THE NAQSHBANDIYYA

Orthodoxy and activism in a worldwide Sufi tradition

Itzchak Weismann

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THE NAQSHBANDIYYA

The Naqshbandiyya is one of the most widespread Sufi brotherhoods in the world. Its strength lies in its characteristic combination of strict adherence to the divine law and active involvement in social and political affairs.

The book begins with an examination of the place and unique features of this brotherhood within the larger Sufi movement, and Islam in general. It then traces its historical evolution through three main phases, each dominated by one offshoot: the original Naqshbandiyya of Central Asia, the Mujaddidiyya which sprang from India, and the Khalidiyya, which was formed in the Ottoman lands and reached the remotest corners of the Muslim world – the North Caucuses, Siberia, and Indonesia, as well as Western Europe and North America. The final chapters examine modern Islamic thinkers and movements that had roots in the Naqshbandiyya and the Naqshbandi masters and branches that have adopted new strategies to cope with the challenges of modernity and postmodernity.

This fully illustrated study presents a broad synthesis of the history of the Naqshbandiyya throughout the eight centuries of its existence, and analyses its basic principles and the teachings of its outstanding masters. As such, it will be an indispensable tool for students of Sufi studies, scholars of medieval and modern Islam and the informed public that is interested in the manifestations of Islam beyond its current militant version.

Itzchak Weismann is senior lecturer at the Department of Middle Eastern history, University of Haifa, Israel. His research interests focus on modern Islam, particularly interrelations between Sufism and fundamentalist and radical movements.

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To Michel Chodkiewicz

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The present work rests on the combined efforts of numerous scholars who have dedicated their time and energy to the study of the Naqshbandiyya. No individual can hope to manage on his or her own so vast a subject, or to muster the large number of languages and dialects through which it has been articulated. I owe a debt to them all. Particular thanks are due to some of the leading experts of the brotherhood and of Sufism at large, who read and commented on whole or parts of the manuscript. Foremost among them is Michel Chodkiewicz of L'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, who supported me through the entire work and shared with me his vast knowledge of the classical Sufi heritage. For the original Naqshbandiyya of Central Asia I consulted Jürgen Paul of the Martin Luther Universität in Halle-Wittenberg, and on the Khalidiyya in the Ottoman lands Butrus Abu-Manneh of the University of Haifa. Unfortunately I could find no comparable expert on the intermediary phase of the Mujaddidiyya. The ideas contained in the last two chapters on the modern transformations of the Naqshbandiyya are essentially mine. Finally, I would like to thank my wife Gerda for her resourceful help with the tables, Murray Rosovsky for his careful editing of the manuscript, my student Igal Lipsman for preparing the Index, and Routledge for the patience they have shown with this long overdue book.

ABBREVIATIONS

CAC	*Cahiers d'Asie Centrale*
CAS	*Central Asian Survey*
EI2	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition
EIr	*Encyclopaedia Iranica*
IJMES	*International Journal of Middle East Studies*
JHS	*Journal of the History of Sufism*
JIS	*Journal of Islamic Studies*
MES	*Middle Eastern Studies*
Naqshbandis	Marc Gaborieau, Alexandre Popovic and Thierry Zarcone (eds.), *Naqshbandis: cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman* (Istanbul and Paris, 1990)
NWCA	Elisabeth Özdalga (ed.), *Naqshbandis in Western and Central Asia* (Istanbul, 1999)
Rashahat	'Ali ibn Husayn al-Wa'iz al-Kashifi, *Rashahat 'ayn al-hayah*, Trans. Muhammad Murad al-Qazani al-Manzilawi, (Mecca, 1890)
WI	*Die Welt des Islams*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*

PREFACE

For more than three decades the Naqshbandiyya has attracted considerable scholarly attention, unmatched by any of the other Sufi brotherhoods in Islam. This interest has largely been due to the realization that in the eight centuries or so of its existence masters affiliated with the Naqshbandi tradition, and with its major successive Mujaddidi and Khalidi offshoots, time and again acquired positions of influence with the rulers of the day and within their respective communities. Such outstanding political and social involvement has been employed by scholars not only to discredit the once prevalent view about the decline of latter-day Islam, but also to demonstrate that Sufism played an important role in framing the Muslim world's response to modernity.

