādda* 300 (10 Rab. I 1227). Further research in Cairo archives is required before a more detailed account of the practices existing in this respect can be presented.

71 His political insignificance is also suggested by the fact that Bastiani, the first French Con-

5 The Formalization of al-Bakrī's Authority and Muḥammad 'Alī's Policy

In November 1812 Muḥammad Abū l-Su'ūd died. Shortly before his death Muḥammad al-Shanawānī, the then *shaykh al-Azhar*, a number of 'ulamā' and heads of *ṭuruq* went, at Muḥammad Abū l-Su'ūd's request, together with his son Muḥammad, to the *Bāshā* to ask him to invest this son in his place.⁷² Upon Muḥammad al-Bakrī's investiture as *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya* a *firmān* was issued containing an explicit statement of his authority over the *ṭuruq* in Egypt, as well as over the *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines.⁷³

That the issuing of this *firmān* was part of Muḥammad 'Alī's reforms aimed at centralization of government⁷⁴ seems too easy an explanation, and in view of its contents it seems unlikely that the investiture was merely the generous compliance of the *Bāshā* with an innocent demand of the 'ulamā'⁷⁵—an isolated incident unconnected with current events. Rather, the *firmān* seems to have been instrumental to Muḥammad 'Alī's political objectives. It undermined the position of Muḥammad Abū l-Anwār al-Sādāt, the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Wafā'iyya* and then *naqīb al-ashrāf*.⁷⁶ Many heads of the *ṭuruq*, of the *zawāyā*, *takāyā* and the attendants of the shrines claimed sharifian origin. By giving al-Bakrī exclusive jurisdiction over them, the area within which al-Sādāt could legally exercise his authority was considerably curtailed. Moreover, the authority given to al-Bakrī implied the possibility of his exercising indirect control over the administration of the *awqāf al-ashrāf*, where *nizārāt* of *awqāf* with *ashrāf* among the beneficiaries was to be exercised by incumbents whose appointment was made dependent upon al-Bakrī's approval.⁷⁷

sul to Egypt after the French evacuation, appears not to have known of him; cf. G. Douin, *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804, Correspondance des Consuls de France en Égypte*, Cairo 1925, 15.

72 *Ajā'ib*, iv, 165.

73 For a photocopy of the original *firmān*, see F. Or. A. 284, II/3 (27 Shaw. 1227). It was published in almost complete form in *B.S.*, 377 f. See appendix 1 for a translation of this document.

74 For this view see e.g. D. Creelius, 'Non-ideological Responses of the Egyptian Ulama to Modernization', in Keddie (ed.), *Scholars*, 180.

75 E.g. F. Mengin, *Histoire de l'Égypte sous le Gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly*, ii vols., Paris 1823, i, 396.

76 He had been appointed in succession to 'Umar Makram al-Asyūṭī in 1809 and was to hold this office until his death in March 1813; cf. appendix 9. For his biography see *Ajā'ib*, iv, 185. That Muḥammad 'Alī was eager to eliminate Muḥammad Abū l-Anwār al-Sādāt's authority may be inferred from al-Jabartī's account of the events following this *shaykh's* death; cf. *Ajā'ib*, iv, 195 ff.

77 E.g. the *waqf* of Ismā'il Khayriyya, *ma'tūq* Khalil Bāshā: WA, no. 297 (8 Jumādā I 1205).

In particular, however, the legalization and extension of al-Bakrī's authority seems to have been aimed at further undermining the position of the *'ulamā'*, shortly before Muḥammad 'Alī embarked upon his most decisive series of land and tax reforms between 1812 and 1814.⁷⁸ This made them financially dependent on the ruler to a great extent. Many well-known *'ulamā'* were practising mystics and members or heads of *ṭuruq*.⁷⁹ In particular al-Khalwatiyya and its branches had been *'ulamā'* and even Azhar-based, ever since Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī's (d. 1161: 1749)⁸⁰ principal *khalīfa* for Egypt, Muḥammad b. Sālīm al-Ḥifnī,⁸¹ had been *shaykh al-Azhar* from 1171: 1757 to 1181: 1767. Among his *khulafā'* were notable scholars who had held important religious offices, e.g. Ismā'īl al-Ghunaymī.⁸² *shaykh al-Mālikīyya*;⁸³ Muḥammad al-Munīr al-Sammanūdī, *shaykh al-qurrā'* and *al-muḥaddithīn* in al-Azhar;⁸⁴ Aḥmad al-Dardayr, (1127–1201: 1715–1786),⁸⁵ *shaykh al-Mālikīyya*; and Maḥmūd al-Kurdī (1130–1195: 17–17–1780).⁸⁶ Al-Kurdī's *khalīfa* 'Abd Allāh al-Sharqāwī had also been *shaykh al-Azhar* from 1208: 1793 to 1227: 1812.⁸⁷ A certain animosity existed between the Azhar-based Khalwatiyya groups and the *ṭuruq* over which Muḥammad Abū l-Su'ūd's

The *nāzir* had to be *shaykh* of the shrine of Sulaymān al-Khuḍayrī. A part of the proceeds of this *waqf* had to be distributed to the *ashraf* among the inmates of the *zāwiyat al-Khuḍayrī* attached to the shrine. I am grateful to the *khaṭīb* of the mosque of al-Khuḍayrī, al-*Shaykh* 'Abd al-'Alīm Aḥmad Ismā'īl, who is also *wakil* of the present-day *ṭariqat al-Khuḍayrīyyat al-Khalwatiyya*, for drawing my attention to this *waqfiyya*. On al-Khuḍayrī, see Aḥmad Fahmī Maḥmūd, *Abū l-Rabī'ayn 'Alam al-Dīn Sidī Sulaymān al-Khuḍayrī*, Cairo n.d.

- 78 For a concise summary of these reforms, see H.A.B. Rivlin, *The Agricultural Policy of Muḥammad 'Alī in Egypt*, Cambridge, Mass. 1961, 52 ff.
- 79 Both Aḥmad al-Jawharī (d. 1182: 1768) and his son Muḥammad Abū l-Hādī (d. 1215: 1801) for instance, were prominent *mashāyikh* of al-Shādhiliyya and lectured at al-Azhar and at al-Ḥusayn mosque; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, i, 309 ff.; iii, 164 f. For their writings, see *GAL*, G ii, 311; S ii, 459; G ii, 252, 488; and S ii, 744. Similarly, the well-known Azharī scholars Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr (d. 1232: 1817) and his son Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Ṣaghīr (d. ?) headed a Shādhiliyya *ṭariqa*; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 284 f.
- 80 He was the great revivalist of al-Khalwatiyya in the 18th century; cf. C. Brockelmann, 'Al-Bakrī, Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn', *E.I.*², i, 965 f.
- 81 For his biography and for biographies of his disciples, see Ḥasan Shamma al-Fūwī, *Muntahā l-Ṭbārāt fī ba'ḍ mā li-Shaykhinā min al-Karāmāt*, Cairo 1374. See also *'Ajā'ib*, i, 289 f.
- 82 Cf. *'Ajā'ib*, i, 290; Muḥammad al-Muṣayliḥī Ḥusayn, *Al-Majmū'ā al-'Alīyya*, Cairo n.d., 8; and al-Fūwī, 102 ff.
- 83 On the office of *shaykh al-sāda al-Mālikīyya* in al-Azhar, cf. Sulaymān al-Zayyātī, *Kanz al-Jawhar fī Ṭarīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo n.d., 159 ff.
- 84 *'Ajā'ib*, i, 297.
- 85 *Ibid.* ii, 147 f.
- 86 *Ibid.* i, 61–68.
- 87 For his biography see *'Ajā'ib*, iv, 159–165.

authority had come to be accepted, because of condemnation by the former of particular practices and beliefs characteristic of the latter⁸⁸ and considered to be popular *ṭuruq*.⁸⁹ By the *firmān* both groups had come under al-Bakrī's jurisdiction and he had received the right to intervene in their affairs and to appoint their chiefs. In this way the authority of *ṭuruq*-based power positions occupied by the 'ulamā' was undermined and their power consequently reduced.

Moreover, the investiture of al-Bakrī with exclusive authority over the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions had created an office which, in many respects, counterbalanced that of the *shaykh al-Azhar*, not least because the supervision over teaching and courses given in many of the *zawāyā*, *takāyā* and shrine-mosques was delegated to al-Bakrī.⁹⁰ The *Bāshā* had thus created a framework within which "the old conflict between transcendental unitarianism and Sufism"⁹¹ could be manipulated and made instrumental in his aim of reducing 'ulamā' power.⁹²

88 See for instance al-Jabartī's criticism of al-ʿĪsawiyya in *ʿAjāʿib*, iii, 39 f., and of the *mawlid* of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-ʿAfīfī, in *ʿAjāʿib*, i, 220 f. See also Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, *Al-Manhaj al-ʿAdhb al-Sāʿigh li-Wurrādihi fī Dhīkr Ṣalawāt al-Tariq wa Awrādihi*, Cairo 1332, 124 ff. and ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥyī l-Dīn al-Arbīlī, *Ḥujjat al-Dhākirin wa Radd al-Munkarīn*, Alexandria 1299, 43.

The dialogues about certain forms of *dhīkr* in al-Nābulusī's 'Riḥla' (fol. 242^a,^b) are also instructive in this respect. It may be noted that al-Nābulusī visited only the *takāyā* of the more respectable Turkish *ṭuruq*, like al-Mawlawiyya, al-Gülshāniyya and al-Bektāshīyya. In the account of his visit to the mosque of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh, he mentions that he participated in a *ḥaḍra* of the Saʿdiyya order but adds as an excuse that he did so *li-ajli l-baraka*; cf. al-Nābulusī, fol. 240^a.

For criticism of observed differences between the *ṭuruq* in Anatolia and the *ṭuruq* in Egypt—notably the former's custom of flying banners (*bawāriq*) in processions (*mawākib*)—by a late 16th century Turkish visitor to Egypt, see A. Tietze, *Muṣṭafā ʿAlī's Description of Cairo in 1599*, Wien 1975, 47. For a short discussion of *taṣawwuf* in al-Azhar during the Ottoman era, mainly based upon al-Ṭawīl's study, see B. Dodge, *Al-Azhar. A Millenium of Muslim Learning*, Washington, D.C. 1961, 84–86.

89 It seems reasonable to take al-Jabartī's derogatory remarks about these *ṭuruq* (cf. *ʿAjāʿib*, iii, 39; iv, 120; iv, 190) as representative of the opinion current within the Azhar circles in this respect, since that was the milieu in which he was immersed. See in this context D. Ayalon, 'The Historian al-Jabartī and his Background', *BSOAS*, 23 (1960), 237 ff. However, these *ṭuruq* also had 'ulamā' among their members; cf. Raymond, *Artisans*, 436.

90 For details of education at some of the *ṭuruq*-linked institutions, see J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, London 1968 (reprint), 19 ff.

91 H.A.R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago 1945, 45.

92 Similarly the creation of comparable power positions in Mecca, Madina and Jidda during the Egyptian occupation of the Ḥijāz (cf. A. Le Chatelier, *Les Confréries Musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887, 4) must surely have been intended as part of an overall policy. In this

From this time onward, the importance of *taṣawwuf* as one of the disciplines taught at al-Azhar decreased.⁹³ The *firmān*, it might be suggested, is the genesis of the transformation of al-Azhar into a stronghold of orthodoxy and a centre of opposition towards those propagating a mystical conception of Islam. Its proclamation widened the gap between *ʿilm* and *taṣawwuf* and contributed to the ossification of Islamic mysticism in Egypt, since the opportunity for the head of a *ṭarīqa* to obtain official sanction from al-Bakrī eliminated—at least partially—the need to prove himself as a scholar.

6 The Shrine- and *Takīya*-Based *Ṭuruq*

As mentioned above, the *firmān* not only gave al-Bakrī authority over the *ṭuruq*, but also over the *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines. Without explicit mention of this, legal exercise of authority would have been possible only over a limited number of *ṭuruq*, since supreme leadership of several *ṭuruq* was identical with the *mashyakhā* of a shrine, a *zāwīya* or a *takīya*, of which incumbents obtained legal tenure by registration of the office in their name in court.⁹⁴ Moreover, it would have left open the opportunity for the heads of *ṭuruq* in control of such institutions to present themselves as *mashāyikh* of *takāyā* etc. in order to escape control by al-Bakrī.

Among the *ṭuruq* in which supreme leadership was identical with intendanship of a shrine was al-Qāsimiyya al-Shādhiliyya,⁹⁵ a *ṭarīqa* which had been introduced into Egypt in the first half of the 18th century. After the death of its first *khalīfa* for Egypt, Muḥammad Kishk, in 1170 (1756/57),⁹⁶ the latter's shrine had become the centre of this *ṭarīqa* under his successor 'Alī al-

case it would have been the curbing of Wahhābī-power, insofar as it manifested itself in the institutions of learning in the former two cities and among the *'ulamā'*-class.

93 For a list of mystical texts studied at al-Azhar at that time see Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction*, 56 f. Lane, writing in 1835, does not mention *taṣawwuf* as one of the subjects of study; cf. Lane, 216. It was taught, however, in 1864. In later curricula, it no longer appears to have had any place. See Wizārat al-Awqāf wa Shu'ūn al-Azhar, *Al-Azhar, Ta'rikhuhi wa Tatawwuruhi*, Cairo 1964, 277 ff.

94 See e.g. DMS, al-Bāb al-'Alī, *sijill* 2, *mādda* 594, p. 363 (26 Shaw. 1218); *idem*, *sijill* 1, *mādda* 319, p. 146 (21 Saf. 1155); *idem*, *sijill* 1, *mādda* 411, p. 268 (27 Qa'da 1202); *idem*, *sijill* 1, *mādda* 488, p. 233 (10 Qa'da 1155).

95 The Shādhiliyya *ṭuruq* trace themselves back to Abū l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 633: 1236). Al-Qāsimiyya al-Shādhiliyya takes its name from a certain Sidi Qāsim, a Moroccan, held to be the founder of this *ṭarīqa*.

96 Cf. *Ajā'ib*, i, 210.

Ḥabbāk.⁹⁷ When ‘Alī al-Ḥabbāk died in 1195 (1780), supreme leadership of the *ṭarīqa* and *niḡāra* of the shrine passed to his *khalīfa* Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Barmūnī.⁹⁸

Another *ṭarīqa* in which supreme leadership and control of a shrine were identical was al-‘Afīfiyya, a branch of al-Shādhiliyya, which had originated in Egypt. This was named after ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-‘Afīfī (d. 1172: 1758),⁹⁹ who had been initiated by Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī into al-Khalwatiyya, and by Aḥmad al-Tawwātī into al-Shādhiliyya of which *ṭarīqa* he propagated his own version. After ‘Abd al-Wahhāb’s death, his shrine near the mosque of Qāyitbāy became the centre of activity for this *ṭarīqa*, which counted *‘ulamā’* among its membership.¹⁰⁰ It was condemned by al-Jabartī, however, for practices he considered as *bida’*, in particular during the *mawlid*,¹⁰¹ about which he laments.

The Khalwatiyya branches, which had a centralized leadership identical with the office of *shaykh al-takīya* and which implied interests in or *niḡāra* over extensive *awqāf*, were al-Gūlshāniyya¹⁰² and al-Demirdāshiyya¹⁰³ founded by Ibrāhīm Gūlshānī (d. 940: 1534)¹⁰⁴ and Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī

97 Cf. *ibid.*, i, 107.

98 This is the succession given in the *ijāzāt* of the present-day Qāsimiyya. However, the lapse of approximately 92 years between the death of ‘Alī al-Ḥabbāk in 1195 (1780) and the death of Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Barmūnī in 1288 (1871/2) makes it very unlikely that he was his direct successor or even that he was initiated by him. So, an obscure period exists in the history of the *ṭarīqa*. This period, however, partly coincides with the rise of the Jawharī family into the higher strata of Egyptian society (cf. note 79) and the apparent recognition of Muḥammad Abū l-Ma‘ālī al-Jawharī as *shaykh* of all the Shādhiliyya *ṭuruq* in Egypt (see below p. 38). This makes it likely that for a part of this period al-Qāsimiyya fell under al-Jawharī’s jurisdiction. The fact that al-Qāsimiyya is not mentioned in ‘Risāla fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq’, but manifested itself again as a distinct group after Muḥammad Abū l-Ma‘ālī’s death, when his son Ḥasan had succeeded him not as *shaykh al-Shādhiliyya* but as *shaykh qurrā’ al-Ḥizb al-Shādhilī* (see below p. 112), adds to the likelihood of this.

99 He was very much revered by the Mamlūk *umarā’*; cf. *Ajā’ib*, i, 220.

100 *Ajā’ib*, i, 221.

101 *Ibid.*

102 Cf. *Khit.*, vi, 54f., and WA, no. 432 (10 Sha‘bān 948); no. 433 (Rab. 11 1125); no. 435 (29 Raj 1268); no. 741 (5 Raj. 1110); no. 1152 (21 Rab. 1 1247); no. 1191 (18 Jum. 1 1163); no. 1192 (18 Jum. 1 1163); no. 3049 (Ḥijja 1250); and also DMS, al-Bāb al-‘Ālī, *sijili 7, mādda* 455, p. 180 (15 Jum. 11 1259).

103 I have not been able to trace *waqf* documents relative to this *ṭarīqa* in the Cairo archives. However, the present-day *shaykh* of al-Demirdāshiyya, Ḥusayn al-Ṣayyādī allowed me to consult an undated summary of a *waqfiyya* in his possession. In this summary, mention was made of the provisions laid down in the original *waqfiyya* for the free distribution of food to the poor on Thursday nights, when the principal weekly session of the *ṭarīqa* took place. On the *awqāf al-Demirdāshiyya* see also *Al-Ahrām*, 2 December 1962.

104 For him, see Tahsin Yazıcı, ‘Gulshani’ in *E.I.*², ii, 1136f.

(d. 929: 1522/ 24)¹⁰⁵ respectively. These mystics had come to Egypt shortly before the Ottoman occupation and hence had a long established tradition. Within al-Demirdāshīyya supreme leadership tended to be held by members of the same family,¹⁰⁶ while within al-Gülshāniyya blood relationship with the founder does not appear to have been decisive for its ascription.¹⁰⁷

Ṭarīqa leadership and the office of *shaykh al-takīya* were also identical within al-Mawlawīyya, whose *takīya* had a certain renown.¹⁰⁸ These positions were also identical with the office of *nāzīr* of its *awqāf*.¹⁰⁹ They were not restricted to members of the same family and the primary allegiance of the incumbent was to the mother *takīya* in Turkey.¹¹⁰

Another *ṭarīqa* with its centre in Anatolia and represented in Egypt, was al-Bektāshīyya. The existence of three *ṭakāyā* of this *ṭarīqa* is reported in the 1570's by Evliyā Çelebī.¹¹¹ The main centre was the *takīyat* Qaşr al-'Aynī, which was the only one remaining at the beginning of the 19th century when the *firmān* was issued.¹¹² The supreme head of this *ṭarīqa* in the *takīya* of Ḥājji Bektāsh in Anatolia played a role in the appointment of the *shaykh* of this *takīya*,¹¹³ which was

105 For his biography see al-Sha'rānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 147.

106 Cf. Muḥammad Nūr Šālīḥ al-Sirjānī, *Risālat al-Silsilat al-Dhahabīyya fī Tarājīm Rijāl al-Sādāt al-Khawṭarīyyat al-Demirdāshīyya*, Cairo 1319.

107 His son Aḥmad Khayālī succeeded him, yet none of the *mashāyikh* known to have been in charge of the main *takīya* of the *ṭarīqa* in Cairo seems to have been his descendant. In the *waqf* documents referred to in note 102, the following heads of the *takīya* are mentioned: Ḥasan Efendi, known as Yaḥyā Zādeh (in 1110), 'Alī Efendi b. Ibrāhīm b. Nūr al-Dīn (in 1125), and Muṣṭafā Ḥalabī (in 1268). In 1597 (Šaf. 1006) supervision of the *awqāf* was restored to al-Gülshānī's grand-daughter since, according to the stipulations of the *wāqif* one of his descendants had to be *nāzīr*. It is not known how long this arrangement was continued. Cf. Nahum, *firmān* 1.

108 Cf. al-Nābulusī, fol. 189^a; Çelebī, *Seyāhatnāme*, x, 252 f.

109 WA, no. 865 (3 Šaf. 1280); no. 2816 (17 Rab. I 1073, 12 Šaf. 1106, 23 Muḥ. 1106, 2 Jum. I 1183, Qa'da 1216); no. 3301 (17 Šaf. 1016). Besides revenues from *awqāf*, the residents of this *takīya* also received a monthly allowance from the revenues of the office of *tārīkhjī*, constituted by the *divānefendisī*; cf. J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Le Caire 1930, plate vii.

110 Cf. DWQ, *daftar* 631 (Dīwān Khudaywī Turkī), p. 52, *wathīqa* 613 (20 Ram. 1232); *daftar* 732 (same date), p. 10, *wathīqa* 451 (4 Jum. I 1242); *daftar* 733 (same date), p. 23, *wathīqa* 116 (15 Shaw. 1242).

111 Çelebī, *Seyāhatnāme*, x, 246 ff.

112 See Aḥmad Sirrī Dedeḥ Bābā, *Al-Risāla al-Aḥmadiyya fī Ta'rīkh al-Ṭarīqat al-Bektāshīyya*, Cairo 1959, 38 ff.

113 In the early 18th century, the *takīya* was considered as belonging to the *mustahfiẓān* and its head does not seem to have owed either the legitimacy or the legality of his office to any confirmation by the Dede Baba, the supreme head of the Bektāshī order residing at the *tekke* of Ḥājji Bektāsh in Anatolia; cf. S. Faroqhi, 'Bektaschklöster in Anatolien vor 1826—Fragestellungen und Quellenprobleme', *Der Islam* liii (1976), i, 43. At least from the 18th

a beneficiary of extensive *awqāf*.¹¹⁴ The Mamlūk *umarā'* sometimes intervened in its intendency, however, as appears from al-Jabartī's chronicle, and legality of claims was not decisive for installation in this office.¹¹⁵

The centre for al-Sa'diyya, a *ṭarīqa* founded by Sa'd al-Dīn al-Jibāwī,¹¹⁶ was the shrine near Bāb al-Naṣr, of Yūnis al-Shaybānī, to whom is attributed a revival of the *ṭarīqa* in Egypt.¹¹⁷ Control of this shrine and its adjacent *zāwiya* was identical with supreme leadership of the *ṭarīqa*.¹¹⁸ The active participation of this *ṭarīqa* in public celebrations is mentioned by al-Jabartī¹¹⁹ but he omits mention of the *dawsa* (see p. 62), by which ritual it obtained celebrity.¹²⁰

7 *Ṭuruq* without Material Assets

In addition to these *ṭuruq*, various groups existed whose leaders did not control shrines or residential communities and which were basically associations under *mashāyikh* whose only authority was legitimate. Among these were some

century onwards until 1826, appointment of the heads of Bektāshi *tekkes* and of other office-holders attached to these establishments, such as supervisors (*nuzẓār*) of *awqāf* established in their favour (whenever this function was not identical with the office of *shaykh* of the *tekke*), was by the Porte upon nomination by the Dede Baba. Appointment was by *berāt*, which had to be duly registered in the local Court before the potential incumbent to the office of head of a *tekke* could legally exercise the functions attached to this office; cf. Faroqhi, 57 ff.

114 Cf. DMS, al-Bāb al-ʿĀli, *sijill* 283, *mādda* 460, p. 315 (28 Hījja 1187) and *mādda* 461, p. 316 (20 Muḥ. 1188), being the text of the act of secession of the palace of Qaṣr al-ʿAynī and its surrounding lands, bordering the *takiya* of al-Bektāshiyya, by Muḥammad Āghā to Muḥammad Bek Abū l-Dhahab, (who in the course of the struggles between the Mamlūk factions, had just assumed supremacy in Cairo; cf. P.M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516–1922. A Political History*. Ithaca/New York 1966, 93) and the text of the *waqfiyya*, by which Abū l-Dhahab turned it into a *waqf* for the benefit of the Bektāshīs. For other *awqāf* to this *takiya*: see WA, no. 945 (end of Hījja 1075). In the latter document the *takiya* is referred to as *takiyat* al-Aʿjam. Aḥmad Çelebī, 'Awdaḥ al-Ishārāt', fol. 79^p, refers to it as *takiyat* al-Inkishāriyya (the Janissary *takiya*). This reflects the extent to which, in Cairo (and Istanbul) at least, Bektāshīs and Janissaris had become involved with each other; cf. Faroqhi, 42 ff. See also note 113.

115 *ʿAjāʿib*, ii, 144.

116 For his biography see Aḥmad Ḥilmī, *Ḥadīqat al-Awliyā'*, vii vols., Istanbul 1318, vii, 50, and Ḥamūda b. ʿAlī al-Khuḍarī, *Al-Wafā' bi-l-ʿAhd*, Cairo 1383, 167 f.

117 *Khīṭ.*, vi, 52.

118 Cf. WA, no. 1180 (18 Ram. 1251).

119 *ʿAjāʿib*, iv, 190.

120 On this ritual, see D.B. Macdonald, 'Dawsa (Dōsa)', *E.I.*², ii, 181 f.

Shādhiliyya branches, notably al-‘Īsawiyya and al-‘Arabiyya. The former had been founded by the Moroccan Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā.¹²¹ They were active in Cairo and participated in public occasions like the *mawlid al-nabī* as reported by al-Jabartī, who qualifies them as *ahl al-bida’*.¹²² Al-‘Arabiyya, about which al-Jabartī makes equally derogatory remarks,¹²³ had been founded by a Moroccan, Muḥammad al-‘Arabī, of whose career little is known. He arrived in Egypt somewhere at the beginning of the 17th century and was also initiated into al-Aḥmadiyya by Aḥmad al-Shinnāwī,¹²⁴ thus uniting the Ways of al-Shādhiliyya and al-Aḥmadiyya. Under his disciples and their *khulafā’* his *ṭariqa* was presented as al-‘Arabiyya al-Aḥmadiyya al-Shādhiliyya. In al-Jabartī’s days one of the more important *khulafā’* was the well-known Azharī scholar Muḥammad al-Amīr (see above note 79).

A Khalwatiyya branch which al-Jabartī viewed with equally strong disfavour, was al-Sammāniyya, founded by one of Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī’s *khulafā’*, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān (1132–1189; 1718–1775),¹²⁵ who had given his master’s Way a stamp of his own. It was introduced into Egypt by his son Ḥammad al-Ibādī.¹²⁶ The latter’s shrine near al-Imām al-Shāfi’ī served as the focus of the *ṭariqa* and was controlled by its *khulafā’*. No supreme leader arose among them, however, until the second half of the 19th century.¹²⁷

Finally, mention should be made of al-Naqshbandiyya. This *ṭariqa* is known to have had representatives in Egypt from at least the beginning of the 18th century.¹²⁸ However, no self-perpetuating group seems to have come into being,

121 On al-‘Īsawiyya and its founder see R. Brunel, *Essai sur la Confrérie Religieuse des ‘Aissâoua au Maroc*, Paris 1926. This work gives no information about the *ṭariqa* in Egypt.

122 See *Ajā’ib*, iii, 39f., where a description of ‘Īsawiyya ritual is found.

123 Ibid.

124 Aḥmad al-Shinnāwī was the twelfth *khalīfat al-maqām al-Aḥmadī*, and son of ‘Abd al-Majīd (d. 965; 1557/8); cf. Ṭu‘ayma, 108–109.

125 *Ajā’ib*, i, 417. For a description of their *dhikr* see *Description*, i, 711–712.

126 He had been initiated into al-Khalwatiyya by his father’s *khalīfa* ‘Abd al-Ghanī Ghunaym Abū Fayḍ al-Dīn (d. 1309; 1891/2), after whom a *ṭariqa* founded by his successors would later be named al-Fayḍiyya; see al-Harīrī, i, fol. 306^a. The activities of this *ṭariqa* seem to have been confined to Istanbul. In later *ijāzāt* of al-Sammāniyya, the name of this *shaykh* is dropped and it is suggested that Ḥammad was initiated by his father directly.

127 See F. Or. A. 283, v-ll (18)/2 (21 Raj. 1296); *idem*, v-23(3)/1 (14 Šaf. 1297).

128 See *Ajā’ib*, i, 89; DMS, al-Bāb al-‘Ālī, *mus.* 283, *mādda* 408, p. 208 (undated). Reference is made to the report of the *nāzir al-awqāf* of the *takiya* of Ḥasan al-Rūmī al-Naqshbandī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Uzbakī al-Naqshbandī, dated 24 Shaw. 1123.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Abd al-Nawwāb, ‘Qā’imat al-Makḥṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub bi-l-Manṣūra, *Majallat Ma’had al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-‘Arabiyya*, 1958 (iv)/2, 265, mentions a Naqshbandiyya ijāza dated 1034 (1624/5). This suggests an even earlier presence of al-Naqshbandiyya in

but at times the *takāyā* of Ḥasan al-Rūmī,¹²⁹ al-Uzbek¹³⁰ and Darb Qirmiz¹³¹ were headed or controlled by *mashāyikh* who belonged to this *ṭarīqa* and hence they may be supposed to have been foci of Naqshbandī activity.

8 The *Takāyā* and *Zawāyā*

In addition to the *takāyā* mentioned above, the following are known to have existed at the beginning of the 19th century:¹³² Taqī l-Dīn al-‘Ajāmī (founded approx. 720: 1320),¹³³ al-Ḥabbāniyya (founded in 1162: 1749),¹³⁴ al-Qawṣūniyya,¹³⁵ Būlāq,¹³⁶ Shaykhū,¹³⁷ al-Ghannāmiyya,¹³⁸ al-Sulaymāniyya,¹³⁹ al-Sayyida Ruqayya,¹⁴⁰ al-Hunūd¹⁴¹ and al-Rukubiyya.¹⁴² Traditionally a number of these *takāyā* were controlled and inhabited by members of particular *ṭuruq*, e.g. of al-Qādiriyya in the case of the takīyat Shaykhū¹⁴³ and the takīyat al-

Egypt. Unfortunately, it has not been possible for me to consult the *ijāza* itself, owing to the reluctance of the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior to give permission for a visit to al-Manṣūra for this purpose in 1973.

129 *Khīt.*, vi, 55. See also note 128.

130 See e.g. F. Or. A. 283, 11-15/7, 8, 9, (11 Jum. 1 1289).

131 Cf. *Ijāza bi-Ṭarīq al-Naqshbandiyya min al-Shaykh Aḥmad Khākī li-Aḥmad Ḥadhiq*, MS Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya no. 708 (*taṣawwuf*).

132 Although we have no primary evidence of the active functioning of these *takāyā* around 1812, the majority had a resident population in Ottoman Egypt (cf. Çelebī, *Seyāhatnāme*, x, 235 ff.) and such was still the case in 1872; see below chapter 2. There is no reason to suppose that they had temporarily stopped functioning around 1812.

133 Cf. *Khīt.*, ii, 54, 104. It was also known as takīyat al-Biṣṭāmī [cf. F. Or. A. 283, 1-63/3 (20 Rab. 11 1288)] and after 1201 (1286/7) when a *firmān* was issued stipulating that the *shaykh* of this *takīya* would be a Bukhārī henceforward, as takīyat al-Uzbek; cf. F. Or. A. 283, 1-69/1 (25 Jum. 11 1288).

134 Also known as takīyat al-Sulṭān Maḥmūd; cf. *Khīt.* iv, 54; vi, 55.

135 Also known as al-Qaysūniyya or takīyat Qaysūn; cf. *Khīt.*, ii, 40; vi, 55; *Description*, ii, 593.

136 *Khīt.*, vi, 56.

137 Also known as takīyat Shaykhūn or al-Shaykhūniyya; cf. *Khīt.* vi, 56.

138 Also known as takīyat al-Shaykh Ghannām; cf. *Khīt.*, vi, 56.

139 Identical to takīyat al-Surūjiyya founded in 920; cf. *ibid*.

140 Cf. *Khīt.*, ii, 104; vi, 57, and E. Bannerth, *Islamische Wallfahrtsstätten Kairos*, Kairo 1973, 35.

141 *Khīt.*, ii, 104; vi, 57.

142 This *takīya* was also known as takīyat al-Lu’lu’; cf. *Khīt.*, vi, 57.

143 This was the case at least as far back as the end of the 17th century; cf. Çelebī, *Seyāhatnāme*, x, 240 f., and al-Ḥarīrī, iii, 129, where reference is to Niyāzī al-Miṣrī’s initiation into al-Qādiriyya by the head of this *takīya* during his stay in Cairo. On Niyāzī see Abdūlbākī Gölpınarlı, ‘Niyāzī’, in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, ix, 305–307.

Sulaymāniyya,¹⁴⁴ and of al-Rifā'iyya in the case of the takīyat Būlāq.¹⁴⁵ In other *takāyā* residents used to come from particular regions, e.g. Bukhārīs in the takīyat al-Hunūd and Persians in the takīyat Taqī l-Dīn.¹⁴⁶ Others, such as the takīyat al-Ḥabbāniyya and the takīyat al-Ghannāmiyya do not seem to have been led or inhabited by distinctive groups.¹⁴⁷

In documents preserved in the Cairo archives, the takīyat al-Ghannāmiyya is referred to as *zāwiya*. This is also the case with the takīyat al-Surūjiyya (al-Sulaymāniyya).¹⁴⁸ The usage of the terms *takīya* (pl. *takāyā*) and *zāwiya* (pl. *zawāyā*) appears to have been inconsistent, in particular during the later 19th century.¹⁴⁹ The larger establishments, supported by substantial revenues from *awqāf* and in which a community of *ṣūfīs* resided under the leadership of a *shaykh*, who by virtue of his office held certain rights to pensions, stipends and other payments in money and kind,¹⁵⁰ were mainly designated by the term *takāyā*. Many of the *zawāyā*, which were much smaller institutions, received financial support similar to the *takāyā*.¹⁵¹ Little is known about the *ṭarīqa* affiliations of their residents or about control by particular *ṭuruq*.¹⁵² Nor is much known of the numerous shrines,¹⁵³ including those previously mentioned as being centres of *ṭarīqa* activity and over which al-Bakrī had hardly any jurisdiction.¹⁵⁴ Control of the more important shrines of saints¹⁵⁵ tended to rest

144 *Khīt.*, vi, 56.

145 Also known as takīyat al-Rifā'iyya; cf. *Khīt.*, vi, 56; Ilyās Zakhūrā, *Mir'āt al-'Asr fi Ta'rikh wa Rusūm Akābir Rijāl Miṣr*, iii vols., Cairo 1897, i, 224 d.

146 Cf. F. Or. A. 283, 1–69/1 (25 Jum. II 1288).

147 See *Khīt.*, iii, 130; vi, 54 ff.

148 E.g. in WA, no. 510 (8 Shaw. 1231) and *Khīt.*, vi, 28.

149 See *Description*, ii/2, 645, where reference is made to zāwiyat al-Hunūd; compare also *Khīt.*, iii, 56 (takīyat al-Ghannāmiyya), and vi, 28 (zāwiyat al-Ghannāmiyya).

150 Cf. S.J. Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517–1798*, Princeton 1962, 235, nos. 48 and 55 for the amounts paid to the institutions from the Imperial Treasury, covering the years 1005, 1082, 1107, 1179 and 1200. They also received part of the tax-grain from the Imperial Granaries in Old Cairo; cf. S.J. Shaw (ed. and trsl.), *Ottoman Egypt in the Eighteenth Century. The Niẓāmnāme-i Miṣir of Cezzār Aḥmed Pasha*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964, 45. See also *Description*, ii, 377 f., for the amounts which were usually paid to and spent on the maintenance of these institutions.

151 *Description*, *ibid*; DMS, *sijll* 7, *mādda* 1, p. 1, for amounts paid to *zawāyā* in Cairo in Ramaḍān 1246.

152 For a tentative list of *zawāyā* see al-Ṭawīl, 57 ff.

153 See *Description*, i, 378 f., for a list of shrines and the amounts spent on their maintenance. In Ottoman Egypt taxes were levied on the tombs of certain saints; cf. Shaw, *Administrative Organization*, 122.

154 See e.g. F. Or. A. 286, 13/b (dated 1226).

155 Criteria for importance include quantity and value of offerings made to the shrine, re-

with certain families, in many cases descendants of the saint whose shrine they controlled.¹⁵⁶ Legality of incumbency was obtained by registration at the local court after due verification of the claims of the potential incumbent by the *qādī*.¹⁵⁷

9 The Appointment of Muḥammad al-Bakrī as *Naqīb al-Ashrāf* and Its Implications

Although the *firmān* gave a legal base to the exercise of authority over the aforementioned groups and institutions, it did not sufficiently compensate for the absence of Muḥammad Abū l-Su‘ūd’s charisma. Neither did it set out institutional provisions which would have made up for this absence, or which would have given some coherence to the structural looseness of the domain over which this charismatic leadership had been held, thus allowing for its effective routinization. A solution was partly achieved by his being appointed *naqīb al-ashrāf* by Muḥammad ‘Alī in 1816, following the removal of Muḥammad al-Dawākhilī from this office.¹⁵⁸

This appointment can only partly be explained by the seemingly good relations between Muḥammad al-Bakrī and Muḥammad ‘Alī, and al-Bakrī’s apparent approval of the latter’s policy.¹⁵⁹ Al-Bakrī’s investiture, immediately upon al-Dawākhilī’s dismissal, was the result of the refusal of Muḥammad ‘Alī’s favourite, the then *shāhbandar al-tujjār* Muḥammad al-Maḥrūqī, to accept the office.¹⁶⁰ The immediate appointment of a native Egyptian selected by Muḥammad ‘Alī seemed imperative in order to prevent the appointment of a *naqīb* sent from Turkey, or the possible intriguing of Aḥmad al-Sādāt, the new *shaykh*

ceived by the shrine’s intendants, the amounts paid to the shrine’s intendant(s) in stipends and pensions, and the revenues from its *awqāf*. Only the first criterion depends upon the number of visitors to a particular shrine, which implies popularity.

156 The shrine of al-Sultān al-Ḥanafī, for instance, was controlled by the descendants of this saint’s daughter and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Bakrī; cf. *Ajā’ib*, i, 221, and *B. s.*, 212 ff. The shrine of al-Sultān Abū l-‘Alā’ was controlled by members of the Farghalī family; cf. Tawfīq ‘Alī Ḥasan, *Risālati fi Manāqib al-Sultān Abī l-‘Alā’ al-Ḥusaynī*, Cairo 1937, 15 f.

157 See e.g. F. Or. A. 286/28–37 dated 1151 (copied from the original document dated 1101).

158 See *Ajā’ib*, iv, 243; cf. appendix 9, notes 12 and 13.

159 *B. s.*, 45. Some of the books mentioned here, which were presented by Muḥammad ‘Alī to Muḥammad al-Bakrī, are preserved by Muḥammad Kūbilay al-Bakrī, a member of the Bakrī family living in Zamālik, Cairo. He is a cousin of the late Aḥmad Murād al-Bakrī (d. 1968), the last *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya*.

160 I.e. the chief of the merchants in Cairo; cf. *Ajā’ib*, iv, 243.

al-sajjāda al-Wafā'iyya, in order to obtain a *firmān* from Istanbul investing himself, which was definitely not desired by the *Bāshā*.¹⁶¹

By the appointment of Muḥammad al-Bakrī to the *niqābat al-ashrāf*—which office was to be held by his descendants for almost a century¹⁶²—more than the nominal authority of the *niqāba* was added to his power position since these offices were mutually reinforcing. The heads of the *ṭuruq* frequently claimed sharifian descent.

So by this new arrangement al-Bakrī held authority over them as *naqīb* as well as the authority stipulated in the *firmān*. The proceeds of the *awqāf al-ashrāf* to be distributed by him in his function of *naqīb*, could be used as a convenient device for having his authority accepted, while the registration in the *daftar al-ashrāf* could be made dependent on recognition of his authority.¹⁶³ Moreover, the existing administrative organization of the *niqāba*, with its agents in the provinces, could be used to exercise his authority outside Cairo.¹⁶⁴ This appointment did not, however, solve the problem of transforming legal into legitimate authority, and only provided a limited organization through which he could exercise the authority given to him by *firmān*.

The groups which had been made subject to his authority, however, and whose differences were more significant than the characteristics they had in common, were frequently involved in disputes with each other. At the doctrinal level the differences ranged from the pantheistic theories of some *Shādhiliyya*

161 The *Bāshā*'s attitude towards the *shaykh al-sādāt* does not appear to have changed since 1813. See above p. 21.

162 See appendix 9. It was primarily in his capacity as *naqīb al-ashrāf* that Muḥammad al-Bakrī was a member of the *Majlis al-Shūrā* installed by Muḥammad 'Alī in 1245 A.H.; cf. Amin Sāmī, *Taqwīm al-Nīl*, iii vols., 5 parts, Cairo 1916–1936, iii/2, 350.

163 For such applications for registration see F. Or. A. 284, 11/8 (3 Sha'bān 1231) and 1/11 (15 Sha'bān 1236). Of the heads of the *ṭuruq* who recognized al-Bakrī's authority in 1847 (see the list on page 36 f.) fourteen can be identified as *ashrāf*. For payments by al-Bakrī to the *naqīb* in Istanbul, cf. F. Or. A. 284, 1/10 (Şaf. 1262).

164 In the Ottoman era the provincial *nuqabā'* (who were referred to as *qā'immaqām al-niqāba*) were appointed for a period of one year, virtually as tax-farmers in these positions; see Shaw/Huseyn, 103. This practice was continued during the first half of the 19th century; see e.g. F. Or. A. 284, 1/9 (end of Hija 1272). In the second half of the 19th century these offices tended to be held by their appointees for much longer periods and sometimes stayed within the same family. See e.g. F. Or. A. 283, 11 14/3 (22 Ram. 1289), for the transfer of the office of *naqīb* in Rashīd within the same family. The office of *naqīb* of al-Gharbiyya province was held by members of the Qaşabī family in Taṅtā. Its incumbent combined this office with the office of *imām* and *khaṭīb* of the Aḥmadī mosque. He also looked after the financial interests of the Bakrī family in this area, as is abundantly shown by the documents in the series F. Or. A. 283 and 285.

groups,¹⁶⁵ to the moderate teachings very much in line with the orthodoxy of some Khalwatiyya branches.¹⁶⁶ Rituals were highly diverse, internal organization of the various groups differed widely, and some of them, like al-Mawlawiyya¹⁶⁷ and al-Bektāshīyya¹⁶⁸ had their principal loyalties to the mother *takīya* in Turkey. Hence it is not surprising that within this highly diversified universe no common normative system developed to support al-Bakrī's authority which would allow for its exercise along well-defined lines.

Muḥammad al-Bakrī's investiture as *naqīb* of all institutions under his jurisdiction appears to have been most instrumental with regard to intendants of shrines. Those soliciting a formal appointment as intendant of a saint's shrine had to obtain recognition of the *nasab* linking them with this saint. This recognition had to be obtained from the *niqābat al-ashrāf* if the saint was of sharifian origin, which the majority were. Yet now recognition of a *nasab* in order to obtain formal appointment to a shrine, with its concomitant rights in *nudhūr*,¹⁶⁹ pensions and stipends, and the formal appointment itself, had become dependent upon one and the same person, whose power could not be denied.¹⁷⁰ It hardly contributed, however, to the recognition of his authority over the *zawāyā* and *takāyā*, which were almost exclusively inhabited by non-Egyptians with non-Egyptian *mashāyikh* over them.¹⁷¹ These continued to maintain an independent position which was given legality by registration in court of a *firmān* obtained from Istanbul¹⁷² or by direct appointment by the *qādī*.¹⁷³

165 E.g. al-ʿĪsawiyya. For the pantheistic conception of this *ṭarīqa*'s founder see the collection of *qaṣā'id* by him in Aḥmad al-Mahdī al-Ghazzālī, *Manāqīb ... Muḥammad Ibn ʿĪsā*, Tunis 1351.

166 Notably those founded by students of Aḥmad al-Dardayr.

167 Besides continued contacts with their centre in Konya, they maintained equally intensive contact with the Mawlawiyya *tekke* in Madina as appears from DWQ, *Diwān Khudaywī Turkī*, *daftar* 631, p. 52, doc. 613 (20 Ram. 1232); *daftar* 732, p. 109, doc. 451 (4 Jum. I 1242); *daftar* 733, p. 23, doc. 116 (15 Shaw. 1242).

168 Appointment of the head of the *takīya* of al-Bektāshīyya was by the Porte upon nomination by the Dede Baba; see above note 113.

169 *Nadhīr* (pl. *nudhūr*; *nudhūrāt*) has the literal meaning of votive offering. On the various legal and theological issues involved, see for instance ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Qurā'a, *Baḥth fī l-Nudhūr wa Ahkāmihā*, Cairo 1936. In addition, see my chapter 2, note 281.

170 Cf. F. Or. A. 384, IV-17 (7 Raj. 1254).

171 Cf. *Khīṭ.*, i, 90.

172 Cf. F. Or. A., 283, I-69/1 (25 Jum. II 1288).

173 Cf. DMS, al-Bāb al-ʿĀlī, *sijill* 1, *mādda* 621, p. 162 (15 Şaf. 1242); *idem.*, *sijill* 6, *mādda* 561, p. 145 (9 Shaw. 1244); DWQ, *Diwān Ma'īyya Saniyya Turkī*, *daftar* 50, *wathīqa* 287 (new class. S/1/129/1), p. 49. (5 Ram. 1248).

10 Demarcation of Authority: The Agreement with al-Azhar

It was not until about the middle of the 19th century that the authority of al-Bakrī became less amorphous¹⁷⁴ and more effective. In 1847 an agreement was concluded between Muḥammad al-Bakrī and the *shaykh al-Azhar*, Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī,¹⁷⁵ which further widened the gap between *‘ilm* and *taṣawwuf* created by the *firmān* of 1812. In disputes of any nature involving members of a *ṭarīqa* or *ashraf*, al-Bakrī would have exclusive right of jurisdiction, and also if one of the parties was connected with al-Azhar. When none of the parties involved belonged to any of these categories, only the *shaykh al-Azhar* or the *shaykh* of the *riwāq* or *madhhab* of the accused would be competent. Al-Bayjūrī also agreed to refrain from interference in the affairs of the *zawāyā*, the shrines and the *mashyakhāt al-maqār*,¹⁷⁶ and from responding to requests for judgement and intervention in matters relative to the *ṭuruq*. This had happened, for instance, only shortly before this agreement was concluded, when the *shaykh al-Azhar* sided with one of the two factions within al-Bayyūmiyya,¹⁷⁷ each sup-

174 Lane, 247, writes “Esh-Sheykh el Bekree ... holds authority over all orders of darweeshes in Egypt”. He does not go into detail, which he certainly would have done if this authority had manifested itself within concrete established patterns. The ambivalent position of al-Bakrī is illustrated, moreover, by the fact that the distribution of alms from the Khedive to the poor on the occasion of the *mawlid al-Husayn* was not by al-Bakrī as one would expect, but by the head of al-Qādiriyya; cf. DWQ, Dīwān al-Khūdaywī Turkī, 737, p. 13, *mus.* 66 (17 Rab. II 1243).

175 The text of the *maḥḍar* made up on this occasion, dated 19 Shaʿbān 1263, is reproduced in *B. s.*, 42 ff. A photocopy of the original document is preserved at Leiden University Library as F. Or. A. 284, II/22, 23, 24. See appendix 2 for a translation.

The author of *B. s.* erroneously presents this document as evidence to show that the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* used to appoint the *shaykh al-Azhar*. From the *Description de l'Égypte*, ii/2, 394, we know that a new *shaykh al-Azhar* went to al-Bakrī to be provided with a robe of honour before his official investment by the *wālī*. Al-Bakrī certainly seems to have played a role in this, but it seems incorrect to state that he actually appointed the candidate to this office.

It must be noted that the text of this document appears in the biography of ‘Alī al-Bakrī, while it is clear from the date that the Bakrī *shaykh* mentioned in it is Muḥammad al-Bakrī.

176 The Qurʾān readers were organized within a corporation headed by a supreme *shaykh*. This official would be appointed by al-Bakrī.

177 Founded by ‘Alī al-Bayyūmī (d. 1183: 1769). After the death of its founder, leadership within this group appears to have been unstable; in a relatively short time this *ṭarīqa* was headed by various *mashāyikh*. Its first *khalifa* was Ibrāhīm al-Damanhūrī (d. 1192: 1778). In the official *silsila* of present-day *ijāzāt* of the *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad Nāfiʿ is mentioned as his successor. However, from al-Jabartī, *Ajāʾib*, ii, 189, we know that in 1205 (1790) Aḥmad Ṣālim al-Jazzār was head of the *ṭarīqa*, i.e. prior to Muḥammad Nāfiʿ. The former figures

porting a different candidate for succession to the office of *shaykh* of this *ṭarīqa*, following the death of its last incumbent Muḥammad Nāfi'. Finally, 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Malawānī (d. 1292: 1875), the favourite of the faction supported by the *shaykh al-Azhar* obtained recognition. A dispute, however, about the *shaykh's* intervention arose with al-Bakrī, who supported the rival candidate.¹⁷⁸ It seems likely that this dispute was the principal incentive towards the agreement, though if not, at least the agreement aimed at the prevention of such disputes in future.

11 The Early Phase of the *Ṭuruq* Administration

The demarcation of the spheres of competence and jurisdiction obviously made al-Bakrī's authority more distinct than had previously been the case. It equally contributed to the increased administrative importance this authority must have gained by then, as is suggested by the fact that al-Bakrī appears to have been in need of a manual allowing him to verify *salāsīl*. Such a manual, enumerating the *salāsīl* of a number of contemporary heads of *ṭuruq*, was compiled in, or shortly before, 1265 (1848/9).¹⁷⁹ This would mean that al-Bakrī had come to play a role in solving disputes in which *salāsīl* produced by the parties involved might affect judgements, such as disputes concerning *ṭarīqa* allegiance, the rights to proselytize in certain areas, and the rights to organise *mawālīd*; most probably, he would also take the initiative in intervention.

It seems unlikely, however, especially outside Cairo, that judgement and intervention would have been possible only through the agents of the *niqāba*. This would mean that government agencies must also have become active in support of his authority. Indeed, the extent of the involvement of government agencies in the *ṭuruq* administration in the 1870's (see following chapter), suggests that the process by which this came about started much ear-

in the *silsila* of the latter in 'Risāla fi Bayān Salāsīl al-Ṭuruq'. Between Muḥammad Nāfi' and 'Alī al-Bayyūmī, however, seven other names are mentioned in the *silsila* given in this manuscript. It is completely different from 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Malawānī's *silsila* given in al-Ḥarīrī 'Tibyān', i, 197^a. In view of this, the enumeration of the heads of this *ṭarīqa* given by Zakī Muḥammad Mujāhid, *Manāqib al-Bayyūmī*, Cairo n.d., 6, must be held incomplete. Compilation of a reliable list of heads does not seem feasible at present.

178 See Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 187 f.

179 A microfilmed copy of this manual ('Risāla fi Bayān Salāsīl al-Ṭuruq') is preserved at Leiden University Library (F. Or. A. 302). For the dating of this manual and for further detail, see F. de Jong, 'Two Anonymous Manuscripts Relative to the Ṣūfī Orders in Egypt', *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, ii/3-4 (May-June 1975), 186-190.

lier. This must have been in the course of the 1840's when Muḥammad 'Alī's administration changed from an initially monolithic one with rather diffuse task-performances, into an administration consisting of more specialized agencies operating within clearly defined areas of jurisdiction. In the course of this process of growing involvement of government agencies and the *ṭuruq* administration, al-Bakrī must have acquired a position which made all the dealings of the heads of the *ṭuruq* with these agencies, including payments of customary stipends from the *Rūznāma* Department or payments out of proceeds from *awqāf khayriyya*, dependent upon his mediation (cf. p. 43). This position must have allowed al-Bakrī to force the heads of the *ṭuruq* who had such rights into acknowledgement of his authority over them. Since the heads of the *ṭuruq* whose *salāsil* are listed in the manual were all in charge of a *ṭarīqa* where incumbency to the supreme authority position entailed rights to stipends, pensions and control of assets (*nizārāt* of *awqāf*), they must have been heads of *ṭuruq* who had recognized the authority of al-Bakrī over them in consequence of the dependency relationship into which they had inevitably come to find themselves.¹⁸⁰ This relationship, however, does not seem to have been of any consequence for the authority of the heads of these *ṭuruq* in the internal affairs of their *ṭarīqa*.¹⁸¹ Their names and *ṭuruq* are given in the following list:

Ḥusayn b. Muṣṭafā l-Rifā'ī	al-Rifā'iyya
Muḥammad al-Fāriḍī together with Aḥmad Qāsim	al-Qādiriyya
Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Shams al-Dīn	al-Marzūqiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
'Alī l-Minūfī	al-Manāyifa al-Aḥmadiyya
Aḥmad Yūsuf al-Kannāsī	al-Kannāsiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muṣṭafā l-Naqqāsh	al-Salāmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Ḥasan Salmān al-Imbābī	al-Imbābiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Maḥjūb Khaḍīr	al-Humūdiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad 'Aṭā' Allāh	al-Tasqiyāniyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muṣṭafā l-Junaydi	al-Ḥalabiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad al-Shu'aybī	al-Shu'aybiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Ḥusayn al-Shinnāwī	al-Shinnāwiyya al-Aḥmadiyya

180 In the case of one *ṭarīqa* mentioned in the manual, al-Īsawiyya, there is no evidence that its superior controlled or was entitled to revenues from *awqāf*, or that he had rights to stipends or pensions. The heads of the ten Aḥmadiyya orders (with the exception of al-Bayyūmiyya), if they did not control *awqāf*, had at least rights to pensions; cf. *Description*, i, 370 ff.

181 Cf. Lane, xxvi ff. He reports that a *shaykh* could even imprison his disciples if they acted contrary to the rules of the *ṭarīqa*.

Muḥammad Nāfi‘	al-Bayyūmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Muḥammad ‘Āshūr	al-Burhāmiyya
Muḥammad al-Jawharī	al-Shādhiliyya
‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭūbī	al-‘Īsawiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Riḍwān al-‘Afīfī	al-‘Afifiyya al-Shādhiliyya
‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sha‘rānī	al-Sha‘rāniyya
Muṣṭafā al-Demirdāsh	al-Demirdāshiyya
Muḥammad al-Khuḍarī	al-Sa‘diyya

Most of these *mashāyikh* had succeeded their fathers or other relatives in authority. Indeed, inheritance through the paternal line seems to have been the major principle of succession. Of only a few of the *mashāyikh* mentioned above do we have some information about the way in which their families came to monopolize the supreme authority position within a *ṭarīqa*.

In the case of al-Rifā‘iyya, supreme leadership had passed to the descendants of Muṣṭafā al-Rifā‘ī, a Syrian horse-merchant who had come to Cairo before the French occupation. His grandson, Muḥammad Efendī Yāsīn had been given authority over al-Rifā‘iyya together with ‘Abd Allāh al-Mazārīqī,¹⁸² whose family had controlled the shrine and *zāwiya* of ‘Alī al-Rifā‘ī near the Citadel. Muḥammad Efendī Yāsīn, who was also *shahbandar al-tujjār*, had been placed in this position of authority by Muḥammad ‘Alī with the obligation of collecting the *firda*¹⁸³ from acrobats, jugglers and snake-charmers—many of whom were members of al-Rifā‘iyya—which could not be collected otherwise since they were not organized in guilds.¹⁸⁴ After Muḥammad Yāsīn’s death, which was preceded by that of al-Mazārīqī, the office passed to his uncle, Ḥusayn b. Muṣṭafā,¹⁸⁵ and has remained in this family ever since.¹⁸⁶

182 Cf. ‘Risāla fi Bayān ...’, 3.

183 A capitation tax, also known as *furdāt al-ru‘ūs* or *furda*, introduced by Muḥammad ‘Alī in 1822; cf. Rivlin, 133. It was abolished in 1872; cf. G. Baer, *Egyptian Guilds in Modern Times*, Jerusalem 1964, 86.

184 In Ottoman Egypt, taxes from these groups were collected by the so-called *emīn-i khorde* or *khorde emīni*, cf. Shaw, *Administrative Organization*, 121; Shaw/ Cezzār, 46f.

185 He is the first Rifā‘iyya *shaykh* who is mentioned explicitly as *shaykh mashāyikh al-Rifā‘iyya* in Egypt by al-Ṣayyādī, *Tanwīr*, 117.

186 Information about this early phase of centralized leadership within al-Rifā‘iyya was obtained from Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Ḥabībī, *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Ḥabībīyya* in 1973. When the legality of this *ṭarīqa*’s independence from al-Rifā‘iyya was questioned in court in 1914, the then *shaykh* of al-Ḥabībīyya, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Hādī, the father of the above, questioned the legality of the supreme authority of the Yāsīns because of its origin. On this dispute, see also *Mudhakkira Marfū‘a ilā Maqām Ṣāhib al-Dawla Wazīr al-Dākhiliyya min*

The way in which members of the ʿĀshūr family could justify supreme authority over al-Burhāmiyya has been mentioned above (see p. x), and within al-Qādiriyya the *mashyakha* had passed from the Jizī family, together with the office of *kātib niqābat al-ashrāf*, to the descendants of the member of a family which had held the *niqābat al-ashrāf* in Baghdād and had migrated to Egypt (see above p. 17). The first of this family to hold both offices was Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Qādirī¹⁸⁷ who was succeeded by his brother Sulaymān. After Sulaymān's death, the *ṭarīqa* leadership was held by his two sons Aḥmad Qāsim and Muḥammad, who was known as al-Fāriḍī and held the *kitāba*.¹⁸⁸

The *ṭarīqat al-Shinnāwiyya* was headed by relatives of the *mashāyikh al-Shinnāwiyya* who controlled the shrine of Aḥmad al-Badawī (see above p. 14) in Ṭanṭā. It had its centre at the shrine of its founder in Maḥallat Rūḥ, north of Ṭanṭā, and became prominent in the second half of the 18th century, particularly under the leadership of ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Shinnāwī known as “Bunduq”.¹⁸⁹ Favouritism of Ḥasan Bāshā—the commander of the Ottoman expedition sent to Egypt in 1786 in order to restore its Mamlūk rulers to obedience—who granted large pensions to the heads of this *ṭarīqa* as well as to the *khulafāʾ al-maqām*, enhanced and consolidated their position.¹⁹⁰

As supreme head of the *Shādhiliyya ṭuruq* in Egypt, Muḥammad Abū l-Maʿālī al-Jawharī had emerged. His father, Muḥammad Abū l-Hādī, had been initiated into al-Shādhiliyya by Muḥammad al-ʿArabī and into al-Tihāmiyya by his grandfather Aḥmad.¹⁹¹ Both Aḥmad and his son Muḥammad had played notable roles in Ottoman Egypt¹⁹² and had apparently built up a position for themselves which had resulted in official recognition of their authority over most *Shādhiliyya ṭuruq* in Egypt.¹⁹³

Shaykh Ṭarīqat ʿUmūm al-Rifāʿiyya bi-l-Diyār al-Miṣriyya bi-Shaʿn al-Ṭaʿifat al-Ḥabibiyya, Cairo 1926/7.

187 Cf. ‘Risāla fi Bayān ...’, 7.

188 ‘Ibid’.

189 See *Ajāʾib*, i, 376.

190 Cf. *Description*, i, 379, 381, 395.

191 Cf. F. Or. A. 286, 24–27 for a document showing the sharifian descent of this family. See ‘Risāla fi Bayān ...’, 30 f. for the *silsila*.

192 Cf. *Ajāʾib*, i, 309 ff.; ii, 53; iii, 164 f.; and *Khit.*, iv, 77 ff. The prominence of this family is also clear from the fact that it was the only one, apart from the Bakrī and the Sādāt families, whose members obtained payments from the *ṣurra*; cf. *Description*, i, 383. On these payments from the *ṣurra* see Shaw/Huseyn, 114 (note 148) and Shaw, *Administrative Organization*, 254. For lands obtained as *iltizām* by Muḥammad Abū l-Maʿālī, cf. Nahum, *firmān* 37 (3 Shaʿbān 1216). For *awqāf* established in favour of the Jawharī family, see WA, no. 2968 (Jum. II 1187).

193 This is suggested by the honorific *shaykh al-sajjādat aslāf al-sādat al-Shādhiliyya bi-l-*

The leaders of *ṭuruq* of an associational type, which had no rights to pensions and stipends and were not entitled to the control of assets as a result of their *ṭariqa* leadership, were obviously not in need of al-Bakrī's mediation. Therefore, they had no reason to recognize his authority over them, and they abstained from involvement with the emerging *ṭuruq* administration. Among them figured representatives of al-Mīrghaniyya, al-Şāwiyya and of some Shādhiliyya and Khalwatiyya groups (see below, chapter 2). The majority of these *ṭuruq* had become active in Egypt comparatively recently and were concentrated in Cairo and Alexandria. As a consequence the leaders of these groups were in a better position to control conflicts involving their *ṭuruq*, which might otherwise have resulted in al-Bakrī's intervention and a forced compliance with submission to his suzerainty over them.

Equally, the *arbāb al-sajājīd*, i.e. the heads of al-Wafā'iyya, al-'Ināniyya and al-Khuḍayriyya maintained their traditional autonomy, in which neither the *firmān* nor the agreement with al-Azhar had brought any change. Their *ṭuruq* remained among the *ṭuruq* which had no formal link with the shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya. The existence of this group and their counterparts who did have this formal link, implied a bisection of the *ṭuruq* realm in Egypt, which would remain its basic structural characteristic.

12 Summary

Muḥammad 'Alī's proclamation in 1812 of a *firmān* giving the shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya authority over the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions, implied the beginning of a new era for these groups which had not previously been subject to a central authority. In practice, however, the consequences of this new arrangement did not manifest themselves clearly until the forties, when government agencies became active in support of al-Bakrī's administration of the *ṭuruq* realm and the shaykh al-Azhar had been excluded from interference in *ṭuruq* affairs. This made al-Bakrī's authority more distinct than had previously been the case and contributed to its increased administrative importance. However, the full actualization of the authority given to al-Bakrī by the *firmān* was yet to come.

diyār al-Miṣriyya used in F. Or. A. 286, 15/2 (dated 1253). For Muḥammad Abū l-Ma'ālī's involvement in the administration of the *awqāf* of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī, see *ibid.*, 8 (18 Rab. I 1212).

The *Ṭuruq* Realm, the Principle of Right of *Qadam*, the Nature and Functioning of the *Ṭuruq* Administration

When Muḥammad al-Bakrī died in Rajab 1271 (April 1855), he was succeeded by his son ‘Alī. Upon his investiture in the offices of *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* and *naqīb al-ashrāf* by Khedive Sa‘īd, ‘Alī was explicitly given the same authority over the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions which his father had held.¹

Before his appointment, which occurred when he was over fifty, ‘Alī al-Bakrī had been studying at al-Azhar under a number of notable scholars.² This had resulted in a reputation for learning³ which qualified him more than his predecessor for this authority position which had, by now, obtained legitimation by tradition. Moreover, within the realm of the *ṭuruq* administration he must have benefited from his father’s experience. These factors in combination would contribute to the almost total actualization of the authority he legally held over the *ṭuruq* and the *ṭuruq*-linked institutions.⁴

1 The Genesis of the Principle of Right of *Qadam*

The administrative practice through which ‘Alī al-Bakrī actualized his authority was inseparably linked with what was known as right of *qadam*.⁵ This meant

1 For the *firmān* of his investiture, see *B.S.*, 378.

2 These were, amongst others, Muḥammad al-Damanhūrī, Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī and Ibrāhīm al-Saqqā; cf. *B.S.*, 41f.

3 Cf. Malortie, Baron de, *Egypt. Native Rulers and Foreign Interference*, London 1882, 315–316.

4 The following account is largely based upon data derived from transcribed documents in the series Leiden, F. Or. A. 283. These documents do not go back beyond Muḥarram 1287 (April 1870). It may be inferred from their contents, however, that the administrative practice they mirror existed for at least two decades. The documents referred to in the following notes generally constitute merely a selection from the documents in this series, illustrating the various aspects of the administration described.

5 In other words, a *ṭarīqa* could claim right of *qadam* (i.e. priority; cf. Abū l-Fayḍ Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-Arūs min Sharḥ Jawāhir al-Qamūs*, Cairo 1306–1307, ix, 18) in an area, if it could be proved that it had *qadam* (seniority). From discussions with members of the *ṭuruq* in Egypt about aspects of the *ṭuruq* administration in the 19th and the first decades

the exclusive right of a *ṭarīqa* to proselytize and to appear in public in an area, if it could be proved that it had been the first to do so.

Before the 19th century no such principle, carrying with it the administrative implications and importance set out below, seems to have been in operation. However, it seems likely that in the late 17th and especially in the 18th century, when *khulafā'* were appointed as *multazimūn*,⁶ they would propagate and favour the *ṭarīqa* to which they belonged within their *iltizām*. Moreover, as *multazimūn* they could forbid access to the area to proselytizing agents belonging to other *ṭuruq* and restrict the activities of those already present.

In the course of Muḥammad 'Alī's land reforms between 1812 and 1815 the *iltizām* system was abolished. This not only affected these *khulafā'*/*multazimūn* financially and socially, as it did all *multazimūn*, but also their position as local *ṭarīqa* leaders, once the office, which allowed for the protection and advancement of the interests of their *ṭarīqa*, had been abolished. Opposition to intruders belonging to other *ṭuruq* could, from then on, be justified only by stressing that traditionally their *ṭuruq* had been the only ones which had the right to be active in the area.

That there should have been a connection between the abolition of the *iltizām* system and the rise of the principle of *qadam* as the pivotal principle of organization for the *ṭuruq* realm, is suggested, moreover, by the circumstance that this principle never functioned in Upper Egypt. Here, the majority of the *multazimūn* who held office at the time of the abolition of this system had not been granted their *iltizām* until 1800. In that year the Mamlūk *amīr* Murād Bek, was recognized by the French as governor of Upper Egypt and had subsequently granted *iltizāmāt* to his most important adherents, while ignoring the rights of the former landholders.⁷ Moreover, it is unlikely that those who may have remained in office had any long-standing landed interests, since the state of political anarchy which had been prevalent in Upper Egypt for at least three

of the 20th century, it appeared that the term *qadam* may have had the additional meaning or connotation of "a prominent position due to merit" (*al-sharaf al-qadīm*; cf. al-Zabīdī, ix, 21).

6 Shaw/Ḥuseyn, 104. Shaw speaks about "dervishes" being appointed as *multazimūn*. It is unlikely, however, that ordinary *ṭarīqa* members who had not been granted *al-khilāfa* (see below page 45) and thus held at least a minor position of prominence in their *ṭarīqa*, would have been appointed to these offices. For this reason, the term *khalīfa* (*khulafā'*) has been adopted in the following discussion instead. About *multazim* and *iltizām*, see Shaw, *Administrative Organization*, *passim*. For a concise summary of landholding in Egypt before the French occupation, see Rivlin, chapter 2.

7 See Rivlin, 25.

decades⁸ must have had its effect upon the stability of landholding. This would prevent the inheritance of the office of *multazim* becoming as much institutionalized as in the Delta.⁹ Therefore, few of the *multazimūn* south of Cairo with any *ṭarīqa* allegiance could have been in office for a period long enough to consolidate the position of their *ṭarīqa*, as had their equals in the Delta. In consequence, the representatives of such *ṭuruq* were not in a position to make successful claims for rights of *qadam* at a later stage and al-Bakrī's administration was to remain of little significance for the *ṭuruq* in these areas until the 1870's (see below p. 89).

2 Al-Bakrī's Authority over the *Ṭuruq* and the Principle of Right of *Qadam*

After 1263 (1847), when the agreement with al-Azhar was concluded, al-Bakrī, i.e. the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya*, appears to have become the only official who could appoint the heads of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions, giving these incumbents legality of tenure in consequence. When the head of a *ṭarīqa* died, his eldest son was generally appointed as his successor, in accordance with the principle of heredity of tenure of these authority positions. This principle had become generally adhered to and set limitations on those qualifying for appointment. Nevertheless, in these cases, as well as in cases of the deceased having no male descendants, al-Bakrī, before making any appointment, would require evidence justifying the expectation that the office would not become inoperative through the limited legitimacy of its potential incumbent. Acceptable evidence was a petition to al-Bakrī, drawn up at a meeting of *ṭarīqa* officials and members and signed by them, asking for the appointment of a particular candidate as head of the *ṭarīqa* to which they belonged.¹⁰

If other factions within the *ṭarīqa* protested to al-Bakrī against the proposed candidate before the formal appointment, this might result in hearings of all involved in order to establish which of the candidates could hold office with the greatest degree of legitimacy. If protests reached him only after the formal

8 This period started in 1769, when 'Alī Bek al-Kabīr broke the power of the Hawwāra tribe whose *shaykh*, the *amīr* Hummām b. Yūsuf exercised absolute control over the region between Asyūṭ and Aswān. Within the *pāshālik* of Egypt the territory controlled by the *amīr* functioned very similarly to an *iltizām*; cf. Rivlin, 25; and Shaw/Huseyn, 141.

9 Cf. Rivlin, 22.

10 Cf. F. Or. A. 283, I-85/2 (8 Qa'da 1288); V-35(15)/1 (9 Jum. II 1297); IV-3/3 (n.d.; 1288).

appointment had been made, hearings might still be held and result in deposition of the newly appointed head and the investiture of somebody else in his place.¹¹

The heads of the *ṭuruq* were highly dependent upon al-Bakrī in their dealings with the government agencies. Those heads who received customary stipends from the *Rūznāma* Department,¹² or who were entitled to payments out of the proceeds from *awqāf khayrīyya*, could not receive these payments except by his mediation.¹³ He represented them in dealings with the government agencies and in the case of death of a benefactor, payments to a successor would not be resumed unless death and legal succession were confirmed by al-Bakrī.¹⁴ When the rights of the heads of *ṭuruq* legally entitled to such payments were infringed upon, he would intervene on behalf of the victimized with the government agencies.¹⁵

The emergence of the principle of *qadam* had left three options to the heads of the *ṭuruq* who did not control assets or receive stipends or payments out of the revenues of *awqāf* or from *al-Rūznāma*. Firstly, they could accept al-Bakrī's authority over them, with all that this implied. Secondly, they could place themselves under the jurisdiction of the heads of one of the *ṭuruq* who had accepted al-Bakrī's authority from the beginning. This was a realistic choice for the heads of *ṭuruq* of local significance wishing to evade the limitations set to the expan-

11 1-19/3 (1 Rab. II 1287); v-23 (3)/1 (14 Şaf. 1297).

12 For a discussion of the history of this Department and its functioning see Deny, *Sommaire*, 131 ff. It was through this Department that after 1815 when Muḥammad 'Alī had completed his agricultural reforms by which, amongst others, all *awqāf* lands were confiscated and the *iltizām* system was abolished, periodical amounts were paid in compensation to the former owners, concessionaries and other beneficiaries; cf. Deny, *Sommaire*, 138; Rivlin, 58. Some of the *zawāyā* and *takāyā* in Cairo benefiting from such periodical payments are listed by 'Alī Mubārak in his *Khīṭaṭ*. See in particular the relevant sections in volume VI. I have not been able to collect materials shedding light upon the degree to which Muḥammad 'Alī's measures affected the financial basis of the *ṭuruq*.

13 1-24/3 (25 Rab. II 1287); III-16/1 (8 Jum. I 1290); v-9 (16)/5 (10 Raj. 1296); v-38 (18)/5 (14 Raj. 1297).

14 1-63/2 (17 Rab. II 1288); III-16/1 (8 Jum. I 1290).

15 v-34 (14)/2 (9 Jum. II 1297). Sometimes al-Bakrī mediated on behalf of the heads of the *ṭuruq* under his jurisdiction within spheres of interest not related to their *ṭarīqa* leadership or to *taṣawwuf* in any way; see e.g. 1-2/6 (26 Muḥ. 1287), referring to al-Bakrī's mediation concerning landed interests of the head of al-Rifā'iyya; 1-67/7 (5 Jum. II 1288), a request to the provincial governor of Jirjā to collect a debt on behalf of the head of al-Minūfiyya (al-Manāyifa); 1-68/3 (7 Jum. II 1288) for al-Bakrī's mediation in a conflict about the irrigation of land belonging to the head of al-Sa'diyya; III 2/1 (6 Muḥ. 1290); III-2/2 (12 Muḥ. 1290) and 1-45/3 (11 Qa'da 1287) about al-Bakrī's mediation in a conflict about the legacy of the deceased heads of al-Şāwiyya and al-Qādiriyya.

sion of membership by the rise of the principle of *qadam*.¹⁶ Thirdly, they could defy him and remain independent. This alternative, however, was realistic only for the heads of the *ṭuruq* which did not manifest themselves as a group in public, but limited their communal activities to mosques or private houses to which the principle of *qadam* did not apply.¹⁷ Because of their relatively quietist and contemplative orientations, they must have attracted a distinctive membership which allowed them to take the third option without risk of losing members to *ṭuruq* whose main *raison d'être* was appearance in public and participation in celebrations.¹⁸ However, in 1289 (1872), in order to force these groups also to accept al-Bakrī as their supreme head, and to comply with the established practices of the *ṭarīqa* administration, *ḥaḍarāt* in houses became prohibited.¹⁹

Since participation in *mawālīd*, processions on the occasion of Islamic festivals, and holding *ḥaḍarāt* in public places, was only possible under a *khalīfa*—confirmed in office by al-Bakrī—of a *ṭarīqa* with right of *qadam*, potential members must have taken into account whether it had *qadam* or not. Obviously, if it did not have this right, the attractiveness of joining such a *ṭarīqa* was small indeed.

This was even less so in the case of those aspiring to local leadership of a *ṭarīqa*. The most likely course such an aspirant would follow was to try to obtain appointment as *khalīfa* of a *ṭarīqa* whose head recognized al-Bakrī's authority and which had right of *qadam* in the area where the aspirant lived, since this would entitle him to all that right of *qadam* implied, thus providing the indispensable pre-conditions for a successful realization of his aspirations.

Appointments of *khulafā'* were made by the *ṭarīqa*'s head. Requests to make a formal appointment were addressed by the *ṭarīqa*'s members to the head of the order²⁰ or to al-Bakrī, who forwarded the address to the head.²¹ Once an appointment had been made, it was confirmed and certified by al-Bakrī,²² who would only do so if he had evidence that the legality of the authority granted

16 This was, for instance, the case with two Burhāmiyya orders, al-Shamūbiyya and al-Shahāwiyya. The heads of these orders do not seem to have had any formal link with the main *ṭarīqa*, headed by the 'Āshūr family, until the rise of the principle of *qadam*. Their history will be discussed below.

17 Among these were Naqshbandiyya and Khalwatiyya groups.

18 These are referred to by al-Jabartī as "*ṭarā'iq sūriyya*"; cf. *Ajā'ib*, iv, 165. For further details about these celebrations, see below page 54 ff.

19 II-19/2 (11 Raj. 1289).

20 IV-1/2–2/1 (n.d.; 1288); IV-7/5 (28 Rab. II 1290).

21 III-14/2 (16 Rab. II 1290); IV-2/2 (n.d.; 1288).

22 *Ibid.* and e.g. I-19/3 (beginning of Rab. II 1287).

would not remain ineffective because of a lack of legitimacy.²³ Should anybody be appointed contrary to the wish of those over whom he held authority and the decision was accepted by the head of the *ṭarīqa*, members could protest to al-Bakrī. He, in his turn, would order his *wakīl* to make a public inquiry and endeavour to bring about a settlement.²⁴

If the head of a *ṭarīqa* intended to appoint a *khalīfa* in an area where there had been no such official previously, or if he wanted to appoint an additional official in an area where his *ṭarīqa* had *khulafā'* already, he had to obtain al-Bakrī's permission beforehand.²⁵ In the first case, possible rights of *qadam* of other *ṭuruq* in the area were checked. In the second case it was the administrative desirability of appointing an additional *khalīfa* that was scrutinized. Appointment would not be confirmed by al-Bakrī unless it appeared that a substantial expansion of membership had taken place, justifying the expectation that the new authority position would be viable without endangering the position of the other *khulafā'* in the area by drawing members away from them.

These *khulafā'*, before their confirmation as *khulafā'* within al-Bakrī's administration, were already *khulafā'* in a different way. Namely, as had been customary among the *ṭuruq* for centuries, by virtue of carrying an *ijāza*, issued to them by their own spiritual guide, which contained the latter's permission to initiate and guide novices.²⁶ Those who were *khulafā'* only in the latter sense, fell entirely under the jurisdiction of those who were first and foremost *khulafā'* within al-Bakrī's administration.

Possession of an *ijāza* served as proof of being a religious dignitary. This, at times, entitled its owner to distinct privileges, like exemption from military service, from corvée and from the travel restrictions²⁷ imposed upon the rural population,²⁸ and also to tax privileges²⁹ and preferential treatment while enlisted

23 1-20/8 (13 Rab. 11 1287); 1-66/4 (14 Jum. 1 1288).

24 1-47/3 (15 Hījja 1287).

25 1-76/7 (3 Shaw. 1288).

26 For a description of an *ijāza*, see Kahle, 'Zur Organisation', 156 f. For a German translation of an Ahmadiyya *ijāza* and a discussion of its contents, see E. Kümmerer, 'Die Ahmadiyya. Beiträge zur Kenntnis eines ägyptischen Derwischordens', Diss. Tübingen (Phil. Fac.) 1953 (unpublished), *passim*.

27 These privileges were abolished around 1290. See III-14/4 (24 Rab. 1 1290); III-19/3 (7 Raj. 1290); IV-20 (11)/4 (11 Jum. 11 1290); IV-21 (12)/1 (2 Rab. 11 1290).

28 The *ijāzā* in their possession served here as their *laissez-passer*; cf. IV-20 (11) /4 (11 Jum. 11 1290).

29 Tax privileges were enjoyed by al-Bakrī (cf. 1-9/3 (24 Šaf. 1287)) as well as by all other recognized religious leaders; cf. F. Or. A. 284, III-7 (11 Raj. 1301). In addition, al-Bakrī himself was notably exempted from house-tax ('*awā'id al-amlāk*'), from taxes on land sold, as well as from taxes on its products; cf. F. Or. A. 283, 1-7/2 (18 Šaf. 1287), 1-9/1, 2, 3 (24 Šaf. 1287).

in the army.³⁰ Because of this it is not surprising that a trade in *ijāzāt* developed³¹ or even that *ijāzāt* were issued in which more privileges were promised and rights claimed for its bearer than would be granted by the government,³² seemingly to increase their commercial value. At times al-Bakrī, and also the heads of the *ṭuruq*, took action against this phenomenon by restricting the category of those to whom *ijāzāt* might be issued and by giving rules respecting their content.³³

It must have been about this time that, in order to allow an inspection of the contents of *ijāzāt* for compliance with these rules by the heads of the *ṭuruq*, ratification by the latter, in addition to ratification by the *khulafāʾ* who issued these documents, by means of providing them with their signature or seal, became a requirement if an *ijāzā* was to have any validity.³⁴

In every province where a *ṭarīqa* had *khulafāʾ*, the head of the *ṭarīqa* could appoint a *nāʾib*. Here a procedure identical to that by which a *khalīfa* was appointed was followed.³⁵ The *nāʾib* could not claim legality unless al-Bakrī had

-
- 30 Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Surūjī, *Al-Jaysh al-Miṣrī fī l-Qarn al-Tāsīʿ Ashar*, Cairo 1967, does not mention anything about a temporary exemption of *khulafāʾ* from conscription. Indeed this may not have been a practice sanctioned by an official government decree. Nevertheless this practice must have existed in 1290 (1873/4), otherwise it would be difficult to understand why the *Majlis al-Khuṣūṣī* instructed al-Bakrī to take action in order to prevent the issue of *ijāzāt* to enlisted soldiers; cf. IV-20(11)/4 (11 Jum. 11 1290). A likely explanation for the government's initiative in this respect would seem to be its desire to eliminate any possibility that conscripts could use *ijāzāt* issued to them as evidence in order to obtain recognition as religious dignitaries, which would allow them to obtain discharge from the army.
- 31 At a meeting of a number of heads of the *ṭuruq* and *wukalāʾ* convened by al-Bakrī on 27 Jumādā 11 1289 (2 Sept. 1872), a number of decisions were taken aiming at the reduction of this phenomenon. The issue of blank *ijāzāt* and the issue of *ijāzāt* to unknown persons (by mediation of somebody else or by mail) was prohibited. Whenever the *wukalāʾ* of al-Bakrī came across a suspect *ijāzā* they had to send it to him; cf. III-19/2, 3 (8 Raj. 1290).
- 32 IV-20(11)/4 (11 Jum. 11 1290).
- 33 Cf. II-19/2 (11 Raj. 1289) and III-19/2, 3 (8 Raj. 1290).
- 34 Cf. P. Kahle, 'Zur Organisation', 157, and also chapter 4, pp. 158ff. and notes. Before this era established practice seems to have been that an *ijāza* issued to a newly appointed *khalīfa* was ratified by a number of *khulafāʾ*, belonging to the principal *ṭuruq* active in the area where the *khalīfa* was to become active. Therewith he was recognized by the established *khulafāʾ* as their equal, while it also gave a dimension of legality to his leadership; cf. MS Leiden Or. 12.584, being an *ijāzā* of an Aḥmadiyya branch issued by a certain Ibrāhīm ʿUwaysī to Ḥasan Khalīfa b. Khalīfa in 'Arab al-Raml (al-Gharbiyya) dated 25 Dhū l-Hijja 1259. Elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, practice seems to have been similar at times, as is suggested by the *ijāzāt* MSS Leiden Or. 12.496; and 12.497 (Ar. 3974).
- 35 For requests by members of a *ṭarīqa* for the appointment of a *nāʾib* see I-19/3 (1 Rab. 11 1287); I-44/2 (26 Shaw. 1287); I-44/6 (1 Šaf. 1287); I-66/4 (14 Jum. 1 1288); IV-7/5 (28 ab. 1 1291).

confirmed the appointment made by the head of the *ṭarīqa*.³⁶ This office was frequently held by somebody who also held the office of *khālīfa*. The primary task of this official was to see to the proper performance by the *khulafā'* of the duties attached to their office and to report on this, if necessary, to the head of the *ṭarīqa*. He served as the primary link of communication between the *khulafā'* in the province in which he was *nā'ib* and the head of the *ṭarīqa*, and generally had to do everything to protect the interests of the *khulafā'*. Should he not do this, complaints could be presented by those affected by his neglect, either to the head of the *ṭarīqa* or to al-Bakrī. Deposition and the appointment of another person to the office might follow, possibly preceded by an inquiry into the matter, conducted locally by al-Bakrī's *wakīl*.³⁷

These *wukalā'*, generally speaking, had to protect the interests of the *ṭuruq* and see to the proper administration of the shrines (see below p. 60). When a *wakīl* showed himself incapable of this, protests would result from those involved and this could lead to deposition and the appointment of somebody else in his place.³⁸ In addition, a number of the *wukalā'* acted as al-Bakrī's personal representatives in the widest sense, administering lands he owned³⁹ and taking care of his financial interests in general.⁴⁰ The fact that these *wukalā'* used to hold other offices of social importance and high status concomitantly, such as the offices of *qāḍī*, *sartujjār* and *qā'immaqām niqābat al-ashraf*, must have contributed to the effectiveness of the authority they held as representatives of al-Bakrī.⁴¹

36 I-44/6 (1 Ṣaf. 1287); I-76/7 (3 Shaw. 1288).

37 I-72/4 (19 Raj. 1288); II-18/5 (6 Raj. 1289).

38 V-10 (17)/3 (18 Raj. 1296); V-15 (22)/1 (29 Raj. 1296).

39 Amongst others he owned 180 *faddān* in al-Sharqiyya (Dahmishā), 100 *faddān* in al-Āmira and Damallij (al-Minūfiyya), 527 *faddān* in Iḥshawiyya (al-Sharqiyya); 120 *faddān* in Ashmūn (al-Minūfiyya), and 10 *faddān* in al-Buḥayra. All these lands were turned by him into *waqf*; cf. *Khūṭ.*, iii, 124.

40 I-17/3 (19 Rab. I 1287); I-18/6 (19 Rab. I 1287); II-15/6 (10 Jum. I 1289).

41 In II-19/2 (11 Raj. 1289) the following *wukalā'* are mentioned together with the offices additionally held by them: 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Khādīm, *qā'immaqām al-niqāba* in the Taghr of Rashīd; Muḥammad al-Imām, *shaykh* (i.e. supreme intendant) of the mosque of Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā; Muḥammad Efendī Mūrū, *qā'immaqām al-niqāba* in the Taghr of Alexandria; 'Alī al-'Ulaylī, *wakīl* (no other occupation mentioned) in the Taghr of Dimyāt; the *qāḍī* of the province of al-Qalyūbiyya (no name given); Muḥammad al-Bayyūmī, *wakīl* (no other occupation given) in Suways; 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *qāḍī* of the *bandar* of al-Manṣūra, and the *sartujjār* in the *bandar* of al-Zaqāziq (no name given). In V-24(4)/1 (15 Ṣaf. 1297) 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū l-Ḥasan is mentioned as *wakīl* of al-Bakrī and *qā'immaqām al-niqāba* in Būr Sa'īd.

There is some indication of a tendency towards monopolization of the office of *wakīl* (sometimes in combination with other offices) within the same family; cf. II-14/3 (23 Rab.

Wukalā' were appointed by al-Bakrī, who made such appointments without much consultation with the *ṭuruq* officials in the area concerned.⁴² For this, indeed, there was little reason because it was primarily loyalty to al-Bakrī which was demanded. Moreover, as his agents, their authority was merely an extension of his own and, therefore, the degree of legitimacy of their authority was a function of the degree of legitimacy of his own authority.

With respect to all the other authority positions within the *ṭuruq* administration, and to the positions of *khulafā'* in particular, care was taken to assure legitimacy of tenure, as already referred to above. This was, indeed, fundamental to the maintenance of the system, since when a person could legitimately hold the office of *khalīfa*, it not only meant that he had been recognized as such by those over whom he held authority, it also meant that the legitimacy of the system to which this official owed his office—and of which it was part—was confirmed by those to whom this system owed its existence. Implicitly, this was a confirmation of the legitimacy of the principle of *qadam*, without which the administrative system would not have taken the shape it assumed, and which would not have become a principle significant for the relationships between the various *ṭuruq* and, to a large extent, regulating their activities, without an administration under centralized authority.

However, the prestige attached to the office of *khalīfa* was not exclusively dependent upon the fact that it was an integral part of the administration. It was a function of the number of *khulafā'* a *ṭarīqa* had in a specific area, as well as of the degree in which they were held in reverence by the local government officials. These, therefore, were required to show due respect for the *ṭarīqa* officials and had to assist them in the exercise of their duties.⁴³

For the incumbents of the office of *nā'ib*, who, in addition to their task as liaison officers between the head of the *ṭarīqa* and the local *khulafā'*, had to supervise the *khulafā'*'s proper task performance, legitimacy of authority was not derived from recognition by common members, but primarily from the fact that a *ṭarīqa*'s *khulafā'* in a province had accepted a particular person as *nā'ib* over them.⁴⁴

The presence of a *nā'ib* in any province depended entirely upon whether or not a *ṭarīqa* had officially recognized *khulafā'* in that area. This would only

1 1289), for the succession of the *wakīl* in Rashīd by a brother; v-22(2)/1 (8 Şaf. 1297) for the succession of the *wakīl* in al-Daqahliyya by his son, who was succeeded subsequently by his brother; cf. v-39(19)/3 (20 Raj. 1297).

42 v-22(2)/1 (8 Şaf. 1297); v-39(19)/3 (20 Raj. 1297).

43 I-5/3 (10 Şaf. 1287); IV-16(8)/4 (2 Muḥ. 1290).

44 I-44/2 (26 Shaw. 1287); I-44/6 (29 Shaw. 1289).

be the case when a *ṭarīqa* had right of *qadam*. Therefore, the existence of the office of *nā'ib* was due to the importance of the principle of right of *qadam* to the administration. Hence, the legitimacy of *nuwwāb*, similar to the legitimacy of the *khulafā'*, was an expression of agreement with the principle of right of *qadam* and, as such, a confirmation of the legitimacy of the whole administrative system.

Since *khulafā'* and *nuwwāb* all owed their authority positions to the fact that the principle of *qadam* had become the main structural principle of the administration, they had every reason to comply with the dependency-relationship that the head of their *ṭarīqa* had with al-Bakrī, as was implied by the very recognition of his authority. Since anybody recognizing al-Bakrī's authority at the same time recognized the principle of *qadam*, and therefore its legality, voluntary subordination to the head of a *ṭarīqa* who had done so also meant adherence to this principle.

To prevent confusion about rights of *qadam* and disfunctioning of the administration, *khulafā'* and *nuwwāb* were not allowed to hold office in, or to be a member of, more than one *ṭarīqa*.⁴⁵ Exclusive commitment was demanded from them, unlike that of ordinary members. These, however, if not actually forbidden to do so,⁴⁶ were restricted in practice from being active members in more than one *ṭarīqa* by the principle of *qadam*.

No formal restrictions existed with respect to membership of a *ṭarīqa* which had no *qadam* in the area in which the member lived.⁴⁷ However, this practice cannot have been common, since in this situation the link of a *murīd* with his *khalīfa* had no meaning within the *ṭuruq* administration. The *khalīfa* whose *ṭarīqa* had no *qadam* in the area in which his *murīd* was resident could not intervene on behalf of the *murīd* in cases of dispute, nor could he legally mediate and claim preferential treatment for him in case of detention

45 II-13/4 (4 Rab. II 1289); II-14/1 (Rab. II 1289); V-8(15)/7 (6 Raj. 1296).

46 On multiple membership, which implied submission to more than one spiritual master, divergent opinions are held by various authors; cf. Al-Sayyid b. Aḥmad al-Sayyid 'Imrān, *Al-Tuḥaf al-Imrāniyya*, Cairo n.d. (1970), 16 f. Generally, however, it was disapproved of; cf. C.E. Farah, 'Social implications of a Sufi disciple's etiquette', in F. Rundgren (ed.), *Proceedings of the 6th Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Stockholm/Leiden 1975, 53. Nevertheless, it was a very common phenomenon as is amply shown by the many references to the multiple *ṭarīqa* membership of *ṭarīqa* founders throughout the present study. Ethical and practical issues involved are discussed in 'Su'āl: Hal yajūzu li-man akhadha 'alā Shaykh an yadhhaba ilā Ghayrihi'. Alexandria Municipal Library, MS nūn 3159 jīm (collection).

47 Cf. V-9 (16)/1 (6 Raj. 1296).

and suit in court.⁴⁸ This would not be tolerated since the *murīd* was not considered to be under his jurisdiction.

Another factor discouraging this form of membership must have been that members of a *ṭarīqa* without *qadam* in their area could not be active in public there unless their activities were staged under the supervision of a *khalīfa* of a *ṭarīqa* which had *qadam*. Hence, this made them very dependent upon *khulafā'* of a *ṭarīqa* to which they did not belong.⁴⁹

3 The *Ṭuruq* Administration and the Government

To the government, al-Bakrī's administration provided clearly identifiable officials—the *khulafā'* and the *nuwwāb*—who were more suited to dealing effectively with the mass of *ṭuruq* members, according to the rules proper to the realm itself, than was the as yet inadequate government bureaucracy.⁵⁰ In addition, the government could control the organization of other religious celebrations and *mawālīd* through these officials, who, very conveniently, could be held responsible for the proper behaviour of those participating in these celebrations as well as for the orderly performance during *ḥaḍarāt* on these and other occasions. Hence, for the government, al-Bakrī's administration had become advantageous. Therefore, the principle on which this administration was centred, and which accounted for the fact that it had developed into a system which met the State's administrative needs, was not only recognized by the government, but an active role in safeguarding this principle was also played by its agencies, which could be called upon by al-Bakrī to counter any violation of it.

Indeed, no violation of rights of *qadam* could be tolerated,⁵¹ since once such a precedent had been set, it might lead the heads of the *ṭuruq* to lose confidence in al-Bakrī's protection of their territorial interests. It would weaken an important incentive for accepting al-Bakrī's authority and might lead them to an independent course, which, if done by a sufficient number, would make it hard to maintain right of *qadam*. Should this principle be abandoned it would open the way to an increase in the number of *khulafā'* in the various areas,

48 1-35/2 (11 Shaw. 1287) and 1-37/2 (23 Shaw. 1287).

