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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Sufism, Ritual, and Modernity in Egypt: Language Performance as an Adaptive Strategy

**A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Music**

by

Michael Aaron Frishkopf

1999

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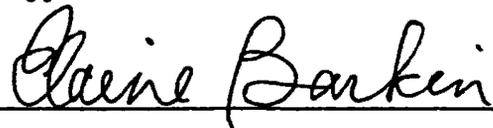
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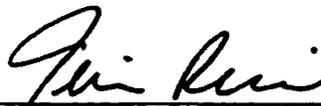
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DEDICATION

**This dissertation is dedicated to all my friends in Egypt,
and especially to my wife, Iman Mersal.**

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PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

- Frishkopf, Michael. 1998. Liner notes for the compact disc: *The Magic of the Sufi Inshad: Sheikh Yasin al-Tuhami*. Paris: Long Distance, Real World Works.
- . Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami: A Typical Laila Performance. *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, vol. 6 (in press).
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- . 1998. Sufism between Haqiqa and Shari'a: Some forces shaping the heterodoxy of hadra performance in contemporary Egypt. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Bloomington, Indiana.
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- . 1996. Musical Analysis and Musical Experience: An Operational Definition of Saltana and its Application to Al-Inshad Al-Dini. Lecture presented at the American Research Center in Egypt, Cairo.
- . 1996. Referential Emotion and Inshad in the Sufi Dhikr. Lecture presented at the Centre d'études et de documentation économique, juridique et sociale, Cairo.
- . 1995. Language, Emotion, and Meaning in the Inshad of Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami. Lecture presented at the American Research Center in Egypt, Cairo.
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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Sufism, Ritual, and Modernity in Egypt: Language Performance as an Adaptive Strategy

by

Michael Aaron Frishkopf

Doctor of Philosophy in Music

University of California, Los Angeles, 1999

Professor Ali Jihad Racy, Chair

Sufi orders became increasingly widespread in Egyptian society from the 12th century to the 19th, despite criticism directed particularly to ritual performance. But with the advent of modernity, various social transformations began to undermine the orders' traditional bases for support, while increasing the influence of critics. While the majority of older orders sharply declined in scope and influence in the 20th century, certain orders founded in the modern period have been strikingly successful. How have newer orders succeeded in adapting to modern conditions?

Sufi ritual—mainly *language performance* (LP), including chanting, singing, speaking, lecturing, and praying—is a powerful *social* tool. The discursive purposes of Sufi practices are primarily *spiritual*; ritual brings the mystic closer to God. But rituals may also fulfill a social function, when LP—via textual, sonic, and behavioral aspects— attracts members, defends against critics, maintains identity, or upholds social

centralization and cohesion. However, the strategic use of LP as a social tool is limited by social structure. Centralized, cohesive orders containing strongly committed members can better formulate, disseminate, and apply group strategies controlling LP which help to maintain the group. Thus there is a complex interrelation between social structure and the strategic use of LP in the orders. Ritual LP is also shaped by the historical context of group formation.

This dissertation aims to show how ritual control helps the Sufi order to adapt, and why such controls cannot be effectively applied by the older orders, via diachronic and synchronic analysis. A history of the orders in Egypt underscores the importance of ritual control in the modern period. Subsequently, an ethnography shows that the identity of an order is primarily social and ritual, and that development of social structure over time tends to decrease the tariqa's ability to employ LP strategically. Finally, detailed analyses of particular orders shows how modern groups control LP strategically so as to adapt to modern conditions. In older orders, lacking the social apparatus prerequisite for strategic control, and formed in response to premodern conditions, LP reflects tradition and individual interests, but does not support the group as a social unity.

Technical Notes

A. *Notation of Arabic language*

The notation of Arabic language using Latin letters is problematic. First, Arabic script cannot easily be converted to Latin script while preserving readability and pronounceability. Second, at least three sorts of Arabic language must be treated in a consistent system: written high Arabic (*fusha*), spoken high Arabic, and spoken colloquial Arabic (*'ammiyya*). This thesis employs a *simplified* system of transliteration from Arabic to Latin character sets. This system is not a one-to-one mapping, since one ordinary Latin letter may represent several Arabic letters. In particular the velarized and unvelarized consonants are not distinguished, nor are the long and short vowels. In employing such a system, I follow the usage of several contemporary scholars (e.g. Ernst 1985, Gilsenan 1973).

ء - ا - و - ي	د d	ض d	ك k
ب b	ذ dh	ط t	ل l
ت t	ر r	ظ z	م m
ث th	ز z	ع 'e	ن n
ج j	س s	غ gh	ه h
ح h	ش sh	ف f	و w
خ kh	ص s	ق q	ي y
ا a	ي i	و u	اَوّ aw
ا a	ي i	و u	اَيّ ay
ا a		و t, h, or omitted (see below)	

In addition:

- The *shadda* is indicated by a doubled letter (كُتَاب = "kuttab")
- Final vowel endings and nunation (i'rab and tanwin) are generally dropped.
- *Ta' marbuta* is dropped, except when preceded by a long fatha vowel when it is represented as "h", and in construct, when represented as "t".
- Individual words are written separated by spaces; they are not elided even when they would be in Arabic script.
- The initial *hamza* is always dropped (thus "adab" not "'adab").
- The definite article is always represented as "al-", regardless of the preceding vowel, or following "sun" letters (thus "Dhu al-Nun", not "Dhu'n-Nun"). Hamzat al-wasl is not notated.
- The definite article may sometimes be omitted in order to simplify common terms; thus "Shari'a" rather than "al-Shari'a".

The ambiguities resulting from such a simplification are justified as follows.

Those readers who are fluent in Arabic, and therefore may be interested in knowing the Arabic equivalents of transliterated terms, will have no trouble deriving them. Those readers lacking such fluency will—in most cases—neither need nor want to do so, and the simpler transliteration system will make the text much easier to read, as well as facilitating quotation by those who may not be able to employ the complexities of a sophisticated transcription system.

Several other issues arise:

Verbal Arabic. For written Arabic, the system involves a straightforward letter by letter substitution. But verbal Arabic (whether spoken, sung, chanted, etc.) must first be notated in Arabic letters before the above transliteration scheme can be applied. Words taken from oral realizations of written sources are notated according to their sources. Words taken from oral sources which are not realizations of written sources are generally transcribed according to the nearest written form, even when these words are colloquial Arabic. Thus when Egyptians say “zīkr”, “alb”, “gum‘a”, “zakirin”, I write “dhīkr”, “qalb”, “jum‘a”, “dhakirin”, respectively. For the purposes of this thesis there seems little reason to preserve local pronunciation patterns, and in any case to do so properly would be vastly more complicated than introducing a few letter substitutions. Exceptions, for the purpose of transliterating poetic excerpts, will be noted.

Arabic in English. Some Arabic words which have been adopted as English words will not be transcribed; rather such words will simply be translated to their English

equivalents (e.g. Mecca instead of Makka; mosque instead of masjid) to avoid confusions.

Plurals. Many Arabic plurals are formed in non-standard ways (the “broken” plural); to use Arabic plurals consistently would be confusing to the reader unfamiliar with Arabic. Besides, Arabic plural forms are not always used for the semantic plural (e.g. “20 books” employs the singular form of “book”). To simplify this situation, plurals are formed by simply adding the English plural suffix “s”. The context will make clear whether a final “s” represents plural or is part of the Arabic form. For a few common plurals (e.g. “turuq”), the Arabic plural form is used; these are defined at first occurrence.

Italicization, definition. Arabic terms and phrases are italicized and glossed (in parentheses or by context) at the first occurrence at least. After the first mention, a term may not be italicized or defined, unless many pages have elapsed since the previous use, or if it is being used in a new sense.

B. Dates and References

All dates are CE (Common Era, a.k.a. AD) unless otherwise noted.

References are generally given in the standard social science format, by author, year, and page (e.g. Gilson 1973:100). There are three exceptions:

1) In references to alphabetical reference works the title of the article replaces the page numbers. In references to the 2nd edition of the Encyclopedia of Islam, EI2

replaces the date and the article title (and possibly subheading) replaces the page numbers (e.g Goldziher EI2:“Ahl al-Bayt”).

2) In references to a multivolume work in which each volume is paginated separately, instead of page number I give volume number and page number, separated by a colon (e.g. al-Ja‘fari 1979:3:30, meaning volume 3 page 30).

3) All Qur’anic translations are taken from Pickthall 1981; they are referenced by chapter and verse (sura and aya), as “2:256” (sura 2, aya 256).

1. Introduction

A. Overview: background, problem, hypothesis

The 20th century has not been kind to the mystical Islamic organizations known as Sufi orders, or *turuq* (singular *tariqa*), in Egypt. The role of Sufism in Egyptian society has drastically declined over the last century, due to rapidly changing social conditions combined with critiques from both Islamic reformist and modern secularist discourses. Yet particular orders, most of them founded relatively recently, have nevertheless been quite successful in adapting to the new conditions. In this dissertation, I compare the historical, social, and ritual dimensions of three contemporary Sufi orders: two of these have prospered, while the third is in decline. How have the first two managed to attract committed members, maintain identity, and defend legitimacy within a social space that has become increasingly hostile to organized mysticism? Conversely, why has the third been unable to do so?

The central hypothesis of this dissertation is that successful orders have adapted to modern conditions by formulating general group-level strategic responses allowing them to expand while maintaining their characteristic identities (and I will argue that the identity of a Sufi order is primarily social), and that the practical realization of these strategies occurs primarily through control of language performance (LP) in the regular group ritual called *hadra*. At the same time, the preconditions for the formulation, dissemination, and application of such strategies are primarily social: the cohesiveness

and centralization of the order, and the absorption of group identity as the primary component of members' individual identities. The establishment of these preconditions is also a goal of LP strategy, since they are necessary for maintaining group identity, and so a complex interaction between performance and social structure emerges. The LP of hadra helps to maintain the group, by attracting members, guarding against critics, and reinforcing identity; the latter entails creating the social preconditions which make strategic LP possible in the first place. Maintenance of social structure both requires particular patterns in LP, and enables the formulation of strategies which produce such patterns. Older orders lack the requisite social preconditions which would enable them to formulate strategies; unregulated, LP is shaped by historical and individual factors, but does not contribute much to the group's social needs and may even lead to the fragmentation or dissolution of the group.

Thus not all Sufi orders are equally capable of formulating group-level strategies, whether represented in LP or not. The situation is further complicated by the fact that those which *are* socially constructed so as to be able to strategize as a group need not all strategize in the same way. Indeed this is necessarily the case. The field of Islam in Egypt today provides much less room for Sufi orders than before, and different groups are effectively competing for members within a narrowed arena. Contrasting strategies develop as a means of asserting individual and characteristic identities, and addressing particular demographic targets. Successful Sufi groups possess a unique character, a singular appeal, occupy a unique and recognizable "niche" in the field of Islam; the

assertion of this character and appeal takes place primarily through the hadra, and, within the hadra, through LP.

Michael Gilsenan, in his monograph on the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya tariqa (formally founded in 1926-7), shows how this order's attention to regulated social control and centralized administration, combined with a strict adherence to Islamic principles (as well as its relative newness), enabled it to adapt to change and grow in the mid 20th century, despite the fact that most Sufi orders were then in a state of decline. Indeed, he claims that the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya was the most highly organized and active group in Egypt during his research there (in 1964-6) and that it was the only group to avoid this decline (Gilsenan 1973:7,198-9,206).¹

The importance of central control, strict organization, accountability, and Islamic conservatism as important factors underlying the success of the modern Sufi order, and enabling it to adapt, is indisputable. But what are the *practices* which establish and support these factors? Gilsenan's study supports the notion that the successful order must actively deploy group-level strategies, i.e. strategies conceived with group goals in mind, in order to ensure the order's continued viability. But such strategies must be realized through practical activities facilitated or required by the order.

While members may perform various activities individually, the primary group activity is the corporate ritual called hadra, and the hadra consists primarily of LP. The most effective and economical moment at which a strategy can act upon the whole group, especially when seeking to reinforce that group as a *whole*, is at the moment

when the group is socially convened, in a tightly bounded domain of time and space. It follows that control of LP in the hadra should potentially be one of the most effective tools of any group-level strategy which seeks to maintain the group, and that we may search for evidence of strategy in the use of LP in this group ritual.

In Egyptian Sufi discourse, the overt functions of LP in hadra are ritual and pedagogic. LP genres are performed which—when recited properly—ought to have the effect of raising one’s spiritual level, or increasing one’s store of religious knowledge (which is itself a means toward higher spirituality). However, certain *turuq* (primarily those founded in the 20th century) additionally exploit the potential of LP for the group’s social goals: continuity, identity, expansion, solidarity, and repelling the critics. Historically, heterodox Sufi ritual has tended to attract the brunt of effective Sufi criticism; ritual control is thus an effective means of stemming this source of decline. That LP is also capable of directly shaping the social group is one of the major claims of this dissertation, to be supported especially in the analysis of Chapters 8 and 9.

The social function of Sufi ritual is less often recognized in explicit discourse, probably because social goals are considered somewhat suspect from a spiritual point of view, and yet social goals *are* spiritually important to members as a means of maintaining and promoting what they feel to be a valuable spiritual path. The potential of LP toward these ends tends to depend more on the communicative and affective than the purely ritual language *modes* (these modes are discussed below). Active manipulation of the four multidimensional *aspects* of LP—syntactic, semantic, sonic, and pragmatic (these

aspects are also discussed below)—is a powerful means of self-direction, though not all *turuq* are socially structured so as to be able to take advantage of it. But what seems to be required for success in the modern period is precisely the social power which control of LP provides.

Certainly I do not wish to argue that LP strategies in ritual are entirely responsible for the success or failure of an order, if only because such an argument is too reductionistic in conceiving cause and effect; clearly LP is as much a product of the group as the group is a product of LP. Chicken and egg conundrums will continue to bedevil any clear answers. But practically speaking, it is necessary to begin somewhere, and ritual performance is an empirically accessible place to begin. Further, there is merit in the notion that whatever the factors responsible for a group's success—social organization, personal charisma, or particular teachings—they can only be applied to members through concrete acts of human interaction in performance, and such acts are most intensive during group ritual. Looking closely at Sufi ritual is thus a bit like listening in at a telephone central: a dense network of communicative intensity through which a large proportion of group interactions occur.

The newer orders use LP effectively and completely, leaving very little to chance or individual whim. Features of LP have been determined which act upon members, draw new members, and construct a particular image for outsiders. In this case, LP (including music) can be largely understood as a direct or indirect response to the challenges posed by modernity.

Older *turuq*, due to different historical conditioning and a different social structure, are less able to formulate group-level strategies relevant to modern problems. Although LP is not devoid of social function in these orders, such function exists less by active design than by the inertia of tradition. Thus one finds that in these orders outdated strategies continue as the basis for performance even though they no longer respond to the problems of the moment (hysteresis); such strategies may never have constituted a complete template for performance, and furthermore may erode over time. Due to such “gaps” in group-level strategies, many features of LP are filled in by local *shaykhs* (here, Sufi leaders, spiritual guides) or individual participants, sometimes determined improvisationally only at performance-time, and conditioned by individual motivation and local expedience. Such features are therefore not determined by the group as a whole, but rather reflect the group’s weakened social condition.

