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

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

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

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A Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection
Muḥyiddīn Ibn ʿArabī

A Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

al-Dawr al-aʿlā (Ḥizb al-wiqāya)

Study, translation, transliteration and Arabic text

SUHA TAṽI-FAROUKI

ANQA PUBLISHING • OXFORD

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

Qur’an 7: 180

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

A saying of the Prophet Muhammad

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

Muḥammad al-Dāmūnī,

*al-Durr al-thamīn li-sharḥ Dawr al-aʿlā li-sīdī Muḥyī al-Dīn*
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FOREWORD

MICHEL CHODKIEWICZ

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

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

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

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

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

Paris, 2006
INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

Notes


3. For example, Majmū’ șalawåt wa awråd sîdi Muhyî al-Dîn Ibn ‘Arabî radiya Al-lâhu ‘anhu, compiled by Muhammad Ibrahim Muhammad Salim (n.p., 2000) encompasses a group of șalawåt (prayers upon the Prophet) and the Awråd. Salim is author of Ta¤y¨d al-߬f¨ya f¨’l-majm¬¡a al-±åtim¨ya, where he also presents some of these prayers.

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

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

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

1

THE DAWR TODAY

Contemporary contexts

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

Damascus

The prayer is recited collectively during certain of the open weekly gatherings devoted to calling down prayers and blessings upon the Prophet (majālis al-ṣalât ‘alā al-nabi⁷) held at the mosque adjacent to Ibn ‘Arabî’s mausoleum in the Shaykh Muhyî’l-Din neighbourhood, the Salîhiyya district, Damascus. During 2003, for example, it was read collectively at two of the eight majālîs scheduled each week. One
was established quite recently and is held between noon (zuhr) and afternoon (‘asr) prayers on Friday. The other, which takes place before dawn (fajr) prayers on Saturday, is long-standing. The text of the prayer is available in the form of a photocopied sheet stored in the imams’ room in the mosque, from where it is occasionally distributed. It also appears for distribution from time to time in the form of a small pamphlet, often printed together with a hadith or Qur’anic verses. In addition, some of the larger pamphlets printed specifically for use in various majālis (and effectively the property of those majālis) encompass the prayer. Reaching a wider circulation, it appears in a popular collection of prayers compiled by former Mufti of Syria Muḥammad Abū’l-Yusr ʻĀbidân (d.1981) and published by his heirs, and in a more recent collection distributed free, published as a joint venture between Turkish and Syrian publishers. It can also be found on the margin of editions of al-Jazūlī’s popular Sunni prayer manual Dalā’il al-khayrāt that circulate in Damascus. Finally, it is presented in one of the many privately published works of an Egyptian sufi shaykh and interpreter–disseminator of Ibn ʻArabi’s thought long settled in Damascus, Maḥmūd al-Gharāb.

The prayer is thus easily accessible to people of all backgrounds in Damascus. At the same time, in some circles there traditional sufi modes of transmission continue. The ijāza in this context is understood to unlock the prayer’s secrets for the murīd in a way that protects him from potential harm: it also ensures that these secrets remain the preserve of those suitably prepared to receive them. The ijāza often encompasses an instruction concerning the time and frequency of recitation. It may require the murīd to situate the prayer, whenever they recite it, within a cluster of other prayers and formulae, or involve making precise additions at certain points in the text. Specific to each murīd, such prescriptions are not arbitrary, and may indeed have been received by the shaykh in a dream or vision. Tailored to the murīd’s level, they may be changed as he advances on the spiritual journey.

The vitality of this mode of transmission can be illustrated through the practice of Aḥmad al-Ḥarūn (d.1962), widely recognised
in Damascene sufi circles as an important saint, and his prominent disciples.\textsuperscript{12} For example, al-Ḥārūn granted an \textit{ijāza} to his disciple Mahmūd al-Ghurāb to read the prayer once every thirty-six hours (this \textit{ijāza} also encompassed the \textit{Awrād}, Ibn ‘Arabi’s daily prayers).\textsuperscript{13} He gave an \textit{ijāza} to his disciple Mamdūh al-Nāṣṣ to read it once every twenty-four hours (again, in addition to the \textit{Awrād}). Al-Nāṣṣ in turn gave his son Muhammad Sāmīr an \textit{ijāza} to read the prayer daily, this time preceded by al-Nawawī’s \textit{Hizb} and followed by recitation of \textit{sūrat} al-Fātihā for the souls of the Prophet, Ibn ‘Arabi and al-Ḥārūn.\textsuperscript{14}

Such instructions for reading the prayer sometimes migrate out of the sphere of esoteric transmission to accompany printed copies, thereby becoming available for general application. For example, ʻĀbidīn prefaces the prayer with a note explaining that his grandfather had received a direct instruction from Ibn ‘Arabi (through a \textit{karāma} or act of spiritual grace granted the two of them) to read it twice daily, once following the morning (\textit{ṣubḥ}) prayer and again after the sunset one (\textit{maghrib}). In the case of a specific matter of importance, Ibn ‘Arabi had instructed him to read it three times following the afternoon prayer.\textsuperscript{15} ʻĀbidīn also provides detailed instructions concerning what must be recited before and after the prayer.\textsuperscript{16}

From the ulama to the illiterate, conviction of the prayer’s potency is widespread in Damascene sufi circles and among Ibn ‘Arabi’s local devotees, who attach themselves to his mosque.\textsuperscript{17} One such devotee attributes this potency to the fact that the prayer encompasses many Divine Names, another to its special quality as the summation of all of Ibn ‘Arabi’s teachings, indeed ‘the essence of his entire knowledge.’ Devotees believe that if the prayer is recited with right intention, absolute certainty of its power and the aim of pleasing God while repudiating the pull of this world, it can draw the reciter into the Prophet’s presence (\textit{al-ḥadra al-Muḥammadīya}): the Prophet then appears to them ‘through Ibn ‘Arabi’, especially in dreams. Drawing on their personal experiences, some point out that whoever reads the prayer with sincerity of heart and utter conviction while making a specific plea will have their wish granted. They relate how they read
it with the intention of seeking help in relation to concrete problems, and are always confident of a positive response. For example, one devotee tells how when he recites the prayer with this specific request in mind, Ibn ‘Arabī appears to him in dreams and shows him how to solve practical problems at work that require technical knowledge in which he has no training. Whenever he is guided to solve a work problem in this way, he refuses payment for the job, for he attributes his success in it to Ibn ‘Arabī’s baraka or blessing, through the prayer, rather than his own effort. He relates with gratitude how he has developed a new career and improved his family’s material circumstances through the help granted him in response to requests mediated through the prayer.

Istanbul

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

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

During the late 1960s, a copy of the prayer was brought to London by Bulent Rauf (d.1987), a western-educated descendant of the Ottoman elite. Rauf was the great-grandson of Ismail Pasha (d.1895), khedive of Egypt from 1863 to 1879. Ismail’s daughter, Rauf’s maternal grandmother, was Princess Fatma Hanım (b.1850), who died some time after the end of World War I. Fatma Hanım had commissioned a copy of the prayer to be made for her by the ‘Head Calligrapher’, apparently in AH 1341/1922–23 CE: it was bound in red leather and embellished with gold. After she died, it came into her grandson’s possession.

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

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

Notes

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


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

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

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

4. Held at a time when families gather at home for lunch after the Friday prayer, attendance at this majlis (established in 2001) is not substantial. During February 2003, the majlis was led by Muhammad Amīn ’Āshūr, a disciple of the revered Shadhili Ahmad al-Ḥabbāl al-Rifā‘i. Beginning immediately after the end of the khatib’s lesson, it opened with the calling down of peace and blessings upon the Prophet. A pamphlet was distributed: Ṣalawāt ʿalā al-nabī al-karīm sayyidinā rasūl Allāh ʾi’s-l-shaykh Ahmad al-Dardayrī al-Khalwatī. ’Āshūr called for recitation of sūrat al-Fātiha for the soul of Ibn ’Arabī, and the assembly proceeded to recite the Dawr, printed in the pamphlet’s last few pages, at considerable speed. On completing this, the majlis re-
cited sūrat al-Fātiha, a șalawāt by ʿĀshūr recited al-Fātiha and asked those present to recite it for the benefit of certain individuals in need. He then led the majlis in reading sūrat Yā Sīn. Thereafter, the tahūl (lā ilāha illā Allāh) was repeated. Two majlis ‘servants’ arrived with large bags of bread, which they began to distribute, marking the end of the majlis. ʿĀshūr continued to call down peace and blessings upon the Prophet followed by spontaneous supplication, in which he asked God to grant victory to the Muslims over those who aggress against them, to heal the sick, to forgive those who have transgressed, and to have mercy upon the dead. The congregation affirmed his emotional prayers with ‘ūmīn’ at each pause. Reflecting the concerns of the hour, he asked God to destroy enemy planes, to grant victory to the Palestinians, and to protect Syria, using al-Fātiha as an adjuration throughout. He asked God to accept the majlis through the standing of the prophets, their wives and mothers, and the companions and saints, ‘especially those at whose doorsteps we sit – Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn, and Shaykh al-Nābulusī – through their baraka and karāmāt, achieved through Allāh Himself.’ He asked God to compensate anyone who had spent towards the majlis and requested donations for an unnamed person in difficult circumstances.

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

Al-‘Amm opened a majlis during February 2003 with recitation of al-Fātiha, Qur’ānic verses, supplication and the istighfār (forgiveness) formula. A booklet was distributed: Majmū‘ al-awwād al-kabīr: yashtamil ‘alā al-ma‘thūr ‘an al-a‘imma wa‘l-aqṭāb min al-șalawāt ‘alā al-nabī wa‘l-awwād wa‘l-adhār wa‘l-adhkār wa‘l-ahzāb wa‘l-istighfārāt. Al-‘Amm led the majlis in reciting with great beauty Wird al-saḥar, with its repetitions of Divine Names and lyrical flourishes. At a transitional point, the majlis ‘servant’ distributed halva sandwiches. Al-‘Amm launched into spontaneous, at times tearful, supplication. He called for peace upon the Prophet and his companions, ulama, muḥaddithūn, and all people of faith. Salams were addressed to the Prophet, referring to the fact that the majlis was taking place in his presence, and to Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī. After further supplication, recitation of al-Fātiha and the calling down of blessings upon the prophet, he returned to the Wird. Having completed it, he repeated the tahūl alone, then followed each time by an emphatic ‘Lord have mercy on me!’ or ‘Lord forgive me!’ After further supplication, he led those gathered in reciting the
Dawr al-a’lā at some speed. At its end, he emphasised to the majlis the importance of reading the Dawr frequently, at least once a day. With this the majlis ended, as the time for the dawn adhān approached.

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

7. For example, in the two pamphlets mentioned in notes 5–6 above, on pp.185–193 of Majmū’ al-awrād al-kabār. The pamphlet Šalawāt ’alā al-nabī al-karīm sayyidinā rasūl Allāh li’il-shaykh Aḥmad al-Dardayrī al-Khwatī begins with an open permission to read the salawāt of al-Dardayrī (tracing back his Khalwati initiation to Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī and then Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḩifnāwī). The salawāt is followed by sūrat Yā Sin, the Dawr and additional salawāt. Pamphlets such as these two carry a statement that they are a waqf of the majlis.


10. For example, Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazuli, Dalā’il al-ḥayrāt wa yalihī qaṣīdat al-burda wa qaṣīdat al-munfarija [wa bi-hāmishīhi majmū’at al-awrād wa’l-ahzāb wa’l-ad’iyya wa’l-istighāthāt], intro., Salah al-Dīn Abu’l-Jihad Nakhmayy (Aleppo, 1420), on the margin of pp.241–251: it is among a collection of prayers independent of the Dalā’il, added to the text when it was first printed.

11. Al-Ghurāb, al-Ṭarīq ʿilā Allāh, pp.194–197. Although al-Ghurāb suggests that this is a critical edition he does not indicate which or how many manuscripts he used and gives very few variants. (He also presents a critical edition of the AWRād, for which he again provides little detail on the manuscript base used. See pp.173–193.) Born in Tanta in 1922, al-Ghurāb settled in Damascus during the 1950s: on him see further below. For a partial list of his publications, see Ahmad b. Muhammad Ghunaym, al-‘Arif bi’llāh al-shaykh Ahmad al-Hārūn: sīratuhu wa karāmātuhu (Damascus, 1992), p.67 n.1.
12. Born in al-Salihiyya, Damascus in 1900, al-Ḥārūn worked for many years as a stonemason. He acquired literacy skills late in life, and dedicated himself to studying and writing on the natural sciences and issues of faith. Widely circulating stories of his karāmāt centre on his ability to cure the sick. He reportedly had a very close relationship to Ibn ʿArabī (his writings include a commentary on K. Mā ġ lā yūʾawwal ʿalayhi). Al-Ḥārūn’s relationships with his own disciples had no particular ?arqa framework. On him see Ghunaym, al-ʾĀrif bi’llāh al-shaykh Ahmad al-Ḥārūn; Hafiz and Abaza, Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ Dimashq, 2, pp. 753–762; ʿIzzat Hasriya, al-shaykh Arslān al-Dimashqī wa fihi lamḥaʾ an al-shaykh Ahmad al-Ḥārūn (n.p., 1965), pp. 163–180.


A separate example arises in the Shadhili Muḥammad al-Ḥāshimi al-Jazāʾirī [al-Tilimsānī] (d.1961) granting an ijāza to read the prayer to the Rifaʿi Muḥammad al-Durra, who granted it to his son, Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Durra, presently imam at the al-Talha waʾl-Zubayr Mosque in ʿAyn Tarma on the outskirts of Damascus. Al-Durra has been active in publishing Rifaʿi texts: for example, Miʿrāj al-wuūl ilā šalawāt al-qāʾima (Damascus, 1418) (interview with al-Durra, Damascus, 2004). On al-Ḥāshimi, see Hafiz and Abaza, Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ Dimashq, 2, pp. 747–751.


16. Ibid., pp. 38–39; 45. The supplicant must first recite al-Ḥāfiẓ with the basmala four times, each with the same breath, then the first three verses of surat al-Anʿām, then a specific šalawāt formula seven times, followed by a specific prologue to the Dawr. After completing the Dawr, he must recite surat al-Inshirāḥ three times followed by another šalawāt, completing by reciting al-Ḥāfiẓ for the Prophet and Ibn ʿArabī. Historical examples of such recommendations are detailed below.

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

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


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

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

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

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


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

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


27. See http://www.ibnarabisociety.org/Publications.html.
28. Ibid.
A Prayer across Time

Historical dimensions

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

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

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

\textit{A Prayer across Time}
Historical dimensions

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

7th century AH

Sa’d al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī
{E} [d.656/1258]
The second son of Ibn ʿArabī; born in Malatya in AH 618. He left an important diwan. A student of hadith, he visited Cairo and lived in Aleppo.15

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

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

8th century AH

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

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


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

Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Idrīs al Kurdī al-Ḥarāwī [E] [d.781/1379]
Born in Dimyat, his date of birth is given as AH 696/7 (or 687 or 701). Through the agency of his maternal uncle ʿImād al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī, he audited works from Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʿmin b. Khalaf al-Dimyāṭī (who died when Nāṣir al-Dīn was eight years old). He also received ʿijāzas from other shaykhs in Cairo. He transmitted to hadith scholars, linked young to old through his long life, and became unrivalled in this field. People sought him out to audit works and acquire samāʾs (certificates of audition) from him (the biographer Ibn al-ʿIrāqī reports that he studied under him many works received from al-Dimyāṭī through ʿijāzas). He was a soldier who served as one of the sultan’s axe-bearers (and was thus known as al-Ṭabardār). He was well known for his piety, probity and love of the good. He transmitted to Muḥammad b. Muqbil al-Ḥalabi.