49 1-5/3 (10 Shaw. 1287); IV-17 (8)/4 (2 Muḥ. 1290).

50 For the same reasons the government was interested in keeping the guild system intact; cf. Baer, *Guilds*, 107.

51 'Alī Mubārak does not speak about the principle of right of *qadam* but mentions it implicitly when he writes "*wa li-kulli ṭarīqa jihāt ma'lūma lā tatajāwazuhā*"; *Khiṭ.*, iii, 134.

which would imply that authority would no longer be held over units of a size that made them practicable as vehicles of government administration. Therefore, al-Bakrī's administration in conjunction with the government agencies, would take action in the case of violation of *qadam*, not only because it meant a violation of their conjoint interests, but also since the disputes among the various *ṭuruq*, which might be the outcome, would endanger the proper functioning of society.

4 Conflicts about Right of *Qadam* and Their Resolution

A dispute about *qadam* would commonly emerge when a *khalīfa* entered an area where his *ṭarīqa* had no right of *qadam*, and either started to initiate new members, stage *ḥaḍarāt* or take part in the celebrations of minor *mawālid* in that area.⁵² This was considered to be the most flagrant violation. However, a considerable time could elapse, sometimes amounting to years, before action would be taken against the intruding *ṭarīqa*, which by then might have attracted considerable membership. This delay might be the result of the decline of the section of the *ṭarīqa* which had right of *qadam* in the area after the death of its local *khalīfa*, combined with the neglect and indifference of the local authorities in the matter. A revival of the *ṭarīqa* at this level would then go together with claims for right of *qadam* and appropriate action to obtain it.⁵³ When al-Bakrī's administration developed, conflicts arising in this way seem to have declined. These conflicts could also be dealt with in court,⁵⁴ but preference was given to arbitration by a council of *ṭuruq* officials, sometimes extending to *mashāyikh* and *ʿumad* of the area where the conflict had emerged.⁵⁵ Witnesses would be heard in court proceedings, just as they would in cases of arbitration by this council.⁵⁶ In addition, testimony from the heads of the *ṭuruq* claiming *qadam* in an area would be demanded by al-Bakrī,⁵⁷ who could also instruct one of his *wukalāʾ* in the provinces to carry out an investigation.⁵⁸

52 I-45/2 (8 Qa'da 1287); I-47/4 (28 Qa'da 1287); I-72/5 (19 Raj. 1288).

53 I-17/7 & 18/1 (24 Rab. I 1287); V-9 (16)/1 (6 Raj. 1296).

54 I-31/4 (21 Raj. 1287); I-53/2 (20 Şaf. 1288); II-35/2 (13 Qa'da 1289).

55 V-49/2 (10 Muḥ. 1287); V-51/7 (8 Qa'da 1287).

56 I-59/2 (18 Rab. I 1288).

57 II-20/4 (19 Raj. 1289); III-1/1 (2 Muḥ. 1290); IV-17(8) (2 Muḥ. 1290); III-9/1 (24 Rab. I 1290); V-35 (15)/2 (15 Jum. II 1297).

58 I-59/2 (18 Rab. I 1288); I-65/2 (25 Rab. II 1288). Sometimes preference was given to the provincial governor carrying out such an investigation; cf. I-45/2 (8 Qa'da 1287) and I-72/5 (19 Raj. 1288). It is not clear when this was preferred.

Wukalā', however, could not enforce *qadam*, nor could the local *khulafā'*, since they lacked the power-means to do so. They could only see to it that, once the rights of *qadam* had been established, everything was done by the *shaykh al-nāḥiya*, the *umda* and the local *ma'mūr* to enforce and maintain these rights.⁵⁹

Indeed, maintenance of right of *qadam*, and therefore maintenance of al-Bakrī's authority, and hence the whole *ṭuruq* administration, depended upon the active intervention of these officials representing a government which had recognized it as useful to its administration, and was therefore obliged to act in its support.

5 The *Ashrāf* as *Ṭarīqa* Officials

Khulafā' of sharifian descent were in an exceptional position, since if they infringed the right of *qadam* of a particular *ṭarīqa*, no official action could be taken against them. It was felt that to do so contravened the respect to which *ashrāf* were entitled.⁶⁰ This, together with the fact that restriction on movement of inhabitants of rural areas did not apply to them,⁶¹ made *khulafā'* of sharifian descent the main proselytizing agents of the various *ṭuruq*.

In the case of disputes about *qadam* involving *ashrāf* al-Bakrī would be informed and would verify the legality of the claims made.⁶² In order to do so, he could ask the provincial *naqīb* in whose area a dispute occurred to investigate the matter and inform him of the outcome.⁶³ If the claim was substantiated he would instruct local government officials to take steps in order to prevent obstruction of the *ashrāf* involved.⁶⁴

Thus, the particular role *ashrāf* had come to play as important proselytizing agents, was a direct consequence of the emergence of the principle of *qadam* as the central value of al-Bakrī's administration. This development had proportionately increased the significance of the provincial *nuqabā'* since now, in addition to the role they had played with respect to the administration of the shrines in the provinces since the days of 'Alī al-Bakrī's predecessor, they had also come to be instrumental in the administration of the *ṭuruq*. This was fur-

59 I-53/2 (20 Şaf. 1288); I-59/1 (18 Rab. I 1288); v-1(8)/l, 2 (19 Ram. 1296).

60 I-17/2 (13 Rab. I 1287); I-50/6 (28 Muḥ. 1288); I-68/5 (17 Jum. II 1288); II-36/6 (14 Qa'da 1288).

61 v-49/2 (10 Muḥ. 1287); I-2/4 (20 Muḥ. 1287); II-4/2 (13 Şaf. 1290); v-22 (2)/2 (8 Şaf. 1297); v-23 (3)/2 (15 Şaf. 1297); v-29 (9)/l (14 Rab. I 1297).

62 I-50/6 (28 Muḥ. 1288); I-72/3 (18 Raj. 1288); II-2/6 (9 Muḥ. 1289).

63 I-17/2 (13 Rab. I 1287); II-36/2 (28 Qa'da 1289).

64 I-50/6 (28 Muḥ. 1288); I-72/3 (18 Raj. 1288); II-2/6 (9 Muḥ. 1289); II-32/8 (1 Qa'da 1289).

ther shown by the fact that some of the provincial *nuqabā'* held the office of *wakīl* within the administration at the same time (see p. 45 f. and note 41).

That the provincial *nuqabā'* had ceased to be appointed for terms of one year only, seems to have been of some significance in bringing about this state of affairs.⁶⁵ These officials had come to hold this office for a much longer period, which gave a certain permanency to the authority exercised by its incumbents and made a further integration with al-Bakrī's administration worthwhile.⁶⁶

6 Conflicts Not Related to *Qadam*

Besides disputes about *qadam*, conflicts occurred between *ṭuruq* with equal rights of *qadam* in an area owing to the competitive relationship they had with each other. *Khulafā'* and members of one *ṭarīqa* might oppose and obstruct activities of another, e.g. participation in a *mawkiḅ*.⁶⁷ Complaints about such events reached al-Bakrī directly or through one of the officials already mentioned.⁶⁸ Any one of these could also be charged with carrying out an inquiry and with taking measures in order to reach a settlement.⁶⁹ Once this had been achieved, a *maḥḍar* would be drawn up and sent to him and he would inform the provincial governor, who had to see to the enactment of the settlement agreed upon.⁷⁰ Here, in particular, the *ḥākim al-khuṭṭ*⁷¹ seems to have been of vital importance,⁷² since he controlled movement within his district (*khuṭṭ*), i.e. between the *nawāḥī* (cantons), *bilād* (villages) and *ḥiṣaṣ* (sections of a village).

Deposition of *ṭuruq* officials, who did not fulfil their duties, was entirely within the jurisdiction of the heads of the *ṭuruq*.⁷³ Other sanctions which might

65 See chapter 1, note 164. Exactly when this trend started is not known.

66 Sometimes these offices tended to stay within the same family. See e.g. II-14/3 (23 Ram. 1289), for the transfer of the office of *naqīb* in Rashīd within the same family. The office of *naqīb* of al-Gharbiyya province was held by members of the Qaṣabī family in Ṭanṭā. Its incumbent combined this office with the office of *imām* and *khaṭīb* of the Aḥmadi mosque. He also looked after the financial interests of the Bakrī family in this area, as is abundantly shown by the documents in the series F. Or. A. 283 and 285.

67 I-28/8 (27 Jum. I 1287); V-12 (19)/5 (21 Ram. 1296).

68 I-80/1 (25 Sha'bān 1288); V-2 (9)/5 (21 Ram. 1296); V-32 (12)/2 (29 Jum. II 1297); V-41 (20)/2 (14 Sha'bān 1297).

69 I-67/3 (21 Jum. I 1288); II-2/7 (9 Muḥ. 1289); V-32 (12)/2 (28 Rab. II 1297).

70 II-8/2 (1 Ram. 1289); V-11 (18)/4 (22 Raj. 1296); V-32 (12)/2 (28 Rab. II 1297).

71 For a discussion of this office see Rivlin, 92 ff.

72 I-78/4 (11 Sha'bān 1288).

73 I-47/3 (15 Ḥijja 1287); II-18/5 (6 Raj. 1289).

be involved were expulsion from the *ṭarīqa*,⁷⁴ and temporary prohibition from participating on public occasions.⁷⁵ Generally, al-Bakrī would abstain from interference in the internal affairs of the *ṭuruq*, notably in disputes between members or *khulafāʾ* belonging to the same *ṭarīqa*, for which right of jurisdiction was reserved for its head. When, however, sanctions administered by the head of the *ṭarīqa* aroused indignation and jeopardized the effectiveness of the administration, al-Bakrī would intervene by instructing his *wakīl* to arrange for hearings by a council of *ṭarīqa* officials.⁷⁶

7 The *Mawālīd* and the *Ṭuruq*

The relevance that al-Bakrī's administration had for the government led its agents to take an active interest in its proper functioning. For this, it was essential that the various offices remained occupied and operative. Therefore, whenever a *ṭarīqa* official neglected his duties, or when an office of *khalīfa* or *nāʾib* had been unoccupied for some time and the *murīdūn* had made no request to appoint a new official, the government agents—notably the provincial governor and the local *qāḍī*—would do so.⁷⁷ This seldom happened, however, particularly in respect to the office of *khalīfa*; the vacancy of the office of *khalīfa* would set considerable restrictions on the activity of the *murīdūn*. Therefore, it was in their interest to prevent any delay in the presentation of a request for appointment of a new *khalīfa* over them.

Vacancy of the office of *khalīfa* had little bearing on the functioning of the *ṭarīqa* at the level of weekly routine, since the weekly *ḥaḍarāt* did not necessarily have to take place in public—either in a mosque or in the open—but could be held in private houses where the presence of such an official was not required. However, it did have serious implications for an area of activity crucial to the *ṭuruq*: the *mawālīd*.

The responsibility of celebrating the *mawālīd* was considered to rest above all with the *khulafāʾ*, both by the wider society as well as by the members of the *ṭuruq*.⁷⁸ These celebrations consisted of processions of the *ṭuruq*—with their

74 DWQ (unclassified) 141 (23 Şaf. 1279); I-63/1 (15 Rab. II 1288).

75 I-60/7 (28 Rab. I 1288); I-78/4 (11 Shaʿbān 1288); V-34 (14)/5 (9 Jum. I 1297).

76 I-47/3 (15 Hījja 1287).

77 II-18/4 (6 Raj. 1289).

78 For the *khulafāʾ* themselves the most generally accepted ultimate ethical justification of the effort they made in organizing the celebrations of *mawālīd* seems to have been that they did so as a *khidma li-l-nabī*, a service performed out of love for the Prophet; cf. IV-2/2 (n.d.; 1288).

banners and other attributes⁷⁹—of public *ḥaḍarāt*, sometimes in tents erected for this purpose near the shrine of the saint whose *mawlid* was celebrated, and of *khadamāt*, i.e. the free distributions of food and drink.⁸⁰

These were the main occasions on which a *ṭarīqa* or the local lodge of a *ṭarīqa* could manifest itself to the wider society and draw new members. But, what was even more important, this communal engagement in a variety of activities during the *mawālīd*, in accordance with the expectations of a wider society and approved by it, served as a self-confirmation to the members of the *ṭarīqa*. This was the *ṭarīqa* which, since it was only allowed to manifest itself as a group in public under a *khalīfa*, officially confirmed as such by al-Bakrī, could not attain this transcendental level when the office was vacant or when its incumbent was inactive.

To conduct celebrations of *mawālīd* of local significance was generally a right of the incumbent of a saint's shrine. He could be a *khalīfa* at the same time, in which case intendency of the shrine, as well as the right to conduct the *mawlid* celebrations, might become considered as part of the right of *qadam* of his *ṭarīqa*.⁸¹ The right to conduct *mawlid* celebrations would definitely account for part of a *khalīfa's* right of *qadam* in an area, if he could provide evidence that members of his *ṭarīqa* had been organizing a particular *mawlid* prior to anyone else.⁸²

Disputes might emerge about the right to conduct celebrations, in particular when payments involved came out of *awqāf* revenues or from other sources in order to meet the expenses on these occasions. These would be dealt with similarly to the way in which disputes about *qadam* were handled.⁸³

It was possible for a person who had the right to conduct the celebration of a *mawlid* to cede this right to somebody else. This, however, was not considered a personal affair but something which was the concern of the whole community. Therefore the *mashāyikh* of the area had to agree with the intended change and meetings of the local government officials and other notables might be convened in order to reach such a decision.⁸⁴

79 These were collectively referred to as *'udda* and were considered as the symbols of office-bearing and as indispensable to proper task-performance; cf. IV-1/2–21 (n.d. 1288). For an enumeration of these attributes see chapter 1, note 8; cf. chapter 3, p. 100 f. for additional information concerning other occasions in which the participation of *khulafā'* depended upon the possession of these attributes.

80 For other meanings of this term, see below note 170.

81 II-31/1 (14 Shaw. 1289).

82 Ibid.

83 II-15/3 (9 Jum. I 1289).

84 I-64/1 (22 Rab. II 1288).

Anybody who wanted to conduct celebrations of a *mawlid* had to ask permission of al-Bakrī some time in advance. After the applicant's rights had been checked and found valid, al-Bakrī would inform the governor of the province in which the *mawlid* was to take place that he had no objection and he would request him to give permission for the *mawlid* to be held.⁸⁵ That is, it finally depended on the permission of the provincial governor whether or not a *mawlid* could take place.

Although permission would generally be granted, it was nevertheless more than a mere formality. Many *mawālid* attracted visitors from a wide area⁸⁶ involving migration of substantial numbers of people who would be unproductive for the time they attended the celebrations. Therefore, permission might not be granted when the celebrations were not compatible with requirements for the proper tilling of the fields, current corvée duties, or for reasons of public health.⁸⁷ When, notwithstanding such impediments, permission to hold a *mawlid* was granted, the number of attendants could be limited by a refusal to lift the travel restrictions existent in the countryside. It seems, however, that such restrictions were frequently relaxed and that it had even become customary to allow for a limited freedom of movement, which had to be respected by the *mashāyikh al-nawāhī*.⁸⁸

Care was taken by al-Bakrī and the heads of the *turuq* in conjunction with the provincial governorates that the celebrations of these *mawālid* did not coincide.⁸⁹ The provincial governorates contributed to the costs of the celebrations⁹⁰ and also occasionally provided decorations and fireworks.⁹¹

85 II-64/1 (17 Jum. I 1289); II-18/3 (27 Jum. II 1289); V-30 (10)/3 (2 Rab. II 1297). See also *Khit.*, iii, 134.

86 During most of the *mawālid* markets were held; cf. A. von Kremer, *Aegypten*, ii vols., Leipzig 1863, vol. ii, 223.

87 DWQ, *daftar* 1882 *h* 3 (*awāmīr*), p. 420, *mus.* 77 (28 Ram. 1271); *idem.*, p. 511, *mus.* 883 (2 Qa'da 1271); *idem.*, p. 573, *mus.* 1165 (20 Hija 1271).

88 IV-7/1 (14 Rab. I 1289). For a governmental decree giving temporary freedom of movement (without *tadhākīr murūr*) for those who wished to attend the *mawlid* of Aḥmad al-Badawī and the *mawlid* of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī prior to 'Alī al-Bakrī's term of office, see DWQ, *daftar* 38 (Ma'īyya Turkī), *mus.* 231/232 (15 Muḥ. 1245).

89 II-14/7-15/1 (7 Jum. I 1289); III-16/3 (10 Jum. I 1290); V-5 (12)/4 (5 Jum. II 1296); V-31 (11)/4 (20 Rab. II 1297).

90 DWQ, *daftar* 1899 *h* 2 (*awāmīr*), p. 13, *mus.* 34 (27 Raj. 1278): permission to *mudiriyyat* Qinā and Isnā' to spend 7700 *qirsh* on the *mawlid* of 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Qināwī; DWQ, *daftar* 1899 *h* 2 (*awāmīr*), p. 109, *mus.* 72 (17 Shaw. 1278): khediival order to the governor of Rawḍat al-Baḥrayn (this province became part of al-Minūfiyya and al-Gharbiyya; cf. Deny, 483) to spend 2937 *qirsh* on the small *mawlid* of Aḥmad al-Badawī and the small *mawlid* of al-Disūqī; DWQ, *daftar* 534 (Ma'īyya Turkī), p. 61, *mus.* 1 (7 Shaw. 1279): from the governor of al-Sharqiyya to Ma'īyya, informing him that 7222 *qirsh* had been spent on decorations for

The most famous one was the autumn *mawlid* of Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā which attracted more visitors than any other.⁹² This created a problem of safety which made it the only *mawlid* to which military reinforcements were sent from Cairo, so that public order might be maintained.⁹³

All the *mawālid* of Aḥmad al-Badawī⁹⁴ were attended by al-Bakrī, who made optimal use of his presence by presiding personally over a council which had to investigate and mediate in current disputes⁹⁵ and also by inspecting the way in which his lands in the area were administered by his *wakil*.⁹⁶ On such occasions he received a payment from the *ṣundūq al-Aḥmadī* to meet his expenses in connection with the celebrations.⁹⁷

-
- the *mawlid* of al-Badawī and of al-Disūqī; DWQ, *daftar* 526 (Ma'īyya Turkī), p. 68, *qism* 2 (11 Shaw. 1279); order to *mudīriyyat* al-Gharbiyya to spend 13097 *qirsh* (instead of 5800) on the *mawlid* of Aḥmad al-Badawī and of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī.
- 91 DWQ, *daftar* 1889, p. 3, *mus.* 2 (24 Muḥ. 1274). Permission to *mudīriyyat* al-Daqahliyya to spend 1025 *qirsh* and 21 (*niṣf*) *fiḍda* (*para*) on fireworks at the *mawlid* of 'Aṭīyya al-Bandārī in al-Zaqāzīq. The size of this amount as well as of the amounts mentioned in note 90 appears when compared with the monthly salaries paid to the officials of the Alexandria customs in 1271 (after the rise in emoluments that year) listed by Sāmī, *Taqwīm*, i/3, 93f.: chief intendant -1087,30 *qirsh*; Turkish scribe -599,10 *qirsh*; guardsmen -70 *qirsh*; and the monthly salaries paid in 1273 to medical and semi-medical personnel in the army, where according to rank salaries were paid varying between 500 *qirsh* (*mulāzim thānī*) to 10,000 *qirsh* (*mīrālāy*); cf. *ibid.*, 188. Compare also the monthly salaries paid to provincial officials in 1279 as listed in Sāmī, *ibid.*, i/3, 412f. These varied between 650 and 1100 *qirsh* for secretaries, between 300 and 500 *qirsh* for scribes and were fixed at 60 *qirsh* for doorkeepers and water-carriers.
- 92 Kremer, ii, 221, mentions that the population of Ṭanṭā increased during this *mawlid* from 19,500 to 100,000. Large fairs were held during this *mawlid* and during other *mawālid*; *ibid.*, 233.
- 93 DWQ, *daftar* 534 (Ma'īyya Turkī), p. 61, *mus.* 3 (16 Shaw. 1279).
- 94 Three times yearly a *mawlid* was and still is celebrated, in the middle of January, on or about the vernal equinox, and in autumn after the completion of the harvest. These are known as *al-mawlid al-ṣaghīr*, *al-mawlid al-rajabī* and *al-mawlid al-kabīr*. On the origin of these *mawālid* see *Khīṭ.*, xiii, 50–51. A week after each of these *mawālid*, a *mawlid* of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī is celebrated in the town of Disūq.
- 95 *Khīṭ.*, iii, 134.
- 96 I-5/5, 6 (13 Šaf. 1287); I-52/3 (14 Šaf. 1288); I-62/4 (10 Rab. I 1288); III-2/4 (14 Muḥ. 1290); III-2/6 (24 Muh. 1290).
- 97 I-26/7 (13 Jum. I 1287); I-66/3 (14 Jum. I 1288); III-18/2 (3 Jum. II 1290).

8 The Shrines

A host of officials were attached to the shrines and mosques of Aḥmad al-Badawī and Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī.⁹⁸ All of these had their own rights to a share in the offerings made at these shrines,⁹⁹ as well as to certain revenues from *awqāf* established for their benefit.¹⁰⁰ Supervision of some of these *awqāf* lay either with the *Awqāf* Department or with the private *nuzẓār* who had no other connection with shrine or mosque.¹⁰¹ Moreover, a part of the revenues from the

98 This was equally the case with the larger shrine-mosques. The following categories of officials can be distinguished: 1. *shaykh khidmat al-masjid* or *darīh*: he had the full-time supervision over all who were employed at the establishment. He could also have a *wakil* who then had the same task. 2. Those who were employed at the institution full-time and occupied themselves with *ʿilm*. This category included salaried *aʿimma*, teachers who gave daily lessons (in some mosques only) in order to instruct the general public about their religion, and *ʿulamāʾ* who had to recite al-Bukhārī daily. 3. The same officials mentioned sub 2 but who were only engaged at such an institution once weekly. 4. The *wazāʾif al-daʿwa*, including *muʿadhdhinūn*, *muballighūn*, *miqāṭiyyūn*, and Qurʾān readers who did so daily. 5. Officials who had a function on Friday only, viz. *al-mustaqbil*, *al-muraqqī*, the reader of the *sūrat al-kaḥf*. 6. Those who had a daily function inside a mosque or shrine, viz. supervisors, those enforcing order, those in charge of stores, scribes especially employed for the mosque, servants, those in charge of the lamps and/or candles. 7. Those who had a daily function outside the mosque, viz. the doormen, the guards of the mosque, those in charge of the amenities, those in charge of the waterwheel, “he who has to fill the buckets with water”, “he who is in charge of the *sabil*”, the water carriers, and “those who distribute water”. Cf. Dīwān ʿUmūm al-Awqāf, *Lāʾihat al-Nudhūrāt bi-l-Masājid wa l-Aḍriḥa al-Tābiʿa li-Dīwān ʿUmūm al-Awqāf*, Cairo 1316, 7 ff.

For the various offices at the mosque of al-Ḥusayn in Cairo and an enumeration of the names of those who held these offices in the 19th and early 20th century, see Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī al-Biblāwī, *Al-Taʾrīkh al-Ḥusaynī*, Cairo 1324, 55 ff.

99 Cf. *Taqrīr ʿan Waẓīfat al-Khilāfa bi-l-Maqām al-Aḥmadī*, n.p., n.d. (1898 approx.), *passim*; and *Al-Taqrīr al-Awwal li-Mashyakhāt al-Jāmiʿ al-Aḥmadī*, Cairo 1327, 20, 41.

100 Cf. *Al-Taqrīr al-Awwal li-Mashyakhāt al-Jāmiʿ al-Aḥmadī*, 4, 41; and DMS, *sijill* 9, *mādda* 21, 12 (27 Muḥ. 1265). In the latter document Muḥammad al-Ṭūkhī, Muḥammad al-Ḥifnāwī and Muḥammad al-Qaṣābī are mentioned as beneficiaries of *nudhūr*. The first taught at the Aḥmadī mosque; the second was the one-time *shaykh al-Mālikīyya* to it; the last-named was *shaykh al-ʿulamāʾ* at the same mosque; cf. *Khiṭ.*, xiii, 46 and *Dhikrā Tashrif Sumūw al-Janāb al-ʿĀlī al-Khudaywī l-Muʿazzam ʿAbbās Ḥilmī l-Thānī li-l-Jāmiʿ wa l-Maʿhad al-Aḥmadī*, *sana* 1332, Cairo 1332, 20 f.

101 See e.g. DWQ, *daftar* 1880 (*awāmīr*), p. 184, *mus.* 17/18 (6 Jum. 11 1271) referring to a certain ʿĀrif Bek as *nāẓir waqf al-sayyidayn* (i.e. al-Badawī and al-Disūqī); DWQ, *daftar* 1614 (*ṣādir maʿḥyā*), p. 93, *mus.* 51 (17 Ṣaf. 1272) dealing with the succession of ʿĀrif Bek by Aḥmad Bek as *nāẓir al-awqāf al-sayyidayn*, and DMS, *sijill* 7, *mādda* 206, p. 66 (11 Muḥ. 1252) and DMS, *sijill* 9, *mādda* 21, p. 12 (27 Muḥ. 1252) referring to Ḥasan al-Quwaysnī, who was *shaykh al-Azhar* from 1250 (1834) until 1254 (1838), as *nāẓir* of the *awqāf* of Aḥmad al-Badawī.

*awqāf*¹⁰² for these institutions as well as from the offerings made went to beneficiaries who stood entirely outside the realm of *taṣawwuf*.¹⁰³

The complexity of the alliances and groups which had emerged as a result of these arrangements and the manifold interests involved, explain the fact that the jurisdiction al-Bakrī held over those in charge of these shrines was minimal, while they in turn attained these offices largely without recourse to him.¹⁰⁴ He had become the only person, however, who could appoint an intendant to the numerous other shrines, which were to be found in almost every village.¹⁰⁵ In this he followed established practice, which dictated that the intendant had to be related to the saint whose shrine he would supervise, or that he belonged to a family whose members traditionally controlled the shrine.¹⁰⁶ By so doing he ensured that the intendant's authority position was legitimate and hence effective. If anybody demanded official appointment as intendant of a shrine, al-Bakrī would carefully check his claims;¹⁰⁷ he would ask his *wakīl*, the provincial governor, and also the local *qāḍī* to make enquiries¹⁰⁸ and inhabitants from the area in which the shrine was situated could be asked to testify for or against the validity of the incumbent's claim.¹⁰⁹ In addition, enquiries were made as to his piety and his character in general which, it was felt, had to be suitable to this religious office.¹¹⁰ Appointment of anybody outside the forementioned categories was felt to be a violation of the norms in this respect. If this happened it would result in strong corrective action by the wider society in the form of petitions demanding a reversal of the appointment.¹¹¹

Whenever disputes about intendency occurred, al-Bakrī's *wukalā'*,¹¹² or the local *qāḍī*¹¹³ or the provincial governor could intervene,¹¹⁴ conduct inquiries

102 According to P. Arminjon, *L'Enseignement, la Doctrine et la Vie dans les Universités Musulmanes d'Égypte*, Paris 1907, 62, the teaching staff, students etc., had their principal source of income from these offerings.

103 E.g. to the students at the mosque; cf. *Al-Taqrīr al-Awwal*, 3.

104 Cf. *Taqrīr 'an Wazīfat al-Khilāfa*, 5, document 8.

105 Cf. Lane, 245.

106 I-49/4 (1 Muḥ. 1288); V-4(11)/2 (17 Jum. I 1296); V-10(17)/2 (17 Raj. 1296); V-21(1)/3 (7 Muḥ. 1297).

107 I-86/5 (29 Ram. 1288); III-35/4 (28 Jum. I 1290); V-20(27)/I (18 Jum. II 1296); V-41 (21)/1 (13 Sha'bān 1297).

108 I-49/4 (1 Muḥ. 1288); I-65/1 (23 Rab. II 1288); V-30(10)/4 (25 Rab. II 1297).

109 I-34/4 (4 Shaw. 1287); V-33(13)/4 (1 Jum. II 1297).

110 Cf. I-84/9 (29 Ram. 1288).

111 I-73/2 (23 Raj. 1288).

112 I-49/4 (end of Muḥ. 1288); I-52/2 (13 Šaf. 1288); V-28(8)/2 (14 Rab. II 1297).

113 I-65/3 (25 Rab. II 1288); V-21/3 (7 Muḥ. 1297).

114 V-21(1)/2 (1 Muḥ. 1297); V-30(10)/4 (2 Rab. II 1297).

and arrange for the solution of the conflict. Once the rightful intendant had been established, they also had to take measures to enable him to exercise control over the shrine, the donations made to it and the *niḡāra* of its *awqāf* (if there were any and if the *niḡāra* was to be vested in the intendant).¹¹⁵ Following the appointment al-Bakrī would also inform the provincial governor and the *Awqāf* Department, if the *awqāf* of the shrine were administered by the Department.¹¹⁶

9 The *Mawlid al-Nabī* Celebrations

Besides the *mawālīd* celebrated in commemoration of most of the saints buried in these shrines, the major occasion on which the *ṭuruq* manifested themselves was during the celebrations of the birthday of the Prophet.¹¹⁷

In Cairo, the organization of these celebrations was primarily the concern of al-Bakrī, who on this occasion received a payment from the treasury (*al-khazīna al-‘āmira*) as a contribution to his expenses.¹¹⁸ The Cairo municipality contributed by providing him with rice, mutton, cooking butter, tea and wood,¹¹⁹ while the Administration of the Khedivial Estate sent sugar and provided cooking utensils.¹²⁰

At about the middle of *Ṣafar* the length of duration of the *mawlid* was fixed at a meeting of religious dignitaries, in the house of the *qāḡī* of Cairo, which

115 I-84/9 (29 Ram. 1288); V-5(12)/2 (27 Jum. I 1296); V-30(10)/4 (5 Rab. II 1297).

116 V-23(3)/3 (15 Ṣaf. 1297); V-34(14)/3 (9 Jum. II 1297).

117 For a general work on these celebrations in the Islamic world in particular and in Egypt in particular, see al-Sandūbi, *Ta'rikh al-Ihtifāl bi-l-Mawlid al-Nabawī*.

118 I-27/2 (16 Jum. I 1287); II-4/3 (20 Ṣaf. 1289). The amount used to be 1500 *qirsh*, i.e. L.E. 15. 'Alī Mubārak writing about a decade later, estimated the total amount spent by al-Bakrī on these celebrations at L.E. 300 to which the government contributed with L.E. 35. An idea of the value of the former amount may be obtained when it is compared with the monthly salaries of the teachers at *Dār al-'Ulūm*, varying between 300 and 400 *qirsh* in 1288; cf. Sāmī, *Taqwīm*, II/3, 938. DWQ, *daftar* 1884 (*awāmīr*), p. 44, *mus.* 154 (18 Jum. II 1272), gives 1450 *qirsh* as the amount paid to al-Bakrī. The value of this amount becomes clear by the maybe not entirely apt comparison with the daily wages earned around that time (1882) by unskilled workers (4 P.T.), bricklayers (8 P.T.) and of craftsmen like master-masons (10 P.T.) and skilled weavers (5 P.T.); cf. Yacoub Artin, *Essai sur les Causes du Renchérissement de la Vie Matérielle au Caire*, Cairo 1907, 125.

119 I-7/8 (18 Ṣaf. 1287); I-52/5 (19 Ṣaf. 1288); III-4/6 (18 Ṣaf. 1290). The following quantities used to be provided: 156 *uqqa* (195 kg.) white rice; 900 *uqqa* (1124 kg.) firewood; 133 *raṭl* (60 kg.) mutton; 200 *raṭl* (90 kg.) *samn* (clarified butter); 10 *uqqa* (12½ kg.) *maslī* (cooking butter).

120 I-14/1 (end of Ṣaf. 1287).

included the heads of the *ṭuruq* and the *qāḍī* himself.¹²¹ Subsequently al-Bakrī would request the governor of Cairo to send him the *firmān mawlid al-rasūl*.¹²² In this document permission was given to celebrate the *mawlid* for the period determined by this meeting. Al-Bakrī informed his *wukalāʾ* in the provinces of the duration and instructed them to make it publicly known.¹²³ On 25 *Ṣafar* the *ṭuruq* gathered near Bāb al-Khalq with their banners, flags and instruments. They went from there in procession to the palace of al-Bakrī at al-Azbakiyya.¹²⁴ Here the heads of *ṭuruq*, *takāyā* and shrines, as well as other dignitaries were waiting. They had all previously attended a banquet at the invitation of al-Bakrī. Then the *firmān al-mawlid* was read,¹²⁵ and subsequently there was a public announcement of which nights of the *mawlid* celebrations the various *ṭuruq* were expected to attend at the palace of al-Bakrī to hold a *dhikr* or to pass by in procession.¹²⁶

On the following day a gathering of Qurʾān readers took place at the palace¹²⁷ when, besides recitations from the Qurʾān, the *ḥizb al-Bakrī* and a *mawlid* were also recited.¹²⁸ In the evening, princes, *ʿulamāʾ*, ministers, high government offi-

121 G. Ebers, *Aegypten in Bild und Wort dargestellt*, ii vols., Stuttgart/Leipzig 1879–1880; ii, 120.

122 I-7/7 (18 *Ṣaf.* 1287); II-4/2 (20 *Ṣaf.* 1289).

123 I-11/2 (end of *Ṣaf.* 1287).

124 The celebrations were centred here until 1287 (1870), when during the reorganization of the Azbakiyya area, the palace of al-Bakrī was demolished. In exchange he received a palace in the Shāriʿ al-Khurūnfish, which had belonged to Muḥammad ʿAlī's grand-son Khalīl; cf. *Khīt.*, iii, 26, and also I-27/4 (16 *Jum.* I 1287); V-45/2 (16 *Jum.* I 1287); and I-46/5 (2 *Hijja* 1287). From 1288 (1871) onwards the celebrations were held on the open grounds east of Bāb Qaṣr al-Nīl near Būlāq; cf. I-51/6 (7 *Saf.* 1288); I-52/4 (17 *Ṣaf.* 1288); I-55/6 (3 *Rab.* I 1288). In 1882 the site of the official celebrations was moved to al-ʿAbbāsiyya; cf. A.J. Butler, *Court Life in Egypt*, London 1887, 262.

125 See Aḥmad Shafīq, *Mudhakkirātī fi Niṣf Qarn*, iii vols., Cairo 1935–1936, i, 518.

126 The use of the words *mawākib* (pl. *mawākib*) and *ishāra* (pl. *ashāyir*), both with the meaning of procession, in the documents in the series F. Or. A. 283 and 284 suggests that the former term was applied exclusively to the large official processions on the occasion of the principal *mawālid* and the major Islamic festivals. The word *ishāra* denotes the processions, mostly held at night, during which one, or at any rate a limited number of *ṭuruq*, manifested themselves during a *mawlid* or at some other occasion, e.g. during the celebrations of the *mawlid al-nabī* when various *ṭuruq* were invited by al-Bakrī to this effect. These processions which were held with great frequency, were often of considerable length, in particular in Cairo and Alexandria; cf. H. Couvidou, *Étude sur l'Égypte contemporaine*, Le Caire, 284f. See also chapter 1, note 8.

127 On this occasion about 200 professional Qurʾān readers used to be present; cf. *Khīt.*, iii, 133. By the agreement with al-Azhar in 1847, al-Bakrī had also obtained authority over the *shaykh al-maqārī* (the head of the corporation of Qurʾān readers). The practical implications of this arrangement are not clear. See also below chapter 4, note 36.

128 Generally it was the *mawlid* of al-Barzanjī which was read on these occasions; cf. Amīn, 320.

cials and other dignitaries were invited to listen to the recitation of a *mawlid* again and to attend the reception of the heads of the *ṭuruq*. These all received woollen robes of honour, with the exception of the heads of al-Rifā'iyya and al-Sa'diyya, who received special robes made of broadcloth.¹²⁹ This ceremonial was preceded and followed by processions of the *ṭuruq* and by *dhikr* sessions inside as well as outside the palace of al-Bakrī. Tents were erected here—confined to the area of al-Azbakiyya—for this purpose.¹³⁰

On 12 *Rabi' al-Awwal* the *dawsa* was held, the famous ritual at which the *shaykh* of the Sa'diyya rode on horseback over a carpet of prostrate members of this *ṭariqa*. After the termination of the *dawsa* the Sa'diyya went in procession to the tent of al-Bakrī. Upon their arrival al-Bakrī, after receiving a robe of honour of sable fur from the government, again distributed robes of honour to the heads of the *ṭuruq*, as well as to the heads of the *takāyā* and shrines.¹³¹

On the night of 12 *Rabi' al-Awwal*, the last night, the Khedive attended the *ṣiwān* of al-Bakrī together with his entourage and his ministers. Here the '*ulamā'*, government officials and dignitaries were also present¹³² to listen to

129 *Khīt.* iii, 133.

130 This happened under al-Bakrī's supervision. During the *mawlid al-nabī* celebrations in 1287, for instance, twenty-five tents were set up and allocated by him to the various *ṭuruq*; cf. I-12 (end of Ṣaf. 1287).

131 *Khīt.*, *ibid.* Those who used to be present on these occasions are listed below.

132 '*Ulamā'* invited by al-Bakrī to attend the *mawlid al-nabī* celebrations in 1287/1870 were Muṣṭafā al-'Arūsī (the then *shaykh al-Azhar*; cf. al-Zayyātī, *Kanz al-Jawhar*, 146 f., for biographical data); Muṣṭafā al-'Arīshī; Muḥammad al-Imbābī (later *shaykh al-Azhar*; cf. al-Zayyātī, *ibid.*, 151 ff. for biographical data); Salīm (*imām* of the Muḥammad 'Alī mosque at the citadel); Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-'Abbāsī (the then *muftī* of Egypt; cf. Zakhūrā, i, 225); Ḥasan al-Quwaysnī; 'Alī al-Baqī (the former *muftī* of the *Majlis al-Aḥkām*; cf. Zakhūrā, i, 157); Ḥasan (*shaykh 'umūm al-maqārī'*); Muḥammad 'Alī al-Minyāwī (teacher at the Madrasat al-Tawfiqīyya; cf. Yūsuf Sarkīs, *Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'āt al-'Arabīyya wa l-Mu'arraba*, Cairo 1928, 168); 'Abd al-Qādir al-Rāfi'ī (*muftī* in the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* and later *shaykh al-sādat al-Ḥanafiyya*; cf. Muḥammad Rashīd al-Rāfi'ī, *Tarjamat Ḥayāt ... al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Rāfi'ī ...*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Taqaḍdum 1323); 'Alī al-'Adawī (*khādīm maqām Sidi Ḥamza al-Sirsī* near 'Ābidin Palace); Ibrāhīm al-Saqqā (*khaṭīb* of al-Azhar mosque; cf. Zakhūrā, i, 233 f.); Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Ḥarīrī (*shaykh al-sajjāda al-'Ināniyya* and later *imām* to the Khedive Tawfiq; see below chapter 3, page 104); Abū l-'Alā' al-Khalfāwī (the *muftī* of the *Majlis al-Aḥkām*); Bayyūmī (?) Makram; Ḥasan al-'Idwī (cf. *Khīt.*, xiv, 37, for biographical data); Muḥammad al-Ashmūnī (for biographical data, see Zakhūrā, i, 200); cf. I-11/2 (end of Ṣaf. 1287). Civil dignitaries who were invited to attend the celebrations and are mentioned in I-14/2 (6 Rab. I 1287), though mostly not named, included the *ra'īs Majlis al-Isti'nāf Miṣr*; the *ma'mūr Khuṭṭ Miṣr*; the *muḥāftz*; the *amīn shimāl Miṣr*; the *nāzīr Dā'irat al-Saniyya* (Ṭal'at Bāshā; cf. A. Stephan, *Das heutige Ägypten*, Leipzig 1872, 181); the *wakīl Dīwān al-Māliyya*; the *rūznāmī Miṣr*; the *wakīl Zabṭīyyat Miṣr*; the *wakīl Majlis al-Isti'nāf Miṣr*; the *wakīl Dīwān al-Awqāf*; the *wakīl Muḥāfazat Miṣr*; the *wakīl shimāl Miṣr*; the

the recitation of the story of the *mawlid* and to attend the celebrations of which the official part was concluded by fireworks at government expense.¹³³

10 Additional *Mawālid* and Other Celebrations Organized and Supervised by al-Bakrī

In addition to the celebrations of the *mawlid al-nabī*, which were largely organized by and revolved around al-Bakrī, he also organized the *mawālid* of *al-sādat al-Bakriyya*, near al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī and of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Daštūtī.¹³⁴ This obligation was met in his capacity of *nāzir* of the *awqāf* made to both.¹³⁵ Before the beginning of these *mawālid*, al-Bakrī would request the *Muḥāfaẓa* to issue the *firmān al-mawlid*¹³⁶ which on these occasions was not read in public by the chief of police, and merely seems to have been the official permission to hold these *mawālid*.

wakīl Dā‘irat al-Khāṣṣa; the *wakīl Dā‘irat al-Saniyya*; and the *wakīl al-rūznāmji*. In addition, the *qāḍī* of Cairo (i.e. the supreme judge in Egypt appointed by the Porte, who was ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Efendī Nāfiẓ at that time; cf. P.R.O., F.O. 141/669, file 8126); the *ra‘īs Majlis al-Ahkām* (i.e. the Cairene court judging in matters which had been codified by *Qānūn*; cf. Stephan, 288 f.); and the following members of this *Majlis* were invited: Ibrāhīm Bek Adham (later *mudīr* of al-Sharqiyya and, at another time, of al-Gharbiyya provinces; cf. *Khīt.*, ix, 91; and W.S. Blunt, *Gordon at Khartoum*, London 1912, 324 f., 553 ff. for biographical data); Muḥammad Abū l-Fayḍ Bek; Muḥammad Mukhtār Bek (he was a member of the later Commission of Investigation which had to collect the evidence in preparation for the trial against the participants in the ‘Urābī insurrection; cf. A.M. Broadley, *How we defended Arabi and his Friends*, London 1884, 155); Muḥammad Bek l-Minyāwī; Jalāl Bāshā; Nūbār Bāshā; ‘Arif Bāshā; Shākīr Bāshā; and Aḥmad Bāshā al-Daramahlī (the later Cairo chief of police; cf. Salīm al-Naqqāsh, *Miṣr li-l-Miṣriyyīn*, Alexandria 1884, iv, 241). Most of the merchants who were invited, were members of the *Majlis al-Tujjār*; (cf. Sāmī, *Taqwīm*, ii/3, 686). These were Yūsuf ‘Abd al-Fattāh (*sartujjār Miṣr*); Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-‘Aṭṭār; Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Mu‘ṭī; Ḥasan Āghā (*shaykh Khān al-Khalīlī*); Ismā‘īl Efendī Ṣāliḥ; Muḥammad al-Najjār al-Khuḍārī; Ḥāfiẓ Efendī; Bakīr Efendī; ‘Abd al-Salām al-Muwayliḥī; Ibrāhīm Efendī al-Muwayliḥī (cf. Ibrahim El Mouelhy, ‘Ibrahim El Mouelhy Pasha-Les Mouelhy en Égypte’, *Cahiers d’Histoire Égyptienne*, ii (1949), 313–329); Muḥammad al-Bābili al-Jawāhirjī; Amin al-Jawāhirjī; Ibrāhīm Fārisī l-Jawāhirjī; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Jawāhirjī; Muḥammad Ḥasan.

133 In addition to *Khīt.*, iii, 133 see Shafiq, i, 77 f. for an account of the celebrations in the seventies.

134 Cf. *Khīt.*, iii, 133 f.; and B.S., 410.

135 *Khīt.*, *ibid.*; 1-44/8 (7 Qa‘da 1287). For documents relative to the *awqāf al-Bakriyya* see DWQ, *daftar* 98, *h* 2 (Ma‘iyya ‘Arabī), p. 454, *mus.* 507 (17 Rab. 11269); DWQ, *daftar* 1883 (*awāmir*), p. 163, *mus.* 101 (16 Rab. 11272), and *daftar* 42 (Majlis *Khuṣūṣī*) p. 38, *mus.* 274 (12 Jum. 11292).

136 1-31/3 (17 Raj. 1287); 1-34/7 (8 Shaw. 1287).



FIGURE 1 The *dawsa* (*dōseh*)

The celebrations of the *mawlid* of al-Dashtūtī lasted from 20 to 27 *Rajab*. The last night coincided with the night of the *mi'rāj*, the celebrations of which, in Cairo, took place in particular round the mosque of al-Dashtūtī.¹³⁷ On the occasion of the *mawlid* and particularly on the day of the 26th of *Rajab*, when the Sa'diyya held their *dawsa*,¹³⁸ and the night of the 27th, the *laylat al-mi'rāj* proper, al-Bakrī entertained numerous guests.¹³⁹ The *mawlid* of *al-sāda al-Bakrīyya* lasted for six days near the beginning of *Sha'bān*,¹⁴⁰ The majority of the heads of the *ṭuruq* in Cairo, with their followers and the heads of the *takāyā* and the shrines, were invited, together with numerous 'ulamā' and government officials and merchants.¹⁴¹ This was also the case with the celebrations of the *īd al-adḥā* held near the shrines of *al-sādat al-Bakrīyya*.¹⁴²

Other celebrations supervised by al-Bakrī and to which these guests used to be invited, were held on the occasion of the *laylat nisf Sha'bān*¹⁴³ and in

137 Cf. Lane, 474ff.; *Khīt.*, iii, 133f. For the popular explanation of this fact see Lane, 474f.

138 D.B. Macdonald in his article 'Dawsa (Dōsa),' in *E.I.* 2, ii, 181, writes "a similar ceremony was performed by the *shaykh* al-Bakrī ... on the *mawlid* of al-Dashtūtī by night". This statement, however, is confirmed neither by the sources nor by oral tradition.

139 The guests invited on this occasion were largely the same persons invited for the *mawlid al-nabī*.

140 On this occasion al-Bakrī used to receive an annual payment from the *Dōwān 'Umūm al-Awqāf*; cf. I-26/5 (17 Ram. 1289); V-16(23)/2 (10 Ram. 1296); V-41(21)/6 (11 Ram. 1297).

141 Cf. *Khīt.*, iii, 134. For lists of guests invited see note 132.

142 I-47/2 (3 Ḥijja 1287). According to 'Alī Mubārak, *Khīt.*, iv, 134, banquets were held near the shrines of *al-sāda al-Bakrīyya* on 25 Ramaḍān and 10 Muḥarram. The documents in the Leiden collection do not contain any information about these occasions.

143 See e.g. I-36/1 (11 Shaw. 1287).

commemoration of Muḥammad ‘Alī’s birthday during the night of 13 and 14 *Ramaḍān*,¹⁴⁴ On both occasions the main site of the celebrations was the mosque of Muḥammad ‘Alī at the citadel.¹⁴⁵

Those in charge of the numerous shrines and shrine-mosques¹⁴⁶ in Cairo also had to obtain a *firmān mawlid* from the governor before they could start to celebrate the *mawlid* of the saint whose shrine they controlled. In order to obtain this document, which was merely a formal permission, the incumbent

144 *Khīt.*, v, 86. The *Dīwān al-Awqāf* contributed to the expenses of this occasion and this contribution was paid to al-Bakrī; cf. 1-38/3 (15 Ram. 1287). Some of the heads of the *ṭuruq* and their members received a fee (*ujra*) for their part in the celebrations. These persons and the fees they received are listed in v-45(6)/3 (11 Ram. 1287) as follows:

al-Rifā’iyya (i.e. the head of the <i>ṭariqa</i>), for two nights	150 <i>qirsh</i>
18 <i>dhākira</i> (participants in the <i>dhikr</i> of al-Rifā’iyya?)	20 <i>qirsh</i> each
21 <i>munshids</i> (singers)	25 <i>qirsh</i> each
21 (members of) al-Sa’diyya	id.
21 (members of) al-Bayyūmiyya	id.
21 (members of) al-Qādiriyya	id.
21 (members of) al-Mawlawiyya	id.
al-Shādhiliyya (Ḥasan al-Jawharī?) for two nights	150 <i>qirsh</i>
14 (members of) al-Shādhiliyya	20 <i>qirsh</i> each

In commemoration of the birthday of Muḥammad ‘Alī celebrations were also held in the *zāwiya* of *al-sādat al-Bakriyya* near al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī. Here as well, the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* contributed to the expenses and made 15 *raṭl* of oil available to light (more) lamps in the *zāwiya*; cf. v-45(6)/4 (11 Ram. 1287). In addition, as listed in this document, the *Dīwān* paid on this occasion

to a <i>shaykh</i> (in charge of the celebrations)	150 <i>qirsh</i> for two nights (13 & 14 Ram.),
to 5 <i>fuqahā’</i> (probably Qur’ān readers are meant here)	30 <i>qirsh</i> (13 & 14 Ram.),
to 2 <i>munshids</i>	25 <i>qirsh</i>
to 15 <i>dhākira</i>	20 <i>qirsh</i>

An idea of the value of these amounts may be obtained when they are compared with the monthly salaries paid in 1288 to a number of teachers at *Dār al-‘Ulūm*, who were qualified religious scholars, mentioned in note 118.

145 The festival of the *rukūbat al-Nīl*, i.e. the Nile procession on the eve of the cutting of the dam of the Cairo canal, which was celebrated until 1896 when the canal was filled in, was organized by the authorities, in particular the *Dīwān al-Injāriyya*. In this festival a number of guilds used to be prominent but not the *ṭuruq*; cf. Baer, *Guilds*, 121 f. Al-Bakrī used to be among the notables invited to attend the celebrations; cf. 1v-28(19)/2 (11 Jum. 11291). In this last document the term *mihrajān jabr al-Nīl* is used; cf. Deny, *Sommaire*, 140 for alternative terms.

146 Mubārak gives the number of shrines in Cairo as 294; cf. *Khīt.*, i, 89.

had to address himself to al-Bakrī and ask him to present a request to this effect to the Governorate.¹⁴⁷ This arrangement allowed al-Bakrī periodically to check the legitimacy of a large number of intendants of shrines.¹⁴⁸

The expenses involved for the intendants of the shrines in the celebration of these *mawālīd* were partly covered by *waqf* revenues received by them and payments from *al-Rūznāma*.¹⁴⁹ The celebration of a number of *mawālīd*,¹⁵⁰ however, was traditionally paid for entirely by the *Dā'irat al-Khidwīyya*.¹⁵¹ Incidental payments were sometimes made from this source to the intendants of the shrines as a contribution to the expenses involved in the celebrations.¹⁵² In order to allow *ṭuruq* to participate in and contribute to the *mawālīd* and other celebrations, their heads received yearly payments from the state treasury¹⁵³ as well as revenues from *awqāf* established for this purpose.¹⁵⁴

147 For copies of such requests see 1-71/2 (6 Raj. 1288); v-11(18)/2 (21 Raj. 1296); v-31 (11)/3 (20 Rab. 11 1297); v-31(11)/4 (20 Rab. 11 1297). Before the era in which the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakrīyya* had come to assume this mediating position, a *firmān mawlid* used to be issued by the *Bāshā* directly to those concerned, at least for the *mawālīd* held in Cairo. As soon as the *firmān*, which mentioned the period for which the *mawlid* had been permitted, was issued, it was read by policemen in the various *aswāq* of the capital; cf. *ʿAjāʾib*, iv, 163.

148 Eighty *mawālīd* were celebrated in Cairo yearly; cf. *Khit.*, i, 90.

149 Cf. DWQ, *daftar* 52 (Majlis Khuṣūṣī), p. 52, *mus.* 4 (27 Ṣaf. 1293).

150 For accounts of *mawlid* celebrations in early 19th-century Cairo, see Lane, 468 ff., 468 ff., 476 ff., and E. Gellion-Dangler, *Lettres sur l'Égypte Contemporaine* (1865–1875), Paris 1876, 81 ff., for vivid accounts of the *mawlid* celebrations of al-Bayyūmī and al-Rifāʿī in the second half of the 19th century.

151 In v-31 (11)/1 (20 Rab. 11 1297) the *mawālīd* in honour of the following saints are mentioned as having been paid for by the *Dā'irat al-Khidwīyya* (or *Sanīyya*, i.e. by the Khedive from the revenues of his personal estates. On the nature, extent and revenues of these estates, see e.g. J.C. McCoan, *Egypt as it is*, London n.d. (1877), 150 ff.): al-ashraf al-'Alawiyya (i.e. al-sādāt al-Wafā'iyya); Muḥammad al-Anwar; al-Sayyida Sakīna; al-Sayyida Nafisa; al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī; al-Imām Layth b. Sa'd; al-Sulṭān al-Ḥanafī; al-Sayyida Zaynab; Ismāʿīl al-Imbābi; Sīdī Marzūq; 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn; 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dīrīnī; al-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh; al-Sayyida Ruqayya; and Muḥammad al-Nu'mān.

152 DWQ, *daftar* 533 (Ma'iyya Turkī), p. 336, *mus.* 22 (29 Sha'bān 1280), and *idem*, p. 138, *mus.* 956 (25 Ṣaf. 1280).

153 DWQ, *daftar* 1884 (*awāmīr*), p. 44, *mus.* 154 (18 Jum. 11 1272) for instance, gives the amount of 3000 *qirsh* paid to heads of *ṭuruq* in order to celebrate the *mawlid al-nabī* and mentions other unspecified amounts paid to them "*fī l-mawāsīm wa l-a'yād*". Since there were at least twenty *mashāyikh ṭuruq* at that time (cf. the list on p. 36 f.) each of them must have received around 150 *qirsh*. The relative size of this amount may be put into perspective when compared with, for instance, the monthly salary of an "intellectual" occupation like the corrector at the Government Printing Press in Būlāq, which was at that time 450 *qirsh*; cf. Sāmī, *Taqwīm*, i/3, 159.

154 WA, no. 1180 (18 Ram. 1251) and WA, no. 1112 (9 Raj. 1266).

11 The Processions of the *Kiswa*, the *Maḥmal* and the *Laylat al-Ru'ya*

Other occasions on which the *ṭuruq* came together in public and which, to a large extent, were enhanced by their presence, were the procession of the *kiswa* in the middle of *Shawwāl* and the procession of the *maḥmal* on the occasion of the departure of the *ḥajj* caravan to Mecca about three weeks later.¹⁵⁵ On both occasions al-Bakrī played a major role in the organization of these events.¹⁵⁶ The sequence of the various *ṭuruq* in these processions occasionally led to disputes between their members. It was therefore imperative to draw up a definite and binding set of rules for these events, and this was done by a convention of heads of the *ṭuruq* presided over by al-Bakrī in *Shawwāl* 1289 (December 1872).¹⁵⁷

In addition, groups of *ṭarīqa* members used to participate in the processions on the occasion of the *laylat al-ru'ya*¹⁵⁸ and the return of the *maḥmal*¹⁵⁹ which were both dominated by the guilds. The former procession was supervised by the *muḥtasib*, who was also the most eminent official to take part in it until the seventies, when he was replaced by the chief of the Cairo police.¹⁶⁰

Al-Bakrī played no part in organizing any of these events. From 1290 (1873) onwards, however, following a request from the Cairo municipality, the *ṭuruq*, supervised and co-ordinated by al-Bakrī, started to participate in the proces-

155 See e.g. 1-41 (26 Ram. 1287); 111-8/6 (1 Rab. 1 1290).

156 For a survey of these celebrations from 1517 up to 1952 see J. Jomier, *Le Maḥmal et la Caravane Égyptienne des Pèlerins de la Mecque (XIII-XX^e siècles)*, Cairo 1953, 62 ff. On the night preceding the procession in which the *kiswa* was paraded through Cairo, celebrations took place in the *Diwān al-Muḥāfaẓa*, consisting, among other things, of Qur'ān recitation and the reading of al-Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* and al-Shādhilī's *Ḥizb al-Barr*; cf. 1-83 (7 Shaw. 1288). In the beginning of the present century these celebrations were held in the *Dār al-Kiswa*; cf. Jomier, 66.

157 Cf. 11-30/3 (14 Shaw. 1289). The order (*tartīb*) agreed upon was: al-Sa'diyya in front of the procession followed by al-Qādiriyya, al-Burhāmiyya, al-Ḥumūdiyya, al-Tasqiyāniyya, al-Zāhidiyya, al-Shu'aybiyya, al-Ḥalabiyya, al-Salāmiyya, al-Imbābiyya, al-Minūfiyya, al-Kannāsiyya, and al-Marzūqiyya at the end, just in front of the *maḥmal*. The head of al-Marzūqiyya had the traditional right to guide the camel carrying the *maḥmal* from the *Dār al-Kiswa* to the *Midān Muḥammad 'Alī*; cf. Shams al-Dīn, 34.

158 Cf. Lane, 478 f.; Raymond, *Artisans*, ii, 570; Baer, *Guilds*, 120.

159 Jomier, 67. See also A. de Beaumont, 'Le pèlerinage de la Mekke et les fêtes du Prophète au Caire', *Revue de l'Orient, de l'Algérie et des Colonies*, xvi (1854), 26. However, the flags mentioned by this author as "des drapeaux qui représentent les couleurs des mosqueés", were almost certainly flags carried by members of the various *ṭuruq*, each in its own characteristic colours.

160 Baer, *Guilds*, 120-121; Raymond, *Artisans*, ii, 570.

sion on the occasion of the return of the *maḥmal*,¹⁶¹ This relative increase in the importance of the ceremonial role of the *ṭuruq* does not seem to have been confined to this occasion only. Their importance also increased in the procession of the *kiswa* and the procession held on the departure of the *maḥmal*, in both of which nothing remained of the former prominence of the guilds, as is suggested by the absence of any reference to their participation in these ceremonies.¹⁶² Nor were heads or prominent members of guilds invited by al-Bakrī to attend the various celebrations organized and supervised by him, except for the representatives of the merchant guilds who were members of the *Majlis al-Tujjār*.¹⁶³

This decline of the role of the guilds in public ceremonies mirrors the general decline of the guilds themselves from the seventies onwards.¹⁶⁴ It left the *ṭuruq* as the principal forms of association at a time when other voluntary associations of a social, religious or political character had not yet emerged. Therefore, the decline of the guilds not only seems to account for the increased ceremonial prominence of the *ṭuruq*, but also, to a large extent, for the increase of the number of *ṭuruq* in Egypt in the second half of the 19th century. These *ṭuruq* are dealt with in the following pages.

12 The *Ṭuruq* Involved

On the occasions dealt with in the preceding section, as well as during the *mawālīd*, only the *ṭuruq* were allowed to appear whose heads had recognized al-Bakrī's authority and were appointed by him—implying legality of tenure and thus official recognition of the autonomous status of each of these *ṭuruq*. According to a list drawn up by him for the governor of Cairo at the end of 1872 these were:¹⁶⁵

161 IV-18(9)/4 (2 Rab. 1 1290).

162 Cf. Jomier, 62 ff.; Baer, *Guilds*, chapter 5, section 7, *passim*. Nowhere in the documents of the series F. Or. A. 283–285 does anything suggest their participation. For indications of al-Bakrī's commercial contacts with the *mashāyikh* of the guilds, see V-48/4 (3 Muḥ. 1287), with the *shaykh* of the carpenters (*najjārūn*); I-20/4 (11 Rab. 11 1287), with the *shaykh* of the pipe-makers (*shubūkhshīyya*); V-22(2)/4 (13 Šaf. 1297), with the *shaykh* of the butchers (*jazzārūn*).

163 Cf. note 132.

164 Cf. Baer, *Guilds*, chapter 5.

165 II-29/4 (10 Shaw. 1289)/11 December 1872. In this document the names appear in a sequence different from the one given here for the sake of the subsequent discussion.

Muḥammad al-Shu‘aybī	al-Shu‘aybiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muṣṭafā l-Naqqāsh	al-Salāmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Ḥaṣan Salmān	al-Imbābiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Khaḍīr	al-Ḥumūdiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭūbī	al-‘Īsawiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Muḥammad Yāsīn	al-Rifā‘iyya
Muḥammad ‘Āshūr	al-Burhāmiyya
Aḥmad al-‘Afifī	al-‘Afifiyya [al-Shādhiliyya]
Aḥmad al-Minūfī	al-Manāyifa al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn al-Marzūqī	al-Marāziqa al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad al-Junaydī	al-Ḥalabiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
‘Aṭā’ Maḥmūd	al-Tasqiyanīyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Aḥmad al-Khuḍarī	al-Sa‘diyya
Sha‘rāwī Mu‘awwaḍ	al-Kannāsiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
‘Abd al-Ghanī l-Malawānī	al-Bayyūmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Aḥmad Qāsim	al-Qādiriyya
Muḥsin ‘Abd al-Muḥsin	al-Qādiriyya
‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suṭūḥī	al-Suṭūḥiyya [al-Aḥmadiyya]
Muḥammad al-Dīrīnī	al-Zāhidiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Jāhīn	al-Shinnāwiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Ḥasan al-Sammān	al-Sammāniyya [al-Khalwatiyya]
Ibrāhīm Mubārak	al-Mīrghaniyya
Aḥmad Ḍayf	al-Şāwiyya [al-Khalwatiyya]
Muḥammad al-Shādhilī l-Şāwī	[al-Şāwiyya al-Khalwatiyya]
Muṣṭafa l-Şandaqjī	al-Shādhiliyya
‘Abd al-Majīd al-Barmūnī	[al-Qāsimiyya] al-Shādhiliyya
Muḥammad al-Ḥandūsh	al-Ḥandūshiyya [al-Shādhiliyya]
Muḥammad al-Tihāmī	al-Tihāmiyya [al-Shādhiliyya]
‘Abd al-Karīm Manşūr	al-‘Arūsiyya [al-Shādhiliyya]

The first five *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* mentioned in this list had already been in office for over a quarter of a century, from the days of Muḥammad al-Bakrī, while the following eight are known to have inherited their positions from their fathers.¹⁶⁶ In the cases of al-Kannāsiyya and al-Bayyūmiyya, however, their respective heads, Sha‘rānī Mu‘awwaḍ and ‘Abd al-Ghanī l-Malawānī were nei-

166 The fathers of the first six *mashāyikh* of this group are mentioned in the list on page 36f. Of the last two *shaykhs*, ‘Aṭā’ Maḥmūd had succeeded his father Maḥmūd ‘Aṭā’, the brother and successor of Muḥammad ‘Aṭā’ (Allāh) (see the list on page 36). Aḥmad al-Khuḍarī had succeeded his father Ḥamūda Muḥammad, who had been the successor of Aḥmad

ther descended from nor related to their predecessors. Nothing is known about the circumstances which enabled Shā'rānī Mu'awwaḍ to attain office. 'Abd al-Ghanī, however, is known to have been chosen as successor to the deceased head of the *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad Nāfi', by a majority of its members. His final confirmation in office had nevertheless been preceded by a serious conflict about his succession between the various factions within the *ṭarīqa* (see above, p. 33f.).

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Qāsim, *shaykh* of one of the two Qādiriyya orders mentioned here, had succeeded his father Aḥmad Qāsim. The latter, in the era of Muḥammad al-Bakrī, had shared the leadership of this *ṭarīqa* with his brother Muḥammad known as al-Fāriḍī, who had held the office of *kātib niqābat al-ashrāf* concomitantly. After al-Fāriḍī's death this office had passed to his son Muḥammad Mas'ūd who, in addition, claimed leadership over a Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa* of his own which had been recognized as such by al-Bakrī.¹⁶⁷ When he died in 1287 (1870) without leaving any adult children,¹⁶⁸ his cousin and father-in-law, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Qāsim, took over the administration of this *ṭarīqa*, which amounted to a *de facto* reunification with the parent *ṭarīqa*.¹⁶⁹

The head of the second Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa* mentioned here, Muḥsin 'Abd al-Muḥsin, was a nephew of Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Qādirī, the first *shaykh* who did not belong to the Jizī family and held the office of *kātib niqābat al-ashrāf* together with the *mashyakh al-Qādiriyya* (see above p. 17). Muḥsin's father, 'Abd al-Muḥsin Sulaymān, had been the first of this family to hold the office of *shaykh khidmat al-Imāmayn*, i.e. the office of supreme intendant of the shrine-mosques of al-Imām Layth b. Sa'd and of al-Imām al-Shāfi'.¹⁷⁰ This *shaykh* had also set himself up as head of his own Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*. His son Muḥsin, who

Muḥammad Ḥamūda, his half-brother. Aḥmad had been head of the *ṭarīqa* al-Sa'diyya in succession to his father Muḥammad (see page 37; cf. al-Khuḍārī, 165 ff.).

167 Since the office of *kātib niqābat al-ashrāf* came directly under the *naqīb al-ashrāf* it seems probable that the incumbent to this office was appointed or invested by the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya* in his capacity of *naqīb al-ashrāf*; cf. I-41/1 (26 Ram. 1287).

168 Cf. I-45/3 (11 Qa'da 1287).

169 When his heir had grown up, control was not regained until after a dispute discussed in chapter 4.

170 Oral information from 'Abd al-Qādir al-Qādirī, the present *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Qādiriyyat al-Qāsimiyya* in Egypt; see chapter 4, note 19. A distinction is made between a *khādīm ḍarīḥ*, i.e. the intendant to a shrine to which no additional officials were attached, and the *shaykh khidmat ḍarīḥ*, being the intendant of a shrine to which a staff was attached under his supervision. The *Lā'ṭhat al-Nudhūrāt* (p. 7) of 1898 defines *shaykh khidmat ḍarīḥ* as "he who has daily supervision over all those employed at a shrine(-mosque) and over their work"; cf. note 98 for the various officials who could be attached to these establishments. To denote all the officials employed at a shrine(-mosque) the term *al-khidma* is used as a

succeeded him, was appointed by al-Bakrī as *shaykh* of this *ṭarīqa*¹⁷¹ which, if it survived him, had become redundant at the beginning of the 20th century.¹⁷²

Al-Suṭūḥiyya, in the above list, had been active in Cairo since the end of the 17th century at least.¹⁷³ Its leaders, however, had always resided in Minshāt Sulṭān in al-Minūfiyya province, at the shrine of the founder of the *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Suṭūḥī. According to the *ṭarīqa*'s oral tradition, intensive proselytizing by 'Āmir al-Suṭūḥī, a *shaykh* of the *ṭarīqa* during the first half of the 19th century, increased its membership as well as the social status of this *shaykh*. An even firmer basis for his *ṭarīqa* leadership was created when he moved to Cairo and succeeded in obtaining control over the mosque and shrine of Faraj al-Suṭūḥī,¹⁷⁴ a saint of this *ṭarīqa*.¹⁷⁵ The fact that 'Āmir's son and successor, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, figures among the heads of the *ṭuruq* who had recognized al-Bakrī's authority, shows that this *ṭarīqa*, under a unified leadership, had achieved an expansion which made it imperative for its head to recognize al-Bakrī's authority if it was to share in the benefits of right of *qadam* implied by it, in order to maintain its membership in the countryside.

In the case of al-Zāhidiyya, no indication exists that it was active before the middle of the 19th century, when Muḥammad Sulaymān al-Dīrīnī obtained control over the shrine of Aḥmad al-Zāhid in the Sūq al-Zalaṭ near Bāb al-Sha'riyya.¹⁷⁶ The fact that its *shaykh* figures among the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* suggests that round about 1870 it must have had considerable membership. Only this would give sufficient justification for al-Bakrī to give this *shaykh* official status as *shaykh ṭarīqa* instead of continuing to consider him merely as intendant

collective noun; cf. 11-1/3 (8 Muḥ. 1289). Moreover, the term refers to the free distribution of food at a shrine(-mosque) or during a *mawlid*.

- 171 For a graphical representation of the various family relationships, see below chapter 4, page 130, note 17.
- 172 Cf. the list of *ṭuruq* active in Egypt in 1906 in *B.s.*, 381. Even if this Qādiriyya order had not ceased to be active, the fact that it is not mentioned in this list indicates its very insignificance.
- 173 Cf. al-Nābulusī, fol. 240^a.
- 174 This mosque is at present known as Jāmi' al-Ḥifnī; cf. al-Sakhāwī, 86, 'Alī Mubārak does not mention the presence of the shrine; cf. *Khīt.*, iv, 99.
- 175 For information about the early phase in the history of al-Suṭūḥiyya I am obliged to Muḥammad Baḥbah al-Suṭūḥī, the present-day head of this *ṭarīqa* and the *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*. He had the kindness to show me the document, dated 12 Dhū l-Qa'da 1271, which made his forefather *nāzīr* of the mosque and shrine of Faraj al-Suṭūḥī and of *awqāf* established in its favour. The administration of these *awqāf* had been taken over by the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* in the 1880's; cf. *Khīt.*, iv, 99.
- 176 For his biography, see *Sha'rānī*, ii, 81 ff.

of a shrine. Moreover, for the head of this *ṭarīqa* only the size of membership would make official recognition imperative in order to obtain the benefits of right of *qadam*.

An exceptional arrangement, whose genesis is unknown, existed for the leadership of al-Shinnāwiyya, since the head of this *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad Jāhīn mentioned in the above list, was recognized as such for Cairo only.¹⁷⁷ As head of al-Shinnāwiyya in al-Minūfiyya province, however, another independent *shaykh*, ‘Umar al-Shinnāwī, member of the Shinnāwī family, had become recognized.¹⁷⁸ A competitive relationship appears to have existed between the two, aggravated by the fact that no agreement existed about rights of *qadam* between the *khulafā’* of both *shaykhs* in al-Minūfiyya province.¹⁷⁹

For an important section of al-Sammāniyya in Egypt, the intendant of the shrine of its founder’s son, Ḥammad al-‘Ibādī, in the cemetery of al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī, had come to be considered as the principal *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa*. The first of these intendants who were appointed by al-Bakrī as head of this *ṭarīqa* seems to have been Ḥasan al-Sammān, mentioned in the above list. The latter, whose full name was Muḥammad Ḥasan, was a descendant of the *ṭarīqa*’s founder and a son of the supreme head of the *ṭarīqa*, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Sammān,¹⁸⁰ who resided in the *zāwiyat al-Sammāniyya* in Madina.¹⁸¹ This factor would most probably have been taken into consideration by al-Bakrī when he confirmed Ḥasan as the *ṭarīqa*’s supreme head for Egypt. His authority was disputed, however, by other *khulafā’*.¹⁸² Therefore only a fraction of the *ṭarīqa*’s membership must have recognized the suzerainty of the intendant of Ḥammad’s shrine over them.

Representatives of al-Mirghaniyya had already found their way into Egypt during the lifetime of its founder, Muḥammad ‘Uthmān (d. 1268: 1851).¹⁸³ In Alexandria in particular an active community had emerged and groups had

177 See I-18/2 (28 Rab. I 1287).

178 See I-28/8 (27 Jum. II 1287).

179 Ibid.

180 Cf. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān, *Risālat al-Nafahāt al-Ilāhiyya fi Kayfiyyat Sulūk al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, Cairo 1326, 73.

181 Cf. Nūr al-Dā‘im al-Ṭayyibī, *Al-Ku‘ūs al-Mutra‘a fi Manāqib al-Sādat al-Arba‘a*, Cairo 1959, 51 f. for the descendants of Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān, who were the heads of the *ṭarīqa* resident in Madina.

182 E.g. by Rifā‘ī b. ‘Aṭā’ Allāh, a *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa* who obtained some pre-eminence among the Sammāniyya *khulafā’*, sanctioned by ‘Alī al-Bakrī; cf. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Kūhin, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shādhilīyya al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1347, 107 ff. There is no evidence, however, that he was ever confirmed as *shaykh al-Sammāniyya* in Egypt, and he certainly never held authority over all the *ṭuruq* as contended by al-Kūhin.

183 Cf. Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 234.

become active in other cities also.¹⁸⁴ Some of the *ṭarīqa*'s teachings were of a highly controversial nature, however, and induced the Mālikī *muftī* Muḥammad 'Illaysh to issue a *fatwā* in which Muḥammad 'Uthmān's teachings were condemned as *kufī*.¹⁸⁵ 'Illaysh, however, was head of a *ṭarīqa* himself¹⁸⁶ and it seems likely that the promulgation of this *fatwā* was at least partly inspired by the desire to check the spread of a competing *ṭarīqa*, rather than the desire to purify. Notwithstanding this opposition, the *ṭarīqa* spread and its *khalīfa* for Cairo, Ibrāhīm Mubārak was appointed by al-Bakrī as its supreme head.¹⁸⁷

Al-Ṣāwiyya, a *Khalwatiyya* order with its centre in Mecca, founded by Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī (d. 1241: 1825), had been propagated in Egypt by various *khulafā'*.¹⁸⁸ After the death of the most notable *khalīfa*, Muḥammad al-Qāḍī al-Far'ūnī (d. 1244: 1828/29) who was also *khādim* of the shrine of al-Sayyida Zaynab,¹⁸⁹ two other *khalīfas* of al-Ṣāwī, Muḥammad al-Shādhilī¹⁹⁰ and Aḥmad Ḍayf became prominent.¹⁹¹ Aḥmad Ḍayf was the son of Ismā'īl 'Alī Ḍayf (1210–1280: 1795/96–1863) who had also been a *khalīfa* of al-Ṣāwī but had amended the Ṣāwiyya Way.¹⁹² The distinctiveness this gave to the section of the *ṭarīqa* over which he held authority seems to have increased the membership of this group and therefore enhanced the position of its leader, who was appointed as supreme head of al-Ṣāwiyya, notwithstanding the fact that he had moved away from al-Ṣāwiyya proper in a direction which would result in the formation of a new and distinct *ṭarīqa*.

The section of al-Ṣāwiyya under the leadership of Muḥammad al-Shādhilī seems not to have deviated from the Ṣāwiyya Way. Muḥammad al-Shādhilī was the grandson of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī: this no doubt contributed to his prominence as a *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa* in Egypt and explains why he was appointed as head

184 Cf. I-19/3 (1 Rab. II 1287); I-20/8 (13 Rab. II 1287).

185 Cf. F. Or. A. 284, v/23–28 (Report on the *ṭuruq* in the Sudan), fol. 2. 'Illaysh's charges of *kufī* were based upon a pamphlet which had been written and was distributed by al-Mirghānī in which he stated among other things that he was the last of the *awlīyā'*, that the expected *mahdī* would come from his family, and that it was better to mention his name 12,000 times than to mention the *ism al-jalāla*; cf. *ibid.*

186 This was al-'Arabiyya al-Shādhiliyya. See above p. 27 f. and below p. 113 f.

187 Cf. IV-3/3 (n.d.; 1288 approx.).

188 Cf. Ismā'īl 'Abd Allāh al-Maghribī, *Al-Nūr al-Wuḍḍā' fī Manāqib wa Karāmāt 'Umdat al-Awliyā' ... Sīdī Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī*, Cairo 1347, 145 ff.

189 *Ibid.*, 155.

190 *Ibid.*, 146 for a short biography.

191 *Ibid.*, 156.

192 Cf. Aḥmad Ḍayf, *Irshād al-Rafīq li-Aḥkām wa Ādāb al-Ṭarīq*, al-Jīza 1388 (7th ed.) with e.g. the treatise *Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān* (Cairo 1281), by Aḥmad al-Dardayr, whose Way was essentially continued by al-Ṣāwī.

of an autonomous Šāwiyya order, notwithstanding his defective authority over Šāwiyya membership in Egypt as a whole.¹⁹³

The last three *ṭuruq* in the list, as well as al-Īsawīyya, are all referred to explicitly as *ṭuruq* to which Maghribīs belong.¹⁹⁴ This is not the case, however, with the Shādhiliyya group under Muṣṭafā al-Šandaqjī. Therefore one is led to suppose that this *shaykh* headed a group which had mainly Egyptian membership, like the Qāsimiyya branch of al-Shādhiliyya headed by ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Barmūnī (d. 1924). In 1288 (1871/72) the latter had succeeded his father, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā who, before his death in that year, had already been among the heads of the *ṭuruq* who recognized al-Bakrī’s authority.¹⁹⁵ Within al-Bakrī’s administration, however, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā seems to have been dealt with as *shaykh* of a distinct Shādhiliyya *ṭarīqa* only after centralized authority over all the Shādhiliyya *ṭuruq* in Egypt had come to an end some time after the death of Muḥammad Abū l-Ma’ālī l-Jawharī.¹⁹⁶

The first mention of the existence of al-Ḥandūshīyya¹⁹⁷ and al-Tihāmiyya in Egypt occurs in the present list. Al-Tihāmiyya had been founded in the beginning of the 18th century by Mawlay al-Tihāmī, who belonged to a Moroccan family of saintly lineage of which other members had founded two notable

193 The name of the *ṭarīqa* under the leadership of Muḥammad al-Shādhilī is not mentioned in the document upon which the list on pages 69 and 70 is based (cf. note 165). This could indicate that this *ṭarīqa* had ceased to be referred to officially as al-Šāwiyya, presumably in order to reduce potential conflict originating in claims for suzerainty of one head of al-Šāwiyya over the other, which was inherent in the existence of two identical *ṭarīqas* with one and the same name. On the solution of such potential conflict in similar cases, see below chapter 4, pages 127–131. A number of *khulafā’* of al-Šāwiyya, in particular in Upper Egypt, do not appear to have had any formal link with either of the two Cairo-based heads. Amongst these were ‘Abd al-Bāqī in Kafr ‘Ammār and ‘Alī al-‘Imrānī in al-Rawḍa; cf. al-Maghribī, 148f. See also below p. 119.

194 I.e. by the epithet Maghāriba: al-Īsawīyya al-Maghāriba; al-Ḥandūshīyya al-Maghāriba; al-Tihāmiyya al-Maghāriba. Al-Jabartī also mentions al-Īsawīyya explicitly as a group of Maghāriba; cf. *Ajā’ib*, iii, 39, as does Lane, 466.

195 See 1-85/2 (8 Qa’da 1288); 1-76/8 (28 Raj. 1288); 1-79/7 (23 Sha’bān 1288).

196 The way in which this arrangement had come to an end is not known. Until 1269 at least, he had been active as a *ṭarīqa* head; cf. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shu’aybī. *Majmū’a Mushtamila ‘alā Aḥzāb wa Awrād wa Nubadh Latīfa wa l-Maḥyā al-Shu’aybiyya al-Aḥmadiyya*, Cairo 1322, 24. See also chapter 1, note 98. I have not been able to establish the year of his death. It must have been, however, between 1273 (1856/7), in which year he established a *waqf* (cf. *Khīt.*, iv, 77) and before 1287 (1870), since he does not figure in the lists of guests invited by al-Bakrī to attend various celebrations, contained in the series F. Or. A. 283.

197 Also spelt Ḥamdūshīyya. Adherents are collectively referred to as Ḥamādisha or Ḥanādisha (or by the colloquialized forms Ḥanadsha, Ḥamadsha); cf. V. Crapanzano, *The Ḥamadsha. A Study in Moroccan Ethnopsychiatry*, Berkeley 1973, 2.

North African orders, al-Wazzāniyya and al-Ṭayyibiyya.¹⁹⁸ Al-Ḥandūshiyya, like al-ʿĪsawiyya, was particularly known for its ecstatic practices.¹⁹⁹ It had been founded in Morocco by ʿAlī ibn Ḥandūsh (d. 1131: 1718/19 approximately) and had its main centre near his shrine in the village of Banī Rashīd in the Jabal Zarhūn, near Meknes.²⁰⁰ The early history of these orders in Egypt, as well as the circumstances which allowed Muḥammad al-Ḥandūsh and Muḥammad al-Tihāmī to obtain pre-eminence within their respective orders, are obscure.

More is known about the history of al-ʿArūsiyya in Egypt.²⁰¹ A certain Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Khalīfa known as al-Ḥājj Ḥamūda b. Khalīfat al-Tājūr, a Libyan residing in Alexandria, had been the principal propagator and *khalīfa* of this *ṭarīqa*, which had been founded by Aḥmad ibn ʿArūs (d. 868: 1463).²⁰² Originally ʿAbd al-Karīm Manṣūr had been one of Ḥamūda's *khulafāʾ* in Cairo. However, he had detached himself from his *shaykh* and obtained a new *ijāza* from a certain ʿAbd ad-Salām Baḥīḥ, a *khalīfa* of the order in Tripolitania.²⁰³ Once back in Cairo he consolidated and expanded his following, which gave him pre-eminence over the other *khulafāʾ* of the *ṭarīqa*. This pre-eminence was officially confirmed when he was appointed supreme head of al-ʿArūsiyya by al-Bakrī.

Unique among the *ṭuruq* in Egypt was the position of al-Wafāʾiyya, not mentioned in the above list. In 1289 (1872) its leader and *shaykh al-sajjāda* was Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Sādāt who had held the office following the death of his father Aḥmad Abū l-Naṣr in 1280 (1864).²⁰⁴ The leader of this

198 See Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, 276; G. Draques, *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc: confréries et zaouias*, Paris n.d., 277 ff.; and O. Depont & X. Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses Musulmanes*, Alger 1897, 484 ff. Al-Ṭayyibiyya takes its name from Mawlay al-Ṭayyib (d. 1181: 1767) and al-Wazzāniyya from ʿAbd Allāh al-Sharīf al-Wazzānī (d. 1089; 1678). For short biographies, see e.g. Muḥammad al-ʿArabi b. al-Sāʾih al-Ribāṭī, *Bughyat al-Mustaʿfid li-Sharḥ Munnyat al-Murīd*; Alexandria n.d., 205 ff.

199 Cf. Shafīq, i, 77.

200 Crapanzano, *passim*.

201 A primary source for the history of this *ṭarīqa* and its branches is Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Dawiyātī, *Taʾrīf ʿan Ṭarīqat al-Shaykh al-ʿArif bi-llāh Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām b. Salīm al-Asmar*, Alexandria n.d. (mimeographed).

202 For a discussion of the historicity of Aḥmad b. ʿArūs see Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Faḥḥām, ʿIbn ʿArūs wa l-Ṭarīqa al-ʿArūsiyya, *Al-Funūn al-Shaʿbiyya*, iv/15 (Dec. 1970), 64–72. For a biography, see Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Mulayjī, *ʿAlā Ḥāmish Ḥayāt Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām al-Asmar*, Tripoli (Libya) 1969, 16 ff. About this *ṭarīqa*, see Karīm al-Dīn al-Barmūnī, *Tanqīḥ Rawḍat al-Azhār wa Munnyat al-Sādāt al-Abrār fī Manāqib Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām al-Asmar*, Tunis 1325(7), 91 ff.

203 al-Dawiyātī, *passim*.

204 Cf. Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafāʾiyya*, Cairo n.d., 8 f.; Zakhūrā, i, 185 ff. Documents relative to the succession are: DWQ, *daftar* 1907 (*awāmīr*), p. 117, *mus.* 17 (25

group, which had an ambivalent character since it was the corporation of descendants of al-Imām ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, i.e. a family group, as well as a *ṭarīqa*,²⁰⁵ had not been made subject to al-Bakrī’s authority by the *firmān* of 1812. Like al-Bakrī and unlike any other *ṭarīqa* leader, the *shaykh* of this group continued to obtain legality through appointment by khedivial decree²⁰⁶ and when al-Bakrī’s administration developed, he continued to maintain his traditional autonomy. Moreover, he appointed his own *khulafā’* and *nuwwāb* without recourse to al-Bakrī in any way whatsoever. Notwithstanding this, the *ṭarīqa*’s right of *qadam* in certain areas was recognized and when violations occurred they were dealt with, as would normally be the case whenever this principle was infringed.²⁰⁷

The other groups which fell outside al-Bakrī’s sphere of jurisdiction as defined by the *firmān* of 1812 and the agreement with al-Azhar of 1847, were al-‘Ināniyya and al-Khuḍayriyya, which had not been granted a similar position. Therefore, the most plausible explanation for the singular arrangement as it existed in the case of al-Wafā’iyya, seems to be that it could be obtained and maintained owing to the pre-eminent role in Egyptian society—in many respects equal to al-Bakrī’s—which was played by the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Wafā’iyya*. Both dignitaries were also among the members of the *Majlis al-Mashwara* installed by Muḥammad ‘Alī in 1829,²⁰⁸ of *al-Majlis al-Khuṣūṣī* installed by Khedive ‘Abbās in Rabī‘ II 1265 (February 1849),²⁰⁹ as well as of other consultative, judiciary and representative bodies installed by Egyptian rulers, such as the *Majlis al-Aḥkām*.²¹⁰

Ram. 1280); *idem*, *daftar* 539 (Ma’iyya Turkī), p. 104, *mus.* 13 (10 Muḥ. 1281); *idem*, p. 105, *mus.* 235 (15 Muḥ. 1281).

205 Particular to al-Wafā’iyya there was, in addition to the celebrations of a number of distinct *mawālīd* (cf. al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā’iyya*, 67), a ceremony held during the night of the 27th of Ramaḍān, known as *al-taknīyya*, when a *kunyā* (surname) was given by the *shaykh al-sajjāda* to those who desired it for the sake of *baraka*; cf. Shafīq, i, 79, and al-Bakrī, *ibid.*, 68 f. For the justification of this practice as *sunna*, see al-Bakrī, *ibid.*, 69 ff.

206 After the death of Aḥmad Abū l-Naṣr al-Sādāt, however, al-Bakrī was asked, as were the *muftī l-Ḥanafīyya* and the *shaykh al-Azhar*, to testify about the fitness of his son Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Khālīq as his successor; cf. DWQ, *daftar* 539 (Ma’iyya Turkī), p. 104, *mus.* (10 Muḥ. 1281).

207 I-45/3 (8 Qa’da 1287); I-46/4 (28 Qa’da 1287).

208 Cf. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfi‘ī, *Aṣr Muḥammad ‘Alī*, Cairo 1930, 573; Sāmī, *Taqwīm al-Nīl*, ii, 350.

209 In this body, membership alternated between *al-shaykh al-sādāt* and al-Bakrī; cf. Sāmī, *Taqwīm*, i/3; 18. For the various periods it was operative see Deny, *Sommaire*, 120 f. See also ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfi‘ī, *Aṣr Ismā‘īl*, Cairo 1937, i, 47; ii, 281.

210 Cf. Zakhūrā, i, 187, and al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā’iyya*, 10, for Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Khālīq’s

13 Al-Bakrī's Administration and the Ṭakāyā

Among the *ṭuruq* which had no active communities outside Cairo were al-Mawlawiyya, al-Gülshāniyya²¹¹ and al-Bektāshīyya. Each of these had a *ṭakīya* which was the centre of its activities. The heads of these establishments were, at the same time, heads of their respective *ṭuruq* in Egypt. Besides these a number of *takāyā* existed, housing communities of mystics belonging to *ṭuruq* whose heads had recognized al-Bakrī's authority and were appointed by him, but were dealt with, nevertheless, as independent communities with their own *mashāyikh* over them. The residents were predominantly foreigners or were not native Egyptians²¹² and some *takāyā* only had residents who came from a particular country or area, e.g. from Bukhāra, from Khokand or from Anatolia. The heads of these establishments, if they were entitled to periodic payments from *al-Rūznāma* or from another official source, had all accepted the fact that al-Bakrī had become the sole official who could legally appoint them. This is hardly surprising since they would not receive these payments unless formal appointments by al-Bakrī had been obtained.

When one of them died, the heads of the other *takāyā* would go to the establishment of the deceased, in the company of a representative of al-Bakrī. They would see to it that the inheritance of the deceased was dealt with in accordance with the *sharī'a*²¹³ and at the same time they would inquire about a possible successor. When such a post became vacant, as in the case of death or the departure of the incumbent, al-Bakrī would not appoint a successor unless the residents of the *ṭakīya* had elected one from their midst.²¹⁴ This proposed candidate could be a descendant or relative of the former head of the *ṭakīya*.²¹⁵ However, this was in no way the established practice, as had evolved in the case

membership of these bodies. For references to Aḥmad Abū l-Naṣr's appointment as member of the *Majlis al-Aḥkām* see the document referred to in note 206. For the periods when this body was operative cf. Deny, *Sommaire*, 123 f.

211 Al-Gülshāniyya also had a *ṭakīya* in Bülāq at the end of the 17th century; cf. Nābulusi, f. 228^a, and 236^a; and Çelebi, *Seyāhatnāme*, x, 251. A *ṭakīya* of this *ṭariqa* in Alexandria had been controlled by Turkish Qādirīs presumably from around the middle of the 19th century onwards, as may be inferred from MS Leiden Or. 14432 (Niyāzī documents)/1a (22 Rab. 11307); *idem*/1b (26 Rab. 11307); *idem*/11a (20 Raj. 1311); *idem*/11b (20 Raj. 1311).

212 Cf. *Khiṭ.*, i, 90; vi, 54.

213 I-30/5 (6 Raj. 1287); I-32/2 (23 Raj. 1287).

214 I-69/1 (25 Jum. 11 1288); I-80/2 (29 Sha'bān 1288); III-16/4 (11 Jum. 11290); V-30(10)/6 (13 Rab. 11 1297); IV-4/1 (n.d.; 1288).

215 Cf. I-13/3 (3 Rab. 11 1287) for succession of a son; II-36/5 (7 Qa'da 1289); II-31(11)1 (11 Rab. 11290) for succession of a brother.

of the heads of the *ṭuruq*. Here the only requirement for appointment was that the candidate's authority over the inmates was expected to have a legitimate basis.

Among the residents of a *ṭakīya* disputes might occur between factions each supporting a different candidate.²¹⁶ Such a disagreement rarely lasted long, since the *ṭakīya*, and hence its inmates, could not receive any payments from official sources except through a legally appointed head. Obviously this circumstance induced the factions involved to reach an agreement as soon as possible. If the inhabitants of a *ṭakīya* continued to disagree about the person to be appointed as *shaykh* over them, a council would be convened in order to investigate the matter and to mediate between the parties involved.²¹⁷ In these councils heads of *ṭuruq*, of *takāyā* and shrines participated and were, to all intents and purposes, each other's equals. This was also the case in similar councils convened when disputes occurred involving members of *ṭuruq* or persons connected with *ṭuruq*-linked institutions and coming within the realm of al-Bakrī's jurisdiction.

Once appointment was made, al-Bakrī informed the *Rūznāma* Department and gave instructions to pay the customary salary to the newly appointed *shaykh*.²¹⁸ Since the majority of the heads of the *takāyā* benefited from *awqāf* supervised by the *Dīwān al-Awqāf*²¹⁹ or had dealings with it in other ways,²²⁰ he would also inform this Department²²¹ as well as the *nāzir al-Khāṣṣa* if the *ṭakīya* had an income from this source.²²² The chief of police (*ma'mūr*) in Cairo was also informed,²²³ since he was held primarily responsible for assisting the newly appointed *shaykh* in assuming his office, in case the *shaykh* should be forcibly prevented from doing so by the inhabitants of the *ṭakīya* who disagreed with the appointment. Further, al-Bakrī informed the *ma'mūr*'s superior, the governor of Cairo.²²⁴ The governor needed to know who was in charge of the

216 IV-4/1 (8 *Sha'bān* 1288).

217 I-79/6 (23 *Sha'bān* 1288); IV-2/4 (4 *Ram.* 1289).

218 III-16/5 (11 *Jum.* I 1290).

219 See e.g. WA, no. 2976 (23 *Ṣaf.* 1282).

220 E.g. in cases in which stipends from the *Dā'irat al-Khāṣṣat al-Khidwīyya* (the Civil List) were paid through this *Dīwān*; cf. IV-22(13)/2 (13 *Shaw.* 1290). For the stipends paid by al-*Rūznāma* to the heads of the various *takāyā* as well as the revenues received out of *awqāf* see *Khiṭ.*, vi, 84 ff.