Thus the profusion of LP styles among the Sufi orders in Egypt today results from at least two factors: the ability of the order to control the resources of LP for its social, as well as spiritual, goals; and the particular strategy (or absence of one) which the *tariqa* adopts as a means of coping with a modern world less interested in Sufism than before. For those groups which employ LP as an active means of realizing social strategies, the form of LP reflects those strategies, at least to some degree. For those which do not, the form of LP is a relatively passive expression of the group’s history and current state.

The distinguishing feature of any hadra is LP. Unlike many rituals analyzed by anthropologists, one cannot characterize the Sufi hadra by means of its visual symbols, or regular behavioral patterns. These features exist but are subsidiary—in objective salience and subjective involvement—or else incorporated within the LP which they accompany, so that LP always emerges as the preeminent ritual activity.

The prominence of LP in hadra is in some measure tautological. The term “LP” does not represent a named unit of local classification (i.e. it is not “emic”), and I have purposefully given it an extremely broad and neutral² definition so as to cover all the vocal genres comprising hadra together with their accompanying behaviors, including principally: *fawatih* and *ad'iyya* (short supplicatory prayers, involving a call-response dialog between soloist and group), *hizb* (group recitation of invariable extended prayer-texts characteristic of each tariqa), *inshad dini* (religious singing, in solo, group, or call-and-response formats), *dhikr* (group repetitive chanting of one of the Names of God, usually accompanied by rhythmic movements), and religious speeches (sermons, discussions, teachings), variously called *wa'z*, *khutba*, *mudhakara*, or *dars* (performed by a soloist for the group). I define LP to include not only the textual and sonic aspects of these activities, but the way they are performed in a social space (including accompanying behavior), and by this broad definition I naturally extend the scope and significance of the concept.

Yet this prominence of LP as a unified category is not merely tautological, but is empirical as well. Performed language is central in hadra, due to the centrality of oral

textual recitation in Islam. Nearly every activity in hadra performance is intimately bound up with language. Furthermore, whatever their differences in textual content, the various genres of LP share important non-textual performative features (in the sonic and pragmatic aspects) which allow them to be grouped together. These features include heightened attention to delivery; use of tonality, rhythm (and sometimes meter); procedures for textual selection; restrictions on who may perform, and when; and prescribed patterns for performance geometry and physical movement. Indeed the fact that the genres of LP—considered in all their aspects (textual and non-textual)—have *not* been grouped under one local concept-term is mildly surprising, and probably results from the fact that the different genres of LP must be kept separate, for the sake of preserving sacrosanct conceptual boundaries (such as that which divides Qur’anic recitation from singing), even when such boundaries may not be empirically salient. While Sufi discourse always holds that the text itself is what is central, the performance in fact operates on many levels at once. By considering sonic and behavioral (pragmatic) aspects, together with the purely textual ones, we are better able to understand the effects of such LP in ritual.

The split between discourse and practice extends to the effects of LP as well, as was mentioned earlier. Thus, at the level of conscious intention and discourse among Sufis, LP genres are primarily a textual means of creating spiritual advancement among tariqa members, by communicating spiritual information, generating spiritual feeling, or effecting spiritual results (prayer). Sufis do not deny the importance of accompanying

sound and movement, but generally assign these aspects secondary status. But LP also carries collateral consequences impacting the tariqa's social organization. Whatever its spiritual efficacy, LP is simultaneously powerful as a means of socially organizing the tariqa, and in this function we will see that sonic and behavioral (pragmatic) features of LP rank just as important as textual and semantic ones.

By defining and analyzing LP in a broad sense it becomes possible to see how LP can take advantage of the social density of group ritual to create social effects: to reinforce group identity (including the maintenance of a centralized and cohesive social structure), to recruit new members, and to defend against critics. Ritual performance thus helps to secure the group in a defensible niche within a modern Egyptian social space which is either indifferent or actively hostile to the continued existence of the mystical orders.

Not all *turuq* employ LP effectively toward social goals. As was mentioned earlier, an order's ability to formulate effective strategies for the use of LP in ritual, and to deploy them throughout an organization, requires particular social preconditions. The successful orders are what I term *modernist*, born in the modern era, and deeply conscious of the challenges it poses. The modernist group is relatively new, and still retains the enthusiasm of its origins in a charismatically charged leader. Such a group thus constitutes a primary source of identity for members, who are wholly committed to it. The group is as yet centralized, and cohesive. Sacrificing individual self-interests to those of the group produces a coherent group intelligence and awareness—almost a kind

of super-organism—which is capable of conceiving of its own self-interests and devising strategies to promote them, and which is coordinated enough to be able to direct its various parts to carry out a plan.

Such a situation perhaps always obtains in the early days of any religious movement. But since modern times have straitened the social role of Sufism, it is only the modernist groups which are able to adapt, and they do so in large measure through control of ritual performance. Because of the delicacy of their social positions, very little is left to chance in such rituals. Performance is controlled completely, not only that which takes place under the direct supervision of tariqa leaders at the tariqa's center, but even at the remote periphery far from central authority, where individual tariqa chapters are led by local shaykhs. For such groups, apparent relinquishing of control is usually part of a deliberate strategy as well; improvisation may be employed, but is strictly circumscribed. Thus there are virtually no "strategic vacuums" (as I shall call them): aspects of performance which, being unregulated by group strategies, are left open to be filled according to the individual motivations of participants. Because they are new, these modernist groups are less likely to feel obliged to employ entrenched Sufi practices simply by force of tradition. However such traditional practices may be adopted deliberately for a variety of strategic reasons.

Other orders have been much less successful in strategically adapting to modern conditions. These tend to be the older *turuq*, most of them founded in pre-modern Egypt (18th century and earlier), and originally adapted to the social conditions of that

era, in which Sufism enjoyed a relatively dominant social position. Over time these *traditional* orders have become decentralized and lacking in group cohesion, through a process of development which will be presented in detail in Chapter 3. Members of such orders tend not to identify with the group as a whole, but rather with local shaykhs (and perhaps with other followers of those shaykhs) who are loosely affiliated with the larger tariqa. These orders possess neither the requisite levels of group awareness, nor the unified and cohesive social structure, which would enable the formulation, dissemination, and application of effective group-level strategies. They are therefore unable to use the potential resources of LP effectively in ritual. Rituals performed by such groups are dominated by *hysteresis*: performative elements which do not respond to present needs, but rather represent a strategic adaptation to an earlier historical situation, or merely a process of ritual accretion and erosion over time. Hysteresis is a kind of continuity by inertia, by which the past exerts a coercive force upon the present; modernist groups are relatively free of such restrictions. Among traditional groups, ritual may respond *reflexively* to modern conditions, passively conforming where external pressure is most intensive (in a highly visible central ritual, say) without the corresponding formulation of an active strategic response at the group level.

In traditional orders, low ritual control, combined with ritual erosion over time, has led to the formation of “strategic vacuums”, uncontrolled aspects of performance, which are filled by the exigencies of context and the individual strategies of participants acting out of individual self-interest. Such self-interest frequently aims at producing

intensive spiritual emotion in the moment, which may be suitable for neither the long-term spiritual development which is the ostensible purpose of the tariqa, nor for the social adaptation of the tariqa itself. While the central rituals of such groups may be controlled by tariqa leaders, such control is only effective at short range, and at the group's periphery there is often relative freedom. Therefore the order as a whole cannot adapt in a coherent way.

Although traditional groups are still the largest in Egypt, they depend largely on a hereditary basis of membership in rural areas, now being rapidly depleted by social change. Unable to adapt or to seek new sources of membership, or even to control the rituals of their local chapters, these orders seem destined to decline.

* * *

The research on which this study is based was conducted in Egypt from 1992 until 1998. During the first year of fieldwork, I concentrated on acquiring skills in Arabic language and music (at the Kulliyat al-Tarbiya al-Musiqiyya), while attending the weekly public hadras of the *Ahl al-Bayt* (family of the Prophet) in Cairo, including those for the Imam al-Husayn (the Prophet's grandson) on Fridays, for Sidi 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin (the Prophet's great-grandson) on Saturdays, for Sayyida Nafisa (the Prophet's great-great-great-granddaughter) on Sundays, and for Sittina Fatima Nabawiyya (the Prophet's great-granddaughter) on Mondays. Many of the same musicians and singers circulate among these contexts, and besides learning their repertoires and styles I began to become familiar with them personally, visiting them in their homes in Cairo or the

Delta. I also attended numerous *mawlid*s, saint-festivals which are held once or twice yearly for the Ahl al-Bayt and other saints.

During one such *mawlid*, for the great Sufi poet Sidi ‘Umar ibn al-Farid, I heard the famous *munshid* (Sufi singer) of Upper Egypt, Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami singing Ibn al-Farid’s poetry, and was hooked. For the next two years I concentrated almost entirely on the performance and repertoire of Shaykh Yasin, and other *munshidin* from Upper Egypt (particularly Shaykh Ahmad al-Tuni), recording them at *layali diniyya* (night-time religious celebrations) from the Delta in the north, to Aswan in the south. At the same time, I continued to improve my understanding of the more colloquial style employed by Delta *munshidin*, both through my own research, and by accompanying Dr. Ibrahim ‘Abd al-Hafiz, who was then preparing his MA on Sufi singers in this region.

After the *mawlid* of the poet-saint, Ibn al-Farid, I became friendly with the family living next to the saint’s shrine. The deceased father of the family, Shaykh Jad, had been the Imam of the Ibn al-Farid mosque. He was a great Sufi of the Rifa‘i order, who had resuscitated Ibn al-Farid’s *mawlid*, in part by inviting Shaykh Yasin to perform there. One of his sons, Taha Jad, agreed to help me in my research by transcribing *hadra* performances, which I then translated and traced to their sources. These transcriptions were of incalculable assistance in raising my understanding of this public form of the *hadra*; as in other genres of Islamic LP, texts are always central; analysis cannot go far without them.

I was also fortunate to meet a contemporary Sufi poet. Shaykh ‘Abd al-‘Alim al-Nakhayli, who has written volumes of poetry sung by the Sufi munshidin (including Shaykh Yasin), and who also possessed about 300 cassette tapes of hadra performances. Together, we catalogued this collection and edited a set of his poems for publication; these activities, together with my incessant questioning, were critical to my understanding of Sufism and Sufi performance, especially the public festival performances which take place outside the strict control of the orders.

But it was not until my last two years in Egypt that I began to focus my fieldwork on the hadra performances which take place within the scope of the Sufi orders themselves. Previously I had attended many such hadras when visiting shaykhs or mawlids, but my efforts in this direction had been sporadic and unsystematic. Now, determined to make a more thorough study, I selected some eight Sufi groups—representing a range of historical periods and approaches—whose hadras I attended with greater regularity. At first I aimed to study hadras performed within the formal framework of the orders only as a background and complement to the more free-wheeling public layali performances of Shaykh Yasin and other professional munshidin, which I had expected would form the crux of my dissertation.

But while public hadras are interesting for being more overtly musical and ecstatic, those occurring within the context of Sufi orders are more amenable to social analysis. The participants in a public hadra do not form a continuous social group, but rather assemble in response to the performance itself—a diverse crowd of fans, Sufis, and

local residents—never to convene in precisely the same configuration again. The same hadra ritual in the tariqa context is firmly bound to an on-going social group.

Furthermore, the existence of distinctive Sufi orders facilitates comparison: one can study the hadras of different groups, and ask how and why they differ. Intrigued by this possibility, I resolved to make a thorough comparison of the orders, including their ritual, social, and doctrinal dimensions, as a means of understanding ritual difference.

But my plan of comparing eight different groups was soon revealed to be over-ambitious, and thus I arrived at the three-way comparison presented in this dissertation.

This triangle of data points is, however, sufficient to illustrate the two main sources of variety: between the hysteresis and individuality of traditional orders and the active strategic control of modernist orders; and among the contrastive strategies adopted by the modernist orders as a means of adapting to modern social conditions.

* * *

It is the task of this thesis to show how LP strategies can work, and to indicate the social preconditions under which an order is able to formulate and apply them, through historical inquiry, general ethnography, and close analysis of particular cases. I seek to understand the character of Sufism and the orders in Egypt, how they have developed (historically), how they develop (structurally), and how—therefore—they use LP differently. In this overview, I have tried to present the basic thrust of the inquiry, introduce its terminology, and briefly trace the history of the research itself. In the remainder of this first chapter I will explore a bit more some of the underlying ideas: the

idea of Sufism, and its relation to Islam; the concepts of strategy and especially group-level strategy; and the notion of LP in its various aspects, modes, and other dimensions.

I continue with background in Chapter 2 (“The Rise and Decline of Sufi Orders in Egypt”), by tracing the history of the *turuq* in Egypt, through Mamluk, Ottoman, 19th century, and 20th century periods, in an attempt to indicate some of the factors underlying the current position of Sufi orders in Egyptian society, including the importance of ritual criticism, and especially the roles of social transformation and reformist criticism in the late 19th century and early 20th century. I try to suggest why the older orders are weaker today, while indicating the possibility of continued viability through ritual control in the modern period.

In Chapter 3 (“Sufism in Egypt Today”), I provide a general overview of Sufism and the Sufi orders in Egypt, briefly introducing the general world view, but focussing on Sufi social structures and processes of order formation, and the ramifications of these processes for the formulation of group-level strategy, as a means of differentiating “traditional” and “modernist” orders. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of Sufi orders in the modern era: the problems faced, and the ways in which group ritual can address them.

Chapter 4 (“Language Performance and the Hadra”) introduces the various genres of LP in greater detail, beginning with general considerations of tonality, repetition, naming, and textual sources. I then take up religious singing (*inshad dini*) separately, before plunging into a detailed discussion of the hadra, including contexts,

organization, content, and performance, by means of which each LP genre employed in the hadra is introduced in its performative context. I also indicate the aspects of LP which may be considered controversial and subject to critique; these are the sensitive parameters of ritual for the orders' acceptability into mainstream Islam. In conclusion, I apply the concept of LP mode (discussed in this introduction) to these genres, and introduce the three case studies.

Chapter 5 ("Three Sufi Orders: Background") presents the three case orders on which analysis is based: two modernist and highly successful; the third traditional and in decline. For each order, I present historical information about founder, origins, and subsequent development of the group, and describe some of the ritual resources, both linguistic (texts, published or not), and spatial (such as shrines, and meeting places). I also briefly sketch the social structures of these orders. Chapter 6 ("Three Sufi Orders: Ritual Performance") continues the exposition of these orders by describing in great detail the performance of LP in ritual, focussing on the hadra.

With Chapter 7 ("The Theory and Method of Analysis") I introduce the full analytical project, starting with a review of the thesis, which motivates the development of a systematic technique of etic variable analysis. I mentioned earlier that the social function of hadra, being a means rather than an end and lacking clear spiritual sanction, is less explicitly recognized in discourse. For this reason, revealing the social function of LP requires abandoning a strictly insider viewpoint, in order to examine the way ritual actually works in practice. After a detailed explanation of methodology constituting such

a technique—the method of variable analysis—I systematically elaborate four sets of variables designed to evaluate the sonic, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic aspects of LP in hadra. These variables are applied to the data in Chapters 8 and 9 (“The Application and Interpretation of Analysis”, parts I and II) in an effort to show how LP can indicate the presence or absence of group-level strategies; how LP can function actively as a representation of group-level strategies to influence the group; or alternatively how, in the absence of such control, LP reflects the condition of the group, as constituted by individual agency and tradition.