9th century AH

Burhān al-Dīn Abū ʿIṣḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Saʿīd al-Tanūkhī al-Baʿlī [A] [d.800/1398]
Known as al-Burhān al-Shāmī, he was born in Damascus in AH 709 and grew up there, but later settled in Cairo (his family originated from Baʿl [Baʿlbebek]). He received ʿijāzas from over three hundred (by some accounts nearly four hundred) authorities, including al-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir. He studied hadith, fiqh or jurisprudence (in Hama, Aleppo and Cairo as well as other locations) and Qurʾan readings/recitation, and was authorised to teach and issue
legal opinions. A highly respected scholar, he became ‘shaykh of Egypt’ both in hadith transmission and Qur’an readings. Among the many who studied under and transmitted works from him was Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, who reports that he spent a long time in close companionship with him (and experienced ‘the baraka of his supplication’). Ibn Ḥajar detailed hadiths narrated by those listed in al-Tanūkhī’s muḥāğam, and developed certain of al-Tanūkhī’s works on hadith. Ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jili (d.748/1352) also studied under al-Tanūkhī and transmitted hadith from him. When al-Tanūkhī lost his sight, he became known as al-Burhān al-Shāmī ‘the Blind’.

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

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

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

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

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

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

10th century AH

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī {E} [d.911/1505]
Great Egyptian polymath, prolific author and ‘orthodox’ (Shadhili) sufi who spearheaded an apology for sufism and its leading figures. This encompassed a defence of the orthodoxy of Ibn ʿArabī in, for example, Tanbīh al-ghabā bi-tabriʿat Ibn ʿArabī, written as a refutation of al-Biqūr’s Tanbīh al-ghabā bi-takfīr Ibn al-Fārid wa Ibn ʿArabī. Those from whom he transmitted included Muḥammad b. Muqbil al-Ḥalabī.

A Shafi’i known also as Abūl-Khayr and Abū Fāris, he was born in Mecca in AH 850. He audited works from his father ʿUmar Ibn Fahd al-Makkī and grandfather Taqī al-Dīn. His father acquired ījāzas for him from various scholars including Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, and took him to audit works from al-Marāghi among others. He then travelled widely through the Hijaz, Egypt, Syria and Palestine, gathering uncountable samāʾs and ījāzas. He read works with Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī and spent time with al-Sakhāwī, among others.
He distinguished himself particularly in hadith scholarship in the Hijaz (he signed himself *khādim al-ḥadīth fil-ḥaram al-Makkī*, ‘the servant of hadith in the Sacred Precinct of Mecca’). His *muʿjam shuyūkh* encompasses a thousand shaykhs. In addition to works on hadith, he produced *Nuzhat dhawī al-ahlām bi-akhbār al-khuṭabāʾ waʾl-ʾimma wa quḍāt balad Allāh al-ḥarām* (‘The dreamer’s stroll through the stories of preachers, imams and judges of God’s sacred land’). The historian Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn was among those who transmitted from him, while those to whom he transmitted included Yahyā b. Makram b. Muḥibb al-Dīn {Abūl-Maʿālī} b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī.

Zakarīyā b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī {F/A} [d.926/1520]
Born in AH 823–24, a revered Egyptian sufi and Shafiʿi authority. He studied, among others, under Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, and became associated with numerous *ṭarīq* (pl. of *ṭarīqa*). His renown in the exoteric sciences (especially *fiqh*: he acted as Shafiʿi grand qādī for twenty years and his commentaries on Shafiʿi law became part of the madrasa curriculum) enabled him to protect his spiritual life from external scrutiny. He shared this dimension only with his closest pupils, such as ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Shārānī, who regarded him first and foremost as a saint and recorded his karāmāt. His many works include some relating to *taṣawwuf* (sufism), such as commentaries on the writings of al-Qushayrī and Shaykh Arslān. During the controversy caused in Cairo by the anti-monistic campaign of al-Biqāʾī aimed at Ibn al-Fārīd and Ibn ʿArabī (874/1469), the sultan sought his expert opinion to put an end to the agitation caused by the affair: he defended them. His many students included Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, who received *ijāzas* in all of Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī’s works when he studied under him during a visit to Cairo. According to one chain, Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī transmitted the works of Ibn ʿArabī (and all that the latter transmitted) from Abūl-Fatḥ al-Marāghī.
'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Sha’rānī\textsuperscript{69} {F} [d.973/1565]
Egyptian scholar, Shafi‘i mufti, historian of sufism (through his 
ṭabaqāt or biographical compilations, among them the immensely 
popular al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā), sufi and apologist for sufis. He was a de-
voted student and defender of the orthodoxy of Ibn 'Arabī (through, 
among others, the ‘deliberate interpolation’ hypothesis),\textsuperscript{70} and popu-
larised his teachings through the accessible and widely circulated al-
Yawāqīt wa'l-jawāhir, for example. The best known and most exalted 
of his teachers was Zakariyā al-Anṣārī, who initiated him into the 
way in AH 914.\textsuperscript{71} His sufism has been described as ‘orthodox, mid-
dle-of-the-road’ (he identified with the orthodox way of al-Junayd 
and attacked the excesses of some ṭarīqas).\textsuperscript{72} His stance as a sufi, 
faqīh\textsuperscript{73} and scholar of hadith was underpinned by reformist, even 
salafi, tendencies.\textsuperscript{74}

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

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

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

11th century AH

Abū‘l-Mawāhib Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Quddūs al-Shinnāwī

Also known as al-Khāmī and hailing from the important Egyptian sufi al-Shinnāwī family, he was born in 975/1568 in Mahallat Ruh west of Cairo and studied in Cairo and Medina, where he settled. A prominent sufi, he became the leading shaykh of the Naqshbandiyya in Medina in his time. The order was introduced to Medina (with the Shattariyya) by the Indian Shaykh Ṣibghatallāh b. Ṣuhallāh al-Sindī (al-Barwajī), who settled there in 1596 or 1605: he initiated al-Shinnāwī, became his teacher, and authorised him to educate *murīds*, teach the *dhikr* and confer the *khirqa*. While he studied hadith with its major scholars, al-Shinnāwī does not appear to have been regarded
as a hadith scholar himself. Nonetheless, he emerged as a dominant figure in the intellectual milieu of the Haramayn, where he was an outspoken adherent of the doctrine of wahdat al-wujūd (the Oneness of Being). His many students included Șaфи al-Dīn al-Qushashī (who venerated his teacher as the saintly ‘Seal of his time’). Brockelmann lists five of al-Shinnāwī’s works, including al-Iqlīd al-fardī fī tajrīd al-tawḥīd, on which al-Nābulusī later wrote a commentary.83

Grandson of Yaḥyā b. Makram b. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī {D}, member of important sharifian family long established in Mecca and holders of the imamate of the Maqām Ibrāhīm since AH 673. Born in 976, by the age of twelve ‘Abd al-Qādir had memorised the Qur’an and led Ramadan night prayers at the Maqām. From 991, he studied with prominent shaykhs (including, for example, al-Shams Muḥammad al-Ramlī al-Miṣrī al-Shāfī‘ī and ‘Abd al-Raṣūm al-Sharbīnī), having received an ijāza from some of them to pass on the works he had already memorised. After encompassing a broad range of disciplines and works, he composed numerous texts, including, for example, Durrat al-asdāf al-saniyya fī dharwat al-awsāf al-Ḥusaynīya, ‘Uyān al-masā’il min a’yān al-rasā’il, Iṣḥām al-majārī fī isḥām al-Bukhārī and ‘Arā’is al-akbār wa gharā’is al-afkār. The biographer al-Muḥibbī describes him as ‘the imam of Hijazi imams’.84

Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī {A/E} [d.1061/1651]
Born in 977/1570, he attended the public lessons of his father Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī and received ijāzas from him while still a child (Badr al-Dīn died when Najm al-Dīn was seven years old). He studied under and received ijāzas from various scholars,85 then held office and taught from a young age in several locations, continuing thus throughout his long life. He was Shafi‘i mufti in Damascus for thirty-five years up to his death (from 1025). He also taught hadith and read al-Bukhārī in the Umayyad Mosque for twenty-seven years (from 1034).86 Among his numerous and well-known students
was Ismāʿīl, the father of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d.1062). He was also an early teacher and shaykh of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī himself and of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. His numerous writings encompass works on hadith, taṣfīr (exegesis), fiqh, taṣawwuf and travelogues. As a historian, he is author of the biographical work al-Kawākib al-sāʿ ira bi-aʾyān al-miʿa al-ʿāshira, and its continuation Lutf al-samar wa qatf al-thamar: min tarājim aʾyān al-ṭabaqa al-ūlā min al-qarn al-hādī ʿashar. His reputation and particularly his expertise in hadith became known beyond Syria, especially in the Hijaz. He made twelve trips to the Haramayn: during the last one (1059), he was inundated with requests for ijāzas, including from scholars such as al-Shams Muḥammad al-Bābīlī, who expressed their admiration for his exceptional knowledge. As far as his ṭarīqa affiliations are concerned, the primary one was to the Qadiriyya. Some of his contemporaries described him as one of the three abdāl (category of saints) in Syria.

Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Qushāshī

Hailing from a Jerusalem family with sharīfian descent, his father (whose shaykh was the Maliki Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tilimsānī) migrated to Medina. Ṣafī al-Dīn’s early education was under his father’s wing, and included a trip to Yemen in AH 1011, where he joined circles of prominent ulama. Returning to Medina after a stay in Mecca, he met Abūl-Mawāhib al-Shinnāwī, who initiated him into the sufi way. He studied under al-Shinnāwī, Ṣibghatallāh and numerous other shaykhs (perhaps as many as one hundred), becoming affiliated to many ṭarīqas including the Qadiriyya, Shattariyya, Shadhiliyya and Naqshbandiyya. He developed a close attachment to al-Shinnāwī, married his daughter, and became his khalīfa (deputy) in life and later his successor as shaykh in the Shattariyya. A charismatic figure, he attracted a large influx of students and disciples in Medina and became established as one of the greatest sufis of his time, as well as a teacher of theology and shariʿa in his own right. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī was the most prominent of his students (and al-Qushāshī was al-Kūrānī’s major and most influential teacher): another was
‘Abdallāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī (d.1134). He has been counted as one of four influential ulama who would shape the Medinan intellectual milieu of the late 17th century. Thanks to his charisma and learning, al-Qushāshī left behind a cohesive group of followers loyal to his approach and cutting across fiqh madhhabs and sufi ṭarīqas.

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

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

Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ṭabarī al-Ḥusaynī al-Makkī al-Shāfi‘ī {D} [d.1078/1667]
Born in AH 1002, he studied under his father ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṭabarī and the prominent shaykhs of Mecca and Medina such as ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Ḥisārī al-Mu’amar, receiving ījāzas from them. Among others, Muḥammad al-Shillī Bā’alawī and al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-‘Ujaymī al-Makkī received ījāzas from him. He was not as celebrated as his father.
**12th century AH**

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

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

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

A versatile and prolific author, al-Kūrānī’s interests encompassed hadith, *fiqh* and *kalām* (theology) alongside *taṣawwuf*. His emphasis on hadith as a source for understanding and defining aspects of religion and for shariʿa (and thus his role in the rising 17th–18th century interest in hadith scholarship as a means for reforming *fiqh* and
theology) was such that, after his death, there was a remarkable increase among his Medinan students and junior colleagues in writing commentaries on hadith collections. Described as having been ‘by nature a conciliator’, his complex intellectual position reconciled his loyalty to Ibn ʿArabi’s teaching with commitment to a salafi outlook. He thus reinterpreted the doctrine of waḥdat al-wujūd in accordance with the orthodox Islamic view by emphasising the Qurʾan and Sunna as the ultimate frame of reference and insisting on the interdependency of the sufi vision and the obligations of shariʿa ‘in accordance with al-salaf al-sāliḥ (the venerable forefathers)’. It seems he undertook to revisit the major issues of sufism and theology with a view to reconstructing their dominant modes (expressed through waḥdat al-wujūd and late Ashʿari dogma), in order to bring them into line with what he saw as the original Islamic view, drawing on the legacy of Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Taymiya (and the latter’s student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīya) in projecting his vision of this original view.

On this basis, he stands as a significant precursor to the reformist currents that were to gain powerful expression across the Muslim world during the 18th century. Effectively replacing al-Qushâshî’s authority, he served as an important point of reference for a large number of ulama throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries, contributing to the rehabilitation of Ibn Taymiya and to opening the door for the re-emergence of the salafi school of thought in different parts of the Muslim world.

Muḥammad al-Budayrī al-Dimyāṭī {B} [d.1140/1728]
Known as Ibn al-Mayyit, he hailed from a sharifian family whose ancestor came to Dimyat from Jerusalem. After his early education in Dimyat, he moved to al-Azhar. During 1091–92 (1680–81) he joined Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī for a year, became closely identified with him and studied under him works on taṣawwuf, hadith and fiqh. While he regarded himself principally as a Naqshbandi (he later shifted this affiliation to a Sirhindī silsila specifically), he had affiliations to several tariqas. He travelled between Dimyat, Cairo, Medina and Jerusalem, and became acquainted in each place with the most
illustrious circles of ulama of the time. In Cairo he was closely asso-
ciated with the Bakrīs, and in Damascus with the circles of ‘Abd al-
Ghanī al-Nābulusī and his disciples.  He was highly regarded as
a hadith scholar and sufi teacher. Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī studied hadith
with him in Jerusalem and was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya by
him. Al-Budayrī was also the main teacher of Muḥammad b. Sālim
al-Ḥifnāwī.  