221 I-13/3 (3 *Rab.* I 1287); II-15/8 (11 *Jum.* I 1289); III-16/4 (11 *Jum.* I 1290).

222 II-36/5 (7 *Qa'da* 1289); II-37/5 (7 *Hijja* 1289).

223 III-35/6 (20 *Muḥ.* 1290).

224 II-15/7 (11 *Jum.* I 1289); III-34/3 (4 *Qa'da* 1290).

various *takāyā*, since these officials were considered to be religious dignitaries and had to be invited by him to official ceremonies.²²⁵

At the major religious celebrations organized and supervised by al-Bakrī neither the inhabitants of the *takāyā* nor their heads participated in the various ceremonial processions held. However, for the performance of a *ḥaḍra* or for participation in the *ḥaḍarāt* held by other *ṭuruq*, al-Bakrī would invite the following *mashāyikh al-takāyā* and the inmates of the *takāyā* supervised by them:²²⁶

Muḥammad al-Shāfi‘ī	shaykh takīyat al-Ustādh al-Maghribī
Shākir Khān	shaykh takīyat Ḥasan al-Rūmī
Mīrā	shaykh takīyat al-Bukhārīyya
Muḥammad Bakhshī	shaykh takīyat al-Hunūd
‘Uthmān Efendī Sulaymān	shaykh takīyat al-Uzbek
Muḥammad Efendī ‘Ashīq	shaykh takīyat al-Naqshbandiyya
Aḥmad Efendī Khākī	shaykh takīyat Darb Qīrmiz
Muḥammad Bakīr	shaykh takīyat Qayşūn
Muḥammad Nūr	shaykh takīyat al-Rukubiyya
‘Alī	shaykh takīyat al-Ghannām
Muḥammad Efendī	shaykh takīyat Shaykhūn
Ibrāhīm	shaykh takīyat al-Surūjiyya
Naşr Efendī	shaykh takīyat Muḥyi l-Dīn
Ibrāhīm Efendī	shaykh takīyat Bulāq
‘Abd al-Raḥmān Efendī	shaykh takīyat Qaşr al-‘Aynī
‘Abbās	shaykh takīyat al-Maghāwiri
Ḥasan Efendī	shaykh takīyat al-Mawlawiyya
Khalīl Efendī	shaykh takīyat al-Gūlshāniyya

Ṭarīqa allegiance of the heads of the takīyat al-Ustādh al-Maghribī, which was located near to Shāri‘ al-Isma‘īliyya reaching from al-Azbakiyya to Būlāq, and the takīyat Ḥasan al-Rūmī, in Shāri‘ al-Maḥjar near the citadel,²²⁷ is unknown. Nor are any data available suggesting a particular *ṭarīqa* membership or regional provenance for the inmates of the *takāyā* controlled by them. Histor-

225 Among others they were invited to attend the investment ceremony of Khedive Tawfiq; cf. v-8(15)/8 (6 Raj. 1296) and to the *mihrajān nāhil* held for his son, Muḥammad ‘Alī; cf. 11-35/4 (Qa‘da 1289).

226 11-29/4 (10 Shaw. 1289). The sequence has been rearranged in order to fit the following discussion.

227 *Khīṭ.*, ii, 103; vi, 55.

ical data are available only for the *takīyat* Ḥasan al-Rūmī. These are restricted, however, to the 18th century and are limited in scope and content.²²⁸ The *takīyat* al-Bukhārīyya, of which the complete name was *takīyat* Niẓām al-Dīn al-Bukhārīyya,²²⁹ was located nearby in al-Ḥaṭṭāba, and was reserved for Bukhārīs under a Bukhārī *shaykh*.²³⁰ The *takīyat* al-Hunūd was also controlled and inhabited by Bukhārīs²³¹ who must have belonged to al-Qādiriyya, since the right of residence in this *takīya* seems to have been reserved to members of this *ṭarīqa*.²³²

Of the inmates of the *takīyat* al-Uzbek, also known as *takīyat* Muḥammad Taqī l-Dīn al-Biṣṭāmī in Darb al-Labbān,²³³ a part of the residents were of Bukhārī extraction and from 1201 (1786/87) until 1288 (1871/72) it had also been under Bukhārī *mashāyikh* of Bukhārī origin.²³⁴ In 1288 (1871/72), however, a faction of the *takīya*'s residents who were Khokandī nationals took action in order to obtain the appointment of a Khokandī national as successor to the Bukhārī *shaykh* of the *takīya*, who had died in that year.²³⁵ This was opposed by the Bukhārī community of the *takīya* who presented their own candidate to al-Bakrī.²³⁶ A prolonged conflict followed in which nationalistic rivalries were involved,²³⁷ and resulted in the monopolization of the *takīya* by the Khokandīs,²³⁸ notwithstanding the fact that they had publicly declared that they would agree to the appointment of somebody of Uzbek extraction, without national affiliations, as *shaykh* of the *takīya*.²³⁹

228 Cf. chapter 1, notes 128 and 129.

229 *Khīt.*, iii, 130.

230 Cf. IV-13(4)/1 (7 Jum. I 1289).

231 *Khīt.*, ii, 13, 104 and vi, 57.

232 Cf. Zakhūrā, i, 224 d.

233 Cf. I-63/3 (20 Rab. II 1288); and *Khīt.*, ii, 54, 104.

234 See I-69/1 (25 Jum. II 1288).

235 I-79/6 (23 Sha'bān 1288).

236 I-66/2 (4 Jum. II 1288).

237 Khokand had become an independent *khanate* in a region which was traditionally part of Bukhāra, at the end of the 18th century. Ever since, the two *khanates* had been in a situation of more or less protracted conflict, and embarked upon military campaigns on a number of occasions—in 1842 for instance—, resulting in the Bukhārī occupation of Khokand; and in 1871, an event ending in the occupation of Karategin, previously a *de facto* independent province under one Muẓaffar Shāh, nominally subject to Khokand. In 1876 the *khanate* was annexed to Russia. Cf. S. Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva (1865–1924)*, Cambridge, Mass. 1968, 39, 49, 53; and M. Holdsworth, *Turkestan in the Nineteenth Century. A brief History of the Khanates of Bukhara, Khokand and Khiva*, Oxford 1959, *passim*.

238 IV-13(4)/1 (7 Jum. I 1289).

239 II-15/7, 8, 9 (11 Jum. I 1289).

The latter, 'Uthman Efendī Sulaymān, mentioned in the list above, belonged to the Naqshbandiyya order which had an active community in a *takīya* located near Shāri' al-Ḥabbanīyya dating from 1268 (1851/52). This *takīya* had been constructed in that year by Khedive 'Abbās I at his own expense; he also established extensive *awqāf* to support it.²⁴⁰ He had done so as a favour to a Naqshbandī *shaykh*, Muḥammad 'Āshiq (d. 1300: 1883), mentioned as the *takīya's* head.²⁴¹ This *shaykh* was of Turkish (Osmanli) extraction and had been initiated into al-Naqshbandiyya by Aḥmad Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Gümüşkhānālī (d. 1311: 1893),²⁴² whose Way, al-Ḍiyā'iyya, was a branch of al-Khālidiyya, the Naqshbandiyya tradition propagated by Khālīd al-Shahrazūrī (d. 1242: 1827), the great revivalist of this *ṭarīqa* in the Arab world.²⁴³

Another *takīya* headed by a *shaykh* who belonged to this *ṭarīqa* was the takīyat Darb Qirmiz.²⁴⁴ Its *shaykh*, Aḥmad Khākī (d. 1891), did not represent al-Khālidiyya or any of its branches, but represented al-Mujaddidiyya, an earlier Naqshbandiyya tradition going back to Aḥmad al-Sirhindī (d. 1034: 1624).²⁴⁵ The majority of the residents of this *takīya*, however, appear to have belonged to al-Khalwatiyya.²⁴⁶

Takāyā headed by *mashāyikh* who used to belong to this *ṭarīqa* exclusively but in which, moreover, the right to reside was restricted to members of this *ṭarīqa*, are the takīyat Qaysūn, commonly known as the takīyat al-Khalwatiyya in al-Ḥilmiyya,²⁴⁷ the takīyat al-Rukubiyya in Shāri' al-Rukubiyya²⁴⁸ and the

240 For the text of the *waqfiyya*, see WA, no. 856 (20 Rab. II 1308). For other *awqāf* established in its favour, cf. WA, no. 2834 (5 Qa'da 1266).

241 *Khīt.*, iii, 10; iv, 57.

242 For his biography see Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawthārī (Kevseri), *Irghām al-Marid fī Sharḥ al-Naẓm al-'Atid li-Tawassul al-Murīd*, Constantinople 1302; Muḥammad Muḥammad Māḍī l-Rakhāwī, *Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Manāqib al-Sādat al-Naqshbandiyya*, Cairo 1344, 264.

243 Cf. A. Hourani, 'Shaykh Khālīd and the Naqshbandi Order', in S.M. Stern, A. Hourani, and V. Brown (eds.), *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition*, Colombia, South Carolina 1972, 89–103.

244 See *Khīt.*, ii, 13, for details about this *takīya*.

245 Cf. Ijāza bi-Ṭarīq al-Naqshbandiyya'. On Sirhindī and his teachings see e.g. the relevant chapters in S.A.A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Agra 1965, 202 ff., in addition to the balanced reevaluation of al-Sirhindī's thought in Y. Friedmann, *Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī. An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity*, Montreal/London 1971.

246 Cf. Zakhūrā, i, 224 d; *Khīt.*, iii, 130.

247 *Khīt.*, ii, 40; vi, 55.

248 Also known as zāwiyat Bābā Yaḥyā; cf. *Khīt.*, ii, 59; and vi, 57.

takīyat al-Ghannām in Ghayṭ al-‘Idda.²⁴⁹ In the takīyat Muḥyī l-Dīn, near the citadel in the Shāri‘ al-Maḥjar²⁵⁰ and in the takīyat Būlāq, also known as takīyat al-Rifā‘iyya,²⁵¹ it was to the last-named *ṭarīqa* that heads and residents belonged.²⁵² The takīyat Muḥyī l-Dīn was founded by Khedive ‘Abbās I in 1266 (1850).²⁵³ Additional data relevant to the history of these institutions do not go beyond what is reported by ‘Alī Mubārak.²⁵⁴ This is equally the case with the takīyat Shaykhūn in Shāri‘ al-Ṣalība and the takīyat al-Surūjiyya²⁵⁵ in the Cairene quarter of the same name, the heads and inmates of which used to belong to al-Qādiriyya exclusively.²⁵⁶ The takīyat Qaṣr al-‘Aynī was also inhabited by Qādirīs and supervised by a *shaykh* belonging to that *ṭarīqa*.²⁵⁷ Before 1826 however, the *takīya* had been the principal centre of al-Bektāshīyya in Egypt (see above page 26). In this year, in Egypt as well as elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire,²⁵⁸ the *ṭarīqa* was suppressed; a *shaykh* belonging to al-Qādiriyya was appointed over the takīyat Qaṣr al-‘Aynī, which has been supervised and inhabited by members of this *ṭarīqa* ever since.²⁵⁹ After 1839, however, when a new Ottoman Sultan, ‘Abd al-Majīd, had come to power, the *ṭarīqa* started to manifest itself openly again, and already by the end of the 1850’s a Bektāshī community was re-established in Egypt.²⁶⁰ Apparently it was favoured by Khedive Ismā‘īl who, by decree, granted to the *ṭarīqa* the *takīya* of ‘Abd Allāh al-Maghāwirī on the slopes of al-Muqaṭṭam, a building in poor condition which he had partially restored, adding new annexes.²⁶¹ The shrine of

249 Cf. *ibid.* For *awqāf* established in favour of the last mentioned *takīya*, see WA, no. 510 (8 Shaw. 1231).

250 Cf. Deny, *Sommaire*, 23.

251 Cf. *Khit.*, vi, 55.

252 At the end of the 19th century a number of Turkish Qādirīs were also resident here; cf. *Khit.*, iii, 130.

253 Deny, *ibid.*

254 *Khit.*, vi, 54 ff.

255 This *takīya* was also known as al-takīyat al-Sulaymāniyya after the Mamlūk *amir* Sulaymān Bāshā, who had established it in 920 A.H.; cf. *Khit.*, ii, 38; vi, 56. For *awqāf* established in favour of this *takīya*, see WA, no. 866 (5 Shaw. 1281) and WA, no. 1158 (25 Hija 1278).

256 *Khit.*, iii, 130; vi, 56; Zakhūrā, *ibid.* The former *takīya* is referred to as *al-takīya al-Qādiriyya bi-Miṣr bi-Khaṭṭ al-Ṣalība* in WA, no. 868 (5 Sha‘bān 1281).

257 Cf. DWQ, *daftar* 50, *wathīqa* 287 (Dīwān Ma‘iyya Saniyya Turkī), (new classification: 8/1/129/1), 5 Ram. 1248.

258 Cf. J.K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London 1965 (repr.), 77 f.

259 Sirrī, 41 f.

260 This community resided in a house near Bāb al-Lūq. The house did not have any official status as *takīya* but was private property of a certain Muḥammad Ṣādiq Bābā; cf. Sirrī, 42; and F. Köprülü, ‘Misir’da Bektaşilik’, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, vi (1936–1939), 25.

261 Sirrī, 43 f.

‘Abd Allāh al-Maghāwirī itself, however, remained in the control of a descendant of this saint not linked with the *ṭarīqa*.²⁶² The head of the *takīya* itself was to rank among the heads of the *takāyā* who were in that capacity at the same time heads of *ṭuruq* in Egypt, together with the heads of the *takīyat al-Mawlawiyya* and the *takīyat al-Gūlshāniyya*.²⁶³

Between 1872 and 1879 the number of *takāyā* whose heads were under al-Bakrī’s authority must have increased by another six. This appears from correspondence conducted between al-Bakrī and *al-Ma’iyyat al-Khidīwiyya* about stipends to be paid by the Khedive to the residents of the *takāyā* in 1879. In these documents reference is made to 488 permanent residents in 24 *takīyas* who would be entitled to the khedivial benevolence (*al-marāḥim al-khidīwiyya*).²⁶⁴ These *takāyā* are not mentioned by name. It is possible, however, to deduce them from ‘Alī Mubārak’s enumeration of *takāyā* under al-Bakrī’s authority in 1304 (1886/7).²⁶⁵ This author gives eight more *takāyā* in addition to the ones listed above, viz. the *takīyat al-Ḥabbāniyya*, the *takīyat al-Mirghaniyya*, the *takīyat al-Sayyida Nafisa* (al-Ashraf), the *takīyat al-‘Izām*, the *takīyat al-Naqshbandiyya* near Ḥuṣh al-Sharqāwī, the *takīya* near the shrine of Umm al-Ghulām, the *takīyat al-Bukhārī* near Bāb al-Wazīr and the *takīyat al-Sayyida Ruqayya*.

Of the heads of these *takāyā*, the *shaykh* of the *takīyat al-Ḥabbāniyya* is least likely to have been under al-Bakrī’s jurisdiction before or during 1879. The *takīya* was part of a *waqf*²⁶⁶ whose *nāzīr* was concomitantly *shaykh* of the *takīya*, in which office he also held teaching obligations. This official used to be appointed by the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* upon recommendation by *al-Azhar*.²⁶⁷ A *shaykh* appointed in this way, without any recourse to al-Bakrī, is known to have been in office for some years from the end of 1875 onwards.²⁶⁸

262 II-11/8 (end of Rab. I 1290); IV-22(13)/2 (13 Shaw. 1290).

263 The *takīyat al-Mawlawiyya* was in Shāri‘ al-Suyyūfiyya; cf. *Khīt.*, vi, 57. The *takīyat al-Gūlshāniyya* was/is near Bāb al-Zuwayla; cf. *Khīt.* vi, 54.

264 V-1 (8)/8 (4 Rab. II 1296); V-6(13)/5 (11 Jum. II 1296); V-6(13)/6 (18 Jum. II 1296); V-7(14)/5 (18 Jum. II 1296). The number of residents had increased by 58 since the preceding year; cf. V-6(13)/5 (11 Jum. II 1296).

265 *Khīt.*, iii, 130.

266 It was part of a *waqf* established by the Ottoman Sultan Maḥmūd I and he belonged to the *awqāf al-ḥaramayn*; cf. *Khīt.*, vi, 55. Originally it was known as Madrasat al-Sultān Maḥmūd; cf. Sāmī, *Al-Ta‘līm, mulḥaq* ii, 32, and also as *takīyat al-Sultān Maḥmūd*.

267 Cf. DWQ, *daftar* 52 (Majlis Khuṣūṣī), p. 44, *mus.*, 15 (19 Ram. 1292). Arminjon, *L’Enseignement*, 61, mentions this *takīya* as one of the few in which courses were given by teachers “on loan” from al-Azhar.

268 DWQ, *daftar* 52, *ibid*.

The takīyat al-Mīrghaniyya is unlikely to have been among the 24 *takīyas* over which al-Bakrī held authority in 1879. According to the *ṭarīqa*'s oral tradition, this *takīya* was established when Muḥammad 'Uthmān Tāj al-Sirr, the grandson of the founder of this *ṭarīqa*, had taken up residence in Cairo.²⁶⁹ This he did on two occasions, once in 1296 (1879) and again in 1303 (1885) when, during the Mahdiyya, he came to Cairo as a refugee.²⁷⁰ Since this last occasion coincides more or less with the year in which 'Alī Mubārak reports its existence, the *takīya* would probably have been founded during Muḥammad 'Uthmān's first period of residence in Cairo in 1926 (1879) and hence it cannot have been among the 24 *takīyas* referred to above. Therefore, those whose heads had recognized al-Bakrī's authority between 1872 and 1879 must have been the remaining six *takāyā*. Among these six the takīyat al-Sayyida Nafisa (al-Ashraf) had originally been a *madrasa*.²⁷¹ It did not function as a *takīya* until 1880 when it was reconstructed for this purpose.²⁷² The takīyat al-'Izām, situated near the mosque of al-'Ashmāwī near al-Azbakiyya²⁷³ and the takīyat al-Naqshbandiyya near Ḥuṣh al-Sharqāwī²⁷⁴ were similarly recent establishments, the first being founded by Khedive Ismā'īl.²⁷⁵ Of the takīyat Umm al-Ghulām, the takīyat al-Bukhārī near Bāb al-Wazīr and the takīyat al-Sayyida Ruqayya, it is only for this last that 'Alī Mubārak gives any historical information.²⁷⁶ In this *takīya*, as well as in the *takāyā* of Umm al-Ghulām, al-Ashraf, and al-'Izām, the residents were Turkish Qādirīs exclusively.²⁷⁷ Nothing more definite is known concerning *ṭarīqa* allegiance or regional provenance of the inmates of the takīyat al-Naqshbandiyya and the takīyat al-Bukhārī, than is suggested by their names.

269 For information concerning the early history of al-Mīrghaniyya in Egypt I am obliged to its present-day *shaykh al-sajjāda*, Muḥammad Sirr al-Khatm al-Mirghani.

270 Cf. P.M. Holt, *The Mahdist State in the Sudan, 1881–1898. A Study of its Origins, Development and Overthrow*, Oxford 1970 (2nd ed.), 166. Muḥammad 'Uthmān died in Cairo in 1886; cf. J.S. Trimmingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1949, 233; Na'ūm Shuqayr, *Tārīkh al-Sūdān al-Qadīm wa l-Ḥadīth wa Jughrāfiyyatuhu*, 3 vols. Cairo 1903; iii, 336.

271 *Khīṭ.*, vi, 57; Sāmī, *Al-Ta'lim, mulḥaq* ii, 24.

272 *Khīṭ.*, *ibid.*

273 *Khīṭ.*, iii, 130.

274 *Ibid.*, and *Zakhūrā* i, 224 *q.*

275 *Khīṭ.*, *ibid.*

276 *Khīṭ* ii, 61.

277 *Khīṭ.*, iii, 130.

14 Al-Bakrī's Administration, the Cairene Shrines and Their Intendants

The intendants of the numerous shrines in the capital²⁷⁸ were appointed by al-Bakrī by the same procedure as for the intendants of the shrines in the provinces, and according to the same principles (see above p. 57). After an appointment had been made, al-Bakrī informed the *Rūznāma* Department and the *Dwān al-Awqāf*, if the intendant of the shrine was entitled to receive contributions from these sources.²⁷⁹ The *zabtīyya* could be called upon in order to secure the rights of those involved and to enforce decisions settling disputes about succession or among the officials attached to the shrine or shrine-mosque.²⁸⁰

Disputes among these officials generally originated in disagreement about the way in which *nudhūr*²⁸¹ were distributed by the *shaykh al-khidma*. Custom allowed the *shaykh* to keep one third for himself. One third he had to allocate for the benefit of the shrine and its visitors and another third had to be distributed to those connected with the shrine. Moreover, if the *shaykh al-khidma* received any income from the *Rūznāma* Department or the *Dwān al-Awqāf*, he had to allocate that income in the same proportion.²⁸² Obviously the wide

278 Mubārak puts the total number of shrines in the capital at 294; cf. *Khit.*, i, 89.

279 I-87/1 (1 Hījja 1288); I-87/7 (19 Hījja 1288); II-6/4 (28 Šaf. 1289).

280 Cf. V-11(9)/2 (21 Raj. 1296); V-23(3)/1 (14 Šaf. 1297).

281 *Nadhr* (pl. *nudhūr*, *nudhūrāt*) literally means "votive offering". However, from the documents in Leiden F. Or. A. 283 it appears that the term was used with a more extensive meaning, which referred to everything presented to a shrine, thus indicating the *nudhūr* in the stricter sense as well as the *šadaqāt* (pious gifts). *Nudhūrāt* in either meaning could consist of: a. goods which can be used in the shrine or the mosque. This category includes candles, oil, lamps, chandeliers, candlesticks, carpets, rugs, mats, various blankets, curtains, clocks, furniture, braziers, calligraphies and the like as well as cattle for the *idārat al-sawāqa*. b. goods which are of use to the *khidma* of the shrine or mosque, to those responsible for its religious functions, to students, teachers, those who have been appointed to instruct in the *sharʿī* sciences (as in the Burhāmī and the Aḥmadī mosques). This category includes money put in the *šundūq* or handed over to someone belonging to the *khidma* for the *šundūq*, farming products of all kinds, edibles of all kinds, meat of all kinds, slaughtered animals or animals intended for slaughter. Cf. *Lāʾihat al-Nudhūrāt*, 3 ff. With respect to the *šadaqāt* (pious gifts) a distinction was made between *šadaqāt al-šundūq* and *šadaqāt al-khidma*, the former being intended for the maintenance of the building itself, and the latter as either a contribution to the income of the officials attached to the shrine or for distribution by them to those present in the shrine possibly on specified occasions; cf. *Lāʾihat al-Nudhūrāt*, 6. See in this connection also note 170, and chapter 1, note 169.

282 Cf. II-1/3 (18 Muḥ. 1289). The *nudhūr* of some shrines were distributed in different ways; cf. *Taqrīr ʿan al-Wazīfa*, 2.

variety in kind of what could be given as *nudhūr* and the sometimes large number of those entitled to a share in it, made this arrangement so inadequate as to be full of potential conflict. Moreover, this arrangement could induce a *shaykh khidma* to push other officials out of office and to try to have himself appointed to their places, in order to obtain more from the *nudhūr* than he was originally entitled to.²⁸³ Whenever this happened, or when an official connected with a shrine had not received his due share, he could complain to al-Bakrī who would order an inquiry and might arrange for settlement.²⁸⁴

In the shrine-mosques of the relatives of the Prophet, as well as in other major shrine-mosques in Cairo, supervision of the shrines rested with the *nuz-ẓār* of these mosques.²⁸⁵ Al-Bakrī had hardly any control over these officials since they used to be confirmed in office by the *qāḍī* to whom they were also ultimately responsible for the proper performance of their tasks.²⁸⁶ This situation came to an end in 1276 (1859/60), when a khedivial decree was issued altering the supervision of the shrines in these mosques, and transferring ultimate responsibility for the allocation of the *nudhūr*, which had been a function of the *nāẓir*, to a separate office.²⁸⁷ The incumbents of this office, like the other intendants of the shrines, fell under al-Bakrī's jurisdiction exclusively. They could not claim their tenure as legal, unless they had been appointed by him.

A majority of these newly appointed officials were among a distinct group of intendants of shrines in Cairo who, in the course of the sixties, obtained a position within al-Bakrī's administration, similar in some respects to the position of the heads of the *ṭuruq* and the heads of the *takāyā*. This group included the intendants of all the shrines in Cairo which were important centres of veneration but were not controlled directly by a *shaykh ṭarīqa*.²⁸⁸ Like the latter, and on an equal footing with them, these officials took part in the councils (*majālis al-qaḍāyā*) which used to be convened in order to investigate and mediate in case of conflict.²⁸⁹ They were invited by the municipality on special occasions, and by al-Bakrī, together with the heads of the *ṭuruq* and the *takāyā*, from among all the intendants of shrines in the capital, to the religious celebra-

283 This had happened, for instance, in the shrine-mosque of al-Sayyida 'Ā'isha al-Nabawiyya, where eight offices, to each of which a stipend was attached, had been accumulated by the shrine's intendant Ibrāhīm al-Shubrāwī; cf. IV-7/3 (n.d. 1290).

284 See e.g. III-12/7 (7 Rab. II 1290); III-32/5 (19 Shaw. 1290).

285 Ḥasan, 14.

286 Cf. A.Y. Massouda, *Contribution à l'Étude du Waqf en Droit Égyptien*, Paris 1925, 159.

287 Ḥasan, *ibid.*

288 Examples of these are the shrines of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-'Afīfī, Sīdī Marzūq al-Yamānī and 'Alī al-Bayyūmī.

289 Cf. I-66/2 (4 Jum. I 1288); I-79/6 (23 Sha'bān 1288).

tions referred to above. They formed a distinct category of religious dignitaries known as *mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa*²⁹⁰ which comprised:

Muḥammad al-Minyāwī	maqām al-Imām al-Ḥusayn
Aḥmad al-Ṣafaṭī	maqām al-Sayyida Zaynab
‘Abd al-Khāliq/‘Alī Ḥasan	maqām al-Sayyida Nafisa
‘Alī Ṣālīḥ	maqām al-Sayyida Sakīna
Ibrāhīm al-Shubrāwī/Muḥammad al-‘Ashmāwī	maqām al-Sayyida ‘Ā’isha
Muḥammad al-Ḥabbānī	maqām al-Sayyida Fāṭima l-Nabawiyya
‘Alī	maqām al-Sayyid ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn
‘Alī Muḥsin	maqām al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī and
	maqām al-Imām Layth b. Sa’d
Muḥammad al-Sinbātī	maqām al-Sulṭān al-‘Ādil Tūmān Bāy
‘Alī Farghal	maqām Ḥusayn Abū l-‘Alā’
Riḍwān al-Bakrī	maqām al-Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī
Muḥammad al-Mahdī/Muḥammad Nuwaytū	maqām al-Shaykh Ismā‘īl al-Imbābī
‘Abd al-Khāliq	maqām al-Shaykh Ṣālīḥ Abū Ḥadīd
‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-‘Inānī	maqām al-Sādat al-‘Ināniyya
Muḥammad Muḥammad al-Khuḍayrī	maqām al-Ustādh Sulaymān al-Khuḍayrī
‘Abd al-Ḥalīm	maqām al-Sha‘rānī
Muṣṭafā l-Demirdāsh	maqām Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadi

Intendancy of the last four shrines mentioned²⁹¹ was held by the leaders of al-‘Ināniyya, al-Khuḍayriyya, al-Sha‘rāniyya and al-Demirdāshiyya respectively. The importance of their *ṭarīqa* leadership, however, had diminished due to an apparent decline in membership. For al-Sha‘rāniyya and al-Demirdāshiyya,

290 They are referred to as such in the numerous lists of guests invited by al-Bakrī on various occasions contained in the documents of the series F. Or. A. 283. In the copies of various letters contained in this series the term would seem to refer to this group of dignitaries exclusively. In addition, individual references continue to be made to them as *shaykh khidma*; see e.g. 1-87/1 (1 Hija 1288); and 11-87/7 (19 Hija 1288). It is unlikely, however, that with the emergence of this distinct category of religious dignitaries the term *mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa* had lost its meaning as the plural of *shaykh al-aḍriḥ*, i.e. denoting the intendants of shrines in general. The present list is based upon 11-30/1 (10 Shaw. 1289). It has been rearranged for the sake of the following discussion.

291 For these shrines see *Khiṭ.*, iv, 61 f.; iv, 108 f. and v, 34 f.; v, 122 f. respectively.

whose active membership had traditionally been confined to Cairo²⁹²—in the case of al-Shaʿrāniyya even to one quarter of the city in particular²⁹³—this decline seems to have begun simultaneously with, and possibly as a result of, conflicts which had occurred about control of the shrines.²⁹⁴

The decline of al-ʿInāniyya and al-Khuḍayriyya, who lost their membership outside Cairo (see also below pp. x ff.), came about in a different way. The heads of these orders had been among the *arbāb al-sajājīd* over whom al-Bakrī had not obtained any authority by the *firmān*. They had remained external to his administration even after the conclusion of the agreement with al-Azhar in 1847. However, with the rise of the principle of *qadam* concomitant with and as part of the increasing efficiency of al-Bakrī's administration, the members of these orders had gradually become deprived of any opportunity to proselytize or to appear in public in the rural areas. By standing outside the system, they had no way of having their eventual claims for *qadam* recognized or protected, and this excluded them from playing a role as *ṭarīqa* members any longer. Therefore they abandoned their orders to join other *ṭuruq* whose heads did recognize al-Bakrī and therefore could claim all that right of *qadam*

292 In the case of al-Demirdāshīyya this was the direct consequence of the requirements demanded of a potential *murīd*. Anybody desiring membership had to attend the weekly *ḥadarāt* of the *ṭarīqa* held near the shrine of its founder, for a period of not less than two years. During this period he had to be under the surveillance of one of the *ṭarīqa*'s twelve *nuqabāʾ*, who were always residents of Cairo. These had to judge the character of the candidate and could propose him for initiation to the head of the *ṭarīqa*; cf. Zakī Muḥammad Mujāhid, *Al-ʿĀlām al-Sharqīyya fī ʿl-Mīʾa al-Rābiʿa ʿAshra al-Hijrīyya*, iv vols., Cairo 1949–1963, iii, 110. Traditionally, there were never more than twelve *nuqabāʾ* at the time. New *nuqabāʾ* were elected by the head of the *ṭarīqa* in consultation with the *nuqabāʾ* already in office; cf. Muḥammad Sulaymān al-Bushārī, *Tuḥfat al-Albāb wa Hidāyat al-Ṭullāb fīmā yajibū ʿalayhim min al-ʿĀdāb*, Cairo 1322, 81 f.

293 Cf. Raymond, *Artisans*, ii, 436.

294 In al-Demirdāshīyya this conflict occurred, according to the oral tradition of the *ṭarīqa*, around 1860. At that time, the *naqīb al-nuqabāʾ* (i.e. the most senior of the twelve *nuqabāʾ*), Ismāʿīl Qāsim, as well as two members of the *ṭarīqa*, Šāliḥ ʿĀghā and ʿUthmān, who had each married a daughter of the deceased head of the *ṭarīqa*, Muṣṭafā al-Kabīr (who did not have any male offspring), temporarily refused to accept the authority of one of the *nuqabāʾ* also named ʿUthmān, who had been nominated by the late Muṣṭafā al-Kabīr as his successor as head of the *ṭarīqa*; cf. the appendix to Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Demirdāsh, *Risāla fī Maʿrifat al-Ḥaqāʾiq*, Cairo n.d., 53 ff.; al-Bushārī, 78; and also Muḥammad Nūr Šāliḥ al-Sirjānī, *Risālat al-Silsilat al-Dhahabīyya fī Tarājīm Rijāl al-Sādāt al-Khawwatīyyat al-Demirdāshīyya*, Cairo 1319, *passim*.

In the case of al-Shaʿrāniyya the conflict was between descendants of the *ṭarīqa*'s founder; cf. I-29/8 (16 Jum. II 1287); I-87/1 (1 Ḥijja 1288); II-1/1 (2 Muḥ. 1289).

implied.²⁹⁵ So, in 1276 (1859/60), when the khedivial decree by which they were appointed as *mashāyikh aḍriḥa* had placed them under al-Bakrī's authority, only a few nuclei of active members must have been left outside the urban centres where *qadam* did not apply.

Although none of these groups ceased to function as a *ṭarīqa*, their numerical strength had apparently so much decreased that they were not considered as such any longer within al-Bakrī's administration. The leaders of these groups, however, were intendants of shrines which were among the most important in Cairo. So, notwithstanding the decline of their orders, they continued to play a role of administrative and ceremonial importance within al-Bakrī's administration as *mashāyikh aḍriḥa*.²⁹⁶

Among these, the intendant of the shrine of *shaykh* Ṣāliḥ Abū Ḥadīd, hitherto unimportant, came to prominence in 1280 (1863/64). In this year a mosque was built incorporating the shrine, and paid for by Khedive Ismā'īl, who saw this saint in visions and put great confidence in his beneficent powers.²⁹⁷ Nothing but the Khedive's favouritism seems to account for the fact that the intendant of this shrine had become one of the *mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa*, although the saint whose shrine he controlled had no characteristics that were any different from those of the numerous other saints enshrined in Cairo.

A particular case was the shrine of Ismā'īl al-Imbābī who was the founder of al-Imbābiyya, a branch of al-Aḥmadiyya. Shrines of the founders of *ṭuruq*, if not controlled by a descendant of the founder, were under the intendency of the head of the *ṭarīqa*, or at least of a member of the *ṭarīqa*. Since the end of the 18th century, however, the shrine of Ismā'īl al-Imbābī had been under intendants who had no links at all with the *ṭarīqa* founded by him,²⁹⁸ and by now it had become unique in Cairo.

With the exception of the intendants of the shrines of the two Imāms²⁹⁹—al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī and al-Imām Layth ibn Sa'd, both theologians and jurists—of

295 According to oral tradition of each group, their decline was at least partly owing to Muḥammad 'Alī's policy, which is said to have been aimed at undermining the position of their leaders.

296 The *shaykh al-Ināniyya* did not cease to be considered as one of the *arbāb al-sajjād*; cf. iv-15(6), 16(7)/1 (15 Qa'da 1289). In addition to the office of *shaykh qarīh*, he continued to be appointed as *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Ināniyya* by khedivial decree, as had been the case traditionally; cf. 'Aḥkām al-Majlis al-Ṣūfi al-A'lā mundhu Niṣf Qarn', *Al-Jarīdat al-Qaḍā'iyya*, ii/9 (Cairo 1931), 11.

297 *Khiṭ.*, v, 37.

298 Cf. chapter 1, note 48. On his shrine see *Khiṭ.*, viii, 86 f.

299 Cf. *Khiṭ.*, v, 22 ff.; 96 f.; Bannerth, *Wallfahrtsstätten*, 49–56.

al-Sultān al-ʿAdil Tūmān Bāy³⁰⁰ and of the two 15th century mystics Ḥusayn Abū l-ʿAlā³⁰¹ and al-Sultān al-Ḥanafī,³⁰² all the remaining *mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa* were in charge of shrines of *ahl al-bayt*.³⁰³

To a number of these shrines a *shaykh qirāʿat Dalāʿil al-Khayrāt* was appointed. The task of this official was to organize and supervise the sessions near these shrines at which al-Jazūlī’s *Dalāʿil al-Khayrāt* was recited. Those who held this office were generally entitled to certain payments out of the revenues from *awqāf* as well as a share from the *nudhūr* donated to the shrine concerned.³⁰⁴ Ever since the conclusion of the agreement with al-Azhar in 1847, which had made these officials subject to al-Bakrī’s authority, they had been appointed by him without recourse to the *shaykh al-ḍarīḥ* of whom they were entirely independent.³⁰⁵ As religious dignitaries they were invited to all the religious celebrations organized and supervised by al-Bakrī,³⁰⁶ but they played no role within al-Bakrī’s administration. To be invited to these occasions must have increased their prestige, while the fact that they had become linked to al-Bakrī’s

300 Cf. *Khiṭ.*, v, 44. I did not find any data to account for the fact that the intendant of this shrine figures among the *mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa*. At the end of the 17th century a group of *Khalwātīs* was resident here; cf. Çelebī, *Seyāhatnāme*, x, 252.

301 *Khiṭ.*, v, 51 f. and iv, 62; Bannerth, *Wallfahrtsstätten*, *passim*.

302 *Khiṭ.*, iv, 99 f., Bannerth, *Wallfahrtsstätten*, 67 f. The most extensive biography is ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Batanūnī, *Al-Sirr al-Ṣafī fi Manāqib al-Sultān al-Ḥanafī*, ii vols., Cairo 1306. “Sultān” here signifies “King of Saints” and is applied to several other saints as well; cf. Lane, 438 f.

303 For biographies of these as well as other *ahl al-bayt* in Cairo, see Al-Sayyid Muʿmin b. Ḥasan Muʿmin al-Shiblanjī, *Nūr al-Abṣār fi Manāqib Āl Bayt al-Nabi l-Mukhtār*, Cairo 1298, 256 ff., and Bannerth, *Wallfahrtsstätten*, *passim*.

304 Cf. *Zakhūrā*, i, 244 z.

305 Cf. *Khiṭ.*, iii, 134. Similar officials were the *mashāyikh qirāʿat al-Burda* and the *mashāyikh qirāʿat al-Ḥizb*. The former had to co-ordinate and supervise the sessions in which al-Būṣirī’s *Burdāt al-Madīḥ* was recited; cf. *Khiṭ.*, *ibid*. Mubārak does not mention these officials as being subject to al-Bakrī’s authority. The nature of these offices, however, would imply that he held authority over them. Only in F.Or.A. 284, 11-78/1 (6 Rab. 1311) which is a list of guests invited by al-Bakrī to attend the celebrations of the *mawlid al-nabī*, is there mention of such an official, Muṣṭafā al-Bahī. About the *mashāyikh qirāʿat al-Ḥizb*, see below p. 109.

306 At the *mawlid al-nabī* celebrations in 1290 (1873), for instance, these were the following *mashāyikh*: ʿAtīyya, *shaykh qirāʿat Dalāʿil al-Khayrāt* to the shrine of Fāṭima al-Nabawiyya; Muḥammad al-ʿIdwī, *idem* to the shrine of al-Sayyida Zaynab; Muṣṭafā al-(?), *idem* to the shrine of al-Imām al-Ḥusayn; Saʿīd Ḥasan, *idem* to the shrines of al-Imām Layth b. Saʿd and al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī; ʿAbd al-Rahmān, *idem* to the shrine of al-Sultān Abū l-ʿAlā; cf. 111-6 (23 Šaf. 1290). Before 1290 (1873) only one *shaykh qirāʿat Dalāʿil al-Khayrāt*, Muḥammad al-Laythī, is mentioned in the lists of guests invited by al-Bakrī; cf. 1-31/6 (21 Raj. 1287).

administration may have raised their social position. Apart from this, however, the fact that they had been made subject to al-Bakrī's authority does not seem to have given them any particular advantage.

The position of the heads of the *takāyā* and the *mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa* in Cairo was similar. Although they had been allotted a place in some respects resembling the place of the heads of the *ṭuruq* within al-Bakrī's administration, neither these officials nor the institutions they supervised would have existed in a substantially different way without it. Yet the way in which this administration had become integrated within Egyptian society had left them little choice but to accept it.

15 The Nature and Scope of al-Bakrī's Authority

The heads of the *ṭuruq* were in a different position. To them the way in which their *ṭuruq* functioned had become largely dependent upon the existence of al-Bakrī's administration, while the way in which this administration functioned had become dependent upon the mode of existence of the *ṭuruq*. It was a symbiotic relationship in which the heads of most *ṭuruq* had indulged, since the advantages—protection of vested interests in rural areas implied in the principle of right of *qadam*, and the guarantee against secession that this principle implied, as *qadam* could not be claimed by any group taking an independent course—had seemed worthwhile. Therefore it seems justifiable to state that al-Bakrī's authority was legitimate and that its legitimacy increased when the area over which his authority was held expanded. This was primarily an expansion in terms of numbers of groups and officials, but a geographical expansion into Upper Egypt had also taken place.³⁰⁷ Here al-Bakrī's administration had previously been of little significance, which was probably owing to the fact that in these areas right of *qadam* does not appear to have been a socially operative value, in support of which al-Bakrī's administration could play a functional role (see above p. 40). Therefore it was not until the seventies that this administration became involved in the regions south of Cairo. Here, however, it was never to attain the significance it had in the Delta and various new *ṭuruq* were

307 This is suggested by an increase in the correspondence between al-Bakrī and the provincial governors in these areas over the period indicated, about *ṭuruq* and related affairs, contained in the series F.Or.A. 283. See e.g. 1-31/4 (21 Raj. 1287), al-Jīza/Atfīḥ; 1-37/3 (25 Shaw. 1287), Jirjā; 1-67/7 (5 Jum. 11 1288), Jirjā; 111-2/5 (14 Muḥ. 1290) Jirjā; v-2(9)/3 (17 Rabi 1296) al-Minyā/Banī Mazār; v-1(8)/1,2 (19 Rab. 11 1296), al-Jīza; v-3(10)/4 (8 Jum. 11 1296), al-Jīza/Atfīḥ; v-30(10)/4,5 (5 Rab. 11 1297), al-Jīza.

able to emerge and spread in Upper Egypt (see the next chapter), while remaining entirely independent of al-Bakrī.³⁰⁸

The legitimacy of al-Bakrī's authority must have increased further owing to the prominent role he played in the events preceding the deposition of Khedive Ismā'īl.³⁰⁹ His support for the Khedive against European intervention³¹⁰ and the active participation in campaigns designed to keep the Khedive on the throne,³¹¹ gave him the halo of a national leader which added a genuine charismatic mode to his authority. At the end of his life he had shaped for himself an independent power position which was so considerable that Ismā'īl's successor Tawfīq, when discussing the reforms to be implemented in the *ṭuruq*, admitted to Malet, the British consul-general, that he "could not act upon these associations except through 'Ali al-Bakrī".³¹²

16 Demands for Reforms

The reforms the Khedive envisaged included a general limitation of public activities of the *ṭuruq* as well as the suppression of some of their more spectacular ritual practices, like the *dawsa* of al-Sa'diyya and forms of self-mutilation during *ḥaḍarāt* as practised, for instance, by al-Rifā'iyya and by al-ʿĪsawiyya.³¹³ A suppression of these practices, however, would strip the *ṭuruq*, and hence their members, of a part of their identity. Moreover, since to those participating it was particularly on these occasions that the group with which they had associated attained its utmost reality as a *ṭarīqa*, restrictions upon appearance in public would even come close to a general prohibition. At any rate it would

308 By the *firmān* of 1812 al-Bakrī had also obtained authority over the heads of the *zawāyā*. To what extent this arrangement ever had any practical implications for those in charge of these institutions is largely unknown. Of only a few is it known that they were actually controlled and supervised by *mashāyikh ṭuruq*. Many of these institutions were administered by descendants of the founder. For an enumeration of the *zawāyā* existent in Cairo before 1885, see *Khīṭ.*, vi, 16 ff.

309 A detailed account of these events may be found in the impressive study by A. Schölch, *Ägypten den Ägyptern! Die politische und gesellschaftliche Krise der Jahre 1879–1882 in Ägypten*, Zurich/Freiburg i.Br. 1973, 53 ff. For *maḥāḍir* of the decisions taken at the meetings in al-Bakrī's house preceding the acceptance of the *lā'iḥa al-waṭaniyya*, the financial project intended as an alternative to Wilson's plan for the liquidation of Egypt's debt (cf. Schölch, 90 f.), see v-3(10)/I, 2 (24 Rab. II 1296).

310 Cf. Schölch, 94; Butler 201.

311 Schölch, 96.

312 PRO, F.O. 78, vol. 3141 (Cairo, Feb. 25 1880), from Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.

313 Cf. Lane, 466 ff.; Shafīq, i, 77 f.

have implications for their social status and influence, which would also affect the position of al-Bakrī. Al-Bakrī, therefore, did not show himself very responsive to these demands. Occasionally he felt obliged to take action in line with the Khedive's desires, in particular when anything like snake-eating and self-mutilation during *ḥaḍarāt* was reported and criticized in the press. In such a case, to remain aloof would have brought him more discredit outside the *ṭuruq* realm than punitive measures against the *ṭuruq* officials implicated in such actions would have brought him inside it. This happened, for instance in 1880, when the Alexandrian daily newspaper "*Al-Maḥrūsa*";³¹⁴ published an account of the celebrations of a *mawlid* in that city.³¹⁵ On this occasion people had pierced themselves with skewers³¹⁶ during a *ḥaḍra*. Once the newspaper had drawn the attention of a wide public to these events al-Bakrī was compelled to do something. With much pomp the governor of Alexandria was asked to attend a council consisting of *ṭariqa* officials and al-Bakrī's *wakil*. This council had to investigate the allegations of the newspaper and to punish those who had been engaged in the activities criticized by it, in the presence of the *qāḍī* and the *muftī* of the city.³¹⁷ The sole punishment demanded, however, was repentance in front of the council and an oath to be taken against recidivism,³¹⁸ Cases like these were exceptional and seem to have been intended primarily as merely outward demonstrations of al-Bakrī's acceptance of the need for reforms called for by the Khedive and of his concern with their implementation. The Khedive, who felt restrained from taking more decisive action himself in view of 'Alī al-Bakrī's personality and power position³¹⁹ deemed these occasional actions inadequate, as is shown by subsequent events.

314 As an Alexandrian daily it appeared from 1880 until 1886. Its editor-in-chief was Salim al-Naqqāsh.

315 In nos. 93 and 94 (1297); cf. v-35(15)/5 (20 Jum. II 1297).

316 In the article in *Al-Maḥrūsa* the term *ḍarb al-silāḥ* is used. This technical term refers to the whole range of instruments with which members of some *ṭuruq* used to pierce themselves. For this purpose swords, short knives, needles and most commonly the so-called *dabbūs* (also known as *sikh*) were used. This latter instrument consists of a metal or wooden ball of about four inches diameter, attached to an iron skewer resembling a knitting needle about 15 inches long. Attached to the circumference of the ball are a number of chains at the end of which are small pieces of metal resembling razor-blades. When, during the *ḥaḍra*, it is not put through parts of the body, it is spun around, so that the chains stand out like umbrella spokes.

317 See v-35(15)/5 (Jum. II 1297); v-36(16)/2 (same date).

318 See v-35(15)/3 (20 Jum. II 1297).

319 This was admitted by him to Butler, who was tutor to his sons; cf. Butler, 262.

17 Summary

During the era in which 'Alī al-Bakrī held the office of *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya*, an administration developed which allowed for an optimal actualization of authority over the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions given to the incumbent by the *firmān* of 1812. Central to this administration was the principle of right of *qadam*, by which it had become structured in a way that left the heads of the *ṭuruq* little choice but to accept a dependency relationship with al-Bakrī if they wanted their *ṭuruq*, and therefore themselves as heads of *ṭuruq*, to survive. In addition to this circumstance most of the heads of the *takāyā* in Cairo had become integrated within the administration, as had also a category of religious dignitaries, the *mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa*, i.e. the intendants of the most important Cairene shrines, which had become officially distinct only after a khedivial decree to this effect in 1276 (1859/60). The stability of this administration was vulnerable, however, since it had come to derive its legitimacy largely from 'Alī al-Bakrī's personality. Moreover, it would only continue to function effectively as long as those subject to and participating in this administration continued to perceive that its organic link with the government agencies contributed to their interests.

The Crisis of Authority

In October 1880 ‘Alī al-Bakrī died and his son ‘Abd al Bāqī was invested as successor by Khedive Tawfiq.¹ The new *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya* had none of the distinguished qualities of his father, such as political importance or a reputation for learning²—although he did spend some years as a student at al-Azhar³—and since he was still only thirty years old he did not command the respect that age would have brought.

Immediate use was made by the Khedive of the depreciation in the power position of the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya* and early in 1881 he issued a decree prohibiting the *dawsa*.⁴ European consular representatives close to him would seem to have exercised some pressure upon the Khedive in order to induce him to take action in this respect.⁵ Incentives from elsewhere were absent however. Criticism of the *ṭuruq* was not voiced except in a few incidental publications⁶ and had not yet found expression by any formal or informal organizations, while the religious establishment of al-Azhar had initially shown little enthusiasm for the proposed prohibition.⁷ Therefore it would seem that the Khedive’s initiative was mainly the expression of a personal conviction,⁸

1 For an eye-witness account of the ceremony of his investiture, see Butler, 222–232. See also *B.S.*, 139.

2 Cf. Malortie, 315 f.

3 See *B.S.*, 138.

4 I have not been able to find any indication that he had based his prohibition upon a *fatwā* issued by the *qāḍī l-quḍāt* in Egypt, as stated by F.M. Pareja (et. al.), *Islamologie*, Bayrouth 1957–1963, 772. No mention is made of such a *fatwā* in Muḥammad ‘Abduh’s articles in *Al-Ahrām* applauding the abolition of the *dawsa*; see Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, *Ta’rikh al-Ustādh al-Imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Abduh*, iii vols., Cairo 1324–1350, ii, 147 ff. The account given by Butler, 262 f., suggests that it was entirely the Khedive’s initiative, without any support from the religious establishment. Shortly after the proclamation of the khedivial decree, al-Bakrī was approached by members of al-Sa’diyya requesting him to arrange exemption from this general prohibition for the *dawsa* during the *mawlid* of Sidi Yūnis, the principal saint of al-Sa’diyya in Egypt, to whom the *ṭariqa* tradition ascribes the first performance of the *dawsa* over bottles. The request was not granted; cf. Riḍā, ii, 150.

5 PRO, F.O. 78/3141 (Cairo 25 Feb. 1880), to the Marquis of Salisbury from E. Malet.

6 E.g. in Wafā Muḥammad al-Qūnī al-Miṣrī, *Al-Radd al-Mubīn ‘alā l-Jahalat al-Mutaṣawwifīn*, Cairo 1293; and Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī, *Al-Kalim al-Thamān*, Cairo 1298/1881, 17 f.

7 Butler, 262 f.

8 Here I have modified my earlier view as expressed in my paper ‘Al-mashāyikh al-Bakriyya and the transformation of their authority in 19th-century Egypt’. In this paper I attributed Khedive

which also led him to compel al-Bakrī to take further measures aiming at the elimination of other ritual practices conceived of as *bida*.⁹

1 The Circular of 1881, Its Contents, Implications and Consequences

The new head of the *ṭuruq* drew up a wide-ranging set of regulations to this effect.¹⁰ It included a codification of some established administrative practices which had a direct bearing upon or implications for the regulations of ritual which were found in the majority of the articles laid down. This is the case with the first half of article 2, which states that it is forbidden to hold *mawālīd* and other religious celebrations without permission from al-Bakrī or his deputies. Similarly, in article 15, the principle of exclusive *ṭarīqa* allegiance is restated, while in article 18 the required presence of a “duly authorized sheikh”, i.e. a *khalīfa* confirmed as such by al-Bakrī, is codified. These two articles seem to have aimed, in particular, at reinforcing the local authority positions of the *khulafā*, who were probably conceived of as principally responsible for the implementation of most of the remaining regulations, as were likewise al-Bakrī’s deputies. These, as appears from the articles 10 and 13, obtained a greater independent executive power than ever before, as the inevitable result of the expansion of the area over which al-Bakrī had come to hold jurisdiction.

Tawfiq’s initiative mainly to reformist and European pressure. The document referred to in note 5 provides some evidence for the exercise of pressure by European consular representatives. In addition, criticism as expressed, for instance, by Wafā Muḥammad al-Qūnī al-Miṣrī (see note 6) or by the *qāḍī* of al-Ismā’īliyya, of the practices of al-Rifā’iyya (cf. F.Or.A 283 1-72/1 (12 Raj. 1288)), in the period preceding Tawfiq’s accession to the throne, may have influenced the Khedive’s attitudes towards these manifestations. This criticism cannot be considered reformist or modernist criticism inspired by and emanating from Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, as it is generally understood. My earlier view from which I wish to dissociate myself, that pressure from this side must have been an important incentive for Tawfiq, was based upon an inference from Muḥammad ‘Abduh’s writings in *Al-Ahrām* (cf. Ridā, ii, 147 ff.), applauding the Khedive’s measures.

9 For a study of the concept of *bid’a*, its sub-classifications and the various theological and practical problems involved, see ‘Izzat ‘Alī ‘Īd ‘Aṭīyya, *Al-Bid’a, Taḥdīduhā wa Mawqif al-Islām minhā*, Cairo 1973.

10 The text of this circular is only to be found in an English translation preserved at the Public Record Office, London, F.O. 78, vol. 3321 (Cairo Feb. 9 1881). I have not been able to locate the Arabic text in the archives of the Bakrī family consulted by me, now split up in at least five collections kept by various members of this family living in Cairo. For the complete text of this circular see appendix 3, page 196. In addition to the following discussion see also the notes to this appendix.



FIGURE 2
'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī towards the end of his life

The remaining articles contained prohibitions and restrictions which affected the identity of almost all the *ṭuruq*. For al-Sa'diyya, al-'Īsawiyya, al-Rifā'iyya and al-Qāsimiyya, for instance, the prohibition of the use of swords, the eating of live coals, serpents and glass (art. 3) had its consequences, while the prohibition of striking oneself with iron balls, practised by the leader of the *ḥaḍra* of al-Ḥandūshiyya,¹¹ eliminated a characteristic element of the ritual of this *ṭarīqa*.

By prohibiting singing during the *ḥaḍra* (art. 18) the liturgy of virtually all the *ṭuruq* was affected. In nearly every *ṭarīqa*, *anāshīd*, which were frequently unique to the *ṭarīqa*, were sung during the *ḥaḍra*. In many *ṭuruq* songs were also sung before and after it and were the inseparable elements of the total liturgy which would now become mutilated.¹²

11 These balls were attached to an iron chain or a rope and used to beat the head. Crapanzano's reference to this practice gives the impression that in Morocco any members of the *ṭarīqa* could indulge in this form of self-mutilation; cf. Crapanzano, 201. In Egypt, however, I was told that only the leader of the *ḥaḍra*, i.e. a fully initiated *khalīfa*, was entitled to do so, while ordinary members were merely allowed to slash their heads with the so-called *shaqūr*, a single-bladed iron axe. Since no other *ṭarīqa* knew this practice, its prohibition would seem to be directed against al-Ḥandūshiyya exclusively. Its explicit mention justifies the conclusion that it was commonly practised by the *ṭarīqa*'s members in Egypt in that time.

12 In the poetical texts sung on these occasions mystical teachings and conceptions were

Similarly, by restricting the *dhikr* to the praise of God (art. 1) a great many *ṭuruq* were affected, since this not only implied that invocations to the Prophet and to saints in the course of the *ḥaḍra* would no longer be allowed, but it also prohibited the *dhikr* of God by a short orgasmic breath¹³ as well as by the so-called *ism al-ṣadr*, a short “ah” characteristic of most of the *Shadhiliyya ṭuruq*.¹⁴

Of these *ṭuruq*, moreover, some would no longer be allowed to practice their own distinctive rituals (art. 26), which gave them their identity and justified their existence. For al-‘Arūsiyya this was the so-called “*dhikr al-munāwaba*” (alternating *dhikr*) in which the participants, wearing special white ritual ‘*abāūt*’ (‘*abāyāt*’),¹⁵ stood in two groups facing each other and bowing towards each other in turn, giving the whole group a wavelike movement.¹⁶ The ‘*Īsawiyya* had their own complicated ritual,¹⁷ in which at one stage—the so-

expressed. These as well as other literary forms of mystical expression are discussed in ‘Alī Ṣāfi Ḥusayn, *Al-Adab al-Ṣūfi fī Miṣr fī l-Qarn al-Sābi‘ al-Hijrī*, Cairo 1964. It contains an excellent introduction to the theology of a number of mystical schools which have remained important until the present day. Most of the poetry presented and analysed has not ceased to be part of the “*ṭariqa* culture” in Egypt. A more comprehensive study of the various forms of mystical literary expression is Muḥammad Qandīl al-Baqlī, *Adab al-Darāwīsh*, Cairo 1970.

- 13 For criticism of this and other forms of *dhikr* in which either the *ism al-jalāla* (*allāh*) any of the names of God, or the *taḥlīl* (the formula *lā ilāhā ilā allāh*) is constructed or pronounced with specific intonations, see Muṣṭafā Ḥasan al-‘Asīlī, *Risālat al-Kashf wa l-Bayān fī l-Radd ‘alā l-Muḥarrifīn fī Kalimāt al-Ikhlāṣ*, Cairo n.d.; Aḥmad Ibn Sharqāwī al-Khalifī (himself the founder of a *Khalwatiyya* order and a critic of overt and extatic manifestations of mysticism; see on him below p. 145), *Naṣīḥat al-Dhākirīn wa Irghām al-Mukābirīn*, preceded by *Shams al-Taḥqīq wa ‘Urwat Ahl al-Tawfiq* by the same author, Cairo 1307; and a treatise by al-Sharqāwī’s disciple Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Makhluṫ al-‘Adawī, *Al-Qawl al-Waḥīq fī l-Radd ‘alā Ad‘iyā l-Ṭariq*, Cairo 1344. See in addition ‘Imrān b. Aḥmad b. ‘Imrān, *Nūr al-Bayān fī l-Kashf ‘an Bida‘ Ākḥir al-Zamān*, Cairo 1347, 103 f.; ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shafshāwunī, *Salwat al-Ikhwān wa Nuṣrat al-Khullān fī Jamī‘ al-Ṭawā‘if al-‘A’yān*, Cairo 1293, 32 ff.; and Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, *Al-Qawl al-Maḥmūd fī Ibtāl mā ‘alayhi Ahl al-Ṭariq min al-Adhkār wa l-Uḥūd*, Cairo 1916. The contents of this last pamphlet are particularly directed against a form of *dhikr* restricted to *al-ism al-mufrad* (*allāh*).
- 14 This form of *dhikr* has been the subject of extensive polemics, see e.g. Muḥammad Aḥmad al-‘Azīzī, *Al-Adillat al-Uṣūliyya fī l-Radd ‘alā man ankara Dhikr al-Sādat al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1342; Muḥammad Khaḍīr al-Shādhilī. *Sabīl al-Tawfiq fī Radd al-Munkirīn ‘alā Ahl al-Ṭariq*, Cairo 1338; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Muḥsin, *Murshid al-Sālikīn ilā Ṭariq al-Muhtadīn*, Cairo 1346; ‘Imrān Aḥmad ‘Imrān, *Suyūf al-Muridīn fī Nuḥūr al-Munkirīn*, Alexandria (1317?).
- 15 A cloak-like garment, made of cotton or wool.
- 16 For its rules cf. al-Barmūnī, 277.
- 17 Cf. Brunel, 93 ff. for a complete description.

called *rabbānī* (*rbbānī*)—the participants jumped up and down from one foot to the other,¹⁸ which would also be affected.

In the *ḥaḍarāt* of the *Shādhiliyya ṭuruq*, as well as in the majority of the other *ṭuruq*, various kinds of drums were used. In some *ṭuruq* these drums, in addition to being instruments which sometimes had a specific function in a *ṭarīqa*'s ritual, had distinctive shapes and sizes which also made them symbols of these *ṭuruq*.¹⁹ Here, too, the prohibition against using these instruments on all occasions (art. 5)—except for some special ones inside the *takāyā*²⁰—, implied a deprivation of identity for the *ṭarīqa* concerned.

In processions, moreover, the members of the participating *ṭuruq* would not be allowed to carry anything but their banners with them (art. 17). The display of other paraphernalia distinctive to a *ṭarīqa*, like musical instruments, swords etc., as well as braziers, *mashā'il* and *'uṣṣy*²¹ was henceforth prohibited. The consequences of this would seem to be similar to the other proposed restrictions.

In addition, the celebration of *mawālid* for which there had been no precedent was prohibited (arts. 2 and 10), while *mawālid* inaugurated during the last ten years (art. 22) were abolished. The implications of this prohibition went much further than an enforced restriction of the number of deceased *mashāyikh* honoured in this way. It meant a restriction of the number of occasions on which the *ṭuruq* could manifest themselves to the wider society and on which the *ṭarīqa* reached the utmost reality for those who constituted it, in a total union of the living and the dead. Substantial grace was believed to ensue from mere participation on these occasions. Therefore, in the final resort, the prohibition must have been experienced not only as a restriction on a number of occasions on which grace could be obtained, but as a limitation on the very flow of grace itself. Moreover, it was a prohibition against honouring persons from whom, dead or alive, grace could be secured owing to their participation in its divine flow. Therefore, from this point of view also, the prohibition could be regarded in the final resort as a prohibition of participation in grace itself.

Besides these regulations, three others were included setting limitations on the internal autonomy of the heads of the *ṭuruq*, something for which there had been no precedent. From now on complaints respecting the affairs of a *ṭarīqa*

18 Ibid. 96.

19 Cf. Riḍā, ii, 145; al-Mulayji, 257 ff.; and Muḥammad Muḥammad *Mashīna*, *Al-Qawl al-Ma'rūf fi Ahkām al-Ḍarb bi-l-Duff*, Cairo 1365.

20 The use of various kinds of drums in mosques, however, had already been prohibited since the end of 1880, following the issue of a *fatwā* by the then *shaykh al-Azhar* and *muftī* of Egypt, Muḥammad al-Mahdi al-'Abbāsī, condemning this practice; cf. Riḍā, ii, 144.

21 On a *khalifa*'s equipment, see chapter 1, note 8.

by any of those belonging to it could only be dealt with by al-Bakrī or his *wukalā'* (art. 13), who thereby obtained greater independent executive power. The right of the head of a *ṭarīqa* to sanction the *ṭarīqa*'s officials by suspension was also taken away from him; he now had to submit the motives for the proposed suspension to al-Bakrī. The latter could either give his approval or arrange for a tribunal to be convened, which had to examine the case in order to arrive at a decision respecting appropriate sanction (art. 11).

In addition, the authority of the heads of the *ṭuruq* was undermined by article 9, which denied them the right to punish *khulafā'* by taking away their *'idda* (*'udda*). As a sanction this must have been highly effective, since it deprived the *khalīfa* of the symbols of his dignity. This would seriously hamper the *khalīfa* in his activities, and would affect his income, since it would be impossible for him to accept invitations to walk, for a fee, with flags in circumcision, marriage and funeral processions,²² or to stage a *ḥaḍra* for compensation in money or kind, at the request of anyone not connected with a *ṭarīqa*.²³ Moreover, the income which the *khulafā'* used to derive in this way was endangered by the prohibition of participation of the *ṭuruq* in the aforementioned processions as contained in article 24. The last clause of article 9, deprived them of another additional source of income by prohibiting them from hiring out or pawning items of their *'idda* to those not belonging to their *ṭarīqa*. For outsiders, in turn, temporary possession of the *'idda*, provided the means of securing an income in the way indicated above.²⁴

Early in 1881 a circular containing these regulations was sent to the heads of the *ṭuruq*.²⁵ Until then it had been to their advantage to recognize al-Bakrī's authority over them. The fact that it was structured by its dependence on government institutions had contributed to the safeguarding of their vested interests. Now, however, these institutions had to see to the implementation of a set of rules violating the normative system proper to the *ṭuruq*. To this the heads of the *ṭuruq* responded by dissociating themselves from the *ṭuruq* administration. Disputes about succession, double membership, rights to organize the celebrations of a certain *mawlid*, etc., gradually tended to be solved informally without recourse to al-Bakrī, and hence without involving government agents.²⁶

22 Cf. Lane, 519, 522. See also chapter 4, page 167 f.

23 The so-called *layla*; see chapter 4, page 159 f. and notes 147 and 148.

24 This is suggested by the very inclusion of the clause itself.

25 See note 10 above for particulars.

26 See e.g. the agreement about succession to the office of *khalīfat al-maqām al-Aḥmadī* reproduced in *Taqrīr 'an Wazīfat al-Khilāfa bi l-Maqām al-Aḥmadī*, n.p., n.d., p. 12, docu-

2 The Inadequate Maintenance of Rights of *Qadam*

In addition to this, government agents discontinued their unconditional support of the *ṭuruq* administration in the course of the eighties, as is exemplified by the case of Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfi and his adherents and by the case of the re-emergence of al-ʿInāniyya.

Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfi (1265–1328: 1848/9–1910) had been initiated into al-Fāsiyya al-Shādhiliyya by the founder of this *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad al-Fāsī (see below p. 107), when in Mecca for the pilgrimage in 1872.²⁷ After his return to Egypt he engaged in proselytization on behalf of this *ṭarīqa* in al-Sharqiyya province. Originally, his activities were confined to the town of al-Zaqāziq, an urban centre where the principle of right of *qadam* did not apply, and where his adherents manifested themselves without interference.²⁸ At a later stage, however, when he succeeded in gaining a substantial following in the villages around this town, he met with serious opposition from those belonging to the *ṭuruq* with established interests in the area.²⁹ A protest against the infringements by al-Ḥiṣāfi and his adherents was sent to al-Bakrī, who took action in conformity with established practice in early 1884:³⁰ he prohibited their participation in *mawālid* and religious gatherings of any kind as well as all *ḥaḍarāt* organized by them in mosques. The governor of al-Sharqiyya province, as well as al-Bakrī's *wukalā* and the village headmen in the area where al-Ḥiṣāfi's adherents were concentrated, received instructions accordingly. The village headmen, moreover, were required to prevent al-Ḥiṣāfi and his *khulafāʾ* from entering their villages.³¹ This edict did not pass unchallenged. A pamphlet was drawn up in which al-Ḥiṣāfi elaborated upon the *dhikr* of God and showed the unlawfulness of prohibiting it, particularly in mosques³² as implied by the prohibition of *ḥaḍarāt* issued by al-Bakrī. His arguments met with approval from the governor of al-Sharqiyya, who subsequently revoked earlier instruc-

ment 12. See also *Mudhakkira ... min Shaykh ʿUmūm al-Sāda al-Rifāʿiyya*, p. 14, document 3 (25 Jum. I 1304) and p. 17, document 6 (17 Raj. 1304).

27 ʿAlī al-Jaʿfarāwī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi fi Manāqib al-Sayyid Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfi*, Cairo 1330, 30. For his biography, see also Mujāhid, *Aʿlām*, iii, 101f. Al-Ḥiṣāfi was buried at Damanhur, where his shrine-mosque may be visited today.

28 Al-Jaʿfarāwī, 32.

29 Ibid.

30 According to al-Jaʿfarāwī, *Manhal*, 33, al-Bakrī took action at the time when Thābit Bāshā was *nāzir* (of the Ministry of Interior), i.e. from January 10, 1884 until March 10, 1884; cf. Fuʾād Karam, *Al-Nizārāt wa l-Wizārāt al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1969, i, 128.

31 Al-Jaʿfarāwī, 35.

32 Ibid., 36f.

tions and now prohibited any obstruction of the activities of al-Ḥiṣāfi and his adherents.³³ However, opposition by al-Bakrī and those under his jurisdiction continued in full force. This led al-Ḥiṣāfi to make an unprecedented move: armed with testimonials from numerous provincial dignitaries as witness to his orthodoxy, he addressed a complaint to the Khedive Muḥammad Tawfiq³⁴ about the opposition of those belonging to *ṭuruq* recognized by al-Bakrī. The Khedive passed the matter on to the *shaykh al-Azhar* and *muftī* of Egypt, Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-‘Abbāsī who, in an interview with al-Bakrī, hinted at the possibility of the eruption of a conflict in which al-Azhar might become involved, since many Azharīs supported al-Ḥiṣāfi. This convinced al-Bakrī of the desirability of a compromise. He agreed to discussions, in the presence of the *shaykh al-Azhar*, with al-Ḥiṣāfi about the position of himself and his adherents within the *ṭuruq* realm. These resulted in the suspension of all measures taken against al-Ḥiṣāfi and his disciples. More significantly, they resulted in the declaration by al-Bakrī that he had no authority over this group whatsoever,³⁵ which was an implicit confirmation of al-Ḥiṣāfi as head of an independent *ṭarīqa*, later to become known as al-Ḥiṣāfiyyat al-Shādhiliyya.³⁶

The re-emergence of al-‘Ināniyya³⁷ manifested itself in al-Daqahliyya and al-Sharqiyya provinces.³⁸ Here, groups of al-‘Ināniyya—a *ṭarīqa* which had remained external to al-Bakrī’s administration owing to the fact that its head

33 Cf. *ibid.*, 39.

34 *Ibid.* For the text of the complaint see al-Ja‘farāwī, 61 ff.

35 *Ibid.*, 40.

36 A schismatic sub-section of this *ṭarīqa* in al-Maḥmūdiyya (al-Baḥayra province), which was set up as a benevolent organization, the *Jam‘iyyat al-Ḥiṣāfiyyat al-Khayriyya* was the root and fore-runner of the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*; cf. Ḥasan al-Bannā‘, *Mudhakkirāt al-Da‘wa wa l-Dā‘ya*, Cairo n.d., 16, 46; R.P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, London 1969, 2.

37 By this time al-Khuḍayriyya had disappeared from history not to re-emerge again until the 1940’s under the leadership of Aḥmad al-Khuḍayrī (d. 1945), a descendant of Sulaymān al-Khuḍayrī. According to Ṣafā‘ al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Khuḍayrī, the *ṭarīqa*’s *shaykh al-sajjāda* since 1968, its decline in this period and after was mainly due to neglect and the lack of interest of the then *shaykh qarīh al-Khuḍayrī*, Muḥammad Muḥammad al-Khuḍayrī [cf. 1-87/7 (19 Hījja 1288)], who is also held responsible for mismanagement and dissipation of *awqāf* established in favour of al-Khuḍayriyya and the shrine of al-Khuḍayrī. The negative opinion held about this *shaykh* by the members of the present-day *Khuḍayriyya* seems to find an expression in the fact that his name is omitted from the *silsila* in the *ijāzāt* of the *ṭarīqa*, where Aḥmad (d. 1945) succeeds Muḥammad Qāsim (d. 1288: 1872), thus leaving a span of about 73 years between their respective dates of death.

38 The following account is primarily based upon the article ‘Aḥkām al-Majlis al-Ṣūfi al-A‘lā’, in *Al-Jarīda al-Qadā’iyya*, ii/9 (Cairo 1931), 9–14. Le Chatelier mentions this conflict, but misrepresents its real nature; cf. Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 208.

was one of the four *arbāb al-sajjād*, over whom the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* had no authority—had been functioning officially as part of al-Rifā‘iyya, thus allowing their *khulafā’* to claim right of *qadam* and all that this implied. Some of these groups, however, started to manifest themselves publicly again as belonging to al-‘Ināniyya while their *khulafā’* engaged in proselytization on behalf of this *ṭarīqa*. This generated violent obstruction by members of al-Rifā‘iyya at the local level and protests from the head of this order who maintained that al-‘Ināniyya could not be considered a *ṭarīqa*; he declared that those who constituted this group were not linked by a mystical bond (*bi-l-uhūd*) but by mere blood relationship (*bi-l-judūd*) and that this family group was part of al-Rifā‘iyya and subject to his jurisdiction as evidenced by the fact that its members took part in processions with flags and standards in black, the colour exclusively reserved for al-Rifā‘iyya. Thus, he implied that al-‘Ināniyya as a *ṭarīqa* should be considered a secessionist movement, against which appropriate action should be taken since it infringed upon rights of *qadam* of al-Rifā‘iyya.

The suzerainty claimed was not accepted by the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-‘Ināniyya*, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Ḥarīrī, who was intendant to the shrines of Awlād ‘Inān and also *imām* of Khedive Tawfīq. At the end of 1885, al-Ḥarīrī, who must have wanted to bypass al-Bakrī, in order to prevent the re-emerging ‘Ināniyya from being dealt with and checked as an ordinary infringement of rights of *qadam*, presented his case directly to the Ministry of Interior. Subsequently, the Ministry arranged for a council to be convened in order to investigate the legality of the claims made by al-Ḥarīrī and his opponent the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Rifā‘iyya*. This council, which consisted of a number of heads of the *ṭuruq*, the *takāyā* and the *aḍriḥa*, and in which ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī and ‘Abd al-Khālīq al-Sādāt were also asked to participate, was presided over by the *shaykh al-Azhar* and *muftī* of Egypt, Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-‘Abbāsī. Both parties were able to present their arguments which were discussed in a number of sessions. Finally, in March 1886, the council judged that al-‘Ināniyya was a *ṭarīqa* distinct from and with no link whatsoever with al-Rifā‘iyya, with a *silsila* of its own, of which the authenticity was beyond doubt, going back to ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Moreover, it was decided that, like al-Rifā‘iyya, al-‘Ināniyya had the right to use black as its distinctive colour since, as far as could be established, it had always done so. This verdict confirmed implicitly that the offices of *shaykh al-sajjādat al-‘Ināniyya* and head of the *ṭarīqat al-‘Ināniyya* were identical and gave legality to al-‘Ināniyya as a *ṭarīqa* equal in every respect to the other *ṭuruq*.

Although this verdict had been reached in mutual consultation by members of the council unanimously, its decision had legal validity primarily because

it was sanctioned by the *shaykh al-Azhar* to whom the Ministry of the Interior had delegated supreme jurisdiction in this case. In this manner a precedent had been established for the approval of the *shaykh al-Azhar* as a pre-requisite for any candidate to be invested by the Khedive as *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Ināniyya*, from Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wāḥid’s successor onwards.

The involvement of the *shaykh al-Azhar* in this case and also in the case of the *Shādhiliyya ṭarīqa* under the leadership of al-Ḥiṣāfi about two years earlier, was clearly an infringement of the agreement of 1847 between the *shaykh al-Azhar* and the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya*. This suggests the *de facto* abrogation of this agreement and constitutes another indication of the changing relationship between the *ṭuruq* administration and the agencies of the State. This change should be attributed to the fact that the reorganization of the State’s administration in the wake of the British occupation in 1882 (see below p. 121)³⁹ had given it so much efficiency that the *ṭuruq* administration lost its significance for the State and its agencies. Subsequently, these must have ceased to act fully in support of the *ṭuruq* administration, even when, as in the cases mentioned, this was of direct relevance to the adequate maintenance of rights of *qadam*.

In the wake of these developments, al-Bakrī now seems to have adopted a different approach towards infringement of rights of *qadam* by *ṭuruq* which had only been active in Egypt comparatively recently and only in some of the towns—as in the case of the *Shādhiliyya ṭarīqa* under al-Ḥiṣāfi—and by groups comparable to al-Ināniyya, which had developed into, or had always been, distinctive *ṭuruq* inside the *ṭuruq* integrated within al-Bakrī’s administration. Presumably in order to prevent conflicts similar to the foregoing, which might have entailed a repetition of the involvement of the *shaykh al-Azhar* and a depreciation of his own authority position in consequence, and from a realistic appreciation of the irreversibility of the changes which were taking place, al-Bakrī granted official recognition to all *ṭuruq* which had successfully taken advantage of inadequate maintenance of rights of *qadam*—and possibly of the disintegration of the guilds as the principal form of social organization—and had become *ṭuruq* of a certain significance.⁴⁰

39 Cf. R.L. Tignor, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882–1914*, Princeton 1966, chapter 6, *passim*; The Earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, ii vols., London 1908, ii, 415 ff.

40 For an enumeration of the *ṭuruq* which were under al-Bakrī’s authority (*al-tābi‘a li-mashyakhāt al-sādat al-Bakriyya*) by 1305 (1887/8), see *Khiṭ.*, iii, 129 f. The *ṭuruq* which appear in this enumeration and which had obtained al-Bakrī’s recognition only in the preceding year or so, are dealt with in the following section.

Recognition of these *ṭuruq* was not only advantageous for al-Bakrī in that it upheld his authority position, but also for the heads of these *ṭuruq* and their members. For these it implied official status for their *ṭuruq* and all that this entailed of rights of *qadam*, which were not being abandoned but only inadequately maintained. Additional privileges included participation in official celebrations of religious festivals like the *mawlid al-nabī*, which gave these *ṭuruq* a degree of social prominence and could lead to an increase in membership; and a share in the customary payments from the *Muḥāfaẓa* and the *Dīwān al-Mālīyya*. These payments continued to be made to al-Bakrī and were distributed by him to the heads of the officially recognized *ṭuruq* until the first decade of the 20th century.⁴¹

All these changes which affected the *ṭuruq* realm and extended over most of the period in which ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī held office, resulted for the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* in a significant change in the institutional safeguards against secession. For them the way in which the principle of *qadam* had structured al-Bakrī’s administration and determined its functioning within Egyptian society had made participation in this administration highly attractive since it consolidated the position of their *ṭuruq* in the countryside as well as their own positions as *mashāyikh ṭuruq*. When, however, the principle of right of *qadam* ceased being universally adhered to—as was manifested by the fact that these rights were not adequately maintained any more—legality of tenure, which was implied in formal appointment by the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya*, took precedence over the principle of right of *qadam* as the main institutional safeguard against secession, since legality of tenure was concomitantly a confirmation of the legality of the *ṭarīqa* whose existence as a single, unique and indivisible unity, was thereby officially recognized. Whenever a group declared itself independent from such a *ṭarīqa*, the head of the parent *ṭarīqa* could continue to claim authority over the secessionist group, as long as al-Bakrī continued to deal with this group, and to consider it as part of the parent *ṭarīqa* whose integrity he had confirmed when he appointed a candidate as its head. This also implied that once a *ṭarīqa* which had not participated in the administration previously, obtained official recognition by such an appointment by al-Bakrī, the newly-appointed head obtained a legal base which would allow him to claim authority over other pretenders to the *ṭarīqa*’s leadership.

41 Cf. F.Or.A. 285, 11-90/2 (25 Jan. 1907); 106/5 (12 April 1907); 111/1 (Jan. 1908); 116/1 (25 Feb. 1909); 119/11 (29 Nov. 1910).

These implications of legality of tenure became increasingly important for the heads of the *turuq* when adequate maintenance of rights of *qadam* had ceased, and accounts for what must have been a normative re-orientation among them: they no longer aspired to formal appointment by the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya* as head of an administration safeguarding the integrity of their *turuq* because of the way in which the administration was structured around the principle of right of *qadam*, but now, because the appointment itself, implying legality of tenure, was becoming the pre-eminent safeguard against secession.

3 The New *Turuq*, Their Leaders, Their Spread, Their Recognition

Among the *turuq* which obtained official recognition from ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī, was the *Shādhiliyya* order into which Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfi had been initiated and in which he had originally been active as a *khalīfa*. This *ṭarīqa* had been founded by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fāsī (d. 1289: 1872), a Moroccan living in Mecca,⁴² who had originally been among the *khulafā’* of al-Madaniyya (see next paragraph). Al Fāsī’s *ṭarīqa* was known as al-Fāsiyya, and later, under the leadership of his son and successor, Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn al-Makkī l-Fāsī,⁴³ it was also known as al-Makkiyyat al-Fāsiyya, or simply as al-Makkiyya. Both the founder and his son visited Egypt. The father had been there in 1289 (1872) and Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn in 1293 (1876), when they had gained many followers, notably in Cairo and Suways.⁴⁴ By 1876, however, al-Ḥiṣāfi and his followers, who were concentrated in and around al-Zaqāzīq and in Cairo,⁴⁵ had moved away from the original Fāsiyya by condemning the *dhikr* by the *ism al-ṣadr*,⁴⁶ which was part of the *ṭarīqa*’s liturgical practice, as unlawful.⁴⁷ Two years later, he further amended al-Fāsiyya by incorporating into his Way elements of al-Tijāniyya,⁴⁸ into which he had been initiated by Aḥmad al-Bannānī

42 For his biography see Maḥmūd ‘Afif al-Dīn al-Wafā’ī, *Ma’āhid al-Taḥqīq fī Radd al-Munkirīn ‘alā Ahl al-Ṭarīq*, Cairo 1960, 144 ff.

43 For biographical notes see al-Kūhin, 194 f.

44 Al-Wafā’ī, *ibid*; al-Kūhin, *ibid*.

45 Al-Ja’farāwī, 32.

46 Cf. notes 14 and 15. For opinions of Azharī ‘ulamā’ about the *ism al-ṣadr*, cf. al-Ja’farāwī, 99 ff.

47 *Ibid.*, 33.

48 He made a communal reading of *al-waḥīfat al-Tijāniyya* obligatory on Saturday night for the members of this *ṭarīqa*.

in 1295 (1878).⁴⁹ These deviations which met with strong condemnation from the adherents and *khulafā'* of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn al-Makkī l-Fāsī,⁵⁰ generated a schism of the group led by Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfi, who obtained legality as head of a *ṭarīqa* not subject to al-Bakrī's jurisdiction as outlined in the preceding section. This schism, however, does not seem to have been detrimental to the spread of al-Makkiyya (al-Fāsiyya) proper, which was propagated successfully by the *khulafā'* of the *ṭarīqa* in Egypt, notably by Maḥmūd 'Afif al-Dīn al-Wafā'i (1264–1318: 1848–1900/1), who spread it in and around Ṭanṭā;⁵¹ by Aḥmad 'Arab, who was mainly active in and south of Cairo;⁵² and by 'Abd al-Bāqī who spread the *ṭarīqa* in the capital and further north.⁵³ About 'Abd al-Bāqī little more is known than that he obtained al-Bakrī's recognition as supreme head of al-Makkiyya in Egypt.⁵⁴

Al-Madaniyya, of which Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fāsī had originally been a *khalīfa*, took its name from Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Ḥamza Zāfir al-Madanī (d. 1263: 1846),⁵⁵ a disciple of Mawlay al-'Arabī al-Darqāwī (d. 1239: 1823), founder of the Moroccan Darqāwiyya order.⁵⁶ In Egypt *khulafā'* of al-Madaniyya had been active already in the era of 'Alī al-Bakrī. The most note-

49 Ibid., 42. For biographies see 'Abd al-Karīm al-'Attār, *Ta'rikh al-Ṭarīqat al-Tijāniyyat al-Musharrafā*, Cairo 4 ff.; Aḥmad Sukayrij, *Kashf al-Hijāb 'an man talāqā ma' al-Tijāni min al-Aṣḥāb*, Cairo 1381, 188 f. In addition al-Ḥiṣāfi was initiated into al-Khalwatiyya (al-Ja'farāwī, 30) by Ḥusayn Ḥasan al-Muṣayliḥī (d. 1284: 1867/8); into al-'Arabiyya al-Shādhiliyya by Muḥammad 'Illaysh in 1293 (1876); into another Shādhiliyya branch by Ḥasan al-'Idwī in 1298 (1880/1) (al-Ja'farāwī, 48); into al-Aḥmadiyya by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khudayr al-Dimyāṭī in 1297 (1879/80) (al-Ja'farāwī, 30); and into al-Naqshbandiyya by Aḥmad b. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ḥalabī (al-Ja'farāwī, 51 f.).

50 Al-Ja'farāwī, 33 f.

51 Cf. his biography prefaced to Maḥmūd b. 'Afif al-Dīn b. 'Alī al-Wafā'i, *Al-Rawḍat al-Shādhiliyya fī l-Maqāmāt al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo 1316.

52 He initiated the son of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Shams al-Dīn (d. 1968), who about a quarter of a century later claimed supreme leadership over al-Fāsiyya in the Islamic world; cf. the *silsila* in MS Leiden Or. 14431/11.

53 I owe the information about the areas where the two last-named *khalīfas* were active to the principal *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa* in Egypt in the 1960's, Aḥmad Maḥmūd Abū l-Qurā, whom I met and talked with on several occasions shortly before his death in 1969.

54 This appears from the list of guests invited by al-Bakrī to the *mawlid al-nabī* celebrations in 1298 (1881) [cf. F.Or.A. 283, v-26(6)], where he appears as head of the *ṭarīqa*. He is not mentioned in any of the *salāsil* in *ijāzāt* of present-day *khulafā'* of al-Fāsiyya that I have been able to consult. In the oral tradition of this *ṭarīqa* he merely figures as a *khalīfa*.

55 For a biography see 'Abd al-Qādir Zakī, *Al-Nafḥat al-'Alīyya fī Awrād al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1321, 233–235.

56 Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, 110 ff.

worthy propagators of the *ṭarīqa*, were ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd al-Salām (d. 1297: 1880),⁵⁷ Muḥammad al-Hāshimī (d. 1911)⁵⁸ and Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Marzūqī (1245–1319: 1830/31–1902).⁵⁹

The first of these was a Libyan who had been initiated by the *ṭarīqa*’s founder and was sent by him to Alexandria to proselytize. He accomplished this task successfully, and apparently contented himself with consolidating his position in that area without taking advantage of the disruption of al-Bakrī’s administration to embark upon proselytization in regions which had been closed to this *ṭarīqa*.

The last two *khalīfas*, however, both of whom were *khalīfas* of al-Madanī’s son Muḥammad Zāfir (1244–1321: 1828–1903),⁶⁰ acted differently. Initially Muḥammad al-Hāshimī, as a propagator of al-Madaniyya, had been active in the central and north-western Delta. In the course of his career however, he amended the original Madaniyya into a new and distinctive *ṭarīqa* of his own, which he spread so successfully in the same area that he obtained al-Bakrī’s recognition as head of an independent *ṭarīqa* known as al-Hāshimiyya.

At about the same time Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Marzūqī (d. 1901) was recognised as head of al-Madaniyya in Egypt. This *khalīfa* had been active particularly in and around Cairo, where he founded a *zāwiya* in 1275 (1858/59).⁶¹ After

57 For his biography see Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir Zayn al-‘Abidīn, *Dalīl al-Ḥā’ir wa Rafīq al-Sā’ir fī Ṭarīq Sīdī ‘Abd al-Qādir*, Alexandria 1340. See also Muḥammad al-Bashīr Zāfir, *Al-Yawāqit al-Thamīna fī A’yān Madhhab ‘Ālim al-Madīna*, Alexandria (?) 1324/5, 214. and Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 114. Sīdī ‘Abd al-Qādir was buried in Alexandria, where his shrine may be visited in a mosque named after him in the quarter of Minyā al-Başal.

58 Perhaps superfluously, I may note that this *shaykh* is not identical with the propagator of the ‘Alawī Darqāwī order in Syria and head of its *zāwiya* in Damascus, who had the same name; cf. M. Lings, *A Moslem Saint of the Twentieth Century*, London 1961, *passim*. No published biography of the Egyptian Muḥammad al-Hāshimī exists. The data on his career given below have been derived from oral accounts by the present-day head of al-Hāshimiyya al-Shādhiliyya, Muḥammad Ṭahā, who lives in the village of Balaqṭar in al-Buḥayra province (*markaz* Abū Ḥummuṣ) and by one of the *ṭarīqa*’s *khulafā* in Alexandria, al-Ḥājj ‘Alī al-Ḥurayshī.

59 For a biography by his son Maḥmūd, see Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Marzūqī, *Al-Fuyūḍāt al-Raḥmāniyya, Sharḥ al-Wazīfa al-Madaniyya*, Cairo 1940, 236f. Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Marzūqī and several of his descendants are buried in a *ḥawsh* in the Qarāfat al-Mujāwirīn near to the shrine-mosque of ‘Abd Allāh al-Sharqāwī.

60 For a biography see Zakī, *Al-Nafḥa*, 235 ff. He was one of the *ṭarīqa* leaders who were protégés of the Ottoman Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II; cf. [Ibrāhīm al-Muwayliḥī], *Mā Hunālīka*, Cairo 1896, 199 ff.

61 This information is derived from a framed calligraphed list, hanging in this *zāwiya* in the Ḥāra al-Jūdariyya in Cairo. It enumerates the principal events in the history of the *ṭarīqa*.

1881, however, the *ṭarīqa* spread further south in al-Jīza province and to the north in and around Qalyūb.⁶²

Other *Shādhiliyya ṭuruq* which were able to expand in this era and which obtained official recognition from ‘Abd al-Bāqī l-Bakrī, were al-Qāwuqjiyya, al-Idrīsiyya, al-Jawhariyya, and al-‘Arabiyya. The first of these, al-Qāwuqjiyya, had been founded by Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Qāwuqjī known as Abū l-Maḥāsīn (1224–1305: 1809–1887). He had been initiated into various *ṭuruq*, but considered Muḥammad al-Bahī (d. 1260: 1844),⁶³ an Egyptian *khalīfa* of the Nāṣiriyya branch of al-*Shādhiliyya*, as his principal teacher. Abū l-Maḥāsīn was an itinerant *shaykh*. Every year he used to spend four months in turn in Cairo, Beirut and Mecca, in which last city he died.⁶⁴

In Egypt the growth of the *ṭarīqa* had been chiefly owing to the activities of one of Abū l-Maḥāsīn’s *khulafā’*, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥīm al-Nushshābī (1266–1337: 1850–1918/19),⁶⁵ who spread the *ṭarīqa* in and around Ṭantā, and to another *khalīfa*, Muḥammad Khafājī (1277–1359: 1860/61–1940), who was active in the northern Delta, notably in and around Dimyāṭ.⁶⁶ In Cairo it was one of Abū l-Maḥāsīn’s sons, Muḥammad Abū l-Faṭḥ (d. 1927), who was the *ṭarīqa*’s principal propagator and representative. Against his father’s will he obtained al-Bakrī’s recognition as head of al-Qāwuqjiyya in Egypt.⁶⁷ This allowed him to claim authority over the other *khulafā’*, who had gradually transformed the groups led by them into *ṭuruq* distinct from and almost independent of the parent *ṭarīqa*.

Al-Idrīsiyya, had been founded by Aḥmad b. Idrīs (1173–1253: 1760–1837), a Moroccan who had been particularly active as a teacher and *ṭarīqa* leader in

62 In this era, according to oral tradition of the *ṭarīqa*, *zawāyā* were established south of Cairo in Badrashīn and al-Marāzīq, and to the north in Siryāqūs, Bāsūs and Dijwa, where al-Marzūqī was born. No documentary evidence in support of this tradition is available. However, the fact that the villages mentioned are situated in areas where the *ṭarīqa* had an active membership about 1970, seems to corroborate it.

63 Cf. ‘Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris wa l-Ithbāt wa Mu’jam al-Ma’ājim wa l-Mashyakhāt wa l-Musalsalāt*, iii vols., Fez 1347, ii, 289 ff. Muḥammad al-Bahī was buried at Ṭantā where his shrine(-mosque) may be visited today.

64 For his biography see ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Adhamī, *Tarjamat Quṭb al-Wāṣilīn wa Ghawth al-Sālikīn Muḥammad Abū l-Maḥāsīn al-Qāwuqjī*, Beirut 1306; and also Yūsuf Ismā’īl al-Nabhānī, *Jāmi’ Karāmāt al-Awliyā’*, ii vols., Cairo 1329, i, 224.

65 For biographical notes, cf. ‘Alī Muḥammad Sālim al-Ikhnāwayī, *Al-Anwār al-Munbalija fī Takhmīs al-Munfarrija*, Cairo 1339, 3 f.

66 Cf. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mun’im Khafājī, *Al-Turāth al-Rūḥī li-l-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī fī Miṣr*, Cairo n.d., 194 ff.

67 Cf. Muḥammad Wajīh al-Qāwuqjī, *Al-Mudhakkirat al-Īdāhiyya*, Shabīn al-Kūm 1947, 24.

Mecca.⁶⁸ In the middle of the 19th century it had found its way into Egypt where the *ṭarīqa*'s main propagators were Muḥammad al-Fārisī in Cairo and Mūsā Āghā Rāsim⁶⁹ in Alexandria. Both had been initiated by Aḥmad b. Idrīs's successor Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd al-Diwayhī (1228–1291: 1813–1874)⁷⁰ and presented the *ṭarīqa* under the name of al-Rashīdiyya al-Aḥmadiyya al-Idrīsiyya in reverence to their master.⁷¹ Under its original name it was propagated by one of Muḥammad al-Fārisī's *khulafā'*, 'Alī Abū l-Nūr al-Jirbī (1853–1934), an 'ālim of repute and a highly successful preacher.⁷² These qualities, no doubt, accounted for the success of his proselytization and his emergence as the *ṭarīqa*'s pre-eminent leader, legalized by al-Bakrī's confirmation.

Al-Jawhariyya was a *ṭarīqa* under the leadership of Ḥasan al-Jawharī, the grandson of Muḥammad Abū l-Ma'ālī al-Jawharī, who, until well into the second half of the 19th century, had been dealt with officially as the pre-eminent leader of al-Shādhiliyya in Egypt.⁷³ After his death,⁷⁴ however, this authority position suffered a set-back which affected the continuity of this group so that it became insignificant and peripheral to al-Bakrī's administration. However, in the late seventies the family tradition of *ṭarīqa* leadership was revived by his grandson Ḥasan.⁷⁵ In addition to the office of *nāzir* of the *awqāf* of Muḥam-

68 Cf. Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, 114 ff.

69 Mūsā Āghā Rāsim was at one time governor of Isnā' and later resided in Alexandria, where he became the *ṭarīqa*'s principal *khalīfa*; cf. Muḥammad Khalīl al-Hajarsī, *Al-Qaṣr al-Mashīd fī l-Tawhīd wa fī Ṭarīqa Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd*, Cairo 1314, 98 f. For information about the early history of this *ṭarīqa* and for reference to al-Hajarsī's treatise I am indebted to al-shaykh Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Ja'fīrī al-Madanī, who had been a disciple of 'Alī Abū l-Nūr al-Jirbī, and lived in the riwāq al-Maghāribā of al-Azhar in 1970.