A perusal of the vast literature produced within the Naqshbandi tradition itself reveals that the major preoccupation of its masters was rather to demonstrate the conformity of their mystical teachings and practices to the precepts of Islamic law – the shari'a. From their point of view, the urge for social and political activism was thus embedded in a general orthodox framework. The basic compatibility of Sufism and orthodoxy was stressed by many a Muslim thinker throughout the ages, not least among them the illustrious eleventh-century mystical theologian Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, while Shadhili, Khalwati, and innumerable other brotherhoods exhibited activist traits in certain periods of their history. None, however, combined and implemented the two tenets in so consistent a way as did the masters of the Naqshbandiyya.

These emphatically orthodox bent and activist thrust were complemented in the Naqshbandi tradition by missionary zeal that resulted in the expansion of the brotherhood out of its original homeland in the Bukhara oasis to ever-more distant lands. The same combination underlies its remarkable adaptability in the contemporary era of globalization, making it a veritable worldwide phenomenon. Today Naqshbandi branches are to be found in most parts of the Muslim world – Central Asia, the Indian subcontinent, the Middle East, the Caucasus, and the Far East, but also in Western Europe and North America.

The academic literature on the Naqshbandiyya is vast and constantly growing. An important landmark in the study of the brotherhood was a round table conference held in Sèvres in May 1985, the proceedings of which were subsequently published in a voluminous book. This collection begins with two articles by Hamid Algar, the person who has done more than anyone else to focus our attention on the Naqshbandiyya. The first piece is an overview of the history of the brotherhood; the second piece is an assessment of the work accomplished in Naqshbandi studies up to that point. Algar's conclusion that much "remains to be filled in the scholarly investigation not only of Sufism but also. . . the history of the numerous lands where the Naqshbandiyya has taken root," still largely holds today. Yet, thanks to the meticulous studies undertaken by him and numerous other scholars since he penned those words our knowledge of the history and work of different Naqshbandi masters and branches in their respective environments has advanced remarkably. This scholarly endeavor has yielded several books, dozens of dissertations, and literally hundreds of articles dispersed in the professional journals. Twenty years after the Sèvres conference it is time to take stock of the new wealth of detail and reformulate in its light our overall picture of the Naqshbandi tradition.

This book is an attempt – informed by the insights I have gained during my own almost two decades' study of different aspects of the Khalidi offshoot, as well as travels to the Naqshbandi centers in Uzbekistan, India, Turkey, China, and Indonesia – to integrate this large body of research within one analytical narrative. For practical reasons I have confined myself to works in the three major Western languages: English, French, and German, along with fundamental primary sources in Persian and Arabic. Such an enterprise is meant for both the professional scholar, who should benefit from a critical overview of the Naqshbandi tradition to further his/her more specific studies, and for the informed reader who wishes to know Islam beyond its current militant manifestations. To make the text accessible to as wide a readership as possible I have reduced the use of professional terms to the minimum. For instance, I have usually preferred master to *shaykh* or *pir*, brotherhood or tradition to *tariqa*, etc.

Still, the present undertaking is designed neither as a general survey of the history and teachings of the Naqshbandiyya nor as a detailed account of all its masters and lines of transmission in every age and place. More specifically, I wish to avoid the pitfall of a simplistic presentation of the evolution of the brotherhood as the unfolding of some essential characteristics, which too detached a view might engender, but also not to lose sight of its basic identity and continuity by close-ups on its contingent manifestations. Taking a middle course, as it were, this book offers a multi-faceted analysis of the interaction between the evolving trajectory of the Naqshbandi tradition throughout the ages and its spiritual-religious teachings and rites. Readers

seeking to locate specific masters are referred to the diagrams of lineages dispersed through the text.

