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The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

Printing Devotion: Ṣūfī Books and their Transregional Networks in an Age of Print

A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Arab and Islamic Civilizations

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts

By

Mariam Elashmawy

900151032

Under the Supervision of

Professor Ahmad Khan

For my brother,

Youssef

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Introduction

The production of printed books in the Muslim world is a story that encompasses an array of actors, spanning centuries, and taking place in remote, yet connected locales. This story is now slowly beginning to receive the attention it warrants. Scholars are paying attention to the social, cultural, and intellectual facets of book production in the long nineteenth-century. There are, however, still various elements to this story that remain untold.

This thesis provides an intellectual history of Şūfī print production of Islamicate mystical works in the nineteenth-twentieth centuries by examining three overlapping genres: poetry, Şūfī histories (hagiography), and litanies (*aḥzāb*). Texts such as the *Dīwān* of devotional poetry by Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1234), the litany of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), *Ḥizb al-baḥr*, and *Rashaḥāt ‘ayn al-ḥayāt*, a history of the Naqshbandiyya order by Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī (d. 940/1533), make up a mosaic of Şūfī texts that attracted the interests of printers, publishers, and the community of readers in Cairo, Istanbul, and Lucknow. These three devotional texts have been written in different temporal and geographic contexts. However, their publication history within the age of print, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, forms the basis of this research. The material history of these mystical texts concerns the transition from manuscript to print and considers questions such as whether print made different and new demands on the texts and their producers, if at all. An intellectual history of these chosen texts traces their continuous journey of texts from script to print through different temporal and spatial moments.

As a burgeoning enterprise during the late nineteenth-century, publishing houses in the Islamicate world began to circulate texts as a response to intellectual, economic, and social demands for texts in Muslim society. By the eighteenth century, manuscript culture in Egypt began to be recognized by an increased production of books on *taṣawwuf*, a development that continues

with printing in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.¹ This demand for Ṣūfī books brings forth a set of questions that need to be answered in light of the larger framework of book history and nineteenth-century *taṣawwuf*. What was this demand for Ṣūfī books mirroring in society? How did publishing initiatives meet such growing calls for particular devotional texts? And most importantly, who were the actors and communities central to publishing and book production during this period?

By looking at the material and intellectual legacies of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī and Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī, this thesis establishes the vibrant involvement of Ṣūfī groups in book culture from the medieval period to the age of print. Additionally, it investigates in what ways texts survive through the interest of Ṣūfī editors to print these particular texts; how they choose to present the material on the printed age; and how ideas move in society to the modern period. I attempt to piece together the story of the printed book and the interconnected afterlives of the author, editors, and publishers. This is done in order to understand how these various actors shaped and were, in turn, shaped by the production, distribution, reception, and survival of texts.² A study of such kind undertakes a transregional book history of Ṣūfī actors, institutions, and intellectual production.

Literature Review

Printing and the Islamicate

Scholarship on the advent of printing ever since Elizabeth Eisenstein's path breaking work on the Gutenberg print shop, has focused its preliminary lens on the technological potential and

¹ Reinhard Schulze, “The Birth of Tradition and Modernity in 18th and 19th Century Islamic Culture: The Case of Printing,” *Culture & History* 16 (1997): 29-71.

² Kathryn A. Schwartz, “Book History, Print, and the Middle East,” *History Compass* 15, no. 12 (2017): 1-12.

capacity of movable type print.³ Eistenstein’s revolutionary framework of print received its fair share of criticism in the field, notably from Anthony Grafton and Adrian Johns.⁴ They contested Eistenstein’s approach to analyzing the effects of print as simply the force of technological development uprooting the very basis of society, leading to the proliferation of movements in early modern Europe. Elizabeth Eisenstein’s work and the subsequent scholarship on print has impacted ideas about the role of print in Islamic societies.

As a result, the considerable gap in timing between the adoption in Europe in the fifteenth-century, and its adoption in the early nineteenth-century in the Ottoman empire posed questions for scholars such as why had the Ottoman Empire withheld the adoption of printing in its own part of the world.⁵ Western scholarship attributed the late advent of printing in the Ottoman empire to, firstly, a political dimension manifested in the Ottoman government’s objection to printing, as it could potentially weaken the Islamic order on which their power was based. Secondly, there was the religious dimension where the *ulama* disapproved of the printing press on religious grounds as an objectionable innovation, *bid’a*. Thirdly, and finally, there was the economic dimension vis-a-vis the guilds of scribes and *warrāqūn*, book copyists, whose capital would fall into ruins if a cheaper, and quicker textual medium in terms of output would be introduced. More importantly, Kathryn Schwartz questioned the very assumption that an Ottoman edict or *fatwa* banned print due to the aforementioned reasonings, by charting the lifecycle of such a “rumor” in early modern European, Ottoman, and Middle Eastern historiography and treatises.⁶

³ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

⁴ See Anthony T. Grafton, “The Importance of Being Printed,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 11, no. 2 (1980): 265-86; Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

⁵ Kathryn A. Schwartz, “Did Ottoman Sultans Ban Print?” *Book History* 20, no. 1 (2017): 1-39.

⁶ Schwartz, “Did Ottoman Sultans Ban Print?” 5.

This thesis proposes an understanding of printing that contextualizes a set of broader societal systems and actors that shaped the Muslim experience of print. Rather than reiterating the framing of printing as a technological, revolutionary drive forward from script to print,⁷ I emphasize the role that people—such as editors, patrons, and scholars—played in shaping printing initiatives. I approach the history of printing these three texts within the context of how transregional intellectual networks established in the pre-modern period fostered the rise of Ṣūfī print communities once we arrive in the modern period. The economic and commercial aspects of this story is important; however, I mainly focus on the intellectual and material history of the *Rashaḥāt*, *Dīwan*, and the *Ḥizb*.

Reconsidering Islamicate Print Culture

This research shifts the story of print away from top-down narratives of technology, the state, and reform. Instead, it aims to sketch and trace often neglected actors and intellectual networks within the nexus of printing in the Islamicate. Schwartz has written on the subject of printing in nineteenth-century Cairo, highlighting the emerging Arabic private printing industry during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Her article on printing business practices highlights two things.⁸ Firstly, she examines the connections between Cairo’s private printing scene and other regional and linguistic contexts which operated in tandem with manuscript culture. Secondly, Schwartz examines print as a “byproduct of peoples’ means, goals, and practices, in

⁷ Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, xii.

⁸ See Kathryn A. Schwartz, “The Political Economy of Private Printing in Cairo as Told from a Commissioning Deal Turned Sour, 1871,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 49, no. 1 (2017): 25-45.

contrast to the characterization of Middle Eastern print as a deterministic force that swept through the region and upended earlier ways of life.”⁹

This examination of how print culture functioned in different locales is also found in other scholarly writing. I examine the extent to which printing supplanted the existing manuscript culture and whether Ṣūfī groups were embroiled in different developments in book culture. Some early scholarship had postulated that print threatened to undermine the age-old conceptions of authoritative transmission associated with person-to-person *ijaza*, and yet, the work of Muhammad Qasim Zaman seems to give a more nuanced understanding of this notion. Zaman underscores how religious scholars in South Asian Muslim communities became involved in print endeavors, lending them the opportunity to engage in new, inexpensive, and efficient methods of transmission that tapped into new audiences. Likewise, Ahmad Khan looks at how different movements in the Islamic world saw in publishing houses and in specific texts the opportunity to expand or develop their ideas.¹⁰ Additionally, Ulrike Stark studies the print culture of Colonial India, and the Islamic publications being printed in Urdu and Hindi by the Naval Kishore Press in Lucknow, as an example of a vibrant print community made up of reformists, traditionalists, and colonial groups.¹¹

The image of the religious scholars’ alienation from the medium they had “monopoly over” has been contested in scholarship, as it paints a picture of only the religious elite being involved in book production in the pre-printing age. Nelly Hanna has pushed back against this by

⁹ Schwartz, “The Political Economy of Private Printing in Cairo,” 25-26.

¹⁰ Ahmad Khan, “Islamic Tradition in an Age of Print: Editing, Printing and Publishing the Classical Heritage,” in *Reclaiming Islamic Tradition: Modern Interpretations of the Classical Heritage*, ed. Elisabeth Kendall and Ahmad Khan (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016).

¹¹ Ulrike Stark, *Empire of Books: The Naval Kishore Press and the Diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2008).

highlighting sixteenth-eighteenth-century middle-class practices of book ownership, referring to books that either catered to that class' interests, or were written by members of that class.¹²

This study examines the afterlives of three foundational texts of medieval Islam, and in this respect recent notions of the “rediscovery of classics” among a discreet group of Cairene figures requires greater attention. Ahmed El Shamsy has looked at the efforts of reformist scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth century within the nascent enterprise of printing in Cairo at the time. Through the printing choices of particular traditions, reformists were able to disseminate agendas of linguistic, ethical, and religious reform.¹³ Khan has examined the lives and careers of a professional class of scholars-cum-editors by tracing the transregional and intellectual networks they engaged in beyond Egypt and into India.¹⁴ This thesis hopes to highlight the role of scholars-cum-editors in the reception of the medieval tradition in the modern period, and its wide circulation of early pre-modern classics in key centers of the Islamic world.

Building upon this scholarship, my work aims to look at the particular case of printing pre-modern *taṣawwuf* texts for the nineteenth-century communities. Attitudes towards Ṣūfī book culture within the scholarly literature have differed. On one side of the spectrum, El Shamsy takes issue with what he terms Ṣūfī “esotericism,” claiming that Ṣūfī approaches to knowledge-seeking found book learning to be inferior during the early modern period, and instead depended on “esoteric, direct and certain knowledge”.¹⁵ El Shamsy expounds on how:

¹² Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Cairo: American University in Cairo, 2004).

¹³ Ahmed El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics: How Editors and Print Culture Transformed an Intellectual Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 7.

¹⁴ Ahmad Khan, “Dispatches from Cairo to India: Editors, Publishing Houses, and a Republic of Letters,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 31, no. 2 (2020): 226–55.

¹⁵ El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, 46.

The educated scholar subjugates himself unquestioningly to an illiterate master, who seeks first to wipe clean the educational slate of his student, eliminating the latter's library, the emotions attached to the library, and any mental processes related to the rational formulation of scholarly exposition.¹⁶

In this thesis, I examine whether this continues to be the case once we arrive during the age of print. This dismissal of Ṣūfī contribution to book culture seems misplaced once we look at the other spectrum of the literature. Reinhard Schulze has examined how the 1850s, a moment that witnessed the proliferation of private publishing houses in Cairo and Istanbul, marked a break in Islamic intellectual history.¹⁷ The main pillars of Islamic intellectual production, *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, came to be replaced by *taṣawwuf* texts through the burgeoning publishing houses in Cairo, India, and Istanbul. Schulze points out that this turn towards printing predominantly Ṣūfī texts is indicative of a demand in nineteenth century society for “tradition” books on mysticism. In addition, he points out that this phenomenon of printing Ṣūfī texts requires further study, as it was not only present in Istanbul and Cairo, but rather situated in a transregional network in different metropolises in the Islamicate, as this thesis aims to show more in depth.¹⁸

Sweeping claims about Sufism and print need to be reexamined in the light of careful work on individual texts, publishing houses, and scholars-cum-editors.¹⁹ The recent edited volume on Sufism and printing by Rachida Chih, Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, and Rüdiger Seesemann, neatly

¹⁶ El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, 46.

¹⁷ Schulze, “The Birth of Tradition and Modernity,” 54.

¹⁸ Schulze, “The Birth of Tradition and Modernity,” 57.

¹⁹ Muhsin Mahdi, “From the Manuscript Age to the Age of Printed Books,” in *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, ed. G. Atiyeh (New York: SUNY Press, 1995), 6.

illustrates how important such research is to establishing an accurate account of print culture.²⁰ It is in this vein that this thesis selected three classics of the pre-modern period and followed their journey as printed texts in the late nineteenth-century.

The thesis' reconsideration of print culture would lend a better understanding of writing and printing within Şūfī culture, and more generally in the Islamic religious traditions of the nineteenth century. Yet, instead of looking at one specific locale as the aforementioned efforts—and to avoid repeating earlier nationalist tendencies of historiographical work on the *nahḍa*, (renaissance)—I am interested in situating the Şūfī print culture within (i) a transregional network of Şūfī publishers, readers, and members of *ṭarīqas*. It is these actors who begin to harness modes of printing, share their varied textual and oral formulations of mystical printed texts, and construct a Şūfī story of print that is of a global nature. Additionally, (ii) the thesis positions Şūfī print culture as part of a narrative in order to trace the pre-modern text from its inception, to the nineteenth century when it was chosen to be printed.

The narrative of interaction in print networks foregrounds the multiplicity of actors, cultures, and regions involved in a global perspective of print in the nineteenth century. This work is a history of printing, within which the printed word is exchanged and interacted with. The temporal and geographical mapping of the spread of Şūfī texts within this period would illustrate how a burgeoning print culture has been present in the Islamicate, alongside a well-established manuscript culture. In addition, this re-evaluation of the Islamicate's print culture challenges scholarship that dismisses the role of writing and print in Şūfī culture. Moreover, it builds on new scholarship to consider the multiplicity of actors from the fifteenth century leading up to the nineteenth century whose efforts have established a printing network within the Islamicate world.

²⁰ Rachida Chih, Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, and Rüdiger Seesemann, (eds.) *Şūfism, Literary Production, and Printing in the Nineteenth Century* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2015), 25.

Methodology

This thesis constructs a book history of Ṣūfī texts from the pre-modern period to the nineteenth century by selecting three classics of pre-modern *taṣawwuf*. Access to early Arabic prints is difficult with the ramifications of the pandemic on the way we conduct research and gain access to resources. Nevertheless, the remoteness wrought by the pandemic has spurred waves of several digitization initiatives that have made early Arabic prints accessible for researchers and scholars. For this thesis, I have turned to the following online collections to gain access of early Arabic prints such as: www.archive.org; Arabic Collections Online (<http://dlib.nyu.edu/aco>); Middle East and North Africa Special Area Collection—Digital (<http://menadoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/ssg>); The Islamic Heritage Project (<https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/islamic-heritage-project>). In addition, I relied on Dār al-Kutub’s corpus of manuscripts, as well as IDEO’s al-Kindi catalogue, for the chosen texts in this research. The chosen books are examined in this thesis as they are connected by the following factors: (i) they are considered to be “Classics” of Ṣūfī piety and devotion that were written during the formative periods of Sufism during the medieval period; (ii) they are among the earliest mystical texts to be printed by the early publishing houses of the selected regions, according to the print catalogues consulted such as Sīrkīs’ *Mū’jam al-Maṭbū’āt*, Hibshī’s *Hawāshī*, the Arabic Collections Online, World Cat, and several university catalogues that hosted digitized printed texts; (iii) the texts’ reception history is mediated through transregional intellectual connections established in Egypt, Anatolia, India, and Central Asia, as well as during the medieval period. In addition, I trace the movement of the text from the pre-modern period into the nineteenth and twentieth century, bearing in mind that there is a broader context of European penetration and colonization that affects part of this story. However, the important broader questions of colonization and the modern period fall outside of the scope of this

thesis; (iv) the aspect of translation is important in connecting their story of printing, as the groups and individuals involved in the publication process of the texts are concerned with translating the text to different languages as a means to expand the audience of these classic Ṣūfī texts. The selection of these texts is done in order to construct a history of Sufism that is manifested through the different genres of poetry, hagiography, and litanies in the age of print. The printing of these texts is examined through what I conceptualise as a printing community; individuals who come from different regional and intellectual contexts, social classes, and denominations. The text connects them materially through their engagement with it as editors, translators, or publishers, and connects them intellectually as it evokes different concerns and considerations for each individual within this print community, showing that its constituencies held various positions when it came to the significance of the text during the modern period.

I look at the reception history of the following texts:

1) *Rashaḥāt ‘ayn al-ḥayāt*, a history of the Naqshbandiyya order by Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī (d. 940/1533)

Chapter one focuses on *Rashaḥāt ‘ayn al-ḥayāt* (Beads of Dew from the Fountain of Life), a Naqshbandī text which contains the biographies, accounts of miracles, and proverbs and parables of 135 Naqshbandī masters from the inception of the order until the author’s time of writing in the sixteenth century. Originally written in Persian, the book had been widely disseminated and translated in Arabic, Turkish, Urdu and Uzbek.²¹ I look at the medieval and modern translation and printing networks that connected the publication locations in Istanbul (1821), Cairo (1840), Hijaz (1883) Lucknow (1911), and Tashkent (1911). By focusing on the transregional reception

²¹ Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī, *Rashaḥāt ‘ayn al-ḥayāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Sādir, 2018), 3.

history, and the Ṣūfī groups involved—as editors, translators, and patrons—sheds light on the role of Ṣūfī translation efforts in the development of printing. Additionally, a study of the *Rashaḥāt* reveals many things about Non-Arab Muslims’ publishing initiatives. We find in scholarship that the history of Muslim printing is often-times a story of a select group of Arabic-speaking Muslim reformers from the Arabophone printing centers of Cairo and the Levant. Consequently, the *Rashaḥāt* is a particularly interesting episode in Ṣūfī history, in general, and book history, in specific, illuminating the importance of translation and printing networks by Muslims outside the Arabic-speaking centers. Thus, an examination of the Naqshbandī community of editors, translators, and readers would lend an understanding of the movement of this text in different locales.

2) *Dīwān* of devotional poetry by Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1234)

‘Umar Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 1234) is considered to be one of the finest Ṣūfī poets, whose poetry and *Dīwān* were widely circulated in the pre-modern world, and were amongst the earliest texts being printed in Cairo, Istanbul, and Europe.²² In chapter two, I trace the publication history of the *Dīwān* through different continents—an international reception history, so to speak, during the nineteenth century. The poetry collection was printed alongside varied commentaries in Paris (1823), Helsinki (1850), Vienna (1854), and Marseille (1853). Tracing the *Dīwān*’s reception history through the commentaries being written in Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s contemporary moment, as well as later,²³ allows us to map the ways in which people interacted with the text in the pre-modern period; how the text moved through different regions; and how each actor came to know and write

²² Schulze, “The Birth of Tradition and Modernity,” 57.

²³ ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibshī, *Jāmi‘ al-shurūḥ wa-l-ḥawāshī: Mu‘jam shāmil li-l-‘asmā’ al-kutub al-mashrūḥa fi-l-turāth al-Islāmī wa-bayān shurūḥihā* (Abū Dhabi: al-Majma‘ al-Thaqāfī, 2004), 2:923.

about his poetry. By tracing the text in the printing age of the long nineteenth-century, I foreground the transregional networks of communities who chose to publish and engage with this *Dīwān* of poetry.

3) *Ḥizb al-baḥr*, a litany of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258)

Chapter three examines *Ḥizb al-baḥr* ('Litany of the Sea') as another manifestation of *Ṣūfī* texts being widely printed in the long-nineteenth century. The litany is an invocation related by Imam Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. On his way to perform the pilgrimage, al-Shādhilī's voyage had been delayed by strong wind and high waves, and it is related that Imam al-Shādhilī was visited by the prophet Muḥammad in a dream and was taught the litany to safeguard his journey.²⁴ Recited by many throughout its history, the litany has a number of benefits and is used for warding off harm as well as other purposes, dependent on intention and spiritual aspiration. More to the point, *Ḥizb al-baḥr* also received keen interest from varied Muslim scholars through the tradition of the written commentaries on it. The commentarial tradition, as well as the printing history of the litany, stems from different areas of the Islamicate from Turkey to India, as well as various parts of Africa.²⁵

The text's afterlife during the nineteenth century exhibited a continuity of transregional presence. The printed litany and its commentaries—found an audience among Turkish, Hindi, Urdu, Persian and Arabic speakers. The collation of litanies of different *Ṣūfī* orders was not invented with the inception of printing, but what is of interest to this study is examining how printing facilitated an unprecedented diffusion of the litany in different parts of the Islamicate. Istanbul

²⁴ Elmer H. Douglas, *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shādhilī: Including His Life, Prayers, Letters, and Followers. A Translation from the Arabic of Ibn al-Sabbāgh's Durrat al-'Asrar wa Tuḥfat al-'Abrar* (New York: SUNY Press, 1993).

²⁵ Al-Ḥibshī, *Jāmi' al-shurūḥ wa-l-hawāshī*, 2:821.

(1848), Delhi (1884 and 1890), Kazan (189?), and Shibin al-Kum (1884) printed various editions of collated litanies and/or commentaries of *Ḥizb al-baḥr* in Ṣūfī order-affiliated publishing houses. An initiative of such scale requires attention in order to understand what role Ṣūfī orders played in publishing initiatives and book production.

I argue that the story of print emerges from a case study of these three texts to conceptualize a print community devoted to identifying and disseminating seminal devotional books. Their rapid transregional spread shows the extent to which interconnected networks that existed among communities in Cairo, Istanbul, and India fostered a print community that published particular texts by itself, for itself. No story of print can be complete without an appreciation of the communities who were invested in them.

Chapter One: The Importance of Being Translated: Naqshbandī Immigrants, Translators, and Print networks

Shadows of great men fall across the pages of Naqshbandī literature, recurring time and again in their discursive heritage. These ‘ideal-heros’ of Ṣūfī *ṭarīqas* are the medium through which the history of mystical Islam is narrated. Over the very same pages of such a history, another meager shadow, that of the editor and translator, casts its outline along the page, a silhouette often obscured by the towering figures in historiography. Thus, a more thorough examination of the editors and translators in history whose intellectual labor and aspirations brought to us the texts and stories of the Naqshbandī heritage is due. The parables, histories, and teachings of the great Ṣūfī masters would not have taken root within the collective memory of Ṣūfī networks had it not been for the innumerable obscure disciples, editors, and translators. Such ‘inconsequential’ men had operated along the outskirts of the Muslim world, or often, within the very heart of it, recognizing the call for maintaining and circulating the Naqshbandī tradition in spirit, and in print.

This chapter looks at how Ṣūfī networks traversed spatial and temporal nodal points through the life and works of Muḥammad Murād al-Qazānī (d. 1352/1935). Al-Qazānī, an immigrant and scholar from the Volga-Ural region, had translated two seminal Naqshbandī books for publishing during the long nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: *Rashaḥāt ‘ayn al-ḥayāt* (Beads of Dew from the Fountain of Life) (1886) and *Maktūbāt Imam al-rabbānī Aḥmad al-Sirhindī* (The Letters and Correspondences of Aḥmad al-Sirhindī) (1899) in Mecca. I particularly examine the printing and translation history of *Rashaḥāt ‘ayn al-ḥayāt* by Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī (d. 940/1533), a volume on the biographies of the Naqshbandiyya masters. Translated from Persian into Turkish, Arabic, Uzbek and Urdu, the *Rashaḥāt* experienced a multilingual journey through

the publishing houses of the Islamic world. Throughout the chapter, I demonstrate the role of diasporic Şūfī networks in Mecca, particularly through the story of al-Qazānī’s migration to the Hijaz and show how Şūfī brotherhoods played an important part in the development of print culture through transregional networks in the region.

Throughout the chapter, I argue that an examination of Naqshbandī translation efforts illuminates the role Şūfī financial and intellectual patronages played in printing initiatives in different locales. The story of al-Qazānī’s migration to the Hijaz during the height of its printing moment, sheds light on the particular role of Şūfī brotherhoods in the development of the intellectual networks of Naqshbandīyya involved in print culture. Moreover, I argue for the centrality of al-Qazānī’s efforts in disseminating Arabic translations of the *ṭarīqa*’s texts in the modern period. Such a reconsideration of Şūfī print culture lends a better understanding of, and emphasis on, the role that Şūfī groups—such as translators, editors, and patrons— played in shaping a global perspective of print in the nineteenth century.

Itzhak Weismann has claimed that “most Naqshbandīs will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them.”²⁶ This inward-looking narrative feeds into the predominant Naqshbandī scholarship that reduces the intellectual legacy of this *ṭarīqa* into a “simple matter of political militancy” in enclosed and demarcated regions, rather than transregional connectivity.²⁷ The aloofness and sense of inaccessibility pointed at here does not adequately explain the means through which the Naqshbandī discursive field was constituted and preserved through the complex networks curated by Naqshbandī men throughout the premodern and modern period. Hence, I investigate the trails left in the wake of such a prolific intellectual

²⁶ Itzhak Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Şūfī Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2007), 11.

²⁷ Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Şūfīsm: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700* (NY: SUNY Press, 2005), 92.

legacy, particularly with regards to the efforts of nineteenth century actors who sought to maintain a living tradition through printing and translation.

In the same vein, an examination of Naqshbandī translations during the nineteenth century shows us how the translated text—circulating with the aid of publishing houses—was the instrument for providing new models of connecting different regions.²⁸ Translation during the particular moment of the nineteenth century has been often portrayed as part of nation-state building projects, a cultural renaissance, or rather, as this chapter aims to propose, a patronized project by a Ṣūfī *ṭarīqa*, through a master-disciple relationship. This is not to say that translation particularly flourished with printing and publishing in the modern period, but what is of interest to note here is the role of patronizing translated texts, in order for it to be published under the auspices of Naqshbandī circles in the Hijaz, Anatolia, Egypt, India, and Russia.

During al-Qazānī's time in Mecca, he experienced episodes of psychological turmoil and homesickness. Hence, I examine how migrant Ṣūfī spaces of religious learning and the publishing scene became a source of solace for al-Qazānī during his emotional plight. This is done through examining al-Qazānī's relationship with the text that both joined him with his Ṣūfī brethren and served as his companion during the death of his master and bouts of loneliness.

Al-Qazānī is our guide in this discursive multilingual journey that is constituted through texts, print, and language. What was his spiritual and intellectual upbringing like? What role did Ural-Volga Ṣūfī intellectuals have in Islamicate networks, broadly, and in printing texts in the Arabophone world, specifically? The paratexts of the printed editions reveal much about the devotional and personal lives of individuals like al-Qazānī, and the role of publishing initiatives

²⁸ Marilyn Booth ed., *Migrating Texts: Circulating Translations Around the Ottoman Mediterranean* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 26.

by migrant Muslim communities. We find in scholarship that the history of Muslim printing is often-times a story of a select group of reformers from the Arabophone printing centers of Cairo and the Levant. Consequently, the *Rashaḥāt* is a particularly interesting episode in Ṣūfī history in general, and book history in specific, for illuminating the importance of translation and print networks by non-Arab, immigrant Muslims.

It is not easy to follow the intellectual trails of a man who lived in humble quarters, leading a life so similar to hundreds of other migrants who settled in the Hijaz, for in the words of Jonathan Strauss:

To write the history of translation in the Ottoman Empire, one must be a bit of a sleuth and a spy, searching for clues wherever they might exist, listening through the keyholes of title pages and colophons and other texts, and at times making imaginative (if evidence-based!) connections.²⁹

The clues collected from al-Qazānī's autobiography, what his contemporaries thought of his work, as well as the main operations of the *ṭarīqa* transport us to various locales, but particularly that of the Hijaz. The dominant reductive image of Mecca in scholarship during the nineteenth century historiography such as in the ethnographic study of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (d.1936), painted a polarized Muslim community—between Arabs and migrants, fundamentalists and Ṣūfīs—that is fundamental against modernity and European penetration, encapsulated in such a view:

²⁹ Booth, *Migrating Texts*, 57.

Mecca had become, in the eyes of European colonial powers with Muslim subjects, a safe haven for fundamentalist activities ('Muslim fanatics' as they were called). The city was seen as a place from where pan-Islamic ideas could radiate all over the Muslim world, a large part of which was by then governed by European nations—the hated unbelievers.³⁰

I aim to provide an image of Mecca that showcases how the intellectual heritage had been preserved and interacted with as a result of the networks established by residents in the Hijaz, through the impetus of editors and patrons of the publishing scene. Moving from the reductive scholarship on Mecca, I aim to acknowledge its intellectual heritage during the nineteenth century as a melting pot of spiritual groups and intellectual networks. In her book *A History of Jeddah: The Gate to Mecca in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Ulrike Freitag brings attention to the multiplicity of migrants residing in the Arabian Peninsula, looking at how the diversity of the population and the range of their economic, spiritual, and intellectual activity is part and parcel of the larger developments taking place in the Middle East—rather than depicting Mecca as an isolated community, dressing the same and living in uniformity.³¹ In this same vein, this chapter looks at the diverse Ṣūfī residents in Mecca's publishing scene in order to situate them within the broader developments taking place during this age of print, as well as to trace how the Naqshbandī intellectual heritage had been preserved and interacted with due to the networks established by the migrants in the Hijaz, through the impetus of editors and patrons of the publishing scene. The printing metropolises of Cairo and the Levant have monopolized the story of Muslim printing. In

³⁰ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning, the Moslems of the East-Indian-Archipelago* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), xiv.

³¹ Ulrike Freitag, *A History of Jeddah: The Gate to Mecca in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

this chapter, I look at remote publishing houses, and the men in charge of producing texts that influence the Naqshbandī ṭarīqa's collectivity.

The contribution of al-Qazānī is a vast one, and yet it is unappreciated. There seems to be a meager amount study of his contribution to Muslim intellectual history in English or Arabic historiography. However, al-Qazānī is a popular figure in Central Asian studies.³² This scholarship is extensive, for it unveils al-Qazānī's involvement in the realignments taking place during the early years of Soviet Central Asia within the context of the Jadīdī-Qadīmī discourse, where al-Qazānī was known as a staunch Qadīmīst who constantly and harshly criticized Jadīdist reformers such as Musa Bigiev (d. 1949).³³ It also addresses his role as a distinguished historian of his day, through his germinal work, *Talfīq al-akhbār wa-talqīḥ al-āthār fī waqā'i' Qazān wa-Bulghār wa-Mulūk al-Tatār* (The Fabrication of History and its Inoculation in the Accounts of Kazan, Bulghar, and the Kings of the Tatars) (1908) which had led to his persecution by Soviet officials at the end

³² Much of the scholarship on al-Qazānī highlights his career following his return to Central Asia in 1914, within a tumultuous time period following the Bolshevik revolution, and in a changing Muslim community. See: Aykut Abdulsait. МУХАММАД МУРАД РАМЗИ (1855-1935) И ЕГО РАБОТЫ [Muḥammad Murad Ramzi (1855-1935) and his Works]. *КРЫМСКИЙ ИСТОРИЧЕСКИЙ ОБЗОР* 2, no. 13 (2016): 8-26; A. Akhunov. «Заместитель» Учителя (жизненный путь Мурада Рамзи), *Minaret* (2004); Ахмадуллин Салават Зямилович. "Мурад Рамзи и его касыда о Зайнулле Расулеве" *Проблемы востоковедения*, 2, no. 60 (2013): 73-78; N.F. Katanov's Censorial Report: Circumstances, Reasons for Suppression" by S.Z. Akhmadullin; Source base of Murad ar-Ramzi's "Talfiq al-Akhbar wa talkih al-asar fi wakai kazan wa bulgar wa muluk at-tatar" (the Golden Horde period)" by E.G. Saifetdinova; "In memory of Zainulla Rasulev (the poem by Murad Ramzi 1917)" by R.M. Bulgakov; "Murad Ramzi" from the book "Tatar Intellectuals: Historical Portraits" by N. Garaeva; "Murat Ramzi – the Great Son of the Bashkirs" by I.R. Nasyrov; "Murat Ramzi and his Views on Jadidism" from the book "Religious Aspects of Globalization: the Factor of Islam" by I.R. Nasyrov. I owe these references to Abdulsait, and the help of translations of colleagues and online resources.

³³ Jadidism marked a particular moment in the history of reformism in Central Asia in the early twentieth century, and its earliest leaders had been Musa Bigiev, a Tatar Hanafī Maturidi scholar. For more on reformism and Muslims in Central Asia see: Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Mustafa Tuna, "Pillars of the Nation": The Making of a Russian Muslim Intelligentsia and the Origins of Jadidism." *Kritika* 18, no. 2 (2017): 257-81; Devin DeWeese, "It was a Dark and Stagnant Night (Til the Jadids Brought the Light): Clichés, Biases, and False Dichotomies in the Intellectual History of Central Asia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 59, no. 1/2 (2016): 37-92; Ahmet Kanlidere, "the Trends of Thought among the Tatars and Bashkirs: Religious Reformism and Secular Jadidism Vs. Qadimism (1883-1910)." *Orta Asya Ve Kafkasya Araştırmaları* 2, no. 9 (2010): 48-62.

of his lifetime.³⁴ However, this scholarship is predominantly in Russian and Tatar, a linguistic impediment for future transregional research on this remarkable character.