70 Al-Hajarsī, *ibid.* 88 f.; Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, 120 f. According to Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 95, he founded a *zāwīya* near al-Uqṣur in Upper Egypt.

71 Alternative names used were al-Rashīdiyyat al-Aḥmadiyyat al-Idrīsiyya and al-Aḥmadiyya al-Idrīsiyya al-Rashīdiyya al-Muḥammadiyya; cf. *Awṛād al-Quṭb al-Ṣamadānī wa al-Ghawth al-Rabbānī Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd*, Cairo 1309; and the lithographed Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Dandarāwī, *Sanad al-Ṭarīqat al-Aḥmadiyyat al-Idrīsiyyat al-Rashīdiyya al-Muḥammadiyya*, n.p., n.d.

72 For his biography cf. Mujāhid, *A'lām*, iii, 114.

73 Cf. pages 38 and 75. The way in which this arrangement came to an end is obscure. Until 1269 (1852/3) at least he was still considered as *the* Shādhiliyya leader in Egypt and was active as such; cf. al-Shu'aybī. 24.

74 Cf. chapter 2, note 196.

75 My principal informant about al-Jawhariyya was al-Liwā' Rif' at al-Jawharī, the *ṭarīqa*'s *shaykh al-sajjāda* since 1949. He kindly allowed me to microfilm a small collection of documents in his possession containing data relative to the 18th and 19th century history of the *ṭarīqa* (Leiden F.O.A. 286).

mad Abū l-Ma‘ālī, Ḥasan held the office of *shaykh qurrā’ al-Ḥizb al-Shādhilī*,⁷⁶ The incumbent of this office, like the incumbents of the offices of *shaykh qirā’at Dalā’il al-Khayrāt* was subject to al-Bakrī’s authority since the agreement with al-Azhar of 1847 (see p. 33 above). He had to organize and supervise the sessions near the shrines where al-Shādhilī’s *Ḥizb al-Barr*⁷⁷ was read, as well as similar sessions for the major religious celebrations supervised by al-Bakrī.⁷⁸ No doubt the social prestige derived from the incumbency of these offices was an asset to him when he set out to establish a *ṭarīqa* of his own, which he presented under the name of al-Jawhariyya al-Shādhiliyya.⁷⁹

To what extent the *ṭarīqa* of Muḥammad Abū l-Ma‘ālī was practised and propagated by his grandson cannot be established conclusively. However, some continuity probably existed, since he was initiated into al-Shādhiliyya by his grandfather whose spiritual genealogy going back to Mawlay al-Ṭayyib he presented in preference to another *silsila* which went back to Muḥammad al-

76 Cf. F.Or.A. 285, 1-64/1 (2 Raj. 1290).

77 Also known as *al-Ḥizb al-Kabīr*. It has been printed numerous times throughout the Islamic world, mostly as part of prayer collections, e.g. in Zakī, *Al-Nafḥa*; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn ‘Iyyād, *Al-Mafākhīr al-‘Alīyya fī l-Ma‘āthīr al-Shādhiliyya* (various editions), and *Majmū’ al-Awrād al-Kabīr*, Cairo n.d.

78 Cf. the various invitations extended to Ḥasan al-Jawharī in the capacity of *shaykh qurrā’ al-ḥizb* contained in the series F.Or.A. 283 and 285. Among the occasions on which the *ḥizb* was read was the ceremonial gathering in the Diwān al-Muḥāfaẓa on the night preceding the *maḥmal* procession; cf. F.Or.A. 283-1/83 (7 Shaw. 1288). No reference is made to this aspect of the celebrations in Jomier, *Le Mahmal*. According to Rif‘at al-Jawharī, the *shaykh qurrā’ al-ḥizb* received a fixed income out of *awqāf* revenues. He appointed and held authority over those who had fixed salaries—also out of revenues from *awqāf* established for this purpose—for reading the *Ḥizb al-Barr* near the various shrines on specified days and occasions. These officials and their aides, referred to by al-Jabartī as *arbāb al-Ḥizb* or *jamā‘at al-Ḥizb* (cf. *‘Ajā’ib*, iv, 187), used to derive an income from participation in funeral processions in which they were expected to recite the *Ḥizb* (cf. Lane, 522). From them, the *shaykh al-Ḥizb*, used to receive irregular payments in money and kind, which was an additional source of income. Similar arrangements may have existed with respect to the *mashāyikh qirā’at al-Burda* (cf. chapter 3, note 305). For a more recent denunciation of the participation of people who recite the *Ḥizb* or the *Burda* in funeral processions, see Ibrāhīm Abū Sa‘da, ‘Al-Bida’ al-Mustahjana’, *Al-Islām*, v/16 (Cairo 1935), 35 f.

79 My view that any mention of “*al-sādat al-Jawhariyya*” in documents prior to 1290 (1873/4) (e.g. in WA, no. 2968 (Jum. 1 1187)) is therefore either a reference to the family group or to the shrines of the members of this family and not to a distinct *ṭarīqa*, was concurred with by Rif‘at al-Jawharī, the present-day head of the *ṭarīqa*. The most important of these shrines were and still are those of Aḥmad al-Jawharī in the Jawharī-mosque (Shāri’ Jawhar al-Qā’id, Cairo); Abū l-Ma‘ālī (Shāri’ al-Jawharī near al-‘Ataba, Cairo); ‘Abd Allāh al-Jawharī (‘Ābidīn, Cairo); ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Jawharī (Shabīn al-Kūm, al-Minūfiyya); ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Jawharī (Maḥallat al-Jawhariyya, Ṭantā); ‘Abd al-Ḥamid al-Jawharī (Shabīn al-Qanāṭir, al-Qalyūbiyya).

‘Arabī.⁸⁰ This preference would seem to have been inspired by a desire to differentiate as much as possible from al-‘Arabiyya al-Shādhiliyya. The need for this differentiation could only have been felt if the tie had practical implications for the autonomy of Ḥasan al-Jawharī’s leadership. These implications could not have been immanent unless al-‘Arabiyya had obtained the status of officially recognized *ṭarīqa* before al-Jawhariyya, because this would have permitted the *shaykh* of al-‘Arabiyya to claim anybody tracing himself back to the *ṭarīqa*’s founder as being subject to his authority.

The principal leader within al-‘Arabiyya al-Shādhiliyya before 1882 had been Muḥammad ‘Ilaysh (1217–1299; 1802–1882),⁸¹ the well-known *‘ālim* and later Mālikī *muftī* of Egypt, who had never been formally dependent upon al-Bakrī. This suggests that the *ṭarīqa* must have become rather insignificant, probably after the death of its one-time leader Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr in 1232 (1816/17).⁸² In the 1880’s, however, it had obtained a membership in Upper Egypt in the provinces of al-Jīza, Asyūṭ and Jirjā and in the rural areas directly north of Cairo. This must have induced al-Bakrī to recognize one of the *khulafā’* of this *ṭarīqa*, Aḥmad Efendī Sulaymān, as its head,⁸³ presumably as a second choice, since Muḥammad ‘Ilaysh’s son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who would have been the most eligible candidate, had been banished to Istanbul (and later from there to Rhodes)⁸⁴ in the wake of the ‘Urābī insurrection⁸⁵ and therefore was unable to assume office.

The reasons for recognizing ‘Aṭiyya al-Bandārī, known as al-Ṣaghīr, as head of al-Bandāriyya al-Aḥmadiyya are somewhat less obscure. According to the statement in a manual for the members of this *ṭarīqa*, it was founded by ‘Aṭiyya al-Bandārī l-Kabīr who was said to have been among the disciples of Aḥmad al-Badawī.⁸⁶ This contention, however, is not confirmed by any source,⁸⁷ nor is

80 Cf. ‘Risāla fi Bayān Salāsīl al-Ṭuruq’, 30–31, and *‘Ajā’ib*, i, 309 ff.

81 For his biography, see the preface to Muḥammad ‘Ilaysh, *Faṭḥ al-‘Alī al-Mālik fi l-Fatwā ‘alā Madhhab al-Imām Mālik*, ii vols., Cairo 1319–1321. See also *Khit.*, iv, 41, and *Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, Al-‘Ālām*, x vols., Cairo, 1954–1959, vi, 244.

82 Cf. chapter 1, note 79.

83 Cf. ms Leiden Or. 14431/111 (24 Rab. II 1304); *idem*/IV (*ijāza* dated 1305).

84 See ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, *Al-Madrasa al-Shādhiliyya al-Ḥadītha wa Imāmuhā Abū l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*. Cairo 1968, 251.

85 He was banished for a period of five years; cf. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfi‘ī, *Al-Thawrat al-Urābiyya wa l-Ikhtilāl al-Injilīzī*, Cairo 1937, 491. See also below page 122 f.

86 Cf. Muḥammad Muḥammad Ḥasan ‘Aṭiyya, *Kawkab al-Rabbānī*, al-Zaqāzīq n.d. [1964], 2 ff. The author of this booklet, who was my principal informant about this *ṭarīqa*, is its present-day head, resident in al-Zaqāzīq, near the mosque of Sidi al-Bandārī.

87 Therefore, the *silsila*, which is found in the *ijāzāt* of the *ṭarīqa*, and is mentioned in the booklet referred to in note 86, must be spurious. This also appears from the fact that

the existence of a *ṭarīqa* under the name mentioned before the era of ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī. These observations would be reconcilable with the *ṭarīqa*’s oral tradition which cherishes the era of ‘Aṭīyya al-Ṣaghīr (d. 1899) as the order’s heyday.⁸⁸ The fact that he was intendant to the shrine of his ancestor ‘Aṭīyya al-Kabīr in the town of al-Zaqāzīq, must have had some bearing on the success with which he apparently met in propagating his *ṭarīqa*.

Among the Khalwatiyya branches which obtained official status, information about al-Ḥifniyya is particularly lacking. Muḥammad Sālim al-Ḥifnī (d. 1181: 1767) from whom this *ṭarīqa* took its name, had been a disciple and spiritual heir of Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī (d. 1161: 1749), the great revivalist of al-Khalwatiyya, whose Way he largely continued.⁸⁹ After his death, however, a number of branches emerged within which the original Way was altered in varying degrees.⁹⁰ These branches were to become more celebrated than the original Ḥifniyya which is known, however, to have flourished well into the first quarter of the nineteenth century,⁹¹ but presumably led by *khulafā*’ whose unimportance would account for the fact that their names have not found their way into any source; after this period it vanishes from history.

At the end of the seventies, however, a *ṭarīqa* known as al-Ḥifniyya existed in the town of Dimyāṭ.⁹² Its leader, whose name and *silsila* are unknown, was even recognized by al-Bakrī as *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Ḥifniyya*⁹³—a unique arrange-

between Aḥmad al-Badawī and ‘Aṭīyya al-Ṣaghīr, only three names occur of *mashāyikh* who are supposed to have transmitted the Way in a period covering about 600 years.

88 The first documentary evidence of ‘Aṭīyya’s activities in the *ṭuruq* realm dates from the early 1870’s; cf. F.Or.A. 283, 1-72/5 (19 Raj. 1288).

89 Cf. chapter 1, notes 80 and 81.

90 Cf. Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, 77.

91 Cf. Lane, 249.

92 F.Or.A. 283-v 35(15)/1 (9 Jum. 11 1297).

93 I.e. as the supreme head of al-Ḥifniyya. Throughout the 19th century the term *shaykh al-sajjāda* was not used in any consistent way. According to Lane, all the heads of the orders were called so; cf. Lane, 248. Le Chatelier, who writes about half a century later, mentions that the local head of an order is designated by this term; cf. Le Chatelier, *Confrères*, 5. However, the heads of the orders are consistently referred to as *shaykh al-ṭarīqa* or as *shaykh al-sāda* (pl. *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq*) in the documents in the series F.Or.A. 283 and 284, i.e. from about 1870 onwards. In these documents use of the terms *mashāyikh al-sajjāid* and *arbāb al-sajjāid* remains restricted to the distinct category of dignitaries referred to in the preceding chapters; cf. F.Or.A. 283, 1-80/1 (25 Sha’bān 1288); 1V-15(6), 16(7)/1 (15 Qa’da 1289); v-8(15)/8 (6 Raj. 1296). In Yūsuf Aṣṣāf, *Dalīl Miṣr li-Ām 1891*, Cairo 1890, 74 f., the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Wafā’iyya* is referred to as *shaykh al-ṭarīqa al-Wafā’iyya*, while the *shaykh al-ṭarīqa al-‘Afīfiyya* appears as *shaykh al-sajjāda*. Not until around 1905, when the Internal Regulations were accepted by the Ṣūfī Council (see below page 171) does the term *shaykh al-sajjāda* seem to have been applied to the heads of all officially recognized *ṭuruq* indis-

ment as it appears-exclusively in Dimyāt.⁹⁴ This suggests that this *shaykh* had numerous followers in that town and it makes it likely that this *ṭarīqa* is identical with the Ḥifniyya mentioned by ‘Alī Mubārak as one of the *ṭuruq* under the authority of al-Bakrī.⁹⁵

Among al-Ḥifnī’s disciples, Ṣāliḥ al-Sibā’ī l-‘Idwī (d. 1221: 1806/7)⁹⁶ stands out as the only one who had also been under the spiritual guidance of al-Ḥifnī’s principal successor, Aḥmad al-Dardayr.⁹⁷ After al-Dardayr’s death in 1201 (1786) he succeeded his former master as leader of the *ṭarīqa*. Under his leadership, and for at least four decades after his death, when the *ṭarīqa* was led by his sons and successors,⁹⁸ there is nothing to suggest that it was anything but a continuation of the *ṭarīqa* of al-Dardayr. A transformation seems to have occurred after 1271 (1854/5) when Ṣāliḥ’s grandson, Rāghib Muḥammad (d. 1306: 1888/89),⁹⁹ became the *ṭarīqa*’s leader. The latter deviated from al-Dardayr’s Way by amending the *ṭarīqa*’s ritual¹⁰⁰ and since none of his predecessors had endeavoured to do so, it was most probably under his leadership also that the *ṭarīqa* adopted al-Sibā’iyya as its distinctive name. Besides his initiation into al-Khalwatiyya,¹⁰¹ Rāghib had himself initiated into al-‘Arabiyyat al-Shādhiliyya by Muḥammad ‘Illaysh.¹⁰² This obvious concern with *taṣawwuf* distinguishes

criminally. The provisions in these Regulations, which aimed at ending the exceptional status of those who had traditional claims to an office of *shaykh al-sajjāda*, may have generated this development. The confused usage of these terms, however, continued well into the twentieth century.

94 V-35(15)/I (9 Jum. II 1297).

95 *Khīṭ.*, iii, 130.

96 For a biography see Zāfir, 171.

97 For a biography see *‘Ajā’ib*, ii, 147–148. When al-Ḥifnī died Ṣāliḥ was in the fourth name, which he later completed under al-Dardayr. On the names see the section “Doctrine and Practice” in F. de Jong, ‘Khalwatiyya’ in *E.I.*², iv, 991–993.

98 In the oral tradition of al-Sibā’iyya it is claimed that Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī, the founder of al-Ṣāwiyya had been a *khalifa* of Ṣāliḥ al-Sibā’ī; cf. *Majmū‘ Awrād Jalīl*, Būlāq 1322, 49 (*al-tawassul*). This is denied by the members of al-Ṣāwiyya who claim that Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī and Ṣāliḥ al-Sibā’ī were both *khalifas* of al-Dardayr, i.e. they were of equal standing, and that al-Sibā’ī merely attempted to induce al-Ṣāwī to become a *khalifa* of the *ṭarīqa* under his leadership. This he reportedly refused; cf. al-Maghribī, 39 ff.

99 For a biography see Zāfir, 153.

100 The most notable of these amendments was the obligatory reading of a *tawassul* written by him, directly after al-Dardayr’s *manzūma*; cf. *Majmū‘ Awrād*, 43; and Muḥriz b. Muḥammad al-Sibā’ī, *Majmū‘ Awrād al-Ṭarīqa al-Sibā’iyya al-Khalwatiyya*, Cairo 1372, 67 ff.

101 He was initiated into al-Khalwatiyya by Mūsā Kaḥla, a *khalifa* who led the *ṭarīqa* after the death of ‘Alī Huksha in 1271 (1854/5), the successor of Rāghib’s father Muḥammad (d. 1268: 1851/2); cf. Zāfir, 153; *Majmū‘* 49–50.

102 Zāfir, *ibid*.

Rāghib from his predecessors and makes it reasonable to suppose that not only was he responsible for the creation of a distinct *ṭarīqa*, but also for the expansion of its membership; that this must have taken place, is suggested by the fact that it was recognized by al-Bakrī. For this *ṭarīqa* as well as for the others dealt with in this section, growth and spread must have been facilitated by the defective maintenance of rights of *qadam* during much of the last decade of the period in which Rāghib was the *ṭarīqa*'s supreme leader.

4 Secessionist *Ṭuruq*

As has already been mentioned, attempts at independence by groups which had developed into distinctive *ṭuruq* inside the *ṭuruq* integrated within al-Bakrī's administration, as well as any secessionist movements, had always been checked by the principle of right of *qadam*, since as independent *ṭuruq* these groups did not have this right and consequently could not manifest themselves as such. Defective maintenance of rights of *qadam*, however, allowed a number of such groups, to secede and to manifest themselves as *ṭuruq* in their own right. Those who did so and became *de jure* independent *ṭuruq* when al-Bakrī confirmed a candidate in the position of head over each of these groups, were: al-Ḍayfiyya, al-Misallimiyya,¹⁰³ al-Sharnūbiyya and al-Shahāwiyya.

The first of these had emerged as a distinct *ṭarīqa* within al-Ṣāwiyya, a development already referred to in the preceding chapter (p. 71). It was not until after the death of Aḥmad Ḍayf, the head of al-Ṣāwiyya, in 1879, that the *ṭarīqa* was presented as al-Ḍayfiyya al-Khalwatiyya, a *ṭarīqa* distinct from al-Ṣāwiyya. Credit for this should be given to his brother Muḥammad Ismā'īl Ḍayf (1271–1348: 1854/55–1929) who was the first to obtain al-Bakrī's recognition as head of the independent *ṭarīqa* al-Ḍayfiyya.¹⁰⁴

In the first half of the nineteenth century a *ṭarīqa* had emerged in al-Sharqiyya province under the leadership of Salīm Abū Misallim al-Hamdānī al-Ṣaghīr (d. 1244: 1828/29), a member of the Ḥusaynid sharifian family of al-

¹⁰³ This vocalization is found in the *ijāzāt* of the *ṭarīqa*. Alternative vocalizations occur; cf. al-Bakrī, 'Kitāb al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya', fol. 23, where the vocalization is Misallamiyya; and the title page of 'Abd al-Qādir Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Musallimī, *Al-Durra al-Bahīyya fī Tasābih wa Awrād al-Sādat al-Musallimīyya*, n.p. 1332, giving a variant. The shrine of Salīm is in al-Ṣawwa, east of al-Zaqāziq. It is among the most famous shrines in the eastern Delta; cf. *Khiṭ.*, xiii, 27.

¹⁰⁴ About Ismā'īl 'Alī Ḍayf, his son Muḥammad and their descendants; cf. al-Maghribī, 156. The shrine, where most of them were buried, near Sīdī al-Sammān in the cemetery of al-Mām al-Shāfi'ī, may be visited today.

Misallimiyya.¹⁰⁵ He had been initiated into al-Khalwatiyya by the erstwhile *shaykh al-Azhar* ‘Abd Allāh al-Sharqāwī (d. 1227: 1812) and into al-Shinnāwiyya by Muḥammad “Bunduq” al-Shinnāwī.¹⁰⁶ When al-Bakrī’s administration developed, the last-mentioned link permitted the heads of al-Shinnāwiyya to claim *qadam* wherever this *ṭarīqa* had members. This explains why, if their *ṭarīqa* were to continue to function properly, the heads of al-Misallimiyya had hardly any alternative than to do so as part of al-Shinnāwiyya. When, in the course of the eighties, rights of *qadam* were less stringently maintained, the need to continue under the suzerainty of the heads of al-Shinnāwiyya and as part of that *ṭarīqa*, largely disappeared. Consequently, the grandson of the founder, Salīm ‘Abd Allāh Salīm presented himself from that time onwards as head of an independent *ṭarīqa Misallimiyya*. Apparently, the *ṭarīqa* seemed sufficiently significant to al-Bakrī in terms of numerical strength and geographical expansion of membership for him to grant it official recognition.

Al-Shahāwiyya and al-Sharnūbiyya trace their origins back to Muḥammad al-Shahāwī and his pupil Aḥmad ‘Arab al-Sharnūbī respectively, both Burhāmiyya *shaykhs* who lived in the early Ottoman era.¹⁰⁷ For the whole of this period nothing is known about the degree to which these orders functioned independently from the parent *ṭarīqa* headed by members of the ‘Ashūr family in Cairo (see above p. 16). For the early nineteenth century, however, there is some indication that at least al-Sharnūbiyya existed as an autonomous *ṭarīqa*, this is to be found in a document in which indirect reference is made to the *shaykh al-sādat al-Sharānibat al-Burhāmiyya*.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, this leadership position can hardly have had the same status as the position of the head of al-Burhāmiyya. If such had been the case al-Sharnūbiyya would not have become subject to the authority of the head of al-Burhāmiyya in the second half of the nineteenth century as a *bayt* of this *ṭarīqa*.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, it must have been

105 See al-Sakhāwī, 235.

106 He was the son of one of the more famous representatives of this *ṭarīqa*, ‘Alī “Bunduq” al-Shinnāwī (d. 1183: 1769/70); cf. *‘Ajā’ib*, i, 376.

107 Cf. Khalaf Allāh, 331 ff. See also chapter 1, notes 58 and 59.

108 WA, no. 1112 (*Hujjat Da’wā* dated 9 Raj. 1266). In this document reference is made to his daughter. The court-case was relative to a *waqf*, of which the revenues were intended to cover the “*maṣāliḥ wa ihtimāmāt*” of a boat to be used by members of this *ṭarīqa* to sail to Disūq at the time of the *mawlid* of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī.

109 See 11-18/4 (6 Raj. 1289), and v-1(8)/2 (19 Ram. 1296). Cf. Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 193. This author mentions the “Touhamiya” as a third branch. No source, however, confirms that a Burhāmiyya branch under that name has ever existed. This makes it likely that the author has erroneously taken the Shādhiliyya branch with this name, for a branch of al-Burhāmiyya. Al-Ḥarīrī, i, fol. 127^a gives the *ṭarīqa* headed by members of the ‘Ashūr family

the very weakness of central authority in al-Sharnūbiyya, or probably even the absence of central authority in the case of al-Shahāwiyya, which would account for the fact that both *ṭarīqas* were assigned the status of *bayt* of al-Burhāmiyya when al-Bakrī's administration developed from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. In the course of the seventies, however, supreme authority within both *bayts* was monopolized by *khalīfas* who aimed at minimizing the suzerainty of the heads of al-Burhāmiyya over them.

In al-Sharnūbiyya a position of pre-eminence had been obtained by Muḥammad al-Sinbātī, a shadowy figure of whom little more is known than that he was killed as the result of a vendetta in 1902.¹¹⁰ As pre-eminent leader of al-Shahāwiyya, Muḥammad Abū l-'Alā' al-Ḥusaynī emerged. In addition to his initiation into al-Burhāmiyya, he had also been initiated into al-Khalwatiyya, al-Shādhiliyya and al-Naqshbandiyya by 'Umar al-Shabrāwī (1235–1303: 1819/20–1886),¹¹¹ to whom he had been a devoted servant for a considerable part of his life.¹¹²

Both Muḥammad al-Sinbātī as well as Muḥammad Abū l-'Alā' al-Shahāwī had already manifested themselves at times as heads of independent *ṭarīqas* in al-Daqahliyya province before 1881; these manifestations of autonomy had always been curbed.¹¹³ After 1881, when institutional checks against secession became ineffective, both *khalīfas* opted for leadership of independent *ṭarīqas*¹¹⁴ and were confirmed in these positions by al-Bakrī at the beginning of the eighties.

as al-'Ashūriyya and mentions also an additional branch, al-Tāziyya, founded by a certain Ibrāhīm al-Tāzī. About this branch no details are known.

110 When he died, one of the *ṭarīqa*'s principal *khulafā'*, Yūsuf al-Basyūnī (d. 1953) was placed in charge of the *ṭarīqa* as *wakīl* since al-Sinbātī's only living son was still a child at the time. When, however, this son also died in 1919, still in his teens, Yūsuf managed to secure official recognition as the *ṭarīqa*'s *shaykh al-sajjāda*. This was not complied with by a section of the *ṭarīqa* in the northern Delta in and around al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā, under the leadership of a certain Muṣṭafā Muḥammad 'Īd. The latter claimed priority over Yūsuf al-Basyūnī as the *ṭarīqa*'s supreme leader and presented himself as such; cf. Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn, *Al-Ḥayāt al-Waṭaniyya bi-l-Maḥallat al-Kubrā*, Ṭanṭa 1929, 72.

I owe this information to 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ṣābir al-Sharnūbī, *khalīfat al-khulafā'* of this *ṭarīqa*, living in Sharnūb near Damanhūr (al-Buḥayra province). I have not been able to secure more data pertaining to this leadership conflict.

111 For his biography see Riḍwān al-'Adl Baybars, *Tarjamat Murabbī l-Murīdīn wa Murshid al-Sālikīn ... al-Shaykh 'Umar Ja'far al-Shabrāwī*, Cairo 1952.

112 Cf. Aḥmad Efendī Muḥammad 'Uthmān, *Risālat Imātat al-Lithām 'an ba'd Athār Sīdī Abī 'Abd al-Salām ... al-Shaykh 'Umar Ḥaykal Ja'far al-Shabrāwī*, n.p. 1366, 86 f.

113 Cf. F.Or.A. 283, II-18/4 (6 Raj. 1289).

114 Cf. F.Or.A. 285, II-104/1 (6 Muḥ. 1304).

5 The Changing Area of Authority and the Decline of Its Legitimacy

The fact that the heads of the *ṭuruq* dealt with in the preceding section, with the exception of al-Ḥiṣāfiyya and al-ʿInāniyya, had all solicited and obtained legality of tenure from al-Bakrī, did not imply that they agreed with reforms as laid down in the circular issued by him, nor were they ready to implement what it contained. On the contrary, their *ṭuruq*, as well as the *ṭuruq* which had participated in the administration for decades, seem to have evaded the restrictions and stipulations made in the circular as far as this was possible, and like the heads of the latter *ṭuruq*, they tended towards self-containment. This implied an unprecedented decline in the legitimacy of the authority of al-Bakrī¹¹⁵ which may have been augmented by the fact that he had not preserved the unity of some of the larger *ṭuruq*, but on the contrary acted against their interests, which must have placed his relationships with the heads of these *ṭuruq* under considerable strain.

By 1891 only nine of the original twenty-nine *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq*, being the heads of al-Saʿdiyya, al-Rifāʿiyya, al-Bayyūmiyya, al-Mirghaniyya, al-ʿAfifiyya, al-Marzūqiyya al-Aḥmadiyya, al-Qādiriyya, al-Sharnūbiyya and al-Burhāmiyya, do not seem to have turned away from al-Bakrī.¹¹⁶ In addition to this a number of heads of *takāyā* also appear to have dissociated themselves from the administration, notably those in charge of the *takāyā* al-Bukhārliyya (al-Uzbek) in Darb al-Labbān, Nizām al-Dīn al-Bukhārliyya in al-Ḥaṭṭāba, al-Maghribī, Muḥyī l-Dīn, al-Bukhārī near Bāb al-Wazīr and al-Maghāwirī.¹¹⁷ Heads of other *takāyā*, however, had come to obtain legitimacy of tenure through appointment by al-Bakrī. An example, in Cairo, for instance, was the head of the *takīyat* al-Ḥabbāniyya who was formerly appointed by the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* upon recommendation by *al-Azhar* (cf. p. 81), an arrangement which had at some time been discontinued.

In Alexandria the heads of the two Qādiriyya *takāyas* had accepted al-Bakrī's authority over them. In one of these *takāyas* resided a community of exclu-

115 Le Chatelier collected the data for his *Les Confréries* at about this time. He mentions a story according to which Muḥammad al-Bakrī was not the son of Muḥammad Abū l-Suʿūd, but the son of another member of the Bakrī family: that he had replaced his daughter by this boy, since he had no male descendants himself; cf. Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 186–187. This rumour, discrediting ʿAbd al-Bāqī's descent and hence questioning the legitimacy of his authority, seems very much the result of the resentment which had arisen against him.

116 Cf. Āṣāf, 74 ff.

117 Zakhūrā, i, 224 d; *Khīt.*, iii, 130. To what extent the contents of the circular were of any consequence for al-Bakrī's authority over the heads of the *zawāyā* and the intendants of the shrines is not known.

sively Turkish Qādirīs.¹¹⁸ The *takīya* itself, however, had originally belonged to al-Gūlshāniyya and it was still known under that name.¹¹⁹ It is not unlikely that the Qādiriyya *shaykh* of the latter *takīya*, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Niyāzī,¹²⁰ had sought official confirmation by al-Bakrī in order to strengthen his position as head of a *takīya* to which members of this *ṭarīqa* traditionally had no right or title.¹²¹

In addition, in Cairo the *shaykh ḍarīḥ* in charge of the shrine of Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī had become recognized as *shaykh takīya* in 1877.¹²² This suggests an increase of the community resident in the establishment near the shrine, since the change can only be attributed to this, and it reflects the revival of the *ṭarīqa* under the then *shaykh* ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Muṣṭafā al-Demirdāsh (d. 1348: 1929).¹²³

6 The ‘Urābī Insurrection and Ṭarīqa Involvement

In 1881, when, ‘Abd al-Bāqī endeavoured to implement the reforms set out in preceding pages, Egypt was in the midst of the turbulent period culminating in the ‘Urābī insurrection and the subsequent British occupation. No-one among the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* under al-Bakrī’s jurisdiction is known to have played any part in these events.¹²⁴ There is no reason to suppose, however, that in their attitude towards ‘Urābī they differed from the majority of those belonging to the religious establishment who, actively or passively, had remained loyal to the Khedive.¹²⁵ Therefore, ‘Abd al-Bāqī’s support of the Khedive against the

118 *Khīt.*, *ibid.*

119 Cf. MS Leiden Or. 14432 (Niyāzī documents)/IIa, b (20 Raj. 1311).

120 The full name of this *shaykh* was ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Niyāzī b. Ibrāhīm al-Īḥelli (d. 1311: 1893/4). He was initiated into al-Qādiriyya by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Efendī, the *shaykh* of the *takīyat* Qaṣr al-‘Aynī; cf. above page 77.

121 The earliest indication of the presence of Qādirīs in this *takīya* dates from Ramaḍān 1298 (April/May 1881); cf. MS Leiden Or. 14432/III (13 Ram. 1298).

122 Cf. Muḥammad Sulaymān Badawī, *Nubdha Yasīra min Ḥayāt Ustādhinā al-Fāḍil ... al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Muṣṭafā al-Demirdāsh Bāshā*, Cairo n.d., 6. On the *khatwa* of al-Demirdāshīyya, see E. Bannerth, ‘Über den Stifter und Sonderbrauch der Demirdāshīyya-Sufis in Kairo’, *WZKM* 62 (1969), 116–133.

123 ‘Abd al-Raḥīm had the *zāwiya* restored, the mosque enlarged and had more *khatwa*-cells constructed; cf. Mujāhid, *A’lām*, iii, 110.

124 Some of those belonging to lodges of Aḥmadiyya *ṭuruq* in the provinces appear to have taken part in the events, however; cf. Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 73 f.; Shafīq, 195.

125 For an enumeration of ‘ulamā’ and practicing mystics involved in the insurrection, see Khafājī, *Turāth*, 167.

‘Urābiyyūn¹²⁶ and his public manifestation of approval of the occupation when he gave a banquet in honour of General Sir Garnet Wolseley, the commander of the British forces, on the very evening of the day on which he entered Cairo,¹²⁷ is not likely to have been of any consequence for the legitimacy of his authority over the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq*. Nor did it provoke any change in his position as one of the principal religious leaders within the wider society,¹²⁸ which he was to represent in the Legislative Council (*Majlis Shūrā al-Qawānīn*) and the General Assembly (*al-Jam‘iyya al-‘Umūmiyya*) convened for the first time in November 1883.¹²⁹

Notably different from the role of al-Bakrī and the heads of the *ṭuruq* under his jurisdiction was that of leaders and members of various Khalwatiyya groups, which had not given up their position of autonomy and non-involvement with al-Bakrī and the *ṭuruq* administration.¹³⁰ Le Chatelier reports that this *ṭariqa* played an active role in the insurrection¹³¹ and scattered Khalwatiyya groups in Upper Egypt remained in a state of revolt for a considerable time after the occupation had been completed and the original rebellion had been crushed.¹³² The circumstances which generated the active involvement of these groups seem to have been different, however, from the circumstances which generated the ‘Urābī insurrection proper. Peasants in parts of Upper Egypt had been in a state of rebelliousness caused chiefly by drought, nefarious taxes and the corvée.¹³³ These rivulets of revolt seem to have merged with the broader stream of the ‘Urābī insurrection and continued to flow even after this stream had been checked, since they had sprung from different sources.

The most notable among the Khalwatiyya groups which were involved in the insurrection was al-Qāyātiyya. This group traces itself back to ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Qāyātī (d. 1258:1842),¹³⁴ a disciple of Ibrāhīm al-Shulqānī al-‘Imrānī (d. 1202:

126 Malortie, 315 f.

127 On the 15th of September 1882; cf. N.-C.D., ‘L’aristocratie Religieuse’, 259.

128 In that capacity he was exempted from payment of the house-tax (*al-rusūm al-khāṣṣa*) on his palace in al-Khurūnfish; cf. F.Or.A. 283, v-44(24)/I (11 Raj. 1301) and F.Or.A. 284, 111/7 (11 Raj. 1301).

129 Cf. B.S. 139. On these bodies, see e.g. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfi‘ī, *Miṣr wa l-Sūdān fī Awā’il ‘Ahd al-Iḥtilāl*, Cairo 1942, chapter 4; and also Cromer, ii, 271 ff.

130 Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 52.

131 *Ibid.*, 73 f.

132 *Ibid.*, 75.

133 Cf. G. Baer, *Studies in the History of Modern Egypt*, Chicago/London 1969, 100.

134 For his biography see Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Jawwād al-Qāyātī, *Khulāṣat al-Taḥqīq fī Afḍaliyyat al-Ṣiddīq*, Cairo 1313, 43 f.; and *Khiṭ.*, xiv, 96.

1787/88)¹³⁵ who had been among the *khulafā'* of Aḥmad al-Dardayr. It was, however, 'Abd al-Laṭīf's son and *khalīfa* 'Abd al-Jawwād (1227–1287: 1812–1870/1)¹³⁶ who developed this *Khalwatiyya* group into a distinct *ṭarīqa* with its centre in al-Qāyāt (al-Minyā). At the time of the 'Urābī insurrection it was led by 'Abd al-Jawwād's son Muḥammad (d. 1320: 1902),¹³⁷ who, along with his brother Aḥmad, must have been responsible for the active participation of the *ṭarīqa* in the insurrection. After the British occupation, both were tried, together with many others¹³⁸ who had given active support to 'Urābī, and sentenced to a five-year exile in Beirut.¹³⁹

Except for an explicit reference to this *Khalwatiyya* branch, Le Chatelier gives no clue that might make it possible to establish which other branches "ont fourni de véritables contingents aux insurgés"¹⁴⁰ or to identify "les petits groupes indépendents, fort nombreux au sud du Delta".¹⁴¹ However, the following representatives of al-Khalwatiyya are known to have been active in Upper Egypt at that time and were probably leaders of groups among those referred to by Le Chatelier: Jum'ā Abū l-'Alā' al-Najjār, a *khalīfa* initiated by Muḥammad al-Shādhilī (see p. 74), in Umm Dīnār (al-Jīza);¹⁴² Muḥammad Abū Sha'bān al-Rawḍī and 'Alī al-'Imrānī,¹⁴³ *khalīfas* of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī's disciple 'Abd al-Bāqī, both in al-Rawḍa (near Mallawī in Asyūt province);¹⁴⁴ 'Alī l-Shādhilī, son of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī's *khalīfa* 'Abd al-Bāqī, in Kafr al-'Ammār (al-Jīza);¹⁴⁵ 'Abd al-Jawwād al-Mansafīsī (1254–1346: 1838–1927), who also had a *silsila* going back

135 For biographical data as well as for data about his shrine and *mawlid* in Abā l-Waqf (al-Minyā) see also *Khiṭ.*, viii, 2.

136 Al-Qāyātī, *Khulāṣat*, 46; *Khiṭ.*, *ibid.*

137 For biographical notes see Mujāhid, *A'lām*, iv, 246.

138 Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfi'i, *Al-Thawra al-'Urābiyya*, 490 ff.

139 For Muḥammad's reflections upon these events and the account of his exile see his *Nafhat al-Bishām fī Riḥlat al-Sha'm*, Cairo 1319.

140 Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 74.

141 *Ibid.*, 75. This author also states "C'est par eux en partie que les Mahdistes du Soudan ont été constamment tenus au courant des événements du Nord"; *Ibid.*, 74. If this was the case, it was most probably by members of al-Sammāniyya. The Mahdī himself started his career as *khalīfa* of this *ṭarīqa* and continued to be considered as such within certain sections of the *ṭarīqa*. On the position of the leaders of the Sudanese branch of al-Sammāniyya and on the particular position of this *ṭarīqa* during the Mahdiyya, see Al-Ṭāhir Muḥammad 'Alī al-Bashīr, *Al-Adab al-Ṣūfi al-Sūdānī*, Beirut 1970, 61 ff.

142 Al-Maghribī, 147.

143 *Ibid.*, 149; and Fathī Maḥmūd Shuhdī. *Al-ʿArif bi-llāh Rajul al-Ṣalāh wa l-Ṣlāh al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī Shaykh Mashāyikh al-Turuq al-Ṣūfiyya*, Shabīn al-Kūm 1948, 20 f.

144 Al-Maghribī, 152.

145 *Ibid.*, 149.

to Aḥmad al-Şāwī, in Dayrūt (Asyūt province);¹⁴⁶ Ḥasan Riḍwān (1239–1310: 1823–1892)¹⁴⁷ who had been initiated by ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Mallawī (d. 1284: 1867/8), a *khalīfa* of one of Aḥmad al-Dardayr’s disciples, Ibrāhīm al-Shulqānī l-‘Imrānī, in al-Minyā province; Jūda ‘Abd al-Muta‘āl (1212–1322: 1797/8–1904),¹⁴⁸ who had been initiated by Aḥmad al-Junaydī l-Maymūnī, also a *khalīfa* of one of al-Dardayr’s disciples, ‘Abd al-‘Alīm al-Sanhūrī l-Fayyūmī, in the area of Banī Suwayf and al-Fayyūm; and Aḥmad Ibn Sharqāwī al-Khalifī (1250–1316: 1834–1898),¹⁴⁹ whose chain of initiation also went back to al-Dardayr, in Qinā province, notably in the area of Naj‘ Ḥammādī. All these *mashāyikh*, except the first two mentioned, were leaders of groups which continued well into the twentieth century and which, in a number of cases, were transformed into distinct *ṭuruq*; these will be discussed in the following chapter.

7 Summary

Early in 1881, under pressure from Khedive Tawfiq, ‘Abd al-Bāqī l-Bakrī endeavoured to make a number of reforms pertaining to ritual practice and to intervene in the internal autonomy of the heads of the *ṭuruq*, to which the heads responded by dissociating themselves from the *ṭuruq* administration. In addition, this administration had ceased to be of much significance for the State and its agencies, which ceased to act fully in support of the *ṭuruq* administration even when this was of direct relevance to the adequate maintenance of rights of *qadam*. This allowed for the rise and spread of a number of *ṭuruq* and for the secession of others, which subsequently obtained recognition from al-Bakrī as independent *ṭuruq* in their own right. In consequence of these developments the principle of right of *qadam* was superseded by legality of tenure as the main institutional safeguard against secession. A decade after ‘Abd al-Bāqī had initiated his effort to implement reforms, most of the heads of the *ṭuruq* and many

146 Ibid. and ‘Abd al-Jawwād Ḥusayn al-Mansafīsī, *Al-Qawl al-Mufīd fī ‘Ilm al-Tawḥīd*, al-Minyā 1346, *passim*.

147 For a biography by his son Muḥammad Abū l-Faṭḥ, see the preface to Ḥasan Riḍwān, *Rawḍ al-Qulūb al-Mustaṭāb*, Cairo 1322; and Zāfir, 127.

148 For his biography see Muṣṭafā Ibn Abi l-Sayf al-Ḥammāmī, *Al-Mīnah al-Rahmāniyya fī Manāqib Khādīm al-Ṭarīqa al-Khabwatīyya ... al-Shaykh Jūda ‘Abd al-Muta‘āl*, Cairo n.d.; and Jābir Aḥmad Mu‘ammar, *Manhal al-Wurrād wa Bahjat al-Irshād li-man arāda Ṭarīq al-Rashād*, Cairo n.d., 402 ff.

149 For his biography see Muḥammad ‘Abduh al-Ḥajjājī, *Min A‘lām al-Sa‘īd, Abū l-Ma‘ārif Aḥmad Ibn Sharqāwī l-Khalifī, al-Imām al-Qudwa*, Cairo 1969; Zāfir, 80; and Khafājī, *Turāth*, 230 ff.

of the heads of the *takāyā* tended towards self-containment in order to evade reformative measures and intervention in their internal affairs by ‘Abd al-Bāqī or his agents. This implied a decline in the legitimacy of the authority of the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya* in regard to the *ṭuruq* and the *takāyā*, which had no precedent and can appropriately be characterized as a crisis of authority.

The Promulgation of the Regulations for the *Ṭuruq*, Their History and Contents

‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī died prematurely in 1891, when he was only in his forties.¹ Had he lived longer he might very well have taken action, possibly in conjunction with the government agencies, in order to re-establish his authority and to regain the degree of legitimacy it had had at the time of his father and predecessor ‘Alī al-Bakrī. Now, however, ‘Abd al-Bāqī’s successor, his brother Muḥammad Tawfīq,² inherited an authority position devoid of legitimacy, at the head of a disrupted administration, inadequate for the actualization of the authority to which its incumbent was legally entitled.

1 Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī and the Early Re-assertion of Authority

Immediately upon his investiture as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, *naqīb al-ashraf* and *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*³ by the Khedive ‘Abbās Ḥilmī, Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī found himself challenged by Muḥammad Shams

1 In *B.S.* only the years in which he was born and died are given, without the exact dates. It is stated, however, that he died 12 days after the death of Khedive Tawfīq, which must therefore have been on 19 Jum. II 1309 (21 Dec. 1891); cf. *B.S.*, 12.

2 For an autobiography up to 1905, cf. *B.S.*, 11 f. For almost identical biographical information, cf. Zakhūrā, i, 217 f.; Mujāhid, *A’lām*, iii, 94 f. For an effort to evaluate his significance, see Māhir Ḥasan Fahmī, *Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī*, Cairo 1967. The date of his investiture, which must have taken place shortly after 19 Jum. II 1309 (21 Dec. 1891) is not mentioned in any of these biographies. He succeeded his brother also as a member of the General Assembly (*al-Jam’iyya al-‘Umūmiyya*) and of the Legislative Council (*Majlis Shūrā l-Qawānīn*); cf. F.Or.A. 384-1/3 (15 Shaw. 1309).

3 See Shafīq, ii/1, 25; and *B.S.*, 12. The term *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* seems to have become current only after 1880. Not until the appointment of Muḥammad Tawfīq was it used officially to designate as a separate function the authority held over the *ṭuruq* by the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya*. The *firmān* of 1812 speaks about ‘*al-takallum ‘alā ṭawā’if al-fuqarā’ al-ṣūfiyya*’. Similar terminology is used in the *firmān* by which ‘Alī al-Bakrī was invested by Khedive Sa’id. See *B.S.*, 378. This work does not give the text of the *firmān* by which ‘Abd al-Bāqī was appointed, but quotes a passage from ‘Alī Mubārak’s *Khitaṭ*, where mention is made of his appointment. Here equally the term *takallum* is used, together with the term *tābi’a (al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya l-tābi’a al-ān li-mashyakhāt al-sāda l-Bakriyya)*; *Khitaṭ*, iii, 129. In the micro-

al-Dīn, the *shaykh* of al-Marzūqiyya al-Aḥmadiyya. This *shaykh*, basing his objection on old *farmānāt*, maintained that Muḥammad Tawfīq had no authority over him and, moreover, that all Aḥmadiyya *turuq* came under his jurisdiction.⁴ To this challenge Tawfīq responded by declaring him deposed as head of the *ṭarīqa* and investing his brother Ḥasan Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn in his place. A serious conflict resulted, not only between al-Bakrī and Ḥasan's brother Muḥammad, but also within the *ṭarīqa*, between factions which rallied to their support. On all fronts the deposed *shaykh* made efforts to obtain a reversal of al-Bakrī's decision, and finally, when these were of no avail, he approached the then Prime Minister, Nūbār Bāshā.⁵ The results of this move, however, bore no relation to what was intended. After consultation between Nūbār, the Minister of Justice (*nāẓir al-Ḥaqqāniyya*) and the Deputy Minister of the Interior (*wakīl al-Dākhiliyya*), it was declared that Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn's claims were unfounded and that al-Bakrī's action was legal and within his sphere of competence.

Since this had been stated at the highest government level any other chances there might still have been of obtaining re-instatement as head of al-Marzūqiyya were definitely blocked and his brother Ḥasan was to remain in office until his death in 1920.⁶ In addition to this and of more importance is the fact that the declaration implied a re-confirmation of al-Bakrī's authority and also confirmed his right to appoint as well as to depose the heads of the *turuq*. So the indirect outcome of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn's move was, for al-Bakrī, a most welcome official re-assertion of the authority position which had become so void of implications for the *turuq* administration under his predecessor. There can hardly be any doubt that it was owing to the positive outcome of these events which had enhanced his authority that Muḥammad Tawfīq dared to intervene in the affairs of al-'Arūsiyya and al-Qādiriyya at the end of 1892 and in the following year.

filmed documents of the Leiden collection, the term *al-mashyakhāt al-sharīfa* is occasionally found, used to indicate this function of al-Bakrī.

4 For these *farmānāt* and Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn's claims see Shams al-Dīn, 24 ff. Muḥammad had succeeded his father, equally named Muḥammad (mentioned in the list on pages 69–70), who was the son and successor of Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Shams al-Dīn (see above page 36).

5 Cf. *Al-Ahrām*, 20 September 1892, p. 3.

6 I owe my information about the follow-up of this case to the present head of the *ṭarīqa*, Aḥmad Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, who gave early 1893 as the date of its termination. In the issue of *Al-Ahrām* referred to in note 5 only the initial development of the case, up to the first meeting at ministerial level on this matter, is reported. I found no references to the case in any of the issues consulted up to September 1893.

Within al-‘Arūsiyya a secessionist movement had arisen under the leadership of Muḥammad Mashīna, a Tripolitanian merchant, resident in Cairo.⁷ This leader, like ‘Abd al-Karīm Maṣṣūr who, as *shaykh* of al-‘Arūsiyya had obtained recognition from ‘Alī al-Bakrī, had been a *khalīfa* of Ḥamūda ibn Khalīfa, the principal representative and propagator of the *ṭarīqa* in Alexandria (see above p. 76). Like ‘Abd al-Karīm, Muḥammad Mashīna had detached himself from this *shaykh* and had himself re-initiated by ‘Abd al-Salām Baḥīḥ, a *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa* in Tripolitania, who provided him with an *ijāza* as he had done for ‘Abd al-Karīm Maṣṣūr some years earlier.⁸ At that time, the principle of right of *qadam* made it impossible for him to operate as an independent *shaykh* of an independent *ṭarīqa* and his only choice was to be active within the framework of al-‘Arūsiyya, within which he obtained the rank of *nā’ib*.⁹ In the course of the 1880’s, however, the breakdown of the *ṭarīqa* administration under ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī made it possible for him to present himself openly and proselytize as *shaykh* of an independent ‘Arūsiyya *ṭarīqa* of his own.¹⁰ This *ṭarīqa*, however, differed from the earlier secessionist ones which spread during the era of ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī and had obtained his recognition as independent *ṭuruq*. Their heads had merely desired to obtain legality for their *ṭuruq* and had no aspirations to the leadership of the parent *ṭuruq*, from which they had long been distinct.

Muḥammad Mashīna’s *ṭarīqa* on the contrary had not differed from the original ‘Arūsiyya Way either in aspects of ritual or of dogma, but had remained an exact copy of al-‘Arūsiyya under ‘Abd al-Karīm Maṣṣūr with whom he also had his *silsila* in common. This movement of secession therefore, was basically an expression of competition for pre-eminence of leadership of this *ṭarīqa* which ‘Abd al-Karīm Maṣṣūr was likely to lose if Muḥammad Mashīna were to succeed in drawing his *murīdūn* away from him, thus making his leadership redundant. So it must have been owing to the very nature of al-‘Arūsiyya under Muḥammad Mashīna that ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī refrained from granting it legal-

7 He was the *wakīl ahālī Ṭarābulus*, i.e. the *chargé d’affaires* or consular agent for the Tripolitanians travelling or resident in Cairo. For the text of the *firmān* by which he was appointed to this office, dated 26 Dhū l-Ḥijja 1296, see the preface to Mashīna, *Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya*.

8 See al-Dawayāti, *passim*.

9 For this and other information about the history and teachings of al-‘Arūsiyya I am particularly indebted to Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Dawayāti, the *shaykh* of al-Dawayātiyya al-Shādhiliyya, a Salāmiyya order (see below), which did not manifest itself until after the Second World War and which has a membership mainly in and around Alexandria; and to al-Ḥājj Muḥammad ‘Alī Laghbash, a *khalīfa* of al-Salāmiyya in Cairo.

10 Cf. Muḥammad al-Qārī, *Al-Ḥizb al-Aḥzām wa l-Wird al-Afḥām*, Būlāq 1300, 87.

ity as an independent *ṭarīqa*. Had he done so his action would probably have been interpreted as favouring Muḥammad Mashīna as leader of al-‘Arūsiyya instead of ‘Abd al-Karīm Manṣūr. More important, however, it would constitute a precedent which would allow any leader of a sub-section of a *ṭarīqa* not differing in any way from the main body to push for recognition as *shaykh* of an independent *ṭarīqa* of his own. Obviously this would jeopardize the position of all the heads of the *ṭuruq*, and in self-defence they might have mounted opposition detrimental to his already shattered authority.

That these considerations must have motivated ‘Abd al-Bāqī to abstain from recognizing Muḥammad Mashīna as head of al-‘Arūsiyya is suggested, moreover, by the fact that in terms of legitimacy of leadership, as well as in terms of the number of adepts over whom this leadership was held, Muḥammad Mashīna must have been eligible for official recognition. This must have been the case at least just before 1892, the year in which ‘Abd al-Bāqī l-Bakrī died, as may be concluded from Muḥammad Mashīna’s recognition by Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī one year later, in 1893.¹¹

The moment of the official recognition of this section of al-‘Arūsiyya as an independent *ṭarīqa* seems to have been the outcome of two events which more or less coincided. The first of these was the official re-assertion of al-Bakrī’s authority position in that year as the outcome of the dispute with the *shaykh* of al-Marzūqiyya, dealt with in a preceding paragraph. The second event was the death of ‘Abd al-Karīm Manṣūr early in 1892.¹² He had been succeeded by his son Manṣūr, a youth barely twenty years old, who must have been regarded by Muḥammad Tawfīq as a negligible factor, incapable of mounting any serious opposition to the official recognition of Muḥammad Mashīna’s *ṭarīqa*. Owing to these circumstances Muḥammad Tawfīq must have felt strong enough to overcome any resistance which might have been set up against granting legality to Muḥammad Mashīna as *shaykh* of an independent *ṭarīqa*.

Muḥammad Tawfīq’s decision to grant Muḥammad Mashīna legality must have been further motivated by his realistic appraisal that the situation was irreversible. Had he not recognized it as a separate *ṭarīqa* this would have meant that a sizeable group under viable leadership would continue to remain in a marginal position within the *ṭuruq* realm. Neither this nor the continuation of the already long-standing conflict between the two ‘Arūsiyya sections would have been in the best interests of efficient administration. If official recognition were not to fall short of its aim, however, it had to be made impossible

11 Al-Dawiyātī, *passim*.

12 *Ibid.*, *passim*. ‘Abd al-Karīm’s son Manṣūr, known as Manṣūr Kurayyim, died in 1931; cf. al-Sakhāwī, 62.



FIGURE 3
Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī in 1898

for either of the two *shaykhs* to claim pre-eminence and therefore suzerainty over the other as *shaykh* of al-ʿArūsiyya. This was effected by granting official recognition to the section of al-ʿArūsiyya under Muḥammad Mashīna, not as al-ʿArūsiyya but as al-Salāmiyya, named after ʿAbd al-Salām al-Asmar (d. 880–981: 1475/76–1573/74), the sixteenth century revivalist of al-ʿArūsiyya, which decision made the two *ṭarīqas* differ at least in name.¹³

Before the *ṭarīqa*'s formal recognition by Tawfīq al-Bakrī, a *fatwā* issued at Muḥammad Mashīna's request by Muḥammad al-Imbābī, the *shaykh al-Azhar*, had given respectability and substance to its existence separate from al-ʿArūsiyya by stating that it was a distinct, independent *ṭarīqa*, widespread in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and other parts of Africa, that it was not known to be incompatible with the *sharīʿa*, and that it had not been controversial in any way.¹⁴ Muḥammad Mashīna himself, however, was not to live long enough to derive any satisfaction from the partial fulfilment of his aspirations. He died shortly before he was due to be recognized as *shaykh* of al-Salāmiyya and in his stead his half-brother, also named Muḥammad, was invested as the *ṭarīqa*'s *shaykh*.¹⁵

13 According to the members of al-ʿArūsiyya, the name of their *ṭarīqa* does not refer to Aḥmad ibn ʿArūs, but to its pre-eminent position of being the ʿarūs (bridegroom) among the the *ṭuruq*, i.e. the *ṭarīqa* which was adhered to by the companions of the Prophet; cf. al-Barmūnī, 102 ff.

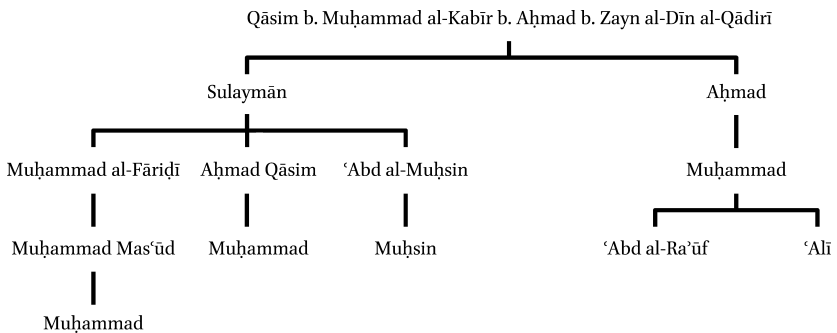
14 For the text of this *fatwā*, dated Ṣafar 1310, see Mashīna, 8 f.

15 Cf. al-Dawiyātī, *passim*.

Another conflict, different from the ‘Arūsiyya case in its origins but similar in its nature and in the way it was resolved, existed within al-Qādiriyya. From 1891 to 1892 this *ṭarīqa* had been under the leadership of ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf.¹⁶ He, like his cousin and predecessor Muḥammad Aḥmad, had simultaneously administered the Qādiriyya order which had been led by their common cousin and Muḥammad Aḥmad’s son-in-law Muḥammad Mas‘ūd. The arrangement had existed since 1287 (1870) when Muḥammad Mas‘ūd died leaving only an infant son as his heir (see above p. 68). This son, also named Muḥammad, now wanted to take over from his cousin ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf as *shaykh* of the independent Qādiriyya branch which had been led by Muḥammad’s father in the days of ‘Alī al-Bakrī. As with the two sections of al-‘Arūsiyya, these two branches of al-Qādiriyya did not differ in ritual and dogma and had largely identical *salāsil*.¹⁷ Therefore, if Muḥammad Muḥammad Mas‘ūd’s claims for legality were not directly an expression of competition for supreme leadership of al-Qādiriyya, his official recognition as head of an independent Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa* would at least endanger the pre-eminence of ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s position. Consequently ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf opposed these efforts, regarding them not in the light of a legitimate action, taken in order to obtain rights which were sanctioned by tradition, but rather as manifestations of a secessionist movement. It must, indeed, have appeared so, since after it had been administered by *shaykhs* of another Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*

16 For reference to ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf as *shaykh al-sajjāda l-Qādiriyya*, see ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Dabbāgh, *Mishkāt al-‘Arifīn li-Ṭarīq al-Sālikīn*, Cairo 1345, 7. He held the office for only one year. His name does not appear in the *silsila* given in the *ijāzāt* which are issued by the *ṭarīqa* nowadays.

17 I.e. ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s grandfather Aḥmad and Muḥammad’s great-grandfather Sulaymān had both been initiated by their father Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Kabīr. The following genealogical tree gives the names of the descendants of Zayn al-Dīn al-Qādirī, who were *mashāyikh* of the Qādiriyya order(s) in Egypt, from the late 18th century until the early 20th century (cf. above pp. 17, 38, and 70 f.):



for almost a quarter of a century this branch virtually merged with the other into one single *ṭarīqa*.

‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s opposition seems to have been supported by ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī, who refrained from granting legality to Muḥammad Mas‘ūd as *shaykh* of an independent Qādiriyya *ṭarīqa*. Here, as in the conflict within al-‘Arūsiyya, al-Bakrī’s position would have been determined by the wish to prevent further decline of his authority, which might be damaged in this case by a rebuff to Abd al-Ra’ūf, one of the few heads of the *ṭuruq* who had remained actively involved in the administration (see above p. 116).

The circumstances which preceded the recognition of Muḥammad Mas‘ūd as *shaykh* of an independent *ṭarīqa* seem to have been very much the same as those which led to the recognition of Muḥammad Mashīna as *shaykh* of al-Salāmiyya: the death of the head of the parent *ṭarīqa* in 1892 and the reinforcement of Muḥammad Tawfīq’s authority in the wake of the clash between him and the *shaykh* of al-Marāziqa more or less coincided.¹⁸ This must have allowed Muḥammad Tawfīq to intervene and arrange for the formal settlement of the conflict, which seems to have been a requirement paramount for the restoration of efficiency to the *ṭuruq* administration: by the end of 1893 he recognized Muḥammad Mas‘ūd as *shaykh* of an independent *ṭarīqa*, named al-Qādiriyya l-Fāriḍiyya after Muḥammad al-Fāriḍī, Muḥammad Mas‘ūd’s grandfather (see above p. 70). In addition, al-Qādiriyya, of which ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s brother ‘Alī had been *shaykh* since 1892, was renamed as al-Qādiriyya al-Qāsimiyya after ‘Alī’s great-grandfather, Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Kabīr, who had been *shaykh* of the *ṭarīqa* at the beginning of the 19th century.¹⁹ As with the two branches of al-‘Arūsiyya this differentiation by name between the two Qādiriyya branches must also have been intended as a safeguard against possible claims by either of the two *shaykhs* for pre-eminence and therefore suzerainty of one over the other as head of al-Qādiriyya.

18 Oral tradition of both the parent-*ṭarīqas* maintains that Muḥammad Mashīna and Muḥammad Mas‘ūd obtained official recognition by bribing al-Bakrī.

19 For information about this dispute, as well as for much historical and other information about the Qādiriyya in Egypt, I am indebted to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Qādirī, the present *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Qādiriyya al-Qāsimiyya* in Egypt. He is the grandson of ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf’s brother ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qādirī. I also obtained information from Maḥmūd ‘Isā al-Sha’rāwī, *nā’ib* of al-Qādiriyya al-Fāriḍiyya for al-Jīza province, resident in Kafr Ṭuhurmus. The present discussion is largely based upon their accounts.

2 The Regulations of 1895

So it was the official re-assertion of Muḥammad Tawfiq's authority in particular which seems to have determined the effectuation of a settlement of the conflicts troubling both *ṭarīqas*. Nevertheless, the degree to which al-Bakrī could actualize his authority as *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* only increased substantially when, in 1895, a set of regulations known as the *lā'iḥat al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* was promulgated by khedivial decree.²⁰ These regulations re-structured al-Bakrī's authority and gave it a new legal basis. Their promulgation abrogated all that was contained in the circular drawn up by 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī in 1881. They removed the principal obstacle towards restoration of al-Bakrī's authority and marked the beginning of a new and distinct era for institutionalized Islamic mysticism in Egypt.

In his *Bayt al-Ṣiddīq*, Muḥammad Tawfiq suggests that he himself had induced its proclamation and was responsible for its contents.²¹ His representation does not seem to be entirely correct, however,²² since the *lā'iḥa* is known to have been drawn up in its final form by a council from the Ministry of the Interior which Nūbār, the then Prime Minister, had specially instituted for this task.²³ The most striking provision in these regulations must be attributed to this council's involvement: it made al-Bakrī's function of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* an office, and since it did not stipulate that its incumbent should be the *shaykh al-sajjāda l-Bakriyya*, as had been dictated by tradition for decades, but left open the possibility for appointment of anybody the Khedive regarded as suitable, it transformed the authority of its incumbent from authority legitimated by tradition into authority of the rational-legal type.²⁴

20 See *Al-Waqā'ir al-Miṣriyya*, no. 67, (17 June 1895), 1426. For a translation of the *lā'iḥa* and additional notes see appendix 4.

21 *B.S.*, 21. See also Muḥammad Tawfiq's short autobiography published in Aḥmad 'Ubayd, *Mashāhīr Shu'arā al-'Aṣr fi l-Aqṭār al-'Arabīyya l-Thalātha, Miṣr wa Sūriyya wa l-'Irāq*, Damascus 1922, 168 ff. where a similar suggestion is made.

22 In view of this, the judgement of M. Hartmann, who called Muḥammad Tawfiq "ein Schwätzer", seems apposite; cf. M. Hartmann, 'Der Islam 1908', *Mitt. des Sem. für Or. Sprachen zu Berlin*, xii (1909), 81.

23 Cf. F.Or.A. 284, 1/2 (12 Muḥ. 1313). Also the introductory lines to the text of the *lā'iḥa* published in *Al-Waqā'ir al-Miṣriyya* refer to such a council.

24 Cf. art. 3 of the *lā'iḥa*. The term used is *ra'īs al-mashāyikh*. Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī introduced the term *bāb al-mashyakha*, particularly in decrees and other documents issued by him, to denote his residence as well as his position of administrative pre-eminence, presumably because of the connotation of the term *bāb* with supreme authority, owing to the custom of giving this name to the palace, court or governmentment of a ruler, which had been prevalent since ancient times; cf. J. Deny, 'Bāb-i 'Ālī', in *E.I.*², i, 836.

This council must also be held responsible for the fact that the Regulations set various limitations to al-Bakrī's authority, since he himself was unlikely to have had any such desire. Among these was the specific limitation contained in article 2, which stipulated that appointments of *mashāyikh* of *takāyā*,²⁵ *zawāyā* and shrines to which pensions and stipends from the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* were attached, would no longer be possible without permission from this *Dīwān*. The inclusion of this article is connected with a policy which had been pursued, notably after the British occupation, with the intention of reducing the power of private *nuzẓār* of *awqāf khayriyya*.²⁶ It is complementary to the *lā'ihat ijrā'āt Dīwān 'Umūm al-Awqāf* also promulgated in 1895.²⁷

The majority of the articles, however, contained restrictions which were all directly related to the more general curtailment of the autonomous actualization of al-Bakrī's authority: the Regulations provided for the setting up of a council to be known as the *Majlis al-Şūfi* (art. 3), which was to exercise a corporate form of jurisdiction over *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions.²⁸ This council, of which al-Bakrī would act as president, in accordance with the stipulations of article 3, was to consist of four permanent members and four others who would only act as their deputies. All the members were to be elected every three years from among a congregation of at least twenty *mashāyikh ṭuruq* resident in Cairo, the election to be held under the supervision of the governor of the capital and in the governorate building (*Dīwān Muḥāfazat Miṣr*).

It would be incorrect to consider the formation of this council as a formalization or a continuation of the councils which were occasionally convened to settle disputes in the days of 'Alī al-Bakrī.²⁹

The function of the earlier councils was merely mediatory and al-Bakrī was in no way obliged to act in accordance with decisions or recommendations made by the members. The newly instituted council was of a different nature: it was to function similarly to a *Shar'īyya* Court (art. 9) with full and exclu-

25 At the time Muḥammad Tawfiq assumed office, three more heads of *takāyā*, in addition to the ones mentioned in the preceding chapter, had obtained legality through appointment or recognition by al-Bakrī. These were the *takiyat al-Jamāliyya*, the *takiyat Qanṭarat Sunqur* and the *takiyat al-Manshīyya*; cf. F.Or.A. 385, 11/78 (1311). About these *takāyā* no particulars are known.

26 G. Baer, *A History of Landownership in Modern Egypt 1800–1950*, London 1962, 171; and *idem*, 'Waqf reform in Egypt', *Middle Eastern Affairs, Number One, St. Antony's Papers, no. 4* (London 1958), 66.

27 See *Al-Waqā'ir al-Miṣriyya*, 20 July 1895, no. 82, 1816 f.

28 Kahle reports erroneously that this council was known as "*majlis muḥaṣṣiṣ li-l-ṣūfiyya*"; cf. Kahle, 'Zur Organisation', 149.

29 For such a view see 'Aḥkām', *Al-Jarīda l-Qadā'iyya*, 10.

sive judicial powers in all matters pertaining to the *ṭuruq* (cf. arts. 1 and 9), including disputes about the right of *qadam* which, although it had become an almost redundant principle, had not yet been formally abandoned. Moreover, the opinions of the members of the new council could not be dismissed at will by al-Bakrī, since the *lā'ihā* stipulated that its decisions concerning the *ṭuruq* would only be valid if taken by majority vote. To enforce its resolutions, the government agencies—with the exception of the judiciary which had ceased to play a role in the effectuation of authority—could be called upon in accordance with established practice. Such action had to be initiated by al-Bakrī who, as the Council's president, was entrusted with the implementation of the decisions taken (cf. art. 10).

The Regulations restricted traditional rights of the *shaykh al-sajjāda l-Bakrīyya*, but nevertheless they did provide Muḥammad Tawfiq with an instrument for regaining over the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions the authority which had faded so dramatically under his predecessor, and which he must have desired to restore.³⁰ With respect to the *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines, the Regulations put his authority under the supervision of the *Dīwān al-Awqāf*, but at the same time reaffirmed the legality of his jurisdiction over these institutions, including the *takāyā* whose heads had asserted their independence under 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī. In the case of the *ṭuruq*, al-Bakrī's authority was restricted, since they stipulated that decisions relative to these associations had to be agreed upon by the *Majlis al-Ṣūfī*, and they also gave the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* internal autonomy again, each within his own *ṭarīqa* (art. 12).

The return to the situation before 1881 was only partial, since in a case of dispute between the head of the *ṭarīqa* and one of his disciples, the Regulations (art. 13) gave the disciple the opportunity of presenting his claims to the Council, whose right to deal with the matter and to arrange for a settlement implied a certain continuation of the curtailment of the autonomy of the heads of the *ṭuruq*. But it was also decreed that all the heads of the *ṭuruq* at the time of its promulgation were to remain in their offices (art. 14). The implication of this

30 In my paper 'Turuq and turuq-opposition in 20th century Egypt' I argued that Muḥammad Tawfiq's authority was in need of the reconfirmation given by the *lā'ihā* since "a number of schismatic orders had arisen, and also new *ṭuruq* which refused to recognize him as *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfīyya*, had been introduced into Egypt". At that time, however, I had not yet traced the majority of the documents relative to the *ṭuruq* in archival collections in Egypt, upon which much of the present study is based, nor had I traced the English version of the circular issued by 'Abd al-Bāqī, preserved at the PRO, London. Therefore, it was not then possible to interpret the proclamation of the *lā'ihā* as a reconfirmation of al-Bakrī's authority which had declined as the result of the circular issued by 'Abd al-Bāqī.

was that from now on none of the heads of the *ṭuruq* who had been officially recognized during the era of ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī could claim legality of tenure unless the claims were founded on the contents of the relevant article. Since this article was an integral part of the Regulations, acceptance of their totality had become a *conditio sine qua non* for every head of a *ṭarīqa* who wanted to maintain his status as legal head of a *ṭarīqa* which was officially recognized. Thereby the authority of the incumbent of the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, as this had been re-structured by the Regulations, had to be accepted concomitantly. As this office was held by Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī, who was *shaykh al-sajjāda l-Bakriyya*, it may be argued that the Regulations were instrumental in the re-actualization of the authority of the *shaykh al-sajjāda l-Bakriyya* over the *ṭuruq*, which authority had become so insignificant in the decade before Muḥammad Tawfiq’s accession to office.

The Regulations, however, made no alteration in this respect for the officially recognized *ṭuruq* whose heads were not resident in Cairo and which had a membership mainly in rural areas, far from the capital. On the contrary, the ordinance consolidated their marginal position by stipulating that the General Assembly, which was to elect the members of the *Majlis al-Ṣūfī* every three years, would be made up from the heads of the *ṭuruq* resident in Cairo exclusively. This arrangement must have owed its existence primarily to the desire for administrative effectiveness, which would be hampered if the members of the Council had to come from outside the capital. To the heads of these *ṭuruq*, however, this arrangement meant that they would be under the jurisdiction of a number of their equals who were members of a Council whose composition they could not determine. This must have induced some among them to continue their policy of non-involvement with the *ṭuruq* administration, a course of action which seems to have caused at least four *ṭuruq*, viz. al-Misallimiyya, al-Shahāwiyya al-Burhāmiyya, al-Hāshimiyya and al-Makkiyya al-Fasiyya,³¹ to lose their status of official recognition.³²

31 The *mashāyikh* of the first three *ṭuruq* mentioned resided in Khalwat Abū Misallim (al-Sharqiyya province), Shuhā (al-Daqahliyya), and Balaqṭar (al-Buḥayra) respectively. In this period, the history of al-Makkiyya al-Fāsiyya is obscure. However, since it is among these *ṭuruq*, it seems likely that ‘Abd al-Bāqī, the officially recognized *shaykh* of the *ṭarīqa*, who lived in Cairo, had died by then and was succeeded by a *shaykh* living outside the capital. This may well have been Maḥmūd ‘Afif al-Dīn al-Wafā’ī, who was one of the *ṭarīqa*’s pre-eminent *khulafā’* in Ṭanṭā (see p. 105).

32 This episode has not been recorded, either in oral tradition of these *ṭuruq* or in any of their publications. However, all these *ṭuruq* are known to have lost their status as officially recognized *ṭuruq* before 1906 (cf. the list of *ṭuruq* given in chapter 5, art. 7 of the *Lā’ihat l-Dākhiliyya* of 1905 in appendix 6).

3 The Amended Regulations of 1903

At the end of 1895, shortly after Nübār had resigned and Muṣṭafā Fahmī had formed a new cabinet, Muḥammad Tawfiq made various efforts to amend the Regulations in order to obtain greater autonomy. The amendments he proposed aimed at annulling the control of the *Dīwān al-Awqāf*. Supervision of all the *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines, as well as of their *awqāf* and all the *awqāf* with “*al-ṣūfiyya*” as beneficiaries, was to rest with him. Furthermore, he suggested that the role of the *muḥāfiẓ* in the elections of the Ṣūfī Council should be abolished and that the elections be held in future in the palace of al-Bakrī instead of in the *muḥāfaẓa* building. Presumably he made the latter proposal because the original arrangement suggested a suzerainty which he would have regarded as derogatory to the social prestige of the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* as well as to his own person. He also proposed giving the members of the various *ṭuruq* the right to appeal to the Ṣūfī Council against decisions by the heads of their *ṭuruq*. Moreover, he wanted the resolutions and decisions passed by the Council to be applicable to everyone designating himself as *ṣūfī*.³³

Few of the proposed amendments were acceptable to Muṣṭafā Fahmī, the Prime Minister, who as a minister in Nübār’s cabinet had been responsible for the proclamation of the Regulations. In particular, al-Bakrī’s wish for control of *awqāf khayriyya* was contrary to Muṣṭafā Fahmī’s policy, which aimed at a further reduction of the powers of private *nuzzār* of these *awqāf*. In accordance with this policy and notwithstanding al-Bakrī’s efforts to mobilize opposition against it, *niẓārāt* of *awqāf* in support of the *ṭuruq* and the *ṭuruq*-linked institutions were taken over by the *Dīwān*. The *Dīwān* also reserved to itself the right to appoint the heads of *takāyā* and *zawāyā*;³⁴ not only the heads who were in charge of a residential community restricted to members of their own particular *ṭarīqa*, like e.g. the head of the *takīyat al-Naqshbandiyya* near al-Ḥabbāniyya and the head of the *takīyat al-Rifa‘iyya* at Būlāq, but also the heads of the *takāyā* who were at the same time supreme heads of *ṭuruq*, viz. the heads of al-Mawlawiyya, al-Gülshāniyya, and al-Bektāshīyya. This brought a further decrease in the area over which Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī’s authority applied, since formal appointment by the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* of the heads of

33 DWQ, unclassified *mudhakkira* from *Dīwān al-Awqāf* to *Dīwān al-Khudaywī* (Rās al-Tīn), 11 July 1899. See also F.Or.A. 284, v/9–22 being the draft for a new *lā’iḥa* drawn up by Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī.

34 See *Al-Waqā’i’ al-Miṣriyya*, no. 61, 3 June 1903, 997 f.



FIGURE 4
Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī receives the *ṭuruq* in his palace in al-Khurunfish during the celebrations of the *mawlid al-nabī*.

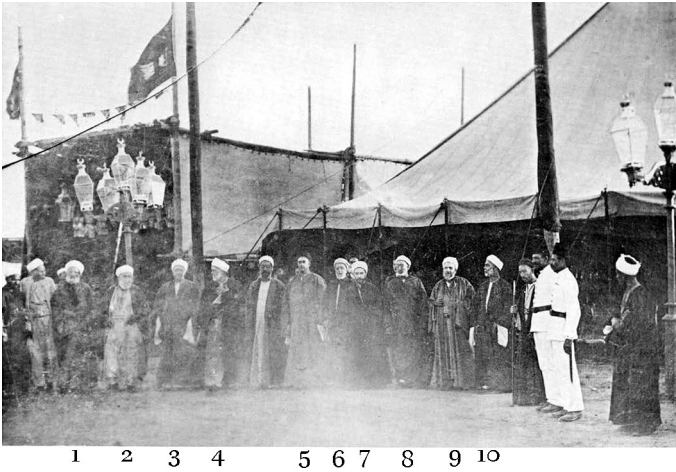


FIGURE 5 Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī and some of the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* photographed during the *mawlid al-nabī* celebrations

these *takāyā* which were the only centres of these *ṭuruq* in Egypt and the only places where their limited membership gathered in communal ritual activity—also implied for them legality of tenure as heads of their *ṭuruq*. Thus, for legality of tenure and all that this implied, these dignitaries were no longer dependent upon formal appointment by the *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, but obtained legality of tenure as heads of *ṭuruq* from a government agency. This arrangement detached these orders from the *ṭuruq* administration and placed them in a position marginal to the *ṭuruq* realm, in which condition they were to remain until the closure of all *takāyā* in Egypt after the revolution of 1952.

In June 1903, following these reforms, the *Lā'ihat al-Ṭuruq al-Şūfiyya* was amended accordingly.³⁵ All *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines supported by *awqāf* and/or with stipends and customary payments from any source whatsoever, as well as any of these establishments whose founder had not made provisions for the appointment of a *nāẓir*, were excluded from the jurisdiction of the *mashyakhāt al-ṭuruq al-şūfiyya* (art. 2). This measure left Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī, as the incumbent to that office, with authority over only a few of the *ṭuruq*-linked institutions. Therefore, in his *Bayt al-Şiddiq* published in 1906, he did not deem it worthwhile to make more than an occasional reference to this area of his authority, while the very insignificance of the establishments over which it still applied, must have inhibited him from mentioning any particular names.³⁶

In addition to this amendment the clauses pertaining to the composition of the Şūfī Council were also revised (art. 3). The General Assembly, which was to elect the Şūfī Council, would not be restricted to the heads of the *ṭuruq* residing in Cairo, but would encompass the heads of all the officially recognized *ṭuruq* wherever they resided. Thus the heads of the *ṭuruq* living in the provinces also obtained the right to elect and to be elected as members of the Şūfī Council. This amendment must have been included to end their marginal position within the *ṭuruq* administration, since they must have felt a lack of commitment to the decisions taken by their equals in the Şūfī Council in Cairo. This would have been more detrimental to the efficiency of the administration than the fact that its proceedings might be hampered if one or more of the Council's members resided outside the capital.

In accordance with the expansion of the number of heads of the *ṭuruq* who now had the right to attend the General Assembly, the number of those who were required to be present in order to make the elections of the Şūfī Council valid, was raised to twenty-five. As an additional change, however, these heads would no longer elect four permanent members and four deputies, but would

35 For a translation of the amended articles of the new *lā'iha*, which was published in *Al-Waqā'ir al-Miṣriyya*, *ibid.*, see appendix 5. For a French summary see *RMM*, vi (1908), 283 f.

36 Cf. *B. s.*, 380. In this book no reference is made to jurisdiction of the *shaykh al-sajjāda l-Bakriyya* over the *mashāyikh qirā'at Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, the *mashāyikh qirā'at al-Burda*, the *mashāyikh qirā'at al-Ḥizb* and the *mashyakhāt al-maqāri'*. Since all these categories of officials derived an income from revenues of *awqāf khayriyya*, their position must have been affected by the *awqāf* reforms of 1895 and 1903. This must have entailed the end of al-Bakrī's authority over them some time before 1906, when *Bayt al-Şiddiq* was published, but not until after 1897, since Ilyās Zakhūrā in his *Mir'āt al-Aṣr*, published in that year, mentions these officials as belonging to al-Bakrī's area of jurisdiction; cf. Zakhūrā, i, 224 ẓ.

now elect eight persons from their midst; and the right to select from among these eight the four permanent members of the Council would reside with the *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*. The peculiarity of this procedure of composing the Council makes it seem very much a compromise solution between al-Bakrī on the one hand, who wanted as much autonomy as possible in the exercise of his authority, and those in the government administration on the other, who wanted to reduce his personal authority and powers for reasons of power politics, or because they adhered to rational-legal principles.

For Muḥammad Tawfiq at any rate, this arrangement implied a mitigation of the degree to which his personal authority could be restricted by the Council's members since, from now on, anyone disagreeing with al-Bakrī could be replaced by one of the other elected members. By this arrangement al-Bakrī had obtained every opportunity for obstructing the implementation of any policy decided upon by the Council's members which ran contrary to his personal views, and could have his decisions accepted under the semblance of a more or less democratic procedure.

A new and additional article was included (art. 12) which stated emphatically that no fees were to be taken for cases examined by the Ṣūfī Council, the *wakalā'* of *al-mashyakha* or the heads of the *ṭuruq*. This article was clearly intended as a safeguard against unfair administration of justice. Concomitantly it must have been intended as a contribution to the efficiency of the *ṭuruq* administration by freely encouraging those involved in a conflict to seek a settlement by submitting it for investigation and possible mediation to the Ṣūfī Council, if the dispute occurred in Cairo, and to the agents of the *mashyakha* if the dispute had taken place in the provinces. The latter task, which had traditionally been one of the functions of the *wakīl*, was formulated explicitly in article 13.

Article 12, referred to above, also contained a clause which stipulated that no fees were to be taken for the appointments to the various offices within the *ṭuruq* and the *ṭuruq*-administration. However, in this case as well as in the case of mediation or jurisdiction, it merely meant that no official fees were applicable. It does not seem to have been of any consequence for the transfer of money and/or goods as bribes or as a precondition for anybody who was about to be appointed to any office within the hierarchy of the *ṭuruq*.³⁷

Besides this amendment and a few changes in terminology, two major additions desired by al-Bakrī were made to these new Regulations. The first of these

37 According to Le Chatelier, the Aḥmadiyya orders in particular were notorious for this practice; cf. Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 174.

(art. 13) stipulated that any member of a *ṭarīqa*, *murīd* as well as *khalīfa* or higher official, had the right to appeal to the Ṣūfī Council against decisions by the *shaykh* of his *ṭarīqa*. Here the decrease of internal autonomy of the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* corresponded to an increase of al-Bakrī's power, since it opened the way for his direct intervention in the internal affairs of the various *ṭuruq*. The second addition (cf. art. 5) stipulated that all the resolutions and decisions of the Ṣūfī Council were applicable to any person or group acting in any way in the name of *taṣawwuf*. This provided a legal base for the exercise of authority over those belonging to *ṭuruq* which were not officially recognized, without changing the status of these *ṭuruq* in any respect. The *ṭuruq* within this category had come to include Naqshbandiyya, Shādhiliyya and Khalwatiyya branches as well as al-Tijāniyya and al-Sanūsiyya.

4 *Ṭuruq* without Official Status

Three different versions of al-Naqshbandiyya had found their way into Egypt at the end of the nineteenth century. The first of these was introduced into Egypt by a Sudanese, al-Sharīf Ismā'īl al-Sinnārī,³⁸ who had himself been initiated into al-Naqshbandiyya by various *mashāyikh* of this *ṭarīqa* during periods of residence in Mecca and Madina.³⁹ In the early sixties he had tried to obtain a following for himself in Cairo.⁴⁰ When he did not meet with success there he went back to the Sudan where his proselytizing remained confined to the Dunqulā area. From here the *ṭarīqa* spread north into Upper Egypt, particularly from about 1870 onwards, under the patronage and owing to the effort of the *qāḍī* of Dunqulā, Mūsā Mu'awwad, who was a *khalīfa* of Ismā'īl and had become his successor.⁴¹ At the end of his life Mūsā Mu'awwad moved from Dunqulā and settled in Binbān, north of Aswān. From here he propagated his *ṭarīqa*. It spread

38 For biographical data see Aḥmad Muḥammad Aḥmad Dā'ūd al-Ja'firī al-Ramādī, *Al-Bā-kūra al-Ja'firiyya li-Sharḥ Silsilat al-Sāda l-Naqshbandiyya*, Cairo n.d. (approx. 1343), 24 f.

39 He had been initiated by Muḥammad Jāmī (cf. Aḥmad Ḥilmī, *Ḥadiqat al-Awliyā'*, vol. i, Istanbul 1318, 161), by Muḥammad Abū Sa'īd Zādeh, and by Aḥmad Mullā al-Kurdī (cf. al-Rakhāwī, 223).

40 Here the most notable of his disciples was 'Umar Haykal al-Shabrāwī, later a propagator of al-Khalwatiyya, who integrated both Ways; cf. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Abd al-Salām al-Ḥalwānī, *Al-Quṭb al-Rabbānī Sīdī 'Abd al-Salām al-Ḥalwānī*, Cairo 1970, 98, and 'Uthmān, 14. On 'Umar see page 146 f.

41 For biographical data, see al-Ramādī, 25 ff., and Ḥusayn Muḥammad al-Rifā'ī, *Nūr al-Anwār fi Faḍā'il wa Tarājim wa Tawārikh wa Manāqib wa Mazārāt Āl al-Bayt al-Athār*, Cairo 1356, 16 ff.

in particular between Aswān and Isnā' among the Ja'āfira,⁴² a tribe to which he himself belonged. After Mūsā Mu'awwad's death in 1888, the *ṭarīqa*'s leadership passed to Muḥammad al-Laythī, a son of al-Sharīf Ismā'īl⁴³ who, at the beginning of the present century, was succeeded by Mūsā's son Muḥammad.⁴⁴

A second Naqshbandiyya branch had emerged under the leadership of Jūda Ibrāhīm (1264–1351: 1848–1932).⁴⁵ This *shaykh* had been initiated into numerous other *ṭuruq*⁴⁶ before his initiation into al-Naqshbandiyya by Aḥmad Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Kūmūshkhānālī when the latter visited Egypt in 1293 (1876). Restricted to Cairo, Aḥmad Ḍiyā' al-Dīn's version of al-Naqshbandiyya, known after him as al-Ḍiyā'iyya, had found an active following since 1268 (1851/52) at least, when Khedive 'Abbās I founded a *ṭakīya* for al-Kūmūshkhānālī's disciple Muḥammad Efendī 'Ashīq (see above p. 79). After 'Ashīq's death in 1883 his grandson 'Uthmān Khālīd had succeeded him as *shaykh* of the *ṭakīya*. Following the initiation by al-Kūmūshkhānālī, however, Jūda Ibrāhīm established himself as *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* entirely independent of al-Ḍiyā'iyya in Cairo. Moreover, he amended the original Ḍiyā'iyya, which became known as al-Jūdiyya⁴⁷ and gained a following in al-Sharqiyya province, particularly in and around Minyā al-Qamḥ, where he resided.

At the end of the nineteenth century al-Khālidiyya proper (see above p. 79) also expanded into Egypt owing to the proselytizing activity of a Kurd named Muḥammad Amīn (1840–1914). Muḥammad Amīn⁴⁸ had already been in Cairo

42 On this tribe, which had migrated to Egypt in the 10th century A.D., see Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, *Qabā'il al-'Arab fi Miṣr, Al-Juz' al-Awwal: Al-'Alayqāt wa l-Ja'āfira wa Qabā'il Ukhrā*, Cairo 1935, 66 ff. For genealogical tables of al-Ja'āfira see Ḥusayn Muḥammad al-Rifā'ī, *Baḥr al-Ansāb*, Cairo 1356, 233 ff.

43 Al-Ramādī, 26. The belief of the *ṭarīqa*'s members that Ismā'īl, who disappeared in the jungle of Baḥr al-Ghazāl province in the southern Sudan, did not die but merely went into hiding, while still miraculously fighting the unbelievers in the area, is reminiscent of the *Shī'a* doctrine of the hidden Imām. For various *qaṣa'id* of the *ṭarīqa*, frequently sung as part of the *ḥadra*, referring to this belief see Muṣṭafā Ḥāmid Aḥmad al-Kajūjī, *Dīwān al-Bahiyya fi Madīh Khayr al-Barrīyya wa Qaṣā'id Naqshbandiyya*, ii vols., Cairo n.d.; Yūsuf Aḥmad al-Kayyāl al-Bimbānī, *Madḥ al-'Ushshāq fi Ṭurfat al-Mushtāq*, n.p. 1379; and the anonymous *Nuskha Jawhariyya li-l-Sāda l-Naqshbandiyya wa yalithā al-Silsila l-Dhahabiyya wa Qaṣā'id Khamriyya*, Cairo 1947.

44 Al-Ramādī, 37.

45 For his biography, see al-Rakhāwī, 265 ff.

46 E.g. into al-Misallimiyya, al-Qādiriyya, al-Rifā'iyya, al-Burhāmiyya, al-Aḥmadiyya, al-Āṣṭiyya and al-Shādhiliyya; cf. *ibid.* 266.

47 For the *ṭarīqa*'s liturgy see *Al-Tawassulāt al-Marḍiyya bi-Asmā' Allāh wa bi-Rijāl al-Silsila l-Naqshbandiyya al-Khālidiyya l-Jūdiyya*, Ziftā 1347.

48 His biography, upon which this account is based, precedes his *Tanwīr al-Qulūb fi Mu'āmalat 'Allām al-Ghuyūb*, Cairo 1343 (several editions). It is written by his *khalīfa* Salāma al-

for over a decade, since 1304 (1886/87) before he started to manifest himself as the dominant propagator of this *ṭarīqa*. He had been initiated in his early youth in his birthplace, Arbil, by a certain *shaykh* ‘Umar,⁴⁹ a *khalīfa* of one of Khālīd al-Shahrazūrī’s disciples, ‘Uthmān al-Kurdī.⁵⁰ Initially Muḥammad Amīn’s followers had been limited to Cairo only, where regular *jalasāt*⁵¹ were held in the mosques of Abū l-‘Alā’ and Sinān Bāshā, both in Būlāq. About the turn of the century, however, his proselytizing caused the *ṭarīqa* to spread into rural areas north of Cairo, mainly in al-Qalyūbiyya province.

Among the representatives of various Shādhiliyya branches who claimed leadership of independent *ṭuruq* which did not count among those officially recognized, was Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir. He was the son and successor of the principal *khalīfa* of Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Ḥamza Zāfir al-Madanī in Alexandria, ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd al-Salām (cf. p. 106). The followers of ‘Abd al-Qādir had been confined to the Alexandria area in particular, and his son Muḥammad, who assumed leadership of this *ṭarīqa* after his father’s death in 1297 (1880), did not expand his following beyond this region either. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir, however, presented himself as *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* distinct from al-Madaniyya, known as al-Qādiriyya al-Madaniyya al-Shādhiliyya at the time of his death in 1322 (1904), when one of his disciples, Muḥammad al-Ḥabashī, succeeded him as the *ṭarīqa*’s *shaykh*.⁵²

A new Shādhiliyya branch had also emerged in Ṭanṭā out of al-Makkiyya al-Fāsiyya, which in this city had been under the leadership of Maḥmūd ‘Afif al-Dīn al-Wafā’ī (see p. 105). Before his death in May 1900 he made known to his disciples that he had elected one of them, Muḥammad Aḥmad al-‘Aqqād (1852–1933),⁵³ as his successor. After Maḥmūd’s death, however, a number of the *ṭarīqa*’s members refused to pay allegiance to al-‘Aqqād and constituted a separate group under the leadership of one of al-Wafā’ī’s *khulafā’*, Nasīm

‘Azāmī. Another biography of this *shaykh* is found in Muḥammad Amīn Zakī, *Mashāhīr al-Kurd wa Kurdistan*, ii vols. Cairo 1947, ii, 143 f. This author mentions that al-Kurdī has also been *wakīl* to the riwāq al-Akrād, the hostel of the Kurdish students enrolled at al-Azhar. This detail of his career is omitted in the former biography by al-‘Azāmī.

49 For his biography see Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī, *Khulāṣat Kitāb al-Mawāhib al-Sarmadiyya fi Manāqib al-Sāda l-Naqshbandiyya*, Cairo 1374, 102 ff.

50 For his biography, *ibid.*, 95 ff.

51 Litt. session, i.e. the equivalent of *ḥadra* in the terminology of the *ṭarīqa*.

52 This is the contention of ‘Alī Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Qādir (‘Ajūza, Cairo), who is the son of Ḥasan Muḥammad Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, the last active *shaykh* of this *ṭarīqa*. For this contention, however, no indication can be found in Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, *Dalīl al-Ḥā’ir*, which is the chief source of the history of the *ṭarīqa*.

53 For his biography see Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Muḥsin, *Murshid al-Sālikīn ilā Ṭariq al-Muhtadīn*, Cairo 1927, 46 ff.

Ḥilmī al-Daramahlī (1258–1343; 1842–1925).⁵⁴ Nasīm continued to propagate al-Fāsiyya as a *ṭarīqa* detached from al-‘Aqqād’s *ṭarīqa*, and renamed by him after his spiritual master al-Shādhiliyya al-Wafā’iyya.⁵⁵ After Nasīm’s death in 1925, however, his followers and his son Maḥmūd⁵⁶ paid their allegiance to Muḥammad al-‘Aqqād as their supreme spiritual leader and the section of al-Fāsiyya which had been led by Nasīm was formally incorporated into his *ṭarīqa*.