Finally in Chapter 10 (“Conclusions”) I summarize the findings for the three cases under consideration, as a microcosm of Egyptian Sufi orders in general. I review the ways in which modernist orders may formulate contrasting group-level strategies, which are represented in performance through different kinds of LP, so as to create group identity, recruit new members, consolidate a centralized and cohesive social structure, and defend against critics, thus situating themselves securely within a defensible niche in the field of modern Islam. At the same time, I show how LP in a traditional order is largely determined by forces of hysteresis and individualism, since the traditional order lacks the social prerequisites which would enable it to formulate strategies which actively determine LP as a means of supporting the group. I suggest the significance of this data for answering the general question (how to account for the success of particular orders in a historical period not favorably disposed to them) and

supporting the general hypothesis (the effectiveness of group-level strategic LP) with which I began.

B. Sufism and Islam

Sufism (in Arabic, *tasawwuf*), rightly called “the mystical dimension of Islam” by Schimmel (1975), represents the interior aspect of the religion whose sacred text, the Qur’an, was revealed by God to the Prophet Muhammad in the 7th century. Sufism is not a sect, nor does it negate Islamic principles. Rather it strives toward developing an awareness of the inner nature of religious meaning and truth. Sufism does not—by and large—deny the validity and necessity of exoteric forms of worship, but rather supplies supererogatory devotions, as a means of further developing individual spirituality. In the early history of the Islamic Community (*Umma*), Sufis played an important role in preserving the basic spiritual élan which had been so central during the time of the Prophet. While Islamic governments tended toward worldliness, and Islamic legal scholars (the *‘ulama’*; singular *‘alim*) toward the discursive intricacies of law (*fiqh*) and theology (*kalam*), the Sufis continually reaffirmed the centrality of God and total devotion to Him.

Early Sufis rejected the outer world and its transient pleasures, preferring to focus on the permanence of God and the Hereafter. They adopted simple and modest dress, often made of wool (*suf*, hence the term “Sufi”). In the Qur’an, God said: “I created the jinn and humankind only that they might worship Me.” (51:56); the Sufi aimed to perfect his or her worship by focussing totally on Him, a symbolic return to

origins, when God created all human spirit (*ruh*) before the creation of the physical world (*al-'alim al-azali*; pre-eternity). But while early Sufism focussed on asceticism, a love-mysticism soon arose for which worship was not merely a form of obedience, but rather an act of love. The perfect worshipper must be a passionate lover of God; without love, submission (*islam*) is never total. And since one must love the beloved of the Beloved, that love later came to focus on the Prophet Muhammad, *habib Allah* (beloved of God), as a means (for some, the only means) of approach to God.

Such worship could not be completed until it was interiorized. The ordinary Muslim “submits” (*yuslim*) to God by performing fundamental physical ritual acts: testimony of faith (*shahada*: “There is no deity but God; Muhammad is His Messenger”), prayer (*salah*), fasting (*sawm*), payment of alms (*zakah*), and pilgrimage (*hajj*), the so-called “five pillars” of Islam. The Sufi tries to move beyond this first stage—the outer-performance known as *islam* (submitting)—to the performance of these acts in his heart. Such inner-performance constitutes the second stage, *iman* (faith), which is not only belief but also a tasting (*dhawq*) of the inner meanings of outward acts. Thus the Sufi strives to experience the meaning of *tawhid* (“*la ilaha illa Allah*”, “there is no deity but God”). The ‘ulama’ interpreted this assertion as a denial of polytheism (prevalent in Arabia in pre-Islamic times), thus “nothing should be worshipped but God”. But the Sufi saw in the word “deity” a reference to any attachment or craving of the *nafs* (baser self; opposed to the higher *ruh*); for him the inner meaning of *tawhid* was a radical, whole-hearted devotion to God alone. Some Sufis might even interpret *tawhid*

to mean “nothing truly exists but God”, since beside God’s everlastingness all is merely transient. Beyond iman (faith) is the third stage, called *ihsan* (literally, “beneficence”), an enduring hyper-awareness of God’s omnipresence and omniscience.

Thus, while Sufism was to count many great thinkers in its ranks, it contained an inherent tendency of anti-intellectualism, a suspicion of the casuistry of philosophers and the hair-splitting arguments of the lawyers. Whereas philosophers and ‘ulama’ created ‘ilm (knowledge) through logical, discursive reasoning, the Sufi (‘arif, gnostic) aimed for *ma‘rifa* (gnosis) resulting from immediate spiritual insight. While the ‘alim was a “knower of ‘ilm”, the Sufi was an ‘arif, a “knower of ma‘rifa”. The supra-doctrinal aspect of Sufism eventually enabled Sufis to draw upon concepts and practices originating in other mystical and esoteric traditions, including Eastern Christianity, Gnosticism, and Neoplatonism (Rahman 1979:136), blending these (harmoniously, from their point of view) into the Islamic mystical tradition.

By the 9th century orthodox Sunni Islam had established a system of Divinely guided Islamic Law (*Shari‘a*) based on the Qur’an and *Sunna* (the conduct of the Prophet, as preserved in *Hadith*, accounts of his sayings and actions), supplemented by consensus of the community (*ijma‘*) and analogical reasoning (*qiyas*). *Shari‘a* was codified in four legal schools (*madhhabs*): Hanbali, Maliki, Shafi‘i, and Hanafi. The Sufis did not deny the validity of *Shari‘a*, but rather viewed it as a limited and exoteric aspect of Islam. For them, there was a more essential esoteric aspect, *Haqiqa* (Divine Reality), from which most Muslims are veiled by inner weakness and sinfulness,

especially due to the attractions of the material world. By means of special devotions, the Sufi attempts to rend these veils aside, so as to approach this deeper truth.

For this reason those orthodoxy who followed the letter of Islamic law, particularly the more fundamentalist Hanbalis, viewed the Sufis with suspicion. Outwardly, what called their attention to Sufis was the latter's employment of spiritual practices, including visitation of tombs, extreme asceticism, and especially ecstatic rituals during which music and singing (*sama'*) might be employed which in their view had no basis in Shari'a, and was therefore to be condemned as *bid'a* (heresy, literally "innovation"). But another source of suspicion was the Sufi's claim to contact Divine Reality, and therefore to have access to a source of experiential religious truth not accessible to the ordinary Muslim, which could contradict the Law and thus subvert the careful order established by the 'ulama'.

Ma'rifa could only come through inner experience, a mystical state called *hal*, granted only by the grace of God. But the Sufi could prepare himself for such states, as well as intensify his worship, by performing supererogatory devotions, rituals beyond the standard set performed by ordinary Muslims. These would help him to purify the lower self (*nafs*) whose desire for immediate physical gratification was regarded as the greatest impediment to spiritual progress. The struggle against the *nafs* had to be constant and vigilant. While some systematized its purification to occur in seven particular stages, all agreed on the necessity of self-purification before the ruh (spirit) could ascend to God. The devotions adopted for this purpose were based on Qur'an and Hadith, and focussed

on petitions for forgiveness (*istighfar*), repentance (*tawba*), remembrance of God (*dhikr*), and requests for blessings to be sent to the Prophet Muhammad (*salawat*). The Prophet's own remembrances of God (*adhkar*) were particularly emphasized. For the Sufis regarded the Prophet himself to be the highest mystical exemplar, as well as intercessor for Muslims everywhere.

Mystical training took place under the supervision of a spiritual guide (*murshid*, or *shaykh*). Early mystical teachers were surrounded by informal groups of followers, many of whom travelled widely. The teacher's *tariqa* (spiritual way) included particular ritual devotions and other practices, both individual and group, as well as spiritual teachings. Later these teachings were systematized, and the "way" was conceived as a definite sequence of spiritual stations (*maqams*) along which one progressed through performance of supererogatory devotions, under the guidance of the shaykh. But it was not until the 12th century that mystical training was transformed into permanent social organizations. The same word, "tariqa", was now applied to these organizations as had been used for the shaykh's spiritual "way", but now a definite social dimension of group organization was added which had not been formerly present.

The development of Sufism is taken up at greater length in Chapter 2, where the focus will be upon Egypt.

C. The concepts of “strategy” and “group-level strategy”

1. Strategies

In this thesis I will borrow a number of terms and concepts from Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice, without necessarily invoking his entire theoretical apparatus or quasi-Marxist sociological program (and thus avoiding the necessity of situating the current analysis in these terms). The present thesis is by no means an application of the “Bourdieu paradigm”, if such a thing can be said to exist. I use Bourdieu’s ideas more as a valuable source of ideas than as a theory or method to be followed religiously. In particular, Bourdieu’s notions of *strategy*, *field*, and *social space* are helpful, and I will make use of them extensively in the analysis. While I do not claim to be using these terms precisely as he does, it will be useful to set forth the general notions, which are shared.³

To review briefly the context for these three terms: Bourdieu seeks to explain practice while avoiding the polemical positions of situating such an explanation wholly either in subjective agency (as psychological or interactionist approaches tend to do) or in objective structure (as functional and structuralist approaches tend to do) by developing a framework that encompasses both dialectically. In this way, he tries to transcend the apparent opposition between subjectivist and objectivist viewpoints. Social agents are structured by the objective “structuring structures” in which they live (and especially, as Bourdieu makes clear, in which they grow up); these structures inculcate a

set of durable subjective dispositions in the agent, which Bourdieu calls (following Mauss and others) the *habitus*. It is these dispositions—including both beliefs and techniques—which generate practice in particular contexts, and which therefore are also constitutive of the social structures which form them. The habitus lies below the level of consciousness or discourse, and its principles therefore cannot be articulated by the agents which use them, but rather belong to the realm of what Bourdieu calls “doxa”, that which “goes without saying”.

The habitus generates *strategies* which help the agent achieve his objective interests (though without his necessarily being aware of this); these strategies are flexible and fuzzy rather than rule-bound or logically precise. Bourdieu understands that while anthropologists may find it useful to describe data in terms of logically precise rules, maps, and synoptic diagrams, agents do not use such things as practical tools. Furthermore, such strategies—like the habitus out of which they arise—operate largely outside the realm of discourse.

Thus, through the mediation of the habitus, agents in structures create *practice*. On the other hand, it is the habitus (or rather the combined effects of a society’s worth of habituses) which creates those structures, since structure does not exist except as an aggregate of individual agents.

Structures are further articulated in terms of the concepts of *field* and *social space*. Fields are “structured spaces of positions (or posts) whose properties depend on their position within these spaces and which can be analyzed independently of the

characteristics of their occupants...” (Bourdieu 1993:72). Each field—the field of politics, the field of religion, or the field of philosophy—is semi-autonomous, having its particular properties (logic, agents, history, forms of capital), which one may discover by studying it. Fields are scenes of struggles which take place within them: the struggle between “the newcomer who tries to break through the entry barrier and the dominant agent who will try to defend the monopoly and keep out competition” (Bourdieu 1993:72)⁴. Each field is also defined by a game-like aspect, in that there are particular interests and stakes involved, and laws of functioning, which are only perceived by those who have been conditioned to enter the field (i.e. whose habitus provides them with knowledge of the laws, stakes, and interests). The field cannot function unless there are people possessed of the proper conditioning, who are prepared to play the game. Bourdieu conceives of positions within the field as determined by symbolic capital (i.e. that which has material value without being recognized as such); dominance means control of such capital, which confers legitimacy. The structure of the field is then

the state of distribution of the specific capital which has been accumulated in the course of previous struggles and which orients subsequent strategies. This structure, which governs the strategies aimed at transforming it, is itself always at stake. The struggles which take place within the field are about the monopoly of the legitimate violence (specific authority) which is characteristic of the field in question, which means, ultimately, the conservation or subversion of the structure of the distribution of the specific capital. (Bourdieu 1993:73)

Agents strive to acquire capital, and so the struggle in any field is ultimately about agents’ conflict over possession or control of capital (this flexible concept is thus

tantamount to interests). Those who dominate the field (in Bourdieu's terms, those who monopolize the capital) tend toward orthodoxy: strategies of conservation of the status quo. Those subordinate in the field (least endowed with capital, who are often the newcomers) may employ the reverse strategies of heterodoxy: subversion or heresy. Heterodoxy makes a break from doxa, forcing the dominant agents to transform it into orthodox discourse which aims to restore uncritical acceptance of the doxa.⁵

But whatever their differences, all agents in the field agree at least on the necessity of preserving the field itself (the "game"), and so even subversion (heterodoxy) must appear in the guise of a claim to be reforming the field, clearing its superfluous accretions, rejecting the degradation it has suffered, of returning to its origins, or its essence, at least if such subversion is to remain within the field at all (Bourdieu 1993:72-74).⁶

Finally the *social space* is the sum total of all active fields, forming the scene of all practice in the society. Although fields are semi-autonomous, they are also interrelated, and capital gains in one field may often be exchanged for capital of another, although not always at a favorable rate of exchange (see Bourdieu 1993:73).

Bourdieu summarizes the relations among these terms with the mnemonic/heuristic formula: "Habitus * Capital + Field = Practice" (cited in Harker 1990:7) By this formula he appears to mean something like the following: the practice of an agent in the social space depends upon his habitus (which generates strategy) and

his accumulated store of (symbolic or material) capital, in the context of a particular field.⁷

Bourdieu tends toward metaphors drawn from economic theory (e.g., capital, interests, domination), but his use of the concepts *orthodoxy* and *heterodoxy* strongly suggests application to the religious “field”. Indeed, apart from its economic quasi-Marxist aspect, his system is well-suited to describing the field of Islam, and its inner struggles between revolutionary reformers (who seek a return to pure Islam), Sufis (who seek the unstated higher spiritual essence of Islam), and ‘ulama’ (the conservatives, who control the orthodox position). Capital corresponds to religious legitimacy, in the forms of knowledge (‘ilm), spiritual level (maqam), blessing (*baraka*), insight (*basira*), and other forms of charisma (discussed in Chapter 3 below). The only problem is that Bourdieu’s unit is the agent, whereas for my purposes it is useful to be able to think in terms of groups as well as individuals.

2. Group-level strategies

In his definitions, Bourdieu has tended to assume that the unit of analysis—the “agent”—is an individual, imbued with habitus, who strategizes within particular fields (each with its logic, history, capital, interests, stakes, laws) according to his accumulated store of capital. In my analysis, however, I speak as if an entire social group (the Sufi order) can act like a single agent, and apply the terms of analysis to a collection of groups, rather than individuals.

Under what conditions does the group function (approximately) as an agent? This will only occur to the extent that the group is both centralized (in its power structure), and cohesive; as no group can ever act as uniformly as an individual, the group-as-agent can only appear as a dense cluster diffused about its center, rather than the near-singularity which is the individual agent. But the conditions of centralization and cohesion ensure at least that this “cluster” always contains an unambiguous center (the single power center) and that it moves as a unit (since it is cohesive).⁸ Not all Sufi groups meet these conditions. A group whose official center of power is weak, and whose local chapters are only loosely connected to that center, will not behave as a single agent. However, in this case, provided that it consists of subgroups which are centralized and cohesive (as is often the case, as we will see), it will behave as a group of loosely connected agents, each of them consisting of a group of individual agents who *do* meet the conditions.