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

By the age of twelve, ‘Abd al-Ghanī had already received ijāzas
(including in Ibn ‘Arabī’s works) in the company of his father Ismā’īl
from Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī among other high-ranking ulama such
as ‘Abd al-Bāqī Taqī al-Dīn b. Mawāhib al-Ḥanbalī (the Hanbali
mufti of Damascus). His father, who was his first teacher and who
died when he was twelve, appears as the prior link in several of ‘Abd
al-Ghani’s ijāzas in hadith collections and the writings of Ibn ‘Arabī:
he had in fact been given the ijāzas of his father en masse as a child.
It is noteworthy that one of his last compositions was a commentary
on the ṣalawāt of Ibn ‘Arabī.
Born in Medina in 1081, he studied with his father Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and other great shaykhs, including his father's colleagues and associates like al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-’Ujaymī al-Makkī and ‘Abdallāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī. He took his father's position as a teacher in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina and rose to assume the position of Shafī‘i mufti in the city for a time. On his father's death he succeeded him as supreme shaykh of the Shattariyya (but the leading position of the ulama of Medina fell to one of Ibrāhīm’s students). His works include Ikhtīṣār sharḥ shawāhid al-Rīḍā al-Baghdādī. The students who attended his many lessons (through which his father’s teachings continued to be disseminated) included the Indian hadith scholar Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (d.1163/1749), who taught hadith in Medina for twenty-five years to numerous students, among them Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb. They included also the great Indian Naqshbandī reformist Shāh Walī Allāh (d.1177/1763). The latter's stay in Medina during 1731–32 in Ṣāhir's circle had a lasting impact on his intellectual orientations: according to Shāh Walī Allāh's son, it amounted to a turning point in his career. Al-Kattani observes that his own transmission from Ṣāhir proceeds via Muḥammad Sa‘īd Sunbul, among others.

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

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

Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnāwī/al-Ḥifnī131 {B/C} [d.1181/1767]
An important disciple and associate of Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī involved in renewing activity of the Khalwatiyya in Egypt. He was born in AH 1100 in Hifna, a village in the Bilbis district of Egypt, and studied from a young age in Cairo. On receiving ijāzas from his teachers there (the best known including Muḥammad al-Budayrī al-Dimyātī, through whom he received his Naqshbandi affiliation), in 1122 he established lessons in logic, fiqh, usūl, hadith and kalām attended by many students. He produced many works and became known for his karāmāt. He had been introduced to the sufi way by a certain Aḥmad al-Shādhilī al-Maghribī (known as al-Maqqarī): he then met Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī in 1133, who initiated him into the Qarabashiyya-Khalwatiyya and trained him in its path. Al-Bakrī eventually placed him above all his khalīfās, and he became the only one he had invested with absolute authority who also survived him. Al-Ḥifnāwī

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Transmitters of the prayer

is reputed to have succeeded in reviving the tariqa across Egypt, attracting large numbers of people and introducing it to the community of ulama at al-Azhar. Among his important khalifas/disciples were Maḥmūd al-Kurdi, ʿAbdallāh al-Sharqāwī (Shaykh al-Azhar) and Aḥmad al-Dardayr, who is perhaps the best known. 132

Muḥammad al-Tāsilātī al-Khalwatī {B} [d.1191/1777]

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

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

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

13th century AH

Ibrāhīm b. Ismā‘īl b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī
{E} [d.1222/1807]
Ibrāhīm’s father Ismā‘īl (b.1085) was the only one of ʿAbd al-Ghanī’s sons to survive him. Born in AH 1138, Ibrāhīm became an outstanding ḥalīm of his time.146 A prominent member of Damascene society, he inherited his father’s teaching post at the Salimiyya mosque,147 and became shaykh qurrā’ (leading Qur’ān reciter).148 The confluence of several chains of transmission relating to al-Futūḥat al-Makkiyya through him is noteworthy.149

Muḥammad al-Jundī al-ʿAbbāsī al-Ma’arrī {A} [d.1264/1848]
He served as Hanafi mufti in his place of origin, Maʿarrat Nuʿman, Syria. Initially a follower of Shaykh Khālid al-Naqshbandī, who was responsible for spreading the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya widely
among Arabs, Kurds and Turks during the early 19th century, it is most likely that al-Jundī did not maintain contact with his successors after Shaykh Khālid’s death in 1242/1827.\textsuperscript{150}

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

\textbf{Muḥammad Ṭāhir Sunbul [al-Makkī]} [D]
Son of \textit{Muḥammad Saʿīd Sunbul}, prominent Hijazi scholar who transmitted from his father and transmitted to, among others, ˙Yāsīn b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mīrghanī.\textsuperscript{153}

\textbf{Muḥammad ˙Yāsīn b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mīrghanī} [D]
ʿAbdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mīrghanī al-Makkī al-Ṭāʾīfī the father (d.1207/1793), known as al-Mahjūb, was a prominent sufi and influential ʿālim. Born in Mecca into a sharifian family, he attached

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himself to Yūsuf al-Mahdalī (who was known as al-qiṭb or the axis of his time) and became an uwaysi sufi after the latter’s death, receiving learning directly from the Prophet. While stories of his karāmāt are plentiful, he also left a substantial number of works. He has been counted as part of the late 18th century reformist network, of which the Haramayn was the crossroads (his students included Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, for example). The Mīrghanī family appears to have been politically active: in 1166/1752–53, a time of political upheaval in Mecca, ‘Abdallāh had moved to Ta’if apparently as a result of his opposition to the Zaydi sharifs. One of ‘Abdallāh’s sons became the father of Muḥammad ‘Uthmān al-Mīrghanī (d.1852). Born a year after his grandfather ‘Abdallāh’s death, ‘Uthmān became one of the most important students of the major reformist Moroccan sufi teacher Aḥmad b. Idrīs (d.1837), and founder of the Khatmiyya (or Mīrghaniyya) order. ‘Uthmān’s paternal uncle Muḥammad Yāsīn became his guardian upon the death of his father when ‘Uthmān was ten years old. Himself childless, Muḥammad Yāsīn took on his nephew’s education. Muḥammad Yāsīn later taught hadith to another student of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, the Yemeni al-Ḥasan ʿĀkish, when he came to Mecca. He was also a teacher of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Sanūsī (d.1276/1859), Aḥmad b. Idrīs’ closest student and founder of the Sanusiyya tarīqa, when he arrived in Mecca in 1241/1826. Muḥammad Yāsīn wrote at least one work, ‘Unwān ahl al-‘ināya alā kashf ghawāmiḍ al-nuqāya, a gloss on al-Suyūṭī’s Itmām al-dirāya. Abū’l-Maḥāsin Muḥammad b. Khalīl (al-Maḥīshī) al-Qāwuqjī al-Ṭarābulusī al-Shāmī al-Ḥanafī {D} [d.1305/1888] Possibly also known as Shams al-Dīn, he was born in 1225/1810, and was a hadith scholar, sufi and faqīh. He has been described as ‘musnīd bilād al-Shām’ (‘the most important hadith transmitter of Greater Syria’) of his time, and his chains occupied a pivotal role well into the 20th century in most of Egypt, Syria and the Hijaz. He transmitted from many scholars, including Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Sanūsī, al-Burhān al-Bājrī and Yāsīn b. ‘Abdallāh al-Mīrghanī (he wrote
a commentary on *al-Mu‘ jam al-wajīz* by ʿAbdallāh al-Mīrghānī). A prolific writer, he produced some one hundred works, including many on hadith. His *al-Ṭawr al-aghlā ṣalā al-wīrīd al-musammā bi’l-Dawr al-a’lā* was printed in Damascus, AH 1301. Brocklemann also lists a commentary on *Ḥizb al-bahr* entitled *Khulāßat al-zahr ‘alā Ḥizb al-bahr*. Noteworthy, too, is his *Shawāriq al-anwār al-jalīya fī asānīd al-sāda al-Shādhiliyya*, for al-Qāwuqjī was a Shadhili shaykh and founder of a sub-order of the ṭarīqa which seems to have taken his name. He died in Mecca.

**Chains and authorisations**

The chains elucidated here are embedded in a vast web of interconnections among members of the *ahl al-‘ilm* (community of scholars) spanning the centuries of Islamic history, a network of personal contacts forming a highway along which authority, learning and *baraka* have travelled from the past into the future while criss-crossing the lands of Islam. Individuals sought out *ijāza* through personal contact with shaykhs who had themselves acquired *ijāzas* through personal contact: the *ijāza* was thus in part ‘an emblem of a bond to a shaykh’. While it served the forging of connections to powerful men of the learned elite (those older and more knowledgeable), it also made possible the appropriation of some of their authority, and that of others in the associated chains of transmission. Finally, it acted as a vehicle for the acquisition and transmission of *baraka*, of which ‘ilm or learning was one important form. The conferring of an *ijāza* thus admitted an individual to a particular scholarly and spiritual genealogy, and this was just as important as the precise identity and content of the work(s) transmitted (if indeed not more important in some circumstances). In general terms, the *mujīz* (granter of an authorisation) was the key to insertion into chains of transmission of ‘ilm so highly valued that the resulting pedigrees rivalled blood-lines in importance. This importance is reflected in the careful attention given to recording
and incorporating chains of transmission of texts, as in the case of the Dawr.

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

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

Regarding certain specifics of our chains, we might ask whether any of our figures appear in chains of transmission associated with other works by Ibn ʿArabī. Yahya lists a number of such chains which can be compared with the six examined here. {E} from Ibn ʿArabī
through to al-Suyūṭī is repeated in four chains, viz. 2a (attached to RG 13a, Akhbār mashāyikh al-Maghrib; RG 30, ‘Anqā’ mughrīb; RG 38, al-Arba‘ān ḥadīth; RG 134, al-Fatḥ al-Fāsī; RG 135, al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya; RG 150, Fuṣūṣ al-hikam; RG 336, al-Kashf al-kullī and RG 725, al-Tafsīr) and 6a, 6e and 6f (all three attached to RG 135, al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya). In like fashion, {F} from Ibn ʿArabī through to al-Qushāshī is repeated in chain 6d attached to al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya (with the link between Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī and al-Jabartī al-Zabīdī missing, viz., Abūl-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. al-Qaymān al-Marāṭī) and from Ibn ʿArabī through to al-Shaḥrānī in chain 6c attached to al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya with the same omission. The missing chain of authorities linking al-Qushāshī back to Ibn ʿArabī in {B} and {C} as elaborated in {F} is thus mostly corroborated by Yahya’s 6d i. Chains 6a, b, c, d, e and f (all attached to al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya) all culminate in the grandson of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl (see {E}). Finally, several well-known links appearing in our chains reappear in those listed in Yahya: these include Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī ~ Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī ({A}; Yahya’s 6b and 6d ii) and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī ~ Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī ({A}; Yahya’s 6d).

Referred to briefly above, al-Qushāshī’s chain of transmission from Ibn ʿArabī stands out for the important place it occupies on our chain map, for his status, and for his association with the prayer in a further copy, where its attribution to Ibn ʿArabī and a description of its properties are given on his authority. Al-Tāfilātī {B} and al-Dāmūnī {C} both refer to this chain without elaboration using the phrase bi-sanadihi al-muttaṣīl ilā [Ibn ʿArabī] (‘through his chain of transmission going back to [Ibn ʿArabī]’), implying perhaps that it was very well known at the time. (It is noteworthy that the silsila of the khirqa akbāriyya as given by al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī also connects al-Qushāshī to Ibn ʿArabī without elaboration.) {F} provides an indication of one chain from Ibn ʿArabī to al-Qushāshī, while {D} provides an alternative through Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī.

More than five generations after Ibn ʿArabī’s death, key geographical foci in the routes of the prayer mapped through the chains are the Hijaz (Mecca and Medina); Syria (Damascus); Egypt (Cairo);
and Palestine (Jerusalem). Two 17th–18th century figures who served as a nexus between different geographical centres through their travels are Muḥammad al-Budayrī al-Dimyāṭī {B} and Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī {A/B/C}.\(^{177}\) Al-Budayrī connected the influential Hijazi centre\(^{178}\) with Cairo (where al-Ḥifnāwī studied under him), and with Jerusalem (where Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī studied under him). Al-Bakrī, too, connected Damascus and Cairo (as well as Jerusalem), but without the direct Hijazi link:\(^{179}\) born in 1688 CE, al-Bakrī’s link to Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d.1689 CE) in \{C\} should most likely be ruled out in favour of an omission, probably of the latter’s son Ilyās, with whom al-Bakrī studied in Damascus. It is noteworthy that al-Tāfīlātī apparently first acquired the prayer from al-Ḥifnāwī during his early sojourn in Cairo, making it possible for him to transmit it during his extensive travels thereafter. Such figures often formed part of very extensive scholar networks, through which the prayer may well have been transmitted into more distant regions of the Islamic world.\(^{180}\)

A strong Naqshbandi or Khalwati association is evident among the figures in our chains from the 17th century,\(^{181}\) but for many of them multiple ṭarīqa affiliations were the norm, especially prior to the 18th or 19th centuries. The prayer was thus used alongside liturgical and devotional prescriptions associated with particular ṭarīqa affiliations, whether multiple or single. Prayers attributed to the eponymous founders of ṭarīqa have found a natural constituency among those affiliated to these ṭarīqas, where they have also been routinely recited in collective rituals. Indeed the emergence of an independent ṭarīqa from an existing one has often been accompanied by the composition of new aḥzāb (pl. of ḥizb).\(^{182}\) Although not associated exclusively with any particular ṭarīqa, the saintly stature of the Dawr’s author appears to have secured its circulation and use within many different ṭarīqas.
How can the chains discussed here, which encompass several major figures of Islamic scholarship and *tasawwuf*, illuminate trends in historical Islamic culture and thought? Alongside those who may be described as non-reformist (and who appear to have been uncompromising in their defence of sufi culture, including its more controversial elements), it is noteworthy that these figures also feature ulama of reformist orientation, those critical of aspects of the prevailing religious-cultural milieu and the existing order. Some sought to contain sufi ‘excesses’ by reasserting the interdependence of spheres of *tasawwuf* and *shari‘a*, and addressed other aspects of the dominant culture by emphasising the primacy of the Qur‘an and Sunna as the ultimate framework for religious understanding and the source of shari‘a. Such ulama often expressed appreciation for the reformist legacy of Ibn Taymi‘ya (d.1328), and their positions evince salafi tendencies, whether in matters of *kalām* or *fiqh*, attitudes towards *madhhab* affiliation, or the emphasis of hadith scholarship as a means to reassert scriptural primacy, for example. Focusing on such figures in the chains serves to highlight the complex, overlapping identities of historical Islamic culture, which could contemplate a profound commitment to sufism (including the embrace of *waḥdat al-wujūd*) alongside a *salafi-inspired* reformist outlook (the latter dimension being at times underreported in the context of Ibn ʿArabi studies). While its content presents no specific doctrinal problem, the use and transmission of the prayer by such figures nonetheless furnishes evidence of their conviction of its author’s importance (and saintly status), underlining an inclusive commitment to his legacy upheld in tandem with salafi tendencies.