The most notable and wide-spread of the Khalwatiyya branches not officially recognized was al-Ṣāwiyya. For reasons unknown this *ṭarīqa* had ceased to be an officially recognized one sometime after 1296 (1879), when its *shaykh* Aḥmad Ḍayf (cf. p. 71) died and no successor was appointed. The existence of the *ṭarīqa* was not affected by this, however, and it continued to have an active membership, notably in the area of Kafr al-‘Ammār in al-Jīza province.⁵⁷ Here the principal leader was ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Shādhilī, who was the cousin of Muḥammad al-Shādhilī, the *shaykh* of al-Ṣāwiyya who had died in 1289 (1872/3).⁵⁸ In Cairo the pre-eminent representatives of the *ṭarīqa* were ‘Abd Allāh al-Maghribī (d. 1341: 1922/3), a disciple of the latter,⁵⁹ and Abū Bakr al-Ḥaddād (d. 1335: 1917),⁶⁰ whose father Muḥammad Shāḥāta l-Ḥaddād (1218–1281: 1803/4–1864/5)⁶¹ was a *khalīfa* of one of Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī’s disciples, Faṭḥ Allāh al-Sammadīsī.⁶² In al-Rawḍa (Asyūṭ province) it was a son-in-law of ‘Abd al-Bāqī l-Shādhilī, ‘Alī al-‘Imrānī, who was the principal leader of the *ṭarīqa*.⁶³ In addition to these *mashāyikh*, who had all presented the various Ways propagated by them as al-Ṣāwiyya, a certain ‘Abd al-Jawwād al-Mansafīsī, a disciple of

54 For his biography see *ibid.*, 69 ff.; and al-Kūhin, 232. The refusal of Nasīm and his disciples to acknowledge Muḥammad Aḥmad al-‘Aqqād as *shaykh* over them in succession to al-Wafā’ī is touched upon only incidentally in the booklet mentioned in note 53. This booklet was published under the auspices of Muḥammad Aḥmad al-‘Aqqād after the incorporation of Nasīm’s followers into his own *ṭarīqa*. I owe my information about the actual length of this schism to ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm Surūr, *khalīfa* of the principal *zāwiya* of al-‘Aqqādiyya near the mosque of al-Sayyida Zaynab in Cairo. Al-‘Aqqādiyya as the name for the independent branch of al-Fāsiyya which had originally been under the leadership of al-‘Aqqād was not adopted until several decades later and therefore has not been used in this study.

55 This *ṭarīqa* is entirely different from al-Wafā’iyya led by members of the Sādāt family.

56 For his biography see al-Kūhin, 234.

57 Various *mashāyikh* of this *ṭarīqa* mentioned in the following paragraphs are already referred to in chapter 3, section 6.

58 Al-Maghribī, 149.

59 *Ibid.*, 146.

60 *Ibid.* 150 f. His *khalīfa* Ḥusayn al-Fil spread the *ṭarīqa* in the Sudan; cf. *ibid.*

61 For his biography see *Khit.*, ix, 96 f.

62 Al-Maghribī, 149.

63 *Ibid.*, and *Shuhdī*, 20 f.

one of Aḥmad al-Šāwī-khulafā', Aḥmad Abū l-Layl,⁶⁴ propagated the Šāwiyya Way in Upper Egypt under the name of al-Mansafisiyya, which spread in Asyūt and al-Minyā provinces in particular.⁶⁵

Another Khalwatiyya branch, al-'Imrāniyya, named after Ibrāhīm al-Shalqānī al-'Imrānī, one of the *khulafā'* of Aḥmad al-Dardayr, also had an active membership in al-Minyā. For almost twenty years, until his death in 1892, the principal leader of this *ṭarīqa* had been Ḥasan Riḍwān Muḥammad (cf. p. 120); after a period of study at al-Azhar, he took charge of the resident community of about five hundred mystics in al-Sirīriyya (al-Minyā province), which had been led by his master 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Mallawī, a *khalīfa* of Ibrāhīm al-Shalqānī.⁶⁶ Here he remained for a period of seven years, until 1272 (1855) after which he resided for varying periods in villages in the area where his followers increased.⁶⁷ At the end of his life he settled in Bardūna al-Ashrāf near Banī Mazār, where he died and was buried in a shrine he had built for himself.⁶⁸ This village became the centre of the *ṭarīqa* from that time onwards under the leadership of his son and successor Muḥammad Abū l-Faṭḥ.

To the north, in the *markaz* Maghāgha, was situated the village of al-Qāyāt: this was the centre of a Khalwatiyya branch, al-Qāyātiyya, which for a period between 1882 and 1888 had been deprived of its *shaykh*, Muḥammad al-Qāyātī, who had been punished for his part in the 'Urābī insurrection by a five-year exile in Beirut (cf. p. 118f.). When Muḥammad died in 1902 his son, 'Abd al-Wahhāb, succeeded him as *shaykh* of this *ṭarīqa*.⁶⁹

Two other notable Khalwatiyya branches existed in Upper Egypt, one in Qīnā province and the other in the region of Banī Suwayf and al-Fayyūm. The former of these had been established by Aḥmad ibn Sharqāwī al-Khalifī,⁷⁰ a disciple of Aḥmad al-Khuḍayrī, one of the principal representatives and propagators of al-Khalwatiyya in the town of Ṭaḥṭā in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁷¹ With the village of Dayr al-Sa'āda near Farshūṭ in the area of Naj'

64 Ibid., 152.

65 Ibid., 152 and al-Mansafisī, *passim*.

66 Riḍwān, preface, 4.

67 These villages were Ṣaḥṭ Abū Jirj (*markaz* Banī Mazār), Abā al-Waqf (*markaz* Maghāgha) and Ibshāq al-Ghazāl (*markaz* Banī Mazār).

68 Ibid., 10.

69 Information obtained from his cousin Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Jawwād al-Qāyātī, living in Cairo.

70 See chapter 3, note 148 for references to biographies.

71 Al-Ḥajjājī, 23. Aḥmad al-Khuḍayrī had been initiated by a *khalīfa* of Aḥmad al-Dardayr, Aḥmad al-Sukarī. The latter was *katkhudā* of 'Uthmān Bek al-Faqārī l-Kabīr; cf. *'Ajā'ib*, iii, 326.

Ḥammādī as his headquarters,⁷² he propagated his *ṭarīqa* in this part of Upper Egypt and built himself a reputation not only as a mystic and *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa*, but also as a scholar: he maintained close contacts with various Azharī scholars like Muḥammad ‘Abduh,⁷³ Salīm al-Bishrī, Ḥassūna al-Nawawī, Abū l-Faḍl al-Jirjāwī and many others, some of whom he counted among his *murīdūn*;⁷⁴ After his death in 1898 his son Aḥmad Abū l-Wafā ibn Sharqāwī (1878–1961) took over the *ṭarīqa*’s leadership and the guidance of his father’s disciples in the northern half of Qinā province,⁷⁵ while the only person besides his aforementioned son who had ever been made a *khālifa* by him, Yūsuf al-Ḥajjājī al-Uqṣurī (1258–1333: 1842–1914), obtained pre-eminence as *shaykh* of al-Sharqāwī’s *ṭarīqa* in the southern part of the province.⁷⁶

The Khalwatiyya branch in the area of Banī Suwayf and al-Fayyūm was led by Jūda ‘Abd al-Muta‘āl (1212–1322: 1797/8–1904), who lived in the village of Qumbush al-Ḥamrā in the *markaz* of Bibā.⁷⁷ This *shaykh*, who had originally belonged to al-Suṭūḥiyya al-Aḥmadiyya, had joined al-Khalwatiyya later in his life as a disciple of a certain Aḥmad al-Junaydī al-Maymūnī.⁷⁸ Subsequently he had started to propagate his own *ṭarīqa* which, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, obtained a membership throughout the aforementioned areas.⁷⁹ When he died in 1904, some of the *ṭarīqa* ‘s members were reluctant to accept Jūda’s son Muḥammad⁸⁰ as *shaykh* over them and maintained that Jūda had intended one of the *khulafā*, Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī al-Maymūnī, to be his successor.⁸¹ The result was a protracted conflict which was still not settled in

72 Ibid., 31.

73 Aḥmad b. Sharqāwī was the only *ṭarīqa*-leader who used to visit Muḥammad ‘Abduh and discuss with him matters pertaining to *taṣawwuf*; cf. Riḍā, i, 126, 955.

74 Al-Ḥajjājī, 36.

75 For his biography see al-Ḥajjājī, 46 ff.

76 For his biography see al-Ḥajjājī, 63 ff. The *ijāza* given to him by his master was published by another disciple of Sharqāwī. Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥāmidī, who considered it particularly valuable as an exposé of the *ṭarīqa*’s teachings (Cairo: Mt. al-Sa‘āda 1328). For a biography of the latter *shaykh*, see Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥāmidī, *Tarjama li-Ḥayāt al-Ustādh ... al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥāmidī wa ba‘ḍ Qasā’idihī*, Cairo 1969.

77 For references to biographies about him see chapter 3, note 107.

78 Mu‘ammar, 403. About Aḥmad al-Junaydī no biographical information is available. For his writings see Sarkīs, 718.

79 Mu‘ammar, 404.

80 Mu‘ammar, 436 f.

81 Mu‘ammar’s *Manhal*, which is the official publication of al-Jūdiyya as the *ṭarīqa* is called at present, contains no information whatsoever about the secession of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī. My initial information about these events was obtained from Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Mahdī, *wakīl mashyakhat ‘umūm al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* and *nā’ib* of al-Junaydiyya in Abū Jandīr (*markaz* Iṭsā, al-Fayyūm) when I attended the *mawlid* of his ancestor, Muḥam-

1906 when Muḥammad died and his son, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī (d. 1960)⁸² claimed leadership of the *ṭarīqa*. Many of its members, however, thought that he lacked the necessary qualifications for this task.⁸³ They tried to persuade him to relinquish his ambitions in favour of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī in order to safeguard the *ṭarīqa* from secession. This, however, Muṣṭafā refused and the outcome was that Ibrāhīm declared himself *shaykh* of an independent Khalwatiyya *ṭarīqa*. It incorporated most of the former disciples of Jūda in the area north of the provincial capital of Banī Suwayf, while, to the south of it, nearer to Qumbush al-Ḥamrā', where Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī resided, the *ṭarīqa's* members remained loyal to him.

In the Delta a Khalwatiyya branch which had originally been an administrative part of al-Sibā'iyya had started to manifest itself independently under the leadership of Manṣūr Haykal al-Sharqāwī (1259–1345: 1843–1927)⁸⁴ at the end of the nineteenth century. Manṣūr had been a disciple of another representative of al-Khalwatiyya, the Azharī scholar 'Umar Haykal Ja'far al-Shabrāwī (1235–1303: 1819/20–1886),⁸⁵ who in turn was a disciple of Aḥmad al-Damhūjī (d. 1246: 1831).⁸⁶ When al-Damhūjī died before he had guided his *murīd* to the higher stages of mystical perfection, 'Umar had himself re-initiated into al-Khalwatiyya by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Sibā'ī of whom, at a later stage, he became a *khalīfa*.⁸⁷ After al-Sibā'ī death in 1268 (1851/2) 'Umar also had himself initiated into two other *ṭarīqas*, al-Shādhiliyya and al-Naqshbandiyya.⁸⁸ Subsequently he obtained a following for himself, first in Cairo, when he was still studying at al-Azhar⁸⁹ and later in al-Minūfiyya province. Here he resided for much of his life in the village of Shubrā Zanjī, where he also died. When al-Sibā'iyya became

mad al-Mahdī al-Khaṭīb in Abū Jandīr in October 1969. His account was largely confirmed by Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī's son Ḥusayn (the present-day head of the *ṭarīqa*, now called al-Junaydiyya) whom I chanced to meet in Cairo in 1970, at the time of the *mawlid* of al-Sayyida Zaynab, as well as by several members of this *ṭarīqa*, whom I met during various *mawālid* in Cairo.

82 According to the oral tradition of al-Junaydiyya, he had only distinguished himself as the principal *munshid* of the *ṭarīqa*, from the days when it had been led by his grandfather.

83 For biographical data see Mu'ammār, 438f.

84 For his biography see 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sālim Naṣr al-Dīn, *Fawḥ al-Misk al-Dhaki fī Ta'rikh wa Karāmat al-Quṭb al-Walī 'Umdat al-Wāṣilin wa Tāj al-Ārifin Sidi l-Shaykh Manṣūr Muḥammad Haykal al-Sharqāwī*, Damanhur/Alexandria 1930.

85 For his biography see 'Uthmān, *passim*; and Baybars, *Tarjama*.

86 See al-Kattānī, *Fihris*, i, 303f. for biographical information.

87 'Uthmān, 13.

88 He was initiated into al-Naqshbandiyya by Ismā'īl al-Sinnārī (cf. p. 140) and into al-Shādhiliyya by Muḥammad al-Bahī (see p. 110); cf. 'Uthmān, 14.

89 For biographies of his most notable disciples see 'Uthmān, *Imātat*, 79 ff.

an officially recognized *ṭarīqa* under Rāghib Muḥammad al-Sibā'ī (cf. p. 116), Rāghib, by virtue of the fact that 'Umar had been a *khalīfa* of his grandfather, could claim authority over him and over those belonging to his *ṭarīqa*, which became an administrative part of al-Sibā'iyya. This situation came to an end at the turn of the century, when the lack of ambition for religious leadership of Rāghib's son and successor Muḥammad (d. 1944) generated a decline in *ṭarīqa* membership and consequently lowered the status of its head, causing it to lose its position as an officially recognized *ṭarīqa*.⁹⁰ These circumstances must have induced 'Umar's *khalīfa* Manṣūr Haykal al-Sharqāwī, who had become the *ṭarīqa*'s *shaykh* in 1307 (1889/90) in succession to 'Umar's son 'Abd al-Salām,⁹¹ to detach himself entirely from al-Sibā'iyya. He presented his *ṭarīqa* as an independent Khalwatiyya branch with a membership particularly in al-Sharqiyya province, where its *shaykh* lived in the village of Abū Ḥirayz in the *markaz* of Kafr Ṣāqar.⁹²

In al-Sharqiyya province, as well as in al-Gharbiyya, a Khalwatiyya order which had its roots in al-Šāwiyya had spread during the last decades of the nineteenth century, owing to the proselytizing zeal of Aḥmad al-Shawādifi al-Sharqāwī.⁹³ This *shaykh* had originally embarked upon a career in the army, which he abandoned after having been initiated by one of Aḥmad al-Šāwī's *khulafā'*, 'Alī al-'Uqbārī, an *ālim* from Alexandria, into al-Šāwiyya. As a *khalīfa* of this *ṭarīqa* he carried on his proselytization in the aforementioned areas and gained many disciples.⁹⁴ When he died in 1302 (1884/5)⁹⁵ his son 'Aṭiyya al-

90 I have not been able to establish exactly when al-Sibā'iyya lost its status as an officially recognized *ṭarīqa*. It must, however, have been before 1906 since it is not included in the list which figures in *B. s.*, 381 (see below p. 181f.).

91 For his biography, see 'Uthman, 68 ff.

92 In early October 1970, when I visited the village of Abū Ḥirayz, I had the pleasure of meeting the grandson of Manṣūr, Ṣalāḥ Tharwat, the present-day *shaykh* of this branch of al-Khalwatiyya. To him I owe the information that 'Umar Haykal al-Shabrāwī had been a *khalīfa* of al-Sibā'iyya under Rāghib Muḥammad al-Sibā'ī, as well as knowledge of the subsequent developments.

The present-day Shabrāwiyya led by the descendants of 'Umar, ignore his existence as a disciple of al-Sibā'ī and stress Aḥmad al-Damhūjī as his *shaykh*; cf. the *silsila* presented in the biography of 'Abd al-Khālīq al-Shabrāwī appended to 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Aṭā' (ed.), *Al-Wazīr Lisān al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb. Rawḍat al-Ta'rīf bi-l-Ḥubb al-Sharīf* Cairo n.d.

93 For biographical data see al-Maghribī, 155.

94 Al-Maghribī, 155.

95 Aḥmad's shrine is in 'Izbat al-Shawādifi near Shannū, *markaz* Kafr al-Shaykh. Information about the further development of al-Shawādifiyya outlined here was obtained from two great-grandsons of Aḥmad, viz. from 'Abd al-Satār Ṣādiq al-Shawādifi, who is the principal *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa* in Cairo and leads the *majlis*, which is held in the mosque of al-Ḥusayn

Ṣaghīr, who had already been active as his father's *khalīfa* before the latter's death, became the pre-eminent leader of this section of al-Ṣāwīyya. He presented it as an independent *ṭarīqa* under the name of al-Shawādifiyya, which had its centre in the village of Farsīs (*markaz* Hihyā) where he lived at the end of the nineteenth century, after al-Ṣāwīyya had ceased to exist as an officially recognized *ṭarīqa*.

Al-Tijāniyya⁹⁶ did not become established in Egypt until 1260 (1844/5),⁹⁷ when a Moroccan, Qāsim al-Sharjī turned a *zāwīya* which had been established by his brother Qudūr a decade earlier,⁹⁸ into a *waqf* in favour of the *ṭarīqa*. This *zāwīya* in al-Jūdariyya,⁹⁹ which served primarily as a meeting-place for pilgrims from North and West Africa, remained the principal centre of this *ṭarīqa* in Cairo until 1898, when a second Tijāniyya *zāwīya* was founded in the quarter of al-Mugharbilīn by a eunuch from Bornu, Muḥammad Surūr Āghā,¹⁰⁰ who also established a *waqf* of thirty *faddān* near Damanhur in its favour.¹⁰¹ Outside

every Thursday night after the *maghrib* prayer, and more particularly al-Ḥājj 'Abd al-Dā'im Ibrāhīm, the present-day pretender to the *ṭarīqa*'s leadership, who lives in Bilbays.

96 Founded by the Algerian Aḥmad al-Tijānī (1150–1230: 1737–1815). The most comprehensive study of this order is Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *The Tijāniyya. A Sufi Order in the Modern World*, London 1965. See also Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, 107 ff.

97 For Tijānīs who visited Egypt prior to this date, see Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ, *Rijāl al-Ṭarīqa l-Tijāniyya lladhīna qāmū bi-Nashrihā fi l-Quṭr al-Miṣrī*, Cairo 1355, 9 ff.

98 Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ drew my attention to the inaccurate mention of al-Jilānī al-Zarhūnī as the first head of the *zāwīya* established by al-Sharjī in al-'Aṭṭār, *Ta'rikh al-Ṭarīqa l-Tijāniyya*, 63. In this al-'Aṭṭār is followed by Abun-Nasr, 157. The first person, however, who is known to have been in charge of this *zāwīya* after the death of Qāsim al-Sharjī was Ḥāmū al-'Aqbāwī l-Tilimsānī (d. 1325: 1907); cf. al-Ḥāfiẓ, *Rijāl*, 24 f. and al-'Aṭṭār, 3 f. He was succeeded by Muḥammad Bek al-Fakkāk al-Shāwī (d. 1330: 1912); cf. al-Ḥāfiẓ, *Rijāl*, 39 f. and al-'Aṭṭār, 19. His successor was al-Bashīr b. Muḥammad al-Zaytūnī (cf. al-Ḥāfiẓ, 28 f. and al-'Aṭṭār, 8 f. On al-Zaytūnī, see also Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Tijānī, *Ghāyat al-Amāni fi Manāqib wa Karāmāt Aṣḥāb al-Shaykh Sidī Aḥmad al-Tijānī*, Cairo n.d., 105 f.). He abdicated in favour of al-Jilānī b. al-Tāhir al-Zarhūnī (1270–1360: 1853/4–1941); cf. al-Ḥāfiẓ, 50 f. and al-'Aṭṭār, 32. Al-Zarhūnī, in his turn, abdicated in 1350 (1931/2) and was succeeded by 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sharīf; cf. al-'Aṭṭār, 32. I have not been able to secure any information about the history of this *zāwīya* after this date. Like the *zāwīya* of Surūr Āghā, it must have been administered by the Ministry of Awqāf, following the enactment of a law delegating supervision over all *awqāf khayriyya* to this Ministry in 1953.

99 Abun-Nasr, 157, seems to take this *zāwīya* for the one in Ḥārat Dālī Ḥusayn in al-Mugharbilīn, which, under the leadership of Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Miṣrī, is the principal Tijānī *zāwīya* in the Middle East today. The *shaykh*, however, informed me that he had bought the building in 1937 and converted it into a *waqf* in 1941.

100 Abun-Nasr, 158; al-'Aṭṭār, 61 f.

101 Copies of the texts of the relevant documents are preserved in the Ministry of Awqāf (*Qalam al-Sijillāt al-Ahliyya*), *sijill* 50, *juz*'3, (7 Dhū l-Hijja 1315); and *sijill* 87, *juz*'4, (21 Ṣafar

Cairo the *ṭarīqa* had spread in Upper Egypt from the fifties onwards, notably in and around Asyūṭ and Qīnā, owing to the proselytization of Tijānī pilgrims from North and West Africa;¹⁰² and in al-Sharqiyya province between Bilbays and Minyā l-Qamḥ in the seventies, as the result of the activities of a Tunisian, al-Bashīr Muḥammad al-Zaytūnī (1225–1323: 1810–1905) who had taken up residence in the village of Tilbāna, where he later died.¹⁰³ Another propagandist of al-Tijāniyya, Aḥmad al-Sibā'ī (1260–1352: 1844–1933),¹⁰⁴ a Moroccan who had been resident in Egypt more or less permanently from 1881 onwards, had spread this *ṭarīqa*, particularly in al-Minūfiyya province,¹⁰⁵ where he was living near *Ashmūn* in the village of al-Kitāmiyya from 1314 (1896/7) onwards.¹⁰⁶

Tijānī belief in Aḥmad al-Tijānī as the channel of all spiritual emanations from God, which made the Tijānīs' share in these emanations infinitely greater than that of anybody not belonging to this *ṭarīqa*,¹⁰⁷ implied the conviction of the superiority of the founder of this *ṭarīqa* and of those belonging to it, over the founders of other *ṭuruq* and their members.¹⁰⁸ This exclusiveness was reinforced by the prohibition of the *ṭarīqa*'s members from visiting shrines of non-Tijānī saints, which also precluded participation in *mawālīd* held in their honour.¹⁰⁹

Consequently, Tijānīs must have had no desire to participate in any of the celebrations organized and/or sponsored by al-Bakrī. Nor would any of the aforementioned *khulafā'* of the *ṭarīqa* have solicited for his confirmation as its supreme head in Egypt, since this would have been an implicit negation of their

1305), *wāqif*: Muḥammad Surūr Āghā al-Asmar *ʿAtiq* al-Sitt Bābikīr Ḥānim. The original *waqfiyya* is dated 18 Dhū l-Ḥijja 1315.

Of this *zāwiya* the building in Ḥārat Dāli Ḥusayn opposite the present-day Tijāniyya *zāwiya* of Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ is still intact. It is administered today by the Ministry of Awqāf which rents it out as living accommodation. According to Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ, the last *shaykh* in charge of it was a West African from Futa Jalon (Guinea), known as al-Ḥājj Jibrīl al-Fūti.

102 For the biographies of some of these see al-Ḥāfiẓ, *ibid.*, 11 f., 17 f., 49 f.; al-ʿAttār, 18; and al-Tijānī, 101 f.

103 For his biography see al-Ḥāfiẓ, 28 ff.; al-ʿAttār, 8 ff.; al-Tijānī, 105 ff.

104 For his biography see al-Ḥāfiẓ, 45 ff.; al-ʿAttār, 29 ff.

105 For his enumeration of his most prominent disciples see al-Ḥāfiẓ, 48 ff.

106 Al-Ḥāfiẓ, 47.

107 Abun-Nasr, 32.

108 *Ibid.*, 38.

109 This prohibition does not apply to other prophets, nor to the *aṣḥāb* and the *aḥl al-bayt*. For a summary of Tijānī doctrine on this matter see Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn al-Ṭaṣḥāwī, *Al-Fath al-Rabbānī fi mā yahtāju ilayhi l-Murīd al-Tijānī*, Cairo 1958, 32 ff.; and equally Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ, *Qaṣd al-Sabīl fi l-Ṭarīqa al-Tijāniyya*, al-Zaqāziq 1348, 10 f.

own self-conception of being superior to all non-Tijānīs by virtue of belonging to a *ṭarīqa* which they held to supersede all others.

An attitude similar to that of al-Tijāniyya was held by those belonging to al-Sanūsiyya,¹¹⁰ which had spread into Egypt since the middle of the nineteenth century. Its adherents, however, legitimated their claims for superiority differently, by indicating that all other *ṭuruq* had been incorporated into it by its founder Muḥammad b. ‘Alī l-Sanūsī (1202–1276: 1787–1859), and had therefore become superfluous.¹¹¹ This founder had himself established the *ṭarīqa*’s first *zāwiya* on Egyptian soil in Alexandria upon his return from Mecca in 1840¹¹² and in the early fifties a *zāwiya* had been built for him by Khedive ‘Abbās I in Būlāq.¹¹³ The Alexandrian *zāwiya*, however, ceased to exist before 1876,¹¹⁴ while no Sanūsīs ever occupied that in Būlāq.¹¹⁵ The existence of the *zawāyā* which were established in the oases in the Western Desert from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards was more permanent.¹¹⁶ Over a dozen existed in the eighties¹¹⁷ and at the beginning of the twentieth century their number had increased to thirty-one.¹¹⁸ Among these were two *zāwiyas* which had been established at the edge of the desert, one in Ḥuṣḥ ‘Īsā near Damanhūr and another near al-Jiza in the village of Kirdāsa.¹¹⁹ Apart from these two *zāwiyas* no others were established either in the Delta or in the Nile valley to the south. This geographical distribution of the *ṭarīqa*’s membership, mainly confined to the Western Desert, and the way the *ṭarīqa* was regarded by its founder and

110 On al-Sanūsiyya and its founder Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Sanūsī (1787–1859) see e.g. B.G. Martin, *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-century Africa*, Cambridge 1976, chapter 4.

111 Cf. Aḥmad al-Sharīf al-Sanūsī, *Al-Anwār al-Qudsīyya fī Muqadimmat al-Ṭarīqa l-Sanūsiyya*, Istanbul 1342; 10, 29. For a refutation of the claims of al-Sanūsiyya as presented in this booklet, by a representative of al-Khalwatiyya, see Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Kāfī, *Risālat al-Furū’ al-Kāfiyya li-Izālat Ḥayāhib al-Anwār al-Qudsīyya fī Muqaddimat al-Ṭarīqa al-Sanūsiyya*, Tunis 1927.

112 Cf. H. Duveyrier, *La Confrérie Musulmane de Sidi Mohammed Ben ‘Alī Es-Senoûsi et son Domaine Géographique en l’Année 1300 de l’Hégire—1883 denotre Ère*, Roma 1918, 53.

113 Ibid., 54.

114 Ibid., 53.

115 Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 281. This building is at present known as the mosque of Sīdī al-Qulālī in al-Sabtiyya.

116 Cf. Ahmed Fakhry, *The Oases of Egypt. Vol. II: Bahriyah and Farafra Oases*, Cairo 1974, 168.

117 For an enumeration see Duveyrier, 51 ff.

118 For an enumeration see S. Arslān/L. Stoddard, *Ḥaḍīr al-‘Ālam al-Islāmī*, iv vols. Cairo 1352; ii, 444 ff. For a discussion of the spread of the *ṭarīqa* and comparisons between the number of *zawāyā* mentioned by various authors, see N.A. Ziadeh, *Sanūsiyah. A Study of a Revivalist Movement in Islam*, Leiden 1968, chapter iv.

119 O. Depont & X. Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses Musulmanes*, Alger 1897, 571; Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 282.

members¹²⁰ as indicated above, explain why it had remained entirely marginal to the realm of al-Bakrī's authority.

In a category by itself stood al-ʿAzāziyya, since it was the only *ṭarīqa* which obtained official recognition and lost it all within a few years, at the beginning of the twentieth century. Originally it had been a family group in al-Sharqiyya province, which traced itself back to Sīdī ʿAzāz b. Mustawda ʿ al-Baṭāʾihī.¹²¹ Members of this group had traditionally been adherents of al-Rifāʿiyya.¹²² Moreover, they had another link with this *ṭarīqa* since Sīdī ʿAzāz had taken the *ʾahd* from Muḥammad al-Shunbakī,¹²³ who had also initiated Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī's uncle and teacher Manṣūr al-Bāz al-Baṭāʾihī¹²⁴ into the mystical Way. On both these grounds the heads of al-Rifāʿiyya claimed jurisdiction over this group which had been functioning as a *bayt* of this *ṭarīqa* since the era of ʿAlī al-Bakrī at least. In the eighties, however, the then *shaykh* of the *bayt al-ʿAzāziyya*,

120 Both Ziadeh, 87; and Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, 116, state that al-Sanūsiyya aim at union with the Prophet and not with God. I am not aware of the existence of any Sanūsī treatise in which the conception of *al-nūr al-muḥammadi* is dealt with. However, the *awrād* of al-Sanūsiyya (cf. al-Sanūsī, *Al-Anwār*, 60f. and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī, *Majmūʿ Aḥzāb wa Awrād Ṭarīqat al-Sāda l-Sanūsiyya*, Cairo 1969, 46) furnish sufficient evidence that Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sanūsī followed his teacher Aḥmad b. Idrīs in this respect and that, like the latter's disciple Muḥammad ʿUṭmān al-Mirghani, al-Sanūsī had accepted the implications ensuing from the belief in the well-known uncanonical *ḥadīth* transmitted by Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, supporting the neo-Platonic conception of pre-creation. (For an extensive discussion of this *ḥadīth* as well as other *aḥādīth* pertinent to the conception of *al-nūr al-muḥammadi* see Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥalwānī, *Mawākib Rabīʿ fī Mawlid al-Shaṭīʿ*, Cairo 1294. It may be found in almost any prayer-manual of al-Idrīsiyya; see e.g. Aḥmad b. Idrīs, *Majmūʿat Aḥzāb wa Awrād wa Rasāʾil*, Cairo 1940, 198 ff. The status of this *ḥadīth* was discussed by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā in *Al-Manār*, vol. 8 (1905), 865–869, where he refuted it as non-authentic). So in the passage in al-Sanūsī's *Wird al-Kabīr* "... and unite (between) me and him as you united spirit (*rūḥ*) and soul (*nafs*) in outward appearance and in reality (*zāhir^{an}* wa *bāṭin^{an}*) awake and asleep and make Him, O Lord, the Spirit of my essence in all respects, in this world before the hereafter, O Almighty" (Cf. al-Sanūsī, *Majmūʿ Aḥzāb*, 46f.), the desired union with the Prophet must be conceived of as a union in which the Prophet is a manifestation of the divine essence, of *al-nūr al-muḥammadi*, which is the substance of substances and the basis of all existence (*aṣl al-wujūd*). Therefore, it is a union with the Divine itself, through the Divine as manifested in and made accessible through the Prophet.

The incorporation of the conception of *al-nūr al-muḥammadi* in Sanūsī teaching also appears in another section of the *Wird al-Kabīr*, which runs: "O, God, I ask You by the light of the face of God the Almighty, which fills the pillars of the throne of God the Almighty, and by [the grace of which] the world of God the Almighty exists".

121 On this saint see al-Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, i, 133. He was a descendant of Fāṭima al-Zahrāʾ.

122 Cf. MS Leiden Or. 14438 (ʿAzāzī documents) 4 (19 Raj. 1322).

123 Cf. al-Shaʿrānī, *ibid*.

124 *Ibid.*, 134.

Ibrāhīm Khalīl al-ʿAzāzī, had himself initiated into al-Khalwatiyya by ʿUmar al-Shabrāwī (see above p. 143) and started to present al-ʿAzāziyya as a Khalwatiyya *ṭarīqa* and himself as its *shaykh*.¹²⁵ Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī granted him official recognition in October 1901 without consulting the members of the Ṣūfī Council¹²⁶ or involving them in any way. Muḥammad Tawfīq was entitled to do this in view of the absence of any stipulations relative to recognition of new *ṭuruq* in the Regulations. For the head of al-Rifāʿiyya this formal sanction of a secessionist movement within the *ṭarīqa* proved unacceptable. However, it was not until two years later that he presented a formal protest to the Ṣūfī Council.¹²⁷ The reason for this delayed reaction would seem to have been his lack of any concrete evidence of the changed status of al-ʿAzāziyya, which had been effected by nothing more than a decree (*taqrīr*) drawn up for this purpose by Muḥammad Tawfīq and issued by him to Ibrāhīm al-ʿAzāzī personally.¹²⁸ In August 1903, however, following the proclamation of the new Regulations, a circular was sent to all the heads of the *ṭuruq* inviting them to attend the elections of the new Ṣūfī Council together with a list of all those who were entitled to vote.¹²⁹ This document, in which explicit mention was made of Ibrāhīm al-ʿAzāzī as *shaykh* of al-ʿAzāziyya as an independent *ṭarīqa*, made it possible for Muḥammad Ḥusayn Yāsīn, the *shaykh* of al-Rifāʿiyya, to launch a formal complaint to the newly elected Ṣūfī Council.¹³⁰ After prolonged deliberations the members of this body unanimously agreed that Ibrāhīm's appointment had not been in accordance with the Regulations, since recognition of a new *ṭarīqa* and its *shaykh* was to be considered as identical to appointment of a *shaykh* to a *ṭarīqa*.¹³¹ This had ceased to be a prerogative of al-Bakrī alone after the proclamation of the Regulations of 1895, and had become a matter pertaining to the competence of the whole Council. Therefore the *taqrir* which had

125 Cf. MS Leiden Or. 14438 (ʿAzāzī docs.) 7.

126 For the original decree issued by Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī to al-ʿAzāzī see MS Leiden Or. 14438 (ʿAzāzī docs.) 1 (17 Rab. II 1319).

127 Cf. *idem*, 3 (3 Jum. I 1322).

128 Ibrāhīm al-ʿAzāzī may well have anticipated Muḥammad Yāsīn's action. In August 1903 he requested al-Bakrī to provide him with a new *taqrīr* in which al-ʿAzāziyya was to be mentioned explicitly as a Khalwatiyya branch. This request, which was complied with by al-Bakrī, can hardly have been aimed at anything other than obtaining the most unequivocal official statement possible about the distinctiveness and independence of al-ʿAzāziyya from al-Rifāʿiyya, in view of the emerging dispute; cf. *idem*, 2 (17 August 1903).

129 *Idem*, 3 (3 Jum. I 1322).

130 *Ibid.* The Council's members were Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī (al-Bayyūmiyya), Muḥammad Muḥammad Masʿūd al-Qādirī (al-Qādiriyya al-Fāriḍiyya), ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Barmūnī (al-Qāsimiyya l-Shādhiliyya), and Muḥammad Nuwaytū (al-Imbābiyya/al-Kannāsiyya).

131 Cf. *idem*, 7^a (23 Shaʿbān 1322).

been issued to Ibrāhīm by Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī without consultation with the Council, was declared invalid.¹³² At the same time Ibrāhīm was recommended to submit to the Council a new request for recognition as head of an independent *ṭariqa*.¹³³ He followed this recommendation,¹³⁴ but had the sessions of the Council arranged for the discussion of his request indefinitely postponed,¹³⁵ presumably because he did not think he had much chance of obtaining a decree in his favour.¹³⁶

5 The Internal Regulations of 1905

The amendments of procedure pertaining to the composition of the Council incorporated in the Regulations of 1903 may have given al-Bakrī the opportunity of manipulating its members more than was possible under the earlier arrangement of 1895. The outcome of the ‘Azāziyya case, however, set out in the preceding section, shows that these amendments did not allow him to prevent the Ṣūfī Council from enacting the right which had been invested in this Council at the expense of al-Bakrī by the Regulations of 1895: to grant legality to the head of a *ṭariqa*. Moreover, neither set of Regulations contained any specific provisions aimed at the effective administration of the ordered system of super- and sub-ordination that they had shaped. Rights and obligations of the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* were not clearly defined, nor were the criteria for succession to the various offices. The procedures to be followed in the settlement of conflicts between groups and individuals had hardly been formalized and one of the basic requirements for the efficiency of the rudimentary bureaucratic system which they had created—the keeping of written records—had not been made obligatory.

In order to amend these deficiencies Muḥammad Tawfiq drew up a set of supplementary rules, the Internal Regulations for the *Ṭuruq (al-Lā’iḥa l-Dākhiliyya li-l-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya)*.¹³⁷ The first section of these Regulations contained provisions for more regular meetings of the Ṣūfī Council (art. 1) and gave

132 Ibid.

133 Ibid.

134 *Idem*, 9 (25 Shawwāl 1322).

135 *Idem*, 10 (2 Ḥijja 1322) and 11 (6 Ḥijja 1322).

136 The matter was taken up again after Ibrāhīm’s death in Shawwāl 1340 (May–June 1922) by his son Muḥammad; see *idem*, 12 (n.d.).

137 Both *lā’iḥas* were published together in 1905 (Cairo: Mṭ. al-Mu’ayyad) and again in 1342: 1923/4. They appear as an appendix to Shuhdī, *Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī*. For an annotated translation see appendix 6.

an elaborate codification of the accompanying administrative routine and of judicial procedure by the Council. These pertained in particular to the procedure it had to follow when dealing with disputes brought before it (arts. 2–8) and excluded the possibility of appeal (art. 9). Significantly, it was stipulated (art. 2, first clause, and art. 5) that in case of conflict the parties involved had to present all the relevant documents to the *mashyakh*, i.e. to al-Bakrī, while the minutes of the sessions of the Ṣūfī Council held in connection with any case, were to remain in his custody (cf. art. 3). These clauses implied that Muḥammad Tawfiq's role in the Ṣūfī Council would be more prominent than that reserved for him by the earlier Regulations. Moreover, since these arrangements would put him in a crucially important position in the Council's functioning as a judicial body, he would be able to exercise control in its administration of justice. In addition, in a clause in the second section (art. 7, last clause) he gave himself, as incumbent of the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, a more important role to play in the appointment of successors to deceased heads of officially recognized *ṭuruq*. This clause stipulated that when a *shaykh* died all the records pertaining to the administration of his *ṭarīqa* had to be handed over to the "*bāb al-mashyakh*". After the appointment of a new *shaykh* they would be returned to him.

Incumbency to the office of *shaykh al-ṭarīqa* was also regulated by articles in the second section (arts. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6) which imposed, moreover, a number of obligations upon the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* and placed them under certain prohibitions (arts. 8, 9, 10, 12, 13).

Among these articles, the principle of hereditary succession to the office of *shaykh al-ṭarīqa*, as had become sanctioned by tradition in most *ṭuruq* was formulated explicitly in article 6. At the same time article 6 contained a guarantee against incumbency by unworthy heirs in a clause essentially of the same purport as article 1 of the section, which stipulated that nobody should be appointed *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* unless he had a certain level of knowledge (*ʿirfān*) and ethical perfection (*kamāl*); the clause delegated to the Council the appointment of anybody it considered competent for *ṭarīqa* leadership if heirs had insufficient education, or were otherwise unsuitable for the office.

A partial re-formulation of article 1 of the Regulations of 1903 was included in the fourth article which restated, in addition, that no head of a *ṭarīqa* of whatever nature, could claim to have been appointed and hence been recognized as *shaykh* of an independent and distinct *ṭarīqa* unless appointment was by the Council. By this provision the Council intended to obtain maximum control over all organized groups of mystics in Egypt. It aimed particularly at making the legality of the heads of al-Wafā'iyya and al-'Ināniyya, as well as a number of the *mashāyikh* of the *Khalwatiyya* branches who considered themselves to

be heads of independent *ṭuruq*, dependent upon appointment by the Council. By the third article, formal recognition of two *shaykhs* over the same *ṭarīqa* was made impossible. Such a form of shared leadership had existed in the past for al-Qādiriyya, al-Ṣāwiyya and al-Shinnāwiyya.¹³⁸ It had always led to rivalry, conflict and secession, which this article was obviously designed to prevent.

Latent dispute and secession were also quelled by article 11. The article itself merely prohibited the use of the term *shaykh al-ṭarīqa* as an honorific or term of address for the *nuwwāb* of the *ṭarīqa*, since the use of this term did not reflect the subordination of the *nā'ib* to the head of the *ṭarīqa*. By this prohibition, however, one of the factors had been eliminated which could have contributed to the emergence of local centres of authority, out of reach of control of the *shaykh al-ṭarīqa*, with the potential of developing into secessionist *ṭuruq*.

Among the officially recognized *ṭuruq* many did not originate in Egypt but had been introduced there from other parts of the Islamic world. These *ṭuruq* had continued to have active *khulafā'* in Egypt, who were either Egyptian nationals or expatriates and did not consider themselves to be subject to the authority of any of the heads of the officially recognized *ṭuruq* in Egypt, and who had occasionally proselytized on their own account.¹³⁹ For them, however, article 5 had now made it virtually impossible to obtain official recognition, however successful they might have been as leaders; the article excluded recognition of a new *ṭarīqa* when it resembled any of those already recognized, either

138 Shared leadership had existed for al-Qādiriyya in the first half of the 19th century (see above, page 71). Al-Ṣāwiyya had two *shaykhs* in the era of Alī al-Bakrī (see above, page 70). Al-Shinnāwiyya had an officially recognized *shaykh* for Cairo and one who was the *ṭarīqa*'s recognized head in al-Minūfiyya province (see above, page 72). Exactly when and how the dual leadership of al-Shinnāwiyya came to an end is not known. In the documents of the Leiden collection, however, the latest reference to the head of al-Shinnāwiyya in al-Minūfiyya province, 'Umar al-Shinnāwī, dates from 1287 (cf. F.Or.A. 283, 1–28/8; 27 Rab. 11 1287). According to oral tradition of the *ṭarīqa* 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Shinnāwī was the head of all *sāda* Shinnāwiyya for an unspecified period before 1904 when he died. Therefore, it would seem likely that dual leadership of this *ṭarīqa* had ceased to exist by the end of the 19th century. 'Abd al-Rahmān was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Yūsuf (d. 1928).

139 A case in point is Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājj al-Ribāṭī, a *khalīfa* of al-Fathiyya, a branch of al-Darqāwiyya. He edited Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Bannānī's *Madārīj al-Sulūk ilā Mālik al-Mulūk*, Cairo 1330, with Faṭḥ Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Bannānī, *Iqd al-Durr wa l-La'āl fi Bayān Faḍl al-Fuqr wa l-Fuqarā' wa Faḍilat al-Su'āl* in the margin. Faṭḥ Allāh was al-Ribāṭī's *shaykh* and the *ṭarīqa*'s founder. For the biography of Abū Bakr see al-Kūhin, 169 ff.; for the biography of his son Faṭḥ Allāh, see *ibid.*, 174 ff. Although there was a difference in name, the *ṭarīqa* resembled the officially recognized Madaniyya in many respects (cf. al-Bannānī's *Madārīj* and Muḥammad Zāfir al-Madani's *Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya*).

in name or in method.¹⁴⁰ It thus eliminated the possibility that the emergence of any new identical *ṭariqa* could ever produce a struggle for supreme leadership, as had taken place over the leadership of al-‘Arūsiyya in the early nineties. It also precluded the emergence of disputes between officially recognized *ṭuruq* originating in claims of suzerainty by one *shaykh* over another on the basis of identical names or identical methods, since it had *a priori* eliminated the possibility of any identity in this respect.

Appointment of one *shaykh* over two *ṭariqas* was excluded by article 2. This had been the case with two branches of al-Qādiriyya which had been under the leadership of one single *shaykh* from 1870 until 1892. It had also been the case with two branches of al-Aḥmadiyya, viz. al-Imbābiyya and al-Kannāsiyya, which had been under the leadership of ‘Alī Nuwaytū for about ten years up to 1904. He was a brother of Muḥammad Nuwaytū, the *shaykh* of the shrine of Ismā‘il al-Imbābī (see above p. 88), and had been appointed *shaykh* of al-Imbābiyya by ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī in 1308 (1890),¹⁴¹ when the *ṭariqa’s shaykh* Ibrāhīm ‘Alī Salmān had died leaving only an infant son. ‘Alī Nuwaytū must have owed his appointment partly to the fact that he belonged to the family which had controlled the shrine of the founder of al-Imbābiyya from the end of the eighteenth century onwards (see above p. 16), since this made him a candidate who was assured of a minimum of the legitimacy required. The factors are obscure, however, which account for his additional appointment as *shaykh* of al-Kannāsiyya, following the death of the *shaykh* of this *ṭariqa*, Muṣṭafā Ḥamūda, an uncle of Ḥamūda Muḥammad, the head of al-Sa‘diyya.¹⁴² The office of *shaykh al-Kannāsiyya* remained with the Nuwaytū family from then onwards, and when ‘Alī Nuwaytū died in 1904, his brother Muḥammad Maḥmūd succeeded him as *shaykh* of this *ṭariqa*,¹⁴³ Muḥammad also held the office of *shaykh al-Imbābiyya*, but not for long: the legality of his succession was disputed by Ibrāhīm ‘Alī Salmān’s son Muḥammad, who had by then reached adulthood. Muḥammad’s claims were recognized in 1905 when, after the Inter-

140 In the Regulations the term *muṣṭalahāt* is used. The mystical terminology, which is part and parcel of the *ṭariqa’s* method is, of course, implied.

141 He was also *wakil al-mashyakha*; cf. F.Or.A. 285, 11-67/2 (23 Şaf. 1311).

142 I owe my information about this family relationship to Ḥamūda al-Khuḍarī, *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Sa‘diyya* from 1943 until 1972, when he died. He could not give the exact date of the death of Muṣṭafā Ḥamūda.

143 Since ‘Alī al-Nuwaytū had not been initiated into al-Kannāsiyya nor, as far as I could establish, into any other *ṭariqa*, no *silsila* is given in the *ijāzāt* issued by the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Kannāsiyya* in present-day Egypt, Salāma Nuwaytū. Salāma Nuwaytū claims descent from Muḥammad al-Kannāsī, a disciple of Aḥmad al-Badawī, after whom the *ṭariqa* is named; it is to him that I owe much of my information about al-Kannāsiyya.

nal Regulations had been accepted by the Ṣūfi Council, Muḥammad Maḥmūd was forced to resign as *shaykh al-Imbābiyya* and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm installed in his place.¹⁴⁴

The remaining articles of the second section contained a number of precepts for the heads of the *ṭuruq*. They were obliged to keep records of their administration in a specified form (art. 7) and to appoint *khulafā'* in the various townships as well as *nuwwāb* in every *markaz* in which the *ṭariqa* had a substantial membership (art. 9). The article and article 10, which made personal inspection of the *khulafā'* obligatory upon the *shaykh al-ṭariqa* at least once a year, were clearly included in order to prevent the *ṭariqa* from becoming redundant as a result of inactive or ineffective incumbents to the leadership positions.

As a further guarantee for the effectiveness of leadership at the local level, it was now forbidden to appoint *khulafā'* who did not have a certain level of education (art. 8) and were unworthy in a more general way for the office of *khalīfa* (art. 12 first section).

Regarding the content of *ijāzāt* issued by the heads of the *ṭuruq* to disciples, and by virtue of which the latter became *khulafā'*, provisions were laid down in article 12. *Ijāzāt* were to contain an explicit statement of the nature of the permission and of the rules according to which a recipient had to give guidance. Article 12 also stipulated that *ijāzāt* had to be printed henceforth, instead of being hand-written as had commonly been the case until then. This requirement must have been intended to make it harder to tamper with the *silsila* and the names and the dates mentioned in it, as was sometimes done when such alterations could give more substance to a person's claims to autonomy and competence of jurisdiction.¹⁴⁵

144 I owe my information about these events to 'Abd al-Salām Ibrāhīm, the *shaykh al-sajjāda l-Imbābiyya* in Egypt, who is resident in the village of Warrāq al-'Arab (al-Jīza). His information was largely corroborated by Salāma Nuwaytū's version of the events under discussion as well as by an account from the secretary of the *mashyakhāt al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, 'Abd al-Laṭīf 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. In the *silsila* given in the *ijāzat* issued by the *ṭariqa*, Muḥammad's father, Ibrāhīm 'Alī, figures as being initiated by his uncle Ḥasan Salmān (d. 1290: 1875 approx.), who was head of the *ṭariqa l-Imbābiyya* in the era of 'Alī al-Bakrī (see page 67).

145 Falsification of a *silsila*, for instance, in such a way that it would constitute a more direct link with the founder of a particular *ṭariqa* than the *silsila* of its officially recognized head, could be of importance when claims for autonomy were at stake. Names might also be changed by a *khalīfa* who wanted to cover up the fact that he belonged to a particular *bayt*, thus placing himself outside the jurisdiction of the *shaykh al-bayt*. Also the date of issue was sometimes tampered with, as when a *khalīfa* who carried *ijāzāt* of more than one *ṭariqa* wanted to be considered as belonging to the *ṭariqa* he had taken last: in such a

A final clause aimed at the elimination of trade in blank *ijāzāt*. In earlier periods trade in *ijāzāt* had been rampant.¹⁴⁶ In this particular form, however, it must have spread mainly after 1881 when ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī, in the circular drawn up by him (art. 18), prohibited anyone who was not a *khalīfa* from conducting a *ḥaḍra*. The prohibition must have been intended to guarantee the presence of clearly identifiable officials who could be held responsible for the application of everything contained in the circular. At the same time, however, it did not merely make the presence of a *khalīfa* obligatory at the regular *ḥaḍarāt* held by the local members of a particular *ṭarīqa*, or at the *ḥaḍarāt* in which the participants were of a less restricted provenance, during *mawālīd* and other periodical festivals, but also during the so-called *layālī*. These are festive evenings in which the most important and central event is a *ḥaḍra*, staged by a number of *ṭarīqa* members, possibly under the supervision of a *khalīfa*, together with *munshidūn* and musicians, and in which all those attending the *layla* can participate.¹⁴⁷ For this purpose, the person who wishes to hold a *layla* invites such a group, who are paid for this form of entertainment in money and/or in kind.¹⁴⁸ When, however, after 1881, the presence of a *khalīfa* became obligatory on such occasions, a demand for *ijāzāt* was created among those who were making a living in one way or another by participating in the celebrations of *layālī*, since possession of an *ijāza* was now a necessity if they were to continue to derive income from this source. This document, however, had to be paid for in money or in kind by the recipient to the *khalīfa* who provided it, and the *khalīfa* similarly had to pay the head of the *ṭarīqa* who supplied blank

case the *ijāza* of the last *ṭarīqa* had to antedate the others in his possession, since it was practice sanctioned by tradition to regard the *ṭarīqa* which somebody had taken first as the *ṭarīqa* to which he belonged; cf. F.Or.A. 283, 11-13/4 (4 Rab. 11 1289) and V-8(10)/7(6 Raj. 1296). See also chapter 2, note 46. For an *ijāza*, which has evidently been tampered with see MS Leiden Or. 14431/V. This *ijāza*, dated 1232 (1816/7), is autographed by Aḥmad al-Šawī (1175–1241: 1761–1825).

146 Cf. page 46. See also Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 174 f.

147 Cf. MS Leiden Or. 14431/VI n.d. (approx. 1900), being a transcript of a letter with various questions about this and other practices of the *ṭuruq* considered to be *bidaʿ*, addressed to the son of the well-known Mālikī *muftī* Muḥammad ʿIllaysh, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ʿIllaysh, together with the transcript of his answer.

148 Cf. P. Kahle, ‘Zur Organisation’, 158. The *layla* itself, however, is not, as it might be understood from Kahle, organized by a *khalīfa*. In present-day Egypt—and it is not likely to have been any different at the beginning of the 20th century—the person organizing the *layla* (as a pious deed, as a *nadhhr* or at the occasion of e.g. a circumcision) also distributes food and serves coffee and/or tea to those present. He pays for the illumination and provides mats on which the *ḥaḍra* is to be performed.

ijāzāt. The prohibition of this practice therefore ran counter to the financial interests of many heads of the *ṭuruq* and their *khulafā'*.¹⁴⁹

Moreover, since the institution of the *layla* remained, and since, during a *ḥaḍra*, the presence of a *khalīfa* who had been given an *ijāza* by his *shaykh* had been made a requirement in the present Regulations also (section 5, art. 3), there continued to be a demand for *ijāzāt* by those who took a professional and economic interest in the possession of such a document. These factors combined would seem to account for the fact that this clause remained a dead letter¹⁵⁰ and that the practice it aimed at eliminating continues to be found well into the post-revolutionary era.

A potential detrimental effect upon the income of the heads of the *ṭuruq* and their *khulafā'*, was also latent in article 13. It contained a clause which, in accordance with article 12 of the Regulations of 1903, prohibited them from accepting donations related to a case (dispute) under consideration, or to the appointment of a *khalīfa*. In addition, however, it declared that the customary payments in money or in kind, which used to be made by the *murīdūn* and the *khulafā'* to the head of their *ṭarīqa*, could not be imposed as an obligation. Such donations used to be made on the occasion of the *mawlid al-nabī*, the *mawlid* of the founder of the *ṭarīqa* and on the occasion of the *'id al-fitr* at the end of *Ramaḍān*,¹⁵¹ They constituted a substantial part of the income of the heads of the *ṭuruq*¹⁵² which had been put in jeopardy by this article, to some extent at least, since it ruled out the use of any sort of formal sanction against *ṭarīqa* members who, for one reason or another, were not willing to make these customary donations.

The third section provided for a reorganization and expansion of the network of agents of the *mashyakha* to whom, as to the heads of the *ṭuruq* and their *khulafā'*, the keeping of records of their administration had been made obligatory in a specified form (art. 5). Such officials were to be appointed in every

149 It is mentioned by Kahle that a *khalīfa* at that period received about two pounds for an *ijāza*, while the head of the *ṭarīqa* received about four pounds for providing his seal and signature, without which the *ijāza* had no validity; cf. Kahle, *ibid.* 157.

150 This statement is based upon oral information from a wide number of informants. At the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's I found that a number of distinct *ṭuruq* were generally known for this practice. Therefore, I feel that although this practice may have declined for a while after the acceptance of the Internal Regulations by the Ṣūfī Council, it must have continued until the 1970's.

151 Kahle, *ibid.*, 160. See also Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, *Ḥayāt al-Qurā*, Cairo 1966, chapter 4, *passim*. This booklet contains a collection of articles by the author, which were originally published in various Egyptian periodicals in the 1930s.

152 For similar practice in the Maghrib, cf. Depont & Coppolani, 240 f.

markaz instead of only in a few urban centres in the provinces, as had been the practice previously. They had to be of the meritorious (*afāḍil*) and the esteemed (*mu'tabarūn*) and they had to be members of a *ṭarīqa*. The *nuwwāb* of the various *ṭuruq* were excluded from appointments as *wakīl* (art. 2). The aim of this restriction must have been to prevent a single individual from being invested with so much authority that he might create for himself a highly autonomous power position over which al-Bakrī and the Šūfī Council would not be able to exercise control and which could allow him to defy their directives and possibly create a secessionist *tariqa*.

Another factor which might contribute to the emergence of local centres of authority embodying this danger, was the use of the term *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* as an honorific for the *wakīl al-mashyakha*, which was eliminated by a prohibition contained in article 1. Most significantly, however, the right of appointment and dismissal of these agents which acted as a sanction against the abuse of office (cf. art. 7), was to lie with the incumbent of the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-šūfiyya*, i.e. with al-Bakrī, without involving the Šūfī Council (cf. art. 1). Moreover, *wukalā'* were obliged to keep al-Bakrī personally informed about events pertaining to "*al-šūfiyya*" occurring in the provinces (arts. 3 and 6) and had to communicate with him directly (cf. art. 1). In other words, the article prohibited the use of intermediaries which might otherwise have become an institutionalized practice, a virtual line of command, and would be conducive to an undesired increase in autonomy of the *wukalā'*, since indirect communication would imply indirect control by al-Bakrī.

In the past the *wukalā'* had acted first and foremost in the role of al-Bakrī's liaison officers in the provinces. The right of jurisdiction in cases pertaining to "*al-šūfiyya*" had been held by al-Bakrī exclusively, while in cases of violation of rights of *qadam* it could also be exercised by the local *qāḍī*. In the Internal Regulations, however, article 4 of the section dealing with the *wukalā'* contained a statement pertaining to the "judgements" of the latter. This was an implicit reference to, and a formalization of, the fact that their function did not merely comprise the right of temporarily suspending parties involved in a conflict, as explicitly formulated in the last clause of article 3, but included the right of jurisdiction as well. Exactly when this right entered the competency of a *wakīl* is not known. The circular of 1881 did not contain any reference to jurisdiction by the *wukalā'*, nor did the Regulations of 1895. The amended Regulations of 1903, however, did contain such a reference in a clause in article 13, which delegated to the *wukalā'* the resolution of conflict occurring in the provinces and implicitly invested them with the right of investigation and mediation. Jurisdiction must also have been part of their competency, however, as appears from

a subsequent clause which gives the opposing parties in a conflict handled by the *wukalā'* of the *mashyakha* the right of appeal to the Sūfī Council. Therefore, at least a limited right of jurisdiction must have been delegated by Muḥammad Tawfiq to the *wukalā'* at some time between 1895 and 1903, presumably as part of a more general re-shuffle among their ranks following Muhammad Tawfiq's abdication as *naqīb al-ashrāf* in January 1895.¹⁵³ In consequence of this event he ceased to have control over the provincial *nuqabā'*, who lost their significance for the *ṭuruq* administration when they could no longer be employed to exercise authority over the *ṭuruq*. In order to compensate for this set-back Muhammad Tawfiq must have appointed *wukalā'* in areas in which the provincial *nuqabā'* used to function in this capacity. Moreover, the greater administrative efficiency at which he aimed from the moment he assumed office must have induced him to increase their number at the same time.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ B. S. 14 ff.

¹⁵⁴ It is not known how many *wukalā'* held office in this period. By 1330 (1912), however, the *wukalā'* in the following list (F.Or.A. 284, VI/3, 4, 5) held office in the areas mentioned. From the dates of their appointment, the gradual increase of their number is apparent even before 1323 (1905), when the Internal Regulations came into force; cf. F.Or.A. 285, 11/21, 22 (20 Hijja 1313).

Area in which <i>wakil</i> held office	Name ¹	Residence	Date of appointment
Alexandria	Sa'īd Bek Ghurbāwī		
Dimyāṭ	'Abd al-Salām Bek al-Khafajī		
Būr Sa'īd	'Abd al-Fattāh Abū l-Ḥasan		
al-Suways	M. al-Inshāwī		
al-Qalyūbiyya	M. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Najjar	Benhā	29 Rab. II 1330
markaz Qalyūb	Sāliḥ M. al-Sharīf	(near) Shalqān	16 Muh. 1320
markaz Tūkh	Yūsuf M. Ḥarīz	Tūkh al-Malak	24 Jum. I 1327
markaz Nawā	M. Qāsim Manṣūr	Kafr Shibīn	8 Jum. I 1319
AL-SHARQIYYA	M. Bek al-Shīmī	al-Zaqāziq	10 May 1902
markaz Minyā l-Qamḥ	Sālīm Sharf al-Dīn	Minyā l-Qamḥ	8 Rab. II 1323
markaz Bilbays	M. al-Zāhid	Bilbays	17 Rab. I 1321
markaz Hihyā	M. Ibrāhīm al-Misallimī	(near) Fawāqiṣa	16 Muḥ. 1321
markaz Kafr Ṣaqar	Aḥmad Abū l-Dayf	Abu l-Shuqūq	7 Sha'bān 1319
markaz Fāqūs	Hasan Sālīm Farḥān	Fāqūs	19 Hijja 1328
Al-Daqahliyya	Maḥmūd Najm al-Dīn	al-Manṣūra	
markaz al-Manṣūra	<i>idem</i>		
markaz al-Sinbillāwayn	Aḥmad 'Abd al-'Āl	al-Sinbillāwayn	23 Sha'bān 1322

Article 4 of the Internal Regulations set time-limits to the right of appeal to the Šūfī Council by the parties judged by a *wakīl*, as stated in the Regulations of 1903. Moreover, it was stipulated explicitly in the first clause of this article

(cont.)

Area in which <i>wakīl</i> held office	Name ¹	Residence	Date of appointment
<i>markaz</i> Minyat Samannūd	Aḥmad M. Sha‘bān	al-Sinbillāwayn	4 Rab. II 1330
<i>markaz</i> Dikirmis	Maḥmūd M. al-Biltāji	Minshāt ‘Āšim	7 Sha‘bān 1319
<i>markaz</i> Mīt Ghāmīr	M. Šālih	al-Sinbillāwayn	7 Rab. II 1323
AL-GHARBIYYA	Ḥusayn al-Qaṣabī	Ṭantā	13 Shawwāl 1326
<i>markaz</i> al-Sanṭā	M. Abū l-Samī‘	Kafr Kilā al-Bāb	9 Šaf. 1321
<i>markaz</i> Ziftā	Sha‘bān ‘Aṭiyya	Damanhūr al-Wahsh	20 Raj. 1323
<i>markaz</i> Kafr al-Zayyāt	Ḥusayn ‘Abd Allāh al-Shāṭir	Kafr al-Zayyāt	25 Qa‘da 1328
<i>markaz</i> al-Maḥalla	M. al-Yamānī Abū l-Yūsuf	al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā	11 Rab. II 1330
<i>markaz</i> Kafr al-Shaykh	M.M. al-Mughāzī ²	al-Kūm al-Tawīl	6 Jum. II 1321
<i>markaz</i> Shirbīn	M. Abū Ḥamid	?	9 Sha‘bān 1325
<i>markaz</i> Fuwa	M. Bek Šādiq Shattā (?)	Disūq	21 Jum. II 1314
<i>markaz</i> Talkhā	Ibrāhīm Abū l-‘Aliyya	Bīlah	7 Raj. 1321
<i>markaz</i> Disūq	M. Bek Šādiq Shattā (?)	Disūq	21 Jum. II 1314
<i>Ma‘mūriyyat</i> al-Burullus	<i>idem</i>		
AL-MINŪFIYYA	Abū l-‘Aynayn Ḥanūt	Shabīn al-Kūm	1319
<i>markaz</i> Shabīn al-Kūm	Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd	Dilibshān	4 Šaf. 1321
<i>markaz</i> Talā	‘Alī l-‘Imrānī	al-Nī‘mā‘iyya	25 Jum. I 1321
<i>markaz</i> Minūf	‘Iwad Ḥasan Zalābiyya (?)	Ashmūn	1 Rab. II 1320
<i>markaz</i> Ashmūn	<i>void</i>		
AL-BUḤAYRA	Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Muta‘āl al-Khurāshī	Damanhūr	15 Raj. 1328
<i>markaz</i> Abū Ḥummuṣ	Ibrāhīm Sharaf al-Din	Zāwiyat al-Ghazzāl	5 Jum. I 1322
<i>markaz</i> Kūm Ḥamāda	‘Abd al-Ghanī Farīj	Zāwiyat al-Farīj	28 Muh. 1321
<i>markaz</i> Shubrākhīt	Yūsuf Ḥasan Qusayr	Mahallat Bishr	12 Sha‘bān 1321
AL-JIZA	M. Nuwaytū	Imbābā	
<i>markaz</i> Imbābā	<i>idem</i>		
BANI SUWAYF	M. Bek Yāsīn	Banī Suwayf	
<i>markaz</i> Banī Suwayf	<i>idem</i>	<i>idem</i>	
<i>markaz</i> al-Wāstā	Sayyid ‘Ābidīn	‘Aṭf (Ifwa)	15 Hīja 1319
AL-FAYYŪM	M. ‘Abd al-Muta‘āl	al-Fayyūm	
AL-MINYĀ	‘Abd al-Jawwād Aḥmad ³	al-Qāyāt	10 Raj. 1320

that communication between the *wukalā'* and the Ṣūfī Council, to which they would be accountable in their capacity as judiciaries for judgements given by them, was also to be made exclusively through al-Bakrī. This arrangement, in addition to the other provisions discussed above, placed al-Bakrī in a position that allowed him to retain optimal control over the network of *wukalā'* extending over the whole of Egypt, this being of crucial importance for control of the *ṭuruq* administration; it meant a curtailment of the role reserved to the Ṣūfī Council in this respect.

(cont.)

Area in which <i>wakīl</i> held office	Name ¹	Residence	Date of appointment
<i>markaz</i> Abū Qurqāṣ	Maḥmūd Mādī Abū l- 'Azā'im	al-Matāhira	5 Rab. I 1329
<i>markaz</i> Samālūt	M. Ismā'īl 'Alī l-Sharīf	Qulūṣanā	18 Jum. II 1321
<i>markaz</i> al-Minyā	Ṣālih Aḥmad 'Abd al-Rāziq	al-Minyā	10 Raj. 1320
<i>markaz</i> al-Maghāgha	'Abd al-Jawwād Aḥmad	al-Qāyāt	10 Raj. 1320
ASYŪT			
<i>markaz</i> Asyūt	M. Zayn al-Dīn	Asyūt	25 Shawwāl 1326
<i>markaz</i> Mallawī	Ibrāhīm Aḥmad Ḥusayn	al-'Ashmūnayn	15 Jum. I 1320
<i>markaz</i> al-Manfalūt	M. Ḥusayn al-Biṣhr	al-Manfalūt	8 Rab. I 1320
<i>markaz</i> Abu l-Tij	Ḥasan M. 'Ashūr	Ṣidfā	
JIRJĀ			
<i>markaz</i> Sūhāj	Maḥmūd M. Yūsuf	Sūhāj	
<i>markaz</i> Akhmim	'Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ghanī	Akhmīm	1321
<i>markaz</i> Jirjā	M. 'Abd al-Jawwād al- Ḥuṣarī	Jirjā	7 Ḥijja 1320
al-Minshā (town only)	<i>idem</i>		
QINĀ	Hamūda Ḥifnī	al-Minshā	25 Muh. 1321
<i>markaz</i> Isnā	Aḥmad M. al-Sa'īdī	Naj' al-Sayyida	12 Muh. 1323
<i>markaz</i> Dishnā	M.M. al-Ḥifnī	al-Ḥalfāya	21 Jum. II 1323
Ṭimā (town only)	'Izz al 'Arab Bakrī Abū l- Sayr	Ṭimā	1321
<i>bandar</i> Qinā	Ḥusayn Ḥusayn al-Bakrī	Qinā	25 Ḥijja 1329
ASWĀN	<i>Void</i>		

On the various administrative sub-divisions of Egypt from the era of Muhammad 'Alī until the middle of the present century see Ramzī, section 2, vol. 1, 8 ff.

¹ M. stands for Muḥammad.

² The son of M. 'Alī al-Mughāzī, the first officially recognized head of al-Mughāziyya; see page 175 f.

³ The son of Aḥmad 'Abd al-Jawwād al-Qāyātī; see page 119.

Judgement in cases concerning the shrines (art. 8), to which the regulations in the fourth section referred, was explicitly excluded from the judicial competence of the *wukalā'* and reserved to the competence of the Ṣūfī Council. This section was largely complementary to the second article of the amended Regulations of 1903, which had defined, among other things, the category of shrines which were to be under the jurisdiction of the Ṣūfī Council. Appointment and dismissal of the intendants of the shrines would rest with the Council to which article 1 of this section also ascribed the right of appointing additional officials.¹⁵⁵ The customary practice of granting intendancy of a shrine at any time to any person who could prove he was the oldest and closest living descendant of the saint buried in the shrine,¹⁵⁶ was modified by the second article: this gave priority of office to the person who had been in charge of a shrine for five years or longer, even if he was not a descendant of the saint.

The third article obliged the intendant of a shrine to inform all the other officials attached to the shrine (*al-khidma*) about the offerings and donations he had collected. This clause must have been aimed at providing these officials with some guarantee that, at the end of the month, they would obtain the share of the *nudhūrāt* to which they were entitled, as prescribed. Traditionally the *nudhūrāt* used to be divided into three equal parts, of which one was destined for the maintenance of the shrine or shrine-mosque, as well as for the celebrations of festivals in connection with it; a second part could be kept by the intendant, while the third part was to be divided equally among the officials attached to it. For a number of shrines exceptional arrangements existed relating to the division of *nudhūrāt* (see above p. 83), of which, as may be inferred from the last clause of article 3, it had become customary to make an explicit statement in the decree appointing the intendant. That such particular arrangements must have become more the rule than the exception is suggested by the fact that traditional practice was not formalized in the Internal Regulations which contained only a vague reference to the size of the portions into which the *nudhūrāt* had to be divided and distributed.

It is not known to what extent the division of *nudhūrāt* into *nudhūrāt* intended to be used in or for the shrine and *nudhūrāt* intended for the officials attached to the shrine (*al-khidma*), which had been specified minutely in regulations issued by the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* in November 1898,¹⁵⁷ was also

155 For the various officials who could be attached to a shrine(-mosque), see chapter 2, note 98.

156 Cf. page 60, and also *Taqrīr 'an Waṣīfat al-Khilāfa*, 2.

157 See chapter 2, note 281 (about kinds of *nudhūr*). The *Lā'ihat al-nudhūrāt* also limited the

respected by the intendants under the jurisdiction of the *mashyakha*. It seems likely, however, that any serious imbalance between the two categories which benefited the intendant, would be disapproved of by the wider society if it came to their notice. Therefore, inclusion of clauses aimed at the prevention of such confusion was probably judged superfluous and the vague stipulations pertaining to the division of the *nudhūrāt* would be regarded as a sufficiently formal basis for dealing with all the predictable administrative complications in this area.

In the last section, under the heading "General Affairs", article 5 provided for the formal abolition of rights of *qadam*. These rights could only be maintained in an adequate way with the aid of government agencies, and continued as long as it was in the interest of the effectiveness of the State's administration. When the Egyptian administration was reorganized by the end of the nineteenth century, and attained a greater efficiency, the *ṭarīqa* administration lost its significance for the State and in consequence the government agencies ceased to act in support of the principle which had determined the structure and functioning of the *ṭuruq* administration within Egyptian society for most of the nineteenth century. Subsequently, claims for rights of *qadam* became meaningless and abated when, at the turn of the century, maintenance of these rights had completely ceased to be the concern of al-Bakrī and the Ṣūfī Council,¹⁵⁸

income from these gifts to which the *khulafā* of Aḥmad al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā were entitled by tradition; cf. *Lā'iha*, 9f. These limitations had been imposed upon them without their being consulted. This led to a dispute between the *khulafā* and the authorities of which a partial account can be found in the *Taqrīr 'an Wazīfat al-Khulāfa*.

With respect to the *ṣundūq al-nudhūr* of the Aḥmadī mosque, reforms had already been introduced in 1312 (1894/5), when Ibrāhīm al-Zawāhīrī, who was appointed *shaykh* of the Aḥmadī mosque in the latter year, was also made responsible for the supervision of the *ṣundūq*. It reportedly had a four-fold yield after 1312 than when it was previously controlled by the *khulafā*' of the shrine; cf. *Dhikrā*, 28.

During al-Zawāhīrī's term of office which was to last until 1326 (1908), and probably owing to his initiative, it became forbidden to enter the shrine with drums or any other instruments; cf. *Dhikrā*, *ibid*. In addition, the long-standing tradition by which the shrine-intendant of the Aḥmadī mosque was also *wakīl* of al-Bakrī, was discontinued at some time during this period; cf. F.Or.A. 385-11/44 (30 March 1904).

I have been told by various prominent members of al-Shinnāwiyya al-Aḥmadiyya, that the ceremonial entrance of the shrine by the *shaykh al-sajjāda* of their *ṭarīqa* mounted on a donkey, as described by Lane, 249, was also discontinued owing to prohibition by al-Zawāhīrī.

¹⁵⁸ At the beginning of the 20th century, however, some *ṭuruq* continued to claim right of *qadam* in certain areas and disputes originating in such claims are known to have occurred; see Muḥammad 'Umar, *Hādir al-Miṣriyyīn aw Sirr Ta'akhhurihim*, Cairo 1902, 253; cf. Abū Rayya, 45.

as was thereafter expressed in the article providing for their formal abolition. Muḥammad Tawfiq seems to have made no effort to revive an administration centred on these rights. This, however, is not surprising since, even if it had been possible to return to such a type of administration, this would have implied a considerable involvement of government agencies, and therefore it would still have been impossible for him to establish the independent organization that he apparently desired.

The majority of the articles in the last section dealt with ritual practice and dogma. In these the traditionally required presence of a *khālifa* during a *ḥaḍra* was formalized (art. 3), while it was made incumbent upon the *khulafā* as well as upon the heads of the *ṭuruq*, to assemble with their disciples for a *ḥaḍra*, as well as for religious instruction and guidance,¹⁵⁹ at least once a week. In addition it contained a provision (cf. art. 2) intended to exclude from the *ṭuruq* anybody who adhered to the doctrines of *ḥulūl*, *ittiḥād*¹⁶⁰ and similar tenets. Since the earliest phase of Islamic mysticism these doctrines had been a matter of controversy¹⁶¹ which had involved, among others, 'Alī Abū l-Nūr al-Jirbī, the head of al-Idrīsīyya al-Shādhiliyya, in the early nineties.¹⁶²

159 In order to allow the heads of the *ṭuruq* and the *khulafā*' to prepare themselves for this task in a suitable way, Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī had a manual compiled under his supervision which was published under the title *Kitāb al-Ta'lim wa l-Irshād* in Cairo as early as 1317 (1899). As noted already by Sarkīs, *Mu'jam*, 581, most of its contents were taken from al-Ghazzālī's *Ihya'*. Various connecting passages, however, have clearly been written by Muḥammad Tawfiq himself; cf. N.-C.D., 'L'Aristocratie religieuse', 282 f.

With respect to the *Kitāb al-Ta'lim*, D.B. Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, New York 1911, 169, states: "But he evidently, at one time did feel that he had to draw the line at some point or other and so in a moment of unwonted energy, he got some of his assistants to compile a textbook for the use of the shaykhs in charge of the derwish fraternities". Besides the fact that this passage (as well as another passage in the book; cf. 182) contains a superfluously derogatory reference to Muḥammad Tawfiq, which would seem to express the author's stereotyped contempt for orientals and their ways, it also shows that Macdonald must have been unaware of the existence of the various regulations pertaining to the *ṭuruq*, since he falsely presents the attempt for reform he must have heard about while in Cairo, as having been generated by this book.

160 *Ḥulūl*; the indwelling of God in a creature; cf. L. Massignon/G.C. Anawati, 'Ḥulūl' in *E.I.*², iii, 570 f. and G.C. Anawati et L. Gardet, *Mystique Musulmane. Aspects et Tendances-Experiences et Techniques*, Paris 1961, 43, 33. *Ittiḥād*: identification of the Divine and human natures; cf. R. Nicholson/G.C. Anawati, 'Ittiḥād', *E.I.*², iv, 282–283.

161 Cf. al-Tawīl, chapter 9, *passim*; Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, 162; 'Abd al-Qādir Maḥmūd, *Al-Falsafat al-Sūfiyya fī l-Islām, Maṣādiruhā wa Nazariyyātuḥā wa Makānuḥā min al-Dīn wa l-Ḥayā*, Cairo 1967, 230 ff.

162 See 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm, 'Al-Ṭuruq wa Iṣlāḥuhā', *Al-Ustādḥ*, 35 (1893), 828–843, *passim*.

The majority of the articles, however, were directed against the ritual practices regarded as *bida'*, which 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī had sought to eliminate two decades earlier. They therefore contained a number of directives for the *dhikr* (arts. 2 and 3) stipulating that it should be restricted to the praise of God and that all the letters of the names of God used in the *dhikr* should be pronounced, and also forbade the various forms of self-mutilation and the eating of serpents, insects etc. during a *ḥaḍra*. An article was also included which fixed the order of the *ṭuruq* in processions,¹⁶³ and prohibited the holding of processions in the daytime, unless ordered by the *shaykh mashayikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya (bāb al-mashyakha)*. In addition, it restricted participation on horseback in these events to the heads of the *ṭuruq* or their deputies (*nuwwāb*) and declared that nothing was to take place in a procession diverging from lawful behaviour (art. 7).

Moreover, it was forbidden for members of a *ṭarīqa* to walk with flags in front of a funeral procession. This was quite a common practice also at funeral processions of those who had not been *ṭarīqa* members.¹⁶⁴ The *khalīfa* and his men used to receive a fee for participating with their flags on these occasions and sometimes for holding a *dhikr* during and as part of funeral processions as well as around the corpse before it was placed in the grave.¹⁶⁵ Therefore, directly or indirectly, since it was not unusual for a *khalīfa* to hire out his flags or their implements (see above p. 98), this prohibition affected the income of the *khulafā'*. The relevant article, however, was not a categorical prohibition of this practice, since it stipulated that special permission for participation with flags in funeral processions could be obtained from the *bāb al-mashyakha*. This

163 In some cities a fixed rank-order in processions existed, sanctioned by tradition and agreed upon by the local *ṭuruq* officials; cf. F.Or.A. 283, v-11(18)/4 (22 Raj. 1296). For Cairo, the rank-order in the *maḥmal* procession had been fixed since 1872; cf. chapter 2, note 157.

164 Cf. Lane, 519, 522; *Al-Manār*, i (1898), 786, and D. Sladen, *Oriental Cairo. The City of the "Arabian Nights"*, London 1911, 219 ff. For a late 19th century condemnation of this practice as *bid'a*, see Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Ḥalwānī (1253–1308: 1837/8–1890/1), *Wasā'il al-Raḥamāt fīmā yuṭlabu li-man māt*, Cairo 1956, 344.

165 Cf. Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb al-Subkī, *Tuḥfat al-Abṣār wa l-Baṣā'ir fī Bayān Kayfiyyat al-Sayr ma' al-Janāza ilā al-Maqābir*, Cairo 1316, 5; and also M. Galāl, 'Essai d' observations sur les rites funéraires en Egypte actuelle. Relevees dans certaines régions campagnardes', *R. E. I.*, 1937, 177.

For a discussion of the various legal and theological issues involved, see Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Ṣaghīr, *Fath al-Qadīr 'alā al-Amīr fīmā yata'allaqu bi-l-Dhikr amām al-Janā'iz*, Cairo 1325; and also 'Abd Rabbihī b. Sulaymān al-Qalyūbī, *Fayḍ al-Wahhāb fī Bayān Ahl al-Ḥaqq wa man ḍalla 'an al-Ṣawāb*, vi vols., Cairo 1957–1966, iv, 159 ff., which contains a defence of the custom of *dhikr* during a funeral by a contemporary Azharī scholar (d. 1968).

fact, as well as the lack of specification of the forbidden practices in this section compared with the explicitness found in the circular drawn up by ‘Abd al-Bāqī, suggests that Muḥammad Tawfiq had tried to formulate a set of rules pertinent to the elimination of *bidaʿ*, which would be acceptable to the heads of the *ṭuruq* and could be presented at the same time as measures living up to the increased demand for *iṣlāḥ* by the reformists.

6 The Reformist Calls for *Iṣlāḥ* of the *Ṭuruq*

The necessity for *iṣlāḥ* of the *ṭuruq* had already been recognized by Muhammad Tawfiq himself as early as 1893, in a treatise with the title of *Al-Mustaḡbal li-l-Islām*.¹⁶⁶ The ideas expressed upon this subject, as well as the general themes discussed in this booklet, are very much in accordance with the spirit of the time and betray the influence of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, whom Muḥammad Tawfiq had met in Istanbul in 1892.¹⁶⁷ This makes it understandable therefore, that when Muḥammad Tawfiq had assumed office as *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, a man like ‘Abd Allāh al-Nadīm expressed his confidence that he would exterminate *bidaʿ* rampant among the members of the *ṭuruq* and work for their return to the *sunna*.¹⁶⁸

Being newly appointed as head of the *ṭuruq*, however, Muḥammad Tawfiq was not yet in a position to take such action, which would have been detrimental to his efforts to re-establish his authority. He therefore refrained from taking any measures aimed at the elimination of *bidaʿ* and resisted pressure to do so, like the pressure exercised upon him by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā in a number of personal contacts in the course of 1897,¹⁶⁹ and from 1898 onwards in his periodical *Al-Manār* where he published articles critical of *taṣawwuf* in Egypt in particular.¹⁷⁰

Reformist criticism of *taṣawwuf* became more intense and frequent at the beginning of the twentieth century. Notable among its critics were authors

166 Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī, *Al-Mustaḡbal li-l-Islām*, Cairo 1310, n.d., 18. For a summary of its contents see N.-C.D., ‘L’Aristocratie religieuse’, 281f.

167 Cf. Fahmī, 47 f., and ‘Abd Allāh al-Nadīm, ‘Al-Ṭuruq wa mā fihā min al-Bidaʿ’, *Al-Ustādh*, 34 (1893), 841. The same article may be found in Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Muntaṣir (ed.), *Maqālat al-Nadīm*, Cairo 1909, 114 ff.; and in a different edition of the same collection of essays, Cairo: al-Mt. al-Jadīda, n.d., 52 ff. For al-Nadīm’s ideas about *iṣlāḥ* of the *ṭuruq* see also his ‘Al-Ṭuruq wa Iṣlāḥuhā’, *Al-Ustādh*, 35 (1893), 828 ff.

168 Cf. al-Nadīm, ‘Al-Ṭuruq wa mā fihā min al-Bidaʿ’ 786 ff.

169 Riḍā, i, 129.

170 See e.g. *Al-Manār*, i (1898), 119, 401, 404 ff., 423 ff.; ii (1899), 401 ff.; iv (1901), 594 ff.

like ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Zahrāwī,¹⁷¹ Muḥammad ‘Umar¹⁷² and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī,¹⁷³ whose writings, since they attacked a religious tradition of which Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī was the foremost representative and, at least in Egypt, was almost its symbol, virtually amounted to an attack upon al-Bakrī himself.

Possibly in response to the criticism expressed by these authors, and at least in accordance with the increasing demand for *iṣlāḥ* of the *ṭuruq*, Muḥammad Tawfiq, as he himself states in his *Bayt al-Ṣiddiq*,¹⁷⁴ had drawn up most of the articles of the Internal Regulations pertaining to elimination, including article 6 which contained a clause defining the right to celebrate a *mawlid*, and providing for the elimination of *bida‘* during these events; and article 2 which contained a clause prohibiting the staging of a *zār*¹⁷⁵ in shrines.

The inclusion of article 9, however, which aimed at making it impossible for anyone belonging to a *ṭarīqa* to organize a *ḥaḍra* for commercial purposes, notably with the intention of parody or mere amusement of the public, appears rather superfluous, since a similar clause which made this and other forms of commercial exploitation of religion a criminal offence, was about to be included in what would be the new Egyptian Penal Code, due to come into force in 1904. That Muḥammad Tawfiq, who had recommended its inclusion in

171 ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Zahrāwī, *Al-Fiqh wa l-Taṣawwuf*, Cairo 1319. The author was president of *Al-Mu’tamar al-‘Arabī* in Paris; see Shafiq, ii/2, 376 and iii, 79 ff. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Zahrāwī was arrested in Syria, officially for the publication of this book. The real reason for his arrest, however, appears to have been an article he wrote on the caliphate; cf. Muḥammad ‘Abduh, *Al-Is̄lām wa l-Naṣrānīyya ma‘ al-‘Ilm wa l-Madanīyya*, Cairo 1341 (3rd ed.), 100. For his biography see *Al-Manār*, xix (1916), 196.

172 ‘Umar, 249 ff.

173 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-Qurā, Ḍabṭ Mufāwadāt wa Muqarrarāt Mu’tamar al-Nahḍa al-Islāmīyya al-Munaqīd fi Makka Sanat 1319*, Cairo n.d. (4th ed.; about 1320: 1902), 19.

174 *B.S.*, 21.

175 From among the numerous publications about the *zār* see e.g. P. Kahle, ‘Zar-Beschwörungen in Egypten’, *Der Islam*, 3 (1912), 1–41; E. Francke, ‘The Zār in Egypt’, *MW* 3 (1913), 275–289; W.S. Blackmann, *The Fellāḥin of Upper Egypt*. Their religious, social and industrial life to-day with special reference to survivals from ancient times, London 1927, 189 ff.; Amin, *Qāmūs*, 217; and Nafisa Badawī, ‘Al-Zār wa l-Ṭuqus al-Sihriyya’, *Majallat ‘Ilm al-Nafs al-‘Amm*, xvi (Cairo 1950), 50–69. The *zār* has also been the subject of an as yet unpublished M.A.-thesis: Fāṭima al-Miṣrī, ‘Al-Zār, Dirāsa Nafsiyya Ijtimā‘iyya’ (‘Ayn Shams University 1966). According to the author, the *zār* was not known in Egypt before the Egyptian occupation of the Sudan in the early 19th century, since it is not mentioned in the *Description de l’Égypte*, nor in Lane’s *Manners and Customs* or the report of J. Bowring (*Report on Egypt and Candia*, London 1840).

the Penal Code¹⁷⁶ nevertheless deemed it worthwhile to include an identical article in the Internal Regulations for the Ṭuruq, may very well have been the direct result of the publication of articles in Egyptian newspapers at the beginning of the twentieth century, criticizing the commercialization of religion in such performances where the public consisted mainly of Europeans.¹⁷⁷

Of the last two articles of the Regulations, one (art. 10) covered all eventualities by stipulating that the basic tenets of the *shari'a* and the prescribed rules would apply to every occurrence for which there was no special stipulation. The final article ordered punishments of reprimand, suspension and expulsion from all the ṭuruq, as had been customary at least since the days of 'Alī al-Bakrī, for the violation of any stipulation in the Regulations.

7 Opposition to and Acceptance of the Internal Regulations

When Muḥammad Tawfiq submitted the Regulations to the Ṣūfī Council in the autumn of 1903, however, its members, with the support of the heads of the ṭuruq and possibly acting under pressure from them, refused to give their approval. Among their objections, set out in a letter¹⁷⁸ from the Council's members to al-Bakrī, was that almost every article contained reference to a required permission or approval from al-Bakrī. In addition they maintained that the Regulations of 1903 were quite sufficient for the administration of the ṭuruq and there was no need for additions, and, moreover, that they were not in a position to proclaim any additions to regulations which had been issued by khedivial decree.

Their main objections, however, must have been that the Internal Regulations would make the proper functioning of the Council as the judicial and legislative body of the ṭuruq realm entirely dependent upon al-Bakrī, since it would be from him that most of the information would have to be obtained. This dependence, combined with the fact that the Council had only a very limited degree of control over the network of *wukalā'*, must have been considered

176 Cf. B.S., 22; Shuhdī, 125. The penalty for this offence could be a year's imprisonment or a fine of fifty pounds.

177 Cf. 'Umar, 250, and also *Al-Manār*, i (1898), 48, 924 ff. In particular the *ḥaḍarāt* held in the takīyat al-Mawlawiyya and the takīyat Qaṣr al-'Aynī after the Friday prayer had become veritable tourist attractions; cf. H. de Vaujany, *Le Caire et ses Environs. Caractères, Maurs, Coutumes des Égyptiens modernes*, Paris 1883, 317 ff.; K. Baedeker, *Egypt. Handbook for Travellers*, Leipzig/London 1885, 239.

178 MS Leiden, Or. 14431/VI (12 Jum. II 1321).

as a limitation to the potentially active role which had been allotted to the Council by the Regulations of 1903.

Moreover, they probably opposed the inclusion of the clauses pertaining to *bida'* for reasons which must have been identical to those that made the contents of the circular drawn up by 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī unacceptable almost a quarter of a century earlier. Less than two years later, however, in April 1905, the Šūfī Council accepted the Internal Regulations¹⁷⁹ which, in accordance with the Regulations of 1903 (art. 5), acquired the status of a decree applying to everybody designating himself a *šūfī*.

Both sets of Regulations in conjunction with each other gave the *ṭarīqa* administration a self-sufficiency and distinctiveness unmatched at any previous stage and therefore contained a guarantee of immunity from supervision by or incorporation into other institutions. For the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-šūfiyya* at the top of the administration, the Regulations provided more than ever before specificity, and autonomy of the authority allotted to it, recognized by the majority of the heads of the *ṭuruq* and their members, who were estimated at that time to be over one million.¹⁸⁰ Therefore it seems justifiable to state that no *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* before Muḥammad Tawfiq had held such great authority, at least with respect to the *ṭuruq*.¹⁸¹

How Muḥammad Tawfiq managed to induce the heads of the *ṭuruq*¹⁸² as represented by the Šūfī Council¹⁸³ to accept the Internal Regulations, is obscure. However, since hardly any effort was made to enforce the articles aimed at reforming ritual practice,¹⁸⁴ it seems likely that the Regulations had only been accepted with the knowledge, or possibly under the condition or with the guar-

179 It was accepted in a session of the Šūfī Council, convened for this purpose on 22 April 1905 (17 Safar 1323); cf. *Lā'ihat al-Ṭuruq al-Šūfiyya*, Cairo 1342, 4.

180 See p. 11 of the *Mu'ayyad-edition* mentioned in note 137. Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī estimates the total number of *ṭarīqa* members at 1,100,000.

181 For a different view, see D. Creelius, *The Emergence*, 117 f.

182 The names of the heads of these *ṭuruq* are given in the list on pages 181 and 182. The head of al-Rifā'iyya, however, was not yet Muḥammad Muḥammad Yāsīn, but his predecessor and father, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Yāsīn [Ḥusayn b. Muṣṭafā's son and successor (see above pages 37 and 69)], who died at the end of 1905. Also the first two *shaykhs* mentioned in the list did not attend the occasion since they had not yet been recognized as heads of *ṭarīqas*.

183 The Council's members were Muḥammad Nuwaytū, Muḥammad Mas'ūd, Muḥammad Yāsīn and Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghanī. The four deputy members were Muḥammad 'Āshūr, 'Abd al-Majīd al-Barmūnī, Muḥammad Aḥmad al-'Afifi, and Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Mirghani; cf. Ms Leiden, Or. 14431/v1 (12 Jum. 11 1321).

184 See the complaints about this in *Al-Mu'ayyad*, July 22 and 28 1915, and August 5 and 6 of the same year.

antee that these articles at least would not be enforced. This would suggest that the majority of these articles must have been introduced primarily as a response to the demands of the reformists in order to silence their increasing criticism.

Initially, this objective seems to have been accomplished successfully. But by the end of 1908, when the absence of any effort to implement these articles must have raised doubts about the seriousness of al-Bakrī's intentions in reformist circles, one of their most prominent representatives, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jāwīsh, criticized Muḥammad Tawfiq in an open letter which was published in Muṣṭafā Kāmil's daily, *Al-Liwā'*,¹⁸⁵ for not opposing the unlawful activities of the members of the *ṭuruq* during the *mawlid al-nabī* celebrations he had witnessed in that year. Neither al-Bakrī nor any of the heads of the officially recognized *ṭuruq* reacted to this attack, but maintained the silence that would be their characteristic response during the decades to come whenever they were attacked by those adhering to a non- or anti-mystical conception of Islam.¹⁸⁶

8 Status Changes of the Ṭuruq

By 1905, as appears from the article which regulates the order of precedence of the *ṭuruq* in processions (section 5, article 7), various *ṭuruq* which had hitherto been officially recognized in an earlier period had ceased to exist as such, viz. al-Jawhariyya, al-Sibā'iyya, al-Bandāriyya, al-Ḥifniyya, al-Zāhidiyya, al-Ḥumūdiyya, and al-'Arabiyya. For the first three *ṭuruq* mentioned, the change of status seems to have been the outcome of a gradual decline of active membership which set in when persons without capacity or ambition for *ṭarīqa* leadership were appointed as heads.

For al-Jawhariyya the change came after the death of Ḥasan al-Jawharī,¹⁸⁷ when his son 'Abd al-Laṭīf (d. 1949) became *shaykh* of the *ṭarīqa*, while for al-Sibā'iyya the decline set in at the turn of the century after Rāghib al-Sibā'ī's son

185 *Al-Liwā'*, 24 November 1908; quoted by Anwar al-Jundī, *'Abd al-'Azīz Jāwīsh, min Ruwwād al-Tarbiya wa l-Ṣiḥāfa wa l-Ijtimā'*, Cairo 1965, 208f. The sequence in which this event is presented by Fahmī in his monograph about Muḥammad Tawfiq, suggests that the letter was published directly after Muḥammad Tawfiq had assumed office. In my 'Al-mashayikh al-Bakriyya ...', I followed al-Jundī's dating, which is, however, incorrect.

186 See F. de Jong, 'Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-opposition in 20th century Egypt', in F. Rundgren (ed.), *Proceedings of the Vth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Uppsala/Leiden 1975, 84–96.

187 See page 111. I have not been able to secure the exact date of his death. According to the present-day head of the *ṭarīqa*, Rif al-Jawharī, Ḥasan must have died in the first decade of the 20th century.

Muḥammad had assumed office as this *ṭarīqa*'s supreme head (see above p. 147 and note 90).