Reductively, strategies can only be attributed to individuals, however. In what sense can they be attributed to groups? I will use the term group-level (as opposed to individual-level) strategy for that which has been conceived in terms of the social interests and goals of a particular group as a whole, rather than the individuals which comprise it, and which is accepted by group members as a basis for practical action. No group-level strategy is actually formulated by the whole group; rather, it is formulated by group leaders (perhaps by a single leader), but due to their statures it is accepted and followed by the group as a whole.

There are two preconditions for the formation of effective group-level strategies. The first is a high level of identification with the group as a whole among members. Members should treat group membership as their primary source of identity compared to any other voluntary associations. When a member completely submits his individual will and interests to the good of the group, then he may think for the group, as the group, because he treats the group's interests as his own. For those in power, submission to the group leads to decision-making for the sake of the group rather than for individual interests (for those interests have been submerged to those of the group); among members submission means that one unquestioningly follows strategies which emerge from a power center to which one is devoted. Through strong identification with the group there arises a group self-awareness, which is equivalent to individual consciousness at the group level. It is this consciousness which enables the group to think and strategize as if it were an agent.

But such strategies may not be effective unless a second condition is fulfilled, which is actually the same as that required for the group to behave as an agent, namely centralization and cohesion. If there is more than one power center, strategies emerging from different centers may conflict with one another. Furthermore, the group must be cohesive, or else the group leaders (at the power center) will not be closely connected to the periphery. Cohesion thus allows them to gather information about the state of the group. Without these connections, they will not be able to strategize for the group as a whole.

Successful dissemination and application of group-level strategies throughout the organization is another problem, which also requires the same twin conditions of centralization and cohesiveness. The group must cohere in order that strategies be distributed throughout; it must be centralized so that every member will follow them.

To explain how these ideas might work when applied to the Sufi orders, I can resort to the archetypal story of group formation, which I will develop further in a subsequent chapter. In the beginning, as it were, there is a charismatic individual, a master teacher, who attracts followers. Since the group is the voluntary creation of this master, he normally identifies with it completely; his individual interests are group interests almost by definition, because the group is centered upon him. He acts strategically in such a way as to promote group interests, which are his interests; his individual decisions are group-level strategies. After a period of curiosity and informal attachment, the follower may become a disciple. To become a disciple means the follower must negate himself, submitting his own self-interest and motivations to the self-interest and motivations of his master (more precisely, to the degree that he does so, he becomes a disciple), and thus adopting his master's strategies as his own.⁹

Since self-interests and motivations define the individual, the process of becoming a disciple is also a process of re-self-definition. At first, the individual submerges his individuality in that of the shaykh (and thus of the group) merely as a means to a personal end. He is presumably seeking a higher level of spirituality, and feels that by joining the group he may achieve it. However once he submits fully to the

shaykh, he “forgets himself”, and what was a means (his identification with shaykh and group) becomes inseparable from the end. The good of the master—and hence of the group—is then for him the highest good. To the extent that the follower redefines himself as a disciple, his interests and motivations become linked to those of his master, who defines the group. His strategic behavior is then no longer directed toward his individual self-interest as it would naively appear to an outsider who knew nothing of his affiliation, but rather toward the interests of the group (internalized in him), to which he has submitted himself. When he thinks, he thinks as a member of the group, rather than as an individual. He follows group leaders’ decisions, not because obedience will gain him something as an individual (perhaps capital, in Bourdieu’s general sense), but rather because his individual identity is bound up with that of the group. The group thus appears to display adaptive behavior, which is none other than the sum of its members acting according to interests which represent internalized interests of the group.

At first, the master represents the group. His interests and motivations are adopted by his disciples, and thus can be taken to represent group motivations and interests, even if the group as yet possesses no clear definition. At a later phase in the group’s development (the logical development of charismatic groups will be discussed in Chapter 3), there may no longer exist a living leader commanding allegiance to this degree. While the founder may continue to represent the group symbolically and spiritually, the group at this stage becomes reified as an entity to which participants can submit (as in sports teams, or armies), even though the group’s interests and needs are

not represented a priori by the apparent interests and motivations of any particular member. Rather the members, taken together, *are* the group; their identities are bound up with it, and therefore its needs are theirs too.

The individual who submits to the master or group does not only identify his own interest with the whole. He also thinks in terms of the whole, and strategizes with respect to the whole, to the extent that he can know it. Such strategies are called “group-level” strategies, because they are conceived with respect to the interests of the group to which the individual has sacrificed his individuality. However it is the individual group members occupying positions of centrality with respect to both power and intelligence (in the information sense) who formulate active and effective strategies, disseminate, and apply them. For other members who have submitted themselves to the group, strategy is equivalent to accepting whatever decisions arise from the power center. Again, centralization and cohesion—not only group identification—play a critical role in the formulation of effective group-level strategies. Since in the final analysis thinking (being an individual activity) can only take place in individual agents (group-thinking being an abstraction), the agents who are to formulate effective strategies (who have identified themselves with the group) must be apprised of the situation of the group as a whole. That is, there must be a single center, and it must be well-connected to the periphery.

Individual-level strategies which are not connected to group interests may also remain, in several cases: (1) When the disciple is not wholly committed to the group,

and thus maintains his individual motivations and interests. (2) When there are areas where the group has not clearly defined its interests and therefore does not strategically control them; these “strategic vacuums”, as I will call them, are filled by individual strategy. (3) When the group lacks centralization and cohesion, i.e. does not behave as a single agent. Then its members, while formally associating themselves with the group, may not agree on group interests because the group in reality consists of a set of subgroups, each of which behaves as a quasi-independent agent, and therefore may diverge also in strategies used to achieve them. Ineffective strategies (from the standpoint of group interests) arise in all these cases.

It should be clear that much strategizing, whether individual or group, is adaptive. There are interests, and the strategies help to achieve them. When conditions change, strategies may change correspondingly. But not all strategies are suited to current conditions, due to a phenomenon I label *hysteresis*. Hysteresis is the inertia of tradition, the tendency of the past to continue into the future. Thus, group-level strategies may develop to meet particular environmental conditions. Subsequently, such conditions may change, while the strategies remain due to hysteresis. For instance, when a particular ritual form is strategically valuable for a group, it may continue to be performed later when its strategic value has disappeared, or it has even become harmful. Likewise many behaviors which appear strategic may have been formulated in the past; even if they continue to be beneficial for the group, there is no guarantee that this is the result of any current strategizing.

We may now turn briefly to rephrase the hypothesis in light of this discussion: that successful orders have adapted to modern conditions via group-level strategies which are represented primarily in hadra. What are the endogenous or exogenous conditions which allow a group to strategize successfully with LP? Why don't all Sufi orders formulate effective strategies in order to adapt to conditions? One would think that a Sufi order would "want" to survive, but where can this desire for survival be located if not in the self-awareness of the group, especially at the centers of charismatic and administrative control of the group-as-agent? And if such desire generated strategies, they could only be applied given a sufficient level of centralized control and general group cohesion. The very existence of "desire" at the group level thus presupposes particular social conditions.

Again, I argue that existence of general group-level strategies require at least two preconditions:

(1) A social apparatus for gathering information about the group (in formulating strategy), as well as for distributing and applying the strategy. This apparatus requires at minimum a sufficient level of central control and group cohesion, not only through administrative links (what I will later call the "positional structure") but also through personal bonds (what I will call the "personal structure": emotionally charged relationships modeled on the horizontal bond of brotherhood, or the vertical bond of father/son) which connect all tariqa members together, particularly by means of a

charismatically charged central leader. Far-flung, decentralized, weakly connected groups cannot act coherently.

(2) A high level of group-identification among group members, leading to a kind of group-consciousness or group-awareness, especially at a center of power. Individuals must submit themselves to the group, which comes to form the larger portion of their identities. Without this condition, not only at the upper administrative levels but also throughout the rank-and-file membership, individuals will not be able to think for and as the group. An individual acting only to his own interests will not be able to act in the interest of the group, even if he is the group's leader.

One of the tasks of this dissertation will be to show that modernist orders possess these preconditions, whereas the traditional orders—by and large—do not. This enables the former to formulate general group strategies, realize them in terms of practical performative strategies, and apply these all over the tariqa.

How exactly do these strategies work? I claim that one important mode is via LP in group ritual. For the modernist group, LP is deployed so as to support the group's social dimension. Its features can be understood as a strategic response to the conditions of modernity, although not a unique response, as is proven by the diversity of ritual even among modern groups. LP strategy must only be compatible with other aspects of the group, which all together form a general group strategy. The specific response depends on the niche occupied by the group within the overall field of Islam, and on choices made within an infinite but bounded range of possibilities.

The strategic orientation of a tariqa (and its LP in particular) is made evident through participant-observation fieldwork, and subsequent analysis. Emic-style analysis is insufficient in itself. As in the case of Bourdieu's strategies, group-level strategies frequently operate outside the realm of discourse. Sometimes there are clues and correspondences in discourse; other times there may be denial. In any case, one must be able to search for strategies in the absence of linguistic confirmation from members of the group. This is especially the case in Sufi groups, since the overt discursive reason for practices is always given a spiritual cast ("we recite this in order to be close to the Prophet") and only rarely a social one ("we recite this in order to promote our group"), since social goals might appear too suspect to outsiders; indeed, members may not admit them even to themselves.

Therefore it is important that participant-observation (as represented in Chapters 5 and 6) be complemented by a more "objective" form of analysis. The generally strategic character of LP may be indicated by discourse, but it is only by analyzing the LP itself that we can observe how it works, and whether or not it seems to represent a group-level strategy with adaptive benefits to the group practicing it. This is the procedure followed here (in chapters 7-9), and it corresponds to Bourdieu's notion that the subjective and objective modes of understanding must continuously balance each other.

D. The concept of LP

Language performance is the central analytical concept in this study. Therefore it will be valuable to examine it in some detail before setting out. What is language performance, and why this particular term?

By “language performance” I mean the sonic realization of language in a social setting, such that the “actness” of performing is recognized, i.e. in which language is being performed, and the participant(s) are particularly aware that they are doing something, aware that what they are doing is an act. By “social setting” I do not mean to imply “groups”; LP can occur in private contexts in which one person only is present. Rather, I mean to imply that the concept of LP—as a tool of analysis—is intended to take account of social as well as linguistic and sonic features, whatever those features may be.

The tricky part of the definition is the notion of “awareness of actness”. All behavior consists of acts; by such a definition I am trying to distinguish that which is more self-consciously so. Such performance need not meet the criteria set forth by folklorists such as Bauman when he says “It is part of the essence of performance that it offers to the participants a special enhancement of experience, bringing with it a heightened intensity of communicative interaction...” (Bauman 1975:305). But this condition is often sufficient for language performance. When experience is enhanced, being separated from more ordinary experience by the presence of a social group, special linguistic codes, concurrent use of other sensory channels (colors, incense, sounds), or the presence of a large social group, an awareness of the “actness” of what is going on is

more likely, since attention is thereby called to the act of performing. We are trying to exclude that which is performed casually, without attention being paid to the very fact of doing something.¹⁰ This is not a means of excluding the informal and including only the formal, for informal speech may frequently be the object of conscious manipulation (as when someone is trying to get a raise), while more restrictive linguistic codes, though “ritualistic”, are performed rather unthinkingly (as when someone says “how do you do?”). Awareness of actness implies an awareness that the act comprises a multitude of parameters, which can be manipulated; at the very least, there is always an awareness of boundaries: that the performative act starts at some point, and ends at some later point. The stretch between the two points is thus reified as a unit, and the word “act” can legitimately be applied to it.

I mentioned “conscious manipulation” as a criterion for LP. Here is the real significance of this category for the present study: language performance always admits of the possibility of strategic control (even if that possibility is not always realized in practice), because there is an awareness of the parameters which comprise it. In order to attempt to control something, one must at least recognize its existence. Therefore, that which is performed without an awareness of the fact of performance cannot be controlled. Since I am particularly interested in understanding how performance may be used strategically, I can exclude from consideration that which is performed without such an awareness (while understanding that not everything which is left will necessarily be the object of strategic control).

The focus on performance of *language* stems from the centrality of language in Sufi ritual. While these rituals are not entirely lacking in other symbolic forms—colors, fragrances, shapes, movements, and so forth—it is always language which is the dominant agent, both empirically from the standpoint of an outside observer and cognitively for participants, who rarely attribute spiritual efficacy to anything except insofar as it serves as an accompaniment to language, modulating but not wholly altering its basic frequencies.

The specific performance genres employed by Sufis each have particular names, whereas there is no indigenous term corresponding to “language performance.” This highlights the fact that LP is also an analytical convenience. This convenience stems in part from its generality, including what might be termed speech and singing, in forms as diverse as lecturing, preaching, conversing, and music-making. The fact that participants do not recognize the common basis of these forms in discourse is not important, because the analysis does not depend on any such recognition. Besides, they *do* recognize it, but only in a practical sense; the concept of LP is very much a part of their unarticulated taken-for-granted universe, in the realm of the doxa, as Bourdieu would have it. While no systematic investigation was performed, I did not discover any particular objection to the term “LP”. In addition, by using a general term which is also a neologism, I also conveniently avoid some of the biases which readers might attach to such words as “music”, “singing”, “chanting”, “lecturing”, or “preaching”. Finally, the focus on LP is also convenient because it serves as an (admittedly arbitrary) organizational framework

through which to organize the analysis. Performance is terribly complex, as all field workers well know, and it is sometimes hard to know where to start when organizing a description. Use of a fairly comprehensive term such as LP is helpful here. Certainly not everything in Sufi ritual is linguistic, but nearly everything of importance which happens in Sufi rituals is at least closely attached to one genre or another of language performance. Since language is so central, all analysis can be organized around the concept of LP, provided it is considered in the broadest possible sense.

LP is based on underlying texts, even if these are oral and ever-changing. But in search of breadth, one cannot restrict oneself to the textual level. Rather, one is led to consider language performance as text, as sound, and as social act. These are here divided into the following four *aspects* of LP, each of which exhibits a multiplicity of dimensions:

Syntactic. Under this heading I consider all features of LP which pertain to the structure of the signifiers employed in performance, independent of their specific meanings, including sequencing, corpus (from what universal set are signifiers drawn?), and durations. The syntactic aspect functions as a kind of negative category, complementing the others: Meaning is not taken into account except structurally (as when a linguist separates the “verbal” from the “nouns” language functions), nor are the particular sonic features, nor social aspects of communication.

Semantic. Here it is the signified which is important. This aspect of LP refers to all features which depend on linguistic meaning, from its smallest units (morphemes),

through assertions, and up to the broadest considerations of rhetorical tone and force (such as the possibility that use of irony could invert every meaning understood at the level of individual assertions, and the meaning of an utterance as reflecting the power of the authority who originated it). In this study, I will be particularly concerned with themes and symbols, textual references to spiritual and human entities, relations between texts (intertextuality), and textual authorities.

Sonic. When considering the sonic aspect I disregard the semiotic units of LP, and consider only the acoustic signal, the “carrier”. Most generally, I examine LP as consisting of a set of “lines” (each coming from a particular sound-source), each of which consists of a spectrum of frequencies varying over time. This sound results in part from the phonology of the underlying text being performed. But sonics is broader than the linguistic science of phonology, which is preeminently concerned with the units of speech sound, or “paralinguistics”, which is generally concerned with vocal timbre and stress. Under sonics is included longer-range “musical” concepts, such as tone, tonality, and melody; temporal organization; and form. By means of the term “sonics”, I avoid using the word “music”, whose many culturally specific associations, both in the west and in Egypt (via its cognate “*musiqā*”), regarding context, meaning, and aesthetic attitude, may otherwise be implicitly drawn in.