This chapter is an attempt to trace al-Qazānī’s contribution to Ṣūfī praxis, and the Naqshbandī intellectual heritage, during his thirty-six years in Mecca (1878-1914). A study of his intellectual labor within the contours of the Meccan publishing scene, encapsulated through the pages of the *Rashaḥāt*, is but a meager attempt to recognize a man whose legacy is vast and unappreciated. As one contemporary of his observed: “Nobody knows the value and importance of this great and humble man! He lives here [in Mecca] by the sweat of his hard work, and by the books he writes.”³⁵

Naqshbandī Lives: A Historical and Intellectual Heritage

Strange is the Naqshbandiyya clan,
like clockwork they work— pieces encircling a chauper board³⁶,
All have come to the center,
A circle of awareness, that all labour is a work-in-progress,
All toil is fledged to the ṭarīqa,
And all within it understand their part.

—Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī, *Rashaḥāt ‘ayn al-ḥayāt*

The inception of the *Rashaḥāt* came as a result of a series of travels undertaken by its author, Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī. The *Rashaḥāt* was a moving text in its inception, and this was further

³⁴ This text caused al-Qazānī a lot of difficulty, which resulted in his flight to Orenberg to escape the authorities and eventual exile to Siberia when caught. The conceptualization of Kazan’s history in the text put al-Qazānī in direct confrontation with Soviet intellectuals who opposed his “proto-nationalist” attempts at constructing a national history of Muslim Kazan.

³⁵ ‘Abd al-Rachīd Ibrāhīm, *Alem-i Īslām*, ed. Ertugrul Ozalp (Istanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2003), 487-88.

³⁶ Chaupar considered to be one of the early table-top games. It is a variation of a game of dice that first makes its debut in epic poem *Mahabharata*. The game is played by the players’ attempts to move their four pieces around the board’s columns in anti-clockwise motion.

conveyed by its circulation in manuscript and print form, as it was widely disseminated and translated in Turkish, Arabic, Urdu and Uzbek from the original Persian.³⁷ The pages of the *ṭarīqa*'s history are filled with accounts of travel, intellectual networks and spiritual journeys, emblematic of Fakhr al-Dīn's life, as well as the entirety of the Naqshbandī *ṭarīqa*. In the introduction of the text, which was written in 909/1503, Fakhr al-Dīn informs his reader that this humble book was intended as an *addendum* (*dhayl*), to 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's (d. 898/1493) *Nafahāt al-uns*. Fakhr al-Dīn informs his readers of the reason behind his book's title, saying:

[The] beads of dew from the fountain of life are everywhere in my book, for if I am ever to embark on speaking of the knowledge or wisdom of this *ṭarīqa*, I indicate with a small circle as if it is a *rashḥa* [dew drop] before the name of a shaykh [...] in this way, the transmitted good deeds and guidance are like a drop that refreshes the heart and gives life to the hearts, and spilling from the spring of life it brings a new joy and vitality to the hearts of sincere devoted students and dear friends.³⁸

The son of the well-known preacher, exegete and poet of Timurid Iran, Ḥusayn Wā'iz Kāshifī (d. 910/1505), Fakhr al-Dīn moved in the same intellectual networks of his father during the fifteenth century. Living in the shadow of a great father had not eclipsed Fakhr al-Dīn's intellectual production and involvement in the scholarly community of his time. His education took place in Herat, where he studied all the Islamic sciences under the tutelage of his father. His introduction to the Naqshbandī Ṣūfī network was a product of his strong and close relationship

³⁷ 'Alī, *Rashaḥāt*, 3.

³⁸ 'Alī, *Rashaḥāt*, 51.

with the poet, Jāmī. Jāmī made sure Fakhr al-Dīn received both a spiritual and scholarly preparation influenced by the poet's established network of reputation all over the Persianate world of Central and South Asia, Anatolia, and the Balkans, making Fakhr al-Dīn conversant in mystical texts and their commentaries.³⁹

His education familiarized him with the principles of the *ṭarīqa*, spurring in its wake a deep yearning within Fakhr al-Dīn to meet the order's guide and master, *Khwāja* 'Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār (d. 895/149). His master's text, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, a compendium of biographies of Muslim *awliyā'* (friends of God), was written in 1479, and included about six hundred biographies of Ṣūfīs which spanned the period between the eighth and fifteenth centuries. Fakhr al-Dīn's work is not as ambitious in scale, yet it does illuminate the intellectual networks in Timurid Iran, a literary work sparked by his involvement with the *Khwāja*. Encouraged by his teacher Jāmī, Fakhr al-Dīn set out on a series of travels outside the city of Herat, embroiling himself within the active networks of Naqshbandīs.⁴⁰ During his travels, Fakhr al-Dīn had grown closer to the *Khwāja*, as well as his son and students, where after extended discussions and note-taking, encouraged by the *Khwāja*, Fakhr al-Dīn wrote and dedicated this book to the Naqshbandī master.⁴¹

Fakhr al-Dīn divided the contents of the *Rashaḥāt* into three sections. The first section is concerned with relating a brief biography of the early Naqshbandī shaykhs who had been teachers of the *Khwāja*. He cites the *silsilā* through which the *Khwāja* had received the *dhikr* and *nisbā* permission, as well as contemporaries of his time, starting with the *Muḥaddith* Abī Qāsim al-

³⁹ İlker Evrim Binbas, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf Al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 1-2.

⁴⁰ For more on Jāmī's intellectual connections in Timurid Iran see Ahmad Khan, "Jāmī in Regional Contexts: The Reception of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's Works in The Islamicate World, Ca. 9th/15th/14th/20th Century," *The Muslim World Book Review* 41, no.1 (2020): 41-6.

⁴¹ 'Alī, *Rashaḥāt*, 9; Mustafā Haji Khalifa, *Kashf al-zunūn 'an asamī al-kutub wa-l-funūn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1992), 1/903.

Jurjānī (d. 1036), and including the head of the Naqshbandiyya *Khwāja* ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Fajdwānī (d. 1179), Sayyid Amīr Kilāl (d. 1370), and Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Naqshbandī (d. 1389), among many others.

The longest entry in this biographical dictionary section is dedicated to Fakhr al-Dīn’s master ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī, almost twenty-two pages narrating Jāmī’s coming of age and the learned men he had interacted with in Timurid Iran and during his stay in the Hijaz.⁴² At first glance the *Rashaḥāt* would seem as simply a biographical dictionary or a short biography of the *Khwāja*. However, a closer inspection explains its popularity with Naqshbandīs in different parts of the Muslim world. The second and third sections are dedicated to the person of the *Khwāja*. The entries provide a window into the *Khwāja*’s intellectual prowess at *ḥadīth* and Qur’anic exegesis, and the sort of transmissions and tales he had accumulated over time. A section in particular focuses on accounts of the political influence exerted by the *Khwāja* on the princes and sultans of the Timurid period, such as Abū Sa‘īd Mīrzā (r. 1459–1469), the ruler of Timurid Iran who reunified much of the empire, which had become fractured in the aftermath of the death of his great-uncle Shāh Rūkh. It was narrated that the *Khwāja* had foresaw the rise of the young Timurid prince to power.⁴³ He had written the name of the young Mirzā on his ‘**imā**’ (headwear), and when asked who this obscure person was, the *Khwāja* had said “All of us in Tashkent, Samarkan, Herat, and Khurusan will know his name and fall under his rule.” Once the young prince had risen to power, he sought to reunify the fractured Timurid empire, and it was during this turbulent period of shifting alliances and instability during the Timurid period that had spurred Mirzā to constantly seek out the company of the *Khwāja* for political counsel.

⁴² ‘Alī, *Rashaḥāt*, 106-28.

⁴³ ‘Alī, *Rashaḥāt*, 372.

In terms of where it is situated in scholarship, the *Rashaḥāt* has experienced a sort of uncertainty when it came to attributing its authorship. This uncertainty arises from misattribution on part of both primary and recent secondary sources. In Edward Rehatsek's *Catalogue of the Mullā Fīrūz Library*, a manuscript called *Laṭā'if al-zarā'if* (Anecdotes of Wits) erringly attributes the *Rashaḥāt* to Ḥusayn Wā'iz.⁴⁴ But it seems more probable, from the date on it, that it is the work of his son.

Additionally, misattribution found its way through the secondary literature as apparent in the works of scholars such as Reinhard Schulze and Itzchak Weismann. In his reference to the *Rashaḥāt* being the very first Ṣūfī book being printed in nineteenth century Cairo, Schulze cites the author as 'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Kāshifī with an incorrect date of death, that of Ḥusayn al-Kāshifī (d. 1504), rather than 1533, the date of the death for his son, and original author, Fakhr al-Dīn Ali b. Ḥusayn al-Kāshifī.⁴⁵ It is unclear whether this dating error had spurred later misattribution of the text to al-Kāshifī rather than his son, as we see it popping up in different areas of the literature such as the case with Itzchak Weismann who refers to the author as only al-Kāshifī, with the death date 1504 as well.

Fakhr al-Dīn's writing was a reflection and a product of the time during which he was writing, where the narrative of Naqshbandī life is not circumscribed within a closed circle or a patron-subject relation, but rather in a shifting circle trekking through lands, texts, and languages. The motif of travel is scattered throughout the literary texts and biographies of Naqshbandis, an

⁴⁴ Edward Rehatsek, *Catalogue raisonné of the Arabic, Hindustani, Persian, and Turkish MSS. in the Mullā Firuz library* (Bombay: Managing Committee of the Mullā Firuz Library, 1873), 230.

⁴⁵ Schulze, "The Birth of Tradition and Modernity," 57.

indication of a thriving connectivity between different actors moving like clockwork within an interconnected world.⁴⁶

All the different iterations of the Naqshbandiyya are of a fluid nature, men and texts connecting through movement in intellectual networks. Literary networks, à la Ronit Ricci, are the medium through which we are able to trace the connections between Muslims permeating through boundaries of space, culture and language.⁴⁷ These literary networks of print and translation fostered a complex web of texts and interpretations that sustained Naqshbandī continuities in the Muslim discursive and collective imaginary. Hence, a study of the *Rashaḥāt*'s circulation in the age of print does many things. We know more about its circulation in different languages and regions, as well as the role of printing in this initial episode of globalizing the history of print in Mecca? How then, can we look at this history that constitutes individuals and groups from different backgrounds grounded within a flourishing literary network?

The Importance of Being Translated

Translation is a central facet in the circulation history of the *Rashaḥāt*, as it stimulated individuals and groups to publish different linguistic iterations of it in Istanbul, Lucknow, Tashkent and Mecca, all cities inhabited by Naqshbandīs. Al-Qazānī battled with his translation projects, plagued by thoughts of insecurities as detailed in his autobiography. His thoughts littered along the paratexts of his translations illuminate the thought process behind his approach to translation; exposing to us readers what the Arabic language means to a Muslim hailing from the Ural-Volga

⁴⁶ Waleed Ziad, "From Yarkand to Sindh via Kabul: The Rise of Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi Ṣūfī Networks in the 18th-19th Century Durrani Empire," in *The Persianate World: Towards a Conceptual Framework*, ed. Nile Green (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 130.

⁴⁷ See Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2011).

areas, and how he conceded to having his mastery of Arabic widely circulated among “more informed” peers for criticism. He says:

I refrained from [translating at first] as I felt I lacked the prowess in Arabic, and a general deficiency in the literary arts. And I baffled myself even more thinking this way, and said to myself: you are lacking, because you are of no importance. Granted, there is some knowledge to be had between you and [the Arabic language], but where is the mastery of producing a certain sweetness of expressions in you? You were not given birth to by Arabs, nor do you hail from Kufa or Baghdad.⁴⁸

A particular sense of self-deprecation is apparent from al-Qazānī’s vocalized fears. Is this a sentiment shared by all Muslims hailing from “peripheral” centers of the Islamic world, falling under the brunt of the sword for attempting to tackle a “grandiose” language such as Arabic? Perhaps this sentiment is likely a result of him being from the “periphery” of the Islamic world. It is also possible a result of instances, for example, when Arab intellectuals, such as Rashid Rida (d. 1935), the owner of the *Manār* periodical in Cairo, during his many travels to India, had taken issue with how “peripheral” and non-Arab Muslims spoke and wrote in the Arabic language.⁴⁹

Ta’rīb, or Arabization, has yielded various translation projects across different temporal and spatial moments in history. Many works in this field have attempted to look at cultural and textual diffusion, and how texts are sites to be studied in order to trace the migration of ideas and

⁴⁸ Ahmad al-Sīrhindī, *Maktūbāt al-‘Imam Sīrhindī* (Mecca: Maṭba‘a al-Amīrīyya, 1898), 4.

⁴⁹ In Rida’s *fatāwā* section of al-Manār, he responded to inquiries from non-Arab Muslims about the validity/prowess of non-Arab Muslims’ translations, finding that they only focused on translating meanings from the Arabic language verbatim without identifying the nuances of the language. See for example: “‘Ahamm ma yajib ‘ala muslimi al-a’ajim min al-lugha al-‘Arabiyya (The Most Important Part of the Arabic Language Necessary for the Non-Arab Muslims)” al-Manār 29 (1929), 661–64.

people. As texts and their producers travelled amongst geographically and culturally adjacent languages, Francesca Orsini illuminated the role of the “Multilingual Local” as an active actor in the demand, transmission and circulation of translated texts.⁵⁰ In addition, Saliha Paker and Sule Demirkol-Ertürk look at the physical spaces in the Ottoman world that foster networks that cater to minorities’ translation initiatives. Ronit Ricci looks at the common religious outlook that unities Muslim communities in South and South-east Asia in their intellectual production, and demand for Arabic texts being “retold” through translation for a wider audience co-existing with several languages.

What remains center stage in the history of translation is the particular moment of the nineteenth century, within the paradigm of modernity, reform, and renaissance. The *nahḍa*, as reiterated by scholarship, marks a particularly important episode in the translation history of the region, which was seen as a “political-cultural project of modernity, a renaissance, an awakening, an indigenous movement focused on the vitality of Arabic culture and the desire to expand it.”⁵¹ Translation initiatives have been previously reiterated in a nationalist fashion of historiography, particularly focused on a select group of nineteenth-century reformers, and extraordinary individuals backed up by institutional channels, particularly in the Arab metropolises of Cairo and the Levant.

The Levant’s translation movement of the nineteenth century was focused on religious material, particularly within a printing nexus that involved missionaries and local church authorities. Maronites in the Levant rode the initial waves of embracing print. Religious texts from Europe, disseminated amongst the communities through the American Protestant missionaries’

⁵⁰ Francesca Orsini, “The Multilingual Local in World Literature,” *Comparative Literature* 67, no. 4, (2015) 345–374.

⁵¹ Booth, *Translating*, 15.

outpost,⁵² met considerable backlash. Maronites, in response, established print shops for transmitting and translating texts for their own communities.⁵³ Such initiatives were operating within the melting of the Levant as an international center for trade and missionary work

In tandem with these ecclesiastical translation initiatives, government-led reform in Istanbul—during the *Tanzīmāt* reform from 1839 to 1876—and Cairo—under Muḥammad Ali Pasha (r. 1805-1840)—also moved to produce and circulate “official” translation projects that mirrored state needs for particular texts of military, scientific and geographical works. The need for mass production of translated texts spurred the rise of institutions of schooling, such as the translation bureau *Tercemi Odasi* established in Istanbul around 1832, as well as the 1835 *Madrasat al-’Alsun* in Cairo—creating cohorts of trained translators, equipped with the formal education and skills to edit and oversee projects of translation.⁵⁴

Peter Hill and many others delved further into the translation movements during this period, highlighting actors and intellectual circles that do not necessarily fall in line with the historiography of nationalist, renaissance, or modernist tendencies found in scholarship. Hill’s focus on a group of Christian intellectuals in Demietta, far from the centers of translation during the time period, illuminates the often-neglected circles of intellectual production that the *nahḍa* discourse overshadows.⁵⁵ In the same vein, an examination of Naqshbandī translation, and its overlapping nature with printing and publishing initiatives during the nineteenth century shows us how translated texts, circulating with the aid of publishing houses was “the instrument for

⁵² Hala Auji, *Printing Arab Modernity: Book Culture and the American Press in Nineteenth Century Beirut* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 23.

⁵³ Raḍwān. *Tārīkh*, 85.

⁵⁴ Booth, *Translating*, 12; Heyworth-Dunne, J., “Printing and Translations under Muḥammad ‘Alī of Egypt: The Foundation of Modern Arabic,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 72, no. 4, (1940): 325-349.

⁵⁵ Booth, *Translating*, 95.

renewing the collective imaginary through the propagation, certainly in a diffuse form, mediated by [acts of] Arabization, of new models of representing the world.’⁵⁶

In his seminal article on translation and printing, Hayworth-Dunne postulated that although “Arabic suffered [during the nineteenth century] through the destruction of the old madrasah-system, it gained immensely through the needs of Muḥammad Ali”– a claim shared by many who have conceptualized translation initiatives as confined within the modern, Europeanized institutions, putting out renditions of Arabic translations during the state-building process. I, like many others re-evaluating dismissive claims of traditional institutions during the modern period, argue that the Arabic language did not suffer at the hands of the old traditional institutions of *madrasas* and its teachers, but rather found a scholarly climate that acclimated to the changing scene wrought by the printing press, and in turn, fostered translation efforts that heavily responded to the publication needs of particular Ṣūfī groups residing in remote parts of the Muslim world such as Istanbul, Lucknow, Tashkent, and Mecca (Table below).

City	Publishing House	Year	Language
Istanbul	Maṭba‘a Amīriyya	1821	Ottoman Turkish and Persian
Cairo	Maṭba‘a Bulaq	1840	Ottoman Turkish
Cairo	-	1853	Ottoman Turkish
Istanbul	Maṭba‘a Amīriyya	1862	Ottoman Turkish
Mecca	Maṭba‘a Amīriyya al- Makkiyya	1886	Arabic
Diyar Bakr	Al-Maktaba al- Islamiyya	1886	Arabic
Lucknow	Nawal Kishore Press	1893	Urdu

⁵⁶ Booth, *Translating*, 26.

Lucknow	Nawal Kishore Press	1897	Persian
Mecca	Maṭba‘a Amīriyya al-Makkiyya	1891	Arabic
Cairo	Maṭba‘a Bulaq	1898	Arabic
Cairo	Maṭba‘a al-‘Umūmiyya	1899	Arabic
Lucknow	Nawal Kishore Press	1911	Persian
Tashkent	Gulamiyya Press	1915	Uzbek

Table 1: Printing History of the Rashhāt

The translation of the *Rashaḥāt* does not fall under any of the nationalist or reformist translation projects operating in the nineteenth century at the time in the Arab world. More often than not, as the previous section has shown, the intellectual and cultural weight of translation in the Arab Muslim history pivots around the *nahḍa* (Renaissance) during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a result of the conceptual ramifications of western penetration and colonization. This, in turn, has spurred an abundance of scholarship on translation through a historiography of extraordinary individuals in Muslim history, as well as the institutions developed by the “modern” state to finance translation projects. I am more interested in decentralizing this particular approach to the history of translation, that rather than posit al-Qazānī as a remarkable individual, I situate him as part of a larger cohort of Naqshbandī scholars operating in close proximity to various publishing houses patronizing the translation of seminal *ṭarīqa* texts for different audiences.

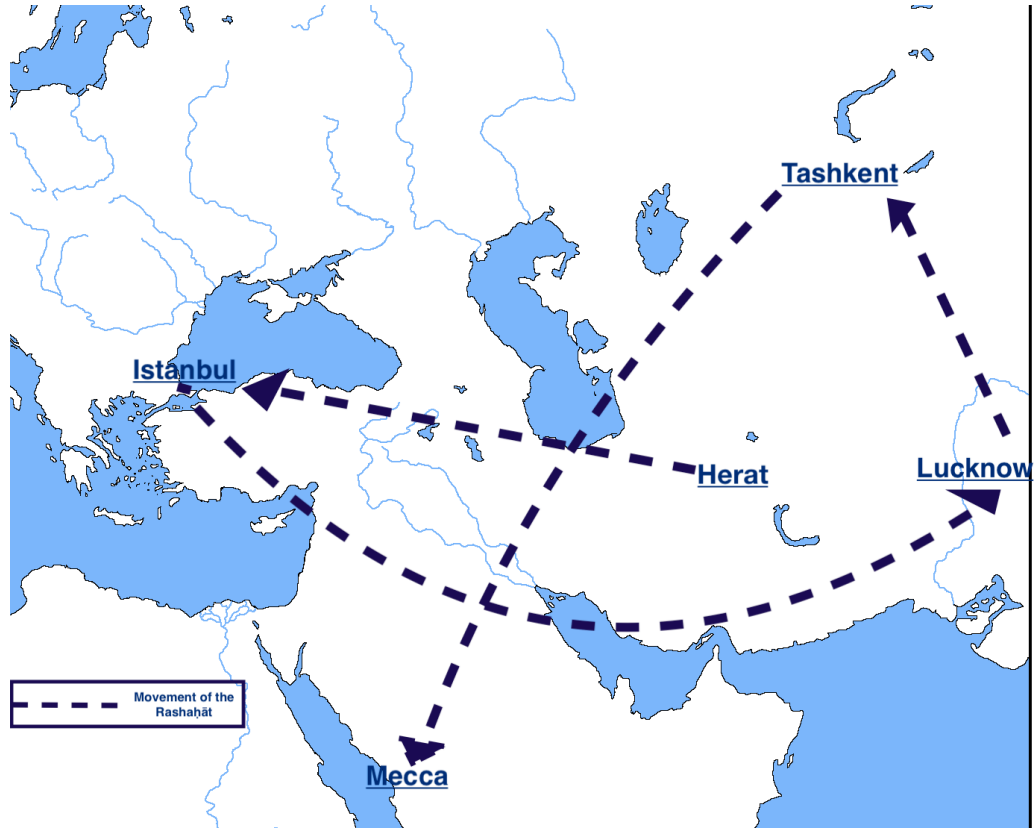


Figure 1: Movement of the *Rashahāt*

The *Rashahāt* in Translation and Print

The first printed edition of the *Rashahāt* is a Turkish translation of the Maṭba‘a Amīriyya in Istanbul (1821). Important to note is that the *Rashahāt* had only been popularly printed and circulated in Anatolia and Egypt in the Ottoman Turkish language.⁵⁷ These Ottoman Turkish imprints, however, were reproductions of earlier manuscripts that had been translated and popularly circulated since the sixteenth century. The earliest Ottoman Turkish translation had been undertaken by Muḥyî-yi Gülşenî (d. 1015/1606-07), who for his excellent mastery of the Persian language was dubbed affectionately by his contemporaries as *Acem-i Küçük*, Little Persian.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ ‘Alī, *Rashahāt*, 2; Muḥyî-yi Gülşenî, *Resehat-i Muhyi: Resehat-i ‘Aynu’l-Ḥayāt Tercumesi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu 2014), 9; Ali Reda Bālūt and Aḥmad Bālūt, *Mu‘jam tāriḫ al-turāth al-Islamī fī maktabāt al-‘ālam* (Kisari: Dār al-‘Aqaba, 2009), 1025.

⁵⁸ Yazici, Tahsin, “GOLŠANI, MOḤYI MOḤAMMAD.” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol. XI, Fasc. 2, (2002): 113.

Gülşenî was a prolific scholar and author of Shīrāzī descent, who as part of his intellectual circle of the Golšani and Naqshbandī order, travelled between Cairo and Istanbul, authoring various texts on Şūfī literature.

As a child of eight, his education had been overseen by a cohort of Naqshbandiyya at the Biyāzat *madrassa* in Edirne, where he learned the mystical sciences, philosophy, and *fiqh*.⁵⁹ As an aficionado of linguistics and languages, Muḥyî-yi Gülşenî is particularly known in Ottoman circles for his construction of the *Bâleybelen* language, an invented language stemming from the basics of the Persian, Turkish and Arabic grammar.⁶⁰ It was following his emigration to Cairo in 1552, where he was appointed as the custodian of the Golšani hospice that he began to translate the *Rashaḥāt*, finalizing the manuscript in 1569.⁶¹ However, this translation remained in manuscript form until the early twenty-first century, where scholarly interest spurred its recent publication.

The translation that enjoyed more clout during the publishing period of the nineteenth century was the one penned by Muḥammad Şerîf al-Tarabzoni (d. 1003/1595) in 1583. A judge in Izmir, al-Tarabzoni was known for his Şūfī textual productions, such as the translation of the *Rashaḥāt*, as well as his commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poem *al-Tā'iyyah al-kubrā*, a text discussed in chapter two of this thesis.⁶²

⁵⁹ Gülşenî, *Resehat-i Muhyi*, 14.

⁶⁰ Charles Häberl, "Bālaybalan," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. XI, Fasc. 2, (2002).

⁶¹ Tahsin, "GOLŞANI," 113.

⁶² 'Ismā'il Basha Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, 2/261; Hājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, 1/233.

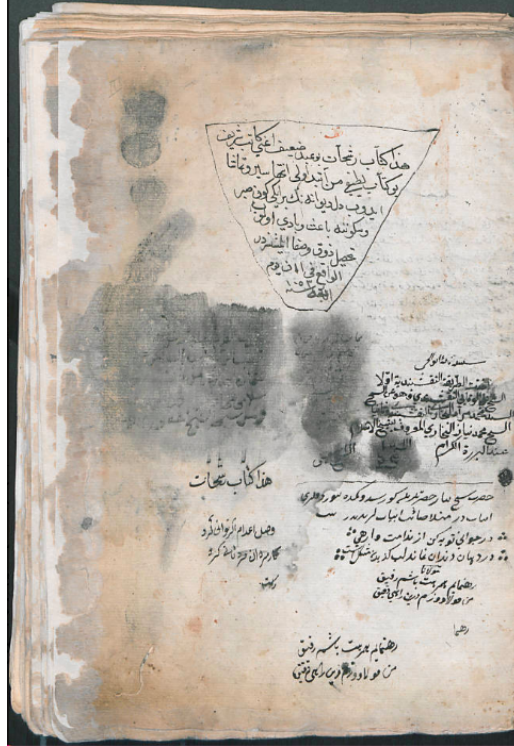


Figure 2: Manuscript of Muḥammad Ma'rūf b. Muḥammad Ṣarīf el-Tarabzoni's *Rashaḥāt*, manuscript copied in 1053/1643

It is unclear where the nineteenth century editors' preference for al-Tarabzoni's translation was stemming from, however it is apparent from its printing history that it had been a popularly published translation that had several reprints in Istanbul (Figures below)—a continuation of the circulation of the Turkish translation during the manuscript culture. The intellectual heritage of the *Rashaḥāt* in the Ottoman tradition of these translations of the sixteenth century was grounded in an established community of Naqshbandīs, who had arrived in the Ottoman capital from Transoxiana. One of the earliest had been Ishāq Būkharī Hindī, for whom Sultan Muḥammad II (r.1451– 1481) is said to have endowed the first center of the brotherhood in Istanbul, the Hindiler Tekkesi. The demand for a translation of the original Persian text came as a response to the increased demands of the established Anatolian Naqshbandīs in the Tekkesi for a more comprehensive and basic text on the ṭarīqa's founders and influential masters.



Figure 3: The introduction and postface colophon of the 1821 edition printed in Istanbul.

Jāmī's *Nafahāt al-'Uns*, although translated into Turkish much earlier than our text, had not satisfied the bookish fervor of the Naqshbandī readers at the time, a reality that has inspired Gülşenî and al-Tarabzoni—while contemporaries but operating in different locales—to undertake a translation of the text.⁶³ The printing of the *Rashaḥāt* in Anatolia reveals two things. Firstly, the arrival, and consequent development of, a Naqshbandī community during the premodern period formed the basis through which a print public developed—seeking and working on *ṭarīqa* texts. Secondly, the *Rashaḥāt* was initially circulated and copied in the Turkish language rather than the original Persian. This Turkish translation was the version that was popularly printed in Istanbul, rather than the Persian, for a particular linguistic group. These two observations illuminate the

⁶³ Gülşenî, *Resehat-i*, 10-11.

stark relevance of the manuscript period in the age of print, manifested in the established religious and intellectual community interacting with the text prior to the moment of print.



Figure 4: Introduction and postface colophon, including the commentary *Hujut al-balaghā* along the margins. Istanbul, *Sarıncıde Taş Destgâhı* (1874)

The debut of the Kāshifī family in India’s publishing scene was in 1828, where the first large work to be lithographed in Bombay was *Anwār-i Suhaylī* by Ḥusayn al-Kāshifī. It seems Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī has always been in the shadows of his father in all aspects—even print. The

lithographer of the text, Mirzā Muḥammad al-Kuttāb of Shīrāz (b. 1269/1852-53, d. after 1915), had worked on Kāshifī Sr.’s text for the Bombay Native Society.⁶⁴

On the other hand, Fakhr al-Dīn Kāshifī's debut took place at one of the most prominent presses in Lucknow. The Nawal Kishore Press was founded by its namesake in 1858, with titles ranging from Urdu, Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit.⁶⁵ Munshi Nawal Kishore was a member of the Indian National Congress, and his publishing interests ranged widely from producing works on Indian national culture as well as Urdu translations of some of the seminal of Islamic mystical texts.⁶⁶



Figure 5: Frontispiece of the Nawal Kishore Urdu edition printed in 1893

⁶⁴ C. A. Storey, "The Beginnings of Persian Printing in India," in *Oriental Studies in Honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry*, ed. Jal Dastur Cursetji Pavry (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 459.

⁶⁵ See Ulrike Stark. *An Empire of Books*. (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2007).

⁶⁶ Sumaiya Ahmed. "Munshi Newal Kishore Press and a New Heritage for Islamic Literature during the colonial Period." *Islam and Muslim Societies: A Social Science Journal* 10(2) (2017): 66-78.

By the 1870s, the press had a prominent department that specialized in translating texts for publication from Persian to Urdu.⁶⁷ The *Rashaḥāt* had been among one of the texts undertaken by the Urdu department. It was translated by Mawlānā Abū al-Ḥasan al-Laknāwī (d. ?) for publication in 1893. This edition was followed by two more print runs in the Persian language during 1897 and 1911. The lithographed edition of 1911 had also been exceedingly popular in Central Asia, as will be discussed in the coming section. The *ṭarīqa* had previously spread to the Indian subcontinent during the sixteenth century, where its rising popularity resulted in the development of the Mujaddidiyya branch under the influence of Aḥmad Sīrhindī (d. 1624), known as the *Mujaddid*, or Renewer of the Second Millenium, a revered Hindustani mystic whose *Maktūbāt*, or letters,—also translated by our interlocutor al-Qazānī—was the most influential text of this offshoot.⁶⁸ The Mujaddidiyya are the offshoot that has had a tremendous and remarkable effort in circulating the *ṭarīqa*'s intellectual and spiritual heritage to the Arab regions, as shall be examined in al-Qazānī's section. It is thus assumed that the aforementioned print runs of the Urdu translation of the *Rashaḥāt* was catering to this flourishing offshoot in the Indian subcontinent.

⁶⁷ Syed Jalaluddin Haider. "Munshi Nawal Kishore (1836-1895) Mirror of Urdu Printing in British India." *Libri* 31 (1981): 227.

⁶⁸ Ziad, "From Yarkand," 27.

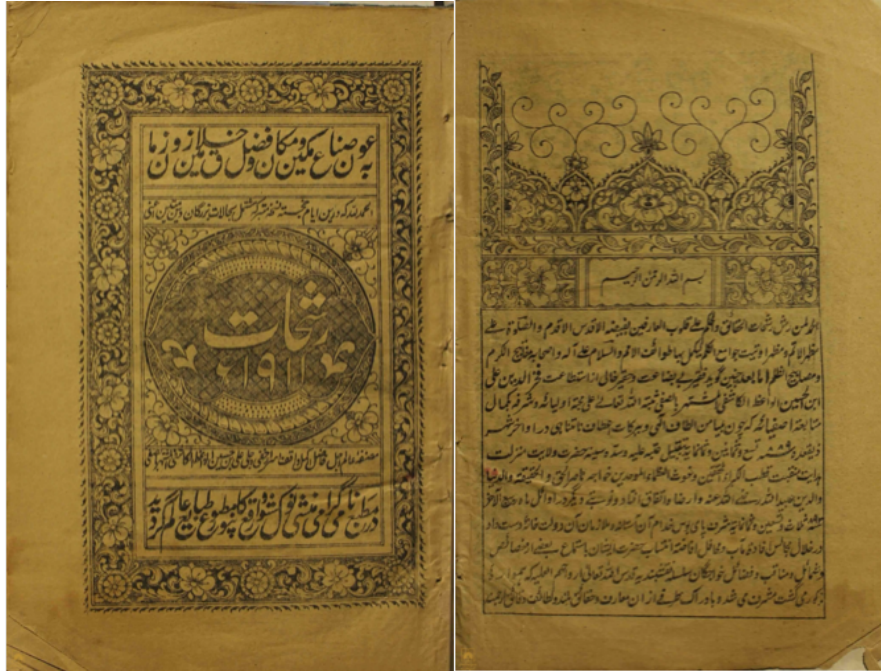


Figure 6: Frontispiece and introduction of the Nawal Kishore Persian Edition in 1911

As previously hinted, the material aspects of the Lucknow imprint—reminiscent of manuscripts’ paratexts—pop up once we find ourselves in al-Qazānī’s regional homeland, where a local printing industry had been blossoming during the twilight years of imperial Russian rule. From the cracks in the Russian empire’s very foundations in tandem with the eruption of the Bolshevik revolution, rose Central Asian Muslim printing as an effervescent phenomenon with a bustling publication track in Persian, Uzbek, and Arabic.⁶⁹ Muslim printing in Central Asia had been understudied within English and Arabic scholarship. Much is yet to be done to bridge the intellectual and printing networks between different constituencies of the Islamic world.