The decline of al-Bandāriyya must also have begun around 1900, since 'Aṭiyya al-Ṣaghīr, the *shaykh* who had virtually made this *ṭarīqa*, died in 1899 and was succeeded by his son Ḥasan, who was inactive and indifferent; during his term of office even the *mawlid* of the principal saint of the *ṭarīqa*, 'Aṭiyya al-Kabīr, in al-Zaqāzīq had ceased to be celebrated.¹⁸⁸

Hardly anything is known of when and why al-'Arabiyya, al-Ḥifniyya, al-Zāhidiyya and al-Ḥumūdiyya ceased to exist as officially recognized *ṭuruq*. When, however, al-'Arabiyya had already lost its former status at the beginning of the twentieth century, 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Illaysh,¹⁸⁹ the son of Muḥammad 'Illaysh, the *shaykh al-sāda al-Mālikīyya* in al-Azhar, who had been the pre-eminent *shaykh* of al-'Arabiyya before 1882, claimed the leadership position for himself.¹⁹⁰ He does not seem to have taken the requirements of this position seriously, however, since he issued *ijāzat* from any *ṭarīqa* into which he had been initiated by his father¹⁹¹ to anyone applying for them.¹⁹² Moreover, he did not concern himself in any way with the consolidation of his position as the *ṭarīqa*'s leader or the position of his *ṭarīqa*,¹⁹³ which must have caused it to decline and vanish from history.¹⁹⁴

In the case of al-Ḥifniyya, which had a membership confined mainly to the Dimyāṭ area (see p. 115) loss of official recognition may very well have been the outcome of a decline in membership caused by the effective proselytization of

188 Related to me by Muḥammad Muḥammad Ḥasan, present-day *shaykh* of this *ṭarīqa* resident in al-Zaqāzīq. It was not until 1970, under his supervision, that *mawlid* celebrations were held again.

189 For biographical notes, see Maḥmūd, *Al-Madrasa al-Shādhiliyya*, 248ff. Like his father he held the office of *shaykh al-sāda l-Mālikīyya* in al-Azhar; *ibid.*, 249.

190 Cf. MS Leiden Or. 14431/VII, and also Maḥmūd, *Al-Madrasat al-Shādhiliyya*, 249.

191 As mentioned in MS Leiden Or. 14431/VIII (1321) these were al-Tijāniyya, al-Aḥmadiyya al-Shādhiliyya (*sic*), al-Rifā'iyya, al-Qādiriyya, al-Aḥmadiyyat al-Disūqiyya (*sic*), al-Sa'diyya, al-'Arabiyya al-Shādhiliyya, and presumably also al-Madaniyya; cf. *ibid.*/ix.

192 Cf. *ibid.*

193 This was suggested by the contents of a substantial number of 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Illaysh's personal papers, which I was able to consult in a private collection in Cairo. A number of these papers relevant to the *ṭuruq* in Egypt were purchased by the author. These are now part of the collection MS Leiden Or. 14431. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was an adherent of Ibn al-'Arabī's teachings, of which testimony is to be found in the Italian/Arabic monthly *Al-Nādī*, which was edited in Cairo between 1905 and 1910 by Dr. Enrico Insabato.

194 The latest reference to this *ṭarīqa* suggesting that it still had some active membership dates from 1928, is in an article in *Miṣr al-Ḥadītha al-Muṣawwara*, April–May 1928, no. 7; 20–23, under the title 'Al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya fī Miṣr'.

other *ṭuruq* in this area, in particular that of al-Qāwuḡiyya,¹⁹⁵ while the fact that al-Zāhidiyya ceased to figure among the officially recognized *ṭuruq* after the death of Muḥammad Sulaymān al-Dīrīnī, suggests that the existence of this *ṭarīqa* must have been entirely dependent upon his personality. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that it does not appear to have been active, except under his leadership, after the middle of the nineteenth century. Of this *ṭarīqa*, however, as well as of al-Ḥumūdiyya, which had also ceased to be among the officially recognized *ṭuruq* at the end of the nineteenth century after the death of its *shaykh* Muṣṭafā Ibrāhīm,¹⁹⁶ some nuclei of members remained active and both *ṭarīqas* experienced a revival when, around 1930, new *shaykhs* were invested with supreme authority over these *ṭarīqas*, thus restoring them to their former status.¹⁹⁷

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when most of the *ṭuruq* dealt with in the preceding section were in a state of decline, two new *ṭarīqas*, al-Mughāziyya al-Khalwatiyya and al-Ḥāmīdiyya al-Shādhiliyya were in the ascendant. The first *ṭarīqa* had been founded by Muḥammad ‘Āmir al-Mughāzī, a resident of al-Kūm al-Ṭawīl in the northern Delta. He had been initiated into two different branches of al-Khalwatiyya by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Sibā’ī and a certain ‘Alī l-Ma’addāwī, while his father, ‘Āmir, had initiated him into al-‘Afīyyat al-Shādhiliyya.¹⁹⁸ At the end of the 1870’s he assumed the intendency of the newly built shrine-mosque of his ancestor Muḥammad al-Mughāzī in al-Kafr al-Gharbī near al-Kūm al-Ṭawīl,¹⁹⁹ in succession to his cousin Sa’īd Abū Zayd, who had abdicated in his favour.²⁰⁰ From that moment he started to propagate a *ṭarīqa* of his own, not only in the northern Delta, but also in other areas, in particular in the north-east around Kafr al-Dawwār, where he lived

195 In particular by Muḥammad Khafājī; cf. page 110. In addition to the reference given there, see also Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mun’im Khafājī, *Banu Khafāja wa Ta’rikhuhum al-Siyāsī wa l-Adabī*, ix vols., 5 parts, Cairo 1950–1952, part 5, 96 ff.

196 The date of his death and the period during which he held office in succession to Muḥammad Khaḍīr (see page 69) are unknown. However, he must have died after Shawwāl 1310 (May/June 1893); cf. Shams al-Din, 26.

197 These *shaykhs* were Muḥammad al-Maghribī (d. 1953) for al-Ḥumūdiyya, and Ḥasan Yūsuf Khalīl (d. 1955) for al-Zāhidiyya.

198 ‘Āmir had been initiated by Aḥmad Minnat Allāh (d. 1292: 1875; cf. al-Kattānī, i, 94), who had been initiated by Muḥammad al-Bahī, a disciple of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-‘Afīfī (see above pages 25 and 110).

199 The shrine-mosque was built by the mother of Khedive Ismā’īl. On this and on the events which caused her to have this building erected, see Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Najāṭī, *Al-‘Ibar fi Kashf Asrār al-Qarn al-Thālith ‘Ashar*, Cairo 1316, 35 ff.

200 *Ibid.*, 39f. He had connections with Aḥmad ‘Urābī and ‘Abd Allāh al-Nadīm at the time of the ‘Urābī insurrection; cf. *ibid.*, *passim*.

towards the end of his life.²⁰¹ Throughout these areas he met with success, particularly in the course of the eighties when inadequate maintenance of rights of *qadam* facilitated proselytizing activities by those belonging to *ṭuruq* who could not claim such rights. Under his son and successor ‘Alī, who also succeeded him as intendant of the shrine in al-Kūm al-Ṭawīl,²⁰² the *ṭarīqa*’s *silsila* going back to al-Sibā’iyya was dropped, and the second *silsila* linking it with Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī’s version of al-Khalwatiyya through ‘Alī l-Ma’addāwī was stressed, apparently in order to give the *ṭarīqa* a more distinct identity.²⁰³ Owing to this distinctiveness and, it seems, to the fact that it had gained a substantial membership in various areas, the Ṣūfī Council granted it the status of officially recognized *ṭarīqa* in 1905, some time after it had accepted the Internal Regulations.²⁰⁴

About a year later, in 1906, al-Ḥāmidīyyat al-Shādhiliyya was also officially recognized.²⁰⁵ The founder of this *ṭarīqa*, Salāma Ḥasan al-Rāḍī (1866–1939)²⁰⁶ had been a member of al-Makkiyyat al-Fāsiyya in his early years.²⁰⁷ Later he had joined al-Qāwuqjiyya and became a *khalīfa* in this *ṭarīqa* for the Būlāq area where he lived.²⁰⁸ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, his

201 Ibid., 40.

202 Ibid.

203 Cf. ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Mughāzī, *Al-Fuyūdāt al-Ihsāniyya wa l-Tadrījāt al-Insāniyya fī Sayr al-Ṭarīq al-Khawatiyya bi-l-Munāsabāt al-Kawniyya*, Cairo 1301, 10, where this *silsila* is still given, with the *silsila* in the photocopied *ijāza* of the *ṭarīqa* with the date 1 Muḥarram 1356 (March 1937) in MS Leiden, Or. 14431/x.

204 It must have been at that time, since the *ṭarīqa* does not figure among the *ṭuruq* of which the rank-order in processions is fixed in section 5 article 7 of the Internal Regulations, while it is included in the list of officially recognized *ṭuruq*, which figures in *B.S.*, published in 1906; cf. *B.S.*, 381.

205 Cf. Salāma Ḥasan al-Rāḍī, *Al-Minaḥ al-Ḥāmidīyya fī l-Ḥikam wa l-Mawā’iz al-Shādhiliyya wa ba’ḍ Ahādīth Nabawiyya*, Cairo 1326, 99 ff. The various speeches delivered and poems read as part of the celebrations on the occasion of the official recognition are given here. On page 112 at the end of a *qaṣīda*, which was read during this event by Ḥasan al-Marzūqī, *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Madaniyya*, the year 1324 (1906), in which recognition was granted, is mentioned.

The monograph by M. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt. An Essay in the Sociology of Religion*, Oxford 1973, deals with this *ṭarīqa* in particular. For strictures on this study, see my review in *JSS*, xix/2 (Autumn 1974), 322–328.

206 The official biography of this *shaykh* written for the instruction of the *ṭarīqa*’s members is Sayf al-Naṣī Muḥammad al-‘Amīrī, *Sīrat al-Ḥāmidīyya*, Cairo 1965. Short biographies may also be found in al-Kūhin, 246 ff. and Mujāhid, *A’lām*, iii, 103 f.

207 Cf. al-‘Amīrī, 12. The Fāsiyya claim that he was initiated by Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Makkāwī, who was the principal *khalīfa* and of what of is still the main *zāwiya* of this *ṭarīqa* in Cairo, in al-Nāṣiriyya.

208 He was initiated by the founder of this *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad Abū ‘l-Maḥāsīn al-Qāwuqjī

provocative behaviour in a *majlis* held by Muḥammad Abū l-Faṭḥ, the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Qāwuqjiyya*, caused the latter to expel Salāma from the gathering.²⁰⁹

This action, which can hardly have been intended as anything more than a temporary disciplinary measure, caused Salāma to sever all relationships with his former *shaykh* and must have been the decisive incentive for establishing his own *ṭarīqa* independent of al-Qāwuqjiyya. In order to assert this fact he adopted the *silsila* of al-Fāsiyya,²¹⁰ into which he had been initiated before he had become a member of al-Qāwuqjiyya. The adoption of this *silsila* had the advantage of linking him with a respectable and well-known *ṭarīqa* without running the risk of the head of this *ṭarīqa* claiming authority over him, since al-Fāsiyya had ceased to exist as an officially recognized *ṭarīqa* at the end of the nineteenth century (see p. 132). His successful proselytization, followed by official recognition of his *ṭarīqa* by the Ṣūfī Council, was opposed by Muḥammad Abū l-Faṭḥ, the head of al-Qāwuqjiyya, who continued to consider Salāma as one of his *khulafā'*, and therefore as subject to his authority.²¹¹ But his claim had no support from Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī or from the members of the Ṣūfī Council, which decided in favour of official recognition of Salāma as *shaykh* of an independent *ṭarīqa* before the end of 1906, notwithstanding Muḥammad Abū l-Faṭḥ's objections and the proven fact that Salāma had been one of his *khulafā'*.²¹²

In the same year a branch of al-Sammāniyya was considered for official recognition. In the nineteenth century this *ṭarīqa* had spread not only in Egypt

himself. This fact is not mentioned in al-Āmirī's biography of Salāma and is flatly denied by the present-day Ḥāmidīyya. However, in a speech delivered during the celebrations on the occasion of the official recognition in 1906, this *shaykh* was referred to as the most eminent among Salāma's teachers; cf. al-Rāḍī, *Al-Minah*, 102.

209 The following account is based upon information I obtained from the late Ḥamid al-Laythī (d. 1971), who was one of the *ṭarīqa*'s principal *khulafā'* in Cairo and a member at the time of these events; and from the present-day head of al-Qāwuqjiyya, Riḍā b. Muḥammad Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Qāwuqjī. Their account was confirmed by many other informants.

210 In the earliest Fāsiyya *silsila* claimed by Salāma, a certain Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, a disciple of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn al-Makkī al-Fāsi, is mentioned as his *shaykh*; cf. al-Rāḍī, *Al-Minah*, 109. After 1926 he appears to have dropped this *silsila* and substituted for it a different one in which a certain 'Alī Marzūq al-Mālikī is mentioned as his *shaykh*; cf. Ibrāhīm Salāma al-Rāḍī, *Murshid al-Murīd fi l-Fiqh wa l-Taṣawwuf wa l-Tawhīd*, Cairo 1962, 61.

211 As I was informed by Riḍā Abū l-Faṭḥ, the officially recognized independent status of al-Ḥāmidīyya had not been acknowledged by him and those belonging to his *ṭarīqa*, until the present day.

212 Among those belonging to al-Qāwuqjiyya as well as among those belonging to other *ṭuruq*, there is a wide-spread conviction that Salāma paid a substantial bribe in order to obtain confirmation as *shaykh* of an independent *ṭarīqa*.

but also in the Sudan, where it was introduced around 1800 by Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib Ibn al-Baṣhīr (d. 1239: 1823),²¹³ a *khalīfa* of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān, the founder of the *ṭarīqa*. Under the leadership of Aḥmad’s son and successor, Nūr al-Dā’im (d. 1286: 1869),²¹⁴ it developed into one of the most widespread *ṭuruq* in the region before al-Mahdiyya.²¹⁵

Until then, the Egyptian *ṭuruq* received active government support and encouragement in their proselytizing efforts,²¹⁶ which carried their propagandists into Equatorial Africa, to the extreme limits of the Egyptian conquests.²¹⁷ The agents of al-Sa’diyya,²¹⁸ the Egyptian Qādiriyya and some Aḥmadiyya *ṭuruq* were particularly successful.²¹⁹ Theoretically the *khulafā’* of the Egyptian *ṭuruq* in the Sudan and their followers remained subject to the authority of the head of the *ṭarīqa* in Cairo and in the final resort to the authority of al-Bakrī, which extended to the Sudan as well.²²⁰ But neither al-Bakrī nor any of the heads of the Egyptian *ṭuruq* seem to have been able to exercise very much effective control in this area.²²¹ No institutional provisions which would have allowed for this, like those implied by and connected with the principle of right of *qadam*, were available and the various *ṭuruq*, al-Mīrghaniyya excepted, led an independent existence, mainly confined to the Sudan and without formal links with the Egyptian *ṭuruq* realm.²²²

213 For a biography see al-Ṭayyibī, 57 ff. For an outline of his teachings see ‘Abd al-Qādir Maḥmūd, *Al-Fikr al-Ṣūfī fī l-Sūdān*, Cairo 1968–1969, 71 ff.

214 For a biography, *ibid.* 111 ff.

215 Cf. F.Or.A. 284-v/24 (Report on the *ṭuruq* in the Sudan). In this report the number of his adherents is estimated to have numbered about one third of the (male) population.

216 Le Chatelier, *L’Islam au XIX^e siècle*, 89; *idem*, *Confréries*, 180.

217 Le Chatelier, *L’Islam*, 91.

218 Cf. Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 211. The principal propagator of this *ṭarīqa* in the Sudan in the second half of the 19th century was Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Qūṣī. He was charged with this mission by the then *shaykh al-sajjāda* Aḥmad Muḥammad al-Khuḍarī. Al-Qūṣī is the author of a collection of *qaṣā’id* in Sudanese colloquial, which were intended to be sung at the *ḥaḍarāt*. These were published under the title *Dīwān Sulṭān al-‘Ashīqīn al-‘Arīf bi-llāh ta’ālā Sīdī Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Qūṣī ...*, *al-musammā bi-l-Tuḥfat al-Duriyya fī l-Taghazzulāt al-Muḥammadiyya*, Būlāq 1309.

219 Le Chatelier, *L’Islam*, 89.

220 Le Chatelier, *Confréries*, 36.

221 Cf. Trimmingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, 200.

222 In addition to al-Sammāniyya these *ṭuruq* included various branches of al-Qādiriyya and of al-Shādhiliyya such as al-Rāshidiyya, al-Idrisiyya and al-Majdhūbiyya. See for the teachings of this *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad al-Majdhūb b. Qamar al-Dīn, *Al-Warīdāt al-Wahabiyya fī Awrād al-Ṭarīqat al-Majdhūbiyya*, Cairo 1381, and *idem*, *Al-Jumāna l-Yatīma fī Dhikr Mī’rāj al-Dhāt al-‘Azīma* (Lith.), n.p., n.d. (prior to 1301 A.H.), as well as al-Tijāniyya and a branch of al-Mīrghaniyya, al-Ismā’iliyya (for a summary of the teachings of this *ṭarīqa*, see Ismā’il b.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, a modified branch of al-Sammāniyya, led by Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib's grandson Muḥammad al-Sharīf (d. 1327: 1909),²²³ which the latter had named al-Ṭayyibiyya al-Sammāniyya al-Bakriyya,²²⁴ gained a membership in Egypt.²²⁵ Initially it remained confined to Aswān province only, but at the beginning of the twentieth century it had also gained adherents in Cairo.²²⁶ Here the *ṭarīqa* had a *nā'ib* for Egypt, a certain 'Uthmān Bāshā 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ibādī,²²⁷ who solicited unsuccessfully for official confirmation as head of al-Ṭayyibiyya al-Sammāniyya al-Bakriyya in Egypt in 1906. Why he was not granted this status is unknown: the Ṣūfī Council's decision must have partly been the result of the campaign mounted against him by Ibrāhīm al-Jamal (d. 1912), the *shaykh al-Sammāniyya* in Egypt,²²⁸ who probably regarded official recognition of al-Ibādī as a threat which would have weakened his own position in what must, by then, have been a rival relation-

'Abd Allāh, *Al-Uhūd al-Wāfiyyat al-Jalīyya fī Kayfiyyat Ṣifat al-Ṭarīqat al-Ismā'īliyya*, Cairo 1319).

223 For extensive biographical information see al-Bashīr, *Al-Adab al-Sūfī l-Sūdānī*, 84 ff., and for his modifications of al-Sammāniyya, *ibid.*, 88 ff. He held the office of *naqīb al-ashrāf* for the Sudan and was also known as *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* in that area; cf. *ibid.*, 89. This, however, can only have been an honorific, since no such office existed in the Sudan, either before al-Mahdiyya (cf. Trimmingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, 200) or after the Anglo-Egyptian re-conquest [cf. in P.R.O.-F.O. 141/479 (1916–1927), file 2217 (On al-Mirghani family), the letter from Sir Lee Stack, the British High Commissioner in Egypt to Sir Stewart Symes, the Governor-General of the Sudan. In this letter Stack advocates the promotion of a policy by which all the *ṭuruq* in the Sudan would have one acknowledged head, who would correspond to the *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* in Egypt. It is suggested that the position could be filled satisfactorily by 'Alī al-Mirghani, the supreme head of al-Mirghaniyya in the Sudan. This letter illustrates a change in British religious policy in the Sudan, which started near the beginning of the First World War; cf. G. Warburg, 'Religious policy in the Northern Sudan; 'Ulamā' and Ṣūfism, 1888–1918', *Asian and African Studies*, vii (1971), 89–119].

224 Here, al-Bakriyya refers to Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī. Al-Ṭayyibiyya is, of course, entirely different from the Moroccan order of the same name.

225 As communicated by 'Abd al-'Azīz Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Jamal, the present *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Sammāniyya* in Egypt; cf. al-Bashīr, *Al-Adab al-Ṣūfī*, 87.

226 *Ibid.*

227 He had been initiated by 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Sharīf; cf. F.Or.A. 284, v1/1 (29 Rab. 1 1324; and 21 Jum. 1 1326). The latter was the son of Muḥammad al-Sharīf; cf. Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib b. al-Bashīr, *Sirr al-Asrār*, n.p. 1320, 3.

228 Oral information from 'Abd al-'Azīz Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Jamal, the present *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Sammāniyya* in Egypt. I have not been able to secure more precise information about this matter. Ibrāhīm al-Jamal had been a *khalīfa* before he succeeded Ḥasan al-Sammān (see p. 73) as *shaykh al-Sammāniyya* in Egypt. Shortly before his death, Ibrāhīm became a member of the hay'at kibār al-'ulamā' in al-Azhar, instituted in 1911; cf. Wizārat al-Awqāf wa Shu'ūn al-Azhar, *Al-Azhar. Ta'rikhuhu wa Taṭawwuruhu*, Cairo 1964, 330 f.

ship.²²⁹ In addition, the Council may have been subjected to informal pressure at a high level from Muḥammad al-Sharīf, the head of the *ṭarīqa* in the Sudan, who was in Cairo at the time.²³⁰ He would have been able to influence the negative decision of the Council, since he was particularly connected with circles within al-Azhar and the government agencies.²³¹ He is likely to have used these contacts in his efforts to prevent the official recognition of his *nā'ib* as *shaykh al-Ṭayyibiyya* in Egypt, since it would have implied that the supreme representative of this *ṭarīqa* in Egypt could act without the legitimation of the head of the *ṭarīqa* in the Sudan, and would have made al-Ibādī entirely independent of Muḥammad al-Sharīf. Moreover, it would have amounted to the creation of a virtually independent Ṭayyibiyya order in Egypt, since official recognition of al-Ibādī as *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* would have given him authority over the members of al-Ṭayyibiyya in Egypt, from which Muḥammad al-Sharīf would then have been excluded. This can hardly have been an acceptable prospect for al-Sharīf, who could only act effectively through his contacts with the high Egyptian officials referred to above, since he had no official status in Egypt.

By 1906 the Ṣūfī Council had also re-admitted to the ranks of the officially recognized *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq*, the head of al-Shahāwiyya al-Burhāmiyya, Muḥammad Abū l-'Alā' al-Ḥusaynī.²³² The latter had ceased to be considered as one of them when he adopted a position of non-involvement in al-Bakrī's administration in 1895 (see p. 131 f.). So after al-Ḥāmidīyya had become an officially recognized *ṭarīqa* in 1906, the following thirty-three *shaykhs* held legal authority over *ṭuruq* which had this status:²³³

229 This rival relationship was still existent in the early 1970's.

230 Cf. al-Bashīr, *Al-Adab*, 87.

231 'Abd al-Mahmūd Nūr al-Dā'im, *Azāhir al-Riyāḍ fi Manāqib Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib*, Cairo 1954, chapter 2, *passim*.

232 Information obtained from the present-day head of the *ṭarīqa*, Abū l-Majd al-Shahāwī, corroborated by the fact that this *ṭarīqa* appears in the list of *ṭuruq* which were recognized by al-Bakrī in the second half of 1906, published in *B.S.*, 381. The title page of this book gives as the year of its publication A.H.1323 (8 March 1905–25 February 1906). The corpus of the book, however, must have been printed somewhat later, since it appears to have been brought up to date to at least April 1906; cf. *B.S.*, 25 f.

233 This list was compiled from various sources and verified with the present-day (1972) heads of all the *ṭuruq* mentioned in it with the exception of al-'Īsawiyya and al-Tihāmiyya. The last two *ṭarīqas* have ceased to function as officially recognized ones, under one central *shaykh*, although they still have an active membership in present-day Egypt. Muḥammad Khalīl al-Tihāmī may be identical with Muḥammad al-Tihāmī mentioned in the list reproduced on page 67. In documents in the possession of Muḥammad Wafā al-Bakrī, Muḥammad Khalīl was mentioned as *shaykh al-ṭarīqat al-Tihāmiyya* in 1906. Documents in the same collection mentioned 'Abduh Muḥammad al-Khayyātī as *shaykh al-ṭarīqat al-*

Salāma Ḥasan al-Rādī	al-Ḥāmidīyya al-Shādhiliyya
‘Alī al-Mughāzī	al-Mughāziyya al-Khalwatiyya
Muḥammad Muḥammad Yāsīn	al-Rifā‘iyya
Muḥammad Ibrāhīm ‘Alī	al-Imbābiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Maḥmūd Nuwaytū	al-Kannāsiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Ḥasan Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn	al-Marāziqa al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Shinnāwī	al-Shinnāwiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Manṣūr Kurayyim	al-‘Arūsiyya al-Shādhiliyya
‘Alī Abū l-Nūr al-Jirbī	al-Idrīsiyya al-Shādhiliyya
‘Abd al-Majīd Muḥammad al-Barmūnī	al-Qāsimiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Muḥammad Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Qāwuqjī	al-Qāwuqjiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Muḥammad Muḥammad Mashīna	al-Salāmiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Muḥammad Muḥammad Mas‘ūd	al-Qādiriyya al-Fāriḍiyya
‘Alī Muḥammad al-Qādirī	al-Qādiriyya al-Qāsimiyya

Ṭisawīyya in that year. According to ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Bannān, the principal *khalīfa* of the *ṭarīqa* in Alexandria and *khādīm* of the shrine of Abū l-Dardā, interviewed in early 1969, Muḥammad al-Khayyātī had been the direct successor of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭūbī (see the list on page 69). Al-*shaykh* ‘Alī al-Bannān mentioned Muḥammad al-Khayyātī as head of the *ṭarīqa* in the days of Aḥmad ‘Urābī. This statement is corroborated by mention of his name in F.Or.A. 283, III-10/4 (16 Raj. 1296). Reference to *al-shaykh* Darwish as *shaykh al-ṭarīqat al-Ḥandūshiyya* in 1906 was also contained in the forementioned documents. Between Muḥammad al-Ḥandūsh (see the list on page 67) and *al-shaykh* Darwish a certain Muḥammad al-Ḥabbānī held office; cf. F.Or.A. 283, III, 6–7 (23 Šaf. 1290). Details about the predecessors and the recognition of the first eighteen *shaykhs* mentioned in this list may be found in the relevant sections in chapters 3 and 4. The following seven *mashāyikh* had been immediate successors to their fathers who are mentioned in the list on page 69 f. Of the last six *mashāyikh* mentioned, Ḥasan Ḥasan Jād (d. 1928) had succeeded Muṣṭafā al-Naqqāsh, who was not related to him. Maḥmūd Ḥasan al-Junaydī (d. 1936) succeeded his brother Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Junaydī (d. 1904), who had succeeded his father Ḥasan Maḥmūd. Ḥasan Maḥmūd had been successor of his uncle Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (see the list on page 69), whose father Muṣṭafā had been *shaykh al-ṭarīqa al-Ḥalabīyya* in the first half of the 19th century (see page 36). This chain of succession is mentioned in an *ijāza* dated 17 Rajab 1350, in the possession of Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ḥamūda, *nā‘ib* of the *ṭarīqa* in Cairo (al-Jamāliyya). He had the kindness to show me this document and allowed me to copy it. ‘Abd al-Samī‘ al-Suṭūḥī had succeeded a cousin, ‘Āmir, who had been the successor of ‘Abd al-Samī‘’s brother Muḥammad. Muḥammad’s predecessor had been his father Sayyid, who had succeeded his brother Muḥammad, the son and successor of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, the *shaykh al-ṭarīqa al-Suṭūḥiyya* mentioned in the list on page 67. Muḥammad ‘Alī ‘Ashūr had succeeded his father ‘Alī who had succeeded his own father Muḥammad in his turn (see the list on page 67). Finally, Muḥammad ‘Uthmān Sīr al-Khatm (d. 1917; cf. al-Kattānī, i, 419), the *shaykh al-ṭarīqa al-Mirghaniyya*, had succeeded his uncle Muḥammad ‘Uthmān Tāj al-Sīr (d. 1886; cf. chapter 2, note 270), who had been the officially recognized head of the *ṭarīqa* in Egypt after Ibrāhīm Mubārak (see page 67).

Muḥammad Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Ḥusaynī	al-Shahāwiyya al-Burhāmiyya
Yūsuf al-Basyūnī al-Sharnūbī	al-Sharnūbiyya al-Burhāmiyya
Muḥammad Ismā‘īl Ḍayf	al-Ḍayfiyya al-Khalwatiyya
Ibrāhīm al-Jamal	al-Sammāniyya al-Khalwatiyya
Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Malawānī	al-Bayyūmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
‘Alī Aḥmad al-Minūfī	al-Manāyifa al-Aḥmadiyya
Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Shu‘aybī	al-Shu‘aybiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Maḥmūd ‘Atā’	al-Tasqiyāniyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Muḥammad Aḥmad al-‘Afifī	al-‘Afifiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Ḥasan Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Marzūqī	al-Madaniyya al-Shādhiliyya
Ḥamūda Muḥammad al-Khudarī	al-Sa‘diyya
al-Shaykh Darwīsh	al-Ḥandūshiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Muḥammad Khalīl al-Tihāmī	al-Tihāmiyya al-Shādhiliyya
‘Abduh Muḥammad al-Khayyātī	al-‘Īsawiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Ḥasan Ḥasan Jād	al-Salāmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
Maḥmūd Ḥasan al-Junaydī	al-Ḥalabiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
‘Abd al-Samī‘ al-Suṭūhī	al-Suṭūhiyya al-Shādhiliyya
Muḥammad ‘Alī ‘Āshur	al-Burhāmiyya
Muḥammad ‘Uthmān Sirr al-Khatm	al-Mirghaniyya

9 The Political Activities of Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī

With regard to Muḥammad Tawfiq’s abdication as *naqīb al-ashraf* early in 1895, which has already been touched upon in the preceding section, where the implications for his authority and the *ṭariqa* realm are discussed (see p. 158), he himself states in his *Bayt al-Ṣiddiq* that he renounced the office voluntarily when it appeared to him that Khedive ‘Abbās Ḥilmī suspected political motives behind his proposal to the *Majlis Shūrā al-Qawānīn* that one thousand pounds of the State budget should be reserved annually for al-Azhar as a contribution to the salaries of its scholars.²³⁴ From other accounts, however, it appears that the Khedive had ordered Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī to abdicate²³⁵ and that it was therefore certainly not a voluntary action. Moreover, the proposal itself was accepted and accomplished in its entirety, apparently without any objections from the Khedive, shortly afterwards.²³⁶ In view of this it would seem unlikely

234 B. S., 16.

235 Cf. Shafiq, ii/1, 214; Aḥmad Taymūr, *Tarājim A’yān al-Qarn al-Thālith ‘Ashar wa Awā’il al-Rābi’ ‘Ashar*, Cairo 1940, 82.

236 Cf. Zakhūrā, i, 224. The amount was not regarded as sufficient, however, to alleviate the

that the “political motives” of which the Khedive suspected Tawfiq were anything more than the suspicion that he had made the proposal to enhance his position by gaining a reputation as the patron of the financial interests of the scholars attached to al-Azhar. Therefore, the suggestion that the deposition of al-Bakrī as *naqīb* was a rather arbitrary act of the Khedive, inspired by his wish to curb al-Bakrī’s aspiration to political significance, which is put forward by Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī’s biographer, Māhir Ḥasan Fahmī,²³⁷ would seem acceptable. It would also seem that the inclusion of restrictions upon al-Bakrī’s authority in the Regulations of 1895 was, if not directly animated by, at least in accordance with, the Khedive’s wishes.

The lack of any indication of protest by Muḥammad Tawfiq against the deposition, suggests that he had accepted the Khedive’s inimical act with apparent ease. This is not surprising in view of the contents of the regulations for the *niqābat al-ashrāf* of which promulgation was pending at the time.²³⁸ These made the incumbent of the office virtually an official within the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* and subordinate to its *nāẓir*. Moreover, the financial rewards of the office would not be attractive since its incumbent was obliged to submit to the *Dīwān*, after expenses, any surplus of revenues accruing to him out of his management of the *awqāf al-ashrāf*.²³⁹ The first *naqīb* who became subject to the new Regulations was ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Biblāwī,²⁴⁰ a former *khaṭīb* and *shaykh* of al-Ḥusayn mosque, who assumed office about two months after the abdication of Muḥammad Tawfiq.

This event marked the beginning of a period in which the relationship between al-Bakrī and the Khedive grew progressively worse when the Khedive sought to mobilize Ottoman support in his attempts to assert his position over

destitute circumstances under which many Azharī scholars were living; cf. Muḥammad al-Zawāhirī, *Al-‘Ilm wa al-‘Ulamā’ wa Niẓām al-Ta’līm*, Ṭantā 1904, 82, 302 ff.

237 Fahmī, 92 ff.

238 It was promulgated in June 13 1895, see *Al-Waqā’i’ al-Miṣriyya*, no. 67 (17 June 1895), 1424, and F.Or.A. 384-1/5 (3 Muḥ. 1313). For a French translation see R.E.I. (1929), 327 f.

239 In the past the yearly balance of revenues and expenses made up by the *naqīb* had been a source of recurrent conflict; see e.g. DWQ, *maḥfaẓa* 15 (Ma’iyya Turkī); p. 77, *mus.* 117 (19 Muḥ. 1274). In Egypt as well as elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, the *naqīb al-ashrāf* used to send an annual gift to the *naqīb* in Istanbul, to whom he had already paid a premium upon his appointment; cf. Gibb & Bowen, 1/2, 100. In 1289 (1872) this gift, made by ‘Alī al-Bakrī, consisted of 40 *majīdis*; cf. F.Or.A. 284, 11-24/1 (10 *Sha’bān* 1289). When this practice was discontinued is not apparent from the documents in the Leiden collection or from any of the documents in the private possession of members of the Bakrī family in Cairo, that I have consulted.

240 For biographies, see Taymūr, 81 ff., and al-Biblāwī, 57 ff.

Lord Cromer, the British proconsul.²⁴¹ Any strengthening of the ties between Egypt and the Porte, however, was totally unacceptable to al-Bakrī, since it ran counter to the unadulterated Egyptian nationalism he advocated.²⁴² He had therefore shown himself aggressively antagonistic towards the Khedive's policy, and would have faced legal prosecution for lese-majesty on at least one occasion but for Cromer's intervention.²⁴³ Cromer probably acted in order to prevent the setting aside of a religious dignitary whose public expression of pronounced anti-khedivial sentiments²⁴⁴ played well into his hands in the power-struggle he carried on with the Khedive. For Muḥammad Tawfīq the result of Cromer's intervention was to force him into the uncomfortable position of being one of Cromer's protégés which, in view of the nationalism he adhered to, can hardly have been desirable.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Khedive changed his policy and turned towards the Egyptian nationalists in his effort to achieve freedom from British overlordship.²⁴⁵ This led to a considerable improvement in the relations between al-Bakrī and the Khedive²⁴⁶ who again installed al-Bakrī as *naqīb al-ashrāf* in succession to 'Alī al-Biblāwī when the latter was appointed *shaykh al-Azhar* in early 1903.²⁴⁷ To al-Bakrī, the only attraction which remained in the office of *naqīb* must have been the prestige and the salary attached to it, since he voluntarily ceded his rights of administering the *awqāf al-ashrāf* and of distributing the revenue, to the *Dīwān* which he would have served otherwise merely as an official.²⁴⁸

241 See e.g. Fahmī, 91, and Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid [Marsot], *Egypt and Cromer. A study in Anglo-Egyptian Relations*, London 1968, 118f.

242 Cf. Fahmī, chapter 7, *passim*.

243 He was accused of having been the co-author, together with Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī, of a *qaṣīda* slandering the Khedive, which was published in *Al-Ṣā'īqa*. Owing to Cromer's intervention, a British public prosecutor was appointed for the case, and he acquitted al-Bakrī. The editor of *Al-Ṣā'īqa*, Aḥmad Fu'ād, however, and al-Manfalūṭī, were sentenced to imprisonment and fines; cf. Shafiq, ii/1, 248f.; and Muḥammad Ḥusayn, *Al-Ittijāhāt al-Waṭaniyya fi l-Adab al-Mu'āsir*, ii vols., Cairo 1954–1956, i, 94. According to the well-known Egyptian writer Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād, there is no doubt that the *qaṣīda* was written by al-Bakrī alone; cf. Fahmī, 96.

244 Fahmī, chapter 8, *passim*. The same anti-khedivial sentiments must have induced him to inform Cromer occasionally about the decisions of the *Majlis Shūrā al-Qawānīn* (Legislative Council), which were meant to be secret; cf. [Marsot], *Egypt and Cromer*, 119.

245 Cf. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent*, 222.

246 Cf. Fahmī, 100.

247 A mediatory role was played to this effect by 'Alī Yūsuf; cf. Taymūr, 83; F.Or.A. 284, 1-7/2 (16 Ḥijja 1320).

248 F.Or.A. 285-11/35 (8 March 1903).

Concomitant to and as the result of the *rapprochement* between Khedive ‘Abbās Ḥilmī and al-Bakrī, the latter gradually became more implicated in the Khedive’s policy, notably in his efforts aimed at the deposition of the *muftī* of Egypt, Muḥammad ‘Abduh, who was a protégé of Cromer’s,²⁴⁹ when the Khedive called upon him to mediate on various occasions.²⁵⁰

In addition to acting as a mediator, he presented himself politically as an advocate of parliamentary government for which he campaigned, not only inside the Legislative Council but also outside through the medium of the press.²⁵¹ This was particularly the case after he had presented his demands for political reform in an open letter, which was published in the nationalistic daily *Al-Mu‘ayyad* in April 1906, to the Prince of Wales (later George V) who was visiting Egypt at that time.²⁵² It caused considerable agitation²⁵³ and gave al-Bakrī if not political significance,²⁵⁴ at least notoriety to which he also contributed by his activities in support of the pan-Islamic movement.²⁵⁵ From 1907 onwards, however, relations between al-Bakrī and the Khedive became strained again when Eldon Gorst, who had succeeded Cromer as proconsul at the beginning of

249 See Shafīq, ii/2, 34 ff., 95 f.; Fahmī, 103 ff.

250 See e.g. Shafīq, ii/1, 348.

251 See his ‘Al-Ḥukūmat al-Shūraniyya’ in *Al-Muqtaṭaf*, ‘ii (1907), 992–998, and his interview given to the daily *Al-Liwā’,* reproduced in Fahmī, 77 ff. For an extensive discussion of Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī as a publicist and as a literator see Fahmī, 119 ff. For the short-lived predecessor of the Academy of the Arabic Language, which was established by him in 1892, see Fahmī, chapter 6.

252 Shafīq, ii/2, 93 f.; *B.S.*, 25 f.

253 Cf. Shafīq, ii/2, 94.

254 Cromer in his *Modern Egypt*, ii, 177, states that Muḥammad Tawfīq sank into political insignificance soon after he had succeeded his deceased brother. This contention is not confirmed by the references made by Aḥmad Shafīq in his *Mudhakkirātī* to the role al-Bakrī played in various political events of the day. It is not clear what may have moved Cromer to reduce al-Bakrī’s stature to these proportions, but it can be interpreted as an intentional effort to belittle him, possibly as an expression of the repulsion Cromer may have felt for the megalomaniac nature of al-Bakrī.

255 He presided over the preliminary meetings for the foundation of the Universal Islamic Congress (*Al-Mu‘tamar al-Islāmī l-‘Āmm*), proposed by Ismā‘īl Gasprinsky (see Z.V. Togan, ‘Gasparli (Gasprinsky), Ismā‘īl’, *E.I.*², ii, 979 ff.), and held in his palace in al-Ḥurūnfish in Cairo at the end of 1907; see Fahmī, 83 f.; *R.M.M.*, and iv (1908), 103 ff.

Notwithstanding his publicly professed nationalism and the great admiration he showed for Muṣṭafā Kāmil (cf. Fahmī, 80), Muḥammad Tawfīq does not seem to have committed himself to the National Party (*Al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī*) founded by the former in 1907. Nor did he involve himself with any of the other parties founded in the three or four years before his abdication. If he had not been affected by mental disorder and had still remained in office, he might well have become actively involved in the petty party-politics so characteristic of Egyptian political life in the following decades.

that year, managed to win the Khedive away from the nationalists with whom he had been working just before Cromer's resignation, and obtained his support for British policies.²⁵⁶ This caused the relationship between al-Bakrī and the Khedive to deteriorate²⁵⁷ into one of mutual distrust and hostility, which must have contributed to the severe paranoia that forced al-Bakrī to abdicate all his offices at the end of 1911.²⁵⁸

256 Tignor, 296, and Yūnān Labib Rizq, *Al-Ḥayāt al-Ḥizbiyya fi Miṣr fi 'Ahd al-Ihtilāl al-Barīṭānī, 1882–1914*, Cairo 1970, 193 ff. Fahmī in his biography of Muḥammad Tawfiq states that the latter expressed basically socialist ideas and presumes that this must have been one of the most pre-eminent reasons for the strained relationships between al-Bakrī and the Khedive. This interpretation seems too tendentious to need any further comment.

257 A manifestation of the deterioration in their relationships was the interview al-Bakrī granted to the daily *Al-Liwā'*, in which he criticised the Khedive's view that the precondition for the granting of a constitution was maturity of the nation; cf. Fahmī, 77 ff., where this interview is reproduced. See also Fahmī, 106 f.

258 He abdicated concomitantly as member of the Legislative Council and the General Assembly; see Fahmī, 111 f., *Shafīq* ii/2, 184 f. *Shafīq* refers to al-Bakrī's illness in his discussion of the events of the year 1909 and implies that al-Bakrī left Egypt for the asylum "al-'Uṣfūriyya" in Beirut in that very same year (cf. *Shafīq*, ii/2, 184 f.). Fahmī, however, who states that he owes his information about Muḥammad Tawfiq's abdication to members of the Bakrī family consulted by him in the early sixties, gives 1912 as the year of his abdication and departure for the Lebanon. (He returned to Egypt in 1928 and died in Cairo in August 1932). In my paper 'Al-mashāyikh al-Bakriyya and the transformation of their authority in 19th-century Egypt' I gave 1912 as the year in which Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī abdicated, following Fahmī. After this paper had gone to the press, however, I was informed by Muḥammad Wafā al-Bakrī the son of Muḥammad Tawfiq's successor 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Bakrī (d. 1940), in a private letter that the dates given by *Shafīq* as well as by Fahmī are incorrect, since his father took office in early 1911. This contention is confirmed by the fact that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd is referred to as *shaykh al-mashāyikh* in the text of the resolution of the Ṣūfi Council by which al-Ghunaymiyya al-Khalwatiyya was recognized as an official *ṭariqa*, dated 29 Jumādā 1 1329 (28 June 1911), published in Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im Khafāji, *Al-Ṣūfi l-Mujaddid al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ghunaymi l-Taftāzānī*, Cairo 1951, 53 f. Al-Ghunaymiyya had originally been a sub-section (*bayt*) within al-Rifā'iyya. Since it did not become truly schismatic until the end of the first decade of the 20th century it is not dealt with in the present study.

'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Bakrī, the son of Muḥammad Tawfiq's brother 'Abd al-Bāqī, was also *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Wafā'iyya* from 20 May 1906 when he succeeded his father-in-law, Aḥmad 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Sādāt (see Zakhūrā. i, 185 ff. for a biography), who had died in the same year without male issue (cf. *B.s.*, 136 f.). The appointment of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd as *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya* in succession to Muḥammad Tawfiq in 1911 contravened the *Lā'iḥat al-Dākhiliyya* (2nd section art. 2), which prohibited appointment of a single *shaykh* as head of two *ṭariqas*. This explains why he abdicated as *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Wafā'iyya* in early 1912. He was succeeded on 6 March 1912 by 'Alī Yūsuf, another son-in-law of Aḥmad 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Sādāt, who held the office until his death on 25 October 1913; cf. 'Abd al-Laṭif Ḥamza, *Adab al-Maqālat al-Ṣuḥūfiyya fi Miṣr*, Cairo 1951, iv, 62 ff. For additional



FIGURE 6
Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī towards the end
of his life

10 Summary

With the promulgation of the Regulations for the Ṣūfī Orders by khedivial decree in 1895, a new and distinct era started for institutionalized Islamic mysticism in Egypt. They abrogated all that was contained in the circular drawn up by ‘Abd al-Bāqī in 1881, transformed the authority position held by the *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* over the *ṭuruq* from an authority position legitimated by tradition into one of the rational-legal type and provided it with a new legal base, which made it possible for Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī to regain the authority over the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions which had gradually declined under his predecessor. A revised version of these Regulations was promulgated in 1903. It contained a number of amendments which had been desired by Muḥammad Tawfiq, strengthening his position in various ways, as well as provisions which brought its contents in line with *awqāf* reforms implemented in that same year, excluding *takāyā*, *zawāyā* and shrines supported by *awqāf* from any source, from the jurisdiction of the *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-sūfiyya*. These amended Regulations, however, proved to be an insufficient basis for effective administration of the rudimentary bureaucratic system

biographical information about ‘Abd al-Ḥamid, see the article in *Al-Zuhūr*, iii/4 (June 1912), 203–207, under the title ‘Naqīb al-Ashrāf wa Shaykh Mashāyikh al-Ṭuruq Samāhat al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ḥamid al-Bakrī’.

they created and induced Muḥammad Tawfiq to draw up a set of supplementary rules, the so-called Internal Regulations for the *Ṭuruq*, which came into force in 1905. By these Regulations the principle of right of *qadam*, which had become entirely redundant by the end of the nineteenth century, was formally abolished. In conjunction with the regulations of 1903, the Internal Regulations guaranteed the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* an unprecedented high degree of specificity and autonomy of the authority allotted to it, while they gave a self-sufficiency and distinctiveness to the *ṭuruq* administration in its totality, unmatched at any previous stage. The Internal Regulations, together with the regulations of 1903, were to be the constitution for the *ṭuruq* establishment until 1976.

Epilogue

The distinctive administrative arrangements structuring the organization of Islamic mysticism in Egypt for most of the 19th century, make this period stand out as unique in the history of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions in that country. This period can be characterized most meaningfully as “the age of *qadam*”, thus referring to the principle which had become pivotal to this organization in the first decades of the 19th century and around which the administration of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions continued to revolve until the 1890’s when this principle became redundant.

The official abolition of the principle of *qadam* in 1905 marked the beginning of a new era for the *ṭuruq* in Egypt. This new era—in which the *ṭuruq* would be subject to the two sets of regulations which were the outcome of a process of administrative decline in consequence of inadequate maintenance of rights of *qadam*, and which was to last until 1976 when these regulations were abolished and replaced by new ones¹—and the era preceding the era of *qadam*, could be referred to most conveniently as the “post-*qadam* era” and the “pre-*qadam* era”. Such a tentative periodization² is not intended to provide a typological division but is only proposed as a temporal framework for historical sequences, i.e. for areas of continuity which are discontinuous from those which preceded or succeeded them but which may be defined in relation to one another, according to the presence or absence of the principle of right of *qadam* and other characteristics. These characteristics, which need to be determined in the course of further study, will allow for a comparative analysis of the various organizational and structural aspects of Islamic mysticism in these distinct eras. This would enable us to discern the configuration of the *ṭuruq* realm as part of the configuration of the wider society and to attempt to follow the development of both in conjunction with each other, which might thus allow for the more precise location of the transitional period between the pre-*qadam* era and the era of *qadam* than is feasible at present.

Research conducted along these lines is bound to confirm or to disprove the hypothesis which is implicit to my conjectures about the meaning of the term *arbāb al-sajājid* (see p. 12), and the observations on the decline of the guilds and the increased prominence of the *ṭuruq* (see p. 66 f.). I should like to present

1 Cf. *Al-Muslim*, xxvii/3 (Cairo, September 1976), 26 ff.

2 On the problem of periodization, see the relevant chapter in G. Leff, *History and Social Theory*, New York 1971, which has been the principal source of inspiration for the following considerations.

this hypothesis more explicitly as follows: the apogee of the *ṭuruq* in Egypt, in terms of social significance, the number of people involved and the functions performed, was not in the 18th century, as is the prevalent view,³ but in the 19th, coinciding with and in consequence of the decline of the guilds which had been the pre-eminent form of social organization in the pre-*qadam* era.

In addition, the era of *qadam* itself could be subject to more detailed research which would seem to be most promising if conducted as prosopography, i.e. by means of the historical approach that identifies and relates a group of persons within a particular historical context (institution).⁴ In the specific case of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions, this approach might consist of a close biographical analysis of the elites that were in control of these organizations in order to arrive at a better understanding of the way in which each of these organizations functioned as entities in themselves. This prosopographical approach could centre first of all upon the Bakrī family with the aim of producing a more detailed history of this family than has been presented in the course of this study. Secondly, it could concentrate upon each of the families to which the heads of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions belonged. To this type of study the numerous names and additional details mentioned in this book can serve as equally numerous leads towards the relevant documents in Cairene archival collections.

This prosopographical approach should also allow for a fuller understanding of the basis of authority of each of the individual heads, which has chiefly been analysed in relation to the authority of the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya* and not so much as an independent variable affecting the growth, decline and status of the *ṭuruq* and *ṭuruq*-linked institutions over which this authority was exercised. Here, the limitations of our scope of analysis are owing to the limitations set by the amount of source material available for consultation in the Egyptian archives and could consequently be improved upon.

In conjunction with the analysis of authority as an independent variable affecting the status, the growth and the decline of the *ṭuruq*, the significance of “the Way”, i.e. of each *ṭariqa*’s teaching, religious practice and material culture, for its rise and decline might be assessed. Such an assessment, however, requires knowledge of the social background of a *ṭariqa*’s membership. This in its turn presupposes detailed knowledge of the social stratification of Egyptian society in order to provide for a valid explanation of the interaction of socio-economic variables and aspects of “*ṭariqa*-culture” affecting a *ṭariqa*’s growth

3 See e.g. Hey worth-Dunne, 10; and also Gibb & Bowen, i, 76; and Raymond, *Artisans*, 434.

4 On this approach, see A. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. xii, *Reconsiderations*, London 1961; 118, 121–124.

or decline. As yet, however, this knowledge is deplorably inadequate, and so it has only been possible to offer structural explanations for these phenomena, without going more deeply into matters pertaining to “the Way” than was required for the explanation of matters pertaining to the organization of the *turuq*-realm. This realm might be studied in relation to the content of the various “Ways” once the fore-mentioned gaps in our knowledge are filled at some time in the future.

Translation of the *Firmān* Issued by Muḥammad ‘Alī, Viceroy of Egypt, Investing Muḥammad Efendī al-Bakrī with Authority over the *Ṭuruq* and *Ṭuruq*-Linked Institutions

Note 1: Words between round brackets stand in the Arabic original; occasionally an Arabic equivalent is given between round brackets as well. Words between square brackets have been added to convey more accurate meaning.

Note 2: Translated from the text published in *B.S.*, 377, together with consultation of a photocopy of the original document (F.Or.A. 284, 11/3).

The noble edict,¹ the acceptance (and) honouring and observance of which is obligatory, has been issued in writing from the *Dīwān* of Cairo² the Protected by God, to our lord the supreme master, the possessor of merit and pride, his majesty *al-sayyid* Muḥammad Wafā Abī l-Anwār al-Sādāt,³ may his eminency last forever; (and) to the glory of the venerable nobles, Aḥmad Efendī,⁴ may his eminency increase; (and) to our magnanimous lord, the most erudite of mankind, his majesty the *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Shanawānī, *shaykh* of al-Azhar mosque; (and) to our lords the masters, the outstanding ‘*ulamā*’ in al-Azhar Mosque; and to all the heads of the praiseworthy *ṭuruq* and their numerous members⁵ in Cairo the Protected by God, informing them that the glory of the masters, the nobles (*al-ashrāf*) and of those in charge of the splendid *sajjā'id*, *al-sayyid* Muḥammad Efendī al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī, grandson of the family of al-Ḥasan, may his eminency increase, has been appointed to the *mashyakha* and to accession to the *sajjāda* of his forebears the masters of al-Bakriyya and to hold authority over (*fi l-takallum ‘alā*) the mystical associations (*tawā’if al-fuqarā’ al-ṣūfiyya*) and over the (remaining) *takāyā* (and) *zawāyā* and shrines succeeding his father, the deceased *sayyid* Muḥammad al-Bakrī. By virtue of the legal decision given to him he has been

1 In the Arabic text the term *al-marsūm al-sharīf* is used instead of *al-firmān al-sharīf*. In Egypt *firmān* and *marsūm* were used as equivalent terms; cf. Deny, 146.

2 This was the *Dīwān* of the viceroy. After 1253 (1837) it was known as *dīwān-i khedīvi* or *dīwān-i mulkiye-i Miṣr*. Concerning this and other *dawāwīn* existent at that time, see Deny, 104ff.

3 Cf. chapter 1, note 76.

4 Reference is to Aḥmad Abū l-Iqbāl (1228–1273), the nephew of Muḥammad Wafā b. Abī l-Sādāt and his successor as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Wafā’iyya*; cf. page 31.

5 For my translation of *arbāb al-ashāyir al-‘adīda*; cf. chapter 1, note 8.

given power in the *mashyakha* mentioned according to the custom of his ancestors Banū al-Şiddīq, and that which pertains to them and [to take] decisions of government among the *fuqarā'* [i.e. the members of the *ṭuruq*] in accordance with their ancient laws, their lasting customs and with regard to their proper rules. Accordingly, we issue this noble edict from the *Dāvān* of Cairo the Protected by God, by His benevolence (that He may be exalted), in order that action will be in accordance with its purport and exigency. Upon the noble hand and the magnificent seal reliance can be placed.⁶

27 Shawwāl 1227 Muḥammad 'Alī (seal)

⁶ This line appears only in the original document and not in the text published in *B.S.*

Translation of the *Maḥḍar* Setting out the Demarcation of the Areas of Authority of the *Shaykh al-Sajjāda al-Bakriyya*, Muḥammad Efendī al-Bakrī, and the *Shaykh al-Azhar*, Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī

Note: Translated from the text published in *B.S.*, 42–44. See chapter 1, note 175.

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. Thanks be to God the Lord of the Worlds and blessing and peace be upon the Lord of the Messengers. On a, blessed Sunday corresponding to 19 Shaʿbān of the year 1263, (twelve hundred and sixty-three), the *shaykh al-Islām* and the most erudite of mankind, the *shaykh* Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī; and his majesty, pride of the *ʿulamāʾ*, *shaykh al-Mālikīyya*, Muḥammad Ḥabashī; his majesty, the cave and shelter, the most erudite *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Maghribī; the right honourable master, the upholder and eminent one, the *shaykh* ʿUthmān al-Sādī; the learned, most erudite *shaykh* ʿAlī Khalīfa; and his majesty the eminent *shaykh* Aḥmad Minnā, did attend the council of the supreme master *al-sayyid* al-Bakrī, the present *naqīb al-ashrāf* may his eminency last for ever.

Agreement has been reached between all of these and his majesty the *shaykh* Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī mentioned [above], before the reading of the noble *firmān* of his appointment over al-Azhar Mosque, that he is in the best condition and [having] the most perfect (quality) of the perfections, which are required by the appearance [i.e. dignity] of the position of *shaykh al-Azhar* in conformity with the position of the forebears (*al-salaf*), and that it will be in conformity with the principles well-known to all, consistent with all dispositions, praiseworthy in their own right, and [because of] the emanation of mildness [from them], and without obstruction to the affairs which do not come under the competencies of al-Azhar Mosque, like those pertaining to the *zawāyā* and the *fuqarāʾ* (i.e. the members of the *ṭuruq*), who are under the jurisdiction of his excellency *al-sayyid* al-Bakrī, such as the Qurʾān reading in the *zawāyā*, the *mashyakhāt al-maqārīʾ*¹ and the offices of intendants of shrines (*khilāfat al-aḍriha*), like [that of] *al-sayyid* al-Badawī, and the heads of the *takāyā*, the shrines and the *ṭuruq*. He has

1 I.e. the supreme authority position in the corporation of Qurʾān-readers.

no right to intervene in any of these. If a case is presented to him which has to do with that which is under the jurisdiction of His Excellency *al-sayyid* al-Bakrī, like the descendants of the Prophet and the heads of the *ṭuruq*, he has to transfer it to their above-mentioned judge, the arbiter according to the forementioned principles. (The) ordinance in important matters has to be in consultation with all the principals of al-Azhar (*ru'asā' al-Azhar*) and in cases pertaining to the students (*al-mujāwirūn*), these will be transferred to the *mashāyikh* of their hostels (*arwiqa*) and if (their) settlement permits these [cases] will be transferred to his Majesty the *shaykh* *al-Mālikīyya* when he is a Mālikī or to the *shaykh* *al-Ḥanafīyya* if he is a Ḥanafī or with the [Shāfi'ī] one if he is a Shāfi'ī, according to the principles decreed by the *Dīwān*² and registered herewith, so that everybody will be at ease, since no one will trespass [upon] another. He has to give [careful] consideration to what is connected with the interests of the Mosque and with *al-mishaddūn*³ and the soldiers, the servants of the students (*al-mujāwirūn*). No one of them will remain unless he is fit for this respectable service, as is required by the dignity of the supervising authority, so that none but people of perfection, knowledge and piety will approach his majesty; since a man is known by his companions.

By this [deed] is submitted the statement which had come from those mentioned concerning his Excellency [Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī] to his Excellency the Deputy Viceroy of Egypt, may his glory last (for ever). They have testified about what they make known in it concerning the perfections of knowledge, righteousness, piety and maturity, and his Excellency the *shaykh* mentioned has obliged himself to do all that has been mentioned, demanding that what they testified about will last and ratifying what they said about him in his absence. Therefore the sovereign speedily granted the request when they asked, and he is also aware of the condition of the master mentioned [i.e. al-Bayjūrī]. We ask God to perpetuate [his state] and [let it become] better (more) and we ask from Him, the praised one, success for him and all [of us] by the blessing of our lord Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and our lord al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī and [all] those belonging to the house of the Prophet (altogether).

2 I.e. by the khedivial *Dīwān*; cf. appendix 1, note 3.

3 I.e. those responsible for order and discipline in its widest sense. *Mishaddūn* were also officials attached to an *iltizām*—their task, however, was of an entirely different nature; cf. Ibrāhīm Zaki; *Al-Ḥālat al-Māliyya wa l-Taṭawwur al-Ḥukūmi wa l-Ijtimā'ī fī 'Ahd al-Ḥamlā al-Firansīyya wa Muḥammad 'Alī*, Cairo n.d., 102f.; and Rivlin, 28f.

Translation of a Circular Issued by the *Shaykh al-Bakrī* to All the Chiefs of the Religious Sects

Note: The transcript of this Crown-copyright record in the Public Record Office, London (F.O. 78/3321; 9 February 1881), appears by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

In order to approach God one must be pious and refrain from all wordly commitments to evil. This can be attained by conforming strictly to the precepts of our religious Laws and condemning innovations. Having this in view and desirous of avoiding everything that might bring our religion into ridicule, we have issued this circular to the different religious sects praying Almighty God to lead us all to the right path.

Art. 1

It is necessary that the “Zikrs”¹ be performed with due reverence, respect, and quietness as becomes the presence of Almighty God and to refrain from bad behaviour and everything contrary to religion such as joking, indecent words and the like; and in short, “zikrs” must be restricted to the praise of God. And all innovations² in fairs,³ processions etc. are hereby abolished.⁴

1 The terms *dhikr* (spelled as *zīkr* in this document) and *ḥadra* are often employed as synonyms in colloquial usage—then as well as today. Strictly speaking, however, the term *dhikr* applies only to the continuous repetition of some of the names of God in different tempi and often with movements of the head and upper body. The *dhikr* proper is generally preceded by the communal reading in a loud voice of the office (*ḥizb*) and prayers. The whole ritual is called *ḥadra*. This distinction is adopted in this study.

2 The word *bidaʿ* must have been used in the original Arabic text.

3 I.e. *mawālīd*.

4 The articles following contain explicit restrictions upon the various practices on these occasions which were considered as *bidaʿ* committed by those belonging to the *ṭuruq*. This makes it likely that article 1 was aimed at different kinds of innovations, which were in no way part of their performances, like e.g. the mock copulation by “Alī Kākā”, described by Aḥmad Shafīq, i, 78. For general remarks about the role of ‘Alī Kākā in Egyptian folklore, cf. Amīn, 288.

Art. 2

It is strictly prohibited to hold fairs and ceremonies in the towns and villages without special permission from the Chief Sheikh⁵ or from his Deputy who will grant the necessary permit should there be a precedent to such fair or ceremony provided always that it be conducted in a decent manner and only for the recital of the Koran and prayers.

Art. 3

The use of the sword,⁶ the eating of live coal, serpents, glass, the striking of oneself with cannon-balls and the like⁷ in public processions or fairs are hereby strictly prohibited.

Art. 4

The carrying of banners must only be entrusted to full-grown men belonging to one of the sects and not to boys as heretofore.

Art. 5

The beating of drums in processions etc. whether at night or in the day is prohibited, except inside the "Tikiyas" (*sic*) and only on the nights of the anniversary of certain Sheikhs.⁸

Art. 6

No religious assemblies are to take place in the public thoroughfares but inside the houses of Sheikhs and their deputies⁹ and to be conducted with due reverence and respect.

5 I.e. the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya*.

6 The Arabic must have been "*ḍarb al-silāḥ*"; cf. chapter 2, note 316.

7 Reference could be to the practice of beating oneself with bundles of wooden strips or sticks or with clubs covered with nails (*zarwata*), common among the members of al-Ḥandūshīyya; cf. Crapanzano, 201.

8 I.e. on the so-called *laylat al-kabīra*, the last night of a *mawlid*.

9 I.e. *khulafā'* and *nuwwāb*.

Art. 7

In fairs only the prayer to God and to the Prophet are to be recited as is the case in Cairo in the fair of the Prophet.

Art. 8

No fairs or ceremonies are to be held in disreputable places either at night or in the day and no prayers are to be recited therein.

Art. 9

No Sheikh of one of the sects or his deputy is allowed to take away from any Kalifa, any banners, drums, tents or lamps made by him.¹⁰ Also no such Kalifa is allowed to hire out or pawn such things but to be only used by the sect to which he belongs.

Art. 10

No fairs are to be held in honour of a living Sheikh¹¹ or in commemoration of a dead one unless it has been done before and only after obtaining permission to this effect from the Grand Sheikh or his deputy.

Art. 11

No Sheikh belonging to one of the sects has a right to suspend any of his deputies either in Cairo or in the villages before submitting to us the motives for such a suspension and only after the decision of the Tribunal¹² which may be convened to examine the case.

Art. 12

No Sheikh or any of his deputies is allowed to interfere in the affairs of another Sheikh.

¹⁰ On these attributes see chapter 1, note 8.

¹¹ In none of my sources did I come across any reference to this practice. The fact, however, that this explicit prohibition is included, suggests that it must have been not unusual.

¹² This must be the translation of *Majlis al-Qadīyya*, which, as appears from the Leiden documents, was the current term, and not of *maḥkama* as one is lightly led to suppose.

Art. 13

No Sheikh or any of his deputies can lay a complaint respecting the affairs of his sect except before the General Sheikh or his deputies outside Cairo.

Art. 14

It is prohibited from granting to “Hemaliyyas” (water carriers) certificates from any of the sects, but the fact of their being initiated into the mysteries is sufficient.¹³

Art. 15

No person belonging to one sect can leave it and be affiliated into another and the Sheikh to whom the application is made must first inquire that such a person has obtained his licence¹⁴ and after taking the necessary oath to be entrusted with secrets of the new sect. But should it be proved afterwards that he is unworthy he should be expelled from both sects and no other sect must admit him.

Art. 16

The Kalifas must not parade the streets on the day of “Ashoura”.¹⁵

13 According to Lane, 329, the “hemalees” were mostly members of al-Rifā’iyya and of al-Bayyūmiyya. In the early 1870’s, the *shaykh al-tariqat al-Bayyūmiyya*, ‘Abd al-Ghanī l-Malawānī, claimed the right to appoint one of his *nawwāb* in Alexandria as *shaykh* of a guild of water-carriers in that city, presumably since the majority of the members of this guild were members of his *tariqa*. His claims, however, were opposed by the authorities and by the *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya* (cf. F.Or.A. 283, 11-23/4 (3 Sha’bān 1289); 11-26/1 (18 Sha’bān 1289)) who seems to have held a certain degree of autonomous jurisdiction over the *himāliyya*; cf. Aḥkām’, *Al-Jarīdat al-Qaḍā’iyya*, 10. *Himāliyya* were exempted from paying the *firda* (see chapter 1, note 183), owing to what was perceived as the religious nature of their occupation; cf. A. Raymond, ‘Les porteurs d’eau du Caire’, *BIFAO*, lvii (1958), 198. It is likely that the connection between some of the guilds of water-carriers and some of the *turuq* gave rise to a practice by which an *ijāzāt khilāfa* issued to a *himālī* served as evidence of guild-membership and consequently allowed its bearer to claim the privilege of exemption from payment of the *firda*. Abolition of the *firda*-tax in 1872 had not put an end to the practice of water-carriers being provided with *ijāzāt* by reason of their occupation, as appears from article 14 of the Circular aiming at elimination of this custom which must have been considered potentially harmful to the *turuq* realm, since it allowed unqualified persons to act as *khulafā’* in their own right.

14 I.e. the *ijāza*.

15 This used to be done with the intention of collecting alms; cf. Lane, 434.

Art. 17

All processions should be conducted with perfect order and only banners are allowed to be carried.

Art. 18

All "Zikrs" at fairs etc, are to be conducted with due reverence and respect and in the presence of a duly authorized Sheikh. No unauthorized Sheikh can conduct a "Zikr" and if he contravenes their injunction he shall be punished. Only prayers are to be recited but songs are prohibited.

Art. 19

The "Madaheen"¹⁶ are from this day abolished from the cemeteries.

Art. 20

No grave-yard keeper is allowed to permit men and women to meet on the Fridays in cemeteries but must fix separate hours for each sex.¹⁷

Art. 21

No coffee shops are permitted to be established either in places of worship or in cemeteries.

Art. 22

All processions and ceremonies inaugurated within the last ten years are hereby abolished.

16 According to Baer, *Guilds*, 175, the term encompassed singers as well as storytellers. S. Spiro, *An Arabic-English Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, Cairo/London 1895, 559, gives a different meaning: *maddāh* (pl. *maddāhīn*), street beggar, who sings the praises of God.

17 From this clause it appears that the grave-yard keeper (*turabī*) had a certain authority to restrict access to the cemeteries by one sex or the other. This aspect of social organization remains to be investigated, in conjunction with the whole "grave-yard" culture in Egypt, which has as yet not been the object of scholarly study to the degree it deserves.

Art. 23

The “Dossehs” in all the fairs are from this day abolished.

Art. 24

No processions composed of the different sects are to take place either in circumcision or in marriage ceremonies.

Art. 25

No drums are to be beaten in “Zikrs” when women attend.¹⁸

Art. 26

The Zikrs performed by the “Shaziliyah” sect must be conducted on the same principle as other Zikrs.

Art. 27

It is necessary that fairs, ceremonies and processions must be performed in accordance with these rules.

Art. 28

All lunatics and those who let loose their hair on the plea that they are holy men, must be arrested by the police and sent either to a hospital or to a lunatic asylum.¹⁹

Art. 29

No Sheikh of any sect is allowed to initiate any beardless young man into the mysteries of the order, but only men with beards who are well acquainted with the precepts of their religion.

¹⁸ I.e. on the occasions when this is allowed as stipulated in article 5.

¹⁹ It is not known to what extent this was accomplished.

Translation of the Regulations for the *Ṭuruq* (*Lā'ihat al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya*) of 1895

Note: Translation from the Arabic text, published in *Al-Waqā'ir al-Miṣriyya*, no. 67 (17 June 1895), 1426.

Art. 1

The appointment of the heads of the *ṭuruq*, their removal from their offices or their suspension for a definite period, the arbitration in their disputes, in particular [those] relative to the *ṭuruq* and (the) judgement about the complaints, (which are) directed towards them concerning this arbitration, will be with the knowledge of a special council formed in the manner described in the third article.

Art. 2

The deposition and the appointment of the *mashāyikh al-takāyā*, *al-sajājīd* and *al-aḍriḥa* to which no *ashāyir* belong, will be according to the stipulations made by the endower (*wāqif*). But with respect to those who have *ashāyir* and salaries from the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* or from another *nāzīr*, no deposition and no appointment will be made without approval from the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* or the other *nāzīr*, dependent upon the view of the Council, and if the *Dīwān* or the *nāzīr* do not agree with the Council's view, the *ashāyir* will be given to [one] whom the Council appoints and the salaries will (continue) [be paid] as usual.

Art. 3

The Council mentioned will be made of the chief (*ra'īs*) of the *mashāyikh* appointed by the Khedive in the function of president, and four permanent members from the heads of the *ṭuruq*. They are [to be] elected by majority vote, by a general assembly attended by at least twenty *shaykhs* from among the heads of the *ṭuruq* resident in Cairo. Four deputies (to these) will also be elected according to the same rules. They will (be) [sit] in their place when [the former] are excused for not attending the Council. The elections will be in the *Dīwān* of the Governor of Cairo and presided over by his Excellency the Governor. They will be held every three years and also, if it proves [to be] necessary, for the appointment [of a person] instead of him who resigns or dies.

Art. 4

If the president is prevented from coming, he must delegate one of the members to preside over Council.

Art. 5

The proceedings of the Council and its judgements will be in accordance with the rules (as) generally accepted (in) [by those belonging to] the *turuq*, provided that they do not (exceed) [infringe] the judgements of the sacred law.

Art. 6

The Council will be convened once every month, unless there is no need for its assembly [to which effect] the president should submit a request [for postponement] to [the members of] the Council or [concerning which] a request should be submitted to the president by three members of the Council.

Art. 7

Any one of the members or the deputies who has been too late for four sessions a year without excuse is considered [as having] resigned and another [member] will be elected.

Art. 8

If one of the claimants litigates [with] one of the members [of the Council], the Council [is to] decree whether (he) [the member] will remain [in office] or be replaced by (somebody else from) [one of] the deputies [during the proceedings for this] (in the) case.

Art. 9

The hearing of cases in the Council will [follow the mode of] (be like their) hearings in the Shar'iyya Court (*majlis al-qaḍā' al-sharī*) and according to the sequence of receipt [of cases]. No (other) case will be submitted for examination unless [the] (its) termination [of the previous one] allows for it.

Art. 10

After the hearing of the case and its detailed presentation there will be (the) consultation between the members of the Council and [their] (its) verdict taken by majority vote will be issued by a decree certified by [them] (it). The president will be entrusted with its implementation. When necessary (the) mediation [by] (from the side of) the government [officials] will take place in its implementation with consideration of what has been stipulated in article two.

Art. 11

The president [is to] regulate(s) the [proper] arrangement of the sessions.

Art. 12

The resolution of conflicts among (the) *khulafā'* or with (the) *murīdūn*, or among (the) *murīdūn*, will remain (of) the prerogative(s) of their *mashāyikh* (i.e. the heads of the *ṭuruq*).

Art. 13

Claims from members of the *ṭuruq* against [a] (one of the) head(s) (of the *ṭuruq*) are to be dealt with and settled [exclusively] with knowledge of the Council.

Art. 14

[With respect to] the present heads of the *ṭuruq* no elections will take place. They will remain in (their) office(s).

Art. 15

The provisions of this Regulation will come into force from the date of its publication in the governmental newspaper (*Al-Jarīdat al-Rasmīyya*).

Art. 16

The implementation of this Regulation rests with the Ministry of the Interior.

23 *Dhū l-Ḥijja* 1312/16 June 1895 For the Prime Minister, the Minister of War, Muṣṭafā Fahmī.

Translation of the Amended Regulations for the *Ṭuruq (Lā'ihat al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya)* of 1903

Note: Translation from the Arabic text published in *Al-Waqā'ir al-Miṣriyya*, no. 61 (3 June 1903), 997 f. It was published together with the *Lā'iha al-Dākhiliyya* (see appendix 4) in 1905 (Cairo: Mṭ. al-Mu'ayyad) and again in 1342: 1923/4 (Cairo, no publisher mentioned). This text may also be found as an appendix to Shuhdī. *Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī*, and in the monthly *Al-Muslim*, iii (1953)/3–4, 23 ff. In the present translation, articles identical to articles in the *lā'iha* of 1895 have been omitted.

Art. 2

The removal of the *mashāyikh al-aḍriha*, *al-takāyā* and *al-sajājīd* and appointments made in their stead will be as follows:

Firstly: [For] the *takāyā* and the shrines which have no income and no salary, either from the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* or from the government, and [also for] the *sajājīd*, discharge and appointment (instead) will be with knowledge of the Council described in the third article.

Secondly: [For] the *takāyā* and the shrines, which have income or salary from the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* or from the government, whatever this income and salary may be, this [right] will be [exercised] in accordance with that which is stipulated in the regulations of the *Dīwān al-Awqāf* issued by khedivial decree on 13 July, 1895.

Thirdly: [For] the *takāyā* and the shrines which have legally appointed *nuzẓār*, the appointment of a *shaykh* (to these) will [rest with] be (according to) the opinion of the *nāẓir*, and if a provision [in this respect] made by an endower (*shart wāqif*) is found, [appointment will be] in accordance with this provision.

Art. 3

The [fore-]mentioned Council will be made up of the *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* appointed by the Khedive, in [the] function of president, and four members from the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* elected by the president from among eight persons from the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* elected by a general assembly attended by at least twenty-five per-

sons from among the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq*, by majority vote.*¹ (The elections will be in the *Dīwān* of the Governor of Cairo and presided over by his Excellency the Governor).

For the rest this article is identical to article 3 of the *Lā'iḥa* of 1895.

Art. 5

Addition: All decrees issued by [the Council] (it) forbidding something or permitting something, in conformity with the Law, will apply to everybody who designates himself as *ṣūfī* (*bi-ḥuwān al-ṣūfiyya*).

Art. 12

Absolutely no fees at all will be taken for (the) cases (which are) examined in front of the Ṣūfī Council, the agents (*wukalā'*) of the *mashyakhat* [*al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*, i.e. al-Bakrī] or the heads of the *ṭuruq*. Also, no fees will be taken for (the) appointments whatever their nature.

Art. 13

Conflicts involving [aspects] of *al-ṣūfiyya*, and which are between members of the same *ṭarīqa*, will be dealt with by the *shaykh* of [this] *ṭarīqa*. The opposing parties have the right of appeal to the Ṣūfī Council mentioned in the third article. As far as [conflicts] between members of different *ṭuruq* are concerned, (these) will be examined in front of the Ṣūfī Council if these have occurred in Cairo. If they have occurred in the provinces, they will be looked into by the deputies of the *mashyakha*. The opposing parties have the right of appeal to this Council.

Art. 14

The claims relative to *al-ṣūfiyya* by members of the *ṭuruq* against one of the *mashāyikh* will be dealt with and settled by the Council [exclusively].

5 Rabi' 1 1321/1 June 1903 Muṣṭafā Fahmī

1 * In October 1910 the following section was added here: If the prescribed number is not complete during the first session, the General Assembly will be postponed to another session of which the absent *mashāyikh* will be informed. [In] this second session the meeting of the Assembly will be valid as soon as at least 15 *shaykhs* attend it.

Translation of the Internal Regulations for the *Ṭuruq* (al-Lā'ihat al-Dākhiliyya li-l-Ṭuruq al-Şūfiyya) of 1905

Note: Translation from the Arabic text published in Cairo in 1342/1923–1924; cf. appendix 5, note 1. This edition has the heading *Lā'ihat al-Ijrā'āt al-Dākhiliyya li-l-Ṭuruq al-Şūfiyya*. As appended to Shuhdī's biography of Aḥmad al-Şāwī the Regulations have the heading *Lā'ihat al-Dākhiliyya li-l-Ṭuruq al-Şūfiyya*. See also chapter 4, note 137.

First section

Art. 1

The Council will meet in the headquarters of the *mashyakhat al-mashāyikh al-şūfiyya* every first Saturday of every Arabic month, except for holidays and festivals. More sessions may be convened if need be.

Art. 2

The following registers (*dafātir*) should be (kept) by the general *mashyakh*: one *daftar* [for registering] (in which are registered) the cases which are submitted in the course of a year [all consecutively] (case after case) with a number for every case—this number will be a reference[-number] to the case—and giving explicitly the date of its registration, the name and surname of the claimant and the defendant, the subject of the case, the date of the session (which has been) fixed for the hearing of the case and a summary of the judgement [given] or the decrees issued in [relation to] it, one *daftar* for [copies of] outgoing correspondence, one *daftar* for incoming correspondence, one *daftar* for the registration of all *mashāyikh* of the *ṭuruq*, the shrines, the *takāyā*, the *zawāyā* and the like.

Art. 3

For every case a procès-verbal will be opened in a special dossier in which everything occurring in the course of the legal proceedings will be recorded with explicit mention of the date of (the convening of) every session, the name of its chairman and the members [who attend the session] (of whom the session consists), the number of the case,

the names of the parties concerned, confirmation of [the] presence (of him who has been present) and (of) [the] absence (of him who has been absent) of members, the statements and requests of the parties concerned, the number of documents they submit, the statement[s] of witnesses, the decrees issued by [those in] (the) session, either about postponement of the legal proceedings to another session or [the] giving of a judgement (in it). Together with the decision of postponement should be [recorded] the clarification of the causes—whether the postponement of the session has been because of the need (of) [for] completion [i.e. to complete the investigations, and the gathering of further information relative to the case], or [has been requested] by one of the parties for acceptable reasons—followed by explicit mention of the date of the session to which the legal proceedings have been postponed.

Art. 4

[It is the responsibility of] the secretary¹ to give the number of the case to the claimant if [indeed] the case has been raised by him [i.e. if it has not been raised by any of the members of the Council or its president] in a note (*qasīma*; lit.: a coupon) in which the date of the session [is mentioned] and moreover [records the name of the] (makes known the other) opposing party.

Art. 5

The papers which the opposing parties present to the *bāb al-mashyakhat al-ṣūfiyya* as legal evidence, will be forwarded with two files of the same type, each one of the two signed by the person who submits it, and [there should be] clearly visible on every file the number of documents [it contains], their dates, and a [separate] registration of every document. After acceptance by the secretary of the documents presented [to him], he [will] sign(s) (on) one of the two files for acceptance and give(s) it to the person who presented the papers. The other file [will] be kept with the papers [pertaining to] (of) the case in a dossier [especially] allotted for it.

Art. 6

Consultation [between the members of the Council will] take(s) place after the defence has been completed, without [the] presence of either of the opposing parties.

¹ The first reference to the appointment of a secretary (*kātib bāb al-mashyakha*) is in F.Or.A., 285, II-55/7 (27 Aug. 1901).

Art. 7

The case will be [laid aside] (dropped) if the claimant comes too late to the session. He can reopen it later. If the defendant comes too late [once], the case will be postponed. If he comes too late for a second time, a deputy will be appointed for him and he will be judged in his [i.e. the deputy's] presence. The secretary to the session will inform him [i.e. the defendant] of the judgement. He has the right to protest against it before fifteen days have elapsed from the moment it was made known.

Art. 8

The (general) *mashyakha* [is to] invite(s) the members [of the Council] to the session in writing, three days before its meeting. If he [i.e. one of the members] has an excuse which prevents him from actually being present, he has [a duty] to inform the *mashyakha* 24 hours before the convening of the session.

Art. 9

Once the Šūfī Council has given judgement in a case it will not reconsider it.

Second section: Concerning the mashāyikh al-ṭuruq

Art. 1

Appointment of somebody as *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* is not permissible, unless he is [one] of those [with] knowledge and perfection.

Art. 2

No *shaykh* will be appointed (*shaykh* of) two *ṭarīqas*.

Art. 3

The *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* are independent from each other, every one of them with his *ṭarīqa*. None of them will be subordinate to another and to no single *ṭarīqa* will there be two *shaykhs*.

Art. 4

The official regulations and khedivial decrees issued July 3, 1903, restricted to the Šūfī Council the appointment of all of the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* in Egypt, whatever their

nature. By this [the right] of any other agency to appoint any one of them has been abolished. From now onwards no one will be appointed, nor will he be recognized as shaykh unless this Council appointed him, regardless of whether he was [one] of the mashāyikh al-sajāʿid or the mashāyikh of the Khalwatiyya [ʒuruq] or the like.

Art. 5

New ʒuruq may be added [i.e. become officially recognized] when the new ʒarīqa does not resemble in its name and its terminology one of the ʒuruq [already] existing [i.e. officially recognized].

Art. 6

If a ʒarīqa comes to be without a shaykh [i.e. if the shaykh dies], his eldest son will take over [his office] (after him), and after him the eldest of his sons and so on, on the condition that he is of those with [sufficient] knowledge and not endowed with [qualities prohibiting] (what forbids) his appointment. If this is not the case, he who fulfils these conditions among his brothers or among his relatives will be appointed. If none of them fulfils it, the Sūfī Council will appoint to the vacancy [a person] who is competent for it. If [the deceased] (he) has left a son under age, (the latter) will be appointed to the mashyakha and an authorized representative will be nominated to [act for] him until he attains full legal age.

Art. 7

Every shaykh of a ʒarīqa should have four registers (dafātir), certified by the general mashyakha, as follows:

one daftar for [copies of] the outgoing correspondence, one daftar for the incoming correspondence, one daftar to list all the nuwwāb and the khulafāʾ of the ʒarīqa together with (the statement of) the date[s] of their investiture, one daftar in which the judgments will be recorded, which have been given [by the shaykh in conflicts] between members of his ʒarīqa. When the ʒarīqa comes to be without a shaykh [i.e. when the shaykh dies], these registers will be handed over to the bāb al-mashyakha. Subsequently, after the appointment of a new shaykh (to it) they will be returned to him.

Art. 8

It is absolutely impermissible for the shaykh of the ʒarīqa to make [somebody] khalīfa, who does not have some [specialized] knowledge.

Art. 9

Every shaykh of a ṭarīqa has to appoint khulafā' in the [various] townships and villages from among those with knowledge, to guide the people, and a deputy (nā'ib) in every markaz where there are many of his murīdūn.

Art. 10

Every shaykh of a ṭarīqa has to make a round among his khulafā' in the course of the year, and to inspect what they do (their works) and the quality of the performance of the guidance they are entrusted with.

Art. 11

The nawwāb of the ṭuruq in the [rural] districts are not to be addressed as shaykh al-ṭarīqa (in it; i.e. in the district), but as nā'ib exclusively.

Art. 12

A shaykh is not to issue an ijāza unless he finds somebody worthy of it. The ijāzāt must be printed and contain [a statement of] the [exact] meaning of the permission and of the rules according to which the khalīfa has to give guidance, without [irrelevant] insertions. It is not permissible for the shaykh to give to his khulafā' ijāzāt without any specific names on them, to be distributed to anyone desiring the khilāfa [i.e. to be a khalīfa].

Art. 13

It is not permissible for the shaykh of a ṭarīqa to make charges and yearly customary payments obligatory upon his murīdūn and his khulafā'. But he and his khulafā' may accept what is presented to them as donations, given of the free will of the donor, provided that this is not related to a case under their consideration or to the appointment of a khalīfa, since there are no fees [to be paid in such cases] (for that).

Third section: Concerning the agents (wukalā') of al-mashyakhā

Art. 1

To every administrative subdivision (markaz) of the provinces an agent of the mashyakhā will be appointed from [among] the meritorious and the esteemed of this mar-

kaz. His title of address will not be *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* in the region he resides in, but he will be addressed by the title *wakīl al-mashyakha* exclusively and he will be in direct contact with the *bāb al-mashyakha*. Upon his appointment notice will be given to the *mudīriyya* [i.e. the Administration of the province] to which his *markaz* belongs. It will also be published in a number of dailies.

Art. 2

He, who is *nāʾib* to a *ṭarīqa* is not to be appointed agent to the *mashyakha* as long as he keeps the office of *nāʾib*. His investiture with the deputyship of the *mashyakha* is permissible, if he gives it [i.e. the office of *nāʾib*] up.

Art. 3

The agents of the *mashyakha* have to keep records of all events concerning *al-ṣūfiyya* and to forward [their observations] to the competent agencies as [these] appear in the *lawāʾih*, and they [i.e. the agents] have, when there is an absolute need [to do so] the right [to proclaim] (of) temporary suspension until judgement has been rendered by the agency competent in the matter. (The competent agencies appear in article 13 of the khedivial decree [i.e. the *lāʾiḥa*], of 2 June 1903).

Art. 4

The agents of the *mashyakha* must send the judgements they give [immediately] one after the other so that the *Majlis al-Ṣūfī* may look into them. In the one[s] in which appeal is made, the Council will judge as it sees fit. If the period within which appeal is possible [against the judgement rendered] has passed and it has become applicable, the Council will write to the Administration to have it executed if the case so requires. The period of appeal is thirty days starting from the day of announcement [of the judgement] if [the party concerned was] present and [thirty days] from the day [which] ends the period within which objection was possible, if [the judgement was made] in the absence [of the party concerned].

Art. 5

Every agent of the *mashyakha* should have all the registers as described in the 2nd article of the first section to carry out what concerns them in their *markaz*.

Art. 6

The agents of the *mashyakha* must inform the (general) *mashyakha* about every shrine, or *zāwīya* in their area, (of) which [the office of intendant] has become vacant, in order that somebody else may be appointed.

Art. 7

If [any] deviation [from] or (his) violation of the truth becomes apparent in the judgement of one of the agents of the *mashyakha*, he will be deposed from his office.

Art. 8

The agents of the *mashyakha* will not render judgement in cases concerning the shrines; this belongs to the competence of the Ṣūfī Council.

*Fourth section: Concerning the shrines**Art. 1*

To every shrine subject to the authority of the *mashyakhāt al-ṣūfiyya*, it [i.e. *al-mashyakha*] appoints a servant or a *shaykh khidma* and a *khidma* according to what the state [of the shrine] requires. It will appoint no more (to it) than the number [of persons] needed.

Art. 2

He who has been in charge of a shrine for five years has priority over others to its intendancy, even if he is not a descendant [of the saint buried there]. If this rule is not fulfilled the descendants have precedence over others. Nobody will be appointed until after sufficient inquiries to this effect have been made.

Art. 3

The *nudhūr* will be collected by [mediation of] the *shaykh al-khidma* and with notification of *al-khidma* [i.e. of all officials, who have a right to it] they will be divided gradually [i.e. at distinct intervals] or at the end of every month in equal portions. From these portions one part will be destined for the celebration of religious festivals [held at] (of) the shrine; the remaining [part] will be distributed to the *shaykh al-khidma* and the *khidma* according to (what has been made clear in) [the act of] appointment.

Fifth section: Concerning general affairs

Art. 1

There will be no aim in *taṣawwuf* other than [the attainment of] knowledge of the Law and its implementation.

Art. 2

From the *ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* will be kept away:

Firstly, everything that is known as dogma contrary to the [Islamic] law, like the doctrine of *ḥulūl* and of *ittiḥād* and the exemption from religious obligations of certain people and similar [tenets].

Secondly, everything which is known as action contradictory to the action and behaviour [in accordance with] the *sharīʿa*, such as striking the body with weapons, eating insects and the like, the *dhikr* with dancing and throwing [oneself to the ground], not completing [all] the letters in it, the singing of immoral songs, holding a *zār* in shrines and similar [actions].

Art. 3

The mystical *dhikr* should be the remembrance of God and his glorification, [pronounced] clearly, standing or sitting with (the) humility and (the) dignity and in the presence of one of the *khulafāʾ* [who have been] given an *ijāza* by their *mashāyikh*.

Art. 4

It is obligatory for every *shaykh* of a *ṭarīqa* and every *khalīfa* to come together with his *murīdūn* one night or more every week in a *zāwiya* or in a special place for the remembrance of God the sublime, and [for] his glorification, and furthermore, for instruction and guidance afterwards. It is permissible for the *shaykh* or the *khalīfa* to appoint a *muqrʾ* to the session (*ḥalqa*) who recites [to] them something about dogma and proper conduct in order to instruct [them] in that way.

Art. 5

The [principle of] *aqdām* [*qadam*] [customary] among the *ṭuruq* in the rural areas, has been abolished [herewith].

Art. 6

He will organize a *mawlid*, who has done so for a period of not less than five years. It is pre-requisite that in the immediate vicinity of the site of the *mawlid* there will not be anything incompatible with lawful behaviour, like games (and) cabarets and the like.

Art. 7

All the processions in daytime have been abolished, unless the *bāb al-mashyakha* has ordered [them to be held]. In the processions only, the *mashāyikh al-ṭuruq* or their deputies will ride [on horseback]. It is pre-requisite that the procession is not to be accompanied by anything divergent from lawful behaviour. The order of the *ṭuruq*, if they come together in any procession, will be as follows:

1. al-Marāziqa al-Aḥmadiyya
2. al-Kannāsiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
3. al-Manāyifa al-Aḥmadiyya
4. al-Salāmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
5. al-Imbābiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
6. al-Ḥalabiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
7. al-Tasqiyāniyya al-Aḥmadiyya
8. al-Shu‘aybiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
9. al-Shinnāwiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
10. al-Suṭūḥiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
11. al-Bayyūmiyya al-Aḥmadiyya
12. al-Rifā‘iyya
13. al-Burhāmiyya
14. al-Qādiriyya al-Qāsimiyya
15. al-Qādiriyya al-Fāriḍiyya
16. al-Mirghaniyya
17. al-‘Isawiyya al-Shādhiliyya
18. al-Qāsimiyya al-Shādhiliyya
19. al-Tihāmiyya al-Shādhiliyya
20. al-Ḥandūshiyya al-Shādhiliyya
21. al-‘Arūsiyya al-Shādhiliyya
22. al-Salāmiyya al-Shādhiliyya
23. al-Qāwuqjiyya al-Shādhiliyya
24. al-Idrīsiyya al-Shādhiliyya
25. al-Sammāniyya
26. al-Ḍayfiyya
27. al-‘Afifiyya al-Shādhiliyya

28. al-Sharnūbiyya al-Burhāmiyya

29. al-Sa'diyya

Art. 8

It is not permissible to walk with flags in front of funeral processions unless [this happens] with special permission from the *bāb al-mashyakha*.

Art. 9

From the *ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya* will be kept away everybody who makes a trade of imitating a religious festival in a public place or a public gathering with the intention of parody or the amusement of the public.

Art. 10

To everything that may occur and about which nothing special has been stipulated in this *lā'iha*, the principles of the *shar'ā* and the observed rules will apply.

Art. 11

Everybody who contravenes anything which [has been stipulated] (is) in this *lā'iha* will become subject to what this violation requires [in the way] of the punishments known to *al-ṣūfiyya* of reprimand, suspension and expulsion with [public] announcement [of disgrace].

The Genealogy of Muḥammad Abū l-Su‘ūd al-Bakrī

Note: This genealogy figures in *B.s.*, 8f. It is largely identical with the principal *silsila* figuring in the *ijāzāt* of the *ṭarīqa al-Bakriyya*. This *silsila* and other *salāsil* of the *ṭarīqa* may be found in *B.s.*, 374ff. Any divergence between the genealogy and the *silsila* is indicated in the notes. From Muḥammad Abū l-Su‘ūd until Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī, the names mentioned in the *silsila* are identical to the subsequent *mashāyikh al-sajjāda*.