In the 9th/15th century, Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī’s association with the prayer is noteworthy in the light of his ambivalence towards Ibn ʿArabi, and his favourable view of Ibn Taymi‘ya.183 His reservations concerning the prayer’s author, such as they were, did not invalidate for him the *baraka* that flowed from use of it, received through a chain
directly from its author. In the 10th/16th century ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha’rānī’s association with the prayer is noteworthy when viewed not in terms of his capacity as an apologist for Ibn ‘Arabī, but as the first in a long line of late reformist or salafi-oriented sufi ulama, followed in the 11th–12th/17th–18th centuries by the highly influential al-Qushāshī (heir to al-Sha’rānī’s legacy) and especially his student Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and the latter’s students of the next generation. As in al-Kūrānī’s case, a number of these later sufi-salafi ulama re-interpreted waḥdat al-wujūd, in its capacity as the most controversial aspect of sufi doctrine, to make it conform to Islamic orthodoxy. At the same time, they evinced a rising interest in Ibn Taymiyya’s intellectual legacy (following its virtual eclipse by the mid-14th century with the rise to dominance of tasawwuf allied with Ash’ari theology),184 and thus perhaps contributed to a re-emergence or revival of the salafi school from the late 17th century.185 In the 13th/19th century, the two al-Jundīs, father and son, can finally be mentioned. The former was a follower of the shari‘a-minded reformist Naqshbandī Shaykh Khālid, who had called for returning to the Qur’ān and Sunna, yet read the works of Ibn ‘Arabī and felt a spiritual affinity with him.186 Muhammad Amīn al-Jundī the son was a reformist ‘ālim in his own right and also a close associate of the Amir ‘Abd al-Qādir (whose own reformist tendencies and shari‘a-minded, scripturalist sufism combined with a devotion to Ibn ‘Arabī have been widely noted, and whose ulama followers launched the Salafi reform movement in Syria).187

The blending of sufi and salafi thought is thus illustrated by several of the figures associated with the prayer, both in pre-modern and modern periods. Within this blend, which itself became increasingly significant for later reformists or ‘revivalists’, it was salafism that came to prominence under the conditions and pressures of modernity.188 Were it possible to map the continuation of the chains discussed here across the 20th century, it would be of interest to ascertain the orientations of new links in terms of this framework, and in particular to discover whether any who avail themselves of the prayer’s baraka can be counted as contemporary salafis, seeking
inspiration in Ibn Taymīya’s legacy. A defining aspect in the self-appropriation of the ‘salafi’ banner in the modern world has of course been a powerful anti-sufism, in which Ibn ‘Arabī’s legacy looms large. This is not the whole story, however. Through the inclusive tendencies of some of the most eminent historical figures of ‘ilm and taṣawwuf associated with it, this small prayer of Ibn ‘Arabī points up with striking clarity the anomalous character of the uncompromising salafi–sufi dichotomy perpetuated in some contemporary Muslim circles.
Notes to Chapter 2

Notes

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

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

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


4. Other examples include Haci Mahmud Efendi 4141 (dated AH 1275), Yazma Bağışlar 2180 (undated and followed by a *wird* attributed to Abû Bakr b. ‘Abdallâh al-‘Aydarûs and an untitiled anonymous supplication), A 5705 [University of Istanbul Library] (dated 1793 CE and followed by a prayer by Abû’l-Ḥasan al-Shâdhîlî and a *salawât* attributed to Ibn ‘Arabî: see below), A 4344 [University of Istanbul Library] (dated AH 1318, each line surrounded by a gold-leaf border, with only eight lines per page) and Naﬁz Paşa 702, on which see note 6 below.

5. For example, I. Note that Ankara Millî 489 binds together the *Dawr* (as part of an undated hand) with works by Ibn ‘Arabî (e.g. *R. al-Alîf*, *Mashâhid al-asrâr*, *K. al-Bâ‘*) in several hands.

6. Examples include G, K (*Salawât kubrâ*), M, Şazeli 106 (*Istighâtha, Awrâd, Salawât kubrâ*), Esad Efendi 1330 (*Salât sharîfâ*), A 5705 [University of Istanbul
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Library] (Ṣalawāt sharīfa), Nafiz Paşa 702 (an undated compilation of the Āwrād and the Dawr), Genel 43 (Āwrād dated AH 1179, copy made in Damascus) and Arif-Murad 58 (printed, undated, encompassing the Āwrād). Şazeli 106 encompasses the date AH 1139. Esad Efendi 1330 is dated from AH 1194 to 1219.

7. For example, M. Note that Esad Efendi 1330 includes prayers by al-Nawawī, al-Shādhilī and Ibn Mashish. Esad Efendi 267 (undated) encompasses a treatise on the names of the Prophet and one on the names of his Companions who were at Badr, plus a commentary on a prayer by al-Shādhilī. Şazeli 106 encompasses prayers by al-Shādhilī, al-Nawawī, Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, al-Shāfi‘ī, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, Ma‘rūf Karkhī, Imām ‘Alī and supplications of the prophets. L encompasses among others the protective prayer of Abū Madyan Shu‘ayb. Genel 43 has Ḥizb al-naṣr by al-Shādhilī and others; Arif-Murad adds Ḥizb al-baḥr of al-Shādhilī, al-Ṣalawāt al-munjīya and other short prayers.

8. Şazeli 157 (undated), for example, includes prayers and prayer-commentaries, poems and works by Isma‘il Hakki Bursevi (including a commentary on the prayer of Ibn Mashīsh), Sari ‘Abdullah Efendi (including Maslak al-‘ushshāq) and Nawa‘i Efendi (parts of a commentary on the Fuṣūs al-hikām).

9. Examples are J, F, and Haci Mahmud Efendi 6287 (possibly dated AH 1252), the latter by Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Jalāl al-Mawṣūlī al-Jīlī. See also Beyazid 7880 (undated), Esad Efendi 3674 (possibly dated AH 1203 or before).

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

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

12. A seventh chain attached to the prayer (and the Āwrād) is recorded in Yahya, Histoire, 2, p. 540 (no. 1, attached to RG 16a) and discussed in Ibn ‘Arabī, The Seven Days of the Heart, pp. 174–175. While we do not discuss this chain here we would point to the fact that the transmitter from Ibn ‘Arabī died in AH 727: this suggests a possible ‘child ijāza’ (on which see below). G, apparently its original source, has been the
basis of a number of printings (Haci Mahmud Efendi 4179, Düğümlü Baba 490 and 489, for example).

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

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

Of our chains, {A} and {E} are associated with an *ijāza* in which the transmitter grants permission to a specific individual to read the prayer, thus perpetuating the chain. *IJāzas* addressed to a specific individual arise also in Haci Mahmud Efendi 4141 (fol. 9a, dated AH 1275) and in Esad Efendi 1442 (fol. 52a, undated). In the latter case it encompasses the *Awrād* as well as the *Dawr* and is granted to Muḥammad Raḥf Efendi by Muḥammad ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Baghdādī, who describes himself as *khādim niʿāl al-sāda al-Qādirīya*, and has added the *Dawr* and *ijāza* at the end of this copy of K. al-Rashāḥ Ṭal-anwarīya fī sharḥ al-awrād al-akbarīya: on the margin of the *Awrād*, the latter is by Ḥasan al-Kurdi. According to Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen litteratur* (Leiden, 1943–49) [hereafter ‘GAL’], II, pp. 453, 473, Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Kurdi al-Qādirī al-Bānī al-ʿAlāwānī al-Jīlānī al-Kūrānī al-Naqshbandī (d.1148/1735) also wrote *Risāla fī qawl al-Shaykh al-Akbar wa qawl al-Ṭalīf* and *Risāla fī anna ʿilm Allāh muḥīṭ bi-nafsihi am lā*. Yahya, *Histoire*, 1, p. 289 records him as author of a commentary on Ibn ʿArabī’s *K. al-Hikam* (RG 233).


The Maqām Ibrāhīm is the (site of) the miraculous stone on which Ibrāhīm is
believed to have stood while building the Ka’ba, and which bears his footprints. Through the revelation of Q 2: 125, the Prophet established the site as a place of prayer (Ibrāhīm and Ismā’il had reportedly prayed there when they had completed their work of building). In early Islam, the stone was encased in a wooden box and raised on a platform, usually locked inside the Ka’ba. Today it stands in a glass encasement about twenty cubits from the Ka’ba, and pilgrims perform two prayer cycles as close as possible behind it. See ‘Maqam Ibrahim’, EI², 6, pp. 104–107.


19. At times alongside his brother, al-Ṣafī al-Ṭabarī: for these examples, see Ibn al-‘Trāqī, al-Dhayl al-lā al-’ibar, index. See also al-‘Asqalānī, al-Durar al-kāmina, 1, p. 56.

It may appear that Raḍī al-Dīn was born too late to have transmitted directly from Ibn ’Arabī (who died when he was four years old), but the possibility of such a link in the form of a ‘child ijāza’ (perhaps through the agency of his father or another male relative) cannot be ruled out: on such ijāzas see below.

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


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

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

23. See Esad Efendi 1413, frontispiece. The author thanks Stephen Hirtenstein for this and manuscript information above relating to Ibn ’Asākir.
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27. Ibid., p. 123. He does not appear in the index of *samā’s*, however.
37. In each case al-'Asqalâni describes his contribution through the expression *takhrîj*. In relation to works of hadith this typically means 'to quote, publish or give the isnād' of a hadith. (It may also indicate 'bringing out' the implications of hadith for the rules of *fiqh*, encompassing an explanation of use and shortness of associated chains of transmission, and making for easy identification of hadith relevant to specific subjects.) See Roy Mottahedeh, Review of Richard W. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95: 3 (1975), p. 492.
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41. On him see EI², 3, pp. 776–778.


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


46. Ibid., pp. 617, 554.

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48. See for example ibid., p.991.

49. Ibid., p.549. For further accounts of Muhammad b. Muqbil transmitting to al-Suyūṭī, see pp.627, 634.

50. On the father see ibid., p.270.

51. Ibid., p.910 ff.

52. Ibid., pp.617, 911.

53. Ibid., pp.110–111, 669.

54. Ibid., p.669; al-Taysīr bi-tarājim al-Ṭabarīyīn is also known as al-Tabyīn fī tarājim al-Ṭabarīyīn: see al-Muḥībī, Khulāṣat al-athar, 2, p.457.


57. See also ibid. p.853.

58. Ibid., pp.755–756.

59. See ibid., pp.619, 755.

60. Ibid., pp.755–756, 677, 684.

61. See ibid. pp.756, 1125, 853, also 958–959.


63. See Michael Winter, Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt: Studies in the Writings of ‘Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha’rani (New Brunswick, NJ, 1982), pp.54–55; EI’, 11, p.406. For autobiographical accounts transmitted from Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī to al-Sha’rānī and other accounts related by al-Sha’rānī concerning him, see for example al-Ghazzī, al-Kawākib al-sā’ira, 1, pp.196–198, 200–201. His early reputation for a love of the sufis, for attending their dhikr sessions and studying their works, had led his peers to suggest that he would be ‘no use’ as a faqīh: when he went on to excel in the exoteric sciences, some of them became jealous. See ibid., pp.198, 200.


65. See ibid., pp.203–204 (as al-Ghazzī puts it, ‘He understood through dhawq [spiritual ‘taste’] the words of the folk, and would explain what the people of the way said in the most perfect way, providing excellent answers concerning this if part of it appeared ambiguous to people.’); Knysh, Ibn ‘Arabi, p.212; Th. Emil Homerin, From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Farid, His Verse and His Shrine (Columbia, SC, 1994), pp.69–73; Winter, Society and Religion, pp.163–164. Yahya, Histoire, 1, p.134 lists him among the defenders of Ibn ‘Arabi.


69. Also spelled Sha’rāwī: see Brockelmann, GAL, II, p. 441.
70. See for example Knysh, Ibn ‘Arabī in the Later Islamic Tradition, p. 311; Winter, Society and Religion, pp. 165–172. The ‘deliberate interpolation’ hypothesis was a historical stratagem used in Islamic culture to deal with difficulties presented by certain texts from the perspective of ‘orthodoxy’. It was used to exonerate Ibn ‘Arabī, for example, by casting doubt on the attribution of the Fūsūs al-ḥikam to him in its extant form, on the grounds that specific problematic statements had been inserted into the text.
72. See EI¹, 9, p. 316. On him see further Winter, Society and Religion.
73. See for example David Commins, Islamic Reform: Politics and Social Change in Late Ottoman Syria (New York and Oxford, 1990), p. 50; for his attitude towards the madhāhib and madhhab affiliation see Winter, Society and Religion, pp. 224, 236–241.
76. Winter, Society and Religion, pp. 99, 139–140. This was the only one of his many shaykhs to give him such authorisation. Al-Sha’rānī expressly referred to al-Shinnāwī as al-Ahmadī. Several of his other shaykhs were also Ahmādis, associated with the Ahmadīyya, ‘the order of Ahmād al-Badawī’: ibid., p. 98. More commonly known as the Badawiyya, this is characterised by a popular cult centred on al-Badawi, his mawlid and his tomb in Tanta, Egypt. For al-Sha’rānī’s accounts of al-Shinnāwī conversing with al-Badawī at the latter’s tomb see al-Ghazzī, al-Kawākib al-sā‘ira, 1, p. 98.
78. This was Abūl-Fatḥ Muḥammad al-Iskandarī al-Mazzī. The account here draws on al-Ghazzī, al-Kawākib al-sā‘ira, 3, pp. 3–10.
80. See Brockelmann, GAL, II, p. 514.


84. This paragraph is based on al-Muḥibbi, *Khulāṣat al-athar*, 2, pp. 457–464.


90. For his works in this field see al-Ghazzī, *Lutf al-samar*, 1, pp. 108–111.


92. Ibid., p. 200; see also al-Ghazzī, *Lutf al-samar*, 1, p. 84.


94. See ibid., p. 34. Editor of the six major Sunni collections of hadith and described by al-Jabarī as ‘the seal of hadith scholars’, al-Bāṣrī was a teacher of Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindi. On him see Voll, ‘Abdallah Ibn Salim al-Basri’, pp. 356–372.


97. See EI², 5, pp. 525–526. On Singkel see below. Note that al-Qushāshī was centrally involved in the polemic engaged with Sirhindī’s 'Șalīfā Âdām al-Banūrî during meetings in Medina on specific points of doctrine as interpreted by Âdām. See Copty, ‘The Naqshbandiyya’, pp. 332–337.


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


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


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

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

Nafi, ‘Tasawwuf and Reform’, pp. 324–325, 247 points out that when al-Kūrānī joined the Naqshbandiyya through al-Qushāshī this was not through the Sirhindī line: later in his career, however, his students were initiated through this line.


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

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

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

Note finally an *ijāza* and advice from al-Kūrānī addressed to specific individuals (dated AH 1095 and 1096, respectively) concerning their perusal of Ibn ‘Arabi’s works.
and the issue of reading these with/to others. He clarifies the attitude and approach appropriate to a beneficial and blessed reading and discussion of Ibn 'Arabi’s words (viz., *bi-sharṭ al-īmān bi'l-mutashābihāt ma’a laya kamithlihi shay’*), warning that holding rigidly to the belief of the theologians (*mutakallimīn*) in such reading will be fruitless. Thus, if they find someone with the right attitude (*idhā ra’aytum a¢adan yuḡmin bi'l-mutashābihat al-qur‘ānīya wa’l-tanzīh*), then it is fine to read with him. See A 3239 [University of Istanbul Library], fol. 151a.


118. His *Dhakhā’īr al-mawārith fī’l-dalāla ‘alā mawādī’ al-aḥādīth* set out all the books of sound hadith collections by the first transmitters’ names: see von Schlegell, *Sufism*, p. 3.