The role of private Muslim publishing houses in circulating Islamic “classics” was based on a network of intellectual connections between Central Asia, India, and Cairo, as well as the

⁶⁹ Adeeb Khalid. "Printing, Publishing, and Reform in Tsarist Central Asia." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26, no. 2 (1994): 187-200

publishing house in Hijaz which supplied imprints for the *hujjāj* returning back home to Central Asia after the pilgrimage season.⁷⁰ These printing networks also informed Central Asian editing practices in the publishing industry, who seemed to be more interested in lithographed books with decorations and the *nastā'liq* script of Indian houses rather than the typeset books of the official press established in 1870.

The circulation of printed texts in Central Asia predominantly relied on “imported” imprints from Mecca, India, or Cairo, as well as texts from the official printing press in Tashkent. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, we find the initial stirrings of private publishing houses, with the opening of Esanbay Ḥusaynbay-oghli’s lithographic press in Tashkent. The first text to be printed by this private house was the commentary on the Naqshbandī Mujaddidī Ṣūfī Allāh al-Būkhayr (d. 1721), an educational *ṭarīqa* textbook titled *Sharh Sebātū'l-âcizîn*, used in Central Asian *madrasas*.⁷¹

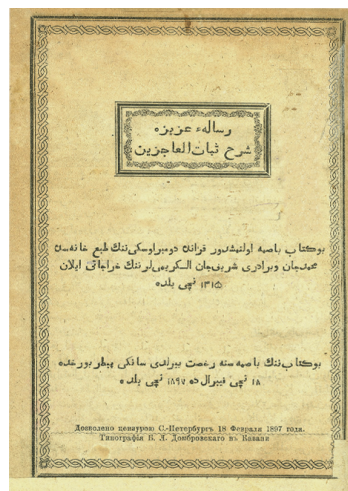


Figure 7: The Naqshbandī *Sharh Sebātū'l-âcizîn* published by Esanbay Ḥusaynbay-oghli in 1897

⁷⁰ Khalid, "Printing, Publishing, and Reform," 188.

⁷¹ Abid Mahdum. On the Sources of *SEBĀTŪ'L-ĀCIZĪN* by Sufi Allahyar (Türkiyat Mecmuası, 2011), 240.

This initiative spurred the proliferation of privately-run printing shops in Central Asia, where the printing entrepreneurs who had taken on the newly rising occupations of editors, publishers, and booksellers based their operations on the connections with the Islamic world within which they were operating prior to printing.⁷² Such was an example of the types of continuities present between the manuscript and print tradition in Central Asia, particularly with how publishing and book trade continued to be run by those with a traditional Islamic education.

Scholars took stock of the most predominant forms of Tashkent printed production such as (i) popular didactic texts, (ii) collections of poetry, (iii) popular traditions of the Prophet and his family, (iv) *Ṣūfī* literature and hagiographic accounts, and (v) Central Asian oral traditions being. G.N. Chabrov identified that there were 13 typographic and 8 lithographic printing houses in Tashkent. The publishing triumvirate (1887–1918), V. M. Il'in (1893–1912), and Ghulam Hasan Arifjan (1906-1918) were the most popular publishing houses. I particularly look at the printing house of Ghulam Hasan Arifjan (d. 1366/1947), which printed much of the Arabic, Persian, and Uzbek mystical texts in Tashkent.

Tashkent presses in the end of the Imperial period mostly printed “classics” for its mystical orders,⁷³ such as the popular *Rashaḥāt* imprint by Arijan’s Gulamiyya publishing house. The 1911 lithographic edition of the Nawal Kishore house had travelled to Tashkent, where it formed the basis for the Uzbek edition by the steam-driven lithographic press Golamiyya, the first establishment to print in the Uzbek language.

⁷² Adeeb Khalid. "Muslim printers in Tsarist Central Asia: A research note." *Central Asian Survey* 11, no. 3 (1992): 113-118.

⁷³ Khalid, ““Printing, Publishing, and Reform,” 192.



Figure 8: Frontispiece and introduction of the Persian edition, reminiscent of the Indian edition, of the Gulamiya house in 1911

Arifjan began his career as a bookbinder, but after having acquired a steam-powered press whilst on a book trading trip in India, began to establish himself in Tashkent’s publishing scene.⁷⁴ The Gulamiyya house had print runs as vast as three thousand copies—especially high during the period. The published editions of Persian texts did not only come from local publishing house, but also arrived from India—whose lithographs were popular in Central Asian communities—whereas print publications in Arabic were rarely published locally, instead it moved via the *hajj* networks—texts arriving from Mecca and Cairo with pilgrims returning home. Gulamiyya took on the project of translating the *Rashahāt* into Uzbek for a wider dissemination of the book for Central Asian audiences. This section aimed to put Tashkent back on the intellectual map as central to Islamicate print. Its editors and print shop owners embroiled themselves in a wide intellectual network, connecting them to Mecca, Cairo, and India, as well as allowed them to exchange “know-how” technicalities about lithography.

⁷⁴ Khalid, “Muslim printers,” 114.

Can the Qazānī Speak in Mecca?

The book's survival in Turkish and Persian was problematic for Arabic speakers once we arrive at al-Qazānī's contemporary moment in the Hijaz. al-Qazānī lamented that many do not have linguistic access to the knowledge tucked between the *Rashaḥāt*'s pages, nor has he been able to acquire an Arabic translation of the text. As a result, this led him to the conclusion that no one had yet undertaken the task of Arabizing the *Rashaḥat*. He writes: "Because of the Persian language of the text, many have been unable to gain access and grow close to the benefits that text contains," al-Qazānī introduced the text, "and to this day I have not been able to locate another's attempt at Arabizing it."⁷⁵ The medium of print allows al-Qazānī's translation to connect new audiences, new ones in the Arab regions, with the *ṭarīqa*'s traditions and thought.

This is an important observation on al-Qazānī's behalf and for our study of the circulation and printing history of the *Rashaḥāt*. An earlier Arabic translation had been done by Tāj al-Dīn Zakariyya al-Hindī (d. 1640), who had been the head of the Naqshbandī order at the time (Figure below). His intellectual projects also included Arabizing Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt al-'uns*.⁷⁶ However, unlike al-Qazānī and other translations, his work remains to this day in manuscript form in the Egyptian *Dār al-Kutub*.

⁷⁵ *Rashaḥāt*, 3.

⁷⁶ Al-Nabulsi, 'Abd al-Ghanī. *Muftah al-ma'iyah fī Dustour al-ṭarīqa al-Naqshabandiyya* (Cairo: al-Dār al-Juwdiya), 2008, 13; Muḥammad al-Muḥibbi. *Khulāsāt al-athar fī a'yān al-qarn al-ḥādī 'ashar* (Cairo: Maṭba'a al-Wahabiyya, 1886).

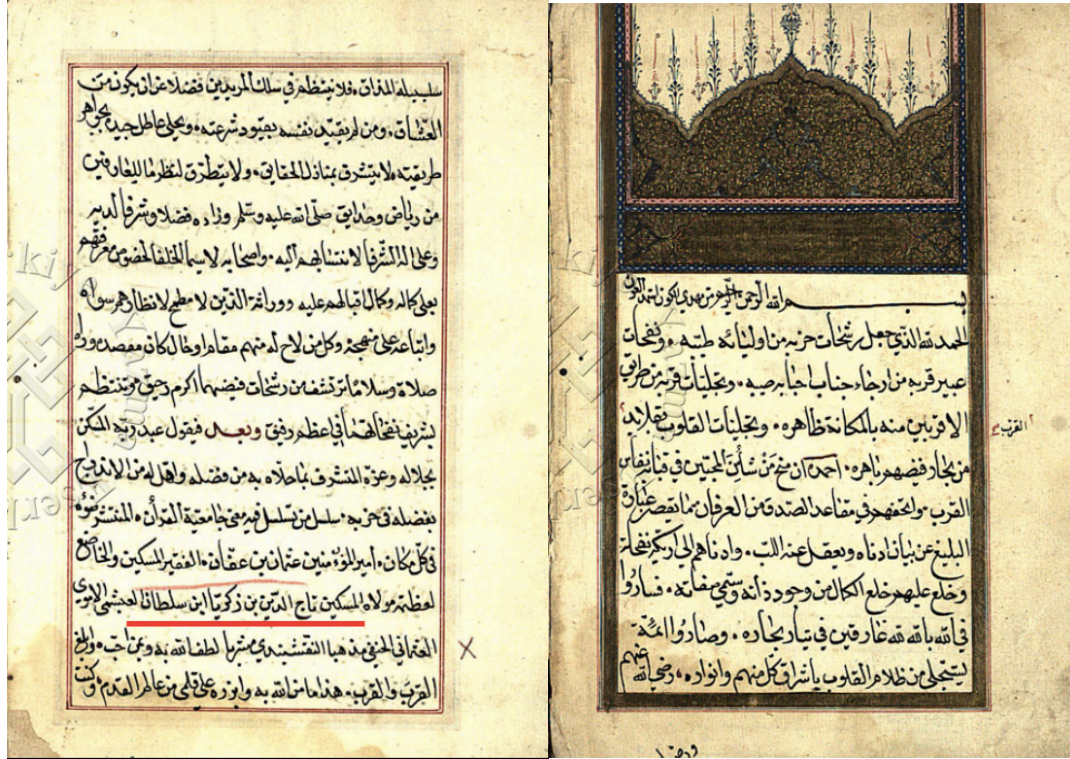


Figure 9: Ta'rib al-Rashahāt, Tāj al-Dīn Zakariyya al-Hindī (copied in 1620)

Al-Qazānī's inability to locate this translation is a testament to its obscurity in Naqshbandī intellectual circles, particularly since al-Qazānī had been known among his contemporaries for his vast library and penchant for collecting books.⁷⁷ Tāj al-Dīn al-Hindī's absent translation thus formed the impetus for al-Qazānī's venture into translation.

Al-Qazānī, who resided in the small village of Älmät-Minzälä, between 'Ufa and Kazan in the Ural-Volga region, began his educational track in his uncle's *madrasa* at the age of eight. There he was taught Arabic grammar, medieval logic, ethics, and theology until the age of eighteen.⁷⁸ He travelled to Kazan in 1873, aiming to settle at the *madrasa* of Shīhab al-Dīn al-Marjanī. Instead, al-Qazānī travelled to Bukhārā instead, and on his way, he stopped in the village of Troksy where

⁷⁷ 'Abd al-Hayy ibn 'Abd al-Kabīr Al-Kattānī. *Fihris al-fahāris wa-l-'thabāt wa mu'jam* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islami, 1982), 2/691.

⁷⁸ Al-Sirhindī. *Maktūbāt*, 188.

he lived for two years in the *madrasa* of Mullā Sharaf al-Dīn, and Mullā Muḥammad Jān. There, he studied “the commentaries and glosses popular in the land of the Arabs.”⁷⁹ Once he reached Bukhārā in 1875, he attended the lessons of ‘Abdullāh Sartāwī and ‘Abd al-Shakūr Turkmānī. Nevertheless, he found that Bukhārā, as a learning center, was not as it used to be. Consequently, al-Qazānī realized that to remain there would be a waste of time. And so, he left, heading to Tashkent once more before finally deciding on relocating to the Ḥijaz.

Around 1878, he passed through Lahore, Bombay, and Karachi on his way to Mecca. Upon arrival, he sought out the Kazan community living in Mecca, which consisted of students in the *madrāsas*, as well as influential traders. In 1880, he married Asmā’, the daughter of Muḥammad Shāh, a member of the aforementioned community. His life as a Meccan scholar was a productive one, where al-Qazānī taught many students coming from diverse locations around the Muslim world, particularly in the Amīn Aghā and Maḥmudiyya *madrāsas*. His involvement with the Naqshbandiyya began with his becoming a disciple of the Naqshbandī Ṣūfī Master Muḥammad Mazhar, who left quite an impression on the younger al-Qazānī.

Mazhar had been an immigrant as well, hailing from Delhi, and settling in Mecca with his father when he was twenty-nine years old. In the *Ḥaramayn*, he became embroiled in the Muḥammadiyya, Aḥmadiyya, and Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqas*, taking on a teaching position in a local *madrasa*.⁸⁰ Al-Qazānī relates his master’s involvement in the intellectual scene in the Ḥijāz, building a *madrasa* that was three stories high with a vast library, as well as a space for teaching and recitation sessions.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Al-Sirhindī. *Maktūbat*, 189.

⁸⁰ *Rashaḥāt*, 509.

⁸¹ *Rashaḥāt*, 510.

The year 1884, in particular, was a difficult one for al-Qazānī, as two of his masters, Muḥammad Maẓhar and ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Dāghistānī died, leaving him bereft, and in the throes of a particularly dark episode of mourning. Fearing he would not be initiated had been a cause for anxiety, so much so that he impulsively began preparations to travel to India, yearning to be inducted in the *ṭarīqa* from the Indian masters there—illuminating a transregionally connected Naqshbandī community.⁸² However, al-Qazānī found that with the ascendancy of ‘Abd Allāh al-Zawāwī (d. 1343/1924) in Mecca—as shaykh of the *ṭarīqa*—his heart eased as al-Zawāwī undertook the prospect of inducting him personally. Al-Zawāwī came from an established Meccan family whose members were all part of the Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqa*.⁸³ His intellectual networks brought him students and disciples from India, Malay, Indonesia, China, as well as Japan.⁸⁴ The different ethnic communities al-Qazānī was exposed to through the Naqshbandī learning circles of Muḥammad Maẓhar and ‘Abd Allāh al-Zawāwī reflect the cosmopolitan make-up of the community established in the Hijaz. Moreover, Javanese, Indian, and Meccan Ṣūfī men were heavily embroiled in the printing scene in Mecca, working together to edit and publish texts of different languages, a particular moment of publishing initiatives that has only been given its due in Arabic scholarship.

The first printing press in Mecca had been established by the Ottoman Governor ‘Uthmān Nūrī in 1882.⁸⁵ The Bulaq printing press established by Muḥammad Alī Pasha in Cairo was also another manifestation of a state-run print house. The press in Mecca, rather than being run by state

⁸² al-Sirhindī. *Maktūbāt al-Imam Sirhindī*, 190.

⁸³ ‘Abd Allāh Abū al-Kheir. *Nashr al-Nūr wa-l-zahr fī Tarājim afdal Makkah* (Jeddah: ‘Allam al-Ma’rifā, 1986), 19.

⁸⁴ ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Jabār. *Siyar wa tarajim ba’d ‘ulama’una fī al-Qarn al-rab’i ‘Ashar* (Jeddah: Tuhama, 1982), 1/140.

⁸⁵ Abbas al-Tashkandī. *Al-ṭiba’a fī al-mamlaka al-‘Arabiya al-Su’udīyya* (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Malik Fahd al-Waṭaniyya, 1999), 19. The Bulaq printing press established by Muḥammad Alī Pasha in Cairo was also another manifestation of a state-run print house. The press in Mecca, rather than being run by state officials, bureaucrats, and the new class of educated elites, is run by the Ṣūfī community in Mecca—catering for itself as editors, translators, and patrons.

officials, bureaucrats, and the new class of educated elites, was run by the Ṣūfī community in Mecca—catering for itself as editors, translators, and patrons. Prior to this printing house, the inhabitants of Mecca used to print their own books in Cairo,⁸⁶ as well as in India, for in the first and second decades of the nineteenth century, Indian printers were prepared to publish some heritage books sought by the Arabian Peninsula’s scholars.⁸⁷ This familiarity with, and the cultivation of, the publishing, literary, and intellectual networks with the printing capitals of Cairo and Lucknow, paved the way for the initiation of the Amīriyya Press in Mecca once it set off.⁸⁸

The printing press came prepared with movable types of Arabic, Turkish, Javanese, and Malaysian.⁸⁹ Not only that, but the catalogues listing the names of employees who had worked over the years in the printing press reveal cohorts of editors specialized in Arabic, Javanese, Malay, and Urdu. The Amīriyya Press is a fascinating episode in Muslim printing that included different departments operating within it, which produced multilingual books to cater for a cosmopolitan community in Mecca.

The Amīriyya press alone represented 94 percent of what was printed overall in the Arabian Peninsula by the end of the nineteenth century.⁹⁰ Its chief productions were mainly concerned with mystical texts, followed by literary, historical, and science books. The Ṣūfī orders situated in Mecca were both the producers and consumers of these printed texts. The Naqshbandiyya, in particular, were heavily involved in the editorial and production process in the Amīriyya Press,

⁸⁶ Aḥmad al-Dabīb. *Bawakir al-ṭiba‘a wa al-matbū‘at fi bilād al-mamlaka al-‘Arabiya al-Su‘udiyya* (Jeddah: Markaz Hamad al-Gasser, 2007), 47.

⁸⁷ Al-Dabīb. *Bawakir al-ṭiba‘a*, 93.

⁸⁸ Al-Tashkandī. *Al-ṭiba‘a fi al-Mamlaka*, 19.

⁸⁹ Al-Tashkandī. *Al-ṭiba‘a fi al-Mamlaka*, 37-39.

⁹⁰ The *Salnameh* was an annual publication of the Amīriyya Press, disclosing the titles of books printed during the years, first published in 1883. In its first year, the press was able to print 6 books—a number which expanded exponentially over the years, once books of different languages were demanded.

men such as Shaykh Daghistānī, al-Qazānī's teacher, who had been *kabīr al-muḥaqqiqīn* (head of the editors) there,⁹¹ while 'Abdallah al-Zawāwī, Muḥammad Mazhar's successor, was the editor of al-Qazānī's Arabized *Rashahāt*.

Returning to al-Qazānī, al-Zawāwī's new position had forced him to constantly travel between Mecca and Medina, prompting al-Qazānī's dark disposition to resurface once more. He became overcome by waves of loneliness and unease. This particular emotional plight in Mecca conveys the homesickness that had overcome al-Qazānī, so much so that in 1908, in *Talfīq al-'akhbār*, his history of Kazan, his homeland, he speaks of this time as a moment that hindered his scholarly work, as he was burdened with homesickness and plight [*ibtīlā' bi-l-ghurba wl-karb*].⁹² In *Talfīq al-'akhbār* al-Qazānī provides for his readers an image of the sort of scenic plains, rivers and wilderness which, we can posit, he yearned for back home:

The best [of this land of Central Asia] is the beautiful music of nature and God's creations, that reside by the tranquil rivers such as the ducks, geese, etc. ... the foreigner or he who strayed far from [this] home can keep himself from sobbing only if his heart is made of stone or steel.⁹³

Nevertheless, al-Qazānī found solace in the scholarly community and religious spaces in Mecca, particularly through intellectual exploits, where his fervor for books did not abate, even

⁹¹ 'Alī . *Rashahāt*, 513.

⁹² Murad Al-Qazānī. *Talfīq al-'akhbār wa-talqīh al-athār fī waqā' i' Qazan wa-Bulghar wa-mulūk al-Tatar* (Tashkent: al-Maṭba'ah al-Karimiyah wa-al-Ḥusayniyya, 1908), 1/26.

⁹³ Al-Qazānī. *Talfīq al-'akhbār*, 1/47.

during his bouts of homesickness. As part of his bookish exploits, al-Qazānī came across the Persian and Turkish translations of the *Rashaḥāt*, and from that point onwards, the book became his constant companion, day and night.⁹⁴ In an effort to keep the dark thoughts at bay, he undertakes the project of translating the *Rashaḥāt*—both to feel closer to the *ṭarīqa* through engaging with the text, but also to do something of benefit for his brothers.⁹⁵

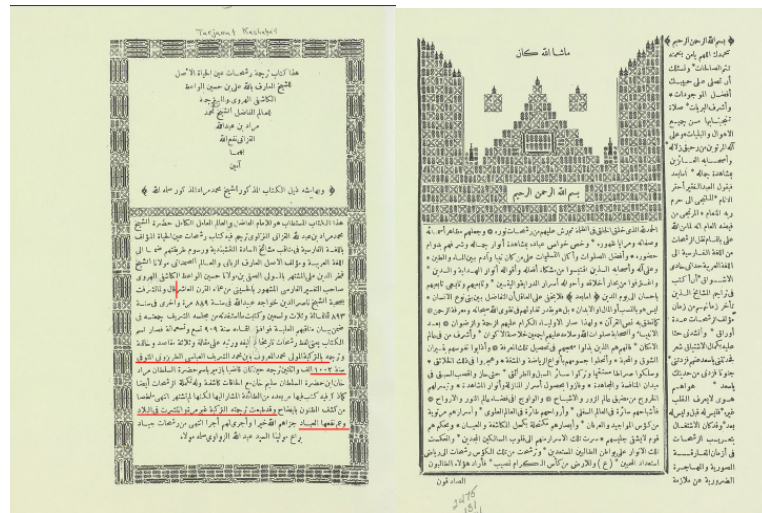


Figure 10: Introduction to the *Maṭṭba'a al-Amiriyya al-Makkiyya* edition of 1886

Although al-Qazānī had undertaken this project during an emotionally and spiritually turbulent period in his life, it is clear that he had aimed to channel the education he had received, under the tutelage of Mazhar and al-Zawāwī, into presenting a well-rounded text to his Arabic-speaking brethren. Al-Qazānī's edition is not only a literal translation from Persian to Arabic, but it also includes interventions from the translator into Fakhr al-Dīn's narrations.

⁹⁴ 'Alī. *Rashaḥāt*, 3.

⁹⁵ 'Alī. *Rashaḥāt*, 3-4.

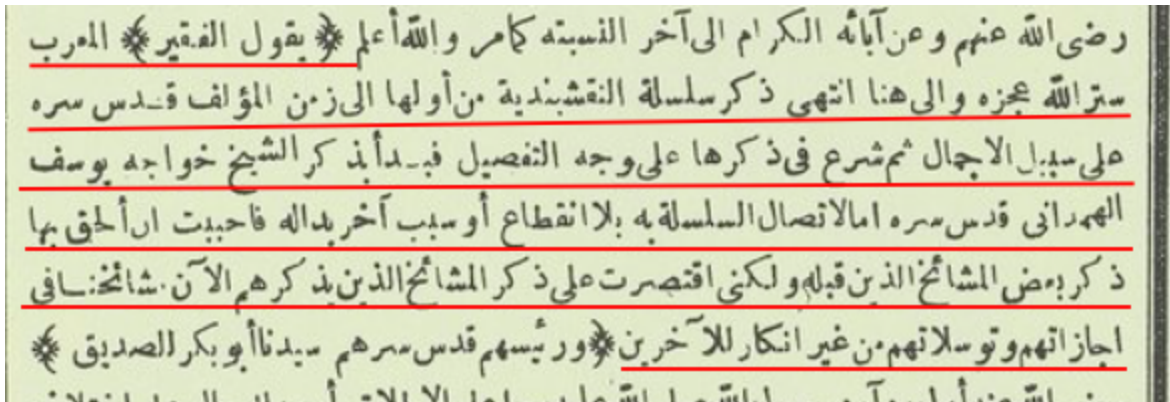


Figure 11: Al-Qazānī's interventions in the *Rashahāt*

Within Fakhr al-Dīn's biographical entries of the prominent Naqshbandī shaykhs, al-Qazānī interjected in order to supply a more comprehensive Naqshbandī *silsilā* that he had been made aware of and taught by the learned men of his time. Hence, al-Qazānī began his own biographical dictionary in between Fakhr al-Dīn's pages, starting with Abū Bakr (d. 634) until where Fakhr al-Dīn begins his biographies in the twelfth century.⁹⁶ The distinguishable feature from other *ṭarīqas*, according to al-Qazānī, is that they trace their descent—with the prophet Muḥammad being the first link in the *Silsila*—to Abū Bakr al-Siddīq, unlike other *ṭarīqas* who trace it to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb (d. 661). Scholars have differed on this particular issue, both during al-Qazānī's time and in contemporary scholarship.

Kāmil al-Shībī found that the Abū Bakr *silsila* to be a deliberate deviation from common Ṣūfī practice, inspired by an enmity to Shi'ism, and therefore some Naqshbandīs chose to deliberately remove any trace possible of Shi'i influence from the ancestry of the order.⁹⁷ Perhaps that is the context within which al-Qazānī found himself in, seeking to correct any deliberate

⁹⁷ Kāmil al-Shībī, *al-fikr al-shī'i w nazā'il al-ṣūfiyya* (Baghdad: Maktabat al-Nahḍa, 1966), 329; Hamid Algar. *The Naqshbandī Order*, 126.

omissions in the *ṭarīqas* chains of transmission. However, Hamid Algar finds that the significance of the Abū Bakr *isnad* lies elsewhere.⁹⁸ Algar reasserts the importance of hidden or silent *dhikr*—as a central practice for the Naqshbandiyya, one that had been instructed by the prophet to Abū Bakr solely, not to others. The transmission of the silent *dhikr*, alternatively known as *dhikr* of the heart (*dhikr al-qalb*), as opposed to open or vocal *dhikr* (*dhikr-i jahr*) and *dhikr* of the tongue (*dhikr al-lisān*), became particularly essential to the initiation of any dervish with the crystallization of the *ṭarīqa*.⁹⁹ Therefore, it is through Abū Bakr that the main tenets of the *ṭarīqa* was transmitted—which also explains al-Qazānī’s need to reiterate the centrality of Abū Bakr in the chains of transmission.

It is in these historical and intellectual nuances, through the hadiths and narrations, that al-Qazānī developed his craft as a historian; the initial stepping-stones that would enable him to undertake the larger project of *Talfīq al-akhbār*. In this interjection, al-Qazānī identified for his readers particular controversies related to the *silsila* of the Naqshbandī. First, he pointed out that some Naqshbandīs of his time had been under attack since they had traced their *silsila* from Abū Bakr through Salmān al-Fārisī (d. 652). However, al-Qazānī argued that this claim of a *silsila* from Salmān al-Fārisī is from Shaykh Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, and al-Qazānī says “Abū Ṭālib had lived far from the time of the founding fathers of the *ṭarīqa*, so how would he be correct in this conjecture?”¹⁰⁰ This particular episode also provided an impetus for al-Qazānī to correct some misconceptions about how *silsilas* are traced by the great shaykhs of the Naqshbandīs. He argues that *silsilas* are not traced through hadith narrations as Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī had claimed of Salmān

⁹⁸ Hamid Algar. "The Naqshbandī Order: A Preliminary Survey of its History and Significance." *Studia Islamica* 44 (1976): 128.

⁹⁹ Algar, “The Naqshbandī Order,” 129.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Alī, *Rashahāt*, 23.

al-Fārisī's *silsila*, but rather through established methods only the initiated are privy to.¹⁰¹ Interestingly, al-Qazānī does not explain what these methods are in the text, perhaps this tells us that the text could circulate outside the circle of *ṭarīqa* members, which it did, exhibiting a wide circulation in Anatolia, Egypt, and India, and that this information is only revealed to the disciple through his master, not through the pages of a printed text.

Moreover, the *Rashaḥāt* did not only serve the purpose of engaging in *ṭarīqa* discourse, but a text in which al-Qazānī had sought solace. The loss of his two masters Maḥzar and al-Daghastānī had demoralized the young *murīd* (disciple). It is thus clear why he had chosen this text in particular to translate, and more importantly, to have by his side day and night to read. The biographical entries by Fakhr al-Dīn heavily revolve around the emotional and spiritual connections of a *murīd-shaykh*, or a student-master, relationship. It is perhaps likely that these accounts brought peace to al-Qazānī during his mourning period, and as he waits for his new master al-Zawāwī to return from Medina.

The book included a long entry on a series of commandments and advice of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Ghidwānī (d. 1179/1765) to his student that might have been al-Qazānī's solace after losing his master.¹⁰² Perhaps reading and engaging with a text that is dedicated to anecdotes of masters and their students, such as the intimate relation between Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d.1072) and his student, Abū ‘Alī al-Farmadī (d. 1043), had al-Qazānī reminisce about his early years with his own Shaykh Muḥammad Maḥzar, or provided a source of solace during the absence of his master al-Zawāwī.

¹⁰¹ ‘Alī. *Rashaḥāt*, 23.

¹⁰² ‘Alī. *Rashaḥāt*, 55.

While al-Qazānī was fighting an inner battle by translating the *Rashaḥat*, an *ijāza* (certification of mastery) for initiation and deputization reached him by Caravan hailing from Medina, where al-Zawāwī appointed him as deputy in his stead. Feeling unworthy of this important position, al-Qazānī wrote back to his shaykh imploring him to excuse him from this appointment as in his heart he does not feel part of the *ṭarīqa* quite yet.¹⁰³ Zawāwī writes back refusing his request. A year later, al-Zawāwī's return marked al-Qazānī's official initiation into the *ṭarīqa*. He then took on his role in the *ṭarīqa* in a scholarly and spiritual capacity in the Hijaz with unmatched fervor and passion. When he was done with translating the *Rashaḥāt* in 1886, he presented it to al-Zawāwī who had been so pleased with it that he decided to finance its printing himself. It was initially printed in 1889 in the Amīriyya Press, edited by al-Zawāwī himself with a postface colophon in praise of the translator's prowess at unveiling the intricacies of the Persian language into Arabic. The printed text also bore a *taqriz* (blurb) from the prominent Naqshbandī Shaykh Sulīmān al-Zūhdī, whose intellectual connections went as far as South-East Asia.¹⁰⁴ A *taqriz*, or an honorific, was first highlighted by Franz Rosenthal as a genre reminiscent of modern 'blurbs' in the manuscript tradition.¹⁰⁵ When analyzed as part of the manuscript's paratexts, a *taqriz* is invaluable when constructing a social and material history of the text, providing "knowledge of the organization of past intellectual life, and the relationships among intellectuals and their role in society."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ al-Sirhindī, *Maktūbat*, 113.

¹⁰⁴ Khayr al-Dīn Zirikli. *al-A 'lām, qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-al-nisā' min al- 'Arab wa-al-musta 'ribīn wa-al-mustashriqīn*. (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm lil-Malayin, 2007), 7/95

¹⁰⁵ Franz Rosenthal, "'Blurbs' (*taqriz*) from Fourteenth-Century Egypt", *Oriens* 27-28, 1981, 178.

¹⁰⁶ Rosenthal, "'Blurbs'," 189.

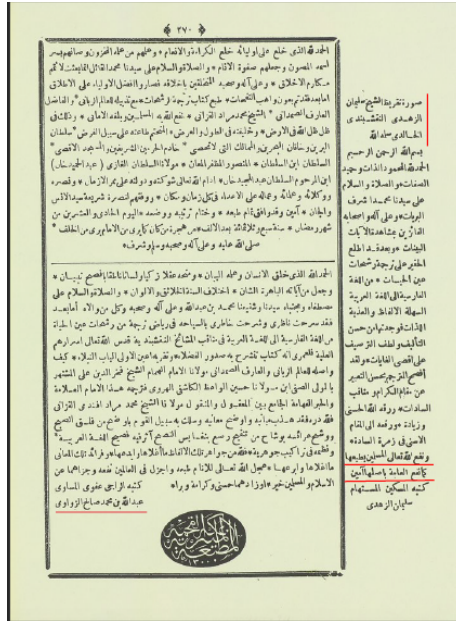


Figure 12: Postface colophon and taqriz in the Maṭḥba‘a ‘Amīriyya edition (1886)

This presence of honorifics during the age of print is an interesting development. It stems from an already established practice from manuscript culture, where authors solicited *taqariz* for their work. It was conceived as a form of recommendation and commendation by an established scholar contemporaneous to the author. This continued practice from the manuscript age was found to be relevant by editors, such as al-Zawāwī, in order to increase the scholarly value of the text when it bears the approval of one of the highest-ranking scholars of the time. Sulaymān al-Zuhdī praises al-Qazānī’s translation, remarking upon the importance of making the *Rashaḥāt* available for a different audience not well versed in the original language, an effort whose printing “benefited Muslims everywhere.”¹⁰⁷ This Arabic translation began to circulate popularly in the publishing houses of Egypt and Anatolia, replacing the initial popularity of the Turkish translation pointed at earlier.

¹⁰⁷ Al-Qazānī. *Dhayl*, 510.