Pragmatic. In semiotic theory, pragmatics is the third division (after semantics and syntactics, which roughly correspond to my use of these terms), used as a sort of catch-all to cover aspects of meaning arising from the use of language in a context: the

users of language, their freedom or constraint in a situation, social interaction, communications, and assumptions (Crystal 1985:“pragmatics”). I use the term similarly, to comprise social and contextual aspects of LP not covered by the other aspects, including the use of space (proxemics; see Hall 1974) and movement (kinesics; see Birdwhistell 1972) in human interaction.

The notion of LP thus defined is uncountable; LP describes something, but one cannot speak of “*a* LP”. Therefore I introduce the notion of LP strip, abbreviated as LPS (plural: LPSs). The LP strip is an instance of LP which exhibits continuity along one or more aspects, and has definite boundaries in time and social space. Any particular performance can be decomposed (though not uniquely) into a set of LPSs, which may overlap temporally; both sequential and parallel LPSs are possible. The performance can thus be divided into logically coherent performative pieces, such that divisions may run either perpendicular or parallel to the temporal axis of performance. In the former case, the division separates LP “before” and “after” a particular moment and LPSs on either side of the division come in a sequence; in the latter case the division separates LPSs occurring in different social domains (performed by different subgroups, for instance), and occurring in parallel.

The placement of such divisions follows discontinuities in any of the four aspects. I tend not to divide LP in which there is continuity in all four aspects (syntactic (the same text), semantic (the same kinds of meanings), sonic (the same performative style), pragmatic (the same performers)). Conversely, points of discontinuity in more than two

aspects (such as a change in performers, text, texture, or meaning), will tend to define divisions between two LPSs. Frequently an LPS will consist of a single text, performed by more or less the same group in the same style. The concept is flexible, and will be used in various ways in this dissertation. When more than one individual voice contributes to an LPS, I will call each contribution a “line”.

I will informally speak of different “genres” of LP. The word “genre” is intended to refer to a particular constellation of features (syntactic, semantic, sonic, pragmatic) which serve to identify certain types of LP and distinguish them from others. Ordinarily genres will be distinguished only according to distinctions indicated by local, “emic” terms; these in turn will often hinge on textual genres. It is rare to find a genre constituted wholly by pragmatic factors, although these may enter into the definition of a genre.

I will also use the term “LP mode”. In contrast to genre, this is primarily an etic distinction. Here I am inspired by the work of the great linguistic and literary theorist Roman Jakobson, who analyzed the functions of language corresponding to terms of a standard model of verbal communication (adapted from the mathematical theory of communications). In this model, an *addresser* sends a *message* to an *addressee*. The message refers to a particular *context*, or referent. In order to be operative, the message must employ a verbal *code* at least partially common to the addresser and addressee, and at the moment of performance there must be a *contact* between them: a physical channel and psychological connection. Corresponding to these six components, Jakobson

discerns six language functions, each oriented toward a particular component. But he wisely notes that verbal messages cannot be classified according to a single function, since nearly all messages will display multiple functions. Rather, verbal messages differ in their relative distribution of these functions, and the verbal structure (at the syntactic, morphologic, and phonemic levels) of a message may depend on its predominant function.

The functions corresponding to each component of the model are as follows:

- *Context*: The referential, denotative, or cognitive function, by which a message communicates information about a context.
- *Addresser*: The emotive function, by which a message communicates the speaker's attitude and emotion, whether real or feigned.
- *Addressee*: The conative function; an imperative or vocative directed to the addressee; such a message cannot be given a truth-value.
- *Contact*: The phatic function (the term is Malinowski's), by which communication is established, checked, confirmed, or discontinued.
- *Code*: The metalingual function, in which language is made to refer to language itself for the purpose of checking up on the code employed.
- *Message*: The poetic function, an orientation toward the message—its sounds and signs—for its own sake. This is the primary function in “verbal art”, but it is not restricted to language which is overtly creative or artistic. Jakobson points out that while the poetic function is dominant in poetry, poetic genres can perhaps be

differentiated based on the presence of a secondary function. Thus the secondary function in epic poetry is the referential; that of lyric poetry is the emotive; that of exhortative and supplicatory poetry is the conative. (Jakobson 1987:66-71)

I will differentiate three language functions in LP, calling these “modes”. Like Jakobson’s attitude toward his functions, I stress that LP will ordinarily evince more than one mode, but that one may often speak of a dominant mode in any particular situation. The modes depend on the effects of LP, and where they occur.

The communicative mode. In the communicative mode, LP is used to convey cognitive information from addresser to addressee. It corresponds primarily to Jakobson’s referential function, combined with his conative function. While imperatives (petitions or exhortations) are not assertions admitting a truth value, they *are* acts of communication with definite cognitive content, by which we get someone to understand what it is that we want, and perhaps to act so as to fulfill our wishes. Thus the communicative mode creates a cognitive effect in the addressee’s subjectivity, whether by providing new information, confirming that which is already known, or making a request which may lead to subsequent action. This effect is created by the referents of language, the “signifieds”. Because I wish to consider communication as a human phenomenon, I do not class LP directed toward metaphysical entities in the communicative mode, but rather in the ritual mode (below).

The affective mode. This corresponds roughly to Jakobson’s emotive function. However, I distinguish three subtypes. Affect through expression, by which the

addresser communicates his own (real or feigned) emotional state via paralinguistic features (vocal tone, pause, stress) is closest to Jakobson's emotive function. Affect may also result from language itself: the connotations of reference—the "context" in Jakobson's terms—which the listener will not necessarily relate to the speaker's state, or the sounds and signs of the message (Jakobson's poetic function). Finally, affect may result from the perception of the structure of the sonic component of LP as I have defined it (e.g. a fast tempo); here the role of "musical emotion" comes to the fore, and the role of language itself may be slight. In any case, LP in the affective mode creates an emotional effect in the addressee's subjectivity. This affective effect is not directly contained in the message itself, but rather is associated with its sonic carrier (perceptual affect), signifiers (paralinguistic affect) or signifieds (affect resulting from connotations).

The ritual mode. All the LP I examine occurs in contexts which may be considered ritual, broadly speaking. However, by the ritual mode I mean something particular: the objective effect produced via the performance of language independent of its linguistic meaning for any of the human participants involved. Sometimes these effects take place in the addresser (as an objective transformation of his physical or spiritual condition), and sometimes they take place elsewhere in the world. Since there is no scientific basis for such effects, they can only exist relative to a particular belief system. Thus prayer, while its full effectiveness may depend upon understanding, intention, and sincerity, may be held to be effective in creating objective effects (in the addresser: self-healing or purifying from sin; outside the addresser: bringing rain,

bringing peace) without any understanding of meaning in the conventional sense. The ritual mode reaches its extreme in magical incantations, often in an unintelligible language, whose significance is merely as a performative act (and perhaps for this reason such acts, lacking any connection to intention or sincerity, are often rejected by religion). Here the effect stems strictly and automatically from the signifiers of the message. In this case, scrupulous attention to performance is often the norm, since a single mistake may suffice to negate the desired effect, or even to bring unintended and unfortunate consequences. In the case of supplications and certain spells the ritual mode resembles the conative function, but in which the addressee is unspecified, perhaps assumed to be supernatural. Thus Jakobson gives examples of magical incantations and classes them as conative (Jakobson 1987:68). While some of the ritual-mode LP I will consider is no doubt conative in this sense, other examples are not.

It is important to note that since the communicative and affective modes create subjective effects, LP in these modes can be a powerful tool for creating social effects as well, particularly when LP takes place in a group. Ritual LP, by contrast, tends not to affect social reality as much, since its primary significance is to produce objective effects in the spiritual world, certified by a system of belief. But as with Jakobson's functions, no LPS exhibits only one mode, and even LP in which the ritual mode dominates may have emotional and communicative consequences at some level. (I have not considered Jakobson's phatic and metalingual functions. The phatic function is no doubt present in the LP I will discuss, but I am not primarily concerned with the technical means by which

contact is established, modified, or broken; rather, I am interested in what LP does for participants given that contact has been established. Besides, in the ritual contexts with which I am concerned, contact tends to be a nearly automatic concomitant of the act of participation. Likewise, the metalingual function is more important in casual speech than in ritual, since ritual participation generally presumes familiarity with a code, and it is often a characteristic of ritual that there is no opportunity to insert communications of a metalingual sort; one is supposed to learn the codes merely by participating or through informal conversation outside of the ritual. I also have not treated the poetic function separately as an object of interest. The poetic function is present in nearly all LP I consider; its lesser prominence is one of the primary features differentiating the “speech” genres of LP which I take up later on. However, I am mainly interested in the effects of LP, and the poet function’s effects on listeners can be classed as essentially affective.)

My definition of LP can also be briefly contrasted with several related concepts from various fields, in order to show how it differs from them, and why the present definition is perhaps preferable for the present study.

Linguistics: Noam Chomsky’s concept of linguistic performance. Performance here is used to cover language as a set of utterances produced by speakers, as opposed to the idealized conception of language, the cognitive machinery which produces those utterances, which is denoted as linguistic competence (Crystal 1985: “performance”). This sense of linguistic performance, including all possible utterances, is much more general than what is desired.

Philosophy: Austin's and Searle's speech act (Austin 1975, Searle 1969). Here focus is on the very general category of acts, within which are distinguished those involving speech. This definition is in one sense too wide, in another too narrow. On the one hand, I want to focus on acts involving the heightened sense of awareness which the word performance implies; the set of speech acts contains too much. On the other hand, the notion of "speech" is also too restrictive; the word suggests a prosaic style of expression, or at least a lack of interest in performative style (as opposed to content), and is thus not suitable given my concern for singing and chanting in all their multidimensionality. Another problem with "speech act" is its discreteness, or "countability" (thus the plural exists: "speech acts"); the notion of speech act does not describe something, but rather *is* something, with a definite beginning and end. Furthermore, the notion of an "act" suggests instantaneousness, and indeed the use of the term "speech act" by philosophers is generally to refer to very short utterances. Perhaps for this reason the philosophers' treatment of speech acts also tends to be focussed on the words which are uttered, detached from the larger acoustic and social context in which they occur. My concept of LP is more general for being an attribute, and thus open-ended; no sense of short duration is implied, and the term can be more inclusive of concomitant social and sonic features.

Folklore: Bauman's concept of verbal arts as performance (Bauman 1975, 1978). I share Bauman's concern for the multiple features of verbal art as performance, including a focus on performance—as action or event—over texts, with careful

consideration of contexts, framing, patterning, roles, genres, emergent qualities, and relations to social structure. However, use of the term “arts”, as appropriate as it may be for the materials typically addressed in folklore studies (stories, myths, songs, jokes, etc.), is problematic when applied to the content of religious rituals, especially in Islam where the aesthetic attitude implied by “art” may be felt to undercut the spiritual function of language; I prefer simply “performance”. At the same time, use of the term “verbal” is less neutral than “language” as a modifier, since it emphasizes the philosophers’ notion of speech. Indeed, Bauman’s bias in this direction becomes apparent when he suggests that the notion of performance may serve to unify all verbal behaviors into a unified conception of verbal art “as a way of speaking” (Bauman 1975:291). However, my analytical interests go beyond speaking.

The term “language performance” also has the advantage mentioned before: being a neologism, it does not automatically invoke previous theories or theorists beyond the control of the author, and therefore can be more flexibly shaped for my present purposes, without prejudicial biases on the part of researcher or reader creeping in unnoticed.

Notes for Chapter 1

¹ His observation that the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya was the only prosperous Sufi group in modern Egypt is no longer valid. Measured by rate of increase in activity and participation, if not by absolute membership, newer orders are today more successful. Furthermore, despite Gilsenan’s emphasis on the effectiveness of their mechanisms of social control as a means of success, the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya have suffered a major schism stemming from conflict over the legitimacy of heredity as assuring a proper basis for tariqa leadership, and this split has naturally led to a weakening of its social position.

² Neutral in the sense of carrying few associations or restrictions, unlike “chanting”, “singing”, “music” or “liturgy”.

³ These ideas, presented over many years in Bourdieu’s formidable scholarly output, are nicely summarized in Harker et al 1990:1-25, and Postone et al 1993:1-13.

⁴ This notion of a “struggle” is particularly appropriate to the field of Islam and the bitter contests for legitimacy and authenticity which have been taking place within it. I will provide a partial outline of these struggles in Chapter 2.

⁵ We will see something of this strategy in the example of the Jazuliyya tariqa. But we will also notice the opposite trend: the new Sufi group which seizes the orthodox “high ground” as a means of entry. This may have occurred because while the preexisting groups—the older Sufi orders—may have been dominant in the Sufi field, they were weak within the field of Islam overall and regarded as heterodox in the wider context. Therefore the new groups’ orthodoxy was in reality a form of subversion of the existing Sufi order.

⁶ This notion of reform is also particularly well-suited to my forthcoming discussion of Islam in Egypt.

⁷ The formula is only metaphorically mathematical. In particular, it is hard to understand the meaning of ‘plus’ and ‘times’ here: he perhaps means to highlight the notion of the field as a context.

⁸ Even the individual (as psychologists at least will readily admit) is not totally centralized and cohesive: thus within limits it seems reasonable to treat the group as an agent so long as it meets the conditions of centralization and cohesion.

⁹ This concept of self-negation is particularly appropriate in the Sufi context, where it is known as *fana’ fi al-shaykh* (self-annihilation in the shaykh), a preliminary stage toward *fana’ fi al-rasul* (self-annihilation in the Prophet) and *fana’ fi Allah* (self-annihilation in God). See Hoffman 1995:140-1.

¹⁰ In fact all language use probably exhibits some degree of awareness: this discussion takes place as if the condition were binary, whereas in fact it is a continuum. Thus one should talk about the “degree of awareness of actness”, a continuous quantity, which would lead to a continuum also in the possibility of strategic control (see below). But the binary simplification will suffice for the sake of this brief discussion.

2. The Rise and Decline of Sufi Orders in Egypt

A. Introduction

A picture of the general rise and decline of Sufism in Egypt from medieval times to the present emerges from contemporary historical scholarship. In the Mamluk period (1250-1517) Sufism is depicted as a popular mass phenomenon, serving to provide a warm spiritual life in contrast to (and often in conflict with) the dry legalism of the 'ulama' (religious scholars) who tried unsuccessfully to repress it. Sufism steadily increased in influence through the Ottoman period (1517-1798), when Sufi shaykhs enjoyed maximal autonomy and power. After Muhammad 'Ali's ascendancy to power (1805), the orders were brought under government control with the appointment of a central Sufi authority, and economic reform that deprived orders of traditional means of support, but the orders continued to thrive and multiply throughout the 19th century. However in the 20th century attacks on Sufism by both Islamic reformers and secular-nationalists, together with massive social, economic, and political changes in Egypt, dislodged the orders from their former central position, and rapid decline followed.