The main source for the study of the Naqshbandiyya is by far the extremely abundant Naqshbandi literature itself, which bears out its claim to embody the most learned tradition of all Sufi brotherhoods. This literature may be divided into two major categories, though in practice these are often juxtaposed in the same works. One category is the biographical literature, either in the form of collective dictionaries which record the lives, sayings, and miraculous deeds of Naqshbandi masters in different periods and places, or as monographs dedicated to exceptionally outstanding individuals. The other category comprises works dealing with Naqshbandi teachings and practices, including discourses of the great masters as recorded by their disciples, collections of letters, manuals of conduct, polemical expositions and, more recently, pamphlets, cassettes, and websites. These primary sources are supplemented by information gleaned from outside sources such as general biographical dictionaries and scholarly rosters, opponents' writings, chronicles and material evidence, archival documents, travelers' accounts, media reports, and personal observations.

This wealth of material allows us to reconstruct in a fairly detailed manner the history and teachings of the Naqshbandiyya. Still, when employing the various sources one must also be aware of their deficiencies. One such deficiency concerns the nature of the Naqshbandi sources on which our investigation so much depends. As part of the Muslim biographical tradition, Naqshbandi authors tend to focus on the "great men" of their brotherhood and to depict them as they ought to have been rather than as they actually were. This "ideal-hero" kind of writing is amplified in the Sufi case, in which the divine wisdom and miraculous deeds of the masters are often brought to the fore at the expense of their daily conduct, social relations, and economic bases. Such biases necessitate a critical reading of the Naqshbandi writings, crosschecked where possible against independent sources to shed additional light on the personalities of the masters, and informed by an interdisciplinary approach to uncover the institutional and popular dimensions within which their activities were conducted.

Another deficiency of our source material is its uneven availability, which creates conspicuous imbalances in our knowledge about the different stages in the evolution of the Naqshbandi tradition. This shortcoming derives not only from the general diminution of information with the regression of time, but also from recent historical circumstances. Research into the original phase of the Naqshbandiyya was seriously impeded by Central Asia's long subjection to Soviet rule; we are only now beginning to tap into the vast sources collected in libraries, such as the al-Biruni Institute in Tashkent, which became available to scholars after Uzbekistan won independence in 1991. We know more about the second phase of the Naqshbandiyya, which was dominated by the Mujaddidi offshoot of India, though here again

information is rather fragmentary and tends to concentrate on the work of its towering figures, most notably the founder, Ahmad Sirhindi. We are in a far better position to assess the third phase, which followed the establishment of the Khalidiyya in the Ottoman Empire and its Middle Eastern successor states, as well as modern religious movements that sprang out of the Naqshbandiyya.

This book has nine chapters. The opening chapter considers the basic features that have defined Naqshbandi identity and secured its continuity on the one hand, and the place of the brotherhood within the larger Sufi and Islamic traditions on the other. The rest of the book follows a historical scheme. The inner division of the chapters is determined by the relevant branches: the original Naqshbandiyya, the Mujaddidiyya, and the Khalidiyya. The period in which each of the branches was dominant is dealt with by two consecutive chapters. Chapters 2 and 3 study the emergence of the Naqshbandiyya out of the Khwajagan tradition and its consolidation (thirteenth to sixteenth centuries). Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the Mujaddidiyya (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) and its competition with the original Naqshbandiyya. Chapter 6 is dedicated to the Khalidiyya (nineteenth century to the present), and Chapter 7 examines the continuing evolution of the older branches at the same period. The last two chapters of the book turn to modern Islamic thinkers and movements with roots in the Naqshbandiyya. Chapter 8 discusses early responses from within the brotherhood to the challenge of modernity, while Chapter 9 moves to explore the adaptation of various branches in the contemporary setting. The bibliography presents an attempt to compile an exhaustive list of works on the Naqshbandiyya in the Western languages mentioned above, along with basic Naqshbandi, Mujaddidi, and Khalidi texts that have been consulted for this study.