Al-Zawāwī also commissioned al-Qazānī to follow up this scholarly endeavor by translating Imam Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1624)'s *Maktūbāt* (letters) as a *ṭarīqa* commission this time. al-Qazānī refused at first, finding it was a controversial and consuming task. However, al-Qazānī had already translated some of the entries of Sirhindī's letters within the *dhayl* he had attached to the *Rashaḥāt*—particularly during his discussion of the *Mujaddidī* Naqshbandīs residing in Mecca, and their relation to Imam Sirhindī's teachings through his correspondences.¹⁰⁸ It is probable that al-Zawāwī had seen potential in patronizing another *ṭarīqa* text that a translator had already found accessible and translated sections of, as a sort of follow-up publication. Here, the shaykh-murid relationship between al-Zawāwī and al-Qazānī during the age of print functions as encouragement to become involved in publishing efforts; where al-Zawāwī encourages his disciple to translate more texts as a devotional act, part of his initiation to the *ṭarīqa*. In this case, one text leads to another.

After being finally persuaded to undertake this translation, al-Qazānī writes an introduction to the three-volume *Maktūbāt* that is worthy of noting, as it illuminates the thought process behind how al-Qazānī approaches his task of translation, both for the *Rashaḥāt* and *Maktūbāt*. In the self-deprecating introduction, al-Qazānī reveals his insecurities, as well as what the Arabic language means to a Muslim of the Ural-Volga region, accepting his intellect and capabilities to be widely circulated among more informed peers and masters.

¹⁰⁸ 'Al-Qazānī. *Dhayl*, 554-556.



Figure 13: *Maktūbāt al-Sirhindī's* printed edition by *al-Maṭḥā'a al-Amiriyya al-Makkiyya* in 1899, with *al-Qazānī's* introduction on the margins.

Al-Qazānī relates to his readers how his heart and soul calmed when he had received what he deemed as a signal from God to embark on this initiative. From here on, he begins to contemplate his approach to translating the Arabic language, and like all authors and editors, asks his readers to forgive his errors and shortcomings, concluding that “even Lord Almighty had not allowed for any book to be free of imperfections except for His book”.¹⁰⁹

I began to undertake the translation, choosing instead to focus on the second concern [of translating], I mean that of highlighting the overall meaning of the text,

¹⁰⁹ al-Sirhindī. *Maktūbat*, 4.

which to me is a finer endeavor. [I also bear] in mind the first concern, i.e. the choice of wording . . . For the second concern allows me to bring terms into my translation that do not have an equivalent in the original language, as well as permits me to change the passive voice to an active one, and so on . . . through this model of translation one is able to avoid ambiguity, or induce one’s anxieties—forsaking speculation and analogous methods.

The laying out of his careful method of translation echoes the previously mentioned concerns by Arab intellectuals such as Rashid Rida, regarding how non-Arab Muslims were only able to do literal translations of Arabic texts. Here, al-Qazānī—perhaps in response to these dismissive inclinations—illuminates how he does not approach the text by unveiling its literal meanings, but instead unearthing the “inner meanings” of the *Rashaḥāt*. As a concluding word to his methodology section, al-Qazānī wrote: “[I translate this] hoping it would benefit the brothers of our *ṭarīqa* who have no knowledge of the original Persian language of the text, or its other translation in Turkish.”

Dhayl of a Dhayl

The *Rashaḥāt*’s initial printing included a *dhayl* by al-Qazānī titled *Nāfa’is al-sanīḥat fī tadhyīl al-bāqiyāt al-salḥāt* (The Jewels of Inspiration in the *Addendum* of Good Deeds). One concern in particular needs to be addressed when examining the material aspect of this *dhayl*, that is, the choice of how to present it within the primary printed text. The *dhayl* is added along the margins of the page, a material aspect that is reminiscent of how commentaries were copied in manuscripts. Islam Dayeh’s work on the editing practices of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is among the initial studies done to complicate the material history of printing in the Muslim world,

arguing that editing practices were a “burgeoning culture of textual scholarship and publishing that continued traditional Islamic scholarly methods and techniques, but also tested new techniques and forms that were made possible by print technology.”¹¹⁰ This Meccan edition is a testament of the relevance of manuscript culture’s influence on modern editorial practices in the Hijaz, elucidating that maintaining the basic form of a text was among the chief interests of those involved in the publishing business.

This is also found in the lithographs of the *Rashaḥāt* in Tashkent and Lucknow, as previously discussed, where the material form and decorations of the lithographs were more popular, due to their retention of manuscript form. al-Qazānī’s *dhayl* is also important due to its popularity in the scholarly scene of the early twentieth century. It includes the biographies of some of the influential Naqshbandis in the nineteenth century, detailing the intellectual and social context of Indian and Central Asian migrants in the Hijaz, and elaborating on the spiritual teachings of the *ṭarīqa*.

¹¹⁰ Islam Dayeh. "From Taṣḥīḥ to Taḥqīq: Toward a History of the Arabic Critical Edition," *Philological Encounters* 4, no. 3-4 (2019): 245-299.



Figure 14: Introductory page includes the dhayl along the margins on the right

As stated previously, the work includes the biographies of al-Qazānī’s mentors as well as what can be constituted as a scholarly ethnographic study of Mecca in the nineteenth century. Through al-Qazānī’s *dhayl*, we are introduced to Mecca as al-Qazānī and his fellow migrants experienced it, during the nineteenth century, and of the diasporic communities inhabiting the intellectual and spiritual landscape at the time. A digression is due to appreciate al-Qazānī’s mapping of the intellectual and social history of Mecca. It is important to note that although the nineteenth century for Hijaz had been a period where it was not under foreign rule, it still operated within the backdrop of an increased imperialist presence in the region. This is particularly reflected in the seminal, and most utilized, ethnographic account on Meccan life in the nineteenth century by Hurgronje. Hurgronje was a Dutch scholar of Oriental cultures and languages, and advisor on Native Affairs to the colonial government of the Dutch East Indies. His work *Mekka in the Latter*

Part of the 19th Century came as a result of an increased need on the side of the Dutch government to glean information about “Pan-Islamic ideas living within Southeast-Asian community in Mecca,”¹¹¹ and has been referred to by scholars as a blueprint for daily life in Mecca.¹¹² This begs the question of how nuanced Hurgronje’s ethnographic account is and to what extent al-Qazānī’s accounts bring a different understanding to the bustling community in the Hijaz.

Hurgronje’s distaste for Ṣūfī orders is quite apparent from how he describes them, referring to the popular religious orders as:

[. . .] absurd thaumaturgy with their noisy processions, their Central-Asiatic beggar dervishes and their Shaykhs who work only to gather numbers of adepts round them. Very rarely however does one venture to oppose one of these blind leaders of the blind when surrounded by his people.¹¹³

His descriptions of how different ethnic communities lived together in Mecca is a stark opposite to what al-Qazānī recounts. Hurgronje writes of the unfriendly attitudes ethnic groups harbor towards one another manifested in “malicious jokes,” and a lack of desire to live or study together.¹¹⁴ However, al-Qazānī paints a different image. The intellectual climate al-Qazānī paints in his experience of nineteenth century Meccan Naqshbandiyya is one that involves a wide range

¹¹¹ Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, xiv.

¹¹² Michael Laffan. "The New Turn to Mecca: Snapshots of Arabic Printing and Ṣūfī Networks in Late 19th Century Java," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Mediterranee* 124 (2008): 113-131.

¹¹³ Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, 220.

¹¹⁴ Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, 3.

of Muslims. The teaching circles of Muḥammad Mazhar and ‘Abdullah al-Zawāwī, as experienced and lived by al-Qazānī, are a multiethnic space that included students from India, Central Asia, Southeast-Asia, and various parts of the Arab world.¹¹⁵ It is these multi-ethnic men whom al-Qazānī praises for their prominent role in creating a tight-knit community, not only in Mecca, but also in the far reaches of what constitutes the Muslim world.

Al-Qazānī dedicated a large section of his observations to his diasporic community of the Ural-Volga region, and the scholarly and spiritual stations they have achieved during and after their stay in the Hijaz.¹¹⁶ He mentions six prominent names of this diasporic community such as Shaykh Mullā Nu‘mān Effendī, Shaykh Muḥammad Sharīf Effendī, Mullā Ahmad Ṣafā’ Effendī al-Tash, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥanan Effendī al-Burjani, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥaaq Effendī, and finally whom he calls “Our friend,” Shaykh Khayr-Allāh Effendī, the son of Shaykh Zayn-Allāh Effendī, known as al-Amīr Khalīfa. These individuals’ curated brief biographies reflect the established intellectual connections and networks between Central Asian and Meccan Naqshbandis during the late nineteenth century.

Moreover, al-Qazānī’s accounts reveal the processes through which some of these connections were forged, either through intentional planning on part of the Central Asian learned man, or through God’s will. Mullā Aḥmad Ṣafā’ Effendī, for example, had only stumbled upon the teaching circle of Muḥammad Mazhar when he had been on pilgrimage. He was taken by Mazhar, so much so that he had arranged to return home to get his affairs in order and relocate to the Hijaz and embark on his spiritual journey alongside Mazhar. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Hanan Effendī, hailing from Bukhārā, had completed his education there and moved to Mecca in order to be

¹¹⁵ Al-Qazānī. *Dhayl*, 504; 519-522.

¹¹⁶ Al-Qazānī. *Dhayl*, 539-540.

initiated into the *ṭarīqa* by Mazhar. He remained in Mecca and Medina for several years, teaching and initiating students, until he decided to return home in Bukhārā. Further examination of the life and contributions of these men is needed in order to appreciate and elaborate on the multiplicity of actors involved in the Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqa* within vast spatial areas.

Furthermore, the work includes a section on the theory and practice of Ṣūfīsm for the “*murid* requiring guidance,” almost as if al-Qazānī is writing it for himself as well as his fellow brethren. This section consists of twenty-four chapters on different topics relevant to any new initiate to the *ṭarīqa*—the sum of all al-Qazānī’s years of studying under three different masters—such as (i) the road to repentance, (ii) how to accompany your shaykh through *muraqaba* (observance), (iii) solitary confinement, (iv) inner introspection, and (v) the circle of affection with your brethren, among other topics. Al-Qazānī’s explication of the Naqshbandī *ṭarīqa* uses a variety of texts. He heavily relies on the *Maktūbat*, citing correspondence after correspondence of Imam Sirhindī as the basis through which he relates to the young *murid* the essentials of the *ṭarīqa*. In the end of this section he puts a disclaimer, asking those seeking answers to the mysteries of the Ṣūfī way to peruse the important books first, such as *al-Risāla al-Qushayriyya* by al-Qushayrī (d. 376), *‘Awārif al-ma‘ārif* by al-Suhrawardī (d. 1234), and *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn* by Ghazālī (d. 1111), as his “humble text is bound to be full of errors and mistakes,” hence, it is best to seek out the texts of the more knowledgeable.¹¹⁷

After thirty-six years in Mecca, al-Qazānī decided to return to Russia with his family, where he worked in the libraries and archives of St. Petersburg and traveled around the country, collecting material for his historical work, *Talḥīq al-akhbār*, which Russian Orientalists considered

¹¹⁷ Al-Qazānī. *Dhayl*, 543-549.

to be his *magnum opus*. This very same book put him in a political predicament. In 1915, his book had him arrested and sent to Siberia. Only at the cost of incredible efforts did he manage to avoid exile and return to his family, who had been residing in Orenburg. Following the years of the 1917 revolution, al-Qazānī lay hidden in Soviet Russia, haunted by Soviet officials and frowned upon by the growing class of Muslim reformers. He dreamed of leaving the country, and when he managed to do this in 1919, he flew with his family to Chuguchak in Western China, where he remained until his death. Whether he was remembered for being a Naqshbandī deputy, translator, or Qadimi, it is clear that al-Qazānī's repertoire left a mark upon the Muslim intellectual legacy. His translation, whilst undertaken to aid him in his dark moments, was both a comfort and blessing for those congregated in Muslim metropolises, or for his own emotional release.

Conclusions

Rashaḥāt 'ayn al-ḥayāt attracted the interest of Muḥammad Murād al-Qazānī, as well as several editors and translators of both the medieval and modern period. This study of the text reveals much of its translation and printing history, and how the wide circulation of the *Rashaḥāt* in different languages speaks of the popularity of the text, and the influence of the Naqshbandī *ṭarīqa* within the printing scene of the nineteenth century. Naqshbandīs sought out and published the *Rashaḥāt* in Urdu, Ottoman Turkish, Uzbek, and Arabic, a testament to its popularity. Additionally, the printed *addendum* by al-Qazānī plays a prominent role of its own, despite its marginal location in the material text, with mapping out (i) the psychological and intellectual process of translation undertaken by al-Qazānī, (ii) the journey and life of a migrant Ṣūfī in nineteenth century Mecca, (iii) the inner workings of patronizing texts for publication, and (iv) the intellectual scene in Mecca and the migrants seeking the Ṣūfī path.

Al-Qazānī's migration and life in Mecca involved a particular episode of emotional turmoil. The religious spaces in Mecca that he operated in, as illustrated in his autobiography and *addendum*, either that of the learning circles or the publishing scene, provided a solace for the young Qazānī. In addition, the narrative of al-Qazānī's psychological and spiritual proximity to the *Rashaḥāt* illustrate the ways in which religion and the Naqshbandī ṭarīqa unburdened the emotional plights of our translator. More particularly, I argued that (i) al-Qazānī's efforts were central in disseminating Arabic translations of the ṭarīqa's texts in the modern period; (ii) some interventions of al-Qazānī into the body of the text illuminates how this religious text served as both religious and emotional solace for its translator; and (iii) the textual mapping of Mecca, as seen and experienced by al-Qazānī in his writings on religious spaces and migrant communities, points to a melting pot of diasporic Ṣūfī brotherhoods, teachers, and publishers, whose efforts spurred the Meccan publishing scene during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The editorial practices and choices of printing Naqshbandī texts show us that Mecca's printing scene was an effervescent one that engaged different constituencies of migrants and scholars living in the Hijaz during the print age, and it also highlights the role of Ṣūfī ṭarīqa's patronage of texts to be printed. Consequently, the *Rashaḥāt* reveals that those working in the publishing scene, printing medieval texts for nineteenth century audiences, come from various backgrounds. The story of the *Rashaḥāt*'s printing is a story of movement. This very same story of movement is further examined in the second chapter on the *Dīwān*, illuminating how the chosen texts in this thesis experienced movement across time and space; a movement through languages; as well as the movement of those working on publishing the text through migration and travel, seeking out manuscripts, migrating for knowledge and teaching, and/or moving through spiritual and emotional states when handling texts.

2

Chapter Two: From Mamluk Cairo to Marseille: Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* and Its Commentaries in An Age of Print

In the previous chapter, I've shown how the *Rashaḥāt* moved from different printing centers through the effort of *ṭarīqa*-patronized translations. In this same vein, I show how the *Dīwān* of devotional poetry by Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d.1234) moved from beneath the mountain of Muqattam in Mamluk Cairo, to *rue la Canebière* in nineteenth century Marseille. The *Dīwān* is one of many medieval Ṣūfī texts that attracted the interests of nineteenth century editors. I attempt to piece together the story of this printed book's afterlife, tracing the movement of the collection of poetry in the unlikeliest of places, the sorts of discussion its transmission brought up in the literary and publishing scene of the nineteenth and twentieth century, and, in turn, examining what connects these various printing initiatives.

In the printing shop of Arnaud et Camaraderie in Marseille Ibn al-Fāriḍ's collection of poetry is printed in 1855, along with two commentaries by a man whose name stirred controversy in the Arabic printed publications of the nineteenth century. In this chapter, I examine how this episode in particular illuminates the complex reception history of Ibn al-Fāriḍ in the nineteenth century. Count Rouchaïd Daḥdaḥ (d.1889), a Lebanese immigrant to Marseille, played an important role in the publication history of *Dīwān* Ibn al-Fāriḍ, for it was his compilation of two commentaries by Ḥassan al-Bīrūnī (d. 1556) and 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulī (d. 1731) that ignited editorial interest back in Egypt to print

commentaries on the *Dīwān*. However, Daḥḍaḥ purposefully omitted *al-Tā'īyyah al-kūbrā* (Greater Ode Rhyming with-Ta'). A poem that is considered to be one of the longest Arabic poems, *al-tā'īyyah* is one of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's most popular, and in the many cases that will be referred to later, controversial. It is an exposition of Ṣūfī thought spanning 761 verses. This chapter looks at the significance of the omission of *al-tā'īyyah* while contextualizing it within a longer tradition of controversy and aversion to Ibn al-Fāriḍ's ever since the thirteenth century. This aversion rose around the assumed doctrinal underpinnings of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poetry and allusions in his *al-tā'īyyah*. In addition, I trace the *Dīwān*'s reception history through the renewed spark or "rediscovery" of its commentaries, in an attempt to understand what the purposeful omission and/or addition of *al-tā'īyyah* reveals about the broader intellectual discourse surrounding Ibn al-Fāriḍ, in particular, and Ṣūfism, in general, during the age of print.

A Man and His Poems

Ibn al-Fāriḍ is considered to be one of the finest Ṣūfī poets, whose poetry and *Dīwān* were widely circulated in the pre-modern world. Biographical entries of Ibn al-Fāriḍ paint a monumental and larger than life account of the poet as a *walī* (friend of God).¹¹⁸ A vast commentarial tradition evolved around the *Dīwān*, elaborating on, and interpreting, the elusive meanings of his long poems.¹¹⁹ These commentaries being written during Ibn al-Fāriḍ's contemporary moment—as well as later—allow us to map the ways in which people interacted with the text in the medieval period, such as the ones which will be examined

¹¹⁸Issa J. Boullata, "Toward a Biography of Ibn Al-Fāriḍ (576-632 A.H./1181-1235 A.D.)." *Arabica* 28, no. 1 (1981): 38-56.

¹¹⁹ Al-Ḥibshī, *Jāmi' al-shurūḥ wa-al-ḥawāshī : mu'jam shāmil li-asmā' al-kutub al-mashrūḥah fī al-turāth al-Islāmī wa-bayān shurūḥihā*. Vol. 2 (Abū Dhabi: al-Majma' al-Thaqāfī, 2004), 923.

shortly by al-Bīrūnī and al-Nābulī. ¹²⁰ However, commentaries also operated as sites of contention and refutation. Several scholars during the thirteenth century up to the Mamluk period wrote biting refutations of what they assumed were heretical doctrinal underpinnings of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poetry, and his *tā'iyyah* in particular.

These so-called suspicious doctrines in our poet's verses included divine incarnation and mystical union with the divine. Ibn al-Fāriḍ's tomb and poetry constantly served as sites of discourse between opposing factions of Cairo's religious and intellectual scene, ¹²¹ a sign of the wide circulation of the poet's work during this precarious time period in Mamluk history. Although the poet's surviving verses are modest in comparison to his contemporaries, ¹²² his poems, re-interpreting classical themes of pre-Islamic poetry for mystical purposes, have left their mark on his audience in different times and places.

The following section integrates the afterlives of the poet, his commentators, and the manuscripts into the broader history of publishing Ibn al-Fāriḍ's work during the nineteenth century. It provides a careful examination of both the Oriental and indigenous tradition of interacting with Ibn al-Fāriḍ through the medium of print and editorial decisions. For the European Orientalists and *nahḍa* reformers, Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poetry spoke for the entire corpus of Arabic poetry—a “Petrarch” for the Arabic tradition of love and desire, as one Italian Orientalist stated. For others, Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poetry had a lasting impact on the imagination of Muslims, and it is through the medium of print that they would be able to respond to acts of omission or dismissal.

¹²⁰ Al-Ḥibshī, *Jāmi' al-shurūḥ wa-al-ḥawāshī*, 2:923.

¹²¹ Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn Al-Fāriḍ, his Verse, and His Shrine* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2001), 4.

¹²² Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint*, 5.

Ibn al-Fāriḍ and White Man's Burden in the Nineteenth Century

By the eighteenth century, increased Western colonial penetration had led to the West's intellectual curiosity of the East, particularly in gathering manuscripts through the established book trade of the time. This scholarly initiative had been grounded in a long history of East-West interactions within the framework of the transformative moment of seventeenth century European enlightenment.¹²³ This moment of enlightenment saw a particular change in the ways in which Europe came to construct, articulate, and seek out knowledge of Islam and its traditions.¹²⁴ European intellectual curiosity towards Muslims began to be altered. This is firstly manifested in their studying a wider variety of resources on the Islamic intellectual tradition, and secondly, in how they began to construct and articulate ideas about Islam different to the polemical treatises of the Western medieval period.¹²⁵ Manuscript trade in this particular period of the Enlightenment rose around specific development such as the rise of European scientific academies, scholarly expeditions, and colonial expansion.¹²⁶

The founding of libraries in different parts of Europe—the French Royal Library, The Hapsburg Imperial Library in Vienna, the Leiden University in the Netherlands, and Bodleian in Oxford—formed a scholarly inclination to populate the shelves with an Oriental collection of manuscripts.¹²⁷ It is by the seventeenth century that Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Malay manuscripts began to fill such libraries, prompting in their wake a growth of

¹²³ Alexander Bevilacqua. *The Republic of Arabic Letters: Islam and the European Enlightenment*. (Harvard University Press, 2018), 1.

¹²⁴ Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*, 1; El Shamsy. *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, 10.

¹²⁵ Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*, 2; 13.

¹²⁶ Bevilacqua, 21; El Shamsy, 10.

¹²⁷ Bevilacqua, 16.

Orientalist and Arabist scholarship.¹²⁸ Different European centers of learning began to engage in a competitive trade, in order to acquire Arabic manuscripts,¹²⁹ reflected in the increased number of “book-finding missions” on behalf of scientific societies or due to royal patronage. The geographic range of this book trade expanded from Europe to the Levant, locales around the Indian Ocean, the Malay and Javanese, as well as Istanbul, Cairo and Baghdad.¹³⁰

The manuscript trade tipped favorably towards the Europeans with increased manifestations of colonial rule in the Muslim world. During Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798, European scholars collaborated with colonial administrators and the expedition's scholars through political clout to purchase, and in some instances, loot, Arabic manuscripts from Egypt.¹³¹ In addition, European ambassadors or representatives in Muslim cities exerted political influence and pressure due to their economic and political role to acquire manuscripts that were safeguarded as endowed books.¹³² These books were then re-sold into the book trade for profit, and went on to populate Europe's library collections.¹³³ However, many books were sold through the booksellers in the Great Bazaar in Istanbul,¹³⁴ or through the markets located by the doors of al-Azhar in Cairo.¹³⁵

Ibn al-Fāriḍ's manuscripts were acquired by the following European Orientalists who had travelled to the Muslim world or worked under the auspices of the intellectual societies of the time, that sought to acquire and publish their findings (see table 2 below).

¹²⁸ Bevilacque, 16.

¹²⁹ Bevilacque, 96.

¹³⁰ Bevilacque, 22.

¹³¹ El Shamsy, 10.

¹³² El Shamsy, 10.

¹³³ El Shamsy, 13.

¹³⁴ Bevilacque, 17.

¹³⁵ Anthony T. Quickel, "Making Tools for Transmission: Mamluk and Ottoman Cairo's Papermakers, Copyists and Booksellers," *Eurasian Studies* 15, no. 2 (2017), 309.

City	Text	Publishing House	Year	Language
Paris	Classic	Dondey-Durpr�y	1823	French
Halab	Classic	-	1841	Arabic
Cairo	Classic	Matba'at Bulaq	1842	Arabic
Helsinki	Classic	Litteris Frenckellianis	1850	Latin
Marseille	Commentary	Arnaud et Camaraderie	1853	Arabic
Vienna	Classic	Hof und Staatsdruckerei	1854	German
Cairo	Commentary	Matba'at al-Ḥajjar	1858/59	Arabic
Cairo	Commentary	Maṭba'a al-Kastaliyya	1862	Arabic
Cairo	Commentary	Maṭba'at 'Uthmān Effendī	1863/63	Arabic
Cairo	Commentary	Matba'at Bulaq	1872	Arabic
Cairo	Classic	Maṭba'a al-Sa'adiyya	1873	Arabic
Florence	Classic	Cellini Press	1874	Italian
Beirut	Classic	al-Maṭba'ah al- Adabiyya	1879	Arabic
Cairo	Classic	Maṭba'at 'al-Shaykh Ḥasan 'al-Ṭūkhī	1879	Arabic
Cairo	Commentary	al-Maṭba'a al-Ḥajariyya	1880	Arabic
Cairo	Commentary	al-Matba'a al-'Amirah al-Sharifa	1888	Arabic
Cairo	Commentary	Matba'at al-Qahira	1889	Arabic
Cairo	Commentary	al-Matba'a al-Azhariyya	1892	Arabic

Cairo	Commentary	al-Maṭba‘a al-Khayriyyah	1893	Arabic
Cairo	Commentary	-	1897	Arabic
Cairo	Classic	Maṭba‘at al-Qahira	19-?	Arabic
Cairo	Commentary	al-Maktaba al-Maḥmūdiyyah	19-?	Arabic
Cairo	Commentary	al-Maṭba‘ah al-Azhariyya al-Miṣriyyah	1901	Arabic
Dersaadet	Commentary	Şems Matbaası	1910	Ottoman Turkish
Cairo	Commentary	Maṭba‘at al-Tawfiq	1910- 1911	Arabic
Cairo	Commentary	al-Maṭba‘a al-Yūsufiyya	1922	Arabic
Cairo	Commentary	al-Maktaba al-Mulūkiyya	1923	Arabic
Cairo	Commentary	Maṭba‘at ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad	1934	Arabic

Table 2: Printing history of the *Dīwān*

The *Dīwān* made its first debut at the European presses in Paris. In 1823, The first private printing press for Oriental languages, *Imprimerie de Dondey-Dupré*, published the translation of the *Dīwān* as part of the Oriental books being published under the auspices of the *Société Asiatique* (founded in 1822).¹³⁶ The translation was undertaken by the

¹³⁶ This French learned society developed with the aim of developing knowledge of Near, Far, and Middle Eastern Oriental cultures. For more on its standing in the French intellectual scene see Annick Fenet, Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat et Eve Fran-Aymerich, “La Société asiatique, une société savant au cœur de l’orientalisme français.” *AREA* 110, (2007): 51-56.

Arabist Jean Baptiste Andre Grangeret de Lagrange (1790–1859), who was a librarian at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal and an editor and proofreader at the Royal Printing Office for Oriental Languages.

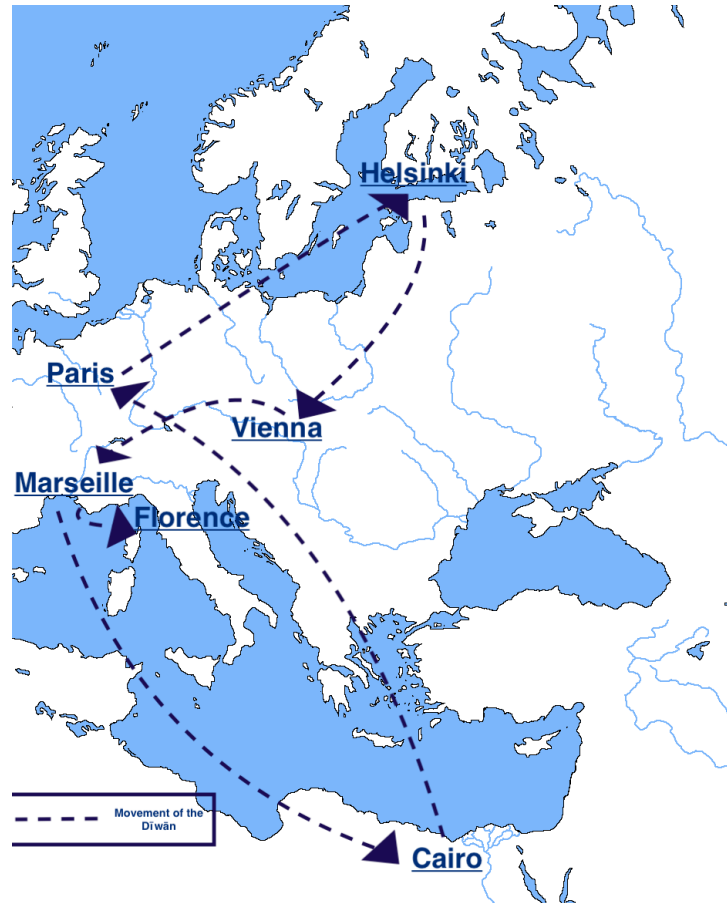


Figure 15: Movement of the Dīwān

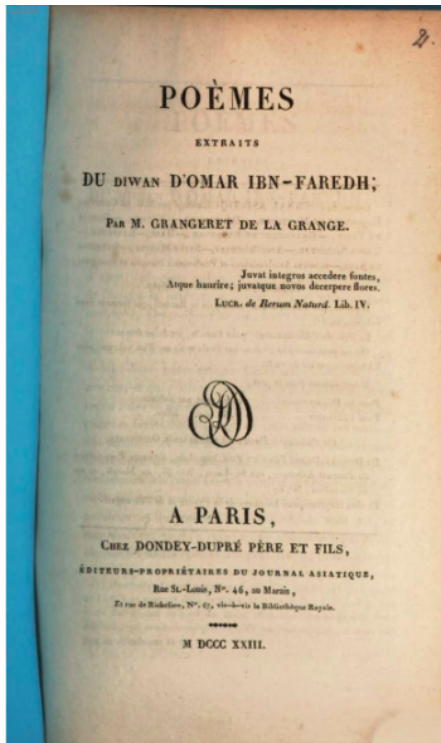


Figure 16: *Poèmes Du Dīwān D'Omar Ibn-Faredh*, Imprimerie de Dondey-Dupré (1823)

The *Imprimerie* de Dondey-Dupré was established in 1810 by a father and son duo—Auguste-François Dondey-Dupré (1766-1847) and Prosper Dondey-Dupré (1794-1834), running a tight operation with the Société Asiatique where they translated and printed texts in Oriental languages to French for the administrative and intellectual offices of the French colonial empire.¹³⁷ It was known as one of the earliest private printing houses that published Oriental books for the Société Asiatique.¹³⁸ For example, one of these texts included an 1829 translation of the Quran by Claude Savary (1750-1788) in two volumes. Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* is among some of the early texts that Dondey-Dupré translated and printed, the first in Europe for that matter. De Lagrange, the translator of the collection,

¹³⁷ For more on Dondey-Dupré and his son see Darius Alexander Spieth, *Napoleon's Sorcerers: The Sophisians*. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 146-47.

¹³⁸ Spieth, *Napoleon's Sorcerers*, 147.

finds the poet an important study worthy of highlighting for the intellectual community of Paris:

Among the poets who have contributed the most to giving luster to Arab literature, we must say, without a doubt, it is ‘Umar Ibn al-Fāriḍ. The Orientals take [his poems] very seriously, and the magnificent praise they have unanimously awarded to it does not allow us to deny it our esteem [...] this poet plunged himself into the deep seas of poetry, and drew from them pearls which astonished the most skillful; that, in the art of celebrating the praises of a lover, he has left all his rivals far behind him; that he should be regarded as the leader of lovers.¹³⁹

In his introduction, de Lagrange highlights two main issues that lend Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s poetry inaccessible to both the “Orientals” and the learned Parisian society. He asserts that the first issue is that Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s “ideas are so subtle, so loose and, so to speak, so intangible, that they almost escape the pursuit of the most attentive reader: often [the meaning] even disappears as soon as it is touched, as if transporting the reader into another language.”¹⁴⁰ De Lagrange also refers to an observation of the theological and mystical implications of the poetry—a matter that had caused various instances of controversies in the Muslim world as will be discussed in the coming sections. The Arabist mulls over the fact that the reason that contributed to the spreading of some obscurity in several of Ibn al-

¹³⁹ Jean Baptiste Andre Grangeret de Lagrange, *Poèmes Du Dīwān D’Omar Ibn-Faredh* (Paris: Imprimerie de Dondey-Dupré, 1823), 3-4.

¹⁴⁰ De Lagrange, *Poèmes Du Dīwān D’Omar Ibn-Faredh*, 4.

Fāriḍ’s poems is that he relied on religious allegories and mystical ideas in which, under the veil of profane and voluptuous imagery, represent purely spiritual objects. From the introduction of the text, to the entities that had supervised its publication, it is clear that this edition is catering to the Parisian intellectual scene. The poems aimed to introduce a seminal poet, which to the editors/translators, represented an entire Arabic tradition, whose verses were both immersive and exclusionist due to Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s prowess of language and metaphor.

In another remote European locale, Helsinki, an extract of ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulṣī’s commentary on the *Dīwān* is published in the Litteris Frenckellianis publishing house in 1850.