While the rough contours of this arc may be true enough, the actual role of Sufism in Egyptian society, and especially its relation to the religious elite, was complex. Before the late 19th century, there may have been periodic attacks upon Sufism from religious elites, but the relation between Sufism and the 'ulama' as a whole can hardly be characterized as mutually exclusive or antagonistic. For one thing, the groups

overlapped, especially in Ottoman times when many of the leading ‘ulama’ were Sufis as well. Although some Sufis may have held objectionable religious views, the mainstream doctrines of Sufis and religious scholars had long since been reconciled by al-Ghazali (d. 1111). Criticisms of Sufism were usually directed against specific beliefs, not against Sufism as a whole. Even influential reformers such as Ibn Taymiyya, Muhammad ‘Abdu, and Hasan al-Banna’ were strongly influenced by Sufism in its social and doctrinal aspects. On the other hand, many reform-minded writers, such as ‘Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha‘rani, were also famous Sufis. Thus the social distance between critics and Sufis tends to collapse.

It was rather in the domain of practice that the main tensions and criticisms appeared. I wish to suggest that insofar as they were effective, the attacks upon the Sufi orders in Egypt—and elsewhere—were primarily directed toward rituals, rather than against social or doctrinal aspects of Sufism. Furthermore, the distinction between “criticizer” and “criticized” did not necessarily distinguish the non-Sufi from the Sufi, since there is a history of conservative “sober” Sufis (from al-Junayd to al-Ghazali to al-Sha‘rani; the tradition continues in the present day) critical of ecstatic rituals, either because they felt that these rituals, while legitimate, discredited Sufism as a whole; or as apologists in the face of orthodox criticism; or because they truly felt such rituals to be heretical practices with no place in true Islam.

Most Sufis were illiterate, simple artisans and peasants. They would not have been receptive to subtle theosophical or theological distinctions that might run against

orthodox formulations. Available historical evidence does not suggest that doctrines such as mystical unity (*ittihad*) or incarnationism (*hulul*) were widespread beyond elite circles; besides, such beliefs are not associated with characteristic behaviors which can be criticized. Beliefs in sainthood (*wilaya*), the doctrine of intercession (*shafa'a*) by saints and the Prophet, the efficacy of dhikr and *sama'* (mystical audition) were widespread in popular Sufism, but these beliefs were mainly criticized insofar as they gave rise to unacceptable practices and rituals. Therefore it was in the domain of ritual performance that criticisms came down most sharply on the Sufis, especially the singing of poetry, the use of musical instruments, emotionalism, vigorous chanting of prayers, accompanying bodily movements (whether frenzied or regularized ("dance")), self-mortification (ascetic feats, as well as piercing the body, eating snakes and the like), and the rituals of tomb visitation.

But criticisms of Sufi practice had little effect for centuries, for at least two reasons. First, at least from the 13th century would-be reformers were an elite minority amidst a populace generally well-disposed toward Sufism in its social, doctrinal, and especially ritual formulations. Second, because the criticisms were not supported by any real social, economic, or political factors impelling change. When these came in the 20th century, the position of Sufism in Egypt was swiftly eroded.

During this period the challenges to Sufism were two-fold. First, the age-old criticisms of ritual were now no longer elite, but shared by a growing literate and either western-oriented or Islamic-reform oriented middle-class population with ties to the

government. As Sufism came under government control, the latter was positioned to actually effect changes desired by Sufi critics. This resulted in a loss of identity to the orders, and a diminished appeal. Sharing much the same doctrinal base (due to the their common admission of Islam as a matrix), the orders had differentiated themselves primarily in two ways: social aspects (the shaykh's personality, the individual members involved, their numbers, their relations with each other, the social structures thus produced; attributes of class, wealth, education; structural articulation with government or 'ulama') and the rituals they performed together. Social unity in turn could only hold as long as there were shared practices—rituals—to attract, identify, and bind the group. Thus ritual was a crucial factor unifying, identifying, and differentiating the tariqa: the movements and sounds of dhikr, the spatial formations of members, singing, what sorts of instruments (if any) were used, and so on.

The restriction of ritual had the effect of eradicating these differences, reducing identity in each order, and hence cohesion. While Sufi groups may have thereby become more acceptable to critics, they also lost much of their overall distinctiveness, and the concomitant decline in emotionality no doubt reduced the incentive to join for many who had felt drawn to the orders for precisely this reason.

Second, there was widespread attrition caused by far-reaching changes in Egyptian society. The orders, deeply rooted in the old society, decentralized and lacking in social cohesion, were unable to adapt to the rapid social transformations, while competing social organizations arose to siphon off those who formerly would have

joined the orders. Many smaller orders ceased to exist, while far-flung groups fragmented. All the orders weakened as a younger urban generation turned away from Sufism toward reformist Islamic groups, or secularism.

Survival entailed adaptation, which in turn required the maintenance of a centralized and cohesive social structure. These structural conditions help to maintain group identity, as well as being necessary for the formulation, dissemination, and actualization of adaptive strategies, allowing the group to cope with a shifting social situation: to be able to recruit new members from the younger generation, to deflect criticism, and generally to strengthen the group's social structure.

In general it was the newer groups which could best cope with the 20th century's challenges. Such groups were formed in the heat of this turbulent time, and thus an awareness of its challenges was built in from the start. Being younger, they were more centralized and cohesive, and more tightly bound by the inspiration of their founders. These conditions enabled them to formulate rituals suitable to maintain themselves in the modern era, to thrive in an atmosphere indifferent, or even hostile, to the continued existence of Sufism. The proper use of ritual in various contexts, particularly LP, was a powerful factor in adaptation, serving to provide the tariqa with a unique identity, avoid critiques, attract new members, and assure continued centralization and group solidarity. The older orders, originally formulated in an era more open to Sufism, socially weakened by the transformations of the 19th century, were unable to use ritual strategically, and therefore continued to decline.

B. The rise of Sufism

Early Sufism was an ascetic reaction to the worldly interests of the Ummayyad caliphate (661-750), aiming to reorient Muslims from the transitory riches of this world to the permanent abode of the next. During this period there existed no organized system of mysticism; rather the word “Sufism” must be understood to describe certain religious currents which regarded themselves as preserving the genuine spirituality and otherworldly orientation established by the Prophet Muhammad, and clearly laid out in the Qur’an.

The ascetic movement started in Basra where its most famous exponent was **Hasan al-Basri (d. 728)**, who urged men to turn from the fleeting joys of this world and remember instead the agonies of Hellfire, the inevitability of death, and the coming of Judgement Day. Among the epigrams attributed to him is the following: “Sell this present world of yours for the next world and you will gain both in entirety, but do not sell the next world for this world, for so shall you lose the two together...” (Smith 1950:8). Besides emphasizing fear of God and negation of this world, the ascetics (especially **Ibrahim ibn Adham**, d.c. 790) developed the notion of radical trust in God (*tawakkul*), and spiritual poverty (*faqr*); although Sufis later interiorized this latter concept (as they had interiorized the outward rituals of Islam itself), many a *faqir* (ascetic; literally, “poor man”) displayed his poverty outwardly in ragged dress, celibacy, mendicancy, and mortification of the flesh. Some retreated to a *khatwa* (spiritual cell) for long periods of solitary prayer and contemplation. Such practices brought them the

condemnation of the orthodox legalists, since the Qur'an denies monasticism, although they continued throughout the following centuries.

The icy austerities of asceticism melted somewhat with the appearance of the famous woman saint, Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya (d. 801). Rabi'a combined asceticism with disinterested love for God. Unlike the traditional ascetic, whose devotions were prompted by concentration on fear of Judgement Day and Hell, or hope of gaining entry into heaven, Rabi'a's mysticism was inspired by the desire for God Himself. In one famous prayer, she dramatically expressed this attitude:

Oh my Lord, if I worship Thee from fear of Hell, burn me in Hell; and if I worship Thee from hope of Paradise, exclude me thence; but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, then withhold not from me Thine Eternal Beauty. (Smith 1950:11)

Later the mystical movement became more speculative; in Egypt **Dhu al-Nun al-Misri (d. 859)** is the most famous example of this turn. Dhu al-Nun gave a philosophical cast to Sufism, formulating a theory of *ma'rifa* (intuitive knowledge of God, gnosis) as opposed to *'ilm* (rational discursive knowledge) and religious dogma; he may have been influenced by Neoplatonic currents then prevalent in Egypt (Schimmel 1975:43).¹

Tradition ascribes to him the following passage:

Knowledge is of three kinds: first, the knowledge of the Unity of God and this is common to all believers : second, knowledge gained by proof and demonstration, and this belongs to the wise and the eloquent and the learned, and third, knowledge of the attributes of the Unity, and this belongs to the saints, those who contemplate the Face of God within their hearts, so that God reveals Himself to them in a way in which He is not revealed to any others in the world. (Smith 1950:22-23)

Abu Yazid al-Bistami (d. 874) was famous for powerful mystical experiences and the ecstatic words (*shathiyat*) he uttered while living them. Finding God within himself, he cried out “Subhani!”, “Glory be to me!²”. al-Bistami valued mystical rapture, in which the individual ego could be annihilated in God (*fana'*). He is considered representative of that Sufi tendency of ecstasy and intoxication (*sukr*) which was least acceptable to the ‘ulama’ and Islamic mainstream. While some Sufi orders later claimed influence from him, the majority found it more prudent (at least) to trace their spiritual lineage (*silsila*, “chain”) to Abu al-Qasim al-Junayd, representative of the sober trend in Sufism, or at least the outwardly sober. Junayd understood that much of the Sufi’s experience and gnosis must be guarded and kept secret from all but the spiritually advanced, as it could lead the novice astray, and draw the dangerous ire of the orthodoxy. This attitude of promulgating one set of beliefs and practices (the *zahir*, exoteric) for the ordinary people (‘*awamm*) while cultivating another set (the *batin*, esoteric) for the illuminates (*khawwass*) who are ready to receive it, has persevered to the present day.³ al-Junayd studied law, and emphasized the value of Sufism as a means of purification. Though he did not deny the reality of ecstatic or intoxicated experiences, for him the highest form of mysticism was sobriety (*sahw*); not *fana'* (annihilation of the self), but *baqa'* (“everlastingness” in God).

The Bistami current reached its most dramatic manifestation in the consummate mystic Husayn ibn Mansur al-Hallaj, and his Christ-like crucifixion and martyrdom in the year 922. al-Hallaj was a forceful religious personality who gathered many followers to

his ecstatic, passionate, and esoteric mysticism, and it was due to the political threat he posed to the government in Baghdad, as much as for his famed ecstatic utterance “Ana al-Haqq” (“I am the Truth”, i.e. “I am God”) as well as other strange religious pronouncements, that he was finally executed (Massignon 1994:xxix).

After al-Hallaj, Sufis increasingly exhibited the tendency toward concealing their mystical insights, as well as toward a reconciliation with orthodoxy. It should be noted once again that most Sufis had never rejected the Shari‘a, but rather had reinterpreted and added to it. But now the trend was toward systematizing Sufism in such a way as to state its principles, values, concepts, terms, and rituals clearly, and to reconcile them with the Law, thereby indicating the compatibility of Sufism with orthodoxy. Several Sufis wrote handbooks and treatises along these lines, including **Abu Nasr al-Sarraj** (d. 988) in his *Kitab al-Luma' fi al-Tasawwuf*, **al-Kalabadhi** (d.c.990) in *Kitab al-Ta'arruf*, **Abu Talib al-Makki** (d. 966) in *Qut al-Qulub*, **Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri** in his famous *Risala*, and **al-Hujwiri** (d. 1071) in *Kashf al-Mahjub*.

These authors were all Sufis, as well as literate and thoughtful men of understanding. Some of them were recognized scholars as well, and thus their words must have carried weight among orthodoxy critical of Sufism. al-Kalabadhi was a Hanafi jurist (Schimmel 1975:85), while al-Makki was a member of the Salimiyya theological school (Watt 1985:109). al-Qushayri was a “full-fledged Ash‘arite theologian” (Schimmel 1975:88), and his treatise is widely read to the present day. While the Salimites were opposed by the Hanbalites (Watt 1985:109), the credentials of

these writers at least place them near, if not always within, the Islamic legalist-theological discourse, from which they could make a reasoned appeal for Sufism's religious validity. The orthodox theologians might still reject Sufi claims to mystical union, or particular rituals, but a dialog was now open.

But it was **Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d.1111)** who finally succeeded in forging a synthesis between Sufism and orthodoxy, which was to be accepted thereafter by the Islamic mainstream, if not by the strictest Hanbali theologians. He studied jurisprudence and theology, as well as philosophy, and was appointed professor in the prestigious Nizamiyya college of Baghdad at the age of 33 (Watt 1985:86). He then became sceptical, searching for truth in theology, philosophy (which may have precipitated his scepticism in the first place), and the Isma'ili sect, but to no avail. He thus turned to Sufism. As he wrote in his autobiographical *al-Munqidh min al-Dalal* (The Deliverer from Error), "I realized...that I had already advanced as far as was possible by way of knowledge. What remained for me was not to be attained by instruction and study but only by immediate experience and by living as a Sufi...". He began by reading Sufi books, but then suffered a kind of nervous breakdown. Filled with doubts about his motivations and virtue as a scholar, he left his prestigious post and became a practicing Sufi, wandering widely. Only then was his faith restored, allowing him to return to teaching and writing once again. Thereafter, in his 40-volume *Ihya' 'ulum al-Din* (Revival of the Religious Sciences), he showed the compatibility of Shari'a with the Sufi life (Watt 1985:86-92). Sufism for al-Ghazali was the inner meaning of Divine Law. By

combining law and mysticism in this way, he moderated the latter and made it widely acceptable to the orthodox theologians.

What is noteworthy about these books is their careful treatment of ritual and its effects, often through citation of prominent shaykhs, and the primary sources of Shari'a (Qur'an and Hadith). Most included a chapter on *sama'* (audition), a ritual which in the hands of the Sufis had often included music and poetry as a means of producing spiritual ecstasy (*wajd*). Sufi authors described, classified, and defended it, but not absolutely; it was a force which could produce spiritual benefit or deficit, and they attempted to delineate the proper conditions for its performance, the instruments which could or could not be employed, and the dangers involved.⁴ They wrote also about *wajd*, treating its different manifestations, which ones are permissible, and how ecstasy should or should not be expressed through exclamations and behaviors. Some practices were defended by recourse to Qur'an and Hadith, or the experiences of other Sufis. Other more controversial practices were carefully considered as to what was legal in them and what was not. Still other practices might be condemned. Often authors could also evade taking a definite stance by simply quoting a variety of sources.

We may profitably consider some of these discussions in greater detail; since *sama'* as described in these treatises includes all ritual "listening" (including Qur'an, *dhikr*, sermons, or poetry), it corresponds quite closely to my notion of LP in hadra.