119. Ibid., p. 49.


122. See ibid., p. 8.


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


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


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


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


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


138. For example, al-Kuzbarī al-Wasīt [Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān], son of the foremost hadith scholar in the Syrian Ottoman provinces (d. AH 1221). He also appears in the thabat (list of authorities) of Maḥmūd Ḥamza al-Ḥusaynī (d.1305). See al-Kattani, *Fihris al-fahāris*, pp. 485, 880.


143. Son of an important notable family of Damascus.

144. C, fols. 2b–3a.


146. Al-Bitar, *Hilyat al-bashar*, 1, p. 3.

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


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

153. See al-Kattani, Fiḥris al-fuḥāris, p. 1137; R. S. O’Fahey, Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad b. Idris and the Idrisi Tradition (London, 1990), p. 66 n. 44. There is some confusion in the literature surrounding this man. Al-Kattani records a Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Saʿīd Sunbul al-Makkī [index and e.g. pp. 364, 805, 1147], but also gives a Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. Saʿīd Sunbul al-Madānī [e.g. pp. 199, 694], as given also by O’Fahey. (In places, al-Kattani refers simply to a Muḥammad Ṭāhir Sunbul. To add to the confusion, al-Bitar, Ḥiyat al-bashar, 2, p. 747 gives a Ṭāhir b. Saʿīd Sunbul
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156. On this order see ‘Mirghaniyya’, EI², 7, p.124. On ’Uthmān, see O’Fahey and Radtke, ‘Neo-Sufism Reconsidered’, p.58.


158. On this transmission, see for example al-Kattani, *フィリス al-fahāris*, p.1137.


160. A second printing is entitled *K. al-Ṭawr al-aghlā fi sharh al-Dawr al-a‘lā* (Cairo, n.d.).


162. See D, front page and p.159, for example. His own shaykh was reportedly a Shadhili namesake of Ḥādīd al-Wahhāb al-Shārānī, whom al-Qāwuqjī admired greatly and whom he projected as an important link in chains of Shadhili teachers: see Winter, *Society and Religion*, pp.70, 88. He also wrote *Bawāriq al-anwår al-jalāyfi: al-Kattani, *フィリス al-fahāris*, p.254.


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

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

166. The principle of the pre-eminent value attached to oral testimony in Islamic culture was maintained from early times through an increasingly elastic application of the *ijāza* to transmissions that could not be guaranteed by direct study of the text transmitted and the effective meeting between a transmitter and a receiver capable of understanding the text (which could often require a considerable period of companionship between the two). While early authorities such as al-Shāfiʿī expressed serious reservations concerning this, *ijāzas* that did not denote a genuine authentication of learning actually accomplished became widely accepted in practice. The ‘child *ijāza*’ is one of several such categories: others are *ijāzas* granted to children still unborne or for works yet to be written; those obtained through a casual encounter or short,
A Prayer across Time

unplanned interview; those requested and granted through correspondence without any actual meeting between the authority and the receiver (signalling an 'approval' of existing knowledge rather than actual transmission), and the 'general ihāza' encompassing an entire oeuvre and typically granted without the actual hearing of texts. See 'Idjaza', EI 2, 3, pp. 1020–1022; further von Schlegell, Sufism, pp. 53, 125–128; Richard W. Bulliet, The Patricians of Nishapur (Cambridge, MA, 1972), p. 50. Note that by focusing on the ihāza as an authentication of knowledge acquired through transmission based on the direct study of a text and the effective meeting between a transmitter and a receiver capable of understanding it (and designating all other kinds of ihāza in contrast as 'formulaic' or 'fictitious'), there is a danger of neglecting other dimensions of its significance and role. Highlighted here, these other dimensions come to the fore in the case of a small prayer such as the Dawr, which required neither great feats of understanding nor a lengthy spell of companionship and direct study.


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

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

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

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

171. The same chain from Ibn ‘Arabī to al-Suyūṭī appears in al-Kattani’s description of one route via which he transmits all of Ibn ‘Arabī’s works (and all that the latter himself transmitted): see Fihris al-fahāris, p. 319.
Notes to Chapter 2

172. The chain from al-Qushâshi back to Zakariyâ al-Ansârî appears also in an ijâsa in al-Qushâshi’s hand for the Šâhi: see al-Kattani, Fihris al-fâhâris, p. 971.


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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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


189. Such a line of enquiry might also be pursued by expanding the characterisation of contemporary users summarised earlier.
3

THE PRAYER FOR SPIRITUAL ELEVATION AND PROTECTION

Properties

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

In more substantial treatments recommendations concerning recitation of the prayer are intertwined with a detailing of its special properties (khawāṣṣ), for the latter are activated only through its proper use. Commentators and copyists outdo each other in
describing these. By way of illustration, a particularly comprehen-
sive statement of the prayer’s properties by the AH 12th–13th cen-
tury commentator al-Dāmūnī (written in rhymed prose in Arabic) is given below.12

I ask Allāh...that [the prayer] may benefit whoever recites it with sinceritiy and firm inner belief, and that it may achieve their desired end for whoever perseveres in the benefits it contains, for He is the One who Bestows with Noble Generosity, the One who Knows the condition of those who recite. Whoever uses what is in the prayer or recites it with complete inner belief may achieve their desired goal, but whoever recites it or uses its benefits while raising objections will gain nothing but distress and corruption.

I include...some of the benefits of this great prayer, in respect to which the response will never fail provided that one has a pure heart. Among its benefits are the following:

Whoever reads it regularly and diligently morning and evening need not fear poverty, blindness or broken bones. He will be in God’s secure custody en route and at rest on land and at sea. He need not fear beasts of prey, loss of his possessions, accidents, aches and pains, illnesses, shadow companions (male and female), disobedient and insolent jinn, or malicious storm demons.13 He need not fear the arrows of war, for he will always be victorious, never defeated. He need not fear any kind of enemy, human or jinn.14 He need not fear highway robbers, for Allāh will rip to utter shreds anyone who stands against him. If the one who recites the prayer boards a ship, he need not fear harm or malady, being taken captive, drowning, or any epidemic, be it airborne or earth-bound, on land or at sea, nor the ship being holed and torn apart.15

Whoever recites the prayer will be safe from enemies and evil oppressors and from all the unjust and envious in all the worlds.16 He will be respected and well-liked by all who see him, and they will be unable to endure being away from him. He will be like the sun and the moon among the stars: the heavenly and
Properties

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

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

We have mentioned just some of the benefits: strive for them, you who have freed yourself from bondage to habits. Benefit is in accordance with sincerity, faithfulness and firm inner belief; lack of benefit results from distrust and ignominious objecting.
The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

The one who firmly believes will be in enduring felicity in this world, in the isthmus (barzakh) and on the Appointed Day, while the one who raises objections will be in a painful torment: hell suffices for him, an evil resting place.

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

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

Taking its place in this liturgical arsenal, the Dawr appears along-
side a wide range of other protective prayers in our sources, no-

tably the ahzāb of Abūl-Hasan al-Shādhilī and the hirz of Abū Madyan, but also less well-known prayers with properties of heal-
ing or defending against the plague, for example. Commentators
draw out the protective potential of the Dawr by sketching talismans
and ‘magic squares’ with words, letters and numbers: these repre-
sent individual verses, and are often accompanied by details of their
specific uses. Copyists enhance this protective quality by inserting
additional supplications with protective force. While most of our
sources stress the importance of reciting the prayer if its protective
and other benefits are to be enjoyed, the talismanic character of the
text is highlighted by the latest of our commentators, al-Qāwuqjī,
who suggests that such benefits accrue from simply carrying the
text. The dead, too, can benefit, he adds, for if it is buried with them
they will be protected from the torment of the grave.

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

According to commentators and copyists, the prayer is thus ‘an
everal secret’: it is ‘a sharp sword’ that emanates from ‘the most
The text and its contents

It seems more appropriate in discussing a prayer like the Dawr to think in terms of a stable text and its variants, rather than a critical edition. As a living text in constant use, versions displaying small differences have become established as equally acceptable across time, reflecting a cumulative process of variation taking place at the
interface between oral transmission and committing to writing, and possibly compounded by the operation of personal preference and tricks of memory. The variants of which they are aware (which they may have discovered in written copies they have surveyed) have indeed been carefully marked by some who have presented the prayer in the last few centuries, pointing to a conviction of the equal validity and prayerful importance of each of these. At the same time, copyists and commentators implicitly showcase their own ‘personal’ text, which they may have received through an authorisation from a shaykh.

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

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

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

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

As Qur’anic texts and invocations of Divine Names form the prayer’s outstanding features, the notes that accompany the translation elaborate on these areas specifically. Where this is not given in the prayer we provide the full Qur’anic verse, indicating how the author of the prayer has quoted this. We detail the immediate context of each Qur’anic text quoted, making it possible to elaborate the relationship between this and the specific object of supplication.
The notes also identify Names invoked that do not derive from the traditional list of ninety-nine,\textsuperscript{56} pointing up those among them that can be found in the Qur’an.\textsuperscript{57}

In rendering the Names into English we have drawn on Ibn ‘Arabī’s explication of these in his \textit{K. Kashf al-ma‘na ‘an asmā’ Allāh al-ḥusnā}.\textsuperscript{58} Here he provides a threefold elaboration of the qualities of each Name as the servant might relate to them: first, from the perspective of the servant who has ‘absolute need’ for these qualities, since they denote the Essence (\textit{al-ta’ālluq}); second, a spiritual knowledge and realisation of the meanings of these qualities as they relate to the Divine Himself and as they relate to the servant (\textit{al-taḥaqquq}); and third, in the manifestation of these qualities in the servant in a manner appropriate to the servant, just as they appear in Him (\textit{al-takhalluq}).\textsuperscript{59} To bring out this understanding of the qualities of the Names it was necessary in several cases to provide extended meanings in the translation, given in square brackets. Beyond this, a few such brackets are also used as an aid to accuracy and clarity in rendering the sense of the original (including some Qur’anic texts) into English.

With respect to the prayer’s Qur’anic content, over a third of the Qur’anic texts incorporated take the form of a direct divine address to a prophet, or appear on the tongue of a prophet. Moses (Mūsā) features most frequently among them, but there are also utterances by Abraham (Ibrāhīm) and Joseph (Yūsuf), for example.\textsuperscript{60} Prayer verse 13, which incorporates part of a Qur’anic verse concerning Joseph, serves to illustrate the rich and subtle composition which shapes the prayer text, while pointing also to the operation of different levels of meaning within it. Taken from the story of Joseph in \textit{sūrat} Yūsuf, the Qur’anic verse in question tells of the impact of Joseph’s stunning beauty on the women invited by the wife of the Egyptian in whose employ he was. They had been whispering maliciously that she had been soliciting him, but when they saw him they were so astounded that they cut their hands with the knives provided for the banquet to which she had invited them. The verse ends with their exclamation ‘This is no mortal; he is no other than a
noble angel!’ In verse 13 of the prayer, the supplicant solicits a vision of the Divine Beauty, as in the vision experienced by the women of the beauty embodied by Joseph. The request is addressed through the Names of Majesty (invoking explicitly the Names al-Jalîl and al-Kabîr), so that through them the Divine Beauty will descend in His Solicitous Majesty. Verse 13 thus alludes to an experience of utter awe in the face of Beauty which discloses the Divine Majesty, Perfection and Solicitude (ijlâl, ikmâl, iqbâl). The framing of the request in terms of the metaphor of ‘clothing with a robe’ resonates immediately with Joseph’s own ‘cloak of many colours’, but also with the khirqa or sufi mantle, a symbol of those Perfect Servants in whom the divine qualities appear through the mysteries of takhalluq referred to above.

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

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

by
Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn
Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-ʿArabī
الدّوّر الأَعْلَى
المُقَرّب إِلَى كُلّ مَقَامٍ الأَعْلَى

لِلشَّيْخ مُحَيّ الدّين محمد بن عَلِيّ بن العَرَبِي

تحقيق سَهِيّ التَّاجي الفَارُوْقِي
In the Name of Allāh, the All-Compassionate, the Most Merciful

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

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

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

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

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

1. اللهم يا حقي يا قيوم يا حفظت فاحمئي بحماية كفاية وقائية حقيقة

برهان حزب آمن يا بسم الله

2. وأدخلي يا أول يا آخر مكتون غيب سر دائرة كنز ماشا الله لاقوة

ال بعله

3. وأسلع علي يا حليم يا ستار كنف ستار حجاب صيانة نجاة

وعتصرموا بحب الله

4. وأبن يا محيط يا قادر علي سور أمان احاطة مجد سرادق عز

عظمة ذلك خير ذل من آيات الله

5. وأعدني يا رقيب يا مجيب وأحرسني في نفسي ودني وآله

ولدي وداري ومالي بكلاهة اعذرة اعذة عذة وليس بضارهم شيء إلا

بأذن الله

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1. A: word missing. B: missing but gives as alternative
2. D omits ذلك خير but gives as alternative
3. Order of the last four words varies, some omit مالي or داري
4. D, E and M add اعذة
5. D: وما هم بضارين به من أحد (Q.10:2)
6. Shield me, O You who Protect [from corruption] and Repel [all evil], by Your Names, Verses and Words, from the evil of Satan and of the powerful, such that if an oppressor or tyrant treats me unjustly, he will be taken by An enveloping chastisement of Allāh.72

7. Deliver me, O You who Abase [those who would set themselves above You] and who Avenge [without pardon], from Your iniquitous slaves who wrong me and from their minions, such that if one of them intends me ill, Allāh will forsake him, Setting a seal upon his hearing and his heart, and laying a cover on his seeing. Who then will guide him, after Allāh?73

8. Protect me, O You who Seize and Vanquish, from their treacherous deception: repel them from me censured, driven away in blame and routed, through the damaging, corrupting and destruction in And there was no host to help him, apart from Allāh.74

9. Let me taste, O You who are Ever Glorified and Praised, Ever Sanctified and Holy, the sweet delight and intimate converse of Come forward and fear not; for surely you are among those who are secure76 in the shelter of Allāh.
6. واقدَنِي يا مانِعًا يا دافعًا يا آباؤكم وآياؤكم وكلماؤكم شر السَّلَطَان
والسَّلَطَانَ فَأَنَّ دُولَتَم أُولَمْ أُجَابَ بِغَيْرِ عِلْيٍ أُخْذِتْهُ غَاشِيَةً مِنَ عَذَابِ الَّهِ

7. وَأَفْكَنِي يا مَذْلًا يا مَنْقَمًَ مِنَ عِيْبِكَ الظَّلَمَةِ البَاغِينَ عَلَى وَأَعْوَانَهُم
فَأَنَّ هُمْ لَيِ مِنْهُمْ أَحَدٌ بَسْوَءُ غَذَالِهِ الَّهِ وَخَطَّاً عَلَى سَمَعِهِم وَقَلِيْبِهِ وَجَعَلَ
على بصره غشآوة فَمِنْ يَهْدِيهِ مِنْ بَعْدِ الَّهِ

8. واَفْكَنِي يا قَابِضًا يا قَهْارُ جَنْيَتٍ مَكْرُوهُم وَأَرْدَدهُم عَنْيٍ مَدْمُومٍ
مَذْوَمْنِينَ مِدْحُورِينَ بِتَحْسِيرٍ تَغْيِيرٍ تَدْمِيرٍ فَمَا كَانَ لَهُ مِنْ فَتْهٍ يَتَصْرُونَهُ
مِنْ دُونِ الَّهِ