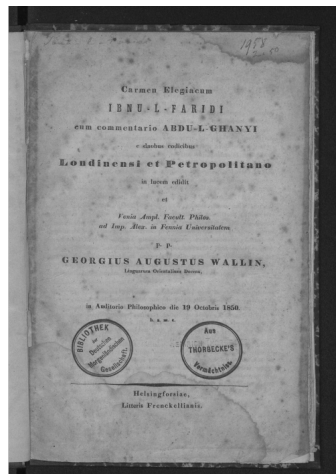


Figure 17: *Carmen Elegiacum Ibru-l-Faridi cum commentario 'Abdu-l-Ghany*, Litteris Frenckellianis (1850)

The printed edition is divided into two sections; a Latin introduction by the editor Georg August Wallin (1811-1852), and a lithograph print of al-Nābulṣī’s commentary on *al-Ha’iyyah* (Ode Starting with Ha-). Wallin is affectionately referred to in Finnish

scholarship as the patron saint of Finnish Oriental research.¹⁴¹ As an orientalist, explorer and professor, Wallin had journeyed to the Muslim world several times during the 1840s where he collected manuscripts for publication and study back in Helsinki.

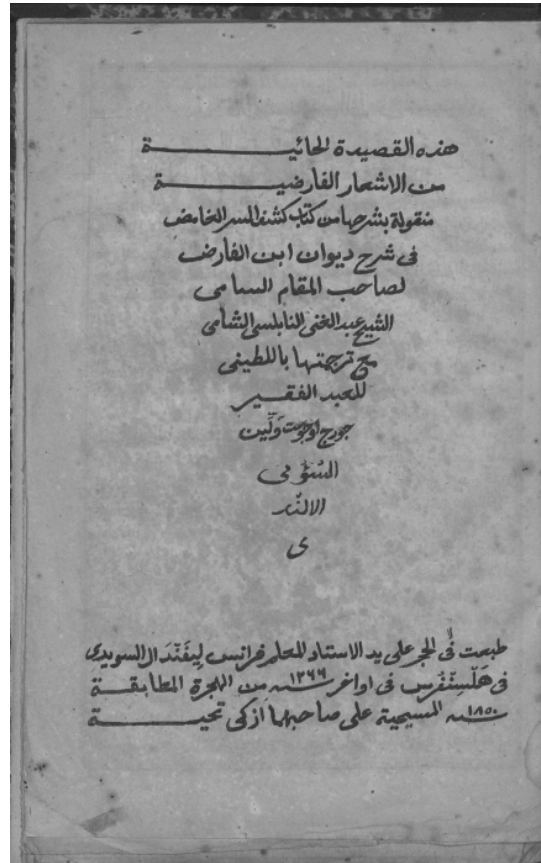


Figure 18: Lithograph of *Carmen Elegiacum Ibnu-l-Faridi cum commentario 'Abdu-l-Ghany, Litteris Frenckellianis* (1850)

Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s *Dīwān* travelled further into the continent where it was published in Vienna’s Hof und Staatsdruckerei (The Court and State Printer). *Al-Tā’iyyah* was of interest to the Austrian Orientalists, and for the Europeans at large, for it was called a “heavy tapestry in gold brocade, a sort of *kiswa* for the spiritual pilgrimage.”¹⁴² It was

¹⁴¹ For more on Wallin see Patricia Berg et al., *Dolce far niente in Arabia: Georg August Wallin and His Travels in the 1840s*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

¹⁴² Louis Massignon, *La cite des morts au Caire* (Cairo: IFAO, 1958), 64.

translated into German by the Orientalist Joseph Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856). Hammer-Purgstall's translation of the *Tā'īyyah* was ridiculed in intellectual circles, for although the book is beautifully printed and illuminated, it was said that the *Tā'īyyah* "had the misfortune of being translated by Hammer."¹⁴³

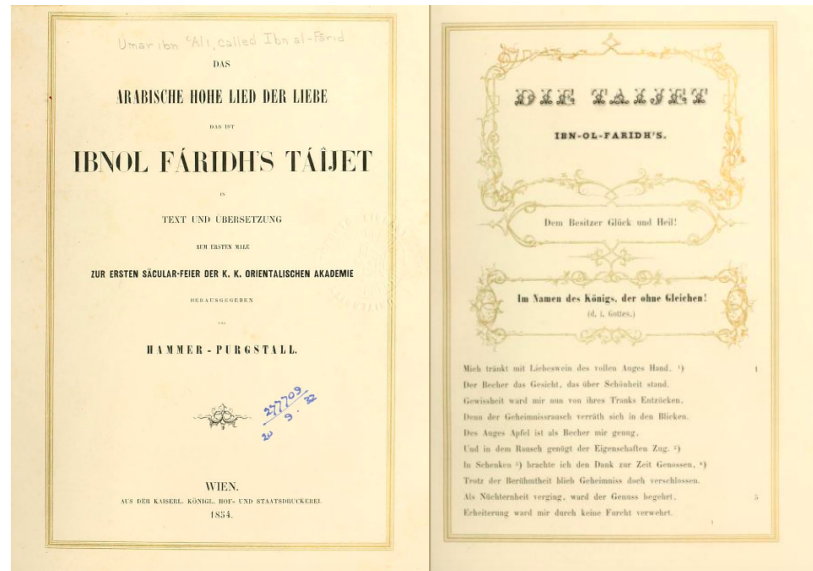


Figure 19: *Das arabische Hohe Lied der Liebe das ist Ibnol Fāridh's Tājet, Hof und Staatsdruckerei (1854)* (Title page on the left, and start of the *Ta'iyah* on the right)

In Florence, the assistant for Oriental manuscripts at the libraries of Florence and Turin first introduced the *Dīwān* to the Italian scholarly scene in 1874. Pietro Valerga (1821-1903), an Italian Orientalist, was the first to make known in Italy the *Dīwān* of mystical poetry, an edition that is titled *The Dīwān of Ibn al-Fāriḍ: Translated and Compared to Petrarch*. In the introduction to the Italian translation of the poems, Valerga writes of his fascination with the language and literary prowess of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, so much so that he believes that upon Ibn al-

¹⁴³ Annemarie Schimmel. *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 275.

Fāriḍ's death, he had been reincarnated into the fourteenth century Italian Renaissance poet and humanist, Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374).¹⁴⁴

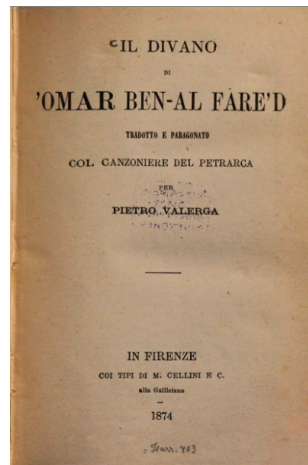


Figure 20: 'Il Divano de 'Omar Ben-Al Fared, Cellini (1874)

The race for manuscripts in the periods between the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries had enriched the libraries and intellectual scene in continental Europe. Its effect on Muslim intellectualism, however, was quite different. By the nineteenth century, newly rising reformist scholars in cities of Cairo, Baghdad and Aleppo began to seek out the Muslim written tradition to be published through the new printing press initiatives. However, the available corpus of texts was limited.¹⁴⁵ This is a phenomenon identified, by El Shamsy in his book *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics* as “the book drain.”¹⁴⁶

This disappearance of Arabic manuscripts had also manifested itself so profoundly in Istanbul, particularly in the earlier period of the eighteenth century. So much so that by 1716, Şehid Ali Pasha, the Ottoman grand vizier had pushed for a *firman* to be issued, in

¹⁴⁴ Pietro Valerga. *Il Divano de 'Omar Ben-Al Fared* (Florence: Cellini, 1874), 5.

¹⁴⁵ El Shamsy, 67.

¹⁴⁶ El Shamsy, 10.

order to ban the sale of manuscripts to foreigners, both—scholars and merchants.¹⁴⁷ This was seen as a protectionist measure by Ottoman authorities and intellectuals to safeguard the intellectual production of their ancestors. Nevertheless, the reality was that foreigners found channels as previously discussed to purchase the books.

El Shamsy equates this feverish and calamitous phenomenon of book acquisition as a trope of the Orientalist manifestations of the time, as the foreign book hunters treading the Islamic world functioned as the academic equivalent of the “White Man’s Burden.”¹⁴⁸ This “scholarly” White Man’s Burden prompted the European intellectuals to engage with the book trade with the claimed notion of “rescuing manuscripts that were on the verge of destruction.”¹⁴⁹

However, the rise of publishing houses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries began to tip the book trade towards the Muslim world, as many scholars set out to purchase codices from European collectors and booksellers in Continental Europe.¹⁵⁰ One such endeavor is undertaken by our contentious individual, the Count Rouchaïd Daḥdaḥ and/or Shaykh Rāchīd b. Ghālīb who sought to acquire the manuscripts of the commentaries and poetry collection of the *Dīwān* for a publication project.

A Count and a Shaykh: “Rediscovering” The Commentarial Tradition

In 1910, a member of the Daḥdaḥ family, Salīm, a rising author and *muḥaqqiq*, wrote a series of articles in the Lebanese periodical *al-Mashriq*, narrating the life of his uncle, Rouchaïd. “One of the important duties for our nation is to revive the stories and memories

¹⁴⁷ Bevilacqua, 22.

¹⁴⁸ El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, 16.

¹⁴⁹ El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, 16-17.

¹⁵⁰ El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, 71.

of the greatest national figures, hence, it is our duty to publish the biography of the great man whose death marks a great loss to our country and the sciences,” the young Salīm writes in the article’s prologue.¹⁵¹ Daḥdah’s death had also been noted as a tragedy for Lebanon by Lewis Sheikho, bemoaning how “the light of one of the most important Lebanese men in France was extinguished.”¹⁵²

Salīm al-Daḥdah first begins his articles by tracing the importance of the Daḥdah family in the village of ‘Aqurā in Lebanon since the fourteenth century. The Daḥdah family were an established Maronite Christian family, important patrons and officials of the country during the eighteenth and nineteenth century.¹⁵³ Rachīd Daḥdah was not the first Daḥdah to be a distinguished family member during the nineteenth century, for the history of Lebanon is full of many Daḥdahs such as al-Shaykh Salūm Daḥdah, and his brother Nasīf; who were the secretaries of the fifth Amīr of Mount Lebanon Youssef al-Shihabi (d. 1790), and Amin Daḥdah who was head of secretaries for Amīr Hidar (d.1732).¹⁵⁴

Born in 1813, as one of three brothers, Rachīd Daḥdah had been sent to ‘Ayn Waraqa’s *madrasa*. There he was taught the basics of the Arabic language, Italian, philosophy, and the sciences. He excelled in his studies that he was transferred to the prestigious school Saydit Bazmar for the Catholic Armenians, where he studied the Turkish language until he excelled in it.¹⁵⁵

The exile of Amīr al-Bashīr Shihāb (r. 1789-1840) following a politically charged moment with Ibrahim Pasha (d 1848), the son and head of the army of Muḥammad Ali (d.

¹⁵¹ Salīm al-Daḥdah, “al-Count Rachīd al-Daḥdah,” *al-Mashriq* 4(9) (1901), 494.

¹⁵² Lewis Sheikho, *The History of Arabic Literature in the 19th Century and the First Quarter of the 20th Century* (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 2015), 1:269.

¹⁵³ Al-Daḥdah, “al-Count,” 394.

¹⁵⁴ Sheikho, *The History*, 1:269

¹⁵⁵ Al-Daḥdah, “al-Count,” 457.

1849) marked a water-shed moment in the life of Daḥdah. As a response to the Pasha's involvement in Lebanese territory, and causing their prince to flee, Rachīd joined his uncle Mansūr in an attempt to aid the prince against the armies of Ibrahim Pasha. Yet, with the failure of the uprising, Daḥdah, among many of the Lebanese aristocracy, returned back to his home and turned down all the official positions offered to him. Although he eventually accepted an offer for the position of overseer of the governmental properties in Lebanon, many political issues, instigated by his enemies, pushed him to leave the position and seek refuge in Saydā. Rachīd lay hidden in a Ḥanafī *madrassa* where he studied the Islamic sciences of *fiqh* and *sharī'a*.

His family interceded on his behalf, seeking the aid of the French consulate in Lebanon to resolve the dispute. However, during the third year in hiding, his uncle Mar'ī al-Daḥdah arrived in Lebanon from Marseille after 20 years in exile— an exile prompted by his own political dilemma that forced him to flee the country when he attempted to overthrow Amīr al-Bashīr. He sought out Rachīd, and when he saw his intellect and quick witted, he decided to take him back with him to Marseille to join the family business abroad, since Lebanon was no longer a safe place to reside in.¹⁵⁶

In 1845, Rachīd moved to Marseille, and married Mar'ī's daughter Marta in 1852, involving himself with the business and intellectual scene of Paris. Although he was busy with expanding the family business into Paris and London, he was enamored with the Orientalist scene in France. His name appears as part of the *Actes de la Société d'Ethnographie*—(figure below) marking his membership as a founding member of one of the earliest French-language ethnography journals studying Oriental society.

¹⁵⁶ Al-Daḥdah, “al-Count,” 459.

32 <i>Société d'Ethnographie.</i>	
Birch (Samuel).	Rawlinson (sir Henry)
Bellecombe (André de).	Lassen (Christ.).
Samper (Jose-Maria).	Rinck.
Villemarqué (le vicomte Hersart de la).	La Tour du Pin-Chambly.
Lamartine (Alphonse de).	Guillaume-Rey.
Siebold (Ph.-Franz de).	Rousseau.
Thonneller (Jules).	Muy (le marquis de).
Friederich, de Batavia.	Vaudouard (Alphonse de).
Salisbury.	Nicolas (Marius).
Pflizmaier (le docteur Aug.).	Rostaing (le vicomte de).
Khanikof (Nicolas de).	Friis.
Estlander (le docteur).	Ballesteros (Fr.-Merino).
Max Muller.	Ballesteros (Ram.-Merino).
Hincks.	Dugat (Gustave).
Abd-el-Kader.	Belioguet (baron Roger de).
Lepsius (Richard).	Amari.
Brugsch.	Duchesne de Bellecourt.
Weber.	Maurel (F.).
Triana (José).	Dury.
Voisin (le docteur).	Favre (l'abbé).
Sidi-Sadâk, bey de Tunis.	Steinthal.
Dufriche-Desgenettes.	
Sabir (le comte de).	1862
Othon (S. M.), roi de Grèce.	Henry, de Washington.
Koskinen (Irjæ).	Lindau (Richard).
Bourgoing (le baron O. de).	Calfa (Ambroise).
Whitney.	Fleurat.
1861	Chassiron (le baron de).
Espina.	Challamel.
Mahmoud-efendi.	Ancapitaine (le baron).
Nève.	Duhouset (le colonel).
Logan.	Bernard (Claude).
Rigault de Genonilly.	Mateki Kau-an.
Abbadie (Antoine d').	Mitukuri.
Rochaid-Dahdah.	Flourens.
Andrade (Jose-Maria).	Bertall.
Roches (Léon).	Fukasawa Yukitsi.
Faidherbe (le général).	1863
Beaumier.	Burgh (le comte de).
	Marquet de Vasselot.

Figure 21: *Annuaire de la Societe d'ethnographie*, 01 January 1884

His interest and involvement in the intellectual circles of France encouraged him to devote more of his time to his studies of Arabic literature. This is also spurred by his connections back home, and as witnessed in the frequent correspondences being exchanged between him and the novelist Jurjī Zaydān (d. 1914), and the scholar Ahmad Farīs al-Shidyāq (d. 1887), as well as many others.¹⁵⁷ During a time period of economic instability because of

¹⁵⁷ Sheikh, *The History of Arabic*, 1:270.

the falling prices of silk and his crumbling business, Daḥdaḥ took this sluggish opportunity in his business to dedicate his life to bookish pursuits. After a long period of editing and compiling, Daḥdaḥ published the *Muʿjam of Germanius Faraḥāt* in 1849, and the *L'Académie Française* praised the book for its significance and Daḥdaḥ's editorial mastery.



Figure 22: Germanos. *Ihkam bab al-l'rab*. *Dictionnaire arabe*. Marseille, Imprimerie Arnaud (1849)

He also edited and published *Fiqh al-Lugha* by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Thaʿlabī in 1861, which was the first edition of this book in print, later reprinted in Egypt 1867.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ Sheikho, *The History of Arabic*, 1:270.

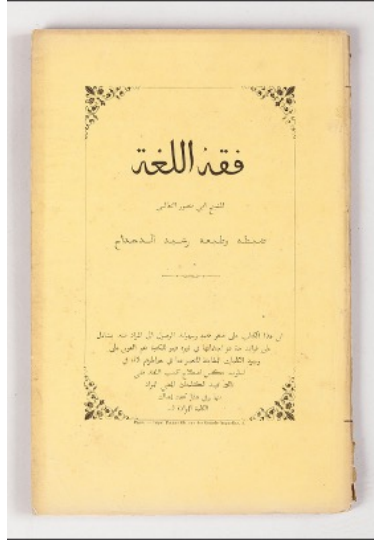


Figure 23: *Fiqh al-Luga* by Abū Mansūr al-Thaʿlabī. Paris, Imprimerie Pillet (1861)

He was also known for the Arabic periodical he established in Marseille–*Burghes Paris*. As praise for his work and involvement in the French business and literary scene, as well as monetary contributions to the Maronite Church, Rouchaïd al-Daḥḍaḥ was elevated to the hereditary dignity of Count Palatine by Pope Pius IX in 1863, and by the French government in 1867.¹⁵⁹

In 1888, he decided to travel to Paris for some business, and there he fell prey to a consuming illness that kept him bed-ridden for four months until he passed away in 1890, at 76 years old, after a long life of serving his religion and the literary sciences. For a man of such stature, he did not shy away from admitting his errors. For all its popularity in Egypt, Daḥḍaḥ’s edition of the *Dīwān* contained many syntactical and spelling errors. So much so that Daḥḍaḥ after having found issues with the edition, inserts twenty-three pages

¹⁵⁹ Sheikho, *The History of Arabic*, 1:270; al-Daḥḍaḥ, “al-Count,” 495.

at the end as *erratum* (see figure below)—errors that were later fixed once his book reached the publishing houses in Egypt. This is reiterated in some of his other publications.

The erratum below are from *Muʿjam Germanious* and the *Dīwān*:

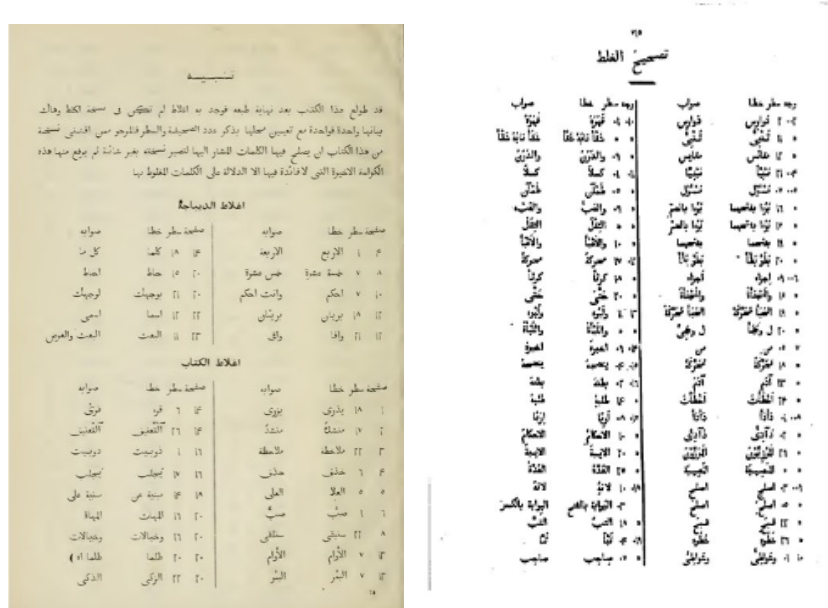


Figure 24: Erratum in the Marseille Edition of the *Dīwān* (left) and Erratum in *Muʿjam Germanious* (Right)

Ibn al-Fāriḍ in a Controversial Print Scene

The *Dīwān* sparked controversy in the biographical entries and discussions in literary circles. In 1934, Zakī Mubārak writes in the periodical *Apollo* on Ibn al-Fāriḍ, explaining that during the early nineteenth-century Arabic scholars did not consider the medieval poet to be among the *fuhūl* of poetry, but that later in the century the poet was “revived” by the sudden interest in him. By looking at the history of publishing the *Dīwān*, I argue that this “sudden interest” is prompted by Daḥḍaḥ coming across the two commentaries by Ḥassan al-Bīrūnī and another by ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulṣī’s on the *Dīwān*, and jointly printed them in Marseille in 1855—later popularly circulating in the publishing houses of Egypt and the Levant (see table 2). However, as aptly put by Zakī

Mubārak, Ibn al-Fāriḍ “did not need to be *revived* by others, for he had always lived in the hearts and on the tongues of his wide base of followers. I [Mubārak] can still remember how people crowded around *bayt al-ṣawwaf* [...] to listen to Shaykh al-Ḥuwayhī chant the poem [*ma bayn mu‘tark al-aḥdaq wa-l-muhaj*].”¹⁶⁰ Mubārak, in his later writings, gives a sweeping image of what *dhikr* sessions were like in the twentieth century when he was a student in Azhar who sought to attend them, particularly ones were Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s poetry were a central element. He observed that “Ṣūfīs in majālis of *dhikr*, usually turned these sessions into musical gatherings. There was a house in al-Ḥusayn quarter that held a *ḥadra* session every Tuesday night [...] inviting different *munshidūn* every Tuesday to take turns chanting poetry of the poet.”¹⁶¹ Mubārak also notes that the atmosphere during these Tuesday nights was continuously lively throughout the night—the residents of the house kept their tables full of food and drinks for their guests, and the guests were allowed the chance to request the *munshidūn* to recite and sing particular lines of poetry from the *Dīwān*.¹⁶² Although the tracing of the text in publishing houses shows that the *Dīwān* began to gain popularity with the circulation of printing, it is still worth noting that the poetry of Ibn al-Fāriḍ essentially lived across time and space in people’s hearts, whether the reigning medium of transmission was manuscript or print. Instead of framing this discussion as a “rediscovery” of Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s poetry in the nineteenth century, since it never disappeared in the first place, I am more interested in looking at the importance of circulating the text through the medium of the commentary.

¹⁶⁰ Zakī Mubārak, “al-tarajim wa-l-dirasat-Shī‘r Ibn al-Fāriḍ,” *Apollo* (14) (1934), 438.

¹⁶¹ Zakī Mubārak. *al-tasawwuf al-‘Islamī fī al-adab wa-l-akḥlaq* (Cairo: Hindawi Publishing, 2012), 1/231.

¹⁶² Mubārak, *al-tasawwuf*, 1/232.

The printing of Daḥḍaḥ's *Dīwān* still brought particular issues in its wake. In his article in *al-Mashriq*, young Salīm elaborated on the offense that had initially incited him to right the wrong done to his family name and write about his uncle's heritage. He says:

And to this day, this printed edition [Daḥḍaḥ's edited commentary] is preferred to all other commentaries of the *Dīwān*. And of the strangest incidents, is that this edition was re-printed in Egypt at the Maṭba'a al-Khayriyyah by the editor, Muḥammad al-Asyūṭī, in 1893, and he refrained from mentioning the count's name, and made him a Muslim in the book's introduction, and we do not know how [al-Asyūṭī] would allow himself to do so.¹⁶³

This authorial slight is reiterated in several other contemporary sources such as Sirkīs' *Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'āt* and Ziriklī's *'A'lām*.¹⁶⁴ This particular episode highlighted by Salīm Daḥḍaḥ is significant. Why had al-Asyūṭī changed the name? Why did the Egyptian edition, printed in the *Maṭba'a* al-Khayriyyah, cause such a stir? The following extract is from the Marseille edition, in Rachīd Daḥḍaḥ's introduction to his own work where he refers to his illustrious family name:

¹⁶³ al-Daḥḍaḥ, "al-Count," 494.

¹⁶⁴ Yūsuf Sirkīs, *Mu'jam al-maṭbū'at al-'arabiyya wa al-mu'araba* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Sirkīs), 1/934; Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī. *al-A'lām, qāmūs tarājim li-ashhar al-rijāl wa-al-nisā' min al-'Arab wa-al-musta'ribīn wa-al-mustashriqīn*. (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm lil-Malāyīn), 3:25.

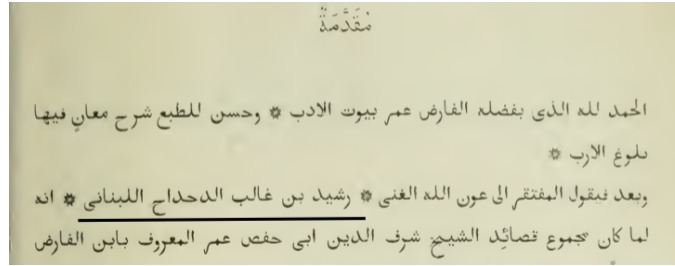


Figure 25: Author mention in the Marseille Edition

However, after consulting the editions printed in Cairo following the Marseille edition, one finds that the first misattribution that has raised the ire of Salīm Daḥḍaḥ had not been initially committed by the Maṭba‘a al-Khayriyyah. When the hybrid commentary of al-Bīrūnī and al-Nābulṣī on the *Dīwān* had reached Egypt’s publishing scene, the Maṭba‘a Kāstāliyya was the first to print the text in 1862—changing Daḥḍaḥ’s name as indicated below:



Figure 26: Author mention in *Sharḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Maṭba‘a Kāstāliyya (1862)

This was followed by another print in 1888 by the Maṭba‘a al-Amīriyya al-Sharīfā, with the same reference to Count Rouchaïd Daḥḍaḥ as Shaykh Rāchīd b. Ghālīb al-Mujtanī:



Figure 27: Author mention in *Sharḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Maṭba‘a al-Amīriyya al-Sharīfa* (1888)

Once we reach 1893, we find Mūhammād al-Asyūṭī’s edition for the Maṭba‘a al-khāyriyya to have followed the preceding misattribution instigated by the Kāstāliyya press as shown previously.



Figure 28: Author mention in *Sharḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Maṭba‘a al-Khayriyyah* (1893)

This begs the question: why was al-Asyūṭī under attack instead? An answer to this question is due, but first we turn to the significance of Rāchīd’s contribution to reigniting scholarly interest in Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s commentators within the indigenous publishing scene of the nineteenth century.

1855 marked an increased interest in the printing of commentaries on Ibn al-Fāriḍ. Prior to Daḥdah’s edition, the indigenous publishing houses of Cairo had only been

publishing the collection of poems on its own. Therefore, a study of the editorial decision to print not only one, but two commentaries would give a more nuanced reception history of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's circulation in the nineteenth century, as well as provide insight into how commentaries were utilized by editors to undertake intellectual positions.

The commentary, as a genre, had been long regarded as the black sheep of intellectual production by some circles of reformers during the long nineteenth century.¹⁶⁵ It had been articulated as a medium that led to an “increasingly narrow self-referential intellectual attitude” that has eclipsed intellectual production, and led their authors to reiterate earlier authorities rather than produce originality of their own.¹⁶⁶ The rigid literary framework of commentaries has been argued to circumscribe the reader to a predetermined path of inquiry that presents itself through inaccessible terminological and linguistic jargon.¹⁶⁷

As a response, recent debates in scholarship have begun to reshape our understandings of commentaries, beyond the narrative of decadence, stagnation, and unoriginality. In this same vein, chapters two and three of this thesis attempt to bring to the forefront a different interpretation of commentaries, instead of positioning the genre as “simply uncritical explications of received views.”¹⁶⁸ In the age of print, commentaries, prepared and consciously chosen by editors, played the role of presenting a space for intellectual exchanges between scholars disagreeing on matters of interpretation, or refutations of previous works. This medium has allowed commentators to shape the

¹⁶⁵ For a thorough reconsideration of the genre of the commentary and gloss see Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 347-62.

¹⁶⁶ El Shamsy, *Rediscovering*, 302.

¹⁶⁷ El Shamsy, *Rediscovering*, 303.

¹⁶⁸ El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual*, 347.

composition of their response to the canonical text or other commentaries, rather than create an overused rigid framework.¹⁶⁹ Within this study of Ṣūfī print history, editorial choices to publish particular commentaries over others, as well as a response to contemporaneous discourses over, for example, what Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s poetry *actually meant*, formed a “a smokescreen for polemical positions” as aptly put by El Shamsy, a development that requires further study, as this chapter illustrates.

Daḥḍaḥ moved in the same intellectual circles of nineteenth century literary men such as Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq. A long series of letters joined the two scholars in a close relationship. It is interesting to note however, the different positions the two took with regards to commentaries. In his *Leg over Leg*, al-Shidyāq mercilessly parodies the genre of commentaries, reflecting a tendency among others in his intellectual circles to mock the intricate rhetorical language.¹⁷⁰ However, Rāchīd Daḥḍaḥ is an example of the different positions taken, among the rank of nineteenth century intellectuals, towards the commentarial tradition.

“When the collection of poetry by [Ibn al-Fāriḍ] was sought by many, I desired to print it with a commentary to elaborate on its delicate meanings [...] and to ease its reception by those who are unable to comprehend it, and to those blinded by its difficulty,” says Daḥḍaḥ in his introduction to his Marseille edition in 1855. He then turns to explicating his editorial decision to utilize two commentaries in his text, creating what I term a *hybrid* commentary. He says:

¹⁶⁹ William Smyth, “Controversy in a Tradition of Commentary: The Academic Legacy of al-Sakkākī’s Miftāḥ al-‘Ulūm,” *JAOS*, 112: 4 (1992), 590.

¹⁷⁰ El Shamsy, *Rediscovering*, 37-8; Aḥmad al-Shidyāq, *Leg over Leg* (NY: Library of Arabic Literature, 2013), 1:167-9.

I have read the *sharḥ* of Shaykh al-Bīrūnī and found it to be full of benefits, where he made clear all matters of language, poetry [...] and he did not refer to anything related to the Ṣūfī *ṭarīqa*. And then I came upon a second commentary of Shaykh al-Nābulṣī, the Damascene Ṣūfī, who carefully outlined the precise meaning and terms related to the Ṣūfī *ṭarīqa*. And so, I used *sharḥ* al-Bīrūnī in its entirety and added a line of commentary from al-Nābulṣī to illuminate what “his people mean.” [...] everything I have copied from Shaykh al-Nābulṣī is between parentheses preceded by the letter nun (ن), and followed by aah (ا), except for the *Dīwān*’s introduction.¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Rachid Dahdah. *Sharḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (Marseille: Arnaud and Co., 1855), 1.



Figure 29: *Sharh Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, Marseille (1855)

For the introduction by Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s grandson ‘Alī, Daḥḍaḥ chose to circumscribe it to comments by al-Bīrūnī only. In addition, al-Nābulṣī is not awarded the same space for the introductory note. His interventions are only present in the two or three lined sentences between parentheses, an apparent championing of al-Bīrūnī over al-Nābulṣī by Daḥḍaḥ. It seems that al-Bīrūnī’s neglect of commenting upon “the ways of the Ṣūfīs” as Daḥḍaḥ put it, was the reason for Daḥḍaḥ’s preference for him.

In his author’s note, al-Bīrūnī noted that although he is not of the “Ṣūfī way,” nor did he intend to expound on the inner meanings of the verses, he was still sought out by Ṣūfīs to comment upon the poems of Ibn al-Fāriḍ. “I have explicated the meanings of his poetry, except for the *Tā’iyyah al-kubrā*, for I have an excuse for not writing a commentary

on it, as its meanings include the very details of Ṣūfism [...] and I do not like to search for inner meanings other than what it actually is, as this is ugliness,” he says in his opening pages.¹⁷² Is the absence of the 700 lined *Tā’iyyah* from the Marseille edition a deliberate choice by Daḥḍaḥ, one that is grounded in his decision to rely on printing a commentary that had purposefully omitted and chosen not to explain it? Or is this an economic consideration, since this edition had been printed through the private expenses of Daḥḍaḥ during a strenuous period of his business falling to ruins because of the falling price of silk? 700 verses to be expounded upon would lend a rather large sum of pages to be financed for print.

The absence of the *Tā’iyyah* had been earlier noted by al-Nābulṣī himself when he began to write his own commentary on the *Dīwān*, *Kashf al-sirr*. Al-Nābulṣī noted that al-Bīrūnī’s omission of *Tā’iyyah*, although indicative of al-Bīrūnī’s lack of knowledge on mystical subjects, was also found in a contemporary commentator Muḥammad al-‘Alām (d. 1629). Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s structured rhyme scheme ending in the letter *Ta’*, mixes classical wine and love imagery of pre-Islamic poetry, with the mystical dimension of Islamic mysticism, law, and theology,¹⁷³ a double entendre and mystical allusion that seems to have confused and turned away commentators from delving deeper into what Ibn al-Fāriḍ had hoped to evoke through his verses. However, Daḥḍaḥ’s choice to incorporate the two scholars who would probably not have agreed on each other’s commentary is an ironic stroke of fate. Al-Nābulṣī himself finds al-Bīrūnī lacking in his abilities to elaborate on the mystical and theological meanings of the verses, noting that the latter only used his literary efforts “to explain the proper vocalization of Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s words and phrases, and the

¹⁷² Daḥḍaḥ, *Sharḥ Dīwān*, 3.