Thus al-Sarraj cites hadith showing that the Prophet like to hear melodic recitations of the Qur'an (al-Sarraj 1963:69); he outlines the conditions under which

sama' is proper, saying "If the beginner is ignorant of these conditions, he must learn them from a Sheykh, lest he should be seduced and corrupted" (al-Sarraaj 1963:74). He further concludes that the value of sama' is relative, since "[t]he influence of sama' depends on, and corresponds with, the spiritual state of the hearer" (al-Sarraaj 1963:76). For ecstasy, he finds support in Qur'an and Hadith, then distinguishes between the genuine (*wajd*) and the artificial (*tawajud*); those practicing the latter are condemned if they are merely imitating others, but praised if they sincerely aim for lofty states (al-Sarraaj 1963:78-9).

al-Hujwiri praises audition of the Qur'an (al-Hujwiri 1990:394), and grounds admissibility of listening to poetry on a hadith in which the Prophet said "Some poetry is wisdom" (al-Hujwiri 1990:397), then goes on to analyze further: "Auditors...may be divided into two classes: (1) those who hear the spiritual meaning, (2) those who hear the material sound. There are good and evil results in each case." (al-Hujwiri 1990:402) He delineates three emotional experiences in sama': *wajd*, *wujud*, and *tawajud*, and presents various views on each (al-Hujwiri 1990:413-416). He also condemns dancing (*raqs*), and the tearing of garments (resulting from *wajd*), although the former is to be differentiated from true ecstatic movements resulting from inner feeling, and the latter can be excused if performed by one overpowered by emotion. (al-Hujwiri 1990:416-7)

al-Ghazali treats sama' and *wajd* (a full book of his *Ihya' 'ulum al-Din*) as a general phenomenon (not only in religious contexts). Besides descriptions, quotations, and analysis of how listening produces its effects, he presents the conditions under which

it is lawful, and those under which it is unlawful, backing them up with detailed legal arguments. The unlawful conditions includes performances by women or youths (who might arouse temptation); use of particular instruments (pipes, stringed instruments, and the *kuba* drum) associated with drinkers and effeminate; and improper poetry (including obscene poetry, as well as erotic poetry, unless the listener applies it to his wife or concubine!) (al-Ghazali 1901-2:207-238)

I do not present these summaries for the particular information contained in them (nor does it seem likely that these treatises were directed primarily to Sufis desiring such information). Rather, that the fact that these authors emphasized subtle discourses about ritual, and careful delineation or classification of its different types, indicates the sensitivity of Sufism to orthodox attacks on its rituals. If scholarly Sufis could not condemn all of Sufi ritual, neither could they avoid condemning some of it. For these manuals were in large measure apologetics directed to critics; many Sufis were illiterate and in any case Sufism essentially held to the superiority of “tasting” over “reading”. If books were not generally useful for Sufis, books carefully defending their practices were even less so. Sufi rituals had been criticized from the beginning as *bid'a* (heresy), since they were not directly supported by Islamic canon law. Sufi rituals and practices—particularly asceticism, *dhikr* and *sama'*, and tomb visitation—are Sufism's point of vulnerability. While purely interior aspects of Sufism could not attract attention, Sufi practices were more flagrant. Ostensibly, these rituals were condemned because they violated Islamic law: innovative forms of worship not sanctioned by the Shari'a, and

thus a degradation of Islam. Such rituals also suggested belief in heterodox doctrines, such as the efficacy of saint intercession (in tomb visitation), or the existence of mystical states of inspiration and union (during dhikr and sama‘).

But the motives for denying them went deeper than this. If Sufis could construct new rituals which sidestepped the Shari‘a, then they posed a threat to the supremacy of Shari‘a and the order it provided for Muslims everywhere. Rituals such as sama‘ or dhikr which claimed to facilitate direct apprehension of spiritual truths (which might conceivably undercut the authority of Shari‘a) were even more suspicious, and even more threatening. More practically, such rituals threatened the power of the ‘ulama’ who had invested their entire lives in studying Islamic Law, and whose personal statures and fortunes were bound up with its centrality for Islamic life. But these were precisely the rituals that would later develop into the organized hadra of the Sufi orders.

Up until the 12th century Sufi practice had been a largely informal affair, often individualistic. The tariqa (way) consisted of the teachings and rituals of a teacher, but did not yet refer to a particular social group or ongoing institution. The fundamental relation existed between spiritual master and student, although not sealed by a formal vow of allegiance. The Sufi group, such as it was, consisted merely of the particular individuals who happened to be in training with a particular teacher at a particular time. Such a group did not possess an identity of its own transcending those of its constituent members. Furthermore the circle surrounding a particular teacher was in a constant state of flux, as Sufis travelled widely and some were perpetually itinerant. Such a group

could display no corporate solidarity. Sometimes the group was based in an institutional foundation (the *khanqah*, *ribat*, or *zawiya*) where teacher and students might live, but the relative permanence of this physical structure was no guarantee of social permanence even during the teacher's lifetime. When the teacher died, the group usually broke apart.

Sufi groups such as these began to gain respectability, perhaps due to the efforts of al-Ghazali and others. Some political leaders, such as Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi and his successors (the Ayyubids) in Egypt, granted official favor to the *khanqah* and its rituals, but the rift between orthodoxy and Sufism remained, clearly manifested in the separation of their teaching foundations: the *madrassa* for the study of religious sciences (law, Hadith, Qur'anic exegesis, theology), and the *khanqah* for the Sufis (Trimingham 1971:9).

The transformation occurred in the 12th and 13th centuries with the formation of the *tariqa* as a more permanent social organization, enduring beyond the death of its founder, and serving to preserve his name, as well as the teachings, and rituals which had characterized his group. This occurred when a particular teacher commanded the full loyalty of his students as devoted disciples, bound to him by the taking of an oath (*'ahd*), in which he adopted them as his spiritual sons. Initiation was a critical development in this process, for taking an oath of allegiance bound the disciple into the group as a matter of commitment, often involving the transmission of quasi-secret prayer formulas, and the extension of the leader's *silsila* (spiritual lineage) to the new disciple (Trimingham 1971:10). The relation between *shaykh* and disciple, symbolically a blood-

relation, was more enduring than before; consequently the social groups themselves were also more permanent. Whereas before Sufis moved from one teacher to another on their own path, now the decision to join a tariqa entailed a transformation of self-identity to one determined by the group. Doctrinally these turuq were not sects, but initiation had become a “conversion” in a social sense. The group achieved a high level of solidarity by virtue of this shared identity.

When the founder died, leadership passed to successive disciples (often, but not necessarily, agnatic kin) through the silsila. While the founder lived his personality dominated the group, but after his passing the group could acquire an independent corporate identity of its own as an institution, a mystical school responsible for passing down the teachings and rituals of its founder. At the same time, the founder became increasingly idealized, known primarily through his writings (usually prayers), *karamat* (miracles) and *baraka* (spiritual blessing); the latter could be obtained through visitation of his shrine. The founder was thereby transformed into a saint.

Over time, new charismatic leaders could appear in these turuq who reenergized some part of it and gathered disciples tightly about them. At the same time, the original social organization could weaken, particularly if it lacked charismatic talent at the center. Under these conditions, it was natural for a peripheral charismatic leader to found a branch tariqa; these often compounded the name of the new leader with that of his original order.

Thus a hierarchy of interrelated Sufi orders arose, a segmentary lineage structure imposed on the spiritual genealogy which theoretically linked every Sufi (through some number of “generations”) to the founder of his order, then (through more generations) to the founder of his founder’s order, and so on back to one of the major saint-founders of early organized Sufism. For Egyptian *turuq*, the most important founders were ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (b. 1077; from Iran, but lived mainly in Iraq; founder of the Qadiriyya), Ahmad ibn ‘Ali al-Rifa‘i (1106-82; lived and died in Iraq; founder of the Rifa‘iyya), Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi (b. 1199 in Morocco, but lived and died in Tanta, Egypt; founder of the Ahmadiyya), Ibrahim al-Dasuqi (1246-1288; lived and died in Egypt; founder of the Burhamiyya), and Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili (1196-1258; from Morocco, but came to live in Alexandria; founder of the Shadhiliyya). From these early saints and their spiritual descendants, together with a diverse collection of Khalwati shaykhs⁵ (notably the Syrian Shaykh Mustafa al-Bakri (1688-1749)) sprang most of the Egyptian orders.

C. *Sufism ascendant*

1. Mamluk Egypt

It was only after the establishment of the Sufi orders as durable social organizations in the 12th century that Sufism as a mass phenomenon of ritual and belief took root in Egypt. While Sufism was initially criticized by the ‘ulama’ (religious

scholars), within a few centuries, Sufism had extended its influence to include a broad swath of both the 'ulama' themselves and the ruling class within its scope.

A revealing portrait of Sufi ritual life in medieval Egypt is provided by Fernandes (1988), through analysis of Sufi institutions of the period. The Sufi convent called a *ribat* first appeared in the Ayyubid period (1169-1260). Here Sufis lived while devoting themselves to ascetic practices. Despite being criticized by 'ulama' these convents became widespread, and must have enjoyed support among at least some of the wealthy, since they were supported by pious endowments (*awqaf*). Besides their Sufi function, ribats were also used for general social services (Fernandes 1988:10-19).

Later the *zawiya* became common. The *zawiya* was the meeting place for the followers of a Sufi shaykh affiliated with a specific tariqa. Rituals were held in the *zawiya*, and the shaykh lived in it. The leadership of the *zawiya* was hereditary, usually passing to the shaykh's son. These *zawiyas* attracted members of the ruling elite as well as the masses. The growth of the *zawiya* signals the spread of the *turuq* in Egypt; by the 15th century *zawiyas* were larger and more numerous, and many of the sultans became involved with them. (Fernandes 1988:13-16). Strained economic conditions during this time may also have turned the populace toward Sufism (Fernandes 1988:40).

Another physical institution, called the *khanqah*, also dates from the Ayyubid period. The *khanqah* served as a Sufi residence, including lodging, kitchen, and bathroom facilities. Although not dedicated to a particular Sufi order, the *khanqah* was led by a Sufi shaykh, who had absolute control over his followers. He led them in group

rituals called *hadra* (singular: hadra), consisting primarily of group recitations of *awrad* or *ahzab* (special devotional texts composed or borrowed by the shaykh; we will study these in more detail in Chapter 4), Qur'an, and dhikr (remembrance of God by chanting His Names), as well as solo inshad (singing of religious poems). The hadra would frequently open with the shaykh's recitation of the *basmala* (*bi ism Allah al-Rahman al-Rahim*, in the Name of God, most Merciful, most Compassionate), and close with his *du'a'* (prayer of request), just as it does today. Hadra in the khanqah was generally more orthodox than that held in the zawiya, which might include music and freer movement (often called dance by critics). But in the 15th century there may have been music and dance in the khanqah hadra as well, in which even the ruling sultans participated (Fernandes 1988:16-18, 58).

It was the khanqahs which played a major role in bringing about the acceptance of Sufism by the 'ulama', establishing it as respectable in Mamluk Egypt. Formerly the Egyptian 'ulama' opposed Sufism, having accused Dhu al-Nun (d. 859) of heresy, and this attitude continued through the Ayyubid period, growing with the initial establishment of the khanqahs which often favored foreigners (Fernandes 1988:99).

But in the 14th century, exoteric religion (law, theology, and Prophetic traditions) started to be taught in the khanqahs, and Friday sermons were held there, thus creating opportunities for the 'ulama' to become involved in them professionally. At the same time, Sufism began to be incorporated into the *madrasas* (religious colleges) and

jami 's (mosques) in the form of daily *hadras* (Fernandes 1988:33). Thus the gap between 'ulama' and Sufis began to narrow.

The rulers were closely involved in constructing and maintaining the *khanqahs* (and sometimes *zawiyas*), as well as sponsoring full-time teaching positions within them. Sultan Barquq built them in the 14th century, and this trend accelerated in the 15th as rulers showed greater interest in Sufism. By this time, many prominent 'ulama' were involved with *khanqahs*. Supporting *khanqahs* was a means by which the Mamluk rulers attempted to control the general religious life, especially the elites, and thus the population as a whole (Fernandes 1988:1,102-3).

With the establishment of teaching posts for the 'ulama' in the *khanqahs*, attitudes of the 'ulama' shifted. At the same time, the Sufis became more educated in mainstream Islamic traditions, and so attained a higher religious status. By the 15th century a class of Sufis existed who could be identified with the 'ulama' (Fernandes 1988:102). Through participation in the *khanqah*, Sufi customs became more prominent in religious life as a whole, and Sufi teachings were integrated with those of the 'ulama' class (Fernandes 1988:106).

Again the reception of ritual is a sensitive indicator of changing attitudes. The *sama* ' (spiritual concert, involving recitation and often singing, music, and movement) had formerly been attacked by the 'ulama', although sultans sometimes attended secretly, even before the Mamluk era, to avoid criticism by religious authorities. But by the 14th century the rulers were openly sponsoring the *sama* ' replete with singers (Fernandes

1988:106). In the 15th century Sufi rituals were included in the state-sponsored rituals performed to ward off plague, drought, or famine, with the sultan himself participating openly (Fernandes 1988:106-7).

Toward the end of the 15th century, the khanqah declined, as shaykhs began to establish themselves independently of these state-controlled institutions. Now the zawiya was ascendant, and rulers had to turn to the power of the shaykhs there. The turuq now spread more rapidly, a trend encouraged by the Ottomans, and the mood turned toward popular Sufism in the orders. (Fernandes 1988:111-113).

Boaz Shoshan (1993) provides another view, by examining the popular culture of Cairo in this era. Unlike its earlier ascetic and speculative forms, Sufism in Mamluk Egypt broadly penetrated congregational life, exerting a growing influence on ordinary Muslims' world-views, religious practices, and social life. Sources indicate dozens of active Sufi shaykhs, retaining large followings, and serving as religious links to the common people. The Qalandariyya, Shadhiliyya, Ahmadiyya, Rifa'iyya, Burhamiyya, and Khalwatiyya orders were most prominent at this time (Shoshan 1993:10-11). From the 14th century Sufi social structures and the ideologies supporting them served to mediate between the ruling military elite and the population, and the Sufis rose to the level of the 'ulama' in significance (Shoshan 1993:21).

There were two main circles of Sufi influence. The narrower one encompassed those who were wholly dedicated to the orders. Many younger men severed ties to their families in order to live in a shaykh's zawiya (described below), and some shaykhs

acquired many followers. But there was a wider circle too, within which Sufism exerted a general influence, especially via sermons delivered by Sufi preachers at Friday congregational prayer.

Thus the famous Sufi (and saint) Ibn ‘Ata’ Allah al-Iskandari (d. 1309) had widespread influence as a preacher in Cairo. He was a Shadhili, disciple of Abu al-‘Abbas al-Mursi (student of Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili himself), and a respected legal scholar whose books were studied at al-Azhar (the oldest Islamic university, founded by the Fatimids in the 10th century in Cairo, and still the principal Islamic university today). In his sermons he spoke of Sufi ideas such as purification of self, and love of God (mahabba). Performance of dhikr, he preached, serves as a means of repentance, worship, and polishing the heart; prayer is a union between two lovers. He extolled the saints, and spoke of their miracles (*karamat*). These sermons reportedly had a great influence on the masses. He opposed the reformist theologian Ibn Taymiyya due to the latter’s polemics against the Shadhili order, and once marched with 500 supporters to the Citadel (then seat of governance) in protest against him (Shoshan 1993:14-16).

Sufi masters were venerated, and especially after death might be recognized as saints. All sorts of miraculous deeds—feats of flying, healing, or telepathy—were attributed to saints, and served as authentication of their saintly status. Some shaykhs were widely sought out for their blessing. Miracle stories often indicated the social compassion of shaykhs, who could feed the hungry, cure the sick, and intercede to bring relief from oppressive rulers (Shoshan 1993:18-22). Other saints made the land fertile,

protected people from the forces of nature, or located stolen goods. But the fundamental power of a saint stemmed from his closeness to God; thus the Arabic word for saint is *wali* (close; plural *awliya*). This status enabled him to mediate with God, who was often felt too distant to be approached directly, especially by one who feared his own sinful state. Saints re-radiated God's blessing (*baraka*), and their presence made prayers more effective (Taylor 1989:195-235).