9. واَذْقَنِي يا سَبِيحًا يا قَدْوَسًا لَّذَةٍ مَنْاِجَةٍ أَقِيلٌ وَلَا تَخْفَفَ انْكَ مِنَ
الأَمِينِ فِي كَنْفِ الَّهِ

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7. B and C: يا مانع


9. A, D, E, G, L and M: أحد منهم

10. G and H: (G gives خَذَالِهِ الَّهِ as alternative)

11. Word chain varies: some give تَحْسِيرٍ / تَغْيِيرٍ / تَدْمِيرٍ instead of or in addition to
give تَحْسِيرٍ instead of or in addition to
tَدْمِيرٍ


H omits the phrase and proceeds directly from سأل الآلهة to verse 10, thus collating verses 9 and 10 into a single verse. Note that the Qur'anic verse ends with الآلهة الآمنين

85
10. And let them taste, O You who inflict Harm and take away Life, the exemplary punishment, the evil consequences and annihilation in So the last remnant of the people who did evil was cut off. Praise belongs to Allāh.⁷⁷

11. Make me safe, O You who are Peace of Perfection, the Giver of Security, from the sudden sorties of the enemy forces, through the aim of the beginning of the verse For them are good tidings in the life of this world and in the hereafter. There is no changing the words of Allāh.⁷⁸

12. Crown me, O You who are the Sublimely Magnificent, the One who Raises in Honour, with the crown of the awesome grandeur, the majestic dominion, the sovereignty, might and magnificence of And do not let their saying grieve you. Indeed the honour and glory belong to Allāh.⁷⁹

13. Clothe me, O You who are Solicitous in Benevolent Majesty, the Incomparably Great, in the robe that renders the august majesty, complete perfection and attentive solicitude in And when they saw him, they so admired him that they cut their hands, saying ‘May we be saved by Allāh!’⁸⁰

14. Bring down upon me, O You who are the Eminent in Affection, the Constant in Love, love [extended] from You, so that through it the hearts of Your servants will be guided to me, yielding to me with love, affectionate and unwavering, from the filling with love, the softening of hearts and the coming into loving union in They love them as if it were love for Allāh, but those who believe are more ardent in love for Allāh.⁸¹
Translation and Arabic text

10. واَذَقُّهُمْ يَا ضَارَّ بِكُمْ مَمِيتُ نُكَالٌ وَبَالٌ رَوَالٌ فَقُطِعُ دَابِرُ القَوْمِ الَّذِينَ
ظلِمواَ وَالَّهُمَّ

11. وَأَمَنِّي يَا سَلَامُ يَا مُؤَمِّنٌ صَولَةُ جُوَّةَ دُلْءةَ الْعاَذِيَّةِ بِبَعْثَةٍ بِدِينِهَا آيَةً
لَهُمُ البُشْرَى فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَفِي الْآخِرَةِ لَانْتِبَاءٌ لِكَلِمَاتِ اللهِ

12. وَتَوَجَّحْيِ نْيَا عَلْيَمُ يَا مُعْرِّضُ بِتِجَمَّعٍ مَهَايَةً كِبْرَيٌّ جَالِلٌ 14 سُلُطَانِ مَلِكَوْتٍ
عَزٍّ عَظُمٍّ 15 وَلَا يَعْرِقُكَ قَوْلُهُمْ أَنَّ العُرْقَةَ لِلَّهِ

13. وَأَلْبَسْنِيْنِ يَا جَلِيلُ يَا كِبْرُ جَلْطَةٍ اِجْلَالٌ اِكْمَالٌ 16 اِقْبَالُ فَلَمَّا رَأَيْتَهُ
أَكْبَرَتْهُ وَقَطَعْنَ أَيْدِيَهُ وَقَلْنَ حَاشَ لِلَّهِ

14. وَأَلْقَيْنِي عَزِيزُ يَا وَدُودُ عَلَيَّ مَحَبَّةً مِنْكَ فَتَنَادَيْ وَتَخْضَعُ 17 لَيْ بِهَا
قُلُوبٌ 18 عِبَادُكَ بِالمَحَبَّةِ وَالْمَعْرَةَ وَالمْوَدَّةِ مِنْ تَعْطِيفٍ تَلْطِيفٍ 19 تَأْلِيفٍ
يَحْيُوْنَهُمْ كَحْبَ اللَّهِ وَالْذَّيْنَ أَمْنُوا أَشْدَ حَبَّةٌ لِلَّهِ

13. E adds يا مهنيم in margin as alternative
14. C adds G, H and M omit word
15. K adds some change the order to ملوك سلطان
16. Some give instead جلال and K; some add جمال and vary the order
17. A adds حتى تندب وتخضع
18. G, H, I, J, L and M omit word
15. Show upon me, O You who are the Manifest and Hidden, traces of the luminous mysteries of He loves them and they love Him: [they are] soft towards the believers, hard on the unbelievers, striving in the path of Allāh.82

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

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

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

19. Give me ever, O You who Expand and Open up to Victory, the joyful delight in ‘My Lord, lay open for me my chest, and ease for me my task’89 through the subtle sentiments, the inner affections in Did we not lay open for you your chest?,90 and through the happy exuberance and glad tidings in That day the believers shall rejoice, in the victorious help of Allāh.91
Translation and Arabic text

15. وأظهر عليّ يا ظاهر يا باطن آثار أسرار انوار يحبهم ويحبونه

اذن على المؤمنين أعزة على الكافرين يجاهدون في سبيل الله.

16. ووجه اللهم يا صمد يا نور وجهي بصفاء جمال أنس اشراقة.

فإن حاجوك فقل أسلمت وجهي لله.

17. وجعلني يا بديع السماوات والأرض يا ذا الجلال والكرايم

بالفضاحة والبلاغة والبراعة 21. واحلل عقدة من لسانى يفقهوا قولی.

برأقة رحمة 22. رقة ثم تلين جلودهم وقلوبهم الى ذكر الله.

18. وقلدني يا شديد البطش يا جبار بسيف الهيبة 23. والشدة والقوة.

والمنعة من باس جبروت عزة وما النصر إلا من عند الله.

19. وأدم عليّ يا باهت يا فتاح بهجة مسرة رب اشرح لي صدرى

ويسر لي آمري بلطائف عواطف 24. الام نشرح لك صدرك وبشأنئ

بسائر 25. ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله.

20. Some add to this chain or:

21. B, C, D and F:

22. B, D omit word

23. G and H omit word

24. H and I add: عوارف

25. C omits word. D: (with alternative (وشائر بشائر)
20. Send down upon my heart, O Allāh, O You who are the Most Subtly Benevolent, the Supremely Kind [who establishes True Welfare], faith, tranquillity and peaceful calm, that I may be of Those who have faith and whose hearts are at peace in the remembrance of Allāh.

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

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

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

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

25. Support me, O You who Demand and Prevail in Victory, with the strengthening support of Your Prophet Muhammad, upon whom be the blessings and peace of Allāh, who was given the mighty and honoured rank of We have sent you as witness, bearer of good tidings and warner, so that you [all] may have faith in Allāh.
26. (B, F, K and M add) والوقار
27. (C, H and M: نضرعوا)
28. (F, G, H, I, J and M: اعدادي: D omits the phrase, but gives as alternative)
29. (B, C, D, F, G, H: المؤيد)

20. وَأَنْزِلْ الْهَلْمَ ْيَا رَفِيعُ ُبَطْرُ ُبَلْيِ الْإِيمَانِ ِالإِطْمِيَانِ
21. وَلِسْكِينَةٍ لَا كُونُ مَنْ الْذِّينَ أَمْنُوا وَنَطَمْنُ قَلْبَهُمْ بِذَكَرِ اللَّهِ
22. وَقَرْعُ عَلَيْهِ يُحْفَظُ بِهَا وَكُلُّ مَنْ بِئِنْ يَدِي وَمَنْ خَلْقٍ وَعَنْ يَمِينِ
23. وَلَوْلَى شَمَالِي وَمَنْ فَوْقِي وَمَنْ تَحْتِي بِوَجْهِ شَهِيدٍ جَنُودٍ لَهُ مَعْقِبَاتٌ مِنْ
24. أَشْرَكُتُمْ وَلَا تَخَافُونَ أَنْكُمْ أَشْرَكُتُمْ بِاللَّهِ
25. وَأَنْصَرْنِي ْيَا نَعْمَ الْمُولَى وَأَنْعَمْ النَّصِيرُ عَلَى الْعَدَا وَٰنْصِرَ
26. النَّجِيلَ الَّيِهُ لَهُ اَئْتِخَذْنَا هُزْوَأَ قَالَ أَعْوَدَ بِاللَّهِ
27. وَأَيْضًا يَا طَالِبُ ْيَا غَالِبُ بِتَحْيَى نِبِيَّ مُحَمَّدٍ صَلِّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ
28. المؤيد (B, C, D, F, G, H: المؤيد)
26. Suffice me, O You who Suffice in every need, who Restore [to Wholesomeness], against [all] afflictions and ills, through the great benefit and lesson in If We had sent down this Qur’an upon a mountain, you would have seen it humbled, reduced to rubble out of the fear of Allāh.

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

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

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

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

٢٦ وَأَكْتَنَىٰ يَا كَافِي بِشَافِي الْأَدوَاءَ وَالْأَسْوَاءٰ بِعَوْائِفٍ فَوَاءٌ لَّوْ ۚ أَنْزِلْنَا هَذَا الْقُرْآنَ عَلَى جَبَلٍ لِرَأْيِهِ خَاصَّعًا مَتَصَدِّعًا مِنْ خَشْيَةِ اللَّهِ

٢٧ وَأَمَنَّ عَلَّيْ يَا وَهَابٌ يَا رَظَاقٌ بِحَصُولِ وَصُولِ قُبُولِ تَدْبِيرٍ ۚ تَسْحِيرٌ

٢٨ وَالْزَّمْنِي يَا وَاحِدٌ يَا أَحْدُ كَلِمَةِ التَّوْحِيدِ ۚ كَمَا الزَّمْتُ حَبِيبٌ مُعْمَدًا ۚ صَلِّ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلِّمَ حَيْثُ قَلَتْ فَآَعَلْنِي إِنَّ اللَّهَ لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

٢٩ وَتَوَلَّتْيَ يَا وَلِيّ يَا عَلِيّ بِالْوَلَادَةِ وَالْعَنَانِيَةِ وَالرِّعَايَةِ وَالسَّلَامَةِ بِمَرْيَمَ اِبْنَ اسْمَاعِيلَ ۚ إِبْرَاهِيمَ اِسْتَعْادَ ءَمَّدَادٍ ۚ ذَلِكَ مِنْ فَضْلِ اللَّهِ

٣٠ وَأَكْرَمْنِي يَا غَنِيّ يَا كَرِيمٌ بِالسَّعَادَةِ وَالسُّيادَةِ وَالكَرَامَةِ وَالمَغْفِرَةِ ۚ كَمَا أَكْرَمْتُ الْذِينَ يَغْضَبُونَ أَصْوَائِهِمْ عِنْدَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ

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30. Some give instead of الأدواء, شر الأعداء. Some split the pair of Names, giving in varying order: يا كافي الأسود, يا شافى الأدواء. 
34. Some omit this or the preceding word or change their order. 
35. C, D and J add: ذلك خير. 
The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

31. Turn to me, O You who Turn constantly in Forgiveness, the Clement, with pardon and counsel, so that I may be of Those who, when they commit an indecency or wrong themselves, remember Allāh and ask for forgiveness of their wrong-doings – and who forgives wrong-doings save Allāh?  

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

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

O Allāh, O Allāh, O Allāh, O Allāh!

O You who are Pure Beneficence,
O You who are Pure Beneficence,
O You who are Pure Beneficence,
O You who are Pure Beneficence!

O All-Compassionate One, O All-Compassionate One,
O All-Compassionate One, O All-Compassionate One!

O You who are Sheer Mercy, O You who are Sheer Mercy,
O You who are Sheer Mercy, O You who are Sheer Mercy!
Translation and Arabic text

31 وَتَّبَّ عَلَيْ عَلَىٰ نَوِّرٍ يَا رَحِيمٌ ۛ حَلِيمٌ ۛ نَّصِيُّحاً لَا كُونَ مِنَ الْذِّينَ أَذَا فَعَلُوا فَاحْشَاءٌ أَوْ ظَلَّمُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ ذَكَّرُوا اللَّهَ فَاسْتَغْفَرُوا لَذُوٌّ الْقُرْءَانِ مِنْهُ وَمِنْ يُغْفِرُ الْذِّنُوبَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

32 فَأَخْتَمْ لَيَأْ رَحْمَانُ يَا رَحِيمٌ بِحَسْنِ خَاتِمَةِ النَّاجِينَ والرَّاجِينَ ۛ أَنْ سَرَّفُوا عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ لَا تَقْنَطُوا مِنْ رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ عِبَادِي الْذِّينَ أَسْرَفُوا عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ أَعْتُبَرُوا هُمْ عَلَى مَلَكُوتِ الْجَنَّةِ ۛ وَسَكَّنْتُ يَا سَمِيعُ يَا قَرِيبٌ جَنَّةٌ أُعْدَتْ لَلْمُتَّقِينَ ۛ دُعُوا هُمْ فِيهَا سَبَحَانَ اللَّهِ وَتَحْيَيْهِمْ فِيهَا سَلامٌ وَأَخْرُذُ دَعَا هُمْ أَنَّ الْحَمْدَ اللَّهِ يَا اللَّهُ يَا اللَّهُ يَا اللَّهُ يَا نَافِعٌ يَا نَافِعٌ يَا نَافِعٌ يَا رَحْمَانُ يَا رَحْمَانُ يَا رَحْمَانُ يَا رَحِيمٌ يَا رَحِيمٌ يَا رَحِيمٌ

37. F, I and K give instead يَا حَكِيمٌ يَا تَوَّابٌ يَا رَحِيمٌ G gives instead يَا تَوَّابٌ يَا رَحِيمٌ
38. H and J omit verse 31
39. H gives والرَّاجِينَ الذِّينَ A, B, E and K give والرَّاجِينَ الذِّينَ Q gives والرَّاجِينَ الذِّينَ قَلَ قَلَ فِيْهِمْ C gives والرَّاجِينَ الذِّينَ قَلَ قَلَ فِيْهِمْ
40. Some (including A, B, D and L) add عَمِنَ
42. The copies vary in the number of repetitions of these Names. The Names
I ask of You through the sacred sanctity of these Names, Verses and Words,$^{118}$ an authoritative strength that brings success,$^{119}$ a bountiful livelihood, a joyful heart, abundant knowledge, beneficent works, a luminous grave, an easy account [on the Day of Reckoning] and a goodly portion in Paradise. May Alläh bless our master Muhammad and his family and companions; may the peace of Alläh be upon them, a plentiful peace, until the Day of Resurrection. Praise be to Alläh, Lord of the worlds.
وَاسْتَلَكَ بِحُرْمَاتِ هَذِهِ الآيَاتِ وَالْكُلُّمَاتِ
سُلَطَانًا نَصِيرًا وَرَفْقًا كَثِيرًا ۡوَقَلُبًا قَرِيرًا
وَعَلَّمَ غَزِيرًا ۡوُعَمَّالًا بَرِيرًا وَقَرِيرًا مَنِيرًا
وَحُسَابًا يُسَيِّرًا وَمَلِكًا فِي الْفَرَّدِوْسِ كِيْرًا
وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيْدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَسَلَّمُ
وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا كَثِيرًا
إِلَى يَوْمِ الدِّينِ
وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبَّ الْعَالَمِينَ
The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