¹⁷³ Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Saint*, 11.

various meters, puns, and other rhetorical devices found in the poems [...] as if they are love songs about beautiful women.”¹⁷⁴

As if al-Bīrūnī had anticipated responses to his commentary such as the aforementioned attack, he writes in his introduction a reclamation of his work and his openness for love and God:

And if one was to say to me, you are not of the people [of Ṣūfism], and so how did you find it easy to extract its meanings, and you have not awoken from the slumber of the ignorant, I say: although my inclination is far from his [Ibn al-Fāriḍ], however, I am a believer of his belief, and I believe that love is required for intercession and proximity. It opens doors, and I thank God for my honesty in loving Him, and for entering all of His houses through His door, and I swear to God a solemn and honest oath, that I have not relied on any other commentary in explaining this *Dīwān*.¹⁷⁵

I turn to the opening verses of the ninth poem “Huwa al-ḥubb/It is Love” in the *Dīwān* to elaborate on how each commentator approaches its meanings. The entirety of the poem goes as follows:

It is love, so surrender your body—passion is not easy
One stricken by it would not choose it, had he reason
So, live without it, for love’s ease is hard

¹⁷⁴ Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulṣī, *Kashf al-Sirr al-ghāmid*, (Dār al-Kutub MSS no. 1158), 1:5-6.

¹⁷⁵ Daḥḍaḥ. *Sharḥ Dīwān*, 2.

it's beginning is sickness, and its end is death
But for me, dying in love longingly
for the one I love, is life revived abundantly
I have warned you, knowing love and my transgressions
So, choose for yourself what is sweet
But if you want to live happily,
then die in love a martyr—if not, then Love has its people
For whoever does not die in love has not lived it
without facing the bees, you can never gather honey
Say unto the love-slain: “you have fulfilled its right”
and to the pretender: “how different are the black-eyed beauties and those
who use eyeliner!”¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Sulayman Ibn Qiddees. *Howa al-hubb*, Harvard Blogs, March 15, 2015, <https://blogs.harvard.edu/sulaymanibnqiddees/2015/03/15/it-is-love-so-surrender/>, Accessed April 13, 2021.

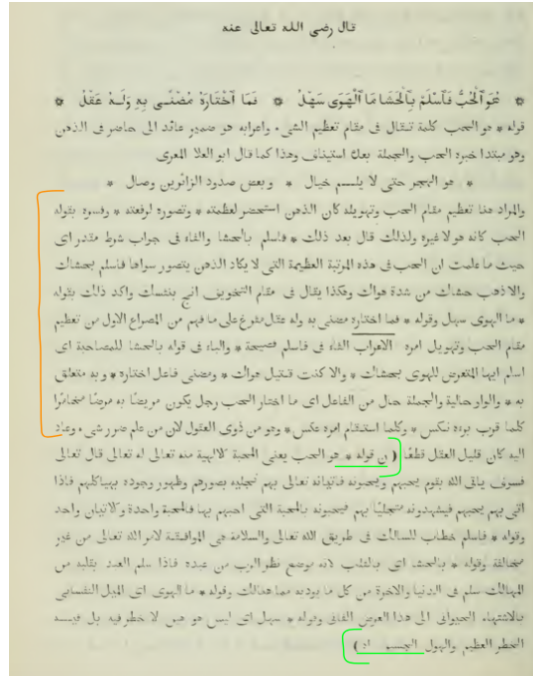


Figure 30: Orange: al-Bīrūnī's comments. Green: al-Nābulṣī's comments

The commentaries of both men to the first verse “It is love, so surrender your body—passion is not easy” goes as follows:

al-Bīrūnī: The aim here is to maximize the importance of love, as well as its pain. The mind conjures the loved one for their greatness, and by saying “love” he means to point that there is no other lover. He says after “surrender your body,” meaning that when you know love is this grand elevated state that cannot be easily imagined, surrender yourself to it or else you will perish from yearning.

al-Nābulṣī: “This is love,” meaning divine love as said in the verse: “Allah will bring forth a people He will love and who will love Him” [5:54]. God creates them in his image, and they in return love him and witness Him manifesting

within them, and so love Him in the way He had loved them. Hence, love and creation are one. And saying “surrender” this is in direct conversation to the one taking the path of Allah, and surrendering is submitting to the word of God without dissent. The body referred to here is the heart, as it is the window through which God sees His servant’s deeds. For if the servant surrenders with his heart, he lives in peace in life and the hereafter from all that ails him. And love here means the primal yearning for this state.¹⁷⁷

Daḥdaḥ interchangeably and intermittently omits al-Nābulṣī’s comments, so much so that the poem’s explication begins to read like a love poem dedicated to one’s lover, unlike what al-Nābulṣī’s brief interventions point out to (above)—that this is a supplication to God. I chose this particular poem as it constantly resurfaces within the printed material of the nineteenth century. Moreover, Daḥdaḥ’s editorial choice of al-Bīrūnī, which conceptualizes the ninth poem as a love poem, is not an exceptional orientation. “His [Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s] poem on the analysis and definition of Love is notoriously known as the proverbial verse on love”, says Yusuf Ya‘qūb Māskūnī (d.1971) in the *Risāla* periodical during the early twentieth century on this poem. For Māskūnī, this poem in particular is an accurate representation of the trials and heartache of hopeless love that Ibn al-Fāriḍ, as the Sultan of Lovers, is renowned for.

In addition, the frequency with which Ṣūfī poets and mystics appear in the early novels of the nineteenth and twentieth century is widespread. Within the pages of these mass circulated novels either through installments in periodicals or publishing, Ṣūfism is

¹⁷⁷ Daḥdaḥ. *Sharḥ Dīwān*, 391-392.

repackaged either into a palatable manifestation of love and desire,¹⁷⁸ or “the net result of a sense of abandonment that pervades both the writer and the surrounding world; a world for which nothing, not science, not progress, not revolution, can do any good. Sūfism then becomes an answer of sorts.”¹⁷⁹ Jurjī Zaydān's *Fatāt Ghassān* (The Girl of Ghassan), a romantic historical novel on the early years of Islam, was serialized in the Lebanese periodical *al-Hilāl* in 1897. Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poetry becomes interwoven into the plotline as part of that novel's narration of the character, Ḥammād, who is estranged from his beloved, Hīnd. In this whirlwind of a narrative on forbidden love and yearning, Zaydān finds the ninth poem of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Dīwān* an apt reference to communicating the aching pain experienced by Ḥammād's love for Hīnd who is forbidden from marrying him.

What is of interest here is in the engagement with a mystical medieval poem in a different medium, for quite a different audience. Although Sūfism here is being repackaged into a different aim, our construction of a history of this collection of mystical poetry in this sense, pushes back against decline theories about Sūfī writings and texts. Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poems aren't only circulated within specific, niche circles of "illiterate scholars," and mystics depicted in El Shamsy's analysis of Sufism in the medieval period. Instead, Sūfī texts are present in different intellectual channels, as part of serialized novels in one of the popular printed periodicals read by the very reformers who frown upon the "illiterate Sūfīs."

¹⁷⁸ Ziad Elmarsafy. *Sūfism in the Contemporary Arabic Novel* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ Press, 2012), 7; 11.

¹⁷⁹ Elmarsafy. *Sūfism*, 7.

Back Home: The Missing “Tā’iyyah” and Editorial Practices

In al-Gāmāliyya street in Cairo resided the publishing house whose editor, Mūhammād al-Asyūṭī, had incited the young Salīm Daḥdaḥ to rectify the error done to his uncle.¹⁸⁰ As established previously, Daḥdaḥ Jr, Sīrkīs, and Zirīklī spoke of the misattribution of the *sharḥ* as the Maṭba‘a al-Khayriyyahh’s edition had referred to Daḥdaḥ Sr. as a Muslim rather than the pious Maronite he was.¹⁸¹ It is rather curious how the first incident of this misattribution is actually recorded in earlier editions, almost twenty years prior to Maṭba‘a al-Kāstāliyya, as previously established. Yet, al-Asyūṭī is the one who sparked this discourse. The assumption here is that al-Asyūṭī’s edition had a far more popular circulation than all the earlier Cairene editions, but what made this edition more popular and/or widely circulated?

Al-Khayriyyahh publishing house was renowned for its imitation of the flourishes and material aspects of manuscripts.¹⁸² The onlooker would notice that some of the printed editions seem as if they are manuscripts as (i) some of the editions include the biography of the author in the title page as verbatim from some of the *tarājum* or biographical dictionaries, and (ii) the decorations of the introduction page rang true to the earlier scriptural editions.

¹⁸⁰ Established by ‘Umar Ḥusayn al-Khashāb, and Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wahid al-Tubī in al-Gamaliya district, the Maṭba‘a al-Khayriyyahh is among the early private publishing houses in Egypt. Its published books include *Tāj al-‘arūs fī sharḥ al-qāmūs* by Muṭadā al-Zabīdī, published in 10 parts in 1888 after Jam‘iyyat al-Ma‘ārif had only published 5 parts of it and stopped. Its publishing history also included the tafsir *Mafatīḥ al-Ghayyib* by al-Razī in 1890. However, the publishing house experienced some turbulence at the start of the twentieth century, with the fallout that had occurred between al-Khashāb and al-Tūbī, al-Tūbī’s name was no longer mentioned as a partner.

¹⁸¹ In Daḥdaḥ Jr’s article in *al-Mashriq*, he relates how Selim Daḥdaḥ was a practicing Maronite whose philanthropy aided migrant Maronite Lebanese families in Paris and Marseille.

¹⁸² Yūsuf al-Sinari, “al-Maṭba‘a al-Khayriyyahh” (2016), 8, <https://www.alukah.net/sharia/0/108569/>. Accessed 22 April 2021.

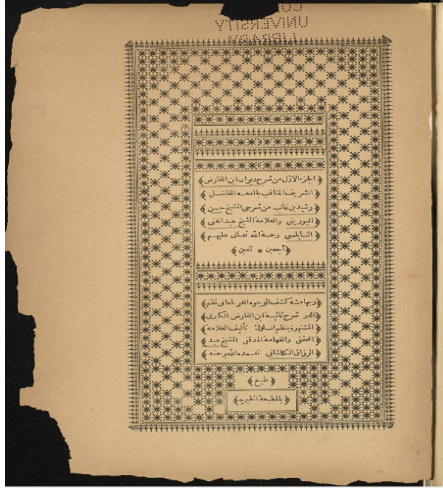


Figure 31: *Sharḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, maṭba‘a al-khāyriyya (1893)*

Rachīd b. Ghālīb/Rouchaīd Daḥḍaḥ’s hybrid commentary had been published by the Maṭba‘a al-Khāyriyyah in 1893 as part of the rising preoccupation of printing commentaries on the *Dīwān* during this time period. This edition was edited by al-Asyūṭī, one of the established editors of the publishing house. Among his other edited works are *sharḥ al-Zarqanī ‘alā al-mūta’*, and *Jamharit al-amthāl*.

Al-Asyūṭī praises Shaykh Rachīd b. Ghālīb al-Mūjtānī for his compilation of the two commentaries of the “*adīb*” al-Bīrūnī, and “*al-‘alama*” al-Shaykh al-Nābulṣī, yet takes issue with one particular editorial mishap of Daḥḍaḥ.¹⁸³ “However, it lacked an exposition of the *Tā’iyyah al-kubra* which is more important, and should be primarily addressed, as it has been more popular among all the commentators,” he says in the postface colophon, an egregious error that is strange to al-Asyūṭī in light of how popular the *Tā’iyyah* was.

¹⁸³ It is curious to note here how Al-Asyuti refers to al-Bīrūnī as an *adīb*, a literary man, while al-Nābulṣī is a *shaykh*. This is reminiscent of al-Nābulṣī’s own evaluation of al-Bīrūnī’s commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s poetry from a purely literary point of view, without touching on the theological, spiritual, and mystical aspects of the poems.

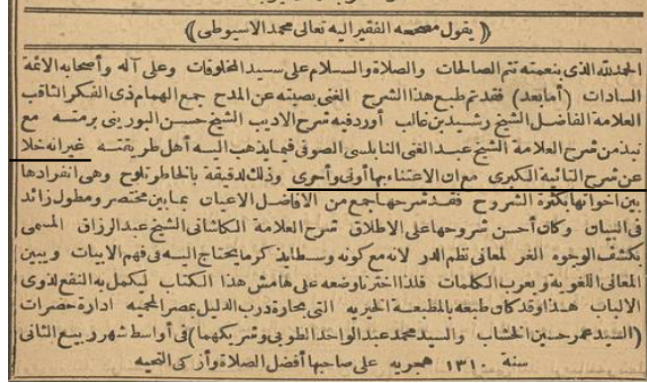


Figure 32: Al-Asyūti's postface colophon, *sharḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Maṭba'at al-Khāyriyyah* (1893)

This omission of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Tā'iyyah* falls within a long-established tradition of controversy ever since the medieval period. During the Mamluk period, religious scholars found concepts of unity in Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poem to be quite problematic, especially since it was being circulated so widely. People engaged with Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poetry in other forms than the commentaries. *Samā'*, or audition sessions, formed a large portion of the culture of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's following, a feature that continued to the nineteenth and twentieth century as previously chronicled by Zakī Mubārak earlier. During these sessions, and similar to how some of the controversy was instigated, the *Tā'iyyah* is usually read out loud whilst throngs of listeners gather round and are attuned to it through group meditation and dance. It is followed by a reading of a commentary on it, elaborating further on the moving passages of the poetry, entrancing the gathered groups further. In 1469, after a public reading of the *Tā'iyyah* and al-Farghānī's (d. 1300) commentary *Muntahā al-madārik* (*Exhaustible Perception*), a defamation campaign was initiated by writing refutations of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, and his many supporters in Mamluk society. However, Ibn al-Fāriḍ's supporters met this defamation campaign by targeting the poet's opponents through *hijā'*, invective poetry and lampoons, to ridicule and protest the former's aversion to Ibn al-Fāriḍ.

In his seminal book on Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Emil Homerin treats this moment of controversy as an attack on the “saintly” popularity of the poet within Mamluk society.¹⁸⁴ He situates this tumultuous moment within a longer tradition of refuting Ibn al-Fāriḍ since the thirteenth century, arguing that refutations rose around the assumed doctrinal underpinnings of Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s poetry and allusions in his *Tā’iyyah*. Scholars and judges opposed the poem as they believed that it resembled Ibn ‘Arabī’s *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the unity of being), which posits that the relation between the existence of everything created and its creator is interdependent.¹⁸⁵ Homerin identifies this misattribution of Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s poetry to Ibn ‘Arabī as an error on the part of the refutations equating the commentarial interpretations with the intended meaning of Ibn al-Fāriḍ himself.¹⁸⁶

Returning to the Khayriyyah publishing house, we find that as a recourse to remedy this purposeful omission of the poet’s greatest and longest poem al-Asyūṭī decides the following:

Many commentators have tackled the *Tā’iyyah* in both a succinct or unabridged manner, and one of the finest commentaries of all is that of ‘Alāma al-Kāshānī (d. 1330), titled *Kashf al-wujūh al-jur li ma‘ānī nuḡam al-durr* [Uncovering the Mysterious Faces of the Poetry’s Meanings]. And due to its illumination of the poem’s expansive terms and its knowledge of the verses, and its explication of the linguistics, we

¹⁸⁴ Homerin, *From Arab Poet*, 55.

¹⁸⁵ Homerin, *From Arab Poet*, 29.

¹⁸⁶ Homerin, *From Arab Poet*, 29.

have chosen to print it along the margins to supplement its benefits to those gifted and knowledgeable men.



Figure 33: Al-Kāshānī, *Kāshf al-wūjūh al-jur lī mā'anī nūzām al-dūr* along the margins (1893)

The seven hundred or so lines might have been too long and too expensive to publish on a large scale, in a printed book that was already six hundred pages long. Perhaps that is one of the economic reasons for Daḥdah’s omission, which had been later followed by the other Cairene editions. However, al-Asyūṭī remedies this by utilizing a facet of the manuscript tradition, i.e. utilizing the empty space of the book’s margins to re-situate the *Tā’iyyah* within the discursive heritage of Ibn al-Fāriḍ. For a man who embraced his shortcomings and was vocal about his faulty printed editions, that were filled with almost pages worth of linguistic errors, it is probable that Rāchīd Daḥdah would not have taken offence at al-Asyuti’s postface.

Nevertheless, the *Tā’iyyah*’s omission as well as the reliance on al-Bīrūnī’s “Ṣūfī-free” commentary points to the aversion towards the inner meanings and double entendre of the poem that, for some scholars in the medieval period and the reformers of modern period, is best left unexplained or circulated in society. Prior to al-Asyūṭī, the Cairene

editions of Daḥḍaḥ's hybrid commentary of the *Dīwān* did not include the *Tā'iyyah*, nor had any of the editors taken up issue with its absence as al-Asyūṭī had. The editors at the publishing house of al-Kāstāliyya (1862), Būlāq (1872), al-Amirāh al-sharīfā (1888) had only praised Daḥḍaḥ for his ingenious effort at compiling the two commentaries into one succinct *sharḥ* of the *Dīwān*.

The circulation of the hybrid commentary is different once al-Asyūṭī points out the problematic omission of al-Daḥḍaḥ, and his initiative to insert the *Tā'iyyah* back into the publishing scene of Cairo. This edition with al-Kāshānī's commentary of the *Tā'iyyah* on the margins is printed in different runs at al-Azhar's publishing house—for educational purposes—first in 1901, 1910, and 1911 until the mid-twentieth century. The circulation of the *Tā'iyyah* within the institutional syllabus of al-Azhar is a telling moment of the reception history of Ibn al-Fāriḍ during the nineteenth century. In addition, it portrays a more nuanced understanding of medieval Ṣūfī books' afterlives among the different actors of the time period.

Conclusion

The *Dīwan* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ attracted the interest of both Oriental and indigenous publishers as they saw the Ṣūfī poet as the representative of an entire corpus of Arabic literature. This text is part of the larger project Oriental scholarship undertook in Europe to publish texts for the academic community, enabling them to understand the colonized community. However, for the indigenous publishers, they were more interested in publishing the text due to the ingenuity of Rachīd Daḥḍaḥ's introduction of this hybrid commentary. As previously illustrated in chapter one, and as will be discussed in the coming chapter three, the text's editorial practices reveal that the presentation of the printed

book included both ingenious and continuous practices. Daḥḍaḥ incorporates two commentaries into one as a “hybrid” commentary, while al-Asyūṭī retains the manuscript tradition of inserting a commentary along the margins of the text. Moreover, the commentarial form that allowed Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s poems to circulate, is a continuation of a long history of polemics and discourse within the pages of commentaries from the medieval period to the age of print, such as Daḥḍaḥ choosing al-Bīrūnī’s for less “Ṣūfī flare,” and al-Asyūṭī choosing al-Kāshānī to respond to the egregious omission of the *Tā’iyyah*.

The editors and publishers working on the *Dīwān* came from different backgrounds, such as Oriental scholars from Europe: a Maronite editor and businessman who was embroiled in Orientalist scholarship and printing abroad, but had connections with the intellectual scene back home; and an editor affiliated with one of the early private publishing houses in Egypt specialized in printing books on Islamic mysticism.

An essentially Ṣūfī text full of devotional poetry, intended for devotional purposes in *dhikr* and *samā’* session, the *Dīwān* has inspired scholars to produce intellectual works explicating its meanings, attacking or defending its ideas. The printing of the *Dīwān* reveals many things about Ṣūfism in the nineteenth century. For example, the circulation of the *Tā’iyyah* among Azhari students as part of their curriculum portrays a more nuanced understanding Ṣūfī books’ afterlives during the age of print. Ibn al-Fāriḍ’s unpalatable Ṣūfism is accepted some when it speaks of love, desire, and yearning. However, to others such as al-Asyūṭī, the legacy of Ibn al-Fāriḍ cannot be disassociated from its relevance to the devotional and theological concepts to his readers and admirers. For like al-Qazānī in chapter one, al-Asyūṭī intervenes in the scholarly scene through the medium of print to make an intellectual standpoint and respond to others. Ṣūfī editors and scholars of the long-

nineteenth century, as highlighted in the previous and coming chapter, find themselves in the midst of editorial efforts at making the devotional texts of medieval Ṣūfīs more palatable and less “corruptive” for the layman. Nevertheless, the continuous efforts of editors such as al-Asyūṭī, al-Qazānī (Chapter one), al-Qawqājī and al-Sayyādī (Chapter three) reiterate the importance print played in making these purposeful positions against erasure prominent, as well as presenting a medium through which to push back against it.

3

Chapter Three: Shields of Devotion: Printed Prayer-Manuals as Devotional Guides and Polemics in the Long-Nineteenth Century

The story of printing the *Rashaḥāt* and the *Dīwān* was previously shown as one of movement, embedded in intellectual networks. Much in the same vein, chapter three looks at the circulation of *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* (*Litany of the Sea*) through the established networks by the Shādhiliyya *ṭarīqa*. This particular story begins and ends at sea. The *ḥizb* is said to have been revealed in a dream to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258) while voyaging to the Hijaz. In the modern period, one of the *ḥizb*'s commentators sets sail towards exile, with the silhouette of the Ottoman empire dwindling in the horizon. This chapter is interested in tracing how al-Shādhilī's *ḥizb* survived from the medieval period to its textual usage context once we reach the long-nineteenth century. The *ḥizb*'s afterlife during the age of print exhibited an unprecedented diffusion of the litany in different parts of the Islamicate and in different forms. Various printed editions of collated litanies and/or commentaries in Ṣūfī order-affiliated publishing houses are examined in this chapter in order to understand what role Ṣūfī orders played in publishing initiatives and book production. As shown in the previous chapter in my study of the discourses surrounding the commentaries on the *Dīwān*, I argue that the commentators of Ṣūfī *aḥzāb* relied on this textual medium to situate themselves within the intellectual discourse of the time, and to circulate devotional guidance to the readers of the printed text. I examine two printing instances, one in Istanbul and another in Shibin al-Kum, by two heads of the Ṣūfī *ṭarqā* who were embroiled in the publishing scene of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Al-Shādhilī's *ḥizb* was central to their

printing initiative, (i) as a “Classic” text that was crucial for *ṭarqīa* devotion and remembrance, and (ii) as a space to utilize for responding to anti-Şūfī discourse throughout the modern period. In this way, print functioned as a medium to widely and commercially circulate guides on practicing devotion, and a means to engage in discussions and polemics. Therefore, this chapter examines what the printing of a *ḥizb* during the long nineteenth century reveals about Şūfī book production, highlighting how Şūfīs chose to respond to criticisms of Islamic mysticism through the medium of print.

The first printing instance of al-Shādhilī’s *ḥizb* examined in this chapter is in Istanbul. Abū al-Hudā al-Sayyādī (d. 1909), notoriously dubbed as the “Ottoman Rasputin,” the right-hand man of Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II, and the head of the Rifā‘iyya order, had authored a commentary titled, *Qilādat al-naḥr fī sharḥ ḥizb al-baḥr*. It is easy to approach the character of Abū al-Hudā as a mere puppet of the last Ottoman sultan, disseminating the constructed religious image of the sultan as the patron of religious printed texts, who reiterated his legitimacy as Caliph through the circulation of a much beloved text. However, I would like to push for a more nuanced approach in analyzing the role al-Sayyādī played in the Ottoman intellectual scene, and what role print played in opening up space for al-Sayyādī to respond to criticisms of the Rifā‘iyya order.

Crossing the Mediterranean Sea and onto the bountiful land of the Nile Delta, we turn to the second significant printing instance in Shibīn al-Kūm. There, a Şūfī-family run printing house operated, called al-Maṭba‘a al-Qawqajīyya. This print house was run by the grandson of the Tripoli-hailing Şūfī Shaykh, Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Qawqajī (d. 1888). In 1935, this grandson printed his grandfather’s commentary on *Ḥizb al-baḥr*. An examination of this printed edition highlights: (i) the space it enabled al-Qawqajī to circulate guidance for readers on the *ṭarīqa*’s devotional literature and prayer manuals; and (ii) what this moment informs us of family-run printing houses,

particularly in the Nile Delta; (iii) how the interventions of the grandson as editor allow us to map out the intellectual and social scene of the Nile Delta Shādhiliyya order through the types of texts being published and circulated there. Like al-Qazānī's *dhayl* of Central Asian migrants in Mecca to the *Rashaḥāt 'ayn al-ḥayāt*, the *dhayl* of al-Qawqajī's grandson shows the connections al-Qawqajī forged over the span of his lifetime.

Al-Shādhilī's Legacy

Al-Shādhilī's spiritual legacy have survived through the efforts of his disciples and students, in the form of his prayers and litanies (*aḥzāb*). The term *ḥizb* means “part, or portion”, and it is from this meaning that it has come to indicate a portion of liturgical formulae as prayers. Recited by many throughout its history, the prayers have a number of benefits, and are used for warding off harm as well as other purposes, dependent on intention and spiritual aspiration. The *ḥizb* most often recited is the popular “Litany of the Sea.” It is related that on his way to perform the pilgrimage, crossing the Red Sea between Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula, al-Shādhilī's voyage had been delayed by a storm, and it is then that al-Shādhilī saw the prophet Muḥammad in a dream, who taught the voyager the litany in order to recite it to safeguard his voyage. It then began to be widely circulated orally and in script amongst worshippers in the premodern period. The litany also received interest from Muslim scholars through the tradition of the written commentaries during both the premodern and modern period.

Al-Shādhilī's life is related through the biographies compiled following his death in 1258 by his disciples. The earliest account written was by al-Shādhilī's successor Ibn 'Ata'Allah al-'Iskandarī (d. 1309), entitled *Laṭā'if al-minan* (The Book of the Divine Blessings). In addition, another account of the Imam al-Shādhilī's life is *Durrat al-asrār wa tuḥfat al-abrār* (The Pearl

of Secrets and the Gift of the Pious), penned in 1320 by Ibn al-Sabbagh. According to his biographers, our shaykh was born in Morocco in 1187, where he received mystical and spiritual education. He later settled in Egypt, where he died later in Humaitra around 1258.

The renown of al-Shādhilī often goes hand-in-hand with the popularity of his inspired prayers. Amongst many of his *aḥzāb* are *ḥizb al-kabīr*, *ḥizb al-ḥamd*, *ḥizb al-faḥ*, *ḥizb al-tawassul*, *ḥizb al-luṭf*, and of particular interest to this paper, *ḥizb al-baḥr*. Richard McGregor has worked on the *aḥzāb* as a literary genre within the broader framework of Muslim intellectual production in general, and of Ṣūfī literature, in specific.¹⁸⁷ These texts, as studied by McGregor, belong to a genre that has had varied labels such as “*du‘ā’*, *ḥizb* (pl. *aḥzāb*), *wazīfah*, *ṣalāh*, *tawassul*, *taṣliyah*, *dhikr*, or *awrād*.”¹⁸⁸ *Ḥizb al-baḥr* is of a revelatory nature. Al-Shādhilī’s composition of such prayers came in the aftermath of them being imparted to him by the Prophet Muḥammad, and al-Khidr in his dreams.¹⁸⁹ The prayers have had a central role in the religious experience of the individual. Firstly, the *aḥzāb* form the individual’s inclusion into the spiritual essence of the Ṣūfī *ṭarīqa* to which the *ḥizb* is attributed to. Secondly, the recitation of the prayer is a practice that “provides the individual member with the opportunity to experience the intense feelings that make up the emotional state” of the collective.¹⁹⁰ There is a double form of collectivity in engaging with the text of the *aḥzāb*; in terms of reciting it amongst others in *dhikr*, *samā‘* sessions, as well as the individual recitation as a form of experiencing spiritual connectivity to the collective.

The contents of the *aḥzāb* also inform this understanding of the text offering companionship, in terms of the petitionary tone of the prayer, and the redeployment of Quranic

¹⁸⁷ Richard McGregor, "A Sufi Legacy in Tunis: Prayer and the Shadhiliyya," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, no. 2 (1997): 255-277.

¹⁸⁸ Richard McGregor, "Notes on the Literature of Sufi Prayer Commentaries," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 17 (2013): 199-211.

¹⁸⁹ McGregor, "A Sufi Legacy in Tunis," 270.

¹⁹⁰ McGregor, "A Sufi Legacy in Tunis," 270.

verses in varied forms. The Quranic verses are redeployed into the *aḥzāb*'s text in a two-fold manner. Either, the verse is added verbatim, evolving a sense of familiarity with a universal and cherished text, or it is edited through the change of a pronoun or tense of a verb "in order to preserve the voice and syntax of the *ḥizb*'s narrative."¹⁹¹ The intertextual communication between the familiar composition of the verses with the "revealed" petitionary tones of the *ḥizb* itself, creates a sense of proximity to God, the Quran, and to the community engaging with the *ḥizb*.

The deployment of Quranic metaphors and imagery in the context of *aḥzāb* render the stories as companions to its reciters. The stories and plights of prophets or iterations of instances of weakness are recited in the *aḥzāb* as a sort of solace that builds on layers of trust.¹⁹² Trust in the familiar and cherished renditions of the Quranic verses, the metaphors, the stories of known prophetic characters, and trust in the shared experience of other readers and reciters. The commentarial tradition of the *aḥzāb* is a textual corpus that actively reflects upon the hermeneutical connections and devotional uses of this intertextuality between the Quran and *aḥzāb*'s usage of metaphors and imagery. The commentaries studied in this chapters draw on the parallels between litanies and the aforementioned theme of plights and narratives familiar to the Muslim *umma*. *Ḥizb al-baḥr*, in particular, has amassed a large tradition of commentarial responses to its contents and usages.

Although al-Shādhilī did not leave behind any written works himself,¹⁹³ his spiritual legacy found a material existence on paper through the efforts of his students. His student, Ibn 'Atā' Allāh authored several texts, expanding the teachings of the Shādhīliyya for readers in different parts of

¹⁹¹ McGregor, "Notes on the Literature of Sufi Prayer Commentaries," 205.

¹⁹² Frank, Arthur W. "'Who's there?': A Vulnerable Reading of Hamlet." *Literature and Medicine* 37, no. 2 (2019): 389.

¹⁹³ Hassan Abū Hanieh. "Sufism and Sufi Orders: God's Spiritual Path," *Adaptation and Renewal in the Context of Modernization*. (Jordan: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2011), 58.

the Islamicate. These texts include *al-Ḥikam al-‘Atā’iyya*, and *Kitāb laṭā’if al-minan*. Many others also expanded the material legacy of the Shādhiliyya *ṭarīqa* Imam Muḥammad al-Jazūlī (d. 1465) who authored a composition on a prayer for the prophet Muḥammad titled *Dalā’il al-khayrāt*, and Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Būṣīrī (d. 1294)’s *Qasīdat al-burda*, which had a wide circulation along with the *ḥizb* throughout the Islamicate world.¹⁹⁴ *Ḥizb al-baḥr*’s liturgical formulae is “envisioned and articulated within texts. At the same time it is experienced and expressed in ritual contexts.”¹⁹⁵ Throughout its history of transmission, both orally and in script form, *Ḥizb al-baḥr* was recited in communal *dhikr* sessions or *muta’ala*, read in private/domestic quarters, like many other litanies during the medieval and modern period.¹⁹⁶

Between Manuscript and Print: Layers of Devotion

Different locales came to print the litany and its commentaries (see table and figure below). The printing centers that engaged with the text, in both manuscript and print form, are locations that enjoyed an established community of Shādhiliyya followers. In India, the litany was part of a larger project of mass-printing devotional texts, translated from Arabic into Urdu.¹⁹⁷ Lithographic prints of *Ḥizb al-baḥr* were printed in Arrah in 1892 (translated by Muḥammad Maḥfuz al-Ḥaq), and in Kanpour in 1896 (translated by Mawlawi Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qayum), and in Bihar in 1915 (translated by Muḥammad Ḥanīf Qadrī). The *ḥizb* was printed along with other devotional texts such as *Quṭb al-Irshād* by Faqīr Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hanafī al-Naqshbandī.

¹⁹⁴ Hongxuan Lin, “English as an Islamic Cosmopolitan Vernacular: English-Language Sufi Devotional Literature in Singapore.” *Southeast Asian Studies* 6 (3), 2017: 447-484.

¹⁹⁵ Robert Rozehnal, *Islamic Sufism Unbound: Politics and Piety in 21st Century Pakistan*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 14.