1

THE CORE AND CONTOURS OF A SUFI BROTHERHOOD

The origins of the Naqshbandiyya lie in the mystical tradition of the Great Masters – the Khwajagan – which flourished during the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries in the oases of Central Asia. From there it spread westward to Anatolia, eastward to what is now Chinese Turkistan, and southward to the Indian subcontinent. Here at the beginning of the seventeenth century it gave rise to its major offshoot, the Mujaddidiyya, which produced its own missionaries. These carried the message to the Turkish and Arab lands, as well as back to Central Asia. In the early nineteenth century the Khalidi offshoot of the Mujaddidiyya was established in the Ottoman Empire and further extended the geographical boundaries of the brotherhood to such remote areas as the Caucasus and Indonesia, and later to Western Europe and North America. The Naqshbandi tradition looms large at the background of such diverse modern Islamic movements as the Jadidi trend in the Muslim lands under Russian rule, the Ulama Council in colonial and postcolonial India, and the Salvation Party in Turkey.[1]

Several figures stand out in the vast and ramified Naqshbandi lineage, each epitomizing one phase in its trajectory. The earliest is ʻAbdulkhaliq Ghijduwani, who at the turn of the thirteenth century introduced eight principles and a silent form of *dhikr* (rite of recollection) into the proto-Naqshbandi trend of the Khwajagan, thereby setting it on a distinct path. Most consequential among these principles in the public arena was *khalwat dar anjuman* (solitude in the crowd), a paradox implying that the spiritual master should involve himself in the social and political affairs of his community. Next is ʻUbaydullah Ahrar, with whom in the second half of the fifteenth century the Naqshbandi brotherhood was consolidated and became enmeshed in politics. Ahrar employed especially the spiritual practice of *suhba* (accompanying the master) to rally his followers around him.

Then, in the seventeenth century, comes the founder of the Mujaddidiyya, Ahmad Sirhindi, who developed the idea of renewal of the millennium (*tajdid al-alf*) as an intellectual basis for the orthodox and activist proclivities of the brotherhood. Sirhindi's orthodoxy was epitomized in his assertion that on the Day of Judgment people would be asked about their adherence to the