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

Bismi-llāhi-r-raḥmāni-r-raḥīm

1. Allāhumma yā Ḥayy yā Qayyūm, bika taḥaṣṣantu fa-ḥminī bi-ḥimāyati kifāyati wiqāyati ḥaqīqati burhāni ḥirzi amāni bismi-llāh

2. wa-adkhilnī yā Awwal yā Ākhir, maknūna ghaybi sirri dā’irati kanzi mā shā‘a-llāh lā qūwata illā bi-llāh

3. wa-asbil ‘alayya yā Ḥalīm yā Sattār, kanafa sitri ḥijābi šiyānati najāti wa-‘taṣīmū bi-ḥabli-llāh

4. wa-bni yā Muḥīt yā Qādir ‘alayya sūra amāni ihātati majdi surādiqi ‘izzi ‘ażamati dhālika khayrun; dhālika min āyāti-llāh

5. wa-aʿidhnī yā Raqīb yā Mujīb, wa-ḥrusnī fi nafsī wa-dīnī wa-ahlī wa-waladī wa-dārī wa-mālī, bi-kalāʿati iʿadhati ighāthati wa-laysa bi-ḍārrihim shayʿan illā bi-ʿidhni-llāh

6. wa-qinī yā Māniʿ yā Dāfīʿ bi-asmaʿʾik wa-ayātik wa-kalimātik sharra-sh-shayṭānī wa-s-sultān, fa-in żālimun aw jabbār baghā ‘alayya akhadadhathu ghāshiyatun min ʿadhābi-llāh

7. wa-najjinī yā Mudhill yā Muntaqīm min ʿabīdika-z-ẓalama al-bāḡīn ‘alayya wa-aʿwānīhim, fa-in hamma lī minhum ʿahdun bi-sūʾ khadhalahu-llāh wa-khatama ʿalā samʿ iḥi wa-qaalbihi wa-jaʿala ʿalā basarihi ghishāwatan fa-man yahdīhi min baʿdi-llāh

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8. واكفيني يا قبیش يا قاهر خادمها مکرمهم، وارددعم ‘اننی مدحعمین مدح ‘عمل مدیحین بتکھسیری تاغیری تدمیری فا-مادکینه الہ لاحا من فات راضیرئنهاشکا من دنیا-اله

9. وادحتنی يا سببیح يا عقیدسد لادحدحها مونعی جتی اقبیال واقبیال ولتقور؛ انکا منا ل-الامینا فی كانی-اله

10. وادحتهم يا دارا يا ممیت نکا لابالی زالی فا-قطیئة الدبری-الفومی-للدحینة الالیمی؛ وا-الحمد لی-اله


12. والتواوینی يا ‘آزمی يا میتیز، بی-تاجی کبیری’ی جالی سلیمانی ملاتکی ‘یزی ‘ازمامی فا-لایا الینکا قاواحیم؛ اننا ل-یازتاتا لی-اله

13. والاپسی من يا جالیل يا کبری، که’یتا سلیمنی اکبیری فی الیمی فا-للاممی راینیا لیکبیرا وا-قاتا’نا ایذیاها وا-قلنا هاشا لی-اله

14. والاپسی فی ‘آزمی فی وادوی ‘عایا ماہابطان مینکا فاتنگا بهت باک تحدا’ا لی بیه قلووی ‘یبادیکا بی-ل-ماہابة وا-لما’اژا وا-لماواددا، مین تا’تیفی تلیفی تا’لیفی الیشعکبییانا خام-الحوبی-اله؛ وا-للادحینا انمیی اشداد الیحوبن لی-اله

15. والاپسی ‘عایا فی زاهیر فی باطین اثیرا اسناری اندیاری الیشعکبییهنوو وا-الیشعکبییانا الیدلالیتی ‘الا-الموو’مینین ای یزاتین ‘الا-الکفیرین یویحیدنا فی سابی-اله

16. والاپسی-اللیحومما من ساماد من نور واجی فی-شافار’ی جمالی عنسی ایشراقی فا-ین هاجیکا فا-قول الامتی واجی لی-اله
The Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection

17. wa-jammilnī yā Bādi‘a-s-samāwāti wa-l-arḍ, yā Dha-l-Jalālī wa-l-Ikrām, bi-l-fāṣāḥa wa-l-balāgha wa-l-barā‘a wa-ḥlul ‘uqdatan min lisiāni, yafqahī qawlī bi-ra‘fati raḥmati riqqati thumma talīnu juldūhum wa-qulūhum ilā dhikri-llāh

18. wa-qallidnī yā Shādīḍa-l-baṭš yā Jabbār bi-sayfi-l-hayba wa-sh-shidda wa-l-qūwa wa-l-mana‘a, min ba‘si jabarūti ‘izzati wa-ma-n-naṣru illā min ‘indi-llāh

19. wa-adim ‘alayya yā Bāṣīṭ yā Fattāḥ, bahjata masarrat rabbi-shraḥ ĩī ṣadrī, wa-yassir ĩī amrī bi-laṭā‘ifi ‘awāṭifi a-lam nashraḥ laka sadrāk wa-bi-ashā‘iri bashā‘iri wa-yawma‘idhin yafraḥu-l-mu‘minīna bi-naṣrī-llāh

20. wa-anzil allāhumma yā Latīf yā Ra‘ūf bi-qalbī-l-īmān wa-l-īṭmīnān wa-s-sakīna, li-akūna mina-lladhīna āmanī wa-tatma‘innu qulūhum bi-dhikri-llāh

21. wa-afrigh ‘alayya yā Ṣābūr yā Shakūr šabra-lladhīna tadarra‘ū bi-thabāṭi yaqīnī tamkīnī kam min fī’atīn qalīlātīn ghalabat fī’atān kathīrātīn bi-idhni-llāh

22. wa-ḥfaẓnī yā Ḥafīẓ yā Wakīl min bayni yadayya wa-min khalfī, wa-‘an yamīnī wa-‘an šimālī, wa-min fawqī wa-min taḥtī, bi-wujūdī shuḥūdī junūdī lahu mu‘aqibātūn min bayni yadayhi wa min khalfīhī, yahfazūnahū min amrī-llāh

23. wa-thabbitī-llāhumma yā Qā‘īm yā Dā‘im qadamayya, kamā thabbattā-l-qā‘īl wa-kayfā akhāfū mā ashraktum wa-lā takhāfūna annakum ashraktum bi-llāh

24. wa-nṣurnī yā Nī‘ma-l-Mawlā wa-yā Nī‘ma-n-Nāṣīr ‘ala-l-a‘dā‘ī naṣra-lladhī qīla lahu atattakhidhunā huzuwā; qāla a‘ūdhu bi-llāh
25. wa-ayyidnī yā Ṭālib yā Ghālib, bi-ta’yīdi nabīyika Muḥammad salla-llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam, al-mu’ayyad bi-ta’zīzi tawqīrī īnnā arsalnāka shāhidan wa mubashshiran wa-nadhīrā, li-tu’minū bi-llāh

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

27. wa-mnun ‘alayya yā Wahhāb yā Razzāq bi-ḥuṣūlī wuṣūlī qabūlī tadbīrī taysīrī taskhīrī kulū wa-shrābū min rizqi-llāh

28. wa-alzimnī yā Wāhid yā Aḥad kalimata-t-tawḥīd kamā alzamta ḥabībaka Muḥammad salla-llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam, ḥaythu qulta fa-‘lam annahu lā īlāha illa-llāh

29. wa-tawallanī yā Walīy yā ‘Alīy bi-l-wilāya wa-l-‘ināya wa-r-ri’āya wa-s-salāma bi-mazīdi īrādi is‘ādi imdādi dhālīka min faḍlī-llāh

30. wa-akrimnī yā Ghanīy yā Karīm bi-s-sa’āda wa-s-siyāda wa-l-karāma wa-l-maghfīra kamā akramta-lladhīna yaghuḍdūna aṣwātahum ‘inda raṣūlī-llāh


32. wa-khtim lī yā Raḥmān yā Raḥīm bi-ḥusnī khātimati-n-nājin wa-r-rājīn yā ‘ībādiya-lladhīna asrafa‘ alā ansusihim lā taqnaṭū min raḥmatī-llāh

33. wa-askinnī yā Samī’ yā Qarīb jannatan u’iddat li-l-muttaqīn, da’wāhūm fiḥā subḥānaka-llāhumma wa-tahiyyatuhum fiḥā salām, wa-ākhīru da’wāhūm ani-l-ḥamdu li-llāh
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yā Allah, yā Allah, yā Allah, yā Allah

yā Nāfi’, yā Nāfi’, yā Nāfi’, yā Nāfi’

yā Raḥmān, yā Raḥmān, yā Raḥmān, yā Raḥmān

yā Raḥīm, yā Raḥīm, yā Raḥīm, yā Raḥīm

wa-as’aluka bi-ḥurmati hādhihi-l-asma’ wa-l-āyāt wa-l-kalimāt sulṭānan naṣīrā, wa-rizqan kathīrā, wa-qalban qarīrā, wa-‘ilmān ghazīrā, wa-‘amalān barīrā, wa-qabrān munīrā, wa-ḥisābān yasīrā, wa-mulḵān fī-l-firdawsī kabi̇rā, wa-ṣallā-lālā ‘alā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-‘alā ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi wa-sallama taslīman kathīrā, ilā yawmi-d-dīn, wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāhi rabbi-l-ʿalāmīn
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Notes

1. The following discussion draws only on Arabic sources: further examples in Ottoman Turkish arise in Yazma Bağışlar 2934 and Haci Mahmud Efendi 3950, for example.

2. See F, fol. 144b. The signification of *wird* here is that of a specified time devoted regularly to such practice. The *wird* is thus often understood to comprise a set, supererogatory personal devotion observed at specific times, usually at least once during the day and once more at night. See ‘Wird’, p. 209.

3. See Haci Mahmud Efendi 4061, Esad Efendi 1442, Düğümülü Baba 506, I.

4. Beyazid 7880 recommends reading it three times in the morning. M recommends that it be read a little before the dawn prayer, D and F after it.

5. Nafiz Paşa 702: for a complete cycle, see for example fols. 4a–14b.

6. G, M, Arif-Murad 58, Şazeli 106, Genel 43, the latter added in a different hand.

7. For example, Esad Efendi 1442: the *Dawr* is added at the end of *K. al-Rashaḥät al-anwarîya fi sharh al-awrâd al-akbarîya*, itself on the margin of the *Awrâd*.

8. The great majority of copies of the *Awrâd* likewise appear without the prayer. To mention an early example, Veliyuddin 1833 encompasses (alongside the *Awrâd*) *K. Mawâqi‘ al-nujûm, K. al-Isrâ‘* (copy dated AH 977, made in Damascus at the shrine of Ibn ‘Arabi by Jibrîl b. Zayn al-‘Abidîn al-Ghazzî), extracts from *al-Futûhât al-Makkîya* and parts of the *Tarjumân al-aswâq*, plus a supplication for the Day of ‘Arafa, from *al-Futûhât al-Makkîya*.

9. Beyazid 7880 recommends that *Hamîd Wahhâb* be recited 76 times before each reading of the prayer. M recommends beginning with the *salawât* and then repetition of *ya Ḥayy, ya Quyyûm* 174 times. Genel 43, fol. 29b details the following ‘keys’ to the prayer:

O Allâh! O You in whose hand are the keys of the secrets of the unknowns, and the lamps of the lights of the hearts! I ask You through our master Muḥammad (may the peace and blessings of Allâh be upon him), to open for me the locked doors of these treasures, and to unveil for me the realities of these symbolic allusions. *Yâ Hâ yâ man Hâ* (7 times). I ask You to bless the Sun of the gnostic sciences of Your Names, the Source of the secrets of Your light, who is the noble original Light-Tree and the radiant outpouring of the Origin, and the one who possesses the knowledges of the chosen (*al-‘ulûm al-iṣṭîfâ‘îya*), under whose banner the prophets march. [I ask you to bless him] by the number of those You have created and sustained, from whom You have taken life and to whom You have given life, until You resurrect those You have annihilated. *Yâ Laṭîf* (129 times), *al-salât wa‘l-salâm’ alayka yâ rasûl Allâh* (29 times), *Allâhu laṭîf bi-‘ibâdihi yarzuqu man yashâ’ wa huwa‘l-Qawî al-‘Azîz* (10 times).
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10. Haci Mahmud Efendi 4137 and Genel 43 recommend reciting sūrat al-Insīrāḥ and the ṣalawāt three times on completion. Haci Mahmud Efendi 4146 recommends reciting Yā lā ilāha illā Allāh al-Raṭīj jallālatan 15 times. One copy on which our copy ‘I’ draws gives a special supplication at the end, the only one in our sources that encompasses specific mention of the prayer’s author as saintly intercessor. The supplication proceeds thus (fol. 64a):

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

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


13. The Arabic plurals qurānā’, tawābī’, marada and za wābī’ require clarification. Used in the Qur’an eight times, qarīn (pl. qurānā’) denotes an inseparable or intimate companion, commonly referring to man’s spirit companion. According to Q 4: 38, Satan can be a qarīn (he indeed follows men everywhere), and Q 43: 36 describes God assigning ‘a satan’ to man as a qarīn when he turns away from the remembrance of Him. See also Q 50: 27. The oldest exegetical tradition posits a qarīn at the side of every human in the form of a satan or jinn who tempts him to evil (even prophets have such a satan-companion, but the Prophet Muḥammad converted his own to Islam). At the same time, there is at his side an angel, who induces him to good. These figures should not be confused with the recording angels. See ‘Qarin’, EI 2, 4, pp. 643–644. There are several hadith references to the qurānā’: see for example Muslim, 4, 260 and 50: 69 [after A.J. Wensinck, A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition (Leiden, 1927)].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

27. As Padwick, Muslim Devotions, pp. 23, 25 points out, use of the term ḥizb evinces an ‘unacknowledged tendency...towards semi-magical protection’, while the term ḥirz (often used as synonymous with ḥizb) in the title of a prayer can indicate its use as a talisman or amulet. A ḥizb or ḥirz often comprises a selection of Qur’anic verses and small supplications printed in a tiny booklet which can be easily carried on the person: this may be referred to by a further synonym, ḥijāb. A very well-known example printed as a tiny booklet and frequently carried is al-Ḥīṣn al-ḥaṣîn min kalām rabb al-‘ālāmin (‘The Impregnable Fortress from the Words of the Lord of the Worlds’), compiled by Shams al-Dîn M b. M al-Jazarî (d.833/1429): see below. Use of the term ṭa‘wîdh (and other derivatives from the same root) to denote protective or ‘refuge-taking’ prayers, often worn as amulets, must finally be noted (these include the final two sūras of the Qur’ân, al-mu‘awwidhatån). See further Padwick, Muslim Devotions, ch. 6; ‘Tilsam’, EI², 10, pp. 500–502; ‘Tamima’, EI², 10, pp. 177–178. For examples of the Prophet’s prayers in the formula of seeking refuge in God, see Farid, Prayers of Muhammad, pp. 245–249.