¹⁹⁶ Wollina, “Devotional Annotations: Preserving the Family’s Memory in Arabic Manuscripts.” *Religion* 10(6) (2019): 149.

¹⁹⁷ Ahmad Khan. *Mu‘jam al-Mabu‘at al-Arabiyya bi-l-Hind* (Al-Riyad: Maktabat Al-Malik Fahd al-Wataniyya, 2000), 506; 315; 482.

City	Publishing House	Year of Publication	Language
Istanbul	Dār al-Tiba‘a	1848	Ottoman Turkish
Delhi	Maṭba‘a al-Aḥmadiyya	1884	Persian
Arrah	-	1892	Arabic and Hindustani
Kazan	Kazan’s Imperial Press	189(?)	Tatar
Cairo	Al- Maṭba‘a al-‘Umūmiyaa	1897	Arabic
Istanbul	-	1900	Turkish
Istanbul	Matba‘at Aḥmad al-Mujallid al-Kutbī	1908	Arabic
Tunisia	Maktabah al-Zaytūniyyah	1930	Arabic
Shibīn al-Kūm	Matba‘at al-Qawqajī	1935	Arabic
Cairo	Maṭba‘at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalab	1948	Arabic
Karachi	Matba‘-i Mujtabai	1960	Urdu

Table 3: Printing history of *Ḥizb al-baḥr*

The story of the *ḥizb* reveals how the continuities of connections forged by the Shādhiliyya *ṭariqa* during the premodern period continued up until the nineteenth century. The circulation of the litany in India and Central Asia, initially in the eighteenth century, followed by its printing in the nineteenth century, was instigated by Shāh Walī Allāh Dehlawī (d. 1762). Dehlawī’s

intellectual contribution to Sufism is a vast one. Initially inducted into the Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqa* in eighteenth-century India, Dehlawī was able to establish connections as far as Cairo and Bukhārā. His textual corpus included expositional contributions on Sufi thought, such as the commentary on *ḥizb al-baḥr*. His commentary the *Hawāmim* was printed in several print runs in India (1890-1; 1884; 1960). The edition printed in India enjoyed a wide circulation history, particularly in its movement to the Volga-Ural region—as part and parcel of the previously established connections in the eighteenth century. The ability to master, transmit, or translate the litany was of central importance to Ṣūfī praxis. It was articulated through an *izn* or *ijāza* (permission) given from a master to a student. Following the Shādhīliyya chains of permission reveals a broader map of spiritual and intellectual connections throughout different locales of practicing Shādhīliyya members. This in turn helped this research identify locations and groups where the text would move—firstly in the premodern period, and secondly, during the age of print. Hassen Muhammad Kawo has shown the utility of relying on *ijāza* in the study of book transmission in Ethiopia.¹⁹⁸ In applying a similar approach in this chapter to the study of the Shādhīliyya devotional litany’s movement, I pinpoint the transmission of the text in both pre-modern and modern instances, showing how the interconnectivity between transregional actors in North Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and Central Asia.

¹⁹⁸ Hassen Muhammed Kawo, “Certificates (ijazat) of the Ulema as Devices for the Study of Book Transmission, Reading and Writing Culture in Ethiopia,” *Hypotheses*, 21 August 2015, <https://academichypotheses.org/184/>. Accessed 15 August 2021.

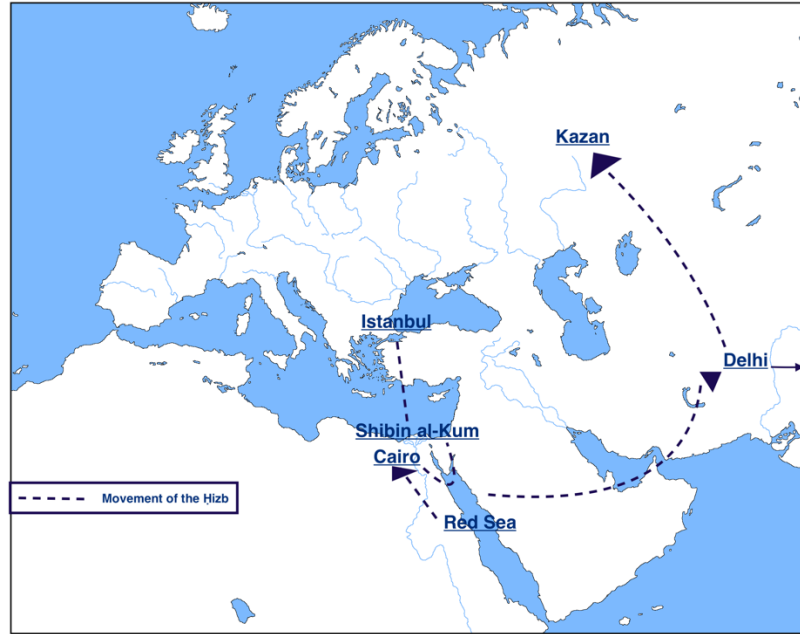


Figure 34: Movement of the Hizb

The litany reached India through an *ijāza* sent from Abū Ṭāhir al-Madanī (d. 1744) in Tunisia—giving permission to Dehlawī to recite, and teach, *ḥizb al-baḥr* to others.¹⁹⁹ Through the students of Dehlawī, both the permission for transmitting the litany as well as the commentary *Hawāmim* reached Central Asia during the nineteenth century. Tāj al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (d. 1872) received an *ijāza* for teaching and transmitting the *ḥizb* to the Tatar community.²⁰⁰ It is through this chain of transmission from India that the litany began to circulate in print form in Central Asia, where it was printed along with Dehlawī’s Indian imprint in Kazan’s Imperial Press during the late nineteenth century.

The Indian imprint’s popularity in India and Central Asia is because of the commentary’s exposition on the meanings of the litany. When examined, it is a guide for its reader for practicing

¹⁹⁹ Ziriklī, Khayr al-Dīn, *al-A‘lām*, 5/304.

²⁰⁰ Allen J Frank, *Bukhārā and the Muslims of Russia: Sufism, Education, and the Paradox of Islamic Prestige*. (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 91.

dhikr, as it is arranged in a way so as to include Dehlawī commentary, as well as *ḥizb al-baḥr* and *ḥizb al-naṣr*. While the commentary was in Persian, the *aḥzāb* remained in the Arabic language; with footnotes in Persian by the editor of the text; Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Aḥād. This printed edition’s “collation” of the Shādhiliyya order’s two well-known *aḥzāb* is further accompanied by other liturgical prayers of Quranic verses (6:45) and prophetic traditions (*Allahuma anta al-sāḥib fi-l-safar wa-l-khalīfa fi-l-ahl wa-l-māl*).²⁰¹ At the end of *ḥizb al-baḥr* and *ḥizb al-naṣr*, the editor ‘Abd al-’Aḥād provides his reader with a guide on how and when to best recite the *ḥizb* in sections titled *ṭarīqat ilqā’ al-ḥizb* (On how to recite the litany).

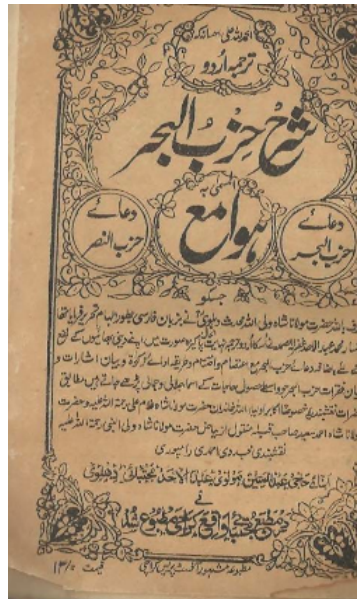


Figure 35: *Sharḥ Ḥizb al-baḥr*, a collation of Shah Wali Allah’s commentary and the *aḥzāb*

²⁰¹ Shāh Waliullāh Dehlawī. *Sharḥ Ḥizb al-baḥr*, 78-79.

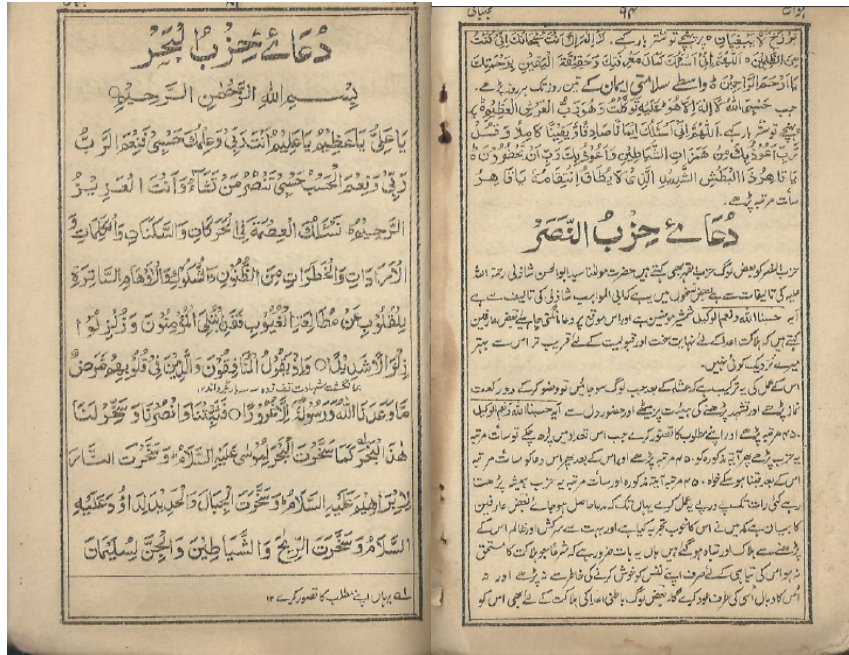


Figure 36: The body of Hizb al-baḥr and Hizb al-naṣr

The printed text, for the Indian and Central Asian Shādhiliyya *ṭariqa*, becomes pertinent for a community of followers as a guide for devotional use. The editor al-Aḥād utilizes the space of the printed text in order to innumerate on the many benefits of reciting further liturgical formulas, a welcomed guidance that makes the text popular in the subcontinent and Kazan. This popularity is established once we witness its translation to Urdu, Uzbek, and Tatar for the communities that need the Shādhiliyya “collated” printed text.

Collated editions, devised for devotional guidance, similar to the Indian ones were present in other major printing locales, especially in Egypt’s print houses. Torsten Wollina has undertaken a study of the *Majmū‘a*, the collated or composite devotional texts, as a literary genre in the medieval period that contained several texts that were bound into one book. These devotional manuscripts could be either compiled from “composite materials, such as pages written by several different people in diverse places and at different times. Or they were the product of one textual

engagement during which a more or less deliberate selection of texts was penned and compiled to function as a ‘one-volume library.’”²⁰² From an examination of the litany’s printed history, it seems that the litany’s publication, if not as part of the commentary, was popularly circulated in these devotional “one-volume” libraries that were being printed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The persistence of a facet of the manuscript culture is ever-present in the continued practice of compiling a *Majmū‘a*, for mass-printing in the context of devotional guidance.

The one-volume Shādhiliyya library had various printing instances in Egypt. In 1908, Aḥmad Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Kumushkhānawī collates together a number of devotional materials into *Majmū‘a ihtawat ‘alā awrād wa-munājāt wa-qaṣā'id wa-aḥzāb wa-ṣalāh ‘alā al-nabī*. This collation included most of al-Shādhilī’s *aḥzāb*; *al-Dalā'il*, Busīrī’s *Qasīda Burda*, Nawawī’s *ḥizb*, and Ibn Arabī’s *ḥizb al-dawr al-'a'la* and Ibn Naḥwī’s *Qasīda munfarija*.²⁰³ Al-Kumushkhānawī, like al Sayyādī, was a man of the Ottoman empire. His contemporary Muḥammad Zahid al-Kawtharī, writes of al-Kumushkhānawī’s early learning in Istanbul’s traditional learning circles.²⁰⁴ At the age of eight he had received permission (*Ijaza*) from his shaykh, Muḥammad al-Qarī al-Harawī, to teach and give others permission to recite *al-Burda*, the *Dalā'il*, and Shādhilī’s *aḥzāb*. At the age of eighteen, he enrolled himself at the school of Sultan Bayazid, and with the death of his teacher enrolled in Maḥmud Pasha *madrassa*. He worked as a teacher at the Sultan Bayazid, teaching his *murīdīn* and living a life of seclusion to write his texts. However, during the Russo-Turkish war (1877-1878), according to al-Kawtharī, al-Kumushkhānawī volunteered to fight in Karis, surrounded by the very *murīdīn* who hovered around his ḥalaqas, now taking up arms. He spent three years in Egypt following the war where he dedicated his time to establishing a printing

²⁰² Torsten Wollina. “Devotional Annotations,” 12.

²⁰³ Zirikli, Khayr al-Dīn, *al-A'lām*, 1/258.

²⁰⁴ Muḥammad Zahid al-Kawtharī, *Irgham al-murīd fī sharḥ al-nuthm al-'atīd* (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya li-l-Turath, n.d.), 75-76.

press that published a print run of his aforementioned *Majmū‘a* (which is later picked up by other more popular printing presses in Cairo) as well as texts on *ḥadīth* and *sunna*. His texts were circulated for free among Cairo’s poor and impoverished, and they were also made available in the libraries he established in Cairo and Istanbul.²⁰⁵ This is an indication of how widespread his *Majmū‘a* of Shādhilī’s *aḥzāb* among both the intellectual who were able to purchase the book from the other more prominent Cairene print shops, or the poor who had the book through the libraries’ availability of a free copy of the text.

In addition, Tanta’s al-Maktaba al-Islamiyya al-Tijariyya prints a collated edition by Muḥammad al-Tantada’ī, a Ṣūfī poet of the Shādhiliyya *ṭarīqa*, in 1924.²⁰⁶ This edition includes (I) *Al-istibshār fī dawām al-istighfār* (II) Chains of transmissions of the Shādhiliyya and Muḥamadiyya *silsilas*, and (III) the *aḥzāb* of al-Shādhilī, Sidī Aḥmad al-Badawī and Sidī Ibrahīm al-Dusūqī along the margins of the text as indicated below in green.

²⁰⁵ Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 1/259.

²⁰⁶ Khazin Abud, *Mu‘jam al-shu‘arā al-‘Arab* (Bayrūt: Rashād Bars, 2009), 2031.

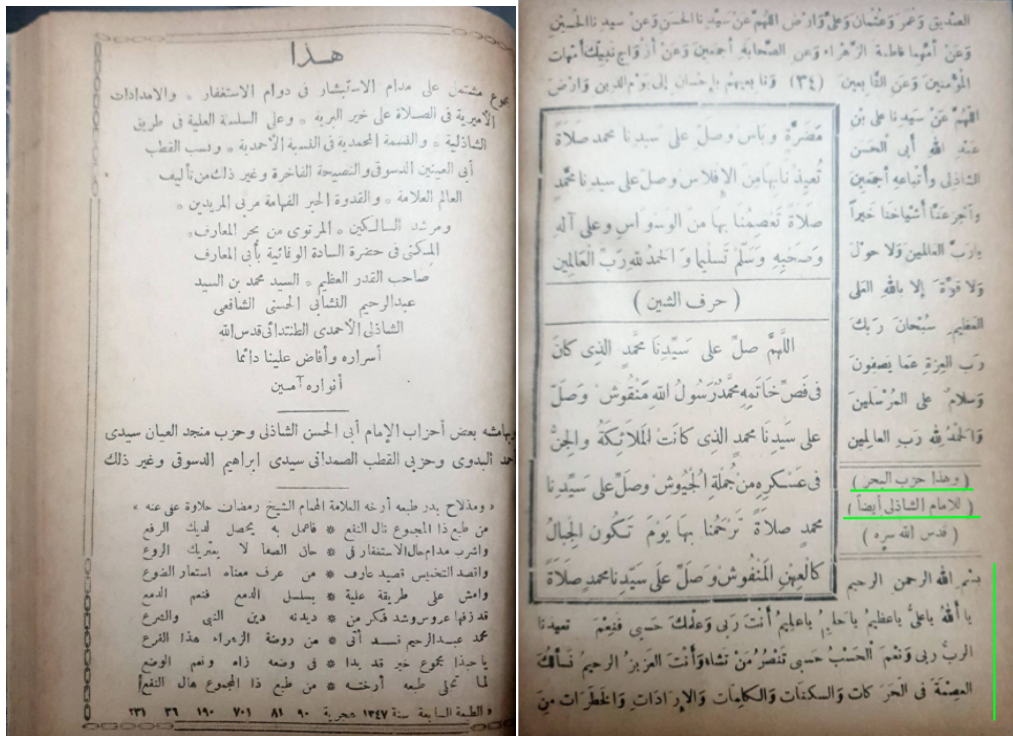


Figure 37: Introduction to the collated edition (left), and Hizb al-baḥr on the margins in green (right)

In 1948, Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī's Dār Ihyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya printed the *Dalā'il*, followed by *Qasīdat Burda* as an *addendum*. Along the margins of the text are several other *aḥzāb* as indicated below.

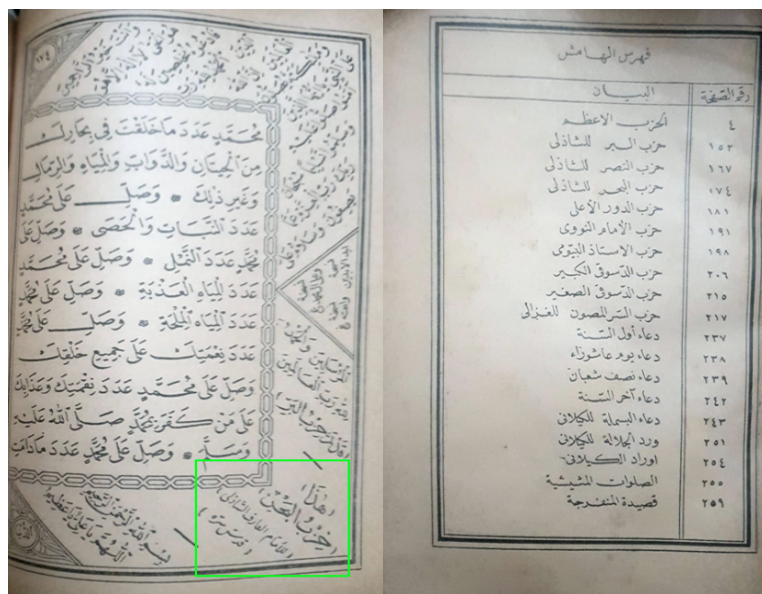


Figure 38: *Hizb al-bahr* on the margins (left), and a *fihris*t of the *ahzāb* and devotional formulae on the margins (right)

The collations of devotional literature into one body of text, as shown in the previous printed editions above, was primarily featured in the manuscript tradition of litanies. The manuscripts and prints show how devotional texts have multiple layers of devotion. In the manuscripts below, *Hizb al-bahr* (indicated in green) is in Arabic, whilst the marginalia on the margins is in Persian (indicated in red). Wollina finds that annotations of remembrance developed specific practices of devotion in texts along the margins of manuscripts.²⁰⁷ I argue that this practice of devotion is also present in the age of print. However, instead of the marginalia being part of the reader’s practice of devotion, writing annotations on the manuscripts, the editor of the text adds their selected “annotations” along the margins of the printed devotional text in order to expand the devotional capacity the text, as well as guide the reader in a form of private *dhikr*.

²⁰⁷ Wollina, “Annotations”, 15.

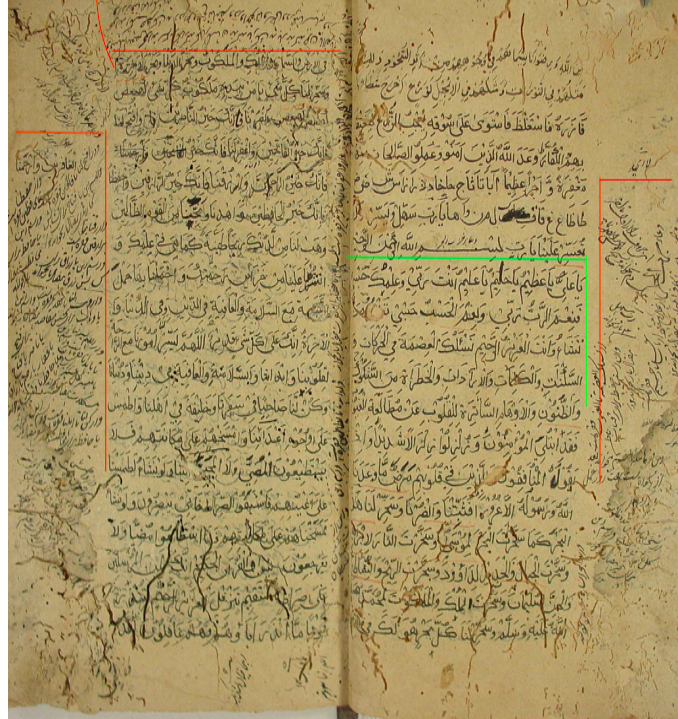


Figure 39: Manuscript of *Hizb al-baḥr* in Arabic and Persian. Body of the *Hizb* (in Green) Marginalia of prayers on the margins (in Red)

The marginalia and collation of devotional literature inform us of several things for an intellectual history of such texts: (i) the appearance, form, and usage of the devotional text indicate apparent practiced continuities between the manuscript and print age, (ii) the multiple layers of devotion show a central and daily text that is either used in personal devotion (through following instructions of the text to read *dua* ' so and so, followed by so and so) and/or in ritualistic contexts or learning modes (writings in the margins). (iii) Additionally, the interest in printing *Shādhiliyya* litanies is part of a broader interest in *Shādhiliyya* literary production in the nineteenth century.²⁰⁸ The following two commentaries discussed in this chapter are part and parcel of the *Shādhiliyya* legacy during the age of print.

²⁰⁸ Mayeur-Jaouen et. al., *Sufism*, 59.

Abū al-Hudā al-Sayyādī (d. 1909) and *Qilādat al-naḥr fī sharḥ Hizb al-baḥr*

Abū al-Hudā al-Sayyādī was a divisive person. During his contemporary moment, his enemies and adversaries took to renouncing al-Sayyādī in late nineteenth century Anatolian, Egyptian, and Levantine periodicals.²⁰⁹ This in a way spurred print wars on many fronts. His adversaries criticized al-Sayyādī's reliance on his proximity to Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd to further his goals of expanding the Rifā'iyya *ṭarīqa*, as well as his feigned *silsila* that situates him as a descendant of the Prophet's family.²¹⁰ Al-Sayyādī's supporters, as well as al-Sayyādī himself, responded to these attacks by publishing treatises, periodical articles, and hagiographies. I argue that al-Sayyādī's commentary on *Hizb al-baḥr*, *Qilādat al-naḥr fī sharḥ hizb al-baḥr* (The Collar of Explication for the Litany of the Sea), is one such example of the aforementioned texts. Like Muḥammad al-Asyūfī in chapter two, al-Sayyādī relied on the medium of the commentary as a polemic tool that allowed him to shape the composition of his response against his adversaries, as well as to elaborate on Sufi praxis that are central to the *ṭarīqa*.

²⁰⁹ Su'ad al-Tūwyrānī, *Qawl al-fasl* (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-'Umūmiyya, 1895), 2.

²¹⁰ 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shaī', *Jināyat al-Sayyādī 'alā al-tārīkh* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāyr, 2006), 23-26.

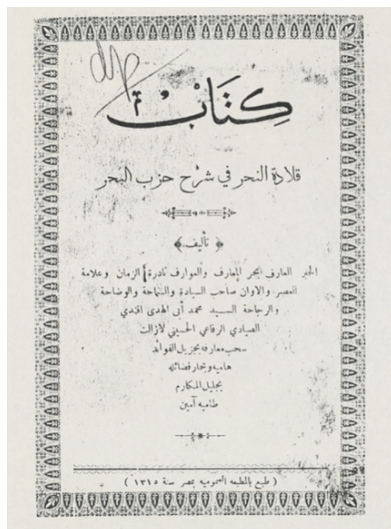


Figure 40: Frontispiece *Qilādat al-naḥr fī sharḥ ḥizb al-baḥr* (1897)

Al-Sayyādī had been initiated into the Rifā‘iyya order at a young age by his father, Shaykh Khayr-Allāh, and the contentious character of Shaykh Muḥammad Maḥdī al-Rawwās.²¹¹ I do not wish to reiterate much of the biography of al-Sayyādī as it has been a matter of contention and wide discussion by scholars such as Itzhak Weissmann, Thomas Eich, Hassan Suweidan, and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shaī‘. During the reign of Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Aziz (d. 1876), al-Sayyādī enjoyed the privilege and leading role in Aleppo as Naqīb al-‘Ashrāf.²¹² However, with the ascension of Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II, al-Sayyādī’s influence expanded from Aleppo to the many different locales in the Ottoman empire. After rising high in the ranks of the religious scene, al-Sayyādī moved from Aleppo to Istanbul by 1876.²¹³ Al-Sayyādī was invited to an audience with Sultan

²¹¹ Al-Rawwās has been claimed to be a figment of al-Sayyādī’s imagination. Contemporaries in the nineteenth and twentieth century as well as recent scholarship, were not able to locate who this Rifaiyya shaykh was in historical accounts. The only reference to al-Rawwās can be noted in al-Sayyādī’s many writings, detailing the teachings of al-Rawwās. See ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shaī‘, *Jināyat al-Sayyādī ‘alā al-tārīkh* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Bashāyr, 2006), 25-26; Thomas Eich, “Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī and Ḥadīth,” in *The Piety of Learning: Islamic Studies in Honor of Stefan Reichmuth*. Edited by Stefan Reichmuth, Michael Kemper, and Ralf Elger (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 145-165

²¹² Itzhak Weismann, “Abū l-Hudā l-Sayyādī and the Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism.” *Arabica* 54, no. 4 (2007), 134.

²¹³ For more on al-Sayyādī see Thomas Eich, “Abū l-Hudā l-Sayyādī—Still such a Polarizing Figure (Response to Itzhak Weismann).” *Arabica* 55, no. 3 (2008): 433-444; Thomas Eich, “Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī and Ḥadīth,” in

‘Abd al-Ḥamīd and was very favorably received. Following this audience, he was appointed as *Shaykh al-mashāikh* in Istanbul—an appointment that sparked jealousy from both imperial subjects and other Ṣūfī *ṭarīqas*.²¹⁴ Al-Sayyādī capitalized on the favorable benevolence of the Sultan in order to expand the sphere of the Rifā‘iyya *ṭarīqa*. In his writings al-Sayyādī claimed to have been entrusted by his master Al-Rawwās to expand the Rifā‘iyya in Anatolia.²¹⁵ Al-Sayyādī devoted much of his influence in imperial circles in order to expand the *ṭarīqa* by opening up *zawiyas* in several locations. This sudden success and expansion of the Rifā‘iyya soon led to polemical attacks from other mystical orders, especially the Qadiriyya.²¹⁶ The expansion of the Rifā‘iyya immediately led to a loss of followers, income, and therefore influence of the Qadiriyya. The criticism directed against the Rifā‘iyya centered around two issues. First, it was doubted that the founder of the order, Ahmad al-Rifā‘ī (d. 1182), was a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad. Consequently, the Rifā‘iyya would have had to be classified below the Qadiriyya, as its founder ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 1166) had *sharifian* status.²¹⁷ Second, the Rifā‘iyya is famous for its ecstatic rituals, practiced during the *dhikr* sessions where people in a trance walk over burning coals, drink poison, or push iron sticks through parts of their body without suffering any apparent harm.²¹⁸ Additionally, al-Sayyādī was denounced for abusing his proximity to the Sultan as a means of furthering his own ends. At the height of his Ṣūfī influence, he was tasked by the Sultan to write and publish Islamic mystical texts. He published approximately sixty books starting in

The Piety of Learning: Islamic Studies in Honor of Stefan Reichmuth. Edited by Stefan Reichmuth, Michael Kemper, and Ralf Elger (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 145-165; Itzhak Weismann, “Abū l-Hudā l-Sayyādī and the Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism.” *Arabica* 54, no. 4 (2007): 586-592; Thomas Eich, “Publish or Perish in 19th-Century Sufism: New Materials on Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī” in *Sufism and the Printing Press in the 19th Century*, edited by Rachida Chih, Catherine Majeur-Jaouen, Rüdiger Seesemann (Würzburg: Ergon, 2015), 371–99.

²¹⁴ Weismann, “Abū l-Hudā l-Sayyādī,” 134-36.

²¹⁵ Weismann, “Abū l-Hudā l-Sayyādī,” 138.

²¹⁶ Al-Tūwyrānī, *Qawl al-fasl*, 4.

²¹⁷ Eich, “Abū l-Hudā l-Sayyādī,” 324.

²¹⁸ Eich, “Abū l-Hudā l-Sayyādī,” 325; Weismann, “Abū l-Hudā l-Sayyādī,” 405.

1881, continuing until his death in 1909. All of his books were directed to followers of the Rifā‘iyya *ṭarīqa* in the first instance. However, since they aimed at the expansion of the *ṭarīqa* by winning over followers of other *turūq*,²¹⁹ the texts were dedicated to the description and definition of key terms, prayers, and rituals for the Rifaiyya (selection of some of the texts below). Eich has done extensive research on al-Sayyādī’s publication initiatives. His findings show that al-Sayyādī usually published several books in a row with only one or two publishing houses (in Egypt for example, his texts appeared exclusively in al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Umūmiyya, with four books in 1897).²²⁰

²¹⁹ Eich, “Abū l-Hudā l-Sayyādī,” 314.

²²⁰ Eich, “Publish or Perish,” 390-99.



Figure 41: A selection of printed texts by al-Sayyādī

The commentary on *Ḥizb al-baḥr* was one of these texts. Al-Sayyādī places this printed book within a larger project of intellectual initiatives patronized by Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, i.e., the authoring and printing of texts on the religious sciences. Contextualizing this printing endeavor into the political climate of the time tells us much about how the Ottoman empire approached the technology of printing. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s reign during the last years of the Ottoman empire had been threatened on two fronts, from European ascendancy and the increased secular threat of the new European-educated class spearheading the oppositional movement.²²¹ As a means of countering this secular trend, the Sultan, through his scholars, began to circulate a discursive image

²²¹ Weismann, “Abū l-Hudā l-Sayyādī,” 138.

of himself as the protector of religion. This is particularly present in some of the contents of *Ḥizb al-baḥr*.²²² Through the state's patronage of this mystical text of al-Shādhilī, the weakening Ottoman state utilized the technological endeavor to disseminate the constructed religious image of the sultan as the patron of religious printed production, reiterating his legitimacy as caliph through disseminating a much beloved text. Even if that had not managed to safeguard him against the sweeping tides of revolt, the reliance on printing and its power of dissemination is one that is worth further study in this context.

This chapter's main goal, of shedding light on this specific instance of printing, is to underscore how printing fostered a different kind of engagement with a pre-modern text in a politically charged moment, and for quite a different audience. The paratexts of the printed book, as well as its ability to be widely disseminated, had captured the interest of the Ottoman state for religious and political discourse. However, it is also important to highlight the medium and space that print provided for the Rifā'iyya *ṭarīqa* as a medium to elaborate on Ṣūfī exposition. I shed light on the role print plays in al-Sayyādī's defense of the Rifā'iyya order, particularly with how he utilizes the framework of the commentary to: (I) showcase his exegetical and scholarly prowess to his enemies, and (II) elaborate on the Rifaiyya order's lineage and defend it.

Qilādat al-naḥr is divided into four sections; an introduction, conclusion, and two sections on *tarjamat sāhib al-ḥizb* (which includes al-Shādhilī's upbringing, his *silsila*, as well as his travels), and another section on the explication of the meaning of the *ḥizb*.²²³ Like many of his other texts, al-Sayyādī praises Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II in the *muqaddima* (introduction) of his commentary (Figure below). This particular homage that al-Sayyādī pays to the Sultan is made reference to in several other instances in the commentary: "in the last *majlis* [assembly] that Imam

²²² Abū al-Hudā al-Sayyādī, *Qilādat al-naḥr* (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-'Umūmiyya, 1897), 2.

²²³ al-Sayyādī, *Qilādat al-naḥr*, 2.

al-Rifāi spoke in, the Imam made a declaration that requires no explication, [...] he ordered us [...] to make haste in carrying the bulk of the kings of Islam's burden [...] know this O' Ṣūfī and follow [the teachings of your shaykh]".²²⁴ It is these instances in his printed material that spark the incensed rage and jealousy of those who claim al-Sayyādī is an imperial puppet, or a patronized subject. When delving further into the contents of the text—apart from the staple references to obeying the sultan and *'ūli al-amr* at the beginning and end of the text (look at figure below)—one finds references that al-Sayyādī reiterates such as “*inna 'ibādī laysa lak 'alayhim sulṭān*” (Quran 15:42). This is not to say that al-Sayyādī is not a man of the Ottoman state. Instead, what I am trying to propose is a more nuanced portrayal of a man whose writings can offer an insight into the ways Ṣūfism evolves and is part and parcel of the political context of the time as proposed by Thomas Eich. Ṣūfism is often conceptualized as a refuge for withdrawing from the political, social, and economic realities in society. However, the character and writings of al-Sayyādī reveal that, on the contrary, Ṣūfīs actively took part in the political discourses during the tumultuous period of the long nineteenth century, employing common concepts and symbols of Ṣūfī thought in political statements.²²⁵

²²⁴ al-Sayyādī, *Qiladit al-nahr*, 18-9

²²⁵ Eich, “Abū l-Hudā l-Sayyādī,” 315-16.