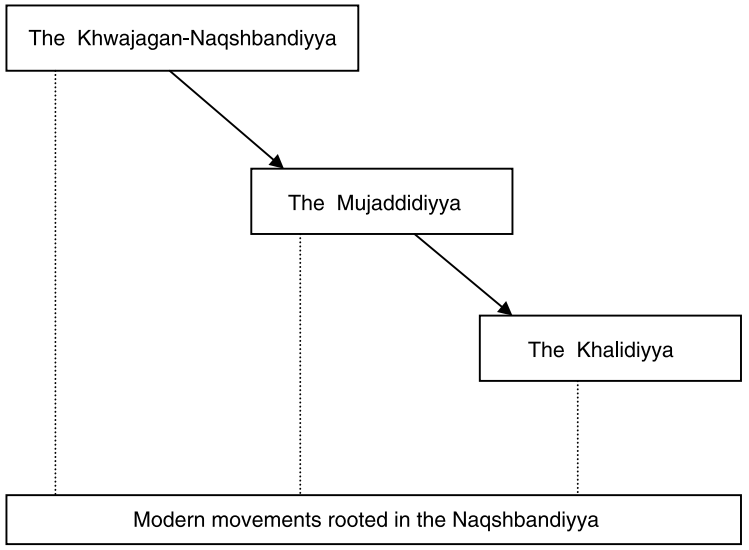

Figure 1.1 The Naqshbandiyya and its offshoots

shari'a rather than about their mystical affiliation. He was followed in the early nineteenth century by the founder of the Khalidiyya, Khalid al-Shahrizuri (also al-Baghdadi), who sought to galvanize his offshoot into an effective socio-religious movement to implement these tenets through a concentrated form of *rabita* (binding the heart with the master) and intensive *khalwa* (seclusion). Modern thinkers with roots in the Naqshbandi tradition include such eminent figures as Shah Waliullah, the hadith scholar of Delhi, Bediüzaman Sa'id Nursi, the modernist philosopher from eastern Turkey, and Muhammad Rashid Rida, the fundamentalist propagandist based in Cairo. These may be regarded as seeking, each in his own peculiar way, to reestablish the balance between the two elements of orthodoxy and activism in the face of the radically altered environment of modernity.

Along with these, many other masters feature in the following pages, from Baha'uddin Naqshband, the eponym of the brotherhood, who added three principles to its spiritual path, to Nazim al-Haqqani, the most active Naqshbandi master on the contemporary global scene. Each of these Naqshbandi and Naqshbandi-related masters creatively adapted the tradition he had inherited from his predecessors to the particular circumstances in which he lived and worked: Ghijduwani reacted to the threat posed by the Turkish and Mongol nomads to the sedentary population of the Bukhara oasis; Naqshband sought to renew his legacy once Muslim rule was restored in the region; Ahrar contended with the havoc generated by the rapid disintegration of Timurid rule in central Asia; Sirhindi set out against the syncretistic

religion adopted by the Mughal court in India; Khalid responded to the weakening of the Ottoman government and the rising threat from the West; Waliullah, Nursi, and Rida each stood up to the cultural challenges of modernity as they perceived them; and Haqqani accommodates the Sufi path to the current realities of globalization.

One should never forget, however, that the teachings of these masters could not strike root, nor indeed were they preserved in the collective memory of their communities, without the backing of the innumerable lesser masters and deputies and the multitude of disciples and adherents who throughout the ages recognized and loved them as saints, flocked to their lodges, spread their call far and wide, and thus kept the Naqshbandi tradition alive in their deeds and in their hearts.

The mystical path

The formation, spread, and adaptation of the Naqshbandiyya is part of the larger story of the institutionalization and popularization of the mystical aspect of Islam. The Islamic term denoting a Sufi brotherhood, or any of its offshoots, is *tariqa*, which literally means path or method. From the earliest days *tariqa* was the most widely used metaphor for the Sufi quest. It branched off from another path, that of the Law – *shari'a* (lit. the way to the water, and by extension the straight path) – and led, by God's willing, to realization in the Divine or Truth – *haqiqa*. As an orthodox brotherhood, the Naqshbandiyya emphasizes that the follower of the path must always adhere to the injunctions of the Law and it denounces Sufis who claim to be no longer bound by them since they have reached the goal. The inner relationship between *shari'a*, *tariqa* and *haqiqa* is vividly expressed by the renowned early nineteenth-century Hanafi jurist Ibn 'Abidin, who was affiliated to the Khalidi branch of the Naqshbandiyya:

> The *tariqa* and the *shari'a* necessitate each other, since the path to God consists of an external aspect and an internal aspect. Its externality is the *shari'a* and the *tariqa* and its internality is the *haqiqa*. The internality of the *haqiqa* in the *shari'a* and the *tariqa* is like the internality of butter in milk. It is impossible to reveal the butter in the milk without churning it. The aim of the three – the *shari'a*, the *tariqa*, and the *haqiqa* – is to fulfill the state of servitude to God.[2]

In describing their experiences along the path, the early Sufis identified different stations through which they had to pass. These were divided in their expositions into two major types: stages (sing. *maqam*), like renunciation, poverty, and trust in God, which one reaches and maintains by one's own strivings, and states (sing. *hal*), like vision and certainty, which come and go

without control. The last stations on the path are the two complementary states of love (*mahabba*) and gnosis (*ma'rifa*). They lead to annihilation in God (*fana'*) and subsistence in Him (*baqa'*) in full realization of the divine unity (*tawhid*). Intoxicated mystics have always rejoiced in the bliss of the annihilation of their self in the One, while sober mystics like the Naqshbandis put the stress on their subsistence in order to return to this world and guide others on the same journey.