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

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


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

31. Abû Madyan Shu‘ayb b. al-Husayn al-Anṣârî (d.549/1198), a seminal figure of sufism in Muslim Spain and North Africa and profoundly influential on Shadhili and
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The juxtaposition of prayers associated with the Shadhili tradition (that of Ibn Mashīsh can also be mentioned in this context) with those of Ibn ʿArabī reflects the strong appreciation within this tradition for the legacy of Ibn ʿArabī. Perhaps also relevant in this regard is the appearance of muqattaʿāt in some versions of the prayer ending, as form a prominent feature of al-Mahdawi’s ʿalawaṭ (see Pablo Beneito and Stephen Hirtenstein, ‘The Prayer of Blessing [upon the Light of Muhammad] by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawi’, JMIAS XXXIV (2003), p. 28 n. 43 and p. 30 n. 47), and of Ḥizb al-bahr (the latter encompassing the same letter clusters that appear in some of the Dawr endings).

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

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

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

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

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

M follows his recommendation concerning the prayer’s recitation (see n. 9 above) with this supplication (fol. 109b):
This is a magnificent, blessed protective prayer. In the Name of God the Creator, the Greatest: a protection against what I fear and am wary of. There is no power for any creature before the Creator. Kāf Hā’ Yā’ ‘Ayn Śād. Hā’ Mīm Sin Qāf. All faces submit to the Living, the Self-Subsisting [Q 2: 111]. May whoever perpetrates oppression fail. God is sufficient as Protector and He is the Most Excellent Trustee.


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

46. Note that al-Dāmūnî repeats in his preamble and concluding remarks the need for ‘complete inner belief’, reflecting a central principle elaborated in discussions of the conditions and rules (adab) of prayer (du’ā’), that contribute towards a
guarantee of efficacy: for it to be received by God, one must pray with a feeling of conviction that the prayer will be answered. See ‘Du’a’ p. 618. On the common emphasis of sincere intention in the preamble to prayers see also Padwick, Muslim Devotions, pp. 52–54. This emphasis is well illustrated in the preamble to al-Hiṣn al-ḥaṣīn.

47. B, fol. 2b; I, fol. 62a, for example.

48. See ibid. By way of further encouragement for its use without a guide, I and B cite the saying ‘If you are not one of them, then emulate them, for there is success and salvation (jalāh) in emulating the noble.’

49. Variants are denoted by the term nuskha (copy) in the margin.

50. Among others, examples of such inaccuracies arise in the following copies and verses of the Dawr: A verse 15, C verse 23, and H verse 7.

51. Given that four chains of transmission pass through Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, the apparent source of H, the question arose as to whether there might be consistency between H, B, C, D and F (and possibly also I, which apparently emanated from al-Qushāšī, from whom al-Kūrānī received the prayer). In the event the attempt to identify an al-Kūrānī (or any other) ‘family’ or ‘version’ of the prayer was not felt to be a fruitful approach (by way of illustration, we would cite the existence of differences even between H and H2: see Appendix).

52. Copyists can forget to distinguish the text of the prayer from that of the commentary (often done using red ink or a red over-line), or mark parts of the commentary thus as prayer text. Confusion can also arise when an unmarked word from the prayer text appears in a gloss on another word in it, or when the commentator’s explanations require him to alter the constructions in which specific words or phrases appear, and the associated vowels. Examples arise in B, fols. 9a, 23b, 24b, 27b, 34a; C, fol. 76a; and D, p. 37.

53. This All-Comprehensive Name denotes ‘not only the Essence of God but also the sum total of every attribute that the Essence assumes, in relationship to the creatures.’ See Chittick, The Sufi Path of Knowledge, p. 20. For an introduction to the Divine Names and Attributes in Ibn ‘Arabi’s thought see ibid., pp. 8–11; 33 ff.

54. We also comment in passing on similarities with the Awrād, but no systematic or thorough comparison is attempted. In addition, we point out examples of resonances with certain traditional prayers of the Prophet.

It should be noted that we do not attempt a detailed analysis of the content, structure, imagery and literary composition of the prayer, and the commentaries identified earlier are not applied to such an end. It is felt that the associations within each verse (between verbs used to express supplications, Names invoked, Qur’anic texts and word chains), and progressions within and between particular clusters of the prayer’s verses, are best left to the reader’s close contemplation.

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

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


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

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


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

63. Another example of the use of such word chains in the genitive case in a text attributed to Ibn ʿArabi arises in *Khuṭba ukhrā [Another Preface]* (Şehit Ali 1341, fols. 405b–406a, part of a collection of Ibn ʿArabi’s works dated AH 724). Here we see, for example, *bi-wišāli ittiṣāli jamāli kamāli and ifitiṭāhi arwāhi irtiyāhi misbāhi rawāhi riyāhi and ibrāji izāji zujażi sirāji wahhażi*. The author thanks Stephen Hirtenstein for this information.

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

65. Q 18: 39, in full: ‘Why did you not say, on entering your garden, “As God wills! There is no power save in God!”? If you see me less than you in wealth and children.’ Part of the parable of the two men, one of them boasting to the other that he has been given greater wealth and strength, declaring that he did not believe his
garden would ever perish, nor that the Resurrection would come to pass. On observing his attitude, his companion asked why he did not acknowledge God’s generosity and power, for He may invert their fortunes, and ruin his garden, as indeed happened.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The root ‘awwadha, which signifies seeking God’s protection or refuge, is of course always applied in relation to the seeking of protection against Satan, as in the formula aʿūdhu bi’llāh min al-shayṭān al-rajiṣ. On refuge-taking or protection seeking (taʿawwudh) in Muslim prayer, see Padwick, Muslim Devotions, ch. 6.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

78. Q 10: 64, in full: ‘For them are good tidings in the life of this world and in the hereafter. There is no changing the words of God; this is the mighty triumph.’ Q 10: 62–63 provides the reference: ‘Surely God’s friends – no fear shall be on them neither shall they sorrow. Those who believe, and are godfearing – …’
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79. Q 10: 65, in full: ‘And do not let their saying grieve you. Indeed the honour and glory belong to Allåh altogether; He is The All-Hearing, The All-Knowing.’ The Qur’anic verse is addressed to the Prophet Muhammad regarding his dealings with the polytheists.

80. Q 12: 31, in full: ‘When she heard of their malicious talk, she sent to them and prepared for them a banquet and gave to each of them a knife. “Come forth and attend to them”, she said. And when they saw him, they so admired him that they cut their hands, saying “May we be saved by God! This is no mortal; he is no other than a noble angel.”’ See earlier discussion for the Qur’anic context.

81. Q 2: 165, in full: ‘Yet there be men who take to themselves compeers apart from God; they love them as if it were love for God; but those who believe are more ardent in love for God. O if the evildoers might see – when they see the chastisement – that power altogether belongs to God, and that God is terrible in chastisement.’

82. Q 5: 57, in full: ‘O believers, whosoever of you turns from his religion, God will assuredly bring forth a people He loves, and who love Him; [they are] soft towards the believers, hard on the unbelievers, striving in the path of God, not fearing the reproach of any reproacher. That is God’s bounty; He gives it unto whom He will; and God is All-embracing, All-knowing.’

83. Q 3: 20, in full: ‘So if they dispute with you, say, “I have surrendered myself [my face] (wajhî) to God, and whosoever follows me!” And say to those who have been given the Book and to those who have not, “Have you surrendered [to Him]?” If they have surrendered, they are rightly guided; but if they turn their backs, your duty is but to deliver the Message. And God sees His servants.’ (Note that wajh, literally ‘face’, denotes by extension one’s will or self.) Q 3: 19 refers to disputes between the Prophet and the People of the Book: ‘The true religion with God is Islam. Those who were given the Book were not at variance except after the knowledge came to them, being insolent one to another. And whosoever disbelieves in God’s signs, God is swift at the reckoning.’

84. Al-Bad¨¡ (one of the ninety-nine Names) appears twice in the Qur’an as here (Q 6: 101 and 2: 117).

85. Q 20: 27–28. This is part of a supplication made by Moses in response to the divine instruction to go to the transgressing Pharaoh.

Note the resonance in this part of the prayer verse with a request that appears in a prayer taught by the Prophet to ‘Ali to help in memorising the Qur’an, thus: Al-låhuma badî’ al-samåwåti wa’l-ard dhål-jalåli wa’l-ikråm…as’uluka bi-jalålika…an tutţiqi bi-hi lisånî… For the full text and details of the hadith, see Farid, Prayers of Muhammad, p.227.

86. Q 39: 23, in full: ‘God has sent down the most excellent discourse as a Book, consistent within its oft-repeated [truths], at which shiver the skins of those who fear their Lord; then their skins and hearts soften to the remembrance of God. That is God’s guidance, whereby He guides whomsoever He will; and whoever God leads astray has no guide.’
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87. This is not one of the ninety-nine Names. Q 85: 12 gives ‘Surely your Lord’s assault is terrible (inna ba†sha rabbika la-shad¨d)’. See also Q 44: 16.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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


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

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

105. *Al-Kåf¨* appears in the alternative list of ninety-nine Names given on the authority of Abū Hurayra: see al-Ghazālī, *The Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God,*
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In the sense of sufficiency, the root verb appears of the Divine several times in the Qur’an in relation to His sufficiency as a Guardian (wakil), a Reckoner (hasib), a Helper (nasir), a Protector (wali), as One who knows (alim), and as a Witness (shahid), for example. See for example Q 4: 81, 33: 39, 25: 31, 4: 45, 4: 70, 4: 166; also 33: 25.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Note that the three terms in the phrase bi’l-wilaya wa’l-‘inaya wa’l-ri’aya appear together also in the Sunday morning prayer of the Awrâd, thus: bi-‘ayn al-rahma wa’l-‘inaya wa’l-hifz wa’l-ri’aya wa’l-ikhtissas wa’l-wilaya. See Ibn ‘Arabi, Wird, p. 9.

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

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

115. Q 39: 53, in full: ‘Say! “O My servants who have transgressed against yourselves: do not despair of the mercy of God. Surely God forgives sins altogether; Surely He is the All-Forgiving, the All-Compassionate.”’
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117. Q 10: 10. Truncated here, it ends: ‘Lord of the worlds.’ Q 10: 9 provides the reference: ‘Surely those who believe, and do righteous deeds, their Lord will guide them for their belief; beneath them rivers flowing in gardens of bliss.’

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

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

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

Manuscript copies and chains of transmission

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

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


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

Muḥammad al-Ṭāfilātī al-Khalwatī, Mufti of Jerusalem ~ his teacher Muṣṭafā al-Kubrā (sic) al-Khalwatī and his shaykh Muḥammad
Appendix

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

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


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


E. Haci Mahmud Efendi 4053
Copy of prayer alone, undated: 5 fols. with full vowels. Chain (fol. 5a) added in a different hand, viz. that of ʿAlī Efendi, granting an ijāza to read the Dawr to Aḥmad Muẓaffar b. Muṣṭaḥfā Masʿūd.

ʿAlī Efendi b. Sulaymān b. al-shaykh Muṣṭaḥfā b. al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Karīm (may be crossed out) ʿUmar, teacher in Dār al-ʿAlīya ~
Manuscript copies and chains of transmission


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

Appendix

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


H. Hamidiye 1440
Compilation in a single hand of works by Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī: Majmūʿat rasā’il, including Maslak al-taʿrīf bi-taḥqīq al-taklīf’alā mashrāb ahl al-kashf wa’l-shuhūd al-qāʿilīn bi-tawḥīd al-wujūd,1 200 fols., addressing theological issues relating to the doctrine of waḥdat al-wujūd. Contents recorded from AH 1086 to 1094 in al-Kūrānī’s presence in Medina by a disciple, several of them in al-Kūrānī’s home on the outskirts of Medina2 and one at the rear of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf al-Nabawī (the Prophet’s Noble Sanctuary) there.3 The Dawr (fols. 31b–32b) is the only prayer in this collection and the only text not by al-Kūrānī. It has few vowels. Note that the copy of the text ending on fol. 31a is dated AH 1089 (and made at al-Kūrānī’s house on the outskirts of Medina), which is likely also to
be the date of the *Dawr* copy, which it can be presumed was recorded from al-Kūrānī alongside his own works.

It is noteworthy that **Ragib Paşα 1464** (193 fols.) is a second compilation of the same overall title as H, in a different hand from the latter: there is no evidence in this case that the scribe was al-Kūrānī’s disciple. It seems that al-Kūrānī requested that a second copy of H (which we can call H2) be made after that compilation had been completed in 1094. Some texts thus give the same details of time/place as texts in H. Others then add a ‘final copy’ date some five or six years later. The *Dawr* (fols. 31a–32 b) follows on the same page on the end of a text by al-Kūrānī concerning which it is recorded that the rough copy was made from al-Kūrānī in his house on the outskirts of Medina in **AH 1089** and the final one copied out in his house adjacent to Bāb al-Raḥma of the Prophet’s Mosque in **AH 1094**. The *Dawr* is followed (fol. 32b) by a verse from al-Shāfi‘ī, an anonymous supplication and an untitled and un-attributed portion of Ibn ‘Arabī’s Tuesday morning *wird*.

**I. Pertev Paşα 644**

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

**J. Murad Buhari 320**

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

**K. Izmirli Hakki 3635**

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

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

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

M. Reşid Efendi 501
Compilation in a single hand of prayers by Ibn ‘Arabī (Ḥizb al-‘ārif bī’llāh, Du‘ā’ asmā‘ Allāh al-ḥusnā, Ḥizb al-nūr, the Awrād, Ṣalāwāt sharīfa) and others (including those by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, al-Shādhili, ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī, al-Shāfi‘ī and Imām ‘Ali), as well as anonymous supplications and protective prayers, all in one hand, 126 fols. Possibly dates to the lifetime of al-Nābulusī, i.e. before AH 1143, as the copyist, possibly his disciple, refers to him twice in terms that suggest he was still alive (e.g. fol. 94a). The Dawr (fols. 109b–111b) has full vowels and plentiful marginal alternatives.

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

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

Notes

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

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

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

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

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

Note that the latter part of this compilation encompasses two additional texts by al-Kûrânî (one of them recorded in 1084 and another after his death) and two by al-Ghazâlî. From f. 95a (encompassing one of the additional al-Kûrânî texts) it is in a second hand.
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‘Whoever recites this prayer will be like the sun and the moon among the stars’

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

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