Muḥammad Abū l-Su‘ūd b. Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn¹ b. Muḥammad Abū l-Makārim² b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im³ b. Muḥammad Abī l-Surūr⁴ b. Abī l-Mawāhib⁵ b. Muḥammad Abū l-Mawāhib Zayn al-‘Ābidīn⁶ b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Surūr⁷ b. Muḥammad Abī l-Surūr Zayn al-‘Ābidīn⁸ b. Abī l-Makārim Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Abyaḍ

- 1 His wife Āmina, the mother of Muḥammad Abū l-Su‘ūd, was a descendant of ‘Umar Ibn al-Khattāb; cf. *B.s.*, 10. No other biographical data have come down to us; cf. *B.s.*, 47.
- 2 No biographical data have come down to us about this shaykh; cf. *B.s.*, 47. In *Khīt.*, iii, 123, either Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn or Muḥammad Abū l-Makārim is omitted from the genealogy, one of them being mentioned by name of Muḥammad only.
- 3 He is the great-grandfather of Aḥmad al-Bakrī (see appendix 8, note 11) and Khalīl al-Bakrī (see appendix VIII, note 14); cf. *B.s.*, 47 and 148, and *‘Ajā‘ib*, ii, 69.
- 4 He was initiated by his grandfather’s brother Abū l-Mawāhib al-Bakrī, who lived from 1042 (1632/3) until 1125 (1713); cf. *B.s.*, 48. From this date onwards, *silsila* and genealogy differ as follows: Abū l-Mawāhib was initiated by Muḥammad b. b. Abī l-Surūr, his paternal uncle. In his turn Muḥammad b. b. Abī l-Surūr (1060–1107: 1650–1695/6)—whose name figures wrongly as Muḥammad b. Abī l-Surūr in *B.s.*, 375—was initiated by his father Muḥammad b. Abī l-Surūr (see note 7), who was initiated by his brother Muḥammad Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (d. 1013: 1604/5), a one-time *qādī*; cf. al-Muḥibbī, ii, 196ff. The last-named was initiated by his grandfather Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Abyaḍ al-Wajh (see note 9).
- 5 He died in 1087: 1676/7; cf. *Khīt.*, iii, 126. In *B.s.*, 48, he seems to have been confused with his paternal uncle, also named Abū l-Mawāhib, who was *shaykh al-sajjāda* around 1108 (1669), (see appendix 8, note 7).
- 6 Lived from 1050 (1640/1) until 1107 (1695/6). For a biography, see *B.s.*, 48; cf. *‘Ajā‘ib*, i, 27; *Khīt.*, iii, 125.
- 7 He was a teacher of Ibrāhīm al-‘Ubaydī, the author of *‘Umdat al-Taḥqīq*; see al-‘Ubaydī, 6, 8, 72, 104; cf. the genealogy in al-‘Ubaydī, 107. He held the supreme authority position over al-Bakriyya (see appendix 8, note 5); cf. al-‘Ubaydī, 108, and al-Muḥibbī, iii, 465ff. See also *B.s.*, 73ff. and *Khīt.*, iii, 123, 126.
- 8 He lived from 971 (1563/4) until 1007 (1598/9); cf. *B.s.*, 78ff.; *Khīt.*, iii, 126. Al-Buraynī, i, 257 gives 1008 (1599/1600) as the date of Muḥammad Abī l-Surūr’s death. He was the first person to hold the office of *muftī al-saltāna*; but according to al-Muḥibbī, i, 117f., he did not hold this

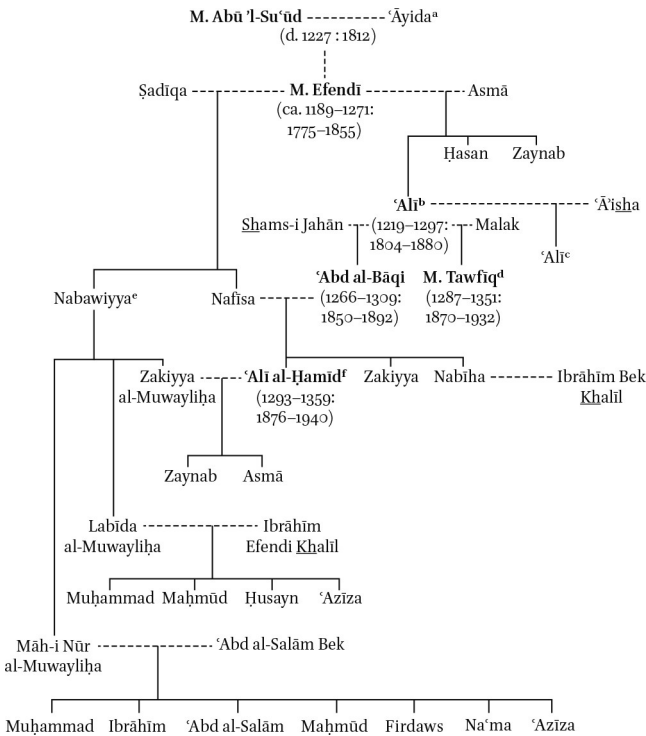
al-Wajh⁹ b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī¹⁰ b. Muḥammad Abī l-Baqā’ Jalāl al-Dīn¹¹ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jalāl al-Dīn¹² b. Aḥmad Zayn al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Aḥmad,¹³ b. Muḥammad b. ‘Iwaḍ b. ‘Abd al-Khāliq b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im b. Yaḥyā b. al Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. Yaḥyā b. Ya‘qūb b. Najm al-Dīn b. ‘Īsā b. Sha‘bān b. ‘Iwaḍ b. Dā‘ūd b. Muḥammad b. Nūḥ b. Ṭalḥa¹⁴ b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣiddīqī¹⁵ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣaḥābī¹⁶ b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq.¹⁷

office. Another member of the family, Abū l-Mawāhib b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Ḥasan, another child of Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn Abyaḍ al-Wajh, also held this office some time; see *B. s.*, 185 ff.

- 9 He lived from 930 (1523/4) until 994 (1586). His maternal grandmother descended from ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb; cf. *B. s.*, 10. In addition, see chapter 2, notes 11–14. From this *shaykh* onwards genealogy and *silsila* are identical again (cf. note 4).
- 10 He was born in 898 (1492/3), died in 952 (1545/6) and is known as Abū l-Ḥasan al-Mufassir. For his biography, see al-Ghazzī. ii, 194 ff. and *B. s.*, 87 ff. He held the office of *qāḍī* of Alexandria for some time and also the office of the *mashykh* of the *khānaqāh al-Baybarsiyya*; cf. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Iyās, *Ta’rikh Miṣr al-Mashhūr bi-Badā’ al-Zuhūr fi Waqā’ir al-Duhūr*, iii vols., Būlāq 1311–1312, ii, 236.
- 11 He was a contemporary of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Dashtūṭī (d. 924: 1517); see chapter 1, note 10.
- 12 He lived from 27 Sha‘bān 809 (6 February 1407) until 883 (1478/9); see *B. s.*, 103.
- 13 Died on 3 Ramaḍān 733 (20 May 1333); see *B. s.*, 226.
- 14 On Ṭalḥa and his descendants; cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *El-Macrizi’s Abhandlung über die in Aegypten eingewanderten arabischen Stämme*, Göttingen 1847, 25 f.
- 15 See *B. s.*, 254 ff. for biographical data and additional information.
- 16 See on him *B. s.*, 111 ff.
- 17 The beginning of the *silsila* differs from the genealogy as follows: Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīqī who had been initiated by the Prophet, initiated his son Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, who was the paternal uncle of ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṣiddīqī and had been initiated by him; cf. *B. s.*, 264, 376.

Descendants of Muḥammad Abū l-Su‘ūd al-Bakrī Down to the Early 20th Century

Note: The contents of Leiden F.Or.A. 285 11/69–71 (12 April 1902) served as the basis for the compilation of this family tree. This document is a transcript of a letter enumerating the members of the Bakrī family who were alive in 1902—and were consequently entitled to *awqāf* revenues—written in answer to a request for information from the Ministry of Awqāf. The same document mentions the names of thirty-two black (*sūd wa ḥabashī*) and white manumitted male and female slaves of the Bakrī family. The manumitted slaves who had not married foreigners (i.e. non-Egyptians) were equally entitled to *awqāf* revenues. For the location of the shrines of the Bakrī family (*al-sāda al-Bakriyya*), see al-Sakhāwī, 321 f.



Note: The names of *al-mashāyikh al-Bakriyya* are printed in bold type. M. stands for Muḥammad.

- a 'Āyida was a descendant of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; cf. *B. S.*, 10.
- b Two other wives, Māh-i Nūr and Nunshakar, died without issue.
- c Was alive in 1902, but further particulars are not known.
- d Was married for some time to a daughter of Aḥmad 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Sādāt; no issue.
- e Married into the Muwayliḥī family; cf. Mouelhy, 'Les Mouelhy en Égypte'.
- f From his union with Zakiyya al-Muwayliḥa, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd had a son, Aḥmad Murād (d. 1970), who was the last *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* and the last Bakrī *shaykh* to hold the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya*; cf. De Jong, 'Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-opposition', 89. From his marriage with the daughter of Aḥmad 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Sādāt, he had another son Muḥammad Wafā, born in 1918 and still alive in 1976.

Names of Persons Who Held the Supreme Authority Position over the Bakrī Family and the Bakriyya Order in Ottoman Egypt

Note: The dates in the table refer to the period in which the persons mentioned are known to have held office(s).

Abū l-Ḥasan al-Mufasssir ¹	in and before 952 (1545/6)
Abū l-Makārim Muḥammad <u>Shams</u> al-Dīn Abyaḍ al-Wajh ²	952–14 Šafar 994 (1545/6–4 Feb. 1586)
Abū l-Surūr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī ³	?–1007 (1598/9)
Abū l-Mawāhib b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī ⁴	1007–17 <u>Shawwāl</u> 1037 (1598/9–20 June 1628)
Aḥmad b. ‘Abī l-Surūr Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ⁵	around 1074 (1663/4)
Muḥammad b. Abī l-Surūr Zayn al- ‘Ābidīn ⁶	?–12 Rabī‘ 1 1087 (25 May 1676)
Abū l-Mawāhib b. Muḥammad	?–1125 (1713)
Abū l-Surūr ⁷	
Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ⁸	?–1153 (1740/1)

- 1 Abū l-Ḥasan al-Mufasssir was born in 898 (1492/3). He held a number of the offices which made up the supreme authority position (cf. chapter 1, note 15) from an unknown date onwards until his death in 952 (1545/6); cf. al-‘Ubaydī, 153.
- 2 He was confirmed as Abū l-Ḥasan’s successor by the *qādi al-askar*. (This office, at the head of the judiciary, had been instituted as part of the judicial reforms of 929 (1522/3); cf. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Sayyid Rāqīd, *Al-Ghazw al-Uthmānī li-Miṣr wa Natā’ijuhu ‘alā l-Waṭan al-‘Arabī*, Alexandria 1968; 304–305). This confirmation was preceded by a dispute about the succession with his brother Jalāl al-Dīn; cf. al-‘Ubaydī, *ibid*.
- 3 He died in 1007 (1598/9), according to al-Muḥibbī, i, 117–118. See also appendix 7, note 8.
- 4 He was born in 973 (1565/6) and died on 17 Shawwāl 1037 (20 June 1628); see al-Muḥibbī, i, 145; al-Buraynī, i, 256–257.
- 5 He held the supreme authority position around 1074 (1663/4); cf. al-‘Ubaydī, 108. He was the brother of Muḥammad b. Abī l-Surūr; see appendix 7, note 7.
- 6 See appendix 7, note 5.
- 7 He was *shaykh al-sajjāda* at the time when ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulūsī made his well-known journey in 1105 (1693/94); cf. chapter 2, note 18. He was born in 1042 (1632/3) and died in 1125 (1713). See also *B. s.* 48, 62; *Khiṭ.*, iii, 125, and appendix 7, note 5.
- 8 He was a protégé of the *wazīr* ‘Alī Bāshā al-Ḥakīm; see *Ajā ib*, i, 157, 221, and *B. s.*, 168. He died in 1153 (1740/1).

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ⁹	1153–1171 (1740/1–1757/8)
Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im b. Aḥmad ¹⁰	around 1176 (1762/3)
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ¹¹	?–12 Rabī‘ II 1195 (7 April 1781)
Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Kabīr ¹²	18 Rabī‘ II 1195–10 Sha‘bān 1196 (13 April 1781–31 July 1782)
Muḥammad al-Bakrī l-Ṣaghīr ¹³	1196–18 Rabī‘ II 1208 (1782–23 Nov. 1793)
Khalīl b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī ¹⁴	Jum. I 1208-Qa‘da 1216 (Dec. 1793–Feb. 1802)
Muḥammad Abū l-Su‘ūd ¹⁵	Qa‘da 1216-end of Shawwāl 1227 (Feb. 1802–early Nov. 1812)
Muḥammad Efendī	end of Shawwāl 1227–17 Rajab 1271 (Nov. 1812–5 April 1855)
‘Alī b. Muḥammad	25 Rajab 1271–17 Qa‘da 1297 (13 April 1855–21 Oct. 1880)
‘Abd al-Bāqī	23 Qa‘da 1297–19 Jum. II 1309 (27 Oct. 1880–21 Dec. 1891)
Muḥammad Tawfīq	Jum. II 1309-early 1329 (Dec. 1891-early 1911)

- 9 He is known as Abū Bakr al-Bakrī. He had been nominated by his father Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im as his successor to the *sajjāda* in order to prevent dispute about the succession among his sons (Muḥammad, ‘Abd al-Khāliq and Abū l-Mawāhib); see ‘*Ajā‘ib*, i, 221. He was the father of Khalīl al-Bakrī; see below note 14.
- 10 He was *shaykh al-sajjāda* at the time of his appointment as *naqīb al-ashraf* in 1176 (1762/3); cf. ‘*Ajā‘ib*, i, 221. The exact dates of the period in which he was *shaykh al-sajjāda* are not known.
- 11 The year in which he was appointed *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya* is not known. He was the brother of Khalīl and died on 12 Rabī‘ II 1195 (7 April 1781); see ‘*Ajā‘ib*, ii, 69; B.S., 148.
- 12 He was invested on 18 Rabī‘ II 1195 (13 April 1781) following the death of his nephew Aḥmad. He died on 10 Sha‘bān 1196 (31 July 1782), after having been in office for a period of little over a year and a half; see ‘*Ajā‘ib*, ii 72; iii, 258; B.S., 146.
- 13 He was invested by Murād Bek, *walī* of Egypt in 1196 (1782), after his father’s death; see ‘*Ajā‘ib*, ii, 72, 251–252; B.S., 145.
- 14 He was invested as *shaykh al-sajjāda* in Jum. I 1208 (Dec. 1793) following the death of his nephew Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr, who had died without issue; see ‘*Ajā‘ib*, iv, 86 ff. For the text of the *taqrīr* by the *qāḍī l-quḍāt*, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Efendī, appointing Khalīl, see B.S., 144. He died on 15 Hījja 1223 (2 Feb. 1809); see ‘*Ajā‘ib*, iv, 88.
- 15 For details about Khalīl’s successors, see the relevant passages in the present study and the references given there.

Appointees to the *Niqābat al-Ashrāf* from ca. 1750 until 1911

Note: The dates in the following table refer to the period in which the persons mentioned held office.

Muḥammad Abū Hādī l-Sādāt ¹	?–1168 (1754/5)
Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl al-Sādāt ²	1168–1176 (1754/5–1762/3)
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Bakrī ³	1176 (1762/3)–?
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī ⁴	?–12 Rabīʿ II 1195 (7 April 1781)
Muḥammad al-Bakrī l-Kabīr ⁵	18 Rabīʿ II 1195–10 Shaʿbān 1196 (13 April 1781–31 July 1782)
Muḥammad al-Bakrī l-Ṣaghīr ⁶	1196–18 Rabīʿ II 1208 (1782–23 Nov. 1793)
ʿUmar Makram al-Asyūṭī ⁷	Rabīʿ II 1208—Rabīʿ I 1213 (Nov. 1793–Sept. 1798)
Khalīl b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī ⁸	5 Rabīʿ I 1213—Qaʿda 1216 (16 Sept. 1798–Feb. 1802)
Yūsuf Efendī ⁹	29 Ram. 1216–15 Ḥijja 1216 (13 Jan. 1802–19 Dec. 1802)

1 He is the first Egyptian known to have held the office; cf. *Ajāʿib*, i, 315–316; al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafāʿiyya*, 31. For predecessors, see *Ajāʿib*, i, 74, 160, 352.

2 When he became Muḥammad Abū Hādī's successor to the *sajjādat al-Wafāʿiyya* he abdicated as *naqīb al-ashrāf* in favour of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Bakrī; cf. *Ajāʿib*, i, 316. Muḥammad Abū Hādī, who had been *naqīb al-ashrāf* until 1168 (1754/5), had succeeded his deceased uncle Muḥammad Abū l-Ishrāq as *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Wafāʿiyya* in Jum. I 1171 (Jan. 1758); cf. al-Bakrī, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafāʿiyya*, 31f.

3 See appendix 8, note 10.

4 He succeeded his father Muḥammad as *shaykh al-sajjādat al-Bakriyya* and as *naqīb al-ashrāf* at an unknown date (cf. appendix 8, note 11). He died on 12 Rab. II 1195 (8 April 1781); cf. *Ajāʿib*, ii, 69, and *B. s.*, 148.

5 See appendix 8, note 12.

6 See appendix 8, note 13.

7 On his appointment, see *Ajāʿib*, ii, 252.

8 He was appointed *naqīb al-ashrāf* after ʿUmar Makram had fled the country following the French occupation; cf. *Ajāʿib*, iii, 15, 53; iv, 87.

9 Yūsuf Efendī was a Turkish merchant in Khān al-Khalīlī. He held the office for about two months and a half only, by virtue of a *firmān* he had obtained in Istanbul. The Egyptian *ashrāf*

‘Umar Makram al-Asyūṭī ¹⁰	15 Ḥijja 1216–27 Jum. II 1224 (19 Dec. 1802–9 Aug. 1809)
Muḥammad Abū l-Anwār al-Sādāt ¹¹	27 Jum. II 1224–18 Rabī‘ I, 1228 (9 Aug. 1809–21 March 1813)
Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dawākhilī ¹²	18 Rabī‘ I 1228–12 Rabī‘ I 1231 (21 March 1813–11 Feb. 1816)
Muḥammad Efendī l-Bakrī ¹³	12 Rabī‘ 1231–17 Rajab 1271 (11 Feb. 1816–5 April 1855)
‘Alī al-Bakrī ¹⁴	25 Rajab 1271–17 Qa‘da 1297 (13 April 1855–21 Oct. 1880)
‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī	23 Qa‘da 1297–19 Jum. II 1309 (27 Oct. 1880–21 Dec. 1891)
Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī	Jum. II 1309–25 Rajab 1312 (Dec. 1891–Jan. 1895)
‘Alī Muḥammad al-Biblāwī	6 Shawwāl 1312–2 Ḥijja 1320 (1 April 1895–1 March 1903)
Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī	2 Ḥijja 1320–early 1329 (1 March 1903–early 1911)

refused to recognize him as *naqīb*. The first date given here is mentioned by al-Jabartī as the date when he first made his claims; see *Ajā’ib*, iii, 203 f., 207.

- 10 On the deposition of Yusuf Efendī and the investiture of ‘Umar Makram, see *Ajā’ib*, iii, 211. On the deposition of the latter and on the investiture of Muḥammad Abū l-Anwār al-Sādāt as his successor, see *Ajā’ib*, iii, 98.
- 11 See *Ajā’ib*, iv, 195 for his biography.
- 12 See *Ajā’ib*, iv, 294 f. for his biography. On his deposition by the viceroy and his exile to Disūq, see also *Ajā’ib*, iv, 243.
- 13 On his investiture, see *Ajā’ib*, iv, 243. For the date of his death (not mentioned in *B.s.*, 44 ff.) see *Khit.*, iii, 125.
- 14 On ‘Alī al-Bakrī, ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Bakrī. Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Bakrī and ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Biblāwī, see the relevant sections in the present study and the references given there.

Bibliography

Manuscripts and Microfilmed Materials

Leiden Or. 12.496 (*ijāza*).

Leiden Or. 12.497 (Ar. 3974) (*ijāza*).

Leiden Or. 12.584 (*ijāza*).

Leiden Or. 14.431 (Various documents relative to the Ṣūfī orders in Egypt).

Leiden Or. 14.432 (Niyāzī documents).

Leiden Or. 14.438 ('Azāzī documents).

Leiden F. Or. A. 283 (*dafātir*, which were in the possession of members of the Bakrī family and are at present preserved at Dār al-Maḥfūzāt al-'Umūmiyya).

Leiden F. Or. A. 284 (documents in the private possession of members of the Bakrī family).

Leiden F. Or. A. 285 (*dafātir* in the private possession of members of the Bakrī family).

Leiden F. Or. A. 286 (documents in the private possession of members of the Jawharī family: the descendants of Aḥmad al-Jawharī; see 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, *Ajā'ib al-Āthār fi l-Tarājim wa l-Akḥbār*, iv vols., Būlāq, n.d. [1297], vol. i, pp. 309–310).

al-Bakrī, Muḥammad Tawfiq, 'Kitāb al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya bi-l-Diyār al-Miṣriyya', MS Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 3737 *Ta'riḫ* (Leiden F. Or. A. 303).

Çelebī, Aḥmad, 'Awdaḥ al-Ishārāt fi man tawallā Miṣr al-Qāhira min al-Wuzarā' wa l-Bāshāt', Yale University Library, Landberg MS. no. 3.

al-Ḥalabī, Abū l-Faraj 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm, 'Al-Naṣiḥa al-'Alawiyya fi Bayān Ḥusn Ṭarīqat al-Ṣāda al-Aḥmadiyya', MS Berlin 10.104.

al-Ḥarīrī, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, 'Tibyān Wasā'il al-Ḥaqā'iq fi Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭarā'iq', MS Ibrāhīm Efendī (Süleymaniye) 430–432.

'Ijāza bi-Ṭarīq al-Naqshbandiyya min al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Khākī li-Aḥmad Khādhiq', MS Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya 708 (*taṣawwuf*).

Kümmerer, E., 'Die Ahmadiya. Beiträge zur Kenntnis eines ägyptischen Derwischordens', Diss. Tübingen (Phil. Fac.) 1953 (unpublished).

al-Miṣrī, Fāṭima, 'Al-Zār, Dirāsa Nafsiyya Ijtīmā'iyya', M.A. thesis, 'Ayn Shams University 1966 (unpublished).

al-Nābulusī, 'Abd al-Ghanī, 'Al-Ḥaqīqa fi Riḥlat Bilād al-Shām wa Miṣr wa l-Ḥijāz', MS Berlin 6145.

al-Qīnalī, Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm al-Maddāḥ, 'Majmu' Laṭīf yashtamil 'alā Waqā'i' Miṣr al-Qāhira', Nationalbibliothek Wien; MS Hist. Osm. 38.

'Risāla fi Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭuruq al-Shahīra', Leiden F. Or. A. 302.

al-Shawbarī, Muḥammad b. Khalīfa. 'Al-Tarjama al-Wafā'iyya', MS Leiden Or. 14.437.

'Su'āl: Hal yajūzu li-man akhadha 'alā Shaykh an yadhhaba ilā Ghayrihi'. Alexandria Municipal Library, MS nūn 3159 jīm (collection).

Publications

- 'Abd Allāh, Ismā'īl b., *Al-Uhūd al-Wāfiyyat al-Jaliyya fī Kayfiyyat Şifat al-Ṭarīqa al-Ismā'īliyya*, Cairo: Mt. al-Ḥamīdiyya al-Miṣriyya 1319.
- 'Abd al-Nawwāb, 'Abd al-Rahmān, 'Qā'imat al-Makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub bi-l-Mansūra, *Majallat Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya*, iv/2 (1958), 259–300.
- 'Abd al-Rahmān, Ḥasan, *Al-Qawl al-Mahmūd fī Ibtāl mā 'alayhi Ahl al-Ṭariq min al-Adhkār wa l-Uhūd*, Cairo: Mt. al-Ḥusayniyya al-Miṣriyya 1916.
- 'Abduh, Muḥammad, *Al-Islām wa l-Naşrāniyya ma' al-'Ilm wa l-Madaniyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Manār 1341 (3rd ed.).
- Abun-Nasr, Jamil M., *The Tijaniyya. A Sufi Order in the Modern World*, Oxford 1965.
- Abū Rayya, Maḥmūd, *Hayāt al-Qurā*, Cairo: Makt. Miṣr 1966.
- Abū Sa'da, Ibrāhīm, 'Al-Bida' al-Mustahjana', *Al-Islām*, v (1935), 16, 35–37.
- al-'Adawī, Muḥammad Ḥasanayn, *Al-Qawl al-Wathīq fī l-Radd 'alā Ad'iyā' al-Ṭariq*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Ma'āhid 1344.
- al-Adhamī, 'Abd al-Qādir, *Tarjamat Quṭb al-Wāsilīn wa Ghawth al-Sālikīn Muḥammad Abū l-Mahāsīn al-Qāwuqjī*, Beirut: Mṭ al-Adabiyya 1306.
- 'Aḥkām al-Majlis al-Şūfī al-'Alā mundhū Nişf Qarn', *Al-Jarīdat al-Qadā'iyya*, ii/9 (1931), 9–14.
- 'Alī, 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ, *Luqat al-'Ajlān wa Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Ḥamīdiyya al-Miṣriyya 1323.
- Amīn, Aḥmad, *Qāmūs al-'Ādāt wa l-Taqālīd wa l-Ta'ābir al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. Lajnat al-Ta'līf 1953.
- al-Amīr, Muḥammad (al-Şaghīr), *Fath al-Qadīr 'alā l-Amīr fīmā yata'allaqu bi-l-Dhikr amām al-Janā'iz*, Cairo: Mt. al-Ḥusayniyya 1325.
- al-'Āmirī, Sayf al-Naşr Muḥammad, *Sīrat al-Ḥāmidīyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Fajjala al-Jadida 1965.
- Anawati, G.C. & L. Gardet, *Mystique Musulmane. Aspects et Tendences—Expériences et Techniques*, Paris 1961.
- al-Arbīlī, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Ḥujjat al-Dhākirīn wa Radd al-Munkirīn*, Alexandria: Mṭ. Jarīdat al-Iskandariyya 1299.
- Arminjon, P., *L'Enseignement, la Doctrine et la Vie dans les Universités Musulmanes d'Égypte*, Paris 1907.
- Arslān, S./L. Stoddard, *Ḥādir al-'Ālam al-Islāmi*, iv vols, Cairo: Mṭ. 'Īsā al-Ḥalabī 1352.
- Artin, Yacoub, *Essai sur les Causes du Renchérissement de la Vie Matérielle au Caire*, Cairo: Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien 1907.

- Āṣāf, Yūsuf, *Dalīl Miṣr li-Ām 1891*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-‘Umūmiyya 1890.
- ‘Āshūr, Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ, *Al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī, Shaykh wa Ṭariqa*, Cairo 1967.
- al-‘Asīlī, Muṣṭafa Ḥasan, *Risālat al-Kaṣh wa l-Bayān fi l-Radd ‘alā l-Muḥarrifin fi Kalimat al-Ikhlās*, Cairo n.d.
- ‘Aṭā’, ‘Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad (ed.), *Al-Wazīr Lisān al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Rawḍat al-Ta‘rīf bi-l-Ḥubb al-Ṣharīf* Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-‘Arabī n.d.
- ‘Aṭīyya, Īzzat ‘Alī ‘Id, *Al-Bid‘a, Taḥdīduhā wa Mawqif al-Islām minhā*, Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha 1973.
- ‘Aṭīyya, Muḥammad Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Kawkab al-Rabbānī*, al-Zaqāzīq n.d. [1964].
- al-‘Aṭṭār, ‘Abd al-Karīm, *Ta‘rīkh al-Ṭariqat al-Tijāniyyat al-Muḥarrafā*, Cairo: Dār al-Ṭibā‘a al-Sāda al-Tijāniyya n.d.
- Awrād al-Quṭb al-Ṣamadānī wa l-Ghawth al-Rabbānī Sīdī Ibrāhīm Rashīd*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Bahiyya 1309.
- Ayalon, D., ‘The Historian al-Djabartī and his background’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, xxiii (1960), 217–249.
- ‘Ayyād, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b., *Al-Mafākhir al-‘Alīyya fī l-Ma‘āthir al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo: Maktabat al-Qāhira 1964 (several editions).
- al-Azamī, Hāshim, *Ta‘rīkh Jāmī‘ al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Kūlānī wa Madrasatihī l-‘Ilmiyya*, Baghdad: Mṭ. al-Azhar 1971.
- al-‘Azīzī, Muḥammad Aḥmad, *Al-Adillat al-Uṣūliyya fī l-Radd ‘alā man ankara Dhikr al-Sāda l-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Salafiyya 1342.
- al-‘Azūzī, Muḥammad al-‘Arabī, *A‘lām Madīnat Fās, al-musammā bi-l-Uns wa l-Isti’nās*, vol. 1, Beirut n.d.
- Badawī, Muḥammad Sulaymān, *Nubḍha Yasīra min Ḥayāt Ustādhinā al-Fāḍil ... al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Raḥim Muṣṭafā al-Demirdāsh Bāshā*, Cairo n.d.
- Badawī, Nafisa, ‘Al-Zār wa l-Ṭuqūs al-Siḥriyya’, *Majallat ‘Ilm al-Nafs al-‘Āmm*, xvi/1 (Cairo 1950), 50–69.
- Baedeker, K., *Egypt. Handbook for Travellers*, Leipsic/London 1885.
- Baer, G., ‘Waqf reform in Egypt’, *Middle Eastern Affairs, Number One, St. Antony’s Papers*, no. 4, London 1958, 61–76.
- Baer, G., *A History of Landownership in Modern Egypt 1800–1950*, Oxford 1962.
- Baer, G., *Egyptian Guilds in Modern Times*, Jerusalem 1964.
- Baer, G., *Studies in the History of Modern Egypt*, Chicago/London 1969.
- al-Bakrī, Muḥammad Abyaḍ al-Wajh b. Abī l-Ḥasan, *Ḥizb al-Fath*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Ādāb 1318.
- al-Bakrī, Muḥammad Tawfiq, *Bayt al-Sādāt al-Wafā’iyya*, Cairo n.d.
- al-Bakrī, Muḥammad Tawfiq, *Al-Mustaqball li-l-Islam*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Manār 1310, (and Mṭ. al-‘Umūmiyya n.d.).
- al-Bakrī, Muḥammad Tawfiq, (ed.), *Kitāb al-Ta‘līm wa l-Irshād*, Cairo 1317.
- al-Bakrī, Muḥammad Tawfiq, *Bayt al-Ṣiddīq*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Mu‘ayyad 1323.

- al-Bakrī, Muḥammad Tawfiq, 'Al-Ḥukūma al-Shūrāniyya', *Al-Muqtataf*, ii (1907), 992–998.
- al-Bakrī, Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn, *Al-Manhaj al-'Adhb al-Sā'igh li-Wurrādīhi fi Dhikr Ṣalawāt al-Tariq wa Awrādīhi*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Sa'āda 1332.
- al-Bannā', Ḥasan, *Mudhakkirāt al-Da'wa wa l-Dā'iya*, Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī n.d.
- al-Bannānī, Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad, *Madārij al-Sulūk ilā Mālik al-Mulūk*; in the margin: Faṭḥ Allāh b. Abī Bakr al-Bannānī, *Iqd al-Durr wa l-La'āl fi Bayān Faḍl al-Faqr wa l-Fuqarā' wa Faḍīlat al-Su'āl*, Cairo: Mt. al-Jamāliyya 1330.
- Bannerth, E., 'La Khalwatiyya en Égypte', *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicaine des Études Orientales*, viii (1964–1966), 1–75.
- Bannerth, E., 'Über den Stifter und Sonderbrauch der Demirdāšsiyya-Sufis in Kairo', *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Kunde des Morgenlandes*, lxii (1969), 116–133.
- Bannerth, E., *Islamische Wallfahrtsstätten Kairos*, Cairo 1973.
- al-Baqlī, Muḥammad Qandīl, *Adab al-Darāwīsh*, Cairo: Makt. al-Anglū al-Miṣriyya 1970.
- al-Barmūnī, Karīm al-Dīn, *Tanqīh Rawḍat al-Azhār wa Munyat al-Sādāt al-Abrār fi Manāqib Sidi 'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar*, Tunis 1325 (?).
- al-Bashīr, Aḥmad al-Tayyib b., *Sirr al-Asrār*, n.p. 1320.
- al-Bashīr, Al-Tāhīr Muḥammad 'Alī, *Al-Adāb al-Ṣūfi l-Sūdānī*, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr 1970.
- al-Batanūnī, 'Alī b. 'Umar, *Al-Sirr al-Ṣafī fi Manāqib al-Ṣulṭān al-Ḥanaḥī*, ii vols., Cairo: Mṭ. Muḥammad Efendī Muṣṭafā 1306.
- Baybars, Riḍwān al-'Adl, *Tarjamat Murabbī l-Murīdīn wa Murshid al-Sālikīn ... al-Shaykh 'Umar Jaḥfar al-Shabrāwī*, Cairo: Mt. al-Sa'āda 1952.
- Beaumont, A. de, 'Le pèlerinage de la Mekke et les fêtes du Prophète au Caire', *Revue de l'Orient, de l'Algérie et des Colonies*, xvi (1854), 13–51.
- Becker, S., *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva (1865–1924)*, Cambridge/Mass. 1968.
- al-Biblāwī, Maḥmūd b. 'Alī, *Al-Ta'rikh al-Ḥusaynī*, Cairo: Mt. al-Taqaḍḍum al-'Ilmiyya 1324.
- al-Bimbānī, Yūsuf Aḥmad al-Kayyāl, *Madḥ al-'Ushshāq fi Ṭurfat al-Mushtāq*, n.p. 1379.
- Birge, J.K., *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London 1965 (reprint).
- Blackmann, W.S., *The Fellāḥīn of Upper Egypt. Their religious social and industrial life to-day with special reference to survivals from ancient times*, London 1927.
- Blunt, W.S., *Gordon at Khartoum, being a personal narrative of events in continuation of "A Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt"*, London 1912.
- Bowring, J., *Report on Egypt and Candia*, London 1840.
- Broadley, A.M., *How we defended Arabi and his Friends*, London 1884.
- Brockelmann, C., *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, v vols., Leiden 1937–1949.
- Brockelmann, C., 'Al-Bakrī (Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn)', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², i, 965 f.
- Brunel, R., *Essai sur la Confrérie Religieuse des 'Aissâoua au Maroc*, Paris 1926.
- al-Buraynī, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, *Tarājim al-A'yān min Abnā' al-Zamān*, ii vols., Damascus: Maṭbū'āt al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī 1959–1963.

- al-Bushārī, Muḥammad Sulaymān, *Tuḥfat al-Albāb wa Hidāyat al-Ṭullāb fimā yajibu ‘alayhim min al-Ādāb*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Tamaddun 1322.
- Butler, A.J., *Court life in Egypt*, London 1887.
- Çelebî, Evliyâ, *Seyāhatnâme*, vol. x, Istanbul: Devlet Basimevi 1938.
- Clerget, M., *Le Caire. Étude de Géographie Urbaine et d'Histoire Économique*, ii vols., Cairo: Imp. Schindler 1934.
- Couvidou, H., *Étude sur l'Égypte contemporaine*, Cairo: J. Barbier 1873.
- Crapanzano, V., *The Ḥamadsha. A Study in Moroccan Ethnopsychiatry*, Berkeley 1973.
- Crecelius, D., 'Nonideological responses of the Egyptian Ulama to Modernization', in N.R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, Saints and Sufis. Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500*, Berkeley—Los Angeles 1972, 167–209.
- Crecelius, D., 'The Emergence of the Shaykh al-Azhar as the Pre-eminent Religious Leader in Egypt', *Colloque International sur l'Histoire du Caire*, [Cairo:] Grafenhainchen (D.D.R.) pr. [1972], 109–123.
- Crecelius, D., 'On Archival Sources for Demographic Studies of the Middle East', unpublished paper presented to the Conference on the Social and Economic History of the Middle East held at Princeton, June 1974.
- Cromer, The Earl of, *Modern Egypt*, ii vols., London 1908.
- al-Dabbāgh, ‘Abd al-Qādir, *Mishkāt al-Ārifin li-Tarīq al-Sālikin*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-‘Arabiyya 1343.
- al-Dandarāwī, Muḥammad Aḥmad, *Sanad al-Tarīqat al-Aḥmadiyya al-Idrisiyya al-Rashīdiyya al-Muḥammadiyya*, n.p., n.d.
- al-Dardayr, Aḥmad, *Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān*, Cairo: Mṭ. Shāhīn 1281 (several reprints).
- al-Dawayātī, Ibrāhīm Muḥammad, *Ta’rīf ‘an Tarīqat al-Shaykh al-Ārif bi-llāh Sidi ‘Abd al-Salām Ibn Salīm al-Asmar*, Alexandria n.d. (mimeographed).
- Dayf, Aḥmad, *Irshād al-Rafīq li-Aḥkām wa Adāb al-Tarīq*, al-Jīza: Mṭ. al-Mashījī 1388.
- Demirdāsh, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad, *Risāla fi Ma’rifat al-Ḥaqā’iq*, Cairo: Mt. al-Taḍāmun n.d.
- Deny, J., *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Cairo: Société royale de géographie d'Égypte 1930.
- Deny, J., 'Bāb-i ‘Ālī', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², i, 836.
- Depont, O., & X. Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses Musulmanes*, Alger 1897.
- Description de l'Égypte; ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française. État moderne*, ii vols., 3 parts, Paris 1809–1822.
- Dhikrā Tashri Sumūw al-Janāb al-Āli l-Khudaywī l-Mu‘azzam ‘Abbās Ḥilmī l-Thānī li-l-Jāmi wa l-Ma’had al-Aḥmadī, sana 1332*, Cairo: Mt. al-Iṣlāḥ 1332.
- Diwān ‘Umūm al-Awqāf, *Lā’iḥat al-Nudhūrāt bi l-Masājid wa l-Aḍriḥa al-Tābī’a li-Diḥwān ‘Umūm al-Awqāf*, Cairo 1316.
- Dodge, B., *Al-Azhar. A Millennium of Muslim Learning*, Washington, D.C. 1961.

- D'Ohsson, M., *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii vols., Paris 1788–1824.
- Douin, G., *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*, Cairo: Société royale de géographie d'Égypte 1927.
- Dozy, R., *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, ii vols., Leiden 1877.
- Draques, G., *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc: confréries et zaouïas*, Paris n.d.
- Duveyrier, H., *La Confrérie Musulmane de Sidi Mohammed Ben 'Alī Es-Senoûsi et son Domaine Géographique en l'Année 1300 de l'Hégire = 1883 de notre Ère*, Rome 1918.
- Ebers, G., *Aegypten in Bild und Wort dargestellt*, ii vols., Stuttgart/Leipzig 1879–1880.
- al-Faḥḥām, Ibrāhīm Muḥammad, Ibn 'Arūs wa l-Ṭarīqa al-'Arūsīyya', *Majallat al-Funūn al-Sha'biyya*, IV/15 (Dec. 1970), 63–72.
- Fahmī, Māhīr Ḥasan, *Muḥammad Tawfīq al-Bakrī*, Cairo: Dār al-Kātib al-'Arabī 1967.
- Fakhry, Ahmed, *The Oases of Egypt, Vol. II; Bahriyah and Farafra Oases*, Cairo: AUC Press 1974.
- Farah, C.E., 'Social implications of a Sufi disciple's etiquette', in F. Rundgren (ed.), *Proc. vith Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Uppsala/Leiden 1975, 45–57.
- Farman, E.E., *Egypt and its Betrayal*, New York 1908.
- Faroqhi, S., 'Bektaschiklöster in Anatolien vor 1826—Fragestellungen und Quellenprobleme', *Der Islam*, liii (1976)/1, 28–69.
- Francke, E., 'The Zār in Egypt', *Moslem World*, iii (1913), 275–289.
- Friedmann, Y., *Shaykh Aḥmad al-Sirhindī. An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity*, London/Montreal 1971.
- al-Fūwī, Ḥasan Shamma, *Kitāb Manāqib wa Karāmāt ... Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnī ... wa hiyā al-Risāla al-musammā bi-Muntaha al-'Ibārāt fī ba'd mā li-Shaykhinā min al-Karāmāt*, Cairo: Mt. al-Ṣidq al-Khayriyya 1374.
- Galāl, M., 'Essai d'observations sur les rites funéraires en Egypte actuelle. Relevées dans certaines régions campagnardes', *Revue des Études Islamiques*, xi (1937), 131–299.
- Gellion-Dangler, E., *Lettres sur l'Égypte Contemporaine (1865–1875)*, Paris 1876.
- al-Ghazzālī. Aḥmad b. al-Mahdī, *Manāqib ... Muḥammad Ibn 'Īsā*, Tunis: Mṭ. al-Wataniyya 1351.
- al-Ghazzālī. Najm al-Dīn b. Muḥammad, *Al-Kawākib al-Sā'ira fī A'yān al-Mi'a al-'Āshira*, iii vols., Beirut: Mt. al-Amirkaniyya 1945–1959.
- Ghurbāl, Shafīq, 'Miṣr 'inda Mafriq al-Ṭuruq (1798–1801)', *Majallat Kullīyyat al-Ādāb*, iv/1 (May 1936), 1–70.
- Gibb, H.A.R., *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago 1945.
- Gibb, H.A.R. & H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West, Vol. 1; Islamic Society in the 18th Century, 2 parts*, London 1950–1957.
- Gilsenan, M., *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt. An Essay in the Sociology of Religion*, Oxford 1973.
- Gölpınarlı, Abdülbâkî, 'Niyâzî', *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, IX, 305–307.
- al-Ḥāfiz, Muḥammad, *Qaṣd al-Sabil fī l-Ṭarīqat al-Tijāniyya*, al-Zaqāziq: Mṭ. al-Ittiḥād 1348.

- al-Ḥāfiẓ, Muḥammad, *Rijāl al-Ṭarīqat al-Tijāniyyat alladhīna qāmū bi-Nashrihā fi l-Quṭr al-Miṣrī*, Jamā'at al-Waḥda al-Islāmiyya al-Tijāniyya, al-Risāla al-Sādisa (2nd Section), Cairo: Dār al-Ṣāwī 1355.
- al-Ḥajjāji, Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Min A'lām al-Sa'īd, Abū l-Ma'ārif Aḥmad Ibn Sharqāwī l-Khalifī, al-Imām al-Qudwa*, Cairo: Dār al-Taḍāmun 1969.
- al-Hajrasi, Muḥammad Khalīl, *al-Qaṣr al-Mashīd fi l-Tawḥid wa fi Tariqa Sidī Ibrāhim al-Rashīd*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-'Ilmiyya 1314.
- al-Ḥalwānī, Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl, *Mawākib Rabī' fi Mawlid al-Shafī*, Cairo: 1294.
- al-Ḥalwānī, Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl, *Wasā'il al-Raḥamāt fīmā yuṭlabu li-man māt*, Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī 1956.
- al-Ḥalwānī, Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Abd al-Salām, *Al-Quṭb al-Rabbānī Sidī 'Abd al-Salām al-Ḥalwānī*, Cairo 1970.
- al-Ḥāmidī, Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir, *Tarjama li-Ḥayāt al-Ustādh ... al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥāmidī wa ba'd Qaṣā'idihī*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Madanī 1969.
- al-Ḥammāmī, Muṣṭafā Ibn Abī l-Sayf, *Al-Mināḥ al-Raḥmāniyya fi Manāqib Khādīm al-Ṭarīqat al-Khalwatīyya ... al-Shaykh Jūda 'Abd al-Muta'āl*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Sa'āda n.d.
- Ḥamza, 'Abd al-Laṭīf, *Adab al-Maqālat al-Suhufiyya fi Miṣr*, vol. iv, Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī 1951.
- Hartmann, M., 'Der Islam 1908', *Mitt. des Sem. für Or. Sprachen zu Berlin*, 1909 (XII).
- Ḥasan, Tawfiq 'Alī, *Risālatī fi Manāqib al-Sulṭān Abī l-'Alā' al-Ḥusayni*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Irshād 1937.
- Heyworth-Dunne, J., *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, London 1968 (reprint).
- Ḥilmī, Aḥmad, *Ḥadīqat al-Awliyā'*, vii vols., Istanbul 1318.
- Holdsworth, M., *Turkestan in the Nineteenth Century. A brief History of the Khanates Bukhara, Khokand and Khiva*, Oxford 1959.
- Holt, P.M., *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516–1922. A political History*, Ithaca/ New York 1966.
- Holt, P.M., *The Mahdist State in the Sudan, 1881–1898. A Study of its origins, development and overthrow*, Oxford 1970 (2nd ed.).
- Hourani, A., 'Shaykh Khālīd and the Naqshbandi Order', in S.M. Stern, A. Hourani and V. Brown (eds), *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition*, Colombia, South Carolina 1972.
- Ḥusayn, 'Alī Ṣafī, *Al-Adab al-Ṣufī fi Miṣr fi l-Qarn al-Sābi' al-Hijrī*, Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif 1964.
- Ḥusayn, Muḥammad, *Al-Ittijāhāt al-Waṭaniyya fi l-Adab al-Mu'āṣir*, ii vols., Cairo: Makt. al-Ādāb 1954–1956.
- Ḥusayn, Muḥammad al-Muṣayliḥī, *Al-Majmū'at al-'Alīyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Sa'āda n.d.
- Idris, Aḥmad b., *Majmū'at Aḥzāb wa Awrād wa Rasā'il*, Cairo: Mṭ. Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī 1940.

- al-Ikhnāwayī, 'Alī Muḥammad Sālīm, *Al-Anwār al-Munbalija fi Takhmīs al-Munfarrija*, Cairo: Mt. al-Futūḥ al-Adabiyya 1339.
- 'Illaysh, M. b. Aḥmad, *Fath al-'Alī l-Mālik fi l-Fatwā 'alā Madhhab al-Imām Mālik*, ii vols., Cairo: Mt. al-Taḡaddum al-'Ilmiyya 1319–1321.
- 'Imrān, 'Imrān b. Aḥmad b., *Suyūf al-Murīdīn fi Nuḥūr al-Munkirīn*, Alexandria: Mt. Ismā'īl Ma'tūq 1317.
- 'Imrān, 'Imrān b. Aḥmad b., *Nūr al-Bayān fi l-Kashf 'an Bida' Ākhir al-Zamān*, Cairo: Mt. al-Ma'āhid 1347.
- 'Imrān, Al-Sayyid b. Aḥmad al-Sayyid, *Al-Tuḡaf al-'Imrāniyya*, Cairo: Mt. al-Barlamān n.d. (1970).
- Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b., *Ta'rīkh Miṣr al-Mashhūr bi-Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fi Waqā'i' al-Duhūr*, iii vols., Būlāq 1311/2.
- al-Jabartī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *'Ajā'ib al-Āthār fi l-Tarājim wa l-Akhbār*, iv vols., Būlāq n.d. [1297].
- al-Ja'farāwī, 'Alī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi fi Manāqib al-Sayyid Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfi*, Cairo: Mt. al-Jamāliyya 1330.
- Jomier, J., *Le Mahmal et la Caravane Égyptienne des Pelerins de la Mecque (XII–XX^e siècles)*, Cairo 1953.
- Jong, F. de, 'Review of M. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt. An Essay in the Sociology of Religion*', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, xix/2 (Autumn 1974), 322–328.
- Jong, F. de, 'Ṭuruq and ṭuruq-opposition in 20th century Egypt', in F. Rundgren (ed.), *Proceedings of the vith Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Uppsala/Leiden 1975.
- Jong, F. de, 'Two anonymous manuscripts relative to the ṣūfi orders in Egypt', in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 'ii/3–4 (May–July 1975), 186–190.
- Jong, F. de, 'Al-mashāyikh al-Bakriyya and the transformation of their authority in 19th-century Egypt', A. Dietrich (ed.), *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*, Göttingen: Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 1976, 212–229.
- Jong, F. de, 'Khalwatiyya'. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*² iv, 991–993.
- al-Jundī, Anwar, *'Abd al-'Aziz Jāwīsh, min Ruwwād al-Tarbiya wa l-Ṣiḥāfa wa l-Ijtimā'*, Cairo: Dār al-Qawmiyya 1965.
- al-Kāfi, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, *Risālat al-Furū' al-Kāfiyya li-Izālat Ghayāhib al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fi Muqaddimat al-Ṭarīqat al-Sanūsiyya*, Tunis: Mt. al-Najāh 1927.
- Kahle, P., 'Zār-Beschwörungen in Egypten', *Der Islam*, iii (1912), 1–41.
- Kahle, P., 'Zur Organisation der Derwischorden in Egypten', *Der Islam*, vi (1916), 149–169.
- al-Kajūjī, Muṣṭafā Ḥāmid Aḥmad, *Dīwān al-Bahīyya fi Madīh Khayr al-Barrīyya wa Qaṣā'id Naqshbandīyya*, ii vols., Cairo: Makt. al-Jumhūriyya al-'Arabiyya, n.d.
- al-Karakī, Aḥmad Jalāl al-Dīn, *Ḥayāt Shaykh al-Islām Abī l-'Aynayn al-Quṭb al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī* (Ed. Aḥmad 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Khalaf Allāh), Ṭantā: Maktabat al-Tāj 1969.

- Karam, Fu'ād, *Al-Nizārāt wa l-Wizārāt al-Miṣriyya*, vol. i, Cairo: Mṭ. Dār al-Kutub 1969.
- al-Kattānī, 'Abd al-Ḥayy, *Fihris al-Fahāris wa l-Ithbāt wa Mu'jam al-Ma'ājim wa l-Mash-yakhāt wa l-Musalsalāt*, ii vols., Fez: al-Mṭ. al-Jadīda 1347.
- al-Kawākibī, 'Abd al-Rahmān, *Umm al-Qūra, Ḍabt Muḥawwadāt wa Muqarrarāt Mu'tamar al-Nahḍat al-Islāmiyyat al-Mun'aqid fī Makka Sanat 1319*, Cairo, n.d. (about 1320/1902); 4th ed.
- al-Kawthārī, Muḥammad Zāhid, *Irgḥām al-Marīd fī Sharḥ al-Naẓm al-'Atīd li-Tawassul al-Murīd*, Constantinople 1302.
- Keddie, N.R. (ed.), *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis. Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1972.
- Khafājī, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im, *Banū Khafāja wa Ta'rikhuhum al-Siyāsī wa l-Adabī*, ix vols., 5 parts, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Fārūqiyya al-Ḥadītha 1950–1952.
- Khafājī, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im, *Al-Ṣūfī l-Mujaddid al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ghunaynī l-Taftāzānī*, Cairo: Mṭ. Dār al-Ta'līf 1961.
- Khafājī, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im, *Al-Turāth al-Rūḥī li-l-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī fī Miṣr*, Cairo: Dār al-'Ahd al-Jadīd n.d. (1958).
- Khalaf Allāh, Aḥmad 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh, *Min Qādat al-Fikr al-Ṣūfī l-Islāmī, al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī*, Cairo: al-Majlis al-A'lā li-l-Shu'ūn al-Islāmiyya n.d.
- al-Khalifī, Aḥmad Ibn Shawqāwī, *Shams al-Taḥqīq wa 'Urwat Ahl al-Tawfiq*, followed by *Naṣiḥat al-Dhākīrīn wa Irgḥām al-Mukābirīn*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Khayriyya 1307.
- al-Khuḍarī, Ḥamūdah b. 'Alī, *Al-Wafā' bi-l-'Ahd*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Fajjāla al-Jadīda 1383.
- Köprülü, F., 'Misir'da Bektaşilik', *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, VI (1936–1939), Istanbul 1939, 13–40.
- Kremer, A. von, *Aegypten*, ii vols., Leipzig 1863.
- al-Kūhin, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥājj Muḥammad, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shādhiliyyat al-Kubrā*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-'Alāmiyya 1347.
- al-Kurdī, Muḥammad Amīn, *Tanwīr al-Qulūb fī Mu'āmalat 'Allām al-Ghuyūb*, Cairo 1343 (several editions).
- al-Kurdī, Muḥammad Amīn, *Khulāṣat Kitāb al-Mawāhib al-Sarmadiyya fī Manāqib al-Sādat al-Naqshbandiyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Sa'āda 1374.
- Lā'ihat al-Turuq al-Ṣūfiyya wa l-Lā'ihat al-Dākhiliyya li-l-Turuq al-Ṣūfiyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Mu'ayyad 1905; *Idem*, Cairo (no publisher mentioned) n.d.; 'Idem', *Al-Muṣlīm*, iii (1953)/3–4; 23–25.
- Lane, E.W., *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London 1963.
- Le Chatelier, A., *Les confréries Musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887.
- Le Chatelier, A., *L'Islam au XIX^e siècle*, Paris 1888.
- Leff, G., *History and Social Theory*, New York 1971.
- Lings, M., *A Moslem Saint of the Twentieth Century. Shaikh Aḥmad al-'Alawī*, London 1961.
- Macdonald, D.B., *Aspects of Islam*, New York 1911.
- Macdonald, D.B., 'Dawsa (Dōsa)', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², ii, 181f.

- al-Madanī, Muḥammad Zāfir, *Kitāb al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Tanzīh Turuq al-Qawm al-ʿAlīyya*, Istanbul 1304.
- al-Maghribī, Ismāʿil ʿAbd Allāh, *Al-Nūr al-Wuḍḍāʾ fī Manāqib wa Karāmāt ʿUmdat al-Awliyāʾ ... Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Ṣidq al-Khayriyya 1347.
- Maḥmūd, ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, *Al-Madrasat al-Shādhiliyyat al-Ḥadītha wa Imāmuhā Abū l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*, Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadītha 1968.
- Maḥmūd, Abd al-Qādir, *Al-Falsafat al-Ṣūfiyya fī l-Islām Maṣādiruhā wa Naẓariyyātuhā wa Makānuhā min al-Dīn wa l-Ḥayāt*, Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī 1967.
- Maḥmūd, Abd al-Qādir, *Al-Fikr al-Ṣūfī fī l-Sūdān*, Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī 1968–1969.
- Maḥmūd, Aḥmad Faṭḥī, *Abū l-Rabīʿayn ʿAlam al-Dīn Sidī Sulaymān al-Khudayrī*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Ḥijāzī n.d.
- Majmūʿ Awrād Jalīl*, Būlāq 1322.
- Majmūʿ al-Awrād al-Kabīr*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Shamarlī n.d.
- Malortie, Baron de, *Egypt—Native Rulers and foreign interference*, London 1882.
- al-Mansafīsī, ʿAbd al-Jawwād Ḥusayn, *Al-Qawl al-Mufīd fī ʿIlm al-Tawḥīd*, al-Mīnyā: Mṭ. Ṣādiq 1346.
- al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīziyya al-musammā bi-l-Mawāʿiẓ wa l-ʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa l-Āthār*, iv vols., Cairo: Mṭ. al-Nīl 1324/26.
- al-Marṣafī, Ḥusayn, *Al-Kalīm al-Thamān*. Cairo: Mṭ. al-Sharafiyya 1298/1881.
- [Marsot], Afaf Luṭfī al-Sayyid, *Egypt and Cromer. A Study in Anglo-Egyptian Relations*, London 1968.
- [Marsot], Afaf Luṭfī al-Sayyid, 'A socio-economic sketch of the 'ulamā' in the eighteenth century', *Colloque International sur l'Histoire du Caire*, [Cairo:] Grafenhainchen (D.D.R.) pr. [1972], 313–319.
- [Marsot], Afaf Luṭfī al-Sayyid, 'The Ulama of Cairo in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in N.R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, Saints and Sufis. Muslim Religious Institutions since 1500*, Berkeley/ Los Angeles 1972.
- Martin, B.G., *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-century Africa*, Cambridge 1976.
- al-Marzūqī, Muḥammad Yūsuf, *Al-Fuyūḍāt al-Raḥmāniyya, Sharḥ al-Wazīfa al-Madaniyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Anwār 1940.
- Mashīna, Muḥammad Muḥammad, *Al-Qawl al-Maʿrūf fī Aḥkām al-Ḍarb bi-l-Dufūf*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Anwār 1365.
- Massignon, L. & G.C. Anawati, 'Hulūl', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², iii, 570 f.
- Massouda, A.Y., *Contribution à l'Étude du Waqf en Droit Égyptien*, Paris 1925.
- al-Māwardī l-Baṣrī l-Baghḍādī, Abī l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. M. b. Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* (Tr. F. Fagnan, *Les statuts gouvernementaux ou règles de droit public et administratif*), Alger 1915.
- McCoan, J.C., *Egypt as it is*, London n.d. (1877).
- Mengin, F., *Histoire de l'Égypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly*, ii vols., Paris 1823.

- al-Milījī, Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Al-Manāqib al-Kubrā, Tadhkirat Ūlī l-Albāb fī Manāqib al-Shaʿrānī Sīdī ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb*, Cairo: Amīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 1330.
- al-Miṣrī, Wafā Muḥammad al-Qūnī, *Al-Radd al-Mubīn ʿalā l-Jahala al-Mutaṣawwifīn*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Wahbiyya 1293.
- Mitchell, R.P., *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, London 1969.
- Mouelhy, Ibrahim El, 'Les Mouelhy en Égypte—Ibrahim El Mouelhy Pasha', *Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, ii (1949), 313–329.
- Mouelhy, Ibrahim El, 'Les Mouelhy en Égypte—Mohammad El Mouelhy Bey', *Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, vi (1954), 168–179.
- Muʿammar, Jābir Aḥmad, *Manhal al-Wurrād wa Bahjat al-Irḥād li-man arāda Ṭarīq al-Raḥād*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Fajjāla al-Jadīda n.d.
- Mubārak, ʿAlī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiqīyyat al-Jadīda li-Miṣr al-Qāhira wa Muduniḥā al-Qadīma wa l-Shahīra*, xx vols., Būlāq 1305–1306.
- Mudhakkira Marfūʿa ilā Maqām Ṣāhib al-Dawla Wazīr al-Dākhilīyya min Shaykh Ṭarīqat ʿUmūm al-Rifāʿīyya bi-l-Diyār al-Miṣriyya bi-Shaʿn al-Ṭāʾifat al-Ḥabībīyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. Karāra 1925.
- al-Mughāzī, ʿAlī Muḥammad, *Al-Fuyūdāt al-Iḥsāniyya wa l-Tadrijāt al-Insāniyya fī Sayr al-Ṭarīq al-Khaḥwatīyya bi-l-Munāsabāt al-Kawnīyya*, Cairo 1301.
- al-Muḥibbī, Muḥammad Amīn b. Faḍl Allāh, *Khulāṣat al-Aḥar fī Aʿyān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ʿAshar*, iv vols., Cairo: Mṭ. al-Wahabiyya 1284.
- Muḥsin, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Murshid al-Sāltkīn ilā Ṭarīq al-Muhtadin*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Nahḍa 1346.
- Mujāhid, Zakī Muḥammad, *Al-Aʿlām al-Sharqīyya fī l-Mīʾat al-Rābiʿat ʿAshra al-Hijriyya*, iv vols., Cairo 1949–1963.
- Mujāhid, Zakī Muḥammad, *Manāqib al-Bayyūmī*, Cairo: Makt. al-Qāhira n.d.
- al-Mulayji, Ishāq Ibrāhīm Muḥammad, *ʿAlā Hāmish Ḥayāt Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām al-Asmar*, Tripolis (Libya): Makt. al-Najāḥ 1969.
- Muntaṣir, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (ed.), *Maqālāt al-Nadīm*, Cairo 1909.
- al-Musallimī, ʿAbd al-Qādir Muḥammad Aḥmad, *Al-Durrat al-Bahiyya fī Tasābih wa Awrād al-Sadat al-Musallimīyya*, n.p., 1332.
- [al-Muwayliḥī, Ibrāhīm], *Mā Hunālika*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Muqaṭṭam 1896.
- al-Nabhānī, Yūsuf Ismāʿīl, *Jāmiʿ Karāmāt al-Awliyāʾ*, ii vols., Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya al-Kubrā 1329.
- al-Nadīm, ʿAbd Allāh, 'Al-Ṭuruq wa mā fihā min al-Bidaʿ', *Al-Ustādḥ*, 34 (1893), 786–791.
- al-Nadīm, ʿAbd Allāh, 'Al-Ṭuruq wa Iṣlāḥuhā', *Al-Ustādḥ*, 35 (1893), 828–843.
- N.-C.D., 'Bait as-Siddik. L'aristocratie religieuse en Égypte', *Revue du Monde Musulman*, iv (1908), 241–283.
- Nahum, Hayyim, *Recueil de firmans impériaux ottomans adressés aux valis et aux khédives d'Égypte, 1006H–1322H (1597J.C.–1904J.C.)*, Cairo 1934.

- al-Najāti, Muḥammad Yūsuf, *Al-'Ibar fī Kashf Asrār al-Qarn al-Thālith 'Ashar*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Nahj al-Qawīm 1316.
- 'Naqīb al-Ashrāf wa Shaykh Mashāyikh al-Ṭuruq, Samāhat al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Bakrī, *Al-Zuhūr*, iii/4 (June 1912), 203–207.
- al-Naqqāsh, Salīm, *Miṣr li-l-Miṣriyyīn*, vol. iv, Alexandria: Jarīdat al-Mahrūsa 1302 (1884).
- Naṣr al-Dīn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Salīm, *Fawḥ al-Misk al-Dhakī fī Ta'rikh wa Karāmat al-Quṭb al-Walī 'Umdat al-Wāsilīn wa Tāj al-'Arifīn Sīdī al-Shaykh Manṣūr Muḥammad Haykal al-Sharqāwī*, Damanhūr/Alexandria 1930.
- Nicholson, R./G.C. Anawati, 'Ittihād', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², iv, 282–283.
- Nūr al-Dā'im, 'Abd al-Maḥmūd, *Azāhūr al-Riyād fī Manāqib Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib*, Cairo 1954.
- Nūr al-Dīn, Muḥammad, *Al-Ḥayāt al-Waṭaniyya bi-l-Maḥallat al-Kubrā*, Ṭantā: al-Mṭ. al-Ahliyyat al-Kubrā 1927.
- Nuskha Jawhariyya li-Sādat al-Naqshbandiyya wa yalihā l-Silsila al-Dhahabiyya wa Qaṣā'id Khamriyya*, Cairo: Makt. al-Naṣr 1947.
- Pareja, F.M. (et al.), *Islamologie*, Beirut: Imp. Catholique 1957–1963.
- al-Qalyūbī, 'Abd Rabbihi b. Sulaymān, *Fayḍ al-Wahhāb fī Bayān Ahl al-Ḥaqq wa man ḍalla 'an al-Ṣawāb*, vi vols., Cairo: Dār al-Qawmiyya al-'Arabiyya 1957–1966.
- Qamar al-Dīn, Muḥammad Majdhūb b., *Al-Wāridāt al-Wahbiyya fī Awrād al-Ṭariqat al-Majdhūbiyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Shabakshī 1381.
- Qamar al-Dīn, Muḥammad Majdhūb b., *Al-Jumānat al-Yatīma fī Dhikr M'rāj al-Dhāt al-'Azīma*, n.p., n.d. (before 1301 A.H.; Lith).
- al-Qārī, Muḥammad, *Al-Ḥizb al-Aẓam wa l-Wird al-Afham*, Būlāq 1300.
- al-Qāwuqjī, Muḥammad Wajīh, *Al-Mudhakkirat al-Īdāhiyya*, Shabīn al-Kūm 1947.
- al-Qāyātī, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jawwād, *Khulāṣat al-Taḥqīq fī Afḍaliyyat al-'Siddīq*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Islām 1313.
- al-Qāyātī, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jawwād, *Nafḥat al-Bishām fī Riḥlat al-Sha'm*, Cairo: Mṭ. Jarīdat al-Islām 1319.
- Qurā'a, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Baḥth fī l-Nudhūr wa Aḥkāmihā*, Cairo 1936.
- al-Qūṣī, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, *Al-Tuḥfat al-Durriyya fī l-Taghazzulāt al-Muḥammadiyya*, Būlāq 1309.
- al-Rāḍī, Ibrāhīm Salāma, *Murshid al-Murīd fī l-Fiqh wa l-Taṣawwuf wa l-Tawḥīd*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Fajjāla 1962.
- al-Rāḍī, Salāma Ḥasan, *Al-Minah al-Ḥāmidīyya fī l-Ḥikam wa l-Mawā'iz al-Shādhiliyya wa ba'ḍ Ahādīth Nabawiyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Athar 1326.
- al-Rāfi'ī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Aṣr Ismā'il*, ii vols., Cairo: Makt. al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya 1937.
- al-Rāfi'ī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Al-Thawrat al-'Urābiyya wa l-Iḥtilāl al-Injilīzī*, Cairo: Makt. al-Nahḍa 1937.
- al-Rāfi'ī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Miṣr wa l-Sūdān fī Awā'il Ahd al-Iḥtilāl*, Cairo: Makt. al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya 1942.

- al-Rāfi‘ī, Muḥammad Rashīd, *Tarjamat Ḥayāt ... al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Rāfi‘ī ...*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Taqaḍḍum 1323.
- al-Rakhāwī, Muḥammad Muḥammad Māḍī, *Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Manāqib al-Sādat al-Naqshbandiyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Sa‘āda 1344.
- al-Ramādī, Aḥmad M. Aḥmad Dā‘ūd al-Ja‘firī, *Al-Bākūrat al-Ja‘firiyya li-Sharḥ Silsilat al-Sādat al-Naqshbandiyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Dawāwīn n.d. (approx. 1343).
- Ramzī, Muḥammad, *Al-Qāmūs al-Juḡhrāfi li-l-Bilād al-Miṣriyya*, ii vols., 3 parts, Cairo: Mṭ. Dār al-Kutub 1953–1958.
- Raymond, A., ‘Les porteurs d’eau du Caire’, *Bulletin de l’institut français d’archéologie orientale*, lvii (1958), 183–202.
- Raymond, A., *Artisans et Commerçants au Caire au xvii^e siècle*, ii vols., Damas 1973–1974.
- al-Rāqid, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Sayyid, *Al-Ghazw al-‘Uthmānī li-Miṣr wa Natā’ijuhu ‘alā l-Waṭan al-‘Arabī*, Alexandria: Mu‘assasat al-Jāmi‘a 1968.
- al-Ribāṭī, Muḥammad al-‘Arabī b. al-Sā‘ih, *Bughyat al-Mustaḥid li-Sharḥ Munyat al-Murīd*, Alexandria: Mṭ. Jarīdat al-Iskandariyya n.d.
- Riḍā, Muḥammad Rashīd, *Ta’riḫ al-Ustādh al-Imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Abduh*, iii vols., Cairo: Mṭ. al-Manār 1324–1350.
- Riḍwān, Ḥasan, *Rawḍ al-Qulūb al-Mustaṭāb*, Cairo: Mṭ. Dīwān ‘Umūm al-Awqāf al-Miṣriyya 1322.
- al-Rifā‘ī, Ḥusayn Muḥammad, *Baḥr al-Ansāb*, Cairo 1356.
- al-Rifā‘ī, Ḥusayn Muḥammad, *Nūr al-Anwār fī Faḍā’il wa Tarājim wa Tawāriḫ wa Manāqib wa Mazārāt Āl al-Bayt al-Aṭḥār*, Cairo 1356.
- Rivlin, H.A.B., *The Agricultural Policy of Muḥammad ‘Alī in Egypt*, Cambridge, Mass. 1961.
- Rizq, Yūnān Labīb, *Al-Ḥayāt al-Ḥizbiyya fī Miṣr fī ‘Ahd al-Iḥtilāl al-Barīṭānī, 1882–1914*, Cairo: Makt. al-Anḡlū al-Miṣriyya 1970.
- Rizvi, S.A.A., *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Agra 1965.
- al-Sakhāwī, Abī l-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī Ibn Aḥmad, *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb wa Bughyat al-Ṭullāb fī l-Khiṭaṭ wa l-Mazārāt wa l-Tarājim wa l-Biqā’ al-Mubārakāt*, (Maḥmūd Rabī‘ & Ḥasan Qāsim, eds.), Cairo: Mṭ. al-‘Ulūm wa l-Ādāb 1937.
- Sāmī, Amīn, *Taqwīm al-Nīl*, iv vols., 6 parts, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Amīriyya 1916.
- Sāmī, Amīn, *Al-Ta’līm fī Miṣr*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Ma‘ārif 1917.
- al-Sammān, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Karīm, *Risālat al-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyya fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk at-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Ādāb 1326.
- al-Sandūbī, Ḥasan, *Ta’riḫ al-Iḥtifāl bi-l-Mawlid al-Nabawī*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Istiḳāma 1948.
- al-Sanūsī, Aḥmad al-Sharīf, *Al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya fī Muqadimmat at-Ṭarīqat al-Sanūsīyya*, Istanbul 1342.
- al-Sanūsī, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, *Majmū‘ Aḥzāb wa Awrād Ṭarīqat al-Sādat al-Sanūsīyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Nahḍa al-Jadīda 1969.

- Sarkīs, Yūsuf, *Muḥjam al-Maṭbūʿāt al-ʿArabiyya wa l-Muʿarraba*, Cairo: Mṭ. Sarkīs 1928.
- al-Ṣayyādī, Muḥammad Abū l-Hudā, *Tanwir al-Abṣār fī Ṭabaqāt al-Sādat al-Rifāʿiyya al-Akhyār*, Cairo: Mṭ. Muḥammad Efendī Muṣṭafā 1306.
- al-Ṣayyādī, Muḥammad Abū l-Hudā, *Khizānat al-Imdād fī Akhbār al-Ghawth al-Kabīr al-Sajjād Mawlānā al-Sayyid ʿIzz al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ṣayyād*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Wāʿiz 1326.
- al-Sayyid, Aḥmad Luṭfī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿArab fī Miṣr; al-Juzʿ al-Awwal: al-ʿAlayqāt wa l-Jaʿāfira wa Qabāʾil Ukhrā*, Cairo 1935.
- Schölch, A., *Ägypten den Ägyptern! Die politische und gesellschaftliche Krise der Jahre 1879–1882 in Ägypten*, Zürich/Freiburg i.Br. 1973.
- al-Shādhilī, Muḥammad Khaḍir, *Sabīl al-Tawfiq fī Radd al-Munkirin ʿalā Ahl al-Ṭarīq*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Maʿāhid 1338.
- Shafiḡ, Aḥmad, *Mudhakkirātī fī Niṣf Qarn*, iii vols. 4 parts, Cairo: Mṭ. Miṣr 1934–1936.
- al-Shafshāwunī, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Nuṣrat al-Khullān fī Jamīʿ al-Ṭawāʾif al-Aʿyān*, Cairo: Mṭ. Wādī al-Nīl 1293.
- Shams al-Dīn, Muḥammad Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, *Al-Mawāʿiz al-Ṣūfiyya fī l-Ṭarīqat al-Aḥmadiyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Futūḡ al-Adabiyya 1332.
- al-Shaʿrānī, ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, ii vols., Cairo: Mṭ. Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī 1956.
- al-Shaʿrānī, ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣuḡhrā* (Ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad ʿAtāʾ), Cairo: Makt. al-Qāhira 1970.
- Shaw, S.J., *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517–1798*, Princeton 1962.
- Shaw, S.J., (ed. and transl.), *Ottoman Egypt in the Eighteenth Century. The Nizāmnāme-i Miṣir of Cezzār Aḥmed Pasha*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964.
- Shaw, S.J., (transl., introd. and notes), *Ottoman Egypt in the Age of the French Revolution by Ḥusayn Efendī*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964.
- al-Shiblanjī, al-Sayyid Muʾmin b. Ḥasan Muʾmin, *Nūr al-Abṣār fī Manāqib Āl Bayt al-Nabī al-Mukhtār*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Sharafiyya 1298.
- al-Shuʿaybī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *Majmāʿa mushtamila ʿalā Aḥzāb wa Awrād wa Nubadh Latīfa wa l-Maḥyā l-Shuʿaybiyya al-Aḥmadiyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Sharafiyya 1322.
- Shuhdī, Fathī Maḥmūd, *Al-ʿArif bi-llāh Rajul al-Ṣalāḡ wa l-Iṣlāḡ al-Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ṣawī Shaykh Mashāyikh al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya*, Shabīn al-Kūm: Mṭ. Muʾassasat Tarbiyat al-Banīn 1948.
- Shuqayr, Naʿūm, *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān al-Qadīm wa l-Ḥadīth wa Juḡhrāfiyyatuhu*, iii vols., Cairo: Mṭ. al-Maʿārif 1903.
- al-Sibāʿī, Muḥriz b. Muḥammad, *Majmūʿ Awrad al-Ṭarīqat al-Sibāʿiyyat al-Khawatiyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Ṣidq al-Khayriyya 1372.
- al-Sirjānī, Muḥammad Nūr Ṣāliḡ, *Risālat al-Silsilat al-Dhahabiyya fī Tarājim Rijāl al-Sādat al-Khawatiyyat al-Demirdāshiyya*, Cairo 1319.

- Sirrī (Dedeh Bābā), Aḥmad, *Al-Risālat al-Aḥmadiyya fi Ta'rikh al-Ṭarīqat al-Bektāshīyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. 'Abduh wa Anwar Ahmad 1959.
- Sladen, D., *Oriental Cairo, The City of the "Arabian Nights"*, London 1911.
- Spencer, M.E., 'Weber on legitimate norms and authority', *British Journal of Sociology*, 21 (1970), 123–134.
- Spiro, S., *An Arabic-English Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, Cairo/ London 1895.
- Stephan, H., *Das heutige Ägypten*, Leipzig 1872.
- Stuart, Villiers, *Egypt after the War*, London 1883.
- al-Subkī, Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb, *Tuḥfat al-Abṣār wa l-Baṣā'ir fi Bayān Kayfiyyat al-Sayr ma' al-Janāza ilā l-Maqābir*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Maḥmūdiyya 1316.
- Sukayrij, Aḥmad, *Kaṣḥf al-Ḥijāb 'an man talāqā mā' al-Tijānī min al-Aṣḥāb*, Cairo 1381.
- Sultan, Fouad, *La Monnaie Égyptienne*, Paris 1914.
- al-Surūjī, Muḥammad Maḥmūd, *Al-Jaysh al-Miṣrī fi l-Qarn al-Tāsi' 'Aṣḥar*, Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif 1969.
- al-Suṭūḥī, Muḥammad Maḥmūd, *Al-Taṣawwuf wa Aqṭābuhu*, Cairo 1970.
- al-Taftāzānī, Abū l-Wafā' al-Ghunaymī, 'Al-Ṭuruq al-Ṣūfiyya fi Miṣr', *Ḥawliyyāt Kullīyyat al-Ādāb Jāmi'at al-Qāhira*, xxv/2 (December 1963), 55–84.
- Al-Taqrīr al-Awwal li-Maṣhyakh al-Jāmi' al-Aḥmadī*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Ḥusayniyya al-Miṣriyya 1327.
- Taqrīr 'an Wazīfat al-Khilāfa bi-l-Maqām al-Aḥmadī*, n.p., n.d. (approx. 1898).
- al-Ṭaṣfāwī, Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥusayn, *Al-Faḥ al-Rabbānī fīmā yaḥtāju ilayhi al-Murīd al-Tijānī*, Cairo: Mṭ. Muṣṭafā al-Ḥalabī, 1958.
- Al-Tawassulāt al-Marḍiyya bi-Asmā' Allāh wa bi-Rijāl al-Silsilat al-Naqshbandiyya al-Khālidiyyat al-Jūdiyya*, Ziftā: Mṭ. al-Wafā' 1347.
- al-Ṭawīl, Tawfiq, *Al-Taṣawwuf fi Miṣr ibbāna l-Aṣr al-'Uḥmānī*, Cairo: Makt. al-Ādāb 1946.
- Taymūr, Aḥmad, *Tarājim A'yān al-Qarn al-Thālith 'Aṣḥar wa Awā'il al-Rābi' 'Aṣḥar*, Cairo 1940.
- al-Ṭayyibī, Nūr al-Dā'im, *Al-Ku'ūs al-Mutra'a fi Manāqib al-Sādat al-Arba'a*, Cairo: Dār al-Zaynī 1959.
- Tietze, A., *Muṣṭafā' Alī's Description of Cairo of 1599*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 1975.
- Tignor, R.L., *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882–1914*, Princeton 1966.
- al-Tijānī, Muḥammad al-Sayyid, *Ghāyat al-Amānī fi Manāqib wa Karāmāt Aṣḥāb al-Shaykh Sīdī Aḥmad al-Tijānī*, Cairo: Makt. al-Qāhira n.d.
- Togan, Z.V., 'Gasparli (Gasprinski), Ismā'īl', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², ii, 979–981.
- Toynbee, A., *A Study of History*, Vol. XII, Reconsiderations, London 1961.
- Trimingham, J.S., *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1949.
- Trimingham, J.S., *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971.

- Tu'ayma, Aḥmad, *Ḥayāt al-Sayyid al-Badawī*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-'Arabiyya n.d.
- 'Al-Turuq al-Ṣūfiyya fi Miṣr', *Miṣr al-Ḥadīth al-Muṣawwara*, April–May 1928, no. 7, 20–23.
- Tyan, E., *Histoire de l'Organisation Judiciaire en Pays d'Islam*, ii vols., Paris: Annales de l'Université de Lyon 1938–1943.
- 'Ubayd, Aḥmad, *Mashāhīr Shu'arā' al-'Aṣr fi l-Aqtār al-'Arabiyyat al-Thalātha Miṣr wa Sūriya wa l-Ṭrāq*, Damascus: al-Maktaba al-'Arabiyya 1922.
- al-'Ubaydī, Ibrāhīm b. 'Āmir, *Umdat al-Taḥqīq fi Bashā'ir Āl al-Ṣiddīq*, Cairo: Mṭ. Jam'iyyat al-Ma'ārif 1287.
- 'Umar, Muḥammad, *Ḥādīr al-Miṣriyyīn aw Sīr Ta'akhhurīhim*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Muqtataf 1902/1320.
- 'Uthmān, Aḥmad Muḥammad, *Risālat Imāṭat al-Lithām 'an ba'ḍ Athār Sīdī Abī 'Abd al-Salām ... al-Shaykh 'Umar Haykal Ja'far al-Shabrāwī*, n. p. 1366.
- Vansina, J., *De la tradition orale. Essai de méthode historique*, Annales-Série in 8^o-Sciences Humaines no. 36, Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Central 1961.
- Vaujany, H. de, *Le Caire et ses Environs. Caractères, Mœurs, Coutumes des Égyptiens modernes*, Paris 1883.
- al-Wafā'ī, 'Afif al-Dīn b. 'Alī, *Al-Rawḍat al-Shādhiliyya fi l-Maqāmāt al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Bahiyya al-Miṣriyya 1316.
- al-Wafā'ī, 'Afif al-Dīn b. 'Alī, *Ma'āhid al-Taḥqīq fi Radd al-Munkirīn 'alā Ahl al-Ṭarīq*, Cairo: Mṭ. Muḥammad 'Alī Ṣubayḥ 1960 (several editions).
- Warburg, G., 'Religious policy in the Northern Sudan: 'Ulamā' and Sufism 1899–1918', *Asian and African Studies*, vii (1971), 89–119.
- Weber, M., *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tübingen 1972.
- Wizārat al-Awqāf wa Shu'ūn al-Azhar, *Al-Azhar Ta'rīkhuhu wa Taṭawwuruḥu*, Cairo 1964.
- Wizārat al-Māliyya (Maṣlaḥat al-Misāḥa), *Al-Dalīl al-Jughrāfī li-Asmā' al-Mudun wa l-Nawāḥī l-Miṣriyya*, Cairo (Būlāq): Mṭ. al-Amīriyya 1941.
- Wüstenfeld, F., *El-Macrizi's Abhandlung über die in Aegypten eingewanderten arabischen Stämme*, Göttingen 1847.
- Yazici, Tahsin, 'Gulshani', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², ii, 1136–1137.
- al-Zabīdī, Abū l-Fayḍ Muḥammad Murtaḍā, *Tāj al-'Arūs min Sharḥ Jawāhir al-Qāmūs*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Khayriyya 1306–1307, vol. ix.
- Zāfir, Muḥammad al-Bashīr, *Al-Yawāqīt al-Thamīna fi A'yān Madhhab 'Ālim al-Madīna*, Alexandria: Mṭ. al-Malājī' al-'Abbāsiyya 1324–1325.
- al-Zahrāwī, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, *Al-Fiqh wa l-Taṣawwuf* Cairo: Mṭ. al-'Umūmiyya 1319.
- Zakhūrā, Ilyās, *Mir'āt al-'Aṣr fi Ta'rīkh wa Rusūm Akābir Rijāl Miṣr*, iii vols., Cairo: Mṭ. al-'Umūmiyya 1897.
- Zakī, 'Abd al-Qādir, *Al-Nafḥat al-'Alīyya fi Awrād al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo: Mṭ. al-Nīl 1321; and Tripoli (Libya): Makt. al-Najāḥ 1971 (photomechanical reprint).

- Zakī, Ibrāhīm, *Al-Ḥālat al-Mālīyya wa l-Taṭawwur al-Ḥukūmī wa l-Ijtimā'ī fī 'Ahdāy al-Ḥamla al-Fīransīyya wa Muḥammad 'Alī*, Cairo: al-Mṭ. al-'Aṣriyya n.d.
- Zakī, Muḥammad Amīn, *Mashāhīr al-Kurd wa Kurdistān*, ii vols., Cairo: Mṭ. al-Sa'āda 1947.
- al-Zawāhirī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Aḥmadī, *Al-'Ilm wa l-'Ulamā' wa Nizām al-Ta'līm*, Ṭanṭā: Mṭ. al-'Umūmiyya 1904.
- Zayn al-'Ābidīn, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir, *Dalīl al-Ḥā'ir wa Rafīq al-Sā'ir fī Ṭarīq Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir*, Alexandria: Mṭ. al-Taraqqī 1340.
- al-Zayyātī, Sulaymān, *Kanz al-Jawhar fī Ta'rīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo n.d.
- Ziadeh, N.A., *Sanūsīyah. A Study of a Revivalist Movement in Islam*, Leiden 1968.
- al-Ziriklī, Khayr al-Dīn, *Al-A' lām, Qāmūs Tarājim ...*, x vols., Cairo 1954–1959 (2nd ed.).