The main instrument for advancement on the mystical path is *dhikr* – the constant recollection of God – founded on Qur'anic injunctions such as this: "O believers, remember God oft, and give Him glory at the dawn and in the evening."[3] Meditation on the One through *dhikr* is most intense during periods of seclusion (*khalwa*), when the external senses are shut and the heart is prepared to receive the divine gift. Along with the usual slow and painstaking following of the path (*suluk*), Sufis recognize the possibility of being suddenly and instantly attracted by God (*jadhba*).[4] As we shall see, in the Naqshbandi tradition seclusion is performed in the crowd and divine attraction precedes the following of the path.

The various features of the Sufi path were consolidated and systematized from the tenth century on, partly in response to the collapse of the central authority of the 'Abbasid Caliphate and the consequent onset of political insecurity.[5] Externalization of the inner experience facilitated the spread of Sufism among the masses and enabled it to provide an alternative basis for social order. One aspect in this development was the urge to demonstrate the fundamental orthodoxy of the Sufi tenets, culminating in the comprehensive work of the celebrated theologian and mystic Ghazali. Such endeavors helped make Sufism acceptable to the religious scholars (*'ulama'*) and integrated it into the main body of religious knowledge.[6]

Another aspect was the elaboration of a theory of sainthood. This postulated a hierarchy of "friends of God" (*awliya'*, sing. *wali*), modeled on the example of Prophet Muhammad and topped by the pole of the age (*qutb*) and "the seal of saints" – the greatest Sufi of all ages. The terminology was introduced into Sufi discourse in the ninth century and was fully elucidated three centuries later by Muhyi al-Din ibn 'Arabi, the Greatest Master, who claimed the title of seal for himself. Ibn 'Arabi's comprehensive synthesis of the mystical sciences of his day was to form the common heritage underlying the distinctive paths of the various Sufi brotherhoods, including the Naqshbandiyya.[7] Following him Mevlana Jalal al-Din Rumi, the eponymous founder of the Mevlevi brotherhood ("the whirling dervishes"), gave the Sufi vision a profound poetical expression in his unforgettable couplets.[8]

Most significant for the formation of the Sufi brotherhoods, however, was the institutionalization of the master–disciple bond. From earliest times Sufis recognized that spiritual aspirants (sing. *murid*) need an accomplished guide (Ara. *murshid*, Per. *pir*) to direct them through the different stations and point out for them the way to union with God. They were also aware of the

dangers of deceit, pride, and self-destruction that threaten to lead followers astray not only from the *tariqa* but even from the *shari'a*, and therefore they attributed absolute authority to the spiritual guide. The central role of the Sufi master in the process was grounded in the Prophetic saying (hadith) that "the shaykh in his group is like the Prophet among his people"; his authority was epitomized in the complementary saying that "the adept to his shaykh is like a corpse in the hands of a corpse-washer."[9] Naqshbandis in particular practice as part of their *dhikr* a form of concentration on the great masters in their spiritual chain back to the Prophet in order to be blessed by them and to strengthen their souls. This ritual, known as *khatm al-khwajagan*, includes, according to the early twentieth-century Egyptian-based Naqshbandi master Muhammad Amin al-Kurdi, the following supplication:

> Praise be to God, who in the light of His beauty illuminated the hearts of the knowers (*'arifiyin*) and in the awe of His majesty burned the heart of the desirers (*'ashiqiyin*) and in the subtlety of His providence built the innermost of the attainers (*wasiliyin*). Prayer and peace be on His best creature, our master Muhammad, and on his family and companions. Oh God, proclaim and bring the reward for what we read and the light of what we recited, after accepting it from us, with grace and beneficence, to the spirit of our master and healer of hearts and delight, the elected Muhammad, and to the spirits of all the prophets and messengers, God's prayers and peace upon them all, and to the spirits of all masters in the lineages of the exalted brotherhoods. . . especially to the spirit of the great pole and famous authority, the possessor of luminous effluence who formulated this *khatm*, Mawlana 'Abd al-Khaliq al-Ghijduwani; and to the spirit of the leader of the path and succor of the universe, the possessor of the flowing effluence and streaming light, the noble master Muhammad known as Shah Naqshband al-Husayni al-Hasani al-Uwaysi al-Bukhari, may God sanctify his lofty innermost; and to the spirit of the pole of saints and proof of the pure ones, the combiner of formal and mental perfections Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Dihlawi [of the Mujaddidiyya], may God sanctify his lofty innermost; and to the spirit of the traveler in God, the bowing and prostrating, the possessor of the two wings in the inner and outer sciences Diya' al-Din, our master Shaykh Khalid, may God sanctify his lofty innermost . . .[10]

Manuals of Sufi conduct which circulated in the tenth and eleventh centuries helped turn the small groups of spiritual masters and disciples hitherto gathering in privacy into more formal associations with wider social appeal. This was followed in the twelfth century by the appearance of Sufi brotherhoods encompassing networks of masters who related to common

eponymous founders.[11] The masters of each brotherhood elaborated distinct spiritual methods and disciplinary practices. Many of them set up lodges (sing. Ara. *zawiya*, Tur. *tekke*, Per. *khanqah*) to cater to the spiritual as well as material needs of various levels of society, and they attracted the support of local rulers.[12] In the following centuries the influence of organized Sufism increasingly grew, spreading from its initial centers in the cities of Iraq and Persia to all corners of the Muslim world.[13] Brotherhoods of various size and appeal – from the local to the global – covered the Muslim world, some of the most widespread and enduring among them being the all-present Qadiriyya, the Shadhiliyya in North and West Africa, the Rifa'iyya in the eastern Arab world, the Shi'ite Ni'matullahiyya in Iran, and the Naqshbandiyya in Central Asia, India, and Turkey.

The orientalist–fundamentalist paradigm in Sufi studies

The wide dissemination and considerable influence that the Naqshbandiyya, and other Sufi brotherhoods, have enjoyed throughout the ages run counter to the still widely held view that following a formative or classical period Islam entered into a prolonged period of decline. This view was advanced within the framework of two distinctly modern paradigms. One is the Orientalist paradigm which, by essentializing Islam as the (inferior) Other, helped justify the Western colonial enterprise and continues to inform Western policy makers and Islamic "experts" today; the other is the Islamic fundamentalist paradigm, which depicts latter-day Muslim tradition as a deviation from the exemplary model of the forefathers and a principal obstacle to the renewal of Islamic vigor in the face of the West and the Westernized Muslims. For A. J. Arberry, a major representative of the Orientalist tradition in Sufi studies, the very emergence of the brotherhoods marked the beginning of the decline of Sufism:

> The age of Ibn Farid, Ibn 'Arabi and Rumi [in the thirteenth century] represents the climax of Sufi achievement, both theoretically and artistically. Thereafter, although through the numerous and ever multiplying Religious Orders the influence of Sufi thought and practice became constantly more widespread, and though sultans and princes did not disdain to lend the movement their patronage and personal adherence . . . the signs of decay appear more and more clearly, and abuse and scandal assail and threaten to destroy its fair reputation.[14]

The distinct bias in this statement toward the "classical" personal form of Sufi piety and the concomitant downgrading of the social and political import of "post-classical" organized Sufism is reproduced in J. Spencer Trimingham's *Sufi Orders of Islam*, the most comprehensive treatment of the