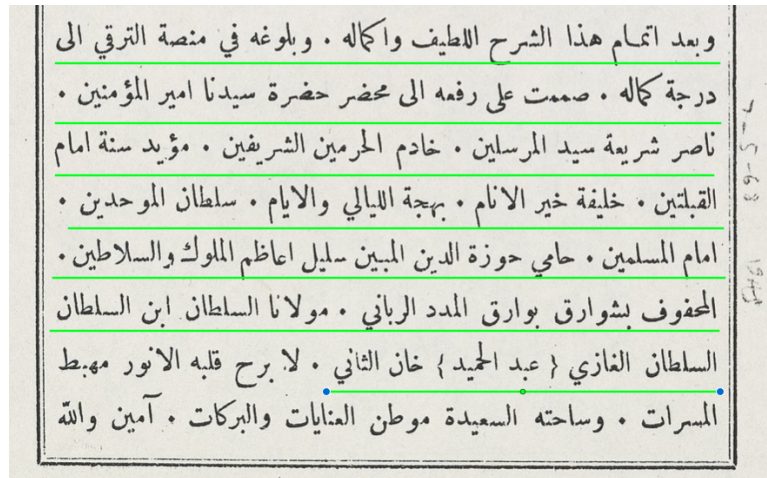


Figure 42: Praise for Sultan 'Abd al-Hamīd II in the commentary

I now turn to how al-Sayyādī uses the parameters of his text to respond to his adversaries. Al-Sayyādī takes on the task of explaining to his readers how al-Shādhiliyya *silsila* is forged. It seems that reiterating, or tracing chains of transmission is a matter that preoccupied both al-Qazānī, as previously discussed in chapter one, and al-Sayyādī as seen by their interventions in the text. For al-Qazānī, there is a need to fix misconceptions about how the Naqshbandī *silsila* is traced, while for al-Sayyādī, it is important to defend his chains of transmission and spiritual standing among his contemporaries as he was criticized for forgery and being dishonest when it came to his lineage to Imam al-Rifa‘ī. He asserts that “these are the chains of al-Shādhilī’s transmission that have no dust upon them [*asanīd khirqat al-Imam al-Shādhilī allatī la ghibār ‘alayhā*].”²²⁶ For the Ṣūfīs in the nineteenth and twentieth century, such as al-Qazānī and al-Sayyādī, the chains of transmission are central to the construction of a community of *ṭarīqa* followers. Hence, al-Sayyādī finds it essential to utilize the paratexts of the hizb to amend misconceptions that his chains of transmission are faulty, as with fixing this view in the Ottoman intellectual scene, he would be able “project a certain view of history [...] serving a pivotal social function for a community, i.e.,

²²⁶ al-Sayyādī, *Qilādat al-naḥr*, 18-15.

repairing or glossing over rifts that otherwise might have torn the community apart.”²²⁷ As a means to keep the community of Rifā‘iyya connected, al-Sayyādī focused on reiterating the intellectual currency of Shaykh al-Rawwās and Imam al-Rifa‘ī throughout the commentary of the *ḥizb*.

Although alleged to be a figment of al-Sayyādī’s imagination, we find al-Sayyādī cite many of al-Rawwās’ sayings, creating a text within a text of an imaginary man’s proverbs.²²⁸ In explaining the meanings of the *ḥizb*, al-Sayyādī devises a system: relate what al-Rawwās has said similarly to al-Shādhilī, as well as refer to Imam al-Rifa‘ī’s teachings. One particular tone is ever-present in the *ḥizb*, that of doubt and its effect on the *nafs*:

نَسْأَلُكَ الْعِصْمَةَ فِي الْحَرَكَاتِ وَالسَّكِّنَاتِ وَالْكَلِمَاتِ وَالْإِرَادَاتِ وَالْخَطَرَاتِ مِنَ الشُّكُوكِ وَالظُّنُونِ

We ask Your protection in movement and rest, in words and desires and thoughts; from the doubts, suppositions [...]

[al-Sayyādī:] Here the shaykh [al-Shādhilī] asks to be protected from the calamity of doubt and suppositions [...] for God says “a little suspicion is sin” [here al-Sayyādī refers to the Quranic verses in 49:12: “O you who have attained to faith! Avoid most guesswork [about one another] for, behold, some of [such] guesswork is [in itself] a sin; and do not spy upon one another, and neither allow your-selves to speak ill of one another behind your backs. Would any of you like to eat the flesh of his dead brother? Nay, you would loathe it! And be conscious of God. Verily, God is an acceptor of repentance, a dispenser of grace!”]²²⁹

²²⁷ Eich, “Abū l-Hudā al-Sayyādī and Ḥadīth,” 145.

²²⁸ al-Sayyādī, *Qiladit al-nahr*, 31;33;36;57.

²²⁹ al-Sayyādī, *Qiladit al-nahr*, 30.

For al-Shāhdilī, the doubts and suppositions here are a matter of concern for the heart of the believer; seeking God’s protection from being led astray by man’s doubtful thoughts and desires. But for al-Sayyādī, the doubts here are those highlighted by his attackers whom he admonishes with the reference to Quran 49:12. He then references al-Rawwās:

Evidence is formed,
and so is its opposite
to bring down the firm foundations of honor.²³⁰

Here al-Sayyādī relies on the lines of poetry by al-Rawwās to build up to his coming reference to Imam al-Rifa‘ī. He says that evidence with and against someone can be formed, and in opposition to someone it aims to bring down what is honorable in a person. This is followed up by Imam al-Rifa‘ī: “one cannot depend on doubt as it [...] pushes away one's friend and brings closer one’s enemy. [...] for it might be probable that someone who is a victim of accusations could be innocent from what others have claimed ill of him. And so, purify your way with God and people.”²³¹ Al-Sayyādī ends his explanation of this part of the litany by saying: al-Imam al-Rifai said: “if doubt was a man, he would be a liar. For he grows and festers by filling the mind with what the *nafs* claims falsely, and desires [...] for God says of it [the *nafs*] “And yet, I am not trying to absolve myself: for, verily, man's inner self does incite [him] to evil.”²³²

²³⁰ al-Sayyādī, *Qilādit al-nahr*, 33.

²³¹ al-Sayyādī, *Qilādit al-nahr*, 33

²³² al-Sayyādī, *Qilādit al-nahr*, 33-34.

This intellectual and spiritual explanation done here attempts to do two things. Firstly, the devotional material of the *ḥizb* is added to by the interventions of al-Sayyādī, al-Rawwās, and Imam al-Rifā‘ī, in order to respond to the attacks against the character of al-Sayyādī, which casted doubt on his spiritual legacy and chains of transmission. Secondly, these interventions and commentarial material are responding to the attacks on the Rifā‘iyya as an attempt to change the discursive image of the *ṭarīqa* from one of esoteric snake charmers to intellectuals explaining the meanings of the *ḥizb* relying on Quranic verses, philosophical, and ethical introspection. In the year 1897 only, al-Sayyādī’s commentary had 6 print runs in the maṭba‘a ‘Umūmiyya—a popular publication history. Other commentaries of the *ḥizb*, written during the age of commentary had not come to light during the age of print such as *Jannat al-Naṣr fī Khawās Hizb al-Baḥr* by Muṣṭapha al-Kamālī (d. 1796) and *Fath al-‘Alī al-Barr Sharḥ Hizb al-Baḥr* by Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar al-Izmīrī (d. 1766), among others. However, another commentary written in the nineteenth century enjoyed a popular publication, particularly in the Nile Delta.

Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Qawqajī (d. 1888) and *Khulāsāt al-zahr ‘alā sharḥ Hizb al-baḥr*

Known as *al-insan al-kāmil* (the Perfect Man) amongst his peers,²³³ al-Qawqajī led a spectacularly spiritual life—even at birth. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Adhamī (d. 1908), his biographer, relates the miracle of al-Qawqajī’s birth: “He was born in the house beside the great Tripoli mosque al-‘Attar. During his birth, the story of the Prophet’s birth was being read out loud, and once ‘and so he [the Prophet] (peace and blessings be upon him) was born’ was said, al-Qawqajī was delivered.”²³⁴ Al-Qawqajī is a name for the Qawūq craft, which was practiced by one of Abū al-

²³³ ‘Abd al-Qādir Al-Adhamī. *Tarjamāt quṭb al-wāṣilīn wa-ghawth al-sālikīn al-‘arīf bi-Allāh Sayyidī Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Abī al-Maḥāsīn al-Qāwuqjī al-Ḥasanī* (Bayrūt: Al-Matba‘at al-‘Adabiyya, 1888), 5.

²³⁴ Al-Adhamī, *Tarjamāt quṭb al-wāṣilīn*, 7.

Maḥāsīn's grandfathers. The *Qawūq* is a kind of special crown or turban that Ottoman sultans used to wear, and then it was transferred as a mark of the elite state members and senior officials. This particular type of turban became popular among those who were able to pay for it. Then it soon became extinct, as the wearing of Qawūq was frowned upon at the end of the caliphate of Sultan Mahmud, son of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, the last of the Ottoman sultans. The Qawqajī family is one of the ancient Tripolitan families, whose lineage ends with the honorable Muḥammadan progeny, specifically to Al-Ḥassan bin 'Alī and his mother Fāṭima al-Zahrā.²³⁵

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad 'Abū al-Maḥāsīn al-Qawqajī was born in Tripoli in 1809, in the house of his maternal uncles from the al-Ḥamīdī family of al-Faruqīs, in relation to al-Faruq 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, specifically in the house of his uncle, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥamīdī. By the time al-Qawqajī reached the age of four, he began learning the Qur'an, and at the age of ten was taught the Prophetic tradition. He then migrated to Egypt in 1824, seeking education at al-'Azhar by the age of fifteen. He remained in Egypt for twenty-seven years, attending lessons and reading the religious sciences. His family resided in Shibīn al-Kūm, where his *ṭarīqa* Shādhilīyya-Qawqajīyya had a popular following,²³⁶ and where his grandson established a printing press and shop that printed the commentary under study, *Khulāsat al-zahr 'alā sharḥ Hizb al-baḥr* in 1935.²³⁷

In Egypt, al-Qawqajī learned under Shaykh Ibrahīm al-Bājūrī (d.1860), Shaykh Muḥammad al-Tamīmī (d. 1852), Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Dājanī (d. 1858). While in Egypt, he was initiated into the Shādhilīyya *ṭarīqa* at the hands of its shaykh, Bahā' al-Dīn al-Bahī (d.1844).²³⁸ During his travels between Egypt, Tripoli, and the Hijaz, al-Qawqajī dedicated his time to teaching texts on Ṣūfīsm, *ḥadīth*, and devotional poetry. Of interest to this chapter is his commentary on

²³⁵ Al-Adhamī, *Tarjamāt quṭb al-wāṣilīn*, 8-9.

²³⁶ This *ṭarīqa* was recognized by the Supreme Council of Ṣūfī Orders in Egypt at the end of December in 1926.

²³⁷ Al-Adhamī, *Tarjamāt quṭb al-wāṣilīn*, 8.

²³⁸ Al-Adhamī, *Tarjamāt quṭb al-wāṣilīn*, 10.

Ḥizb al-baḥr. In al-Qawqajī's commentary, he is elaborating more on the benefits of *dhikr* sessions, and the spiritual and healing properties of the *aḥzāb*. His commentary responds to twentieth century aversion to overt displays of Ṣūfism—some of which we were exposed to in chapter two.



Figure 43: Frontispiece of al-Qawqajī's commentary

Al-Qawqajī sets out to inform his readers what the true purpose of the *aḥzāb* are, criticizing “the followers of Ibn Taymiyya and Abū Ḥayyān, who have denied the importance of the litanies. They live in ignorance and distrust of everything.”²³⁹ al-Qawqajī declares that litanies do not affect a person's fate, but instead it is done to entreat God for mercy and to see proximity to the creator.²⁴⁰ Although similar to al-Sayyādī in terms of it being a commentary responding to contemporary

²³⁹ Abū al-Ḥasan al-Qawqajī, *Khulāsat al-zahr ‘alā sharḥ Ḥizb al-baḥr* (Shibīn al-Kūm: al-Maṭba‘a al-Qawqajīyya, 1935), 4.

²⁴⁰ al-Qawqajī, *Khulāsat al-zahr*, 5

concerns, al-Qawqajī's commentary is also interested in highlighting how the *ḥizb* should be handled, recited, etc. He informs his reader the proper timing for reciting al-Shādhilī's *aḥzāb*, such as *al-ḥizb al-kabīr* after the morning prayers, and *ḥizb al-baḥr* after the afternoon prayers (*‘asr*).²⁴¹

Interestingly, al-Qawqajī engages with the contents of the *ḥizb* within the broader framework of *‘ilm al-khawāṣṣ*, the science of the properties of divine names and Quranic words.²⁴² He examines the ways in which meaning is yielded from the ambiguity of the redeployed Quranic verses in al-Shādhilī's prayers. In addition, he looks at how paraliturgical uses of the prayers endows its invoker with its healing, protective, and guiding properties. He advises his readers and followers to recite the Arabic alphabet prior to the *ḥizb* twenty-nine times (each time in one breath), as this “*sir al-gharīb*” (strange secret) has special benefits.²⁴³ Additionally, al-Qawqajī highlights the paraliturgical uses of *كهيحص*. Lettrism witnessed both scholarly and popular expressions in different Islamicate contexts by mystics, imams, and intellectuals. *Ilm al-ḥurūf* was conceptualized as a key to deciphering meaning, seeking proximity to the Qur'an and God, as well as for paraliturgical uses. The way in which al-Qawqajī deals with *‘ilm al-khawāṣṣ* (the properties of divine names, Qur'ānic words, etc.) follows a long tradition of Muslim exegetes who utilize lettrism in their elaboration on the meanings and properties of the Quran.²⁴⁴ *‘ilm al-ḥurūf* is one of the many sciences of *sīmiyā*, the discipline of linking the spiritual with its physical correspondences. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, al-Kāshifī, and Ibn Arabī are amongst some of the eminent scholars who have contributed to the sciences of *sīmiyā*.²⁴⁵ The lettrist science approaches

²⁴¹ al-Qawqajī, *Khulāsat al-zahr*, 5.

²⁴² Orkhan Mir-Kasimov. *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 251.

²⁴³ al-Qawqajī, *Khulāsat al-zahr*, 5.

²⁴⁴ Mir-Kasimov, *Unity in Diversity*, 252-53.

²⁴⁵ Eric Geoffroy. *Introduction to Ṣūfism: The Inner Path of Islam* (World Wisdom, 2010), 21; O'Connor, *Popular and Talismanic uses of the Qur'ān*, Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān, 2018.

the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet as keys of deciphering and manipulating its numerological, alchemical and physical correspondences.²⁴⁶ Ṣūfī scholars became involved in the lettrist tradition by the eighth and ninth centuries, beginning with the efforts of the Brethren of Purity (*ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*) in the Basran intellectual scene.²⁴⁷ Ṣūfīs such as Sahl Tustarī (d. 896), al-Ḥallāj (d. 922), and al-Tirmidhī (d. 936) made use of the science of letters in their search for knowledge of God and the world.²⁴⁸ In Quranic exegesis, lettrist tradition was practiced in order to discover patterns in verses—ones through which meaning would be divulged to the reader. The Qurʾānic *muqattaʾāt*, or mysterious isolated letters, became of central concern for lettrists in particular, and for the muslim community in general. Out of the twenty-eight letters of the Arabic alphabet, fourteen appear as openings (*fawātiḥ*) for Qurʾānic verses in variants of two, three, four or five letters.²⁴⁹ Exegetes have been confounded by the significance of the isolated letters, where some have interpreted the letters as a device to alert listeners to the word of God. Others find that the inability of individuals to confront the disconnected letters an example of *Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān*, the miraculous wonder of the Quran.²⁵⁰

al-Qawqajī recommends practicing remembrance by reciting كهي عصى ten times on one’s fingers. This is followed by closing one’s fist and opening them; this act of remembrance, mediated through the science of lettrism, guarantees that God would fulfill one’s needs.²⁵¹ This science of lettrism intellectual science had been disparaged due to a towering presence of a sort of “Occultophobia” in al-Qawqajī’s contemporary moment, which he dedicates pages to—discussing

²⁴⁶ Matthew S. Melvin-Koushki. *The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Philosophy of Ṣāʾin Al -Diīn Turka Iṣfahānī (1369-1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timurid Iran*. Yale University, 2017, PhD Dissertation, 172.

²⁴⁷ Melvin-Koushki, *The Quest for a Universal Science*, 172.

²⁴⁸ Melvin-Koushki, *The Quest for a Universal Science*, 183.

²⁴⁹ Asad, 992.

²⁵⁰ Asad, 992

²⁵¹ al-Qawqajī, *Khulāsāt al-zahr*, 20.

the importance of unveiling the hidden properties and benefits of *'ilm al-hurūf* that al-Shādilī reiterates in his *ḥizb* for devotional properties. He reiterates that the Divine Names of God are emblematic of how all *aḥzāb* begin, as invoking the names of God provides the invoker with the special *khawas*, or properties, for protective purposes.²⁵² Who is al-Qawqajī responding to here? Perhaps an ex-student of his, Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935). The owner of the renowned periodical, *al-Manār* (The Lighthouse), began his illustrious career of scrutinizing popular practices of devotion from within the ranks of Ṣūfī *ṭurūq*. He began his initiation into the Shādhiliyya *ṭarīqa* as the student of al-Qawqajī. When Riḍā approached his teacher to ask him to finally initiate him into the *ṭarīqa*, and to make known to him all the *dhikr* and *'ibadat* practiced by al-Qawqajī's other murideen, his master refused.²⁵³ Al-Qawqajī did not approve of giving permission to Riḍā to learn the litanies, instead he feigned not having knowledge of them, saying: "my son, I have no knowledge of what you ask. For this carpet has been folded, and its people have gone extinct."²⁵⁴ Moving from this rejection, Riḍā sought an initiation into the Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqa* instead. In his *fatwas* in *al-Manār*, Riḍā advises one of his readers writing to him asking about al-Shādhiliyya to "stay away and avoid al-ṭarīqa al-Shādhiliyya."²⁵⁵ Riḍā writes to his readers that his aversion to the Shādhiliyya *ṭarīqa* comes from his own experience of being among its shaykhs and initiates, where he finds that *bid'a* (innovation) has penetrated it.²⁵⁶

²⁵² al-Qawqajī, *Khulāsāt al-zahr*, 21-2.

²⁵³ Al-Adhamī, *Tarjamat quṭb al-wāṣilīn*, 221.

²⁵⁴ Ibn Badis, *Kitāb athar Ibn Badis*, 4:197.

²⁵⁵ Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā. "Al-Shadhiliyya." *al-Manar*, issue 9, October (1932), 669; for more on Rida's *fatawa* see Halevi, Leor. "Is China a House of Islam? Chinese Questions, Arabic Answers, and the Translation of Salafism from Cairo to Canton, 1930-1932." *Welt Des Islams* 59 no. 1 (2019): 33-69; Umar Ryad. *Islamic Reformism and Christianity: A Critical Reading of the Works of Muḥammad Rashid Rida and His Associates (1898-1935)* (Brill, 2009); Daniel A. Stolz. "'By Virtue of Your Knowledge': Scientific Materialism and the Fatwās of Rashīd Riḍā." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 75, no. 2 (2012): 223-247; Umar Ryad. "A Printed Muslim 'Lighthouse' in Cairo Al-Manār's Early Years, Religious Aspiration and Reception (1898-1903)." *Arabica* 56 no. 1 (2009): 27-60.

²⁵⁶ Riḍā. "Al-Shadhiliyya," 670

He claims that his experience in the Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqa* was much better, seeing as they did not have any *dhikr* or *awrād*,²⁵⁷ unlike al-Shādhiliyya with its innovation of *aḥzāb*, with its public recitation and hidden letterist properties. As a concluding remark, Riḍā suggests that the reader consult Ibn Taymiyya’s book titled *al-Kalam al-Tayib* instead of delving into the innovations of the Ṣūfī *ṭarīqas*. Perhaps it had been Riḍā’s lack of appreciation for the spiritual properties of the *aḥzāb* that had made al-Qawqajī have second thoughts about teaching them to his reluctant student.

Dhayl on its own: Mapping out Shibin al-Kum

As referred to earlier, the *dhayl* written by al-Qawqajī’s grandson detailing the *rithā’* (mourning) poems related by the contemporaries of al-Qawqajī deserves its own study. Like al-Qazānī’s *dhayl* of Central Asian migrants in Mecca to the *Rashaḥāt’ayn al-ḥayāt*, the *dhayl* of Qawqajī’s grandson shows the connections Qawqajī forged over the span of his lifetime. Of particular interest are the names mentioned residing in Shibin al-Kom where al-Qawqajī’s followers of his *ṭarīqa* resided by his grandson’s print shop. The names in the *dhayl* allow us to map the scholars, mystics, groups that the print shop was catering for.

²⁵⁷ In chapter one, I touched upon the silent *dhikr* practiced by the Naqshbandiyya and how it differed from other *ṭarīqas*.

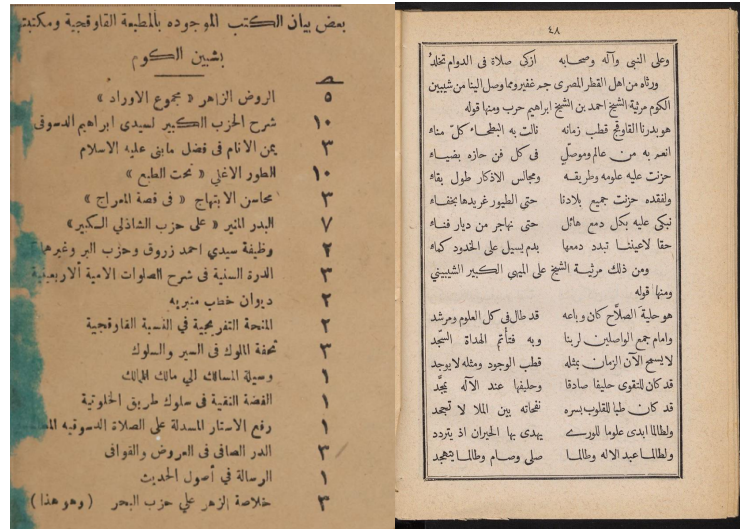


Figure 44: List of books printed and sold at the print shop (left), and an example of the rithā' poems (right)

At the end of his grandfather's commentary, Shams al-Dīn al-Qawqajī provides a list of the prices and titles of books offered at the Maṭbaʿa Qawqajīyya in Shibīn al-Kūm. The texts range from his grandfather's own literary productions, as well as other *aḥzāb* of other *ṭurūq*, devotional poetry collections, and treatises on *ḥadīth* as indicated in the list above. Who were the patrons of this print shop? The list of mourning poets, from Shibīn al-Kom, grieving the loss of al-Qawqajī give us a possible indication of who were the men interested in perusing the printed volumes offered, a subject in need of further examination in a more detailed study.²⁵⁸

The ability to trace transmissions and intellectual connections can benefit from the types of *addendum* of al-Qazānī in chapter one, and the ones indicated in this chapter. By following the names referenced, one is able to identify a broader map/landscape of spiritual and intellectual connections throughout different locales—connecting Shādhiliyya members together through *maktūbāt* (letters), *rithā'* poetry, migrations, and travels. In applying this approach to tracing

²⁵⁸ al-Qawqajī, *Khulāsāt al-zahr*, 48.

connections in what is constituted in an *addendum*, in terms of why particular additions to a text are added, what do they offer to the reader, and who do they introduce us to in order to enrich the overall story of the printed, book history during the age of print could be enriched by the vastness of media and forms available to the editors.

In this study of devotional Ṣūfī texts, in general, and *Hizb al-baḥr*, in specific, I pinpointed the transmission of the text in both premodern and modern periods, and showed how connections were forged through the material culture of manuscript and print between Ṣūfīs hailing from Egypt, the Levant, Anatolia, and India. These men, editors, Ṣūfī shaykhs, etc., operate in different contexts as this chapter has argued, yet are connected through their involvement in the Shādhiliyya *ṭarīqa* as articulated through the texts they chose to interact with and print. In this chapter, I examined what connects the Ottoman Rasputin with an Azharī-bred Ṣūfī Shaykh, and what an Ottoman state-sanctioned print shop has in common with a small, family-run one in the Nile Delta. Although premodern *Hizb al-baḥr* commentaries were not as popularly printed as modern ones during the age of print, this phenomenon still has something to offer for intellectual history. As in chapter one and two, the medieval text is central in this story of printing commentaries. The devotional practice of reciting *Hizb al-baḥr* continues from the manuscript age to the printing moment of the nineteenth century, as is shown in the layers of devotion found in collated editions. Even in print, the text is annotated on or liturgical formulae are printed along the margins. Additionally, Al-Sayyādī and al-Qawqajī rely on the medium of the commentary, and the centrality of the *hizb* as a devotional text, in order to guarantee the transmission of devotional guidance. This in turn highlights several things: (I) the involvement of Ṣūfī scholars and shaykhs in the intellectual discourse of their contemporary moment, (II) the defense and elaboration on the centrality of paraliturgical functions of the *hizb* for devotional purposes in the early twentieth century against

reformist tendencies, and (III) the reliance on the printing and authoring of texts as a medium to reach a wider readership of *ṭarīqa* followers for spiritual guidance on the benefits of *dhikr* and *aḥzāb*.

Conclusion: On Printing Devotion

This thesis has traversed through various printing locales in an attempt to highlight the interplay between Ṣūfism and printing during the long nineteenth century. The different locales I have looked at are also approached through a temporal lens. In the first chapter we followed the medieval text of *Rashaḥāt ‘ayn al-ḥayāt* from premodern Herat, moving in time to nineteenth century Istanbul, Lucknow, Tashkent, and resting finally in Mecca. In the second chapter, *Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ* journeyed from Mamluk Cairo to Orientalist libraries in Europe and print shops during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, until it reached a print shop in Marseille, then Cairo once more during the nineteenth century. In chapter three, the revealed *Ḥizb al-baḥr* began its voyage on the Red Sea during the twelfth century, where I then traced its printing in Anatolia, India, Central Asia, and Upper Egypt during the nineteenth and twentieth century. This temporal and spatial examination enabled me to answer a set of questions: why did the chosen texts attract the interest of publishers in these areas? Who were the editors and publishers involved in the publication process? And finally, what do these printed texts and the people who work on them tell us about Ṣūfism in the nineteenth century?

My thesis showed how the story of Ṣūfī printing, one that emerges and continues from a legacy of manuscript culture, allow us to conceptualize a print community devoted to identifying and disseminating seminal devotional texts, be they medieval poetry, hagiographies, or litanies—for the modern period in printed form. The rapid transregional spread of printed devotional litanies, mimicking manuscripts and composites, examined in this thesis reveals much about the

interconnected networks that existed among communities of editors, publishers, and readers in the locations where the texts were printed. I have shown that by looking at how these medieval texts, initially produced and circulated in manuscript form, were presented to audiences during the age of print. In the three chapters, we've looked at (i) the multilingual history of print with how seminal devotional texts began to be translated into different languages for circulation, in an attempt by the publishers to expand the circle of readers in different locales; (ii) additionally, that textual spaces (margins, calligraphic decorations, etc.) in the paratexts of the printed book were used in a way similar to that of the manuscript tradition of marginal commentaries; (iii) how the printing of translations and commentaries were as, or more, important for the print community of the modern period than the original text; and finally (iv) how the editors and translators of the publishing houses sought to situate the texts they were producing within an intellectual context or debate of their contemporary moment.

By doing so, this thesis builds on new scholarship on the intersection between *Ṣūfīsm* and book history. This thesis attempted to piece together the story of medieval *Ṣūfī* books and the interconnected afterlives of the author with the publisher, booksellers, and editors. I sought to understand how these various actors in different locations and time periods shaped and, were in turn, shaped by the production, distribution, reception, and survival of these three overlapping medieval devotional texts on hagiography, litanies, and poetry. Additionally, the scope of this thesis, in terms of the geographic and linguistic considerations, aimed at expanding our conception of print and intellectual history to include communities beyond the Arab region. Instead, I focus on the transregional connections that brought together print communities in India, Central Asia, Anatolia, and Egypt. I looked at the importance of the Tatar muslim Muḥammad Murad al-Qazānī as an immigrant in the Arab region, particularly through his intellectual labour of translation to tell

the history of the *Rashaḥāt*'s printing, as well as the role played the various migrant Naqshbandī members, particularly in Mecca, involved the printing of seminal medieval *ṭarīqa* texts. The story of immigration, *ghurba*, and printing take center stage in this chapter, showing that various actors operated along the outskirts of the Muslim world, or often, within the very heart of it, to maintain and circulate medieval devotional texts for Naqshbandī brothers through the medium of print. This disputes our assumptions over the clear-cut dichotomy between marginal/periphery and centre of the Islamicate world of print.

With the printing of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, I focused primarily on the increased interest in printing commentaries on the *Dīwān* in Europe by different individuals and groups. The story of the *Dīwān*'s printing takes place in tandem with (i) the development of Orientalist and colonial interest in particular literature that colonists took to represent an entire corpus of Muslim poetry and literary production; and (ii) indigenous discourse from the medieval period to the age of print, on how best to repackage Ṣūfism into a palatable form that is less corruptive for the “layman,” and is more focused on love, desire, and yearning. Here, I traced how the legacy of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poetry, from script to print, was constantly contested and defended among scholars, historians, and editors. I argued that the printing of the commentaries on the *Dīwān* constituted a continuation of a long history of controversy within the pages of commentaries from the medieval period to the age of print. This is manifested in the examples of the Maronite Rouchaïd Daḥdaḥ in Marseille choosing to print al-Bīrūnī's commentary for less “Ṣūfī flare” and Muḥammad al-Asyūṭī in Cairo choosing to print al-Kāshānī's commentary to respond to the egregious omission of the *Tā'īyyah* from the entirety of the text. In addition, in tracing the material continuities from the medieval to the modern, the *Dīwān*'s editorial practices reveal that the presentation of the printed book included both ingenious and continuous practices. Daḥdaḥ incorporates two commentaries into, what I term,

a “hybrid” commentary, while al-Asyūtī retains the manuscript tradition of inserting a commentary along the margins of the text.

Similar to chapters one and two, the medieval text is central in the story of print in chapter three. *Ḥizb al-baḥr*’s material form, recitational concerns, and intellectual exegesis of its meaning was a matter of concern for the medieval and modern book producer. I pinpointed the transmission of the text in both premodern and modern periods and showed how connections were forged through the material culture of manuscript and print between Ṣūfīs hailing from Egypt, the Levant, Anatolia, Central Asia and India. As this chapter has argued, these Ṣūfī editors and authors operated in different intellectual and political contexts, yet were connected through their involvement in different *ṭuruq*, as articulated through the texts they chose to interact with and print. This is manifested in examining the devotional practice of reciting *Ḥizb al-baḥr* as a continuation from the manuscript age to the printing moment of the nineteenth century. This is shown in the layers of devotion found in collated editions. Even in print, the text is annotated, or liturgical formulae are printed along the margins, where the printed text is a devotional material object mimicking the manuscript as a daily devotion to turn to. The editor and commentator of the printed text use the paratexts of the medium as a guide for its reader, informing them on how to best recite the prayer; how many times, and after which time of the day.

This thesis is only a stepping-stone in constructing a book history of Ṣūfī literature in the age of print. The focus on printing such texts illuminates the devotional lives of the editors and translators, who had a personal stake in the survival of these medieval texts. There are innumerable individuals in history who have dedicated their lives to bringing us the texts and stories of the medieval period—home-sick immigrants like al-Qazānī, seeking solace in translating the *Rashaḥāt*, and like al-Daḥḍaḥ, far from home and veering on bankruptcy, printing a text that reminded him

of a time when he was in the safety of a Levantine *madrassa*, or like al-Qawqajī, after a long life of teaching, dedicates the remainder of his years to explicating the meanings of a beloved litany. This thesis's construction of the afterlives of the *Rashaḥāt*, the *Dīwān*, and the *Ḥizb*, would not have seen the light of day without the intellectual labour of these men.

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