General Index

- al-Abhariyya al-Akbariyya 9n12
‘Ābidīn palace 60n132
Academy of the Arabic Language 181n251
acrobats 35
Administration of the Khediival Estate 58.
 See al-Dā’irat al-Khidwīyya
al-‘Afifiyya (al-Shādhiliyya) 67, 111n93, 116,
 212
agricultural reforms 41n12
Aḥmadī shrine and mosque 13
al-Aḥmadiyya 7, 7n8, 8n8, 13, 14, 14n43, 15,
 15n48, 17n64, 24n112, 26, 34, 34n180, 35,
 43n26, 44n34, 67, 72n196, 87, 105n49,
 108, 116, 117n124, 123, 136n37, 138n46,
 142, 153, 162n157, 170n191, 174, 177, 178,
 212
al-Aḥmadiyya al-Disūqiyya 170n191
al-Aḥmadiyya al-Shādhiliyya 26, 170n191
“al-‘Uṣfūriyya” 182n258
‘Alawī Darqāwī order 106n58
al-‘Aqqādiyya (al-Shādhiliyya) 140n54
al-‘Arabiyya (al-Shādhiliyya) 26, 26n128,
 60n132, 71n186, 105n49, 107, 110, 129n21,
 169, 170, 170n191
al-‘Arūsiyya (al-Shādhiliyya) 67, 73, 73n202,
 96, 123, 124, 124n9, 125, 126, 126n13, 127,
 128, 153, 177, 212
“Ashoura” (‘Āshūrā’) 196
‘Āshūr family 36, 42n16
al-‘Āshūriyya (al-Burhāmiyya) 114n109
authority (concept) xii, xiii, 1, 2, 2n4
Awqāf Department *See Dīwān al-Awqāf*
al-‘Azāziyya (al-Khalwatiyya) 148, 149,
 149n128, 150
al-Azhar 8n9, 14n43, 20, 20n79, 20n83,
 21n88, 21n89, 22, 22n93, 32, 37, 38, 40,
 59n127, 60n132, 74, 81, 81n267, 86, 88,
 93, 100, 108n69, 109, 116, 139n48, 141,
 143, 170, 170n189, 175n228, 176, 178, 179,
 189, 191, 192

al-Bakrī family 3, 6, 9n10, 10n17, 29n159,
 30n164, 51n66, 94n10, 116n15, 179n239,
 182n258, 186, 216, 218
al-Bakriyya (*ṭarīqa*) xi, 3, 3n6, 6, 8, 8n9,
 8n10, 10n17, 10n22, 11, 12, 19, 29n159, 37,
 40, 61, 62, 63n144, 64n147, 68n167, 92,
 93, 102, 102n40, 103, 104, 121, 122n3, 129,
 131, 132, 135n36, 169n185, 175, 175n224,
 182n258, 186, 189, 194n5, 196n13, 214,
 214n7, 217, 218, 219n11, 220n4. *See also*
 al-Bakrī family
al-Bandāriyya al-Aḥmadiyya 110
al-Batā’ihīyya 18n68
bayt al-‘Azāziyya → *See al-‘Azāziyya* 148
bayt al-Banafirī 17
bayt al-Bāz 17
bayt al-Ḥabībī 18
bayt al-Ḥarīrī 17
bayt al-Labbān 18
bayt al-Malakī 17
bayt al-Manāḥ 17
Bayt al-Ṣiddīq 6n1, 8n9, 129, 135, 135n36, 166,
 178
al-Bayyūmiyya (al-Aḥmadiyya) 14, 32,
 34n180, 35, 63n144, 67, 116, 149n130,
 178, 196n13, 212
al-Bāziyya 18n68
al-Bektāshiyya 21n88, 24, 24n112, 25n114, 31,
 31n168, 75, 80, 133
British occupation 102, 117, 119, 130
al-Bukhārī (*Ṣaḥīḥ*) xx, 27n133, 56n98, 78,
 78n237, 81, 82, 116
Bukhārīs 28, 78
al-Burhāmiyya 7, 15–17, 35, 36, 42n16,
 65n157, 67, 114, 114n109, 115, 116, 132,
 138n46, 176, 178, 212, 213
al-Būṣīrī’s *Burdāt al-Madīḥ* 88n305
butchers *See* guilds

carpenters *See* guilds
cemetery of al-Imām al-Shāfi’ī 70, 113n104
charisma 29
chief of (the Cairo) police 61, 61n132, 76.
 See ma’mūr
circumcision processions 98
al-Āistiyya 138n46
corvée 43, 54, 118
court 3, 10, 12, 18, 22, 25n113, 29, 31, 35n186,
 48, 49, 59n124, 61n132, 114n108,
 129n24

- Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* 65n156, 88, 135n36
 Dār al-Kiswa xxiii, 65n156, 65n157
Dār al-'Ulūm 58n118, 63n144
 al-Darqāwiyya 105, 152n139
 al-Dawyātiyya (al-Shādhiliyya) 124n9
 al-Dayfiyya 113, 178, 212
 Dede Baba 24n113, 25n113, 31n168
 al-Demirdāshiyya 23, 23n103, 24, 24n106, 35, 85, 86n292, 86n294, 117n122
 deputy of *al-mashyakha* See *wakil al-mashyakha*
 dervishes 39n6, 80n258
 descendants of the Prophet 11, 192. See also *ashraf*
 Dīwān (al-)Muḥāfazat (Miṣr) xxiii, 130
 al-Diyā'iyya 79n243, 138
 drums 7n8, 97, 97n20, 162n157, 194, 195, 198. See also *tubūl*
- Egyptian Penal Code of 1904 166
- Farghali family 29n156
 al-Fāsiyya (al-Shādhiliyya) 99, 104, 105, 105n52, 105n54, 132n31, 139, 140, 140n54, 172, 172n207, 173, 173n210
 al-Faṭḥiyya 152n139
 al-Fayḍiyya 26n126
 flags 7n8, 59, 65n159, 98, 101, 164, 213. See also *a'lām*
- French 6, 8n9, 10n16, 18n71, 19n71, 35, 39, 39n6, 135n35, 179n238, 220n8
 French Consul 19n71
 French occupation 6, 10n16, 35, 39n6, 220n8
 French withdrawal 6
 funeral processions 98, 109n78, 164, 213
- General Assembly xi, 118, 122n2, 132, 135, 182n258, 199, 202, 203n1. See also *Al-Jam'iyya al-'Umūmiyya*
 al-Ghunaymiyya al-Khalwatiyya x, 182n258
 governor of Cairo 59, 66, 76, 199, 203. See also *muhafiz* of Cairo
 governor of al-Sharqiyya 54n90, 99
 Governorate (of Cairo) 64, 130. See also *Muḥāfaẓa*
 Governorate building 130. See also Dīwān Muḥāfazat Miṣr
- guilds of
 carpenters (*jazzārūn*) 66n162
 pipe-makers (*shubūkshīyya*) 66n162
 water-carriers (*himālīyya*) 55n91
 guilds (general) 35, 35n184, 48n50, 63n145, 65, 66, 66n162, 102, 185, 186
 al-Gūlshāniyya 21n88, 23, 24, 75, 75n211, 117, 133
- al-Ḥabībiyya 18n68, 35n186, 36n186
hajj caravan 65
 al-Ḥalabiyya (al-Aḥmadiyya) 14, 34, 65n157, 67, 177n233, 178, 212
 al-Ḥāmiḍiyya al-Shādhiliyya 171, 177
 al-Ḥandūshiyya 67, 72, 72n194, 73, 95, 95n11, 177n233, 178, 194n77, 212
 al-Ḥāshimiyya (al-Shādhiliyya) 106, 106n58, 132
 Hawwāra tribe 40n8
 heads of *ṭuruq*, *takāyā*, *zawāyā*, *adriha* See *mashāyikh*
 al-Ḥifniyya 111, 111n93, 112, 169, 170
 al-Ḥisafiyya (al-Shādhiliyya) 100
Ḥizb al-Barr 65n156, 109, 109n78. See also *al-Ḥizb al-Kabīr*
Ḥizb al-Faṭḥ (*Ḥizb al-Bakrī*) 9, 9n13
Al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī 181n255
 house tax See *'awā'id al-amlāk*, *al-rusūm al-khāṣṣa*
 al-Ḥumūdiyya (al-Aḥmadiyya) 14, 14n42, 65n157, 67, 169–171, 171n197
- al-Idrīsiyya (al-Shādhiliyya) 107, 108, 108n71, 148n120, 163, 174n222, 177, 212
al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn 100n36
 al-Imbābiyya (al-Aḥmadiyya) 13, 15, 15n48, 34, 65n157, 67, 87, 153, 154, 154n144, 177, 212
 Imperial Graneries in Old Cairo 28n150
 Imperial Treasury 28n150
 al-'Imrāniyya 47n46, 141
 al-'Ināniyya xx, 11, 12n31, 37, 74, 85, 86, 87n296, 99–102, 116, 151
 instruments 7, 7n8, 59, 91n316, 97, 162n157
 Internal Regulations for the *Ṭuruq* See *al-lā'iha al-dākhilīyya*
 al-'Isawiyya (al-Shādhiliyya) 21n88, 26n121, 26n122, 31n165, 34n180, 35, 67, 72n194, 73, 90, 95, 96, 176n233, 177, 178, 212

- Ja'āfira 138, 138n42
 Jāmi' al-Ḥifnī xxiii, 69n174. *See* shrine-
 mosque of Faraj al-Sutūhī
al-Jam'īyya al-Hiṣāfiyya al-Khayriyya
 100n36
al-Jam'īyya al-'Umūmiyya 118, 122n2
 Janissaris 25n114
Al-Jarīda al-Rasmīyya 201
 Jawharī family 23n98, 36n192
 al-Jawhariyya xxiii, 107, 108, 108n75, 109n79,
 110, 138n43, 169
 Jizī family 15, 36, 68
 jugglers 35
 al-Junaydiyya 142n81, 143n81, 143n82
 jurisdiction (concept) 3, 7n8, 8

 al-Kannāsiyya (al-Aḥmadiyya) 13, 15n48, 34,
 65n157, 67, 149n130, 153, 153n143, 177,
 212
 al-Khālidiyya 79, 138, 138n47
 al-Khālwatiyya 20n77, n80, 23, 26n126, 31,
 37, 42n17, 71, 79, 96n13, 105n49, 111,
 112n97, 112n101, 113, 114, 118, 119, 137n40,
 140, 141, 142, 143, 144n92, 147n11, 149n28,
 151, 171, 172, 207
 khedivial decree 1, 74, 84, 87, 87n296, 92,
 93n4, 129, 167, 183, 202, 209
 al-Khudayriyya (al-Khalwatiyya) 20n77, 37,
 74, 85, 86, 100n37

 land reforms 39
 landholding 39n6, 40
 leadership, institutionalized 2, 9, 17, 22–25,
 28, 29, 32n177, 35, 35n186, 36, 37, 41n15,
 42, 44n34, 68–71, 72n193, 85, 100n37,
 102–104, 105n52, 108, 110, 112, 112n98,
 113–115, 115n110, 124, 125, 127, 138, 139,
 140n54, 141–144, 145n95, 145n99, 151,
 152, 152n138, 153, 154, 169–171, 174
 legal order 3
 Legislative Council xi, 118, 122n2, 180n244,
 181, 182n258. *See* *Majlis Shūrā al-*
Qawānīn
 legitimate order (concept) 2
Al-Liwā' 169, 169n185, 181n251, 182n257

 al-Madaniyya (al-Shādhiliyya) 104–106,
 106n59, 139, 152n139, 166n171, 170n191,
 172n205, 178

 Madrasat al-Mālik al-Ashraf Abū l-Naṣr Qāy-
 itbāy 16n55
 Madrasat al-Sulṭān Maḥmūd 81n266
 Madrasat al-Tawfiqiyya 60n132
 Maghribīs 72
 al-Mahdiyya 82, 119n141, 174, 175n223
Al-Mahrūsa 91, 91n316
 al-Majdhūbiyya (al-Shādhiliyya) 174n222
 al-Makkiyya (al-Fāsiyya) 104, 105, 132,
 132n31, 139
 al-Malakiyya 17n65, 18n68
 Mālikī *muftī* 71, 110, 155n147
 Mamlūk *amīr* (*umarā'*) 39, 80n255
 Mamlūk Egypt 15, 17n64
 Mamlūk factions 25n114
 Mamlūk rulers 36
Al-Manār 148n120, 164n164, 165, 165n170,
 166n171, 167n177
 al-Mansafisiyya 141
 maqām (al-Sulṭān) Ḥusayn Abū l-'Alā'
 mosque 29n156, 85, 88
 maqām al-Imām al-Ḥusayn mosque 9n15,
 20n79, 179
 maqām al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī 85
 maqām M. Demirdāsh 23, 35, 85, 117
 maqām al-Sāda al-'Ināniyya 85
 maqām al-Sayyid 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn 85
 maqām al-Sayyida 'Ā'isha (al-Nabawiyya)
 85
 maqām al-Sayyida Fāṭima al-Nabawiyya 85
 maqām al-Sayyida Nafisa 85
 maqām al-Sayyida Sakīna 85
 maqām al-Sayyida Zaynab mosque 85
 maqām al-Sha'rānī 85
 maqām al-Shaykh Ismā'il al-Imbābī 85
 maqām al-Shaykh Ṣāliḥ Abū Ḥadīd 85
 maqām Sidi Ḥamza al-Sirsī 60n132
 maqām al-Sulṭān al-'Ādil Ḥamān Bāy 85
 maqām al-Sulṭān M. al-Ḥanafī 85
 maqām al-Ustādḥ Sulaymān al-Khuḍayrī 85
 marriage processions 98
 al-Marzūqiyya (al-Marāziqa al-Aḥmadiyya)
 8n8, 13, 14, 14n41, 14n43, 15n48, 34,
 65n157, 116, 123, 125
mawālid of Aḥmad al-Badawī 54n88, 55
mawālid of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī 54n88,
 55n90, 55n94
 al-Mawlawiyya xxii, 21n88, 24, 31, 31n167,
 63n144, 75, 133

- mawlid* of 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dīrīnī 64n151
mawlid of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Dashṭūṭī 9n10, 9n12, 9n15, 61, 62n138
mawlid of 'Abd al-Rahīm al-Qināwī 54n90
mawlid of al-ashraf al-'Alawiyya (al-sādāt al-Wafā'iyya) 64n151
mawlid of 'Aṭīyya al-Bandārī 55n90, 110
mawlid of al-Bayyūmī 64n150
mawlid of al-Ḥusayn 32n174
mawlid of al-Imām Layth b. Sa'd 64n151
mawlid of al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī 64n151
mawlid of Ismā'il al-Imbābī 64n151
mawlid of M. al-Anwar 64n151
mawlid of M. al-Mahdī al-Khaṭīb 143n81
mawlid of M. al-Nu'mān 64n151
mawlid of al-Rifā'ī 66n155
mawlid of al-sāda al-Bakriyya 61
mawlid of al-Sayyida Nafisa 64n151
mawlid of al-Sayyida Ruqayya 64n151
mawlid of al-Sayyida Sakīna 64n151
mawlid of al-Sayyida Zaynab 64n151
mawlid of Sīdī 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn 64n151
mawlid of Sīdī Marzūq (al-Yamānī) 64n151
mawlid of al-Sulṭān al-Ḥanafī 64n151
merchants 29n160, 61n132, 62
Minister of Justice 123. See also *nāzīr al-Ḥaqqāniyya*
Ministry of Awqāf 4, 145n98, 145n101, 146n101, 216
Ministry of Interior 99n30, 101
al-Mirghaniyya xxii, 37, 67, 70, 82n269, 116, 174, 175n223, 178, 212
al-Misallimiyya 113, 114, 132, 138n46
Moroccan 22n95, 26, 72, 72n197, 104, 105, 107, 145, 146, 175n224
mosque of al-Dashṭūṭī 62
mosque of al-Ḥākīm bi-Amr Allāh 21n88
mosque of Qāyitbāy 23
mosque of Sīdī al-Qulālī 147n115
mosque xvi, xxiii, 9n15, 14n43, 20n77, 20n79, 21n88, 23, 30n164, 45n41, 51n66, 52, 56, 56n98, 56n100, 57n103, 60n132, 62, 63, 68n170, 69, 69n170, 69n174, 69n175, 82, 83n281, 87, 106n57, 107n63, 108n86, 117n123, 140n54, 144n95, 147n115, 161n155, 162n157, 179, 189, 191, 192. See also *maqām*
Al-Muṭayyad 150n137, 168n184, 181, 202
al-Mughāziyya al-Khalwatiyya 171, 177
al-Mujaddidiyya 79
Al-Muqaṭṭam xvi, 80
Al-Mu'tamar al-'Arabī 166n171
Al-Mu'tamar al-Islāmī al-'Āmm 181n255
Muwaylihi family 217

Al-Nādī 170n193
al-Naqshbandiyya xxii, 26, 26n128, 27n131, 42n17, 79, 79n242, 79n245, 105n49, 115, 137, 137n38, 138, 138n43, 138n47, 139n49, 143, 143n88
National Party See *Al-Hizb al-Waṭanī*
normative system 181n255
Nuwaytū family 15n48, 153

officials attached to shrine-mosques 56n98
oral testimonies 4
Ottoman Egypt 3, 8n9, 10n17, 12n35, 27n132, 28n150, 28n153, 35n184, 36, 218
Ottoman Empire 44n34, 80, 179n239
Ottoman era 16, 21n88, 30n164, 114
Ottoman expedition of 1786 36
Ottoman occupation of Egypt 15, 24
Ottoman reign 6

palace of al-Bakrī 59, 59n124, 60, 133
palace of Qaṣr al-'Aynī 25n114
pensions and stipends 9, 31, 37, 130
Persians 28
pipe-makers See guilds
power (concept) xi, 2, 7, 18, 21, 21n92, 22n92, 30, 31, 40n8, 50, 80, 90, 91, 93, 94, 98, 130, 136, 137, 157, 180, 190
procession of the *kiswa* 11, 11n156, 11n157, 66
procession of the *laylat al-ru'ya* 11
procession of the *maḥmal* 11, 11n157, 66, 109n78, 164n163
procession(s) 8n8, 59, 59n126, 60, 63n145, 65, 65n156, 65n157, 66, 109n78, 164, 164n163, 212. See also funeral, circumci- sion, marriage procession, *mawkiḥ* and *ishāra*
prosopography 186
provincial governor 41n5, 49n58, 51, 52, 54, 57, 58
provincial *naqīb* See *qā'immaqām niqābat al-ashraf*

- Qādirīs 80, 117n121
- al-Qādirīyya 7, 15, 15n53, 16n54, 27, 27n143, 32n174, 34, 36, 41n15, 63n144, 65n157, 67, 68, 69n172, 78, 80, 80n256, 116, 117, 117n120, 123, 127, 127n16, 127n17, 128, 128n19, 138n46, 139, 149n130, 152, 152n138, 153, 170n191, 174, 174n222, 177, 212
- al-Qādirīyya al-Fāridīyya 128n19, 149n130, 177, 212
- al-Qādirīyya al-Madaniyya (al-Shādhiliyya) 139
- al-Qādirīyya al-Qāsīmiyya 128, 128n19, 177, 212
- al-Qaṣabī family 30n164, 51n66
- al-Qāsīmiyya (al-Shādhiliyya) 22, 22n95, 23n98, 67, 68n170, 72, 95, 149n130, 177, 212
- al-Qāwuqjiyya 107, 171–173, 173n209, 173n212, 177, 212
- al-Qāyātiyya 118, 141
- Qurʾān readers 32n176, 56n98, 59, 59n127, 63n144
- al-Rashīdiyya (al-Aḥmadiyya) al-Idrīsīyya 108, 108n71
- reader of the *sūrat al-Kahf* 56n98
- Regulations x, xi, xiii, 1, 94, 97, 98, 111n93, 112n93, 122, 129–133, 136, 149–151, 153n140, 154, 156, 156n150, 157, 158n154, 159, 161, 163n159, 166–168, 172, 172n204, 179, 183–185, 199, 202, 204, 206. See also *lā'īha*
- revolution of 1952 1, 134
- al-Rifā'iyya xi, xvi, xxii, 7, 17, 17n64, 17n65, 17n66, 18n68, 28, 34, 35, 35n185, 35n186, 36n186, 41n15, 60, 63n144, 67, 80, 90, 94n8, 95, 99n26, 101, 116, 138n46, 148, 149, 149n128, 168n182, 170n191, 177, 182n258, 196n13, 212
- riwāq al-Akrād 139n48
- riwāq al-Maghāribā 108n69
- robe(s) of honour 32n175, 60
- al-sāda al-Bakriyya* xxiii, 9n14, 62n142, 216
- al-sāda al-Jawhariyya* 109n79. See also Jawharī family
- Sādāt family 140n55
- al-Sa'diyya 21n88, 25, 35, 41n15, 60, 62, 63n144, 65n157, 67, 68n166, 90, 93n4, 95, 116, 153, 153n142, 170n191, 174, 178, 213
- saintly lineage 72. See sharifian origin
- saints 111, 8n9, 28, 28n153, 58, 64n151, 87, 88n302, 96, 146
- Al-Ṣā'iqa* 180n243
- al-Salāmiyya 13, 14n41, 34, 65n157, 67, 124n9, 126, 128, 177, 178, 212
- al-Sammāniyya 26, 26n126, 67, 70, 70n182, 119n141, 173, 174n222, 175, 175n223, 175n225, 175n228, 178, 212
- al-Santūsiyya 137, 147, 147n110, 147n111, 148n120
- al-Ṣāwiyya 37, 41n15, 67, 71, 72, 72n193, 112n98, 113, 140, 141, 144, 145, 152, 152n138
- al-Shabrāwiyya 144n92
- al-Shādhiliyya 9n12, 20n79, 22, 22n95, 23, 23n98, 26, 30, 35, 36, 36n193, 37, 63n144, 67, 70n182, 71n186, 72, 96n14, 97, 99, 100, 102, 104, 105n49, 105n51, 105n55, 106n58, 107, 108, 108n73, 109, 109n77, 110, 110n84, 112, 114n109, 115, 124n9, 137, 138n46, 139, 140, 143, 143n88, 149n130, 163, 170n189, 170n190, 170n191, 171, 172, 172n205, 174n222, 177, 178, 212
- al-Shādhiliyya al-Wafā'iyya 140
- al-Shahāwiyya 16, 42n16, 113–115, 132, 176, 178
- al-Sha'rāniyya 12, 35, 85, 86, 86n294
- sharifian origin/descent 19, 30, 31, 36n191, 50, 113. See also *ashraf*
- Shar'iyya Court 4, 130, 200
- al-Sharnūbiyya 16, 42n16, 113–116, 178, 213
- al-Shawādifiyya 144n95, 145
- shaykh al-Mālikīyya* at mosque 20, 20n83, 56n199, 170, 192
- Shi'a doctrine of the hidden Imām 138n43
- al-Shinnāwī family 70
- al-Shinnāwiyya 14, 14n45, 34, 36, 67, 70, 114, 152, 152n138, 162n157, 177, 212
- shrine of 'Abd Allāh al-Jawharī 109n79
- shrine of 'Abd al-Fattāh al-Jawharī 109n79
- shrine of 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Jawharī 109n79
- shrine of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Jawharī 109n79
- shrine of Abū l-Dardā' 177n233
- shrine of Abū l-Ma'ālī al-Jawharī 23n98

- shrine of Aḥmad al-Jawharī 20n79
 shrine of 'Alī al-Bayyūmī 84n288
 shrine of Sidi Marzūq al-Yamānī 84n288
 shrine(-mosque) of 'Abd Allāh al-Sharqāwī 20, 106n59, 114
 shrine(-mosque) of Aḥmad al-Badawī 13, 13n39, 14, 36
 shrine(-mosque) of Faraj al-Suṭūhī (Jāmi' al-Ḥifnī) 69
 shrine(-mosque) of Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī 16
 shrine(-mosque) of al-Imām Layth b. Sa'd 68
 shrine(-mosque) of M. al-Mughazi 175
 shrine(s) (-mosques) xvi, xxi, xxii, xxiii, 2, 12, 13, 13n37, 13n39, 14, 14n41, 14n45, 15, 15n48, 16, 16n53, 16n58, 17, 20n77, 21-23, 25, 26, 28n155, 29, 29n155, 29n156, 31, 35, 36, 53, 56, 56n98, 57, 58, 63, 68, 68n170, 69, 69n170, 69n174, 69n175, 70, 71, 73, 80, 81, 83, 83n281, 84, 84n283, 86n292, 87, 87n298, 88, 88n300, 88n306, 99n27, 100n37, 106n57, 106n59, 107n63, 111, 113n103, 113n104, 117, 119n135, 141, 144n95, 153, 161, 161n155, 162n157, 171, 171n199, 172, 177n233, 210. See also *maqām* and mosque
 shrines of al-sāda al-Bakriyya 62n142
 al-Shu'aybiyya 14, 14n42, 34, 65n157, 67, 72n196, 178, 212
 al-Sibā'iyya xxiii, 112, 112n98, 112n100, 143, 144, 144n90, 144n92, 169, 172
 slaves 216
 snake charmers 35
 Sudanese 119n141, 137, 174n218
 Ṣūfī Council 111n93, 133, 135-137, 149-151, 154, 156n150, 157, 159-162, 167, 168, 168n179, 172, 173, 175, 176, 182n258, 203, 206, 207, 210. See *al-Majlis al-Ṣūfī*
 Sufism See also *taṣawwuf* 21
 al-Suhrawardiyya 9n12
 al-Suṭūhiyya 14, 67, 69, 69n175, 142, 177n233, 212
 takiya of Ḥajjī Bektāsh 24
 takīyat ('Abd Allāh) al-Maghāwiri 77
 takīyat (Nizām al-Dīn) al-Bukhārīyya 77, 78
 takīyat al-A'jam 25n114
 takīyat al-Biṣṭāmī 27n133. See also takīyat Taqī l-Dīn al-'Ajami
 Takīyat al-Bukhārīyya in Darb al-Labbān See also takīyat Taqī l-Dīn al-'Ajami
 takīyat Būlāq (al-Rifā'iyya) 28, 80
 takīyat Darb Qirmiz 77, 79
 takīyat al-Ghannāmiyya (al-Shaykh Ghannām) 28, 28n149
 takīyat al-Gülshāniyya 77, 81, 81n263
 takīyat al-Ḥabbāniyya (takīyat al-Sultān Maḥmūd) 28, 81, 116
 takīyat Ḥasan al-Rūmī 77, 78
 takīyat al-Hunūd 28, 77, 78
 takīyat al-Inkishāriyya 25n114
 takīyat al-'Izām 81
 takīyat al-Jamāliyya 130n25
 takīyat al-Khalwatiyya xxii, 79. See takīyat Qayṣūn
 takīyat al-Lū'lū' 130n25. See also takīyat al-Rukubiyya, and takīyat al-Manshiyya
 takīyat al-Mawlawiyya 77, 81, 81n263, 167n177
 takīyat al-Mirghaniyya 81, 82
 takīyat Muḥyi l-Dīn 77, 80, 116
 takīyat Qanṭarat Sunqur 130n25
 takīyat Qaṣr al-'Aynī 24, 77, 80, 117n120, 167n177
 takīyat al-Qayṣūniyya (al-Qayṣūniyya/ Qayṣūn) 27
 takīyat al-Rifā'iyya See takīyat Būlāq 28n145, 133
 takīyat al-Rukubiyya 77, 79. See also takīyat al-Lū'lū'/zāwiyyat Bābā Yahyā
 takīyat al-Sayyida Nafisa (al-Ashraf) 81, 82
 takīyat al-Sayyida Ruqayya 81, 82
 takīyat Shaykhūn (al-Shaykhūniyya) 16, 27n137, 77, 80
 takīyat al-Sultān Maḥmūd 27n134, 81n266. See takīyat al-Ḥabbāniyya
 takīyat al-Surūjiyya (al-Sulaymāniyya) 16, 27n139, 28, 77, 80
 takīyat Taqī l-Dīn al-'Ajami (al-Biṣṭāmī/al-Uzbek) 27, 27n133
 takīyat Umm al-Ghulām 82
 takīyat al-Ustādh al-Maghribī 77
 takīyat al-Uzbek 27n133, 77, 78. See takīyat Taqī l-Dīn al-'Ajami
 al-Tasqiyanīyya 14, 14n42, 34, 65n157, 67, 178, 212

- tax-reforms 20n78
- al-Tāziyya 115n109
- tents xvi, 53, 60, 60n130, 195. See also *surādiq* and *ṣiwān*
- the Porte 25n113, 31n168, 61n132, 180
- al-Tihāmiyya 36, 67, 72, 72n194, 176n233, 178, 212
- Tijānī doctrine 146n109
- al-Tijāniyya xxiii, 104, 104n48, 137, 145, 145n97, 145n98, 146, 146n101, 146n109, 147, 170n191, 174n222
- “Touhamiya” 114n109
- travel restrictions 43, 54
- Tripolitians 124n7
- Turkish (Osmanli) extraction 79
- (non-)Turkish arbiter 18
- Turkish Qādirīs 75n211, 80n252, 82, 117
- Turkish Rifā’īs 18
- Turkish *ṭuruq* 21n88
- Turks 11
- Universal Islamic Congress 181n255. See also under *Al-Mu’tamar al-Islāmī al-Āmm*
- ‘Urābī insurrection 61n132, 110, 117–119, 141, 171n200
- ‘Urābiyyūn 118
- Uzbek xxii, 27, 78, 116
- vice-regal decree 3. See also under khedi-vial decree
- village headmen 99. See *‘umda*
- voluntary association 2
- al-Wafā’iyya xi, xxiii, 11, 12n31, 19, 37, 64n151, 73, 73n204, 74, 74n205, 74n210, 111n93, 140n55, 151, 182n258, 220n1, 220n2
- water-carriers 55n91, 196n13. See under guilds
- “Way” (teaching and practices of ṭarīqa) 1–3, 12n31, 12n35, 17, 21, 26, 35, 36, 41n15, 43, 48, 49, 53, 55, 70, 71, 71n192, 72n196, 74, 75, 79, 81, 83, 86, 89, 92, 97, 98, 103, 104, 108, 108n73, 111, 111n87, 111n93, 112, 124–127, 130, 137, 141, 147–149, 154, 154n145, 155, 162, 163n159, 170, 186, 187, 193n4, 211, 213
- al-Zāhidiyya 14, 65n157, 67, 69, 169–171, 171n197
- zāwiyyat Bābā Yahyā 79n248. See also takīyat al-Rukubiyya
- zāwiyyat al-Fāsiyya xxiii
- zāwiyyat al-Ghannāmiyya 28n149. See also takīyat al-Ghannāmiyya
- zāwiyyat al-Hunūd 28n149. See also takīyat al-Hunūd
- zāwiyyat al-Jūdariyya xxiii
- zāwiyyat al-Khuḍayrī 20n77
- zāwiyyat al-Rifā’iyya xxiii, 17
- zāwiyyat al-Sammāniyya 70
- zāwiyyat Surūr Aghā xxiii
- zāwiyyat al-Tijāniyya 145

Index of Arabic and Turkish Terms

- ‘abā’āt* 96
adawāt al-dhikr 7n8. See *‘udda*
‘ahd 9n12, 25n116, 118n129, 148, 182n256
ahl al-bayt 88, 88n303, 146n109
ahl al-bida’ 26
a’lām 7n8, 15n51, 86n292, 99n27, 108n72,
110n81, 117n123, 119n137, 120n149, 122n2,
172n206
amīn shimāl Miṣr 60n132
anāshid 95
al-aqṭāb al-arba’a 7n7
arbāb al-ashāyir 8n8, 189n5
arbāb al-Ḥizb 109n78
arbāb al-sajjīd 11, 12, 12n33, 12n35, 37, 86,
87n296, 101, 111n93, 185
arbāb al-turuq 8n8
aṣḥāb 7n8, 105n49, 146n109
ashāyir 7n8, 59n126, 199. See also
ishāra
ashrāf xi, 8, 8n10, 11, 19, 20n77, 30n163, 32,
50, 64n151, 189
‘awā’id al-amlāk 43n29
awliyā’ 71n185, 71n188, 107n64, 137n39
awqāf al-ashrāf 19, 30, 179, 180. See also
waqf
awqāf al-Bakrīyya 61n135
awqāf al-ḥaramayn 81n266
awqāf khayrīyya 34, 130, 133, 135n36,
145n98
awqāf → See *waqf* 4, 7n8, 9, 9n15, 11, 12,
15, 19, 22n93, 23, 23n103, 24, 24n107,
24n109, 25, 25n113, 25n114, 26n128, 28,
29n155, 30, 34, 34n180, 36n192, 37n193,
41, 41n12, 53, 56, 56n98, 56n101, 57,
58, 61, 61n135, 62n140, 64, 69n175, 76,
76n220, 79, 79n240, 80n249, 80n255,
81n266, 88, 100n37, 108, 109n78, 130,
133, 135, 135n36, 145n98, 175n228, 179,
180, 183, 216
awrād 72n196, 105n55, 108n71, 109n77,
112n98, 112n100, 113n103, 148n120,
174n222
bāb al-mashyakha 129n24, 151, 164, 207, 209,
210, 212, 213
baraka 21n88, 74n205
Bāshā → See Muḥammad ‘Alī 6, 7, 12n33, 19,
19n77, 21, 30, 30n161, 60n132, 61n132,
64n147, 80n255, 117n122, 139, 175, 218n8
bawāriq 7n8, 21n88
bayt (buyūt) 6n1, 8n9, 10n17, 13, 14, 14n41,
17, 17n65, 18, 73n204, 74n205, 74n210,
88n303, 114, 115, 129, 135, 135n36, 137n41,
148, 154n145, 166, 178, 182n258, 220n1,
220n2. See also General Index
al-bayt al-kabīr 13
al-bayt al-ṣaghīr 14
bāzāt 7n8
berāt 25n113
bid’a (bida’) 94n9, 164n164
bilād 8n10, 10n18, 51
buyūt → See *bayt* 13, 13n41, 17, 17n65, 18,
18n68
dabbūs 91n316
dafātīr 3, 3n6, 3n7, 204, 207
daftar al-ashrāf 30
Dā’irat (al-Khāṣṣa) al-Khidwīyya 60n132,
61n132, 64, 64n151, 76n220
Dā’irat al-Saniyya 64n151
ḍarb al-silāh 91n316, 194n6
darj 18n68
dawsa (döseh) xvi, 25, 25n120, 60, 62,
62n138, 90, 93, 93n4
dhākira 63n144
dhikr x, 7n8, 17n64, 21n88, 26n125, 59, 60,
63n144, 96, 96n13, 96n14, 99, 104, 164,
164n165, 174n222, 193n1, 211
al-dhikr al-munāwaba 96
Divān-i khedīvi 189n3
Divān-i mulkiye-i Miṣr 189n3
Divān efendisi 24n106
Divān (‘Umūm) al-Awqāf 60n132, 63n144,
69n175, 76, 81, 83, 116, 130, 131, 133,
133n33, 161, 179, 199, 202
Divān al-Injāriyya 63n145
al-Divān al-Khusūṣi 13n33
Divān al-Maliyya 103
Divān of Cairo 6
emīn-i khorde 35n184

- fatwā* 71, 93n4, 97n20, 110n81, 126, 126n14
fellāh 10n16
firda 35, 196n13
firmān (*farmānāt*) 15n48, 19, 19n73, 21, 22, 24, 24n107, 27n133, 29–32, 36n192, 37, 38n1, 59, 61, 63, 64n147, 74, 86, 90n308, 92, 122n3, 124n7, 189, 189n1, 191, 220n9
firmān al-mawlid 59, 61
firmān mawlid al-rasūl 59
fuqahā' 63n144
fuqarā' 122n3, 152n139, 189–191
furda 35n183. See also *firda*
- ḥadīth* (*aḥādīth*) 14n43, 148n120
ḥaḍra (*ḥaḍarāt*) 21n88, 77, 91, 91n316, 95, 95n11, 96, 98, 138n43, 139n51, 155, 155n148, 156, 163, 164, 166, 193n1
ḥākīm al-khuṭṭ 51
ḥalqa 211
Hay'at Kibār al-'Ulamā' 175n228
ḥazīmāt 7n8
ḥimāliyya 196n13. See also *guilds*
ḥiṣṣa (*ḥiṣaṣ*) 51
ḥizb 9, 9n13, 23n98, 59, 65n156, 88n305, 109, 109n77, 109n78, 124n10, 181n255, 193n1
ḥujja (*ḥujaj*) 13
ḥulūl 163, 163n160, 211
- ʿīd al-aḍḥā* 62
ʿīd al-ḥiṭr 156
ʿidda 7n8, 98. See also *ʿudda*
ijāza (*ijāzāt*) 14n43, 16n57, 23n98, 26n126, 26n128, 27n128, 27n131, 32n177, 43, 43n26, 43n28, 44, 44n30, 44n31, 44n34, 73, 79n245, 100n37, 105n54, 110n83, 110n87, 113n103, 124, 127n16, 142n76, 153n143, 154, 154n145, 155, 155n145, 156, 156n149, 172n203, 177n233, 196n13, 196n14, 208, 211, 214
ʿilm 22, 32, 56n98, 120n146, 166n171, 166n175, 179n236
iltizām (system) 36n192, 39, 39n6, 40n8, 41n12, 192n3
ishāra (*ashāyir*) 8n8, 12n35, 25n114, 59n126
iṣlāḥ 119n143, 165, 165n167, 166
ism al-jalāla 71n85, 96n13
al-ism al-mufrad 96n13
ism al-ṣadr 96, 104, 104n46
ittiḥād 163, 163n160, 211
- jalasāt* 139
jamā'at al-Ḥizb 109n78
jazzārūn 66n162. See also *guilds*
- kāsāt* 7n8
kātib bāb al-mashyakha 205n1
kātib niqābat al-ashraf 36, 68, 68n167
katkhudā 141n71
khadamāt 53
khādim ḍarīḥ 68n170
khalīfa (*khulafā'*) xvi, 14n43, 20, 22, 23, 26n126, 32n177, 39n6, 42–44, 44n34, 45–49, 52, 53, 70, 70n182, 71, 73, 94, 95n11, 97n21, 98, 104, 105, 105n53, 105n54, 106, 107, 108n69, 112n98, 112n101, 119, 119n141, 120, 124, 124n9, 137, 138n48, 139, 140, 140n54, 140n60, 141, 141n71, 142–144, 144n92, 144n95, 145, 152n139, 154, 154n145, 155, 155n148, 156, 156n149, 163, 164, 172, 174, 175n228, 177n233, 191, 207, 208, 211
khalīfat (*khulafā'*) *al-maqām al-Aḥmadi* 12n31, 13, 13n39, 26n124, 73, 98n26, 115n110
khawwa 117n122, 117n123
khaṭīb 20n77, 30n164, 51n66, 60n132, 143n81, 144n92, 179
al-khazīna (*al-ʿamīra*) 9n16, 58
al-khidma 52n78, 68n170, 83, 83n281, 84, 85n290, 161, 210
khilāfa 10n17, 17, 39n6, 56n99, 57n104, 98n26, 161n156, 162n157, 196n13, 208
al-khilāfa al-Bakriyya 10n17
khilāfat al-aḍriḥa 191
khorde emīnī See *emin-i khorde*
khuṭṭ 60n132
kiswa 65, 65n156, 66
kufir 71, 71n185
kunyā 74n205
- al-lā'īha al-dākhilīyya li-l-turuq al-ṣūfiyya* 1, 132n32, 150 ff., 204 ff.
al-lā'īha al-waṭaniyya 90n309
lā'ihat ij'rā'āt Dīwān 'Umūm al-Awqāf 130
lā'ihat niqābat al-ashraf 180
lā'ihat al-turuq al-ṣūfiyya of 1895 199 ff.
lā'ihat al-turuq al-ṣūfiyya of 1903 202 ff.
laqab 18n67
layla (*layālī*) 98, 155

- laylat nisf Sha'bān* 62
laylat al-rū'ya 65
- maddāh (maddāhīn)* 12n35, 197n16
maḥḍar (maḥādir) 32n175, 51
mahdī 3n165, 60n132, 71n185, 85, 97n20,
 100, 101, 119n141, 142n81, 143n81
maḥmal 65, 65n157, 66, 109n78,
 164n163
al-Ma'īyya al-Khidīwīyya 81
Majlis al-Ahkām 60n132, 74, 75n210
al-Majlis al-Khusūsī 44n30
al-Majlis al-Mashwara 74
 "Majlis muḥaṣṣiṣ li-l-ṣūfiyya" 130n28
Majlis al-Qaḍīyya (Majālis al-qaḍāyā)
 195n12
al-Majlis al-Shūrā 30n162
al-Majlis al-Ṣūfī 1, 87n296, 100n38, 130–132,
 209
Majlis al-Tujjār 61n132, 66
ma'mūr 50, 60n132, 76
ma'mūr Khuṭṭ Miṣr 60n132
maqām See General Index
al-marāḥim al-khidīwīyya 81
markaz 106n58, 141, 141n67, 142, 142n81, 144,
 144n95, 145, 154, 157, 158n154, 159n154,
 160n154, 208, 209
marsūm 16, 189n1
mashā'il 7n8, 97
mashāyikh al-aḍriḥa 85, 85n290, 87, 88,
 88n300, 89, 92, 202
al-mashāyikh al-Bakrīyya 3, 10, 93n8,
 182n258, 216. See also *shaykh al-sajjāda*
al-Bakrīyya
mashāyikh qirā'at al-Burda 88n305, 109n78,
 135n36
mashāyikh qirā'at al-Ḥizb 88n305, 135n36
mashāyikh al-sajjā'id 111n93, 207
mashāyikh al-takāyā 77, 199
mashāyikh al-turuq xvi, 1, 67, 69, 69n175,
 103, 111n93, 116–118, 119n143, 122, 122n3,
 129, 131, 131n30, 132–134, 136, 137,
 150, 151, 157, 165, 168, 175n223, 176,
 183, 183n258, 184, 202, 203, 206, 209,
 212
mashayikh al-zawāyā 130, 204
mashyakha (term) xii, 15–17, 18n68, 22, 36,
 107n63, 136, 151, 153n141, 156–158, 162,
 189, 190, 203, 204, 206–210
- mashyakhat (al-turuq al-ṣūfiyya)* 8n9, 15,
 32, 56n99, 56n100, 68, 102n40, 122n3,
 123n3, 135, 135n36, 142n81, 154n144, 191,
 203–205, 210, 215n10
mashyakhat al-khānaqāh al-Baybarsiyya
 215n10
mashyakhat al-maqārī' 32n176, 135n36, 191
mashyakhat al-Qādirīyya 15, 68
al-mashyakhat al-sharīfa 123n3
mawlid (recital) 60
mawlid (by *al-Barzanjī*) 59n128
mawlid (mawālid) 33, 42, 48, 49, 52, 52n78,
 53, 54, 54n86, 55, 55n92, 55n94, 58,
 59n126, 61, 64, 64n147, 64n148, 64n151,
 66, 74n205, 94, 97, 99, 143n81, 146, 155,
 193n3
mawlid al-nabī x, xvi, 8n9, 26, 58, 59n126,
 60n130, 60n132, 61, 62n139, 64n153,
 88n305, 88n306, 103, 105n54, 134, 156,
 169
mawkib (mawākib) 51, 59n126. See also pro-
 ceSSIONS
mihrajān jabr al-Nīl 63n145
mihrajān nāhil 77n225
mīqātīyyūn 56
mī'rāj 62, 174n222
mishaddūn 192, 192n3
mu'adhdhinūn 56n98
muballīghūn 56n98
mudīriyya 209
muftī 8n10, 14n43, 60n132, 71, 74n206, 91,
 97n20, 100, 101, 110, 155n147, 181, 214n8
muftī al-Ḥanafīyya 74n206
muftī al-saltāna 214n8
muḥāfiẓ of Cairo 60n132, 69, 79, 130, 199,
 205
muhtasib 65
mujāwirūm 192
multazim (multazimūn) 39n6, 40
munshid(s) 143n82
muqrī' 211
muraqqī' 56n98
murattabāt al-ishāra 7n8
murattabāt al-sajjāda 7n8
murīd (murdūn) 47, 48, 73n198, 79n242,
 86n292, 137, 143, 146n109
mustahfiẓān 24n113
muṣṭalaḥāt 153n140
mustaqbil 56n98

- nadhr* (*nudhūr*, *nudhūrāt*) 31169, 83n281, 155n148
- nā'ib* (*nuwwāb*) 44, 44n35, 45–47, 52, 124, 128n19, 142n81, 152, 175, 176, 177n233, 208, 209
- najjārūn* 66n162. See also guilds
- naqīb al-ashrāf* xvii, 1, 4, 6, 10, 11, 15, 19, 29, 30n162, 38, 68n167, 122, 158, 175n223, 178, 179n239, 180, 183n258, 191, 219n10, 220n4
- nasab* 31
- nāzīr* (*nuzẓār*) of shrines, of mosques, of *awqāf* 9n10, 20n77, 24, 24n107, 26n128, 56n101, 60n132, 61, 69n175, 76, 81, 84, 99n30, 108, 123, 135, 179, 199, 202
- nāzīr awqāf Ahmad al-Badawī* 56n101
- nāzīr Dā'irat al-Saniyya* 60n132
- nāzīr al-Ḥaqqāniyya* 123
- nāzīr al-Khāṣṣa* 76
- nāzīr waqf al-sayyidāyn* 56n101
- niqābat al-'Alawīyyīn* 9n11
- niqābat al-ashrāf* 6, 6n2, 9n11, 11, 11n30, 15, 30, 31, 36, 179, 220
- niqābat al-Tālibīyyīn* 9n11
- nizāra* (*nizārāt*) 9n15, 15, 19, 23, 34, 58, 99n30, 133
- nuqabā'* (al-Demirdāshiyya) 50, 51, 86n292, 86n294
- al-nūr al-muḥammadī* 148n120
- pāshālik* of Egypt 40n8
- qadam* xii, xiii, 38, 38n5, 39, 39n5, 40–42, 42n16, 43, 46–48, 48n51, 49–51, 53, 69, 70, 74, 86, 87, 89, 92, 99, 101–104, 113, 114, 120, 124, 131, 157, 162, 162n158, 172, 174, 184–186, 211
- qāḍī* 6n1, 10, 10n22, 12, 14n43, 29, 31, 45, 45n41, 52, 57–59, 61n132, 71, 84, 91, 93n4, 94n8, 137, 157, 215n10, 219n14
- qāḍī al-askar* 218n2
- qāḍī al-quḍāt* 10n22
- qā'immaqām niqābat al-ashrāf* 45
- Qānūn* 61n32
- qarār* 14n43
- qaṣīda* (*qaṣā'id*) 172n205, 180n243
- qidam* 38n5
- rabbānī* 97, 108n71, 110n86, 137n40, 146n109
- ra'īs al-bayt al-Bakrī* 10n17
- ra'īs Majlis al-Ahkām* 61n132
- ra'īs Majlis al-Isti'nāf* 60n132
- rīwāq* (*arwiqa*) 32, 108n69, 139n48. See also General Index
- rukūbat al-Nīl* 63n145
- al-rusūm al-khāṣṣa* 118n128
- Rūznāma* (Department) 34, 41, 64, 75, 76, 76n220, 83
- rūznāmī* 60n132
- ṣadaqāt al-khidma* 83n281
- ṣadaqāt al-ṣundūq* 83n281
- sajjāda* xi, 7n8, 10n21, 18n68, 189, 214, 217, 219n9
- al-salaf* 191
- salām* 14n41, 73
- sartujjār* 45, 45n41, 61n132
- shāhbandar al-tujjār* 29
- shaqūr* 95n11
- al-sharaf al-qadīm* 39n5
- shar'ā* 75, 126, 211, 213
- sharṭ waqf* 202
- shaykh* (al-sāda) al-Ḥanaḥfiyya 192
- shaykh* (al-sāda) al-Mālikīyya 20, 56n100, 191, 192
- shaykh* (*mashāyikh*) *qirā'at Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* 88, 88n306
- shaykh* ('umūm) *al-maqārī'* 59n127
- shaykh* al-Azhar 19–21, 32, 32n175, 33, 37, 56n101, 60n132, 74n206, 97n20, 100–102, 114, 126, 180, 191
- shaykh* al-Bakrī 193. See also *shaykh* al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya
- shaykh bayt* 13n41
- shaykh al-fuqarā'* 17, 17n64
- shaykh Khān al-Khalīlī* 60n132
- shaykh Khidmat al-Imāmayn* 68
- shaykh mashāyikh al-turuq al-ṣūfiyya* 1, 119n143, 122, 122n3, 129, 131n30, 132–134, 136, 151, 157, 165, 168, 175n223, 184
- shaykh* al-muḥaddithīn 20
- shaykh* al-nāhiya (*mashāyikh* al-nawāhī) 50
- shaykh* (*mashāyikh*) *qirā'at Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* 88n306, 109, 135n36
- shaykh* al-qurrā' 20
- shaykh qurrā'* al-Ḥizb al-Shādhilī 23n98, 109. See also *mashāyikh qirā'at al-Ḥizb*

- shaykh al-sādāt* 30, 30n161, 74n209. See also *shaykh al-sajjāda al-Wafā'īyya*
- shaykh al-sajjāda* (term) xi, xvi, 1, 3, 4, 6n1, 8n9, 10, 11–13, 14n43, 15, 17, 30, 32n175, 38, 60n132, 73, 74n205, 82n269, 100n37, 101, 108n75, 111n93, 112n93, 115n110, 122, 122n3, 127n16, 128n19, 129, 131, 132, 135n36, 153n142, 153n143, 154n144, 162n157, 168, 174n218, 182n258, 183, 189n4, 191, 214n5, 218n7, 219n10, 219n14, 220n2
- shaykh al-sajjāda al-Bakriyya* 1, 3, 4, 8n9, 10, 32n175, 38, 101, 122, 122n3, 168, 183, 191
- shaykh al-sajjāda al-Habibiyya* 35n186
- shaykh al-sajjāda al-Hifniyya* 111
- shaykh al-sajjāda al-'Ināniyya* 60n132
- shaykh al-sajjāda al-Khudayriyya* 100n37
- shaykh al-sajjāda al-Wafā'īyya* 30, 189n4, 220n2. See also *shaykh al-sādāt*
- shaykh tā'ifa* 17
- shubūkshīyya* 66n162. See also guilds
- Sikh* 91n316. See also *dabbūs*
- silsila (salāsīl)* 13, 13n38, 13n41, 14n43, 16n57, 17n65, 32n177, 33n177, 36n191, 100n37, 101, 105n52, 109, 110n87, 111, 119, 124, 127n16, 138n43, 138n47, 144n92, 153n143, 154, 154n144, 154n145, 172, 172n203, 173, 173n210, 214, 214n4, 215n9, 215n17
- šiwān (šawāwīn)* x, 60
- šundūq* 7n8, 55, 83n281, 162n157
- šundūq (nudhūr) al-Aḥmadi* 7n8, 55
- sunna* 74n205, 165
- surādiq* 7n8
- šurra* 10n16, 36n192
- tadhākīr murūr* 54n88
- tahlīl* 96n13
- takīya (takāyā)*; definition 2, 18, 22–24, 24n107, 24n109, 24n113, 25n114, 26n128, 27n133, 28, 31, 31n168, 75n211, 78, 79, 79n244, 80, 80n249, 80n255, 80n256, 80n260, 81, 81n267, 82, 117, 117n121. See also General Index
- al-takniyya* 74n205
- taqrīr* 6n1, 10n22, 56n99, 56n100, 57n103, 83n282, 98n26, 149, 149n128, 161n156, 162n157, 219n14
- tārīkhjī* 24n109
- tīrān* 8
- tubūl* 7n8
- turābī* 187n17
- 'udda* 7n8, 53n79, 98
- ujra* 63n144
- 'ulamā* 9n15, 10, 19–21, 21n89, 22n92, 23, 56n98, 56n100, 59, 60, 60n132, 62, 104n46, 117n125, 175n223, 179n236, 191
- 'umda ('umad)* 50
- 'uṣṣy* 97
- wakīl (wukalā')* *al-mashyakhā* xvi
- wakīl ahālī Ṭarābulus* 124n7
- wakīl Dā'irat al-Khāṣṣa* 61n132
- wakīl Dā'irat al-Saniyya* 61n132
- wakīl al-Dākhilīyya* 123
- wakīl Dīwān al-Awqāf* 60n132
- wakīl Dīwān al-Māliyya* 60n132
- wakīl Majlis al-Isti'nāf* 60n132
- wakīl Muḥāfazat Miṣr* 60n132
- wakīl al-rūznāmījī* 61n132
- wakīl šīmāl Miṣr* 60n132
- wakīl al-ṭarīqa al-Khudayriyya al-Khawatiyya* 21n77
- wakīl al-ṭarīqa al-Sharnūbiyya al-Burhāmiyya* 114–119
- wakīl Zabṭiyyat Miṣr* 63n132
- walī* 6, 10, 219n13
- waqf (awqāf)* ix, xix, 9n10, 19n77, 20n77, 23n103, 24n107, 25n114, 45n139, 56n101, 64, 72n196, 81, 81n266, 84n286, 114n108, 130n26, 141n67, 145, 145n99
- waqfiyya (waqfiyyāt)* 4n8, 20n77, 23n103, 25n114, 79n240, 146n101
- wazā'if al-da'wa* 56n98
- wazīfa* 83n282, 106n59
- yufaṭ* 7n8
- zabṭiyya* 83
- zār* 166, 166n175, 211
- zarwata* 194n7
- zāwiya (zawāyā)*; definition xxiii, 2, 17, 17n66, 22, 25, 28, 35, 63n144, 106, 106n58, 106n61, 108n70, 117n123, 140n54, 145, 145n98, 145n99, 146n101, 147, 172n207, 211. See also General Index
- zayy* 7n8

Index of Personal Names

M. stands for Muḥammad. Names of persons mentioned on pages 158–160 and not mentioned elsewhere in this book have not been indexed.

- ‘Abbās (*shaykh takīyat al-Maghāwīrī*) 77
‘Abbās I (Khedive) 74, 79, 80, 138, 147
‘Abbās Ḥilmī (Khedive) xi, xii, 122, 178, 181
al-‘Abbāsī, M. al-Mahdī 60n132, 97n2, 100, 101
‘Abd al-‘Al 13n39
b. ‘Abd Allāh, Jābir 148n120
‘Abd al-Bāqī (*shaykh al-tarīqa al-Makkīyya*) 105, 132n31
‘Abd al-Fattāh, Yūsuf 61n32
‘Abd al-Ḥalīm (*shaykh maqām al-Sha‘rānī*) 85
‘Abd al-Ḥamid (Ottoman Sultan) 106
‘Abd al-Ḥamid, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf 154n144
‘Abd al-Khāliq (*shaykh maqām al-Sayyida Nafīsa*) 85
‘Abd al-Khāliq (*shaykh maqām Ṣāliḥ Abū Ḥadīd*) 85
‘Abd al-Majīd (*khalīfat maqām Aḥmad al-Badawī*) 13, 13n39, 26n124, 98n26
‘Abd al-Majīd (Ottoman Sultan) 80
‘Abd al-Muta‘āl, Jūda 120, 120n148, 142, 143
‘Abd al-Mu‘ṭi, Maḥmūd 61n32
‘Abd al-Qādir, ‘Alī Ḥasan 139n52
‘Abd al-Qādir, M. 139
‘Abd al-Raḥmān 13n39
‘Abd al-Raḥmān (*qāḍī bandar al-Manṣūra*) 45n41
‘Abd al-Raḥmān (*shaykh qirā‘at Dalā‘il al-Khayrāt*) 88n306
‘Abd al-Raḥmān Nāfiḏ (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) 61n32, 219n14
‘Abd al-Raḥmān Efendī 77
‘Abd al-Salām, ‘Abd al-Qādir b. 117n120
‘Abduh, M. 93n4, 94n8, 142, 142n77, 181
b. Abī Bakr, M. 215, 215n17
b. Abī Ṭālib, ‘Alī 11, 74
Abū l-Dhahab, M. Bek 25n114
Abū l-Faṭḥ, M. 107, 120n147, 141, 173, 173n209, 177
Abū l-Fayḏ Bek, M. 61n123
Abū Fayḏ al-Dīn, ‘Abd al-Ghanī Ghunaym 26n126
Abū l-Ḥasan, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān 45n41
Abū l-Layl, Aḥmad 141
Abū Misallim, Salīm ‘Abd Allāh Salīm 113
Abū l-Qurā, Aḥmad 105n53
Abū Sa‘īd Zādeh, M. 137n39
Abū l-Shubbāk, ‘Alī See al-Rifā‘ī, ‘Alī
Abū Zayd, Sa‘īd 171
al-‘Adawī, ‘Alī 60n137
Adham, Ibrāhīm Bek 61n32
al-Afghānī, Jamāl al-Dīn 94n8, 165
al-‘Afifī, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb 14n42, 21n88, 23, 84n288, 198
al-‘Afifī, Aḥmad 67
al-‘Afifī, M. b. Aḥmad 168n183, 178
al-‘Afifī, Riḏwān 35
Aḥmad Bek (*nāzir waqf al-sayyidayn*) 56n101
‘Alī (*shaykh takīyat al-Ghannām*) 77
‘Alī (*shaykh maqām al-Sayyid ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn*) 85
‘Alī Bek al-Kabīr 8n9, 40n8
‘Alī Efendī 11n208
‘Alī Efendī b. Ibrāhīm b. Nūr al-Dīn 24n107
“‘Alī Kākā” 193n4
Amīn, Aḥmad 7n8
al-Amīr al-Kabīr, M. 20n79, 110
al-Amīr al-Ṣaghīr, M. 20n79
al-‘Āmirī, Sayf al-Naṣr M. 172n206
al-Anṣārī, Zakariyyā” 9n12
al-‘Aqbāwī al-Tilimsānī, Ḥāmū 145n98
al-‘Aqqād, Maḥmūd 180n243
al-‘Aqqād, M. Aḥmad 139, 140n54
‘Arab, Aḥmad 105
b. al-‘Arabī 170n139
al-‘Arabī, M 26, 36, 110n80
‘Ārif Bāshā 61n32
‘Ārif Bek (*nāzir waqf al-sayyidayn*) 56n101
al-‘Arīshī, Muṣṭafā 60n132
b. ‘Arūs, Aḥmad 73n202
al-‘Arūsī, Muṣṭafā 60n132
‘Āshīq, M. Efendī 77, 79, 138
al-‘Ashmāwī, M. 85
al-Ashmūnī, M. 60n132

- 'Āshūr, 'Alī b. M. 177n233
 'Āshūr, M. 16, 67, 168n183
 'Āshūr, M. b. 'Alī 78n233
 'Āshūr, M.M. 35
 'Āshūr, M.M. b. M. 177n233
 'Āshūr, Şālih 16
 al-Asmar, 'Abd al-Salām 126
 al-Asyūfī, 'Umar Makram *See* Makram,
 'Umar
 'Aṭā' [Allāh], Maḥmūd 67n166
 'Aṭā' Allāh, M. 35
 b. 'Aṭā' Allāh, Rifā'ī 70n182
 b. 'Aṭā' Maḥmūd, Maḥmūd 178
 Aṭiyya (*shaykh qir'at Dal'īl al-Khayrāt*)
 88n306
 b. al-'Awwām al-Zubayr 88n306
 'Āyida 216, 217
 al-'Azāmi, Salāma 138n48
 al-'Azāzī, Ibrāhīm Khalīl 149, 149n128
 al-'Azāzī, M. b. Ibrāhīm 150n136

 al-Bābilī al-Jawāhirjī, M. 61n132
 al-Badawī, Aḥmad 7n7, 13, 13n39, 13n39,
 13n41, 14n41, 14n43, 36, 45n41, 54n88,
 54n90, 55, 55n90, 56n101
 al-Bahi, M. 107n63, 143n88
 al-Bahi, Muṣṭafā 88n305
 Baḥīh, 'Abd al-Salām 73, 124
 Bakhshī, M. 77
 Bakīr Efendī 61n132
 Bakīr, M. 77
 al-Bakrī, 'Abd al-Bāqī 75, 101, 103, 104, 107,
 111, 120, 122, 124, 129, 131, 132, 153, 155,
 164, 168, 221, 221n14, 124, 125, 127, 128,
 129, 131, 132, 148, 153, 155, 164, 167, 168,
 182n258, 183, 219, 221
 al-Bakrī, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd 182n258
 al-Bakrī, 'Abd al-Mun'im 10, 214n13
 al-Bakrī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jalāl al-Dīn 8,
 215n12
 al-Bakrī, b. Abī l-Mawāhib 214n4, 214n5
 al-Bakrī, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Mufasssīr 215n10
 al-Bakrī, Abū l-Makārim M. Shams al-Dīn
 Abyaḍ al-Wajh 10, 215n9, 218n2
 al-Bakrī, Abū l-Mawāhib 214n4
 al-Bakrī, Abū l-Mawāhib b. Aḥmad 218n4
 al-Bakrī, Abū l-Mawāhib b. M. 215n8
 al-Bakrī, Abū l-Mawāhib b. M. b. Abī l-Ḥasan
 215
 al-Bakrī, Abū l-Surūr b. M. b. 'Alī 218n3
 al-Bakrī, Aḥmad 215n13, 215n14
 al-Bakrī, Aḥmad Abū l-Iqbāl 189n4
 al-Bakrī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im 10,
 218n8
 al-Bakrī, Aḥmad b. Abī l-Surūr Zayn al-
 'Ābidīn 218n8
 al-Bakrī, Aḥmad b. 'Iwaḍ 215n14
 al-Bakrī, Aḥmad b. Khalīl 215
 al-Bakrī, Aḥmad b. M. b. Aḥmad 219n11,
 220n4
 al-Bakrī, Aḥmad Murād 3n6
 al-Bakrī, Aḥmad Zayn al-Dīn 215n13
 al-Bakrī, 'Alī 4, 38, 50, 54n88, 70n182, 90,
 92, 93, 105, 122n3, 124, 130, 152, 154,
 179n239, 193, 216, 219, 221n14
 al-Bakrī, 'Alī b. 'Alī 217
 al-Bakrī, Asmā bint 'Abd al-Ḥamīd 217
 al-Bakrī, Dhū l-Faqār 'Alī 7
 al-Bakrī, Ḥasan b. M. 217
 al-Bakrī, Khalīl 6, 7, 7n5, 10n22, 219n14,
 220n8
 al-Bakrī, M. Efendī 189, 191, 221n13
 al-Bakrī, M. Efendī [al-Kabīr] 10n2, 10n21,
 219n12, 220n5
 al-Bakrī, M. [al-Şaghīr] 19n13, 220n6
 al-Bakrī, M. b. 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Aḥmad
 218, 218n8, 219n10, 220n3
 al-Bakrī, M. b. Abī l-Mawāhib 10, 214n4
 al-Bakrī, M. b. Abī l-Surūr 214n4
 al-Bakrī, M. b. b. Abī l-Surūr 214n7
 al-Bakrī, M. b. Abī l-Surūr Zayn al-'Ābidīn
 10, 214n8, 218n6
 al-Bakrī, M. Abū l-Baqā' Jalāl al-Dīn 215n11
 al-Bakrī, M. Abū l-Makārim 216n2
 al-Bakrī, M. Abū l-Mawāhib Zayn al-'Ābidīn
 214n6
 al-Bakrī, M. Abū l-Su'ūd 6n4, 18, 19, 210n15,
 214n1, 215
 al-Bakrī, M. b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im
 [Abū Bakr al-Bakrī] 11, 219n9
 al-Bakrī, M. Jalāl al-Dīn 8, 214, 216
 al-Bakrī, M. Kūbilay 29n159
 al-Bakrī, M. Nāşir al-Dīn 215n13
 al-Bakrī, M. Tawfiq 122, 125, 126, 129n24, 132,
 133, 135, 149, 150, 163n159, 166, 173, 178,
 181n251, 182n258, 219
 al-Bakrī, M. Wafā 3n6, 176n233
 al-Bakrī, M. Zayn al-'Ābidīn 214n6

- al-Bakrī, Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn 20, 23, 26,
111, 172, 175n224
al-Bakrī, Riḍwān 85
al-Banafīrī (al-Banūfārī), Maḥmūd 17, 17n65
al-Bandārī al-Kabīr, ‘Atīyya 55n91, 110,
110n86
al-Bandārī al-Ṣaghīr, ‘Atīyya 1, 10, 111
al-Bannān, ‘Alī M 177n233
al-Bannānī, Aḥmad 104, 152n130
al-Bannānī, Fath Allāh b. Abi Bakr 152n139
al-Baqlī, ‘Alī 60n132, 67, 72
al-Barmūnī, ‘Abd al-Majīd 149n130, 168n183,
177
al-Barmūnī, M. Muṣṭafa 23n98
Bastiani (French Consul) 18n71
al-Basyūnī, Yūsuf 115n110, 178
al-Baṭā’ihī, (Sīdī)‘Azāz b. Mustawda 17n65,
148
al-Baṭā’ihī, Manṣūr al-Bāz 18n68
al-Bayjūrī, Ibrāhīm 28n2, 32, 38n2, 191, 192
al-Bayyūmī, ‘Alī 32n177, 33n177, 84n288
al-Bayyūmī, M. 45n41
al-Biblawī, ‘Alī M. 179n240
al-Bishrī, Salīm 142
- Cromer, Lord 180, 180n243, 180n244, 181,
181n254, 182
- al-Damanhūrī, Ibrāhīm 32n177
al-Damanhūrī, M. 38n2
al-Damhūjī, Aḥmad 143, 144n92
al-Daramahlī, Aḥmad Bāshā 61n132
al-Daramahlī, Nasīm Ḥilmī 1, 40
al-Dardayr, Aḥmad 20, 21n166, 71n192, 112,
112n97, 112n98, 112n100, 119, 120, 141n71
al-Darqāwī, Mawlay al-‘Arabī 105
Darwish, al-Shaykh 177n233, 178
al-Dashṭūtī, ‘Abd al-Qādir 9n10, 9n12, 9n15,
61, 62, 62n138, 152n111
al-Dawākhilī, M. [b. Aḥmad] 29, 221
al-Dawyātī, Ibrāhīm M. 128n9
Ḍayf, Aḥmad 67, 71, 113, 140
Ḍayf, Ismā‘īl ‘Alī 71, 113
Ḍayf, M. Ismā‘īl 113, 178
al-Demirdāsh, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Muṣṭafā 117
al-Demirdāsh, Muṣṭafā [al-Kabīr] 85
al-Demirdāsh, Muṣṭafā [al-Ṣaghīr] 35
Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī, M. 23, 117
al-Dimyātī, M. Ibrāhīm Kḥudayr 105n49
- al-Dīrīnī, M. [Sulaymān] 69, 171
al-Disūqī, Ibrāhīm 7n7, 37n193, 54n88,
54n90, 55n90, 55n94, 56, 56n101,
114n108
al-Diwayḥī, Ibrāhīm al-Rashīd 108
- Fahmī, Muṣṭafā 201, 203
al-Fakkāk al-Shāwī, M. Bek 145n98
al-Faqārī al-Kabīr, ‘Uthmān Bek 141n71
Farghal, ‘Alī 85
al-Fārīdī, M. 34, 36, 68, 128
al-Fārisī, M. 108
Fārisī al-Jawāhirjī, Ibrāhīm 61n32
al-Far‘ūnī, M. al-Qāḍī 71
al-Fāsī, M. b. M. 99, 104
al-Fīl, Ḥusayn 140n60
Fu‘ād, Aḥmad 180n243
al-Fūtī, al-Ḥājj Jibrīl 146n101
- Gasprinski, Ismā‘īl 181n255
al-Ghunaymī, Ismā‘īl 20
Gorst, Eldon 181
al-Gūlshānī, Ibrāhīm 23n107
al-Gūmūshkhānālī, Aḥmad Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn 79
- al-Ḥabashī, M. 139
al-Ḥabashī, M. (*shaykh al-Mālikīyya*) 191
al-Ḥabbāk, ‘Alī 23, 23n98
al-Ḥabbānī, M. (*shaykh maqām al-Sayyida
Fāṭima al-Nabawīyya*) 85
al-Ḥabbānī, M. (*shaykh al-tarīqa al-Ḥandū-
shīyya*) 177n233
al-Ḥabībī, M. ‘Abd al-Bāqī 35n186
al-Ḥabībī, M. ‘Abd al-Hādī 35n186
al-Ḥaddād, Abū Bakr 140
al-Ḥaddād, M. Shaḥāta 140
Ḥāfīz Efendī 61n32
al-Ḥāfīz al-Miṣrī, M. 145n99
al-Ḥakīm, ‘Alī Bāshā 218n8
al-Ḥalabī, Aḥmad 14n42
al-Ḥalabī, Aḥmad b. Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Qādir
105n49
al-Ḥalabī, Muṣṭafā 24n107
al-Ḥāmīdī, Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir 142n67
Ḥamūda, M. 153
Ḥamūda, M. Muṣṭafā 177n233
Ḥamūda, Muṣṭafā 153, 153n142
Ḥandūsh, ‘Alī b. 73
al-Ḥandūsh, M. 67, 73, 77n32

- al-Ḥarīrī (al-'Inānī), [M.] 'Abd al-Wāḥid
60n132, 101
Hartmann, M(artin) 129n22
Ḥasan (*shaykh 'umūm al-maqāri'*) 60n132
Ḥasan Āghā (*shaykh Khān al-Khalīlī*)
61n132
Ḥasan, 'Alī 85
Ḥasan Bāshā 36
Ḥasan Efendī *known as* Yaḥyā Zādeh
244n107
Ḥasan (*shaykh 'umūm al-maqāri'*) 60n132
Ḥasan, M. 61n132
Ḥasan, Sa'īd 88n306
al-Hāshimī, M. 106, 106n58
al-Ḥifnāwī, M. 56n100
al-Ḥifnī, M. b. Sālim 20, 111
al-Ḥiṣāfī, Ḥasanayn 99, 99n27, 100, 104,
105
Ḥuksha, 'Alī 112n101
al-Ḥurayshī, 'Alī 106n158
Ḥuseyn Efendī 12n35
al-Ḥusayn al-Sharīf. 'Alī 145n98
al-Ḥusaynī, M. Abū l-'Alā' 115, 176, 178
- al-Ibādī, 'Uthmān Bāshā 'Abd al-Ḥamīd 175
al-Ibādī al-Sammān, Ḥammad 26, 70
Ibrāhīm (*shaykh takīyat al-Surūjīyya*) 71
Ibrāhīm, 'Abd al-Salām 154n144
Ibrāhīm, Jūda 138
Ibrāhīm, M. 154, 173n210
Ibrāhīm, Muṣṭafā 171
b. Ibrāhīm 'Alī (al-Imbābī), M. 153, 177
Ibrāhīm Efendī (*shaykh takīyat Būlāq*) 77
Īd, Muṣṭafā M. 115n118
b. Idrīs, Aḥmad 107, 108, 148n120
al-'Idwī, Ḥasan 60n132, 105n49
al-'Idwī, M. 88n306
'Illaysh, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. M. 110, 155n147,
170, 170n193
'Illaysh, M. 71, 105n49, 110, 112
al-Imām (al-Qaṣabī), M. 56n100
al-Imbābī, M. 154
al-Imbābī, Ḥasan Salmān 34
al-Imbābī, Ismā'īl 13n41, 15, 64n151, 87, 153
al-Imbābī, M. 60n132, 126
al-'Imrānī, 'Alī 72n193, 118, 119, 120, 140, 141
al-'Imrānī, Ibrāhīm 118, 141
Insabato, E. 170n193
b. 'Īsā, M. 26
- Ismā'īl (Khedive) 80, 82, 87, 90, 171n199
Ismā'īl, 'Abd al-'Alim Aḥmad 20n77
- al-Jabartī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān 6, 7, 11n28, 13,
17, 18, 19n36, 21n88, 21n89, 23, 25, 26,
32n177, 42n18, 72n194, 109n78
Jād, Ḥasan Ḥasan 177n233
Jāhīn, M. 67, 70
Jalāl Bāshā 61n132
al-Jamal, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. M. b. Ibrāhīm 175,
175n225, 175n228
al-Jamal, Ibrāhīm 178
Jāmī, M. 137
al-Jawāhirjī, Amīn 61n132
al-Jawāhirjī, M. Ṣāliḥ 61n132
al-Jawharī, 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Ḥasan 169
al-Jawharī, Aḥmad 20n79
al-Jawharī, 'Alī 14n41
al-Jawharī, M. 35
al-Jawharī, M. Abū l-Hādī 20n79
al-Jawharī, M. Abū l-Ma'ālī 23n98, 36, 72,
108
al-Jawharī, (*al-Liwā'*) Rif'at 108n175, 169n187
al-Jāwish, 'Abd al-'Azīz 169
al-Jazzār, Aḥmad Sālim 32n177
al-Jibāwī, Sa'd al-Dīn 25
al-Jilānī, 'Abd al-Qādir 7
al-Jirbī, 'Alī Abū l-Nūr 163, 177
al-Jirjāwī, Abū l-Faḍl 142
Jūda 'Abd al-Muta'āl, M. 142
al-Junaydī, Aḥmad 120, 142
al-Junaydī, Ḥasan Maḥmūd 177
al-Junaydī, Maḥmūd Ḥasan 178
al-Junaydī, M. Ḥasan 177n233
al-Junaydī, M. [b. Muṣṭafā] 67
al-Junaydī, Muṣṭafā 34
- Kaḥla, Mūsā 112n101
Kāmil, Muṣṭafā 196, 181n255
al-Kannāsī, Aḥmad Yūsuf 13n41, 34
al-Kannāsī, M. 153n143
al-Kawākibī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān 166
al-Khādīm, 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 45n41
Khaḍīr, M. Maḥjūb 34, 67, 171n196
Khaḥājī, M. 107
Khākī, Aḥmad Efendī 77, 79
al-Khālfāwī, Abū l-'Alā' 60n132
Khālid, 'Uthmān 138
Khalifa, 'Alī 191

- b. Khalifa, Hasan Khalifa 44n34
 b. Khalifa, M. b. 'Alī (al-Ḥājj Ḥamūda b. Khalī-fat al-Tājūr) 73
Khalīl (M. 'Alī's grandson) 59n124
Khalīl Efendī 77
Khalīl, Hasan Yūsufi 71n197
al-Khalwatī, Shams al-Dīn 'Ashīsh 14n43
Khān, Shākīr 77
 b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Umar 11
Khayālī, Aḥmad (b. Ibrāhīm al-Gūlshānī) 24n107
Khayriyya. Ismā'īl (*ma'tūq* Khalīl Bāshā) 19n77
al-Khayyātī, 'Abduh M. 176n233
al-Khuḍarī, Aḥmad 67, 67n166
al-Khuḍarī, Aḥmad M. Ḥamūda 174n218
al-Khuḍarī, Ḥamūda M. 178
al-Khuḍarī, M. 35
al-Khuḍarī, M. al-Najjār 61, 132
al-Khuḍayrī, Aḥmad 100n37
al-Khuḍayrī, (al-Khalwatī), Aḥmad 141, 141n21
al-Khuḍayrī, M.M. 85, 100n37
al-Khuḍayrī, M. Qāsim 100n37
al-Khuḍayrī, Ṣafā' al-Dīn Aḥmad 100n37
Khusraw, M. Bāshā 6
Kishk, M. 22
al-Kurdī, Aḥmad Mullā 173n39
al-Kurdī, Maḥmūd 20
al-Kurdī, 'Uṯmān 139

Laghash, M. 'Alī 124n9
al-Laythī, Ḥāmid 173n209
al-Laythī, M. 138
al-Laythī, b. al-Sharīf Ismā'īl al-Sinnārī, M 138
 b. al-Sharīf, 'Abd Allāh 175n223
Le Chatelier, A. 100n38, 109n3, 118

al-Ma'addāwī, 'Alī 172
al-Madanī, M. Ḥasan b. Ḥamza Zāfir 105, 139
al-Madanī, M. Zāfir b. M. Ḥasan 106
al-Maghribī, 'Abd Allāh 140
al-Maghribī, M. 171n197
al-Mahdī, Maḥmūd M. 142n81
al-Mahdī, M. 85
Maḥmūd I (Ottoman Sultan) 81n266
al-Maḥrūqī, M. 29

al-Makkāwī, M. Aḥmad 172n207
al-Makkī al-Fāsī, M. 'Abd Allāh Shams al-Dīn 173n210
al-Makkī al-Fāsī, M. Shams al-Dīn 104, 105
Makram, Bayyūmī 60n132
Makram al-Asyūṭī, 'Umar 6, 19n76, 220, 220n8, 221, 221n10
al-Malakī, Shams al-Dīn al-Qibābī 7n65
al-Malawānī, [M.] 'Abd al-Ghanī 33, 33n177, 67, 149n130, 168n183, 178[M.], 196
Malet (British consul-general) 90, 90n312
al-Mālīkī, 'Alī Marzūq 173n210
al-Manfalūṭī, Luṭfi 180n243
al-Mansafīsī, 'Abd al-Jawwād 119, 140
Manṣūr, 'Abd al-Karīm 67, 73, 124, 125
Manṣūr b. 'Abd al-Karīm (Manṣūr Kurayyim) 125n12, 177
al-Marzūqī, Ḥasan [b. M. b. Yūsuf] 172n205, 178
al-Marzūqī, M. Yūsuf 106, 106n59
Mashīna, M. 124
Mashīna, M. (*shaykh al-ṭariqa al-Salāmiyya al-Shādhiliyya*) 126, 128, 128n18, 177
Mas'ūd, M. 68
Mas'ūd, M. b. M. 127n17, 128n18, 149n130, 168n183
al-Maymūnī, Aḥmad al-Junaydī 120, 142
al-Maymūnī, Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī 143n81
al-Maymūnī, Ibrāhīm al-Disūqī [al-Maymūnī] 142, 142n81, 143
al-Mazārīqī, 'Abd Allāh 17n65, 35
Minnā, Aḥmad 191
Minnat Allāh, Aḥmad 171n198
al-Minūfi, 'Abd Allāh 13n41
al-Minūfi, Aḥmad 67
al-Minūfi, 'Alī 34
al-Minūfi, 'Alī b. Aḥmad 178
al-Minūfi, Ramaḍān al-Ash'ath 13n41
al-Minyāwī, M. 85
al-Minyāwī, M. 'Alī 60n132
al-Minyāwī, M. Bek 61n132
al-Mirghani, M. [b. M. b.] 'Uṯmān [Sirr al-Khatm] 71n185, 148n120
al-Mirghani, M. Sirr al-Khatm 82n269, 178
al-Mirghani, M. 'Uṯmān 168n183
al-Mirghani, M. 'Uṯmān Tāj al-Sirr 177n233
Mīrzā 77
al-Miṣrī, Niyāzī 27n143

- Mu'awwad, Mūsā 137, 138
 al-Mirghanī, Sha'rāwī 67
 al-Mirghanī, Ibrāhīm 67, 71, 177n233
 al-Mughāzī, 'Alī b. M. 177
 al-Mughāzī, 'Āmir 177
 al-Mughāzī, M. 'Amir 171
 Muḥammad Āghā 25n114
 Muḥammad Efendi 77
 b. M. al-Sharif, 'Abd Allāh 175n227
 Muḥsin, 'Alī 85
 Mukhtār Bek, M. 61n132
 Murād Bek 39
 Mürü, M. Efendi 45n41
 b. Mūsā Mu'awwad, M. 137, 138
 al-Muṣayliḥī, Ḥusayn Ḥasan 20n82, 105n49
 Muṣtafā (*shaykh qirā'at Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*)
 88n306
 al-Muwayliḥī, 'Abd al-Salām 217
 al-Muwayliḥī, Ibrāhīm Efendi 217
 Muzaḥḥar Shāh 78n337
- al-Nābulusī, 'Abd al-Ghanī 10n18, 21n88,
 21n87
 al-Nadīm, 'Abd Allāh 165n167, 171n200
 Nāfi', M. 32n177, 33, 35, 68
 Nāfiz, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Efendi 61n32
 al-Najjār, Jum'a Abū l-'Alā' 119
 al-Naqqāsh, Muṣtafā 34, 61n132, 67, 91n314,
 117n233
 al-Naqshbandī, Shams al-Dīn M. al-Uzbaki
 26n128
 al-Naqshbandī, 'Umar 1, 9n49
 Nasīm Ḥilmī, Maḥmūd 140
 Naṣr Efendi 77
 al-Nawawī, Ḥassūna 142
 Nimr, Fāris xvi
 al-Niyāzī b. Ibrāhīm al-Içelli, 'Abd al-Raḥmān
 117n120
 Nübār Bāshā 61n132, 123
 Nūr, M. 77
 Nūr al-Dā'im (b. Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib)
 76n231
 al-Nushshābī, M. 'Abd al-Raḥīm 107
 Nuwaytū, 'Alī 153, 153n143
 Nuwaytū, M. 85, 153
 Nuwaytū, M. Maḥmūd 149n130
 Nuwaytū, Salāma 153n143, 154, 114
- Prince of Wales (later George v) 181
- al-Qādirī, 'Abd al-Qādir 68n170
 al-Qādirī, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf b. M. 127n17
 al-Qādirī, Aḥmad b. Qāsim b. M. 34, 36
 al-Qādirī, Aḥmad Qāsim b. Sulaymān 68
 al-Qādirī, 'Alī b. M. b. Aḥmad 127n17
 al-Qādirī, 'Īsā 15
 al-Qādirī, M. b. Aḥmad Qasim 127n17
 al-Qādirī, Qāsim b. M. al-Kabir 128
 al-Qādirī, Sulaymān b. Qāsim 127n17
 al-Qādirī, Zayn al-Dīn 15, 127n17
 al-Qaṣabī, M. 56n100
 Qāsim, Ismā'il 86n294
 Qāsim, Sīdī 22n95
 al-Qāwuqjī, M. Abū l-Faṭḥ 107, 173, 177
 al-Qāwuqjī, M. b. Khalil Abū l-Maḥasin 107,
 172
 al-Qāwuqjī, Riḍā b. M. Abū l-Faṭḥ 173n209
 al-Qāyātī, 'Abd al-Jawwād 118n134
 al-Qāyātī, 'Abd al-Laṭīf 1, 18
 al-Qāyātī, 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb b. M. 141
 al-Qāyātī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jawwād 160n3
 al-Qāyātī, M. b. 'Abd al-Jawwād 141
 al-Qāyātī, Muṣtafā 'Abd al-Jawwād 141n69
 Qāyitbāy (Mamlūk Sultan) 16
 al-Qūṣī, Maḥmūd b. M. 174n218
 al-Quwaysnī, Ḥasan 56n101, 60n132
- al-Rāḍī, Salāma Ḥasan 172, 177
 al-Rāfi', 'Abd al-Qādir 60n132
 Rāsīm, Mūsā Āghā 108n69
 al-Rawḍī, M. Abū Sha'bān 119
 al-Ribāṭī, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥājī 73n198, 152n139
 Riḍā, M. Rashīd 165
 Riḍwān, M. Ḥasan 120, 141
 al-Rifā'i, Aḥmad 7n7, 71
 al-Rifā'i, 'Alī (Abū l-Shubbāk) 35
 al-Rifā'i, Ḥusayn b. Muṣtafā 34
 al-Rifā'i, M. Efendi 35
 al-Rifā'i, M. Ḥusayn Yāsīn 149, 168n182
 al-Rifā'i, M. 'Iwaḍ xx
 al-Rifā'i, M.M. Yāsīn 67, 177
 al-Rifā'i, Muṣtafā 35
- Sa'd, M. 6n4
 al-Sādāt, 'Abd al-Khāliq 101
 al-Sādāt, Aḥmad 'Abd al-Khāliq xi, 73,
 74n206, 182n258, 217
 al-Sādāt, Aḥmad [Abū l-Iqbāl] b. Ismā'il
 11n28, 189n4, 220n2

- al-Sādāt, Aḥmad Abū l-Naṣr 79
 al-Sādāt, M. Abū Hādī 11, 220n1
 al-Sādāt, M. Abū l-Ishraq 220n2
 al-Sādāt, M. [Wafā] Abū l-Anwār 19n76,
 64n151, 189, 221n11
 al-Sādī, 'Uthmān 191
 Ṣādiq Bābā, M. 80n260
 al-Ṣafaṭī, Aḥmad 85
 al-Ṣaḥābī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān 215
 Sa'īd (Khedive) 38, 122n3
 Ṣāliḥ Āghā 85, 86n294
 Ṣāliḥ, 'Alī 85
 Ṣāliḥ, Ismā'īl Efendī 61n132
 Salīm 113n103
 Salīm (*imām* of the M. 'Alī mosque) 60n132
 Salmān, Ibrāhīm 'Alī 153
 Salmān, M. Ibrāhīm 153
 al-Sammadīsī, Faṭḥ Allāh 40
 al-Sammān, Abū l-Ḥasan 70
 al-Sammān, (Sīdī) Ḥammad *See* al-Ibādī al-
 Sammān, Ḥammad
 al-Sammān, M. b. 'Abd al-Kārim 174
 al-Sammān, [M] Ḥasan 67, 70
 al-Sammanūdī, M. al-Munir 20
 al-Ṣandaqī, Muṣṭafā 67, 72
 al-Sanhūrī al-Fayyūmī, 'Abd al-'Alīm 120
 al-Sanūsī, M. b. 'Alī 147
 al-Saqqā, Ibrāhīm 38n2, 60n132
 al-Ṣāwī, Aḥmad 71, 71n188, 112n98, 119, 120,
 140, 141, 144
 al-Ṣayyādī, Ḥusayn 23n103
 al-Shabrāwī, 'Abd al-Khāliq 144n92
 al-Shabrāwī, 'Abd al-Salām b. 'Umar 144
 al-Shabrāwī, 'Umar Haykal (Ja'far) 115, 137,
 143, 144n92
 al-Shādhilī, 'Abd al-Bāqī 140
 al-Shādhilī, Abū l-Ḥasan 22n95
 al-Shādhilī, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Bāqī 140
 al-Shādhilī, al-Ṣāwī, M. 67
 al-Shāfi'ī, al-Imām 192
 al-Shāfi'ī, M. 77
 al-Shahāwī, Abū l-Majd 176n232
 al-Shahāwī, M. 16n58, 16n59, 114
 al-Shahrazūrī, Khālid 79, 239
 Shākīr Bāshā 61n132
 Shams al-Dīn (al-Marzūqī), Aḥmad M. 8n8
 Shams al-Dīn (al-Marzūqī), Ḥasan b. M. b. M.
 b. Muṣṭafā 123
 Shams al-Dīn (al-Marzūqī), M. b. M. 67
 Shams al-Dīn (al-Marzūqī), M. b. M. b. M. b.
 Muṣṭafā 67
 Shams al-Dīn (al-Marzūqī), M. b. Muṣṭafā
 34
 al-Shanawānī, M. 19, 189
 al-Sha'rānī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān 35
 al-Sha'rānī, 'Abd al-Waḥhāb 12
 al-Sha'rāwī, Maḥmūd 'Īsā 128n19
 al-Sharjī, Qāsim 145n98
 al-Sharnūbī, 'Abd Allāh M. Ṣābir 115n110
 al-Sharnūbī, Aḥmad 'Arab b. 'Uthmān
 16n59, 114
 al-Sharqāwī, 'Abd Allāh 20, 114
 b. Sharqāwī, Aḥmad Abū l-Wafā 142, 142n76
 b. Sharqāwī al-Khalifī, Aḥmad 96n13, 120,
 141n78, 142n73
 al-Sharqāwī, Maṣṣūr Haykal 143, 144
 al-Sharqāwī, Ṣāliḥ Tharwat 143, 143n84
 al-Shawādifi, 'Abd al-Dā'im Ibrāhīm 145n95
 al-Shawādifi, 'Abd al-Satār Ṣādiq 144n95
 al-Shawādifi, 'Aṭīyya [al-Saghir] b. Aḥmad
 144
 al-Shawādifi, al-Sharqāwī, Aḥmad 144
 al-Shinnāwī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān 152n138
 al-Shinnāwī, Aḥmad 26, 26n124
 al-Shinnāwī, 'Alī M. "Bunduq" 36, 114n106
 al-Shinnāwī, Ḥusayn 34
 al-Shinnāwī, M. 14, 14n42
 al-Shinnāwī, M. "Bunduq" 114n106
 al-Shinnāwī, M. Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān
 152n138, 177
 al-Shinnāwī, 'Umar 70, 152n138
 al-Shīshī, M. 14n14
 al-Shu'aybī, Ḥasan M. 178
 al-Shu'aybī, Ibrāhīm 14n42
 al-Shu'aybī, M. 34, 67
 al-Shubrāwī, Ibrāhīm 84n283, 85
 al-Shunbakī, M. 148n123
 al-Sibā'ī (al-Tijānī), Aḥmad 146
 al-Sibā'ī (al-Tijānī), M. Rāghib 144
 al-Sibā'ī (al-Tijānī), M. Ṣāliḥ 112n98, 143,
 171
 al-Sibā'ī (al-Tijānī), Rāghib M. 144n92, 169
 al-Sibā'ī (al-Tijānī), al-'Idwī, Ṣāliḥ 112
 al-Ṣiddīq, Abū Bakr 8, 8n11, 8n14, 10, 192,
 215n17
 al-Ṣiddīqī, 'Abd Allāh 215n17
 al-Ṣiddīqī, Ṭālḥa b. 'Abd Allāh 215n14
 al-Sinbātī, M. 115n110

- al-Sinbātī, M. (*shaykh maqām al-Sultān al-Ādil Tūmān Bāy*) 85
 al-Sinnārī, al-Sharīf Ismāʿīl 137, 143n88
 al-Sirhindī, Aḥmad 79, 79n245
 Stack, Sir Lee 175n223
 al-Sukarī, Aḥmad 141n71
 Sulaymān, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin 68
 Sulaymān, Aḥmad Efendī 110
 Sulaymān, ʿUthmān Efendī 77, 79
 Sulaymān, Bāshā (Mamlūk *amir*) 80n255
 Surūr, ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm 140n54
 Surūr Āghā, M. 145, 145n98, 146n101
 al-Suṭūḥī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 67, 69
 al-Suṭūḥī, ʿAbd al-Samīʿ b. Sayyid 177n233, 178
 al-Suṭūḥī, ʿĀmir 177n233
 al-Suṭūḥī, M. 14n42
 al-Suṭūḥī, M. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 67
 al-Suṭūḥī, M. Baḥbaḥ 69n175
 al-Suṭūḥī, M. b. M. 69
 al-Suṭūḥī, M. b. Sayyid 177n233
 al-Suṭūḥī, Sayyid 177n233
 Symes, Sir Stewart 175n223
- Tāhā, M. 106n58
 al-Tājūr, Ḥamūda b. Khalifa See b. Khalifa, M. b. ʿAlī
 al-Tamīmī al-Maghribī, M. 191
 al-Tasqiyānī, ʿAbd Allāh 14n42
 (M.) Tawfiq (Khedive) 60n132, 77n225, 90, 93, 94n8, 100, 101, 120
 al-Tawwātī, Aḥmad 23
 al-Ṭayyib, Mawlay 73n198, 109, 174, 175n227, 176
 al-Tāzī, Ibrāhīm 115n109
- Ṭhābit Bāshā 102
 al-Tihāmī, Mawlay 72
 al-Tihāmī, M. 67, 73
 al-Tihāmī, M. Khalīl 176n233, 178
 al-Tijānī, Aḥmad 145n96, 145n99
 al-Ṭūbī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān 35, 67, 177n233
 al-Ṭūkhī, M. 56n100
- al-ʿUbaydī, Ibrāhīm b. ʿĀmir 214n7
 al-ʿUlaylī, ʿAbd al-Salām 45n4
 al-ʿUlaylī, ʿAlī 45n41
 ʿUmar, M. 166n72
 al-ʿUqbārī, ʿAlī 144
 al-Uqṣurī, Yūsuf al-Ḥajjājī 142
 ʿUrābī, Aḥmad 171n2, 177n233, 200
 ʿUthmān (al-Demirdāsh) 68n294
 ʿUwaysī, Ibrāhīm 44n34
- al-Wafāʾī, Maḥmūd ʿAfif al-Dīn 105, 132n31, 139
 al-Wazzānī, ʿAbd Allāh al-Sharīf 73n198
 Wolseley, General Sir Garnet 118
- al-Yamānī, Marzūq 13n41, 14n43, 84n288
 Yūsuf, ʿAlī 180n247, 182n258
 Yūsuf Efendī 220n9
 b. Yūsuf, (*al-amir*) Ḥumām 40n8
- al-Zāhid, Aḥmad 14n42, 69
 al-Zahrāʾ, Fāṭima 148n121
 al-Zahrāwī, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd 166n171
 al-Zarhūnī, al-Jilānī (b. al-Ṭāhir) 145n98
 al-Zawāhirī, Ibrāhīm 162n157, 179n236
 Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, Ḥasan M. 139n52
 al-Zaytūnī, al-Bashīr b. M. 145n98, 146

Index of Place Names

- Abā l-Waqf 119n135
al-‘Abbāsiyya xvi, xxii, 59n124
Abū Ḥirayz xix, 144, 144n92
Abū Ḥummuṣ xix, 106n58, 159n154
Abū Jandīr xix, 142n81, 143n81
Abū Qurqās xix, 160n154
Abū l-Tij 160
‘Ajūza 139n52
Akhmīm xix
Alexandria 4, 21n88, 37, 45n41, 47n46,
55n91, 59n126, 61n132, 70, 73, 73n198,
73n201, 75n211, 91, 96n14, 106, 106n57,
106n58, 108, 108n69, 116, 124, 124n9,
139, 143n84, 144, 147, 158n154, 177n233,
196n13, 215n10, 218n2
Algeria 126
al-‘Āmira xix, 45n39, 58
Anatolia 21n88, 24, 24n113, 75
‘Arab al-Raml xix, 44n34
Arbil 139
Ashmūn 45n39, 146
Aswān 40n8, 137, 138, 160n154, 175
Asyūt 40n8, 110, 119, 120, 140, 141, 146, 160n154
al-‘Ataba 109n79
Aṭṭīḥ xix, 89n307
al-Azbakiyya 59, 59n124, 60, 77, 82
Bāb al-Khalq 59
Bāb al-Lūq 80n260
Bāb al-Naṣr 25
Bāb Qaṣr al-Nīl 59n124
Bāb al-Sha’riyya 12, 69
Bāb al-Wazīr xxii, 81, 82, 116
Bāb al-Zuwayla 81n263
Badrashīn 107n62
Baghdād 15, 36
Baḥr al-Ghazāl 138n43
Balaqṭar xix, 106n58, 132n31
Banī Mazār xix, 89n307, 141, 141n67
Banī Rashīd 73
Banī Suwayf 120, 141–143, 159n154
Bardūna al-Ashraf 141
Bāsūs xix, 107n62
Beirut 9n10, 107, 107n64, 119, 119n141, 141,
182n258
Bibā xix, 142
Bilbays xix, 145n95, 146, 158n154
Binbān xix, 137
Bornu 145
al-Buḥayra 16n59, 45n39, 106n58, 115n110,
132n31, 159n154
Bukhāra → *See also* Bukhāris 75, 78n237
Būlāq xvii, xxii, 6n3, 6n4, 18, 27, 59n124,
64n153, 75n211, 77, 112n98, 124n10, 133,
139, 147, 172, 174n218, 215n10
Būr Sa’īd 45n41, 158n154
Citadel (of Cairo) 17, 35, 60n132, 63, 77, 80
Dahmishā xix, 45n39
Dahrūt xix, 8n10
Damallij xix, 45n39
Damanhūr 115n110, 147, 159n154
Damascus 9n11, 106n58, 129n21
al-Daqahliyya 46n41, 55n91, 100, 115, 132n31,
158n154
Darb al-Labbān xxii, 78, 116
Dayr al-Sa’āda xix, 141
Dayrūt xix, 120
Delta 16, 17, 40, 89, 106, 107, 113n103, 115n110,
119, 143, 147, 171
Dijwa xix, 107n62
Dikirmis xix, 159n154
Dimyāṭ 107, 111, 112, 158n154, 170
Dishnā xix, 160n154
Disūq xix, 16, 55n94, 114n108, 159n154,
221n12
Dunqulā 137
Equatorial Africa 174
Fāqūs xix, 158n154
Farshūt 141
Farsīs xix, 145
al-Fayyūm 8n10, 120, 141, 142, 142n81,
159n154
Futa Jalon (Guinea) 146n101
Fuwa xix, 159n154
al-Gharbiyya 30n164, 44n34, 51n66, 54n90,
55n90, 61n132, 144, 159n154
Ghayṭ al-‘Idda 80

- al-Ḥabbāniyya xxii, 27, 133
 al-Ḥāra al-Jūdariyya 106n61
 Ḥārat Dālī Ḥusayn 145n99, 146n101
 al-Ḥaṭṭāba 78, 116
 Hihyā xix, 145, 158n154
 Ḥijāz 10n18, 21n92
 al-Ḥilmiyya 79
 Ḥūsh 'Īsā 147
 Ḥūsh al-Sharqāwī 82
- Ibsḥāq al-Ghazāl 141n67
 Ibsḥāwiyya 45n39
 Imbāba xix, xxii, 159n154
 Ismā'īliyya 94n8
 Isnā' xix, 54n90, 108n69, 138
 Istanbul 11, 14n43, 25n114, 25n116, 26n126,
 30, 30n163, 31, 110, 137n39, 147n111, 165,
 179n239, 220n9
 Iṭṣā xix, 142n81
 'Izbat al-Shawādifi 144n95
- Jabal Zarhūn 73
 al-Jamāliyya xxii, 14n43, 177n233
 Jidda 21n92
 Jirjā xix, 41n15, 89n307, 110, 160n154
 al-Jīza 15, 15n48, 71n192, 89n307, 107, 110,
 119, 128n19, 140, 147, 154n144
- Kafr 'Ammār 72n193
 al-Kafr al-Gharbī xix, 171
 Kafr Ṣaqar xix, 144, 158n154
 Kafr al-Shaykh 144n95, 159n154
 Kafr Ṭuhurmus xix, 128n19
 Kafr al-Zayyāt xix, 159n154
 Karategin 78n237
 Khalwat Abū Misallim 132n31
 Khān al-Khalilī 61n32, 220n9
 Khokand 75, 78n237
 al-Khurunfish (Shāri') x, xii, xvi, 59n124,
 118n128, 134
 Kirdāsa xix, 147
 al-Kitāmiyya xix, 146
 Konya 31n167
 Kūm Ḥamāda xix, 159n154
 al-Kūm al-Ṭawīl xix, 171, 172
- Lebanon 182n258
- Madina 21n92, 31n167, 70, 70n181, 137
 Maghrib 145n95, 156n152
 al-Mahalla al-Kubrā xix, 16n158, 115n110,
 159n154
 Maḥallat al-Jawhariyya 109n79
 Maḥallat Rūḥ xix, 14n45, 36
 al-Mahmūdiyya 100n36
 Mallawī 119
 al-Manfalūt xix, 160n154
 al-Manṣūra 26n128, 27n128, 45n41, 158n154
 al-Marāziq xix, 107n62
 Mecca 21n92, 65, 71, 99, 104, 107, 108, 137,
 147
 Meknes 73
 Mīdān Muḥammad 'Alī 65n157
 al-Minshā xix, 160n154
 Minshāt Sulṭān xix, 69
 al-Minūfiyya 45n39, 54n90, 69, 70, 109n79,
 143, 146, 152n138
 al-Minyā xix, 89n307, 106n157, 119, 119n135,
 120, 120n146, 138, 141, 146, 158n154,
 159n154, 160n154
 Minyā al-Başal 106n57
 Minyā al-Qamḥ xix, 138
 Mīt Ghamr xix, 159n154
 Mīt (Minyat) Samannūd 159n154
 Morocco 73, 95n11, 126
 al-Mugharbilin 145, 145n99
 al-Muqattam 80
- Naj' Ḥammādī xix, 120, 142
 al-Nāṣiriyya 172n207
 Nawā xix, 158n154
 Nimrat al-Başal xix, 16n58
- Paris xxii, 9n11, 9n16, 10n16, 11n24, 19n75,
 21n92, 26n121, 57n102, 64n150, 73n198,
 84n286, 163n160, 166n171, 167n177
- Qalyūb xix, 107, 158n154
 al-Qalyūbiyya 45n41, 109n79, 139, 158n154
 al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā xxiii, 16n53
 Qarāfat al-Mujāwirīn 14n41, 106n59
 al-Qāyāt xix, 119, 141, 159n154, 160n154
 Qinā 54n90, 120, 141, 142, 146, 160n154
 Qumbush al-Ḥamrā' 142, 143
- Rashīd xix, 30n164, 45n41, 46n41, 51n66,
 60n132, 93n4, 108, 108n71, 148n120, 165

- al-Rawḍa xix, xxiii, 72n193, 119, 140
 Rawḍat al-Baḥrayn 54n90
 Rhodes 110
 Russia 78n237
- al-Sabtiyya 147n115
 Şaft Abū Jirj xix
 Samalūt 160n154
 al-Sanṭā xix, 159n154
 al-Şawwa xix, 113n103
 Şabīn al-Kūm 107n67, 109n79, 119n143,
 159n154
 Şabīn al-Qanāṭir xix, 109n79
 Şhannū xix, 144n95
 Şhārī' al-Ḥabbāniyya 79
 Şhārī' al-Ismā'īliyya 77
 Şhārī' al-Jawhar al-Qā'id 109n79
 Şhārī' al-Jawhari 109n79
 Şhārī' al-Maḥjar 77, 80
 Şhārī' al-Rukubiyya 79
 Şhārī' al-Şalība 80
 Şhārī' al-Suyyūfiyya 81n263
 Şharmūb xix, 16n59, 115n110
 al-Şarqiyya 45n39, 61n32, 86n292, 99, 100,
 113, 132n31, 138, 144, 146, 148, 158n154
 Şhīrbīn xix, 159n154
 Şhubrā Zanjī xix, 143
 Şuhā xix, 132n31
 al-Sinbillawayn xix, 158n154, 159n154
 al-Siririyya xix, 141
 Siryāqūs xix, 107n62
 Sudan 71n185, 82n270, 137, 138n43, 140n60,
 166n175, 174, 174n215, 174n218, 174n221,
 175n223, 176
- Sūq al-Zalaṭ 69
 Suways 45n41, 104, 158n154
 Syria 106n58, 166n171
- Ṭahtā 141
 Talā xix, 159n154
 Ṭalkha xix
 Ṭantā 159n154
 Tilbāna xix, 146
 Ṭimā xix, 160n154
 Tripolitania 73, 124
 Ṭūkh (al-Malaq) 158n154
 Tunisia 126
 Turkey 24, 29, 31
- Umm Dinār xix, 119
 Upper Egypt 8n10, 39, 72n193, 89, 90,
 108n70, 110, 118, 119, 137, 141, 142, 146,
 166n175
 al-Uqşur xix, 108n70
- Warrāq al-'Arab xix, 154n144
 al-Waşṭā xix, 159n154
 Western Desert 147
- Zamālik 29n159
 al-Zaqāzīq 17, 45n41, 55n91, 99, 104, 110n86,
 111, 113n103, 146n109, 158n154, 170,
 170n188
 Ziftā xix, 138n47, 159n154