Sufi saints thus filled two key roles in medieval Egyptian society. In life, they provided models of exemplary piety, encapsulating religious values such as denial of desire, devotion, truthfulness, and generosity. The concept of the saint as a *salih* (virtuous one) was not contested as a general principle, even if there might not be agreement on the status of any particular individual. Saints were also agents of intercession (*shafa'a*) between ordinary people and God. The possibility of such intercession was controversial among theologians, but widespread among the populace, as indicated by accounts of *baraka* and *karamat*, and the rituals of tomb visitation (Taylor 1989:191-2).

While the 'ulama' may have gradually been drawn into Sufi institutions, accepting the *hudur* and Sufi *turuq*, certain Sufi rituals continued to provoke acrimonious criticism. One of the most criticized practices was visiting the tombs of saints (*ziyarat al-qubur*). These saints had initially comprised the Ahl al-Bayt (family of the Prophet), some of whom were buried in Egypt. When an important shaykh died, his or her tomb could also become the object of visitation, and so the great Sufi shaykhs

were integrated into a widespread ritual practice. One might recite religious texts at a tomb, pray to God, or make a vow (*nadh'r*) to do something in exchange for spiritual favors. Prayers to God were more likely to be answered in the vicinity of the tomb of a holy person, and the saint himself might answer pleas for help through intercession with God, or could provide miracles and baraka (blessings) for those visiting their tombs (Shoshan 1993:18-22).

*Mawlid*s—saint festivals—were common; in the late Mamluk era, the mawlid of Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi in Tanta was reputed to draw more participants than the annual *Hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca and ceremonies performed during the first ten days of the Islamic month *Dhu al-Hijja*). *Mawlid*s were criticized as an instance of saint veneration, as well as for the scandalous rituals performed within them, often mixed with popular culture and in the presence of women. It was “scandals” (perhaps involving Sufi ritual) which led to the suspension of this mawlid in 1417. But ritual unacceptable to the orthodoxy evidently continued. A Sufi shaykh named Muhammad al-Shinawi (d. 1525; he was the shaykh of ‘Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha‘rani, considered below) is known to have abolished some of the emotional ritual practices, as well as the use of musical instruments during the procession, substituting dhikr in their stead. Nevertheless, singing and music were often included in such festivities (Shoshan 1993:17-18). It is noteworthy that critics of Sufi ritual could also come from the ranks of the Sufis themselves.

Much earlier, al-Ghazali (d. 1111), the great theologian who reconciled Sufism and Islamic law, had defended the practice of ziyarat al-qubur by recourse to Hadith (Taylor 1989:121). But in *fatwas* (legal opinions) issued in the early 14th century, Taqi al-Din Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328), one of the most famous theologians of his day, condemned the practices of saint veneration, tomb visitation, and mawlid, as well as the beliefs in miracles and blessings which engendered them (Shoshan 1993:19-20). He considered these practices and beliefs to be *bid'a* (heretical), based mainly on pre-Islamic customs (Taylor 1989:126-8).

Ibn Taymiyya also opposed other Sufi rituals such as the sama', whose spiritual value he denied in the following sarcastic, rhetorical question:

[What is your opinion] about him who maintains that certain shaikhs, when they listen to spiritual concerts, are visited by People from the Invisible (*rijal al-ghaib*), that walls and ceilings split open to allow angels to descend therefrom in order to dance with or above such shaikhs, and that, as some others believe, the Messenger of God – may he have God's blessings – himself comes to visit them? What is required of a man who has such a belief? (Shoshan 1993:19-20)

Despite his prominence, Ibn Taymiyya's Sufi critiques represented a minority opinion in his day, and al-Ghazali's earlier views prevailed. In view of his later importance to reform movements, such as the 18th-century Wahhabiyya, the 19th-century Salafiyya, and the 20th-century Muslim Brothers (*Ikhwan Muslimin*), it is important to recall how Ibn Taymiyya was treated in his own age. Persecuted for his reformist stance, anti-Sufi views, and ritual critiques, he died while under arrest in the Citadel of Damascus, after one of his writings criticizing ziyarat al-qubur outraged the

religious establishment. (Ironically, his tomb soon became the object of visitations.) His views on Sufism were simply not acceptable in his own time (Taylor 1989:137).

It is also important to note that despite his fierce opposition to particular Sufi practices, even Ibn Taymiyya cannot be characterized as broadly anti-Sufi. His emphasis on Shari'a (Divine Law) wrongly suggests this conclusion, for contemporary Sufis consider Shari'a as limited to exoteric religion, as contrasted with the esoteric Haqiqa (Divine Reality) which they seek. But for Ibn Taymiyya, Shari'a is a broad concept, encompassing spiritual truth (Haqiqa) of the Sufi, the rational truth of the philosopher and theologian, and the law (Rahman 1979:1979:111). He accepted the validity of Sufi experimental method, and believed that Sufism could give new meaning to Shari'a and Revelation, although it could never erase them and was fallible. The real subject of his attack was Sufi ritual (including saint veneration), as well as extreme Sufi doctrines such as Unity of Being (*Wahdat al-Wujud*) (Rahman 1979:1979:147). Since practically no Sufi group today openly preaches Unity of Being, the *effective* anti-Sufi heritage of Ibn Taymiyya can be considered to be primarily a matter of ritual critique.

2. Ottoman Egypt

The Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517 gave a strong impetus to Sufism, and over the following three centuries Sufism increased greatly in influence. Sufi orders expanded and multiplied, more 'ulama' became involved in them, and more saint festivals (mawlid) were held. The Ottomans themselves were highly predisposed to Sufism, for it was the proselytizing effect of the dervishes which had Islamized the Turkic tribes in the

first place, and the orders flourished under Ottoman society. Under Ottoman control, the power of the Egyptian 'ulama' declined, and this too was a factor favoring Sufism. Sufism may have also offered solace to a population now reduced to the status of a mere province within the far-flung Ottoman empire (Winter 1992:129ff).

A wide range of orders existed, from orthodox to antinomian. Thus sources described the Qadiriyya and Shadhiliyya as generally conforming to Shari'a, as opposed to the more heterodox Rifa'iyya, Ahmadiyya, and Sa'diyya (Winter 1992:132). Most critiques were not directed against Sufism as a whole, but rather against unorthodox practices. Such critiques could come from within Sufism as well, and the great Sufi shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani was one of those advocating reforms, although his was no doubt a minority opinion. In the 18th century, the historian 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti was regularly recording tariqa affiliation in his biographies of the 'ulama', meaning that such affiliation was both widespread and uncontroversial for an al-Azhar scholar (Winter 1992:133).

Heyworth-Dunne rightly notes that in Islam, the mosque does not provide the sense of religious community which the local church provides among Christians. The Muslim ordinarily feels no particular tie with a particular mosque, which serves as a place for prayer rather than defining a social group. The Sufi order filled this void by furnishing strong personal bonds of devotion to a shaykh, and close brotherhood with his other disciples, by means of initiation (Heyworth-Dunne 1939:8-9).

In 18th century Egypt, the most influential orders were the Khalwatiyya, the Qadiriyya, the Shadhiliyya, the Bakriyya, the Ahmadiyya, and the Burhamiyya. As in the medieval period, there were two classes of Sufis. The *fuqara* ' (singular *faqir*⁶; literally "poor man", but here a reference to one's humility before the richness of God) specialized in performing Sufi rituals and lived entirely within the Sufi world, while other lay-members worked ordinary jobs and attended rituals less frequently (Heyworth-Dunne 1939:9).

Two widely ramified groups of orders throughout the Ottoman period were the Shadhiliyya, and the Ahmadiyya. The former, founded by Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili (d. 1258), tended to be more intellectual and aristocratic, producing many poets and writers; they were not ascetics, but rather insisted that members lead socially productive lives (an attitude which has continued to the present). Despite their elite origins, they were known for use of drums, and sometimes holding parties with music (Winter 1992:133). By contrast, the Ahmadiyya (founded by Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi, d. 1276) was a popular tariqa of the common people, spawning many branch orders. Members often performed wild hadras with drums and flutes, while some of the more orthodox tried to restrain these rituals (such as Muhammad al-Shinawi, mentioned earlier). Both 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani and the historian al-Jabarti considered the Ahmadiyya to be unacceptably heterodox due to their behavioral excesses (Winter 1992:134-5).

One of the Ahmadi branches prevalent in the Husayniyya district of Cairo was the Bayyumiyya, founded by Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi; I will consider this tariqa in some detail

later. At first the 'ulama' objected to Sidi 'Ali's wild hadra performances, but no less than the Shaykh al-Azhar supported him, and arranged for him to prove his religious worth by teaching a lesson on Hadith at al-Azhar. Sidi 'Ali did so, satisfying the 'ulama' who thereafter left him alone. The governor of Egypt, Mustafa Basha, admired him and built for him a mosque with *sabil* (water cistern), *kuttab* (religious school), and *qubba* (dome), underneath which he was buried. The order has ever since been highly influential in Husayniyya (Winter 1992:137).

The Khalwatiyya order in the 18th century attracted many 'ulama' of al-Azhar, despite a reputation for esoteric lore, this order displayed orthodox ritual. This fact supports my claim that ritual was the main basis for the differential criticism of *turuq*. In particular, one distinguished Khalwati shaykh, Muhammad al-Hifni (1757-67) did much to spread the Khalwatiyya among religious scholars. A student of the famous Syrian Khalwati, Mustafa al-Bakri, al-Hifni became shaykh of al-Azhar, and was close to the Egyptian governor as well as many of the *emirs* (princes). Several of his disciples, such as 'Abdallah al-Sharqawi (later the Shaykh of al-Azhar) and Ahmad Dardayr, were also very influential in al-Azhar, and did much to spread the Khalwati tradition there and elsewhere. The Khalwatiyya became an integral part of the spiritual training of Azhari elites, and was dominant among the senior 'ulama' (Winter 1992:138-142).

By the 18th century virtually all the 'ulama' had Sufi connections, while many Sufis received the training of 'ulama'. Sufism was studied at al-Azhar, where many Sufis received a warm reception. There may have been differences in approach, but no

religious scholar disapproved of Sufism in general, although he might criticize particular practices.

The rich and powerful Bakri family established an order, the Bakriyya, which was to play a leading role in Egyptian Sufism. The head of the family was shaykh of the order, and leader of the Mawlid al-Nabi (celebrations for the Prophet's birthday); he received official recognition and compensation from the government (Winter 1992:143). The descendants of this family came to control the Sufi orders in the 19th century.

Sufism as a whole was the dominant cultural form within which most Islamic expression, worship, socializing, and thinking took place, and it provided a common ground for Egyptian society from rich to poor, intellectual to illiterate, across the spectrum of professions and religious proclivities. Affiliation to Sufi orders became nearly hereditary; sons joined the orders of their fathers, providing an automatic replenishment of membership. Many regarded the spread of Sufi orders as a valuable means of combating religious ignorance, and curtailing the influence of the antinomian dervishes, who wandered unaffiliated. Belief in *baraka* (spiritual power of shaykhs) and *karama* (miracles) was widespread even among elites, and people of all social stations gave money to Sufi shaykhs, supporting their positions. Even exoteric religious instruction was frequently conducted within the tariqa. The orders were heavily subscribed and interconnected, for multiple membership was common (thus Sha'rani himself had supposedly taken the oath in 26 orders (Winter 1992:131)). Rituals were sometimes (at least) non-exclusive (see Edward Lane's description of a dhikr, below),

and thus the boundaries between different orders could not have been very clear. The *turuq* were not sharp corporate entities, either individually, or even taken all together, since participation was widespread throughout society at so many levels. Sufism thus wove society together, rather than carving it up into exclusive groups (Winter 1992:128-66). Despite their initial ascetic inclinations, Sufis were now part of society, not outside it (Gilsenan 1973:6).

Rulers liked to pose as patrons of Sufism, because the Sufi shaykhs were so influential, and could do much to improve the reputation of a government official. As in the Mamluk period, they bought representation by building *tekkes* (the Turkish equivalent to *khanqah* or *zawiya*) and donating funds to establish *awqaf* (pious endowments). The shaykhs also benefited from relationships to the rulers, since they were thereby empowered to intercede for followers. The relation between the two was thus reciprocal (Winter 1992:164-5). Indeed, many Sufi shaykhs were rather independent of the rulers, enjoyed their respect, and could even challenge state power on occasion. They governed the members of their orders without interference from the government, and thus protected them from state tyranny; in return they commanded absolute loyalty of *tariqa* members (Berger 1970:70).

The role of Sufism (*tasawwuf*) during the last century of Ottoman rule in Egypt is well-summarized by Heyworth-Dunne:

The relationship of eighteenth century *tasawwuf* to religion and to all classes of Moslem society cannot be under-rated. By this time, few seem to have been able to call themselves Moslems without belonging to one or more of the religious orders, and, as we have seen, even the orthodox

shaikhs and '*ulama*' had their own special order, religious life was no longer governed by the simple tenets of Islam but rather by the various Sufi-interpretations of religious law and texts. Moral guidance was sought from and given by the shaikhs through the channels of this huge superstructure of Sufism rather than through direct reference to orthodox Islamic principles. Ritual, prayer, mode of life and general behaviour were governed in the main by the rules of the Islamic faith but in detail by those of the tariqa, the authority of which was the shaikh, and it was the detail that mattered. The learned devoted much time and energy to the reading of Sufi literature and by far the greatest proportion of the literary output consisted of this kind of writing and of Sufi poetry while the rank and file followed the example and guidance of their intellectual and spiritual leaders. (Heyworth-Dunne 1939:10)⁷

The orders held society together, by subordinating them to the shaykhs, thus providing a general stability. Most of the books read by the literate classes was supplied by the orders, or at least colored by Sufism (Heyworth-Dunne 1939:11). Nearly all Islamic devotional books were Sufi works connected with the orders (Trimingham 1971:250).

3. The 19th Century

In 1798 Napoleon conquered Egypt, easily defeating the Ottoman rulers. After only three years the French were forced to withdraw due to British pressure. Although the Ottomans nominally regained control of Egypt, their real power ended when Muhammad 'Ali established himself as a practically independent governor (1805-48). He introduced a modern army, government bureaucracy, and system of education. Confiscating tax-farms and religious endowments—both of which had furnished financial

support for the Sufi orders—he took control of all agricultural land, and turned agricultural production toward cotton export. A new age had begun in Egypt.

At this time the Sufi orders continued to exert a vast influence. Edward Lane (writing in the 1830s) reports that almost all Sufis were tradesmen, artisans, or agriculturists who participated in rituals less frequently, while others (the *fuqara*) were full-time dervishes (Lane 1973:244). Lane describes several contrasting *hadra* rituals including *dhikr*, singing, movement, and music (often drums and flutes were used), most of which were elaborate, full of ecstatic movement, and frequently included trance-like states as well; he implies that at least some *turuq* (such as the *Bayyumiyya*) had distinctive rituals by which they could be recognized. He does not mention any kind of censure of such activities, even though they occurred in central and public locations, and one may therefore surmise that at this time there was little need for ritual control to achieve religious legitimacy. Another important point is the mixing of members from different *turuq* in the rituals he describes, suggesting that the world of Sufism was not strictly divided into exclusive, well-bounded orders (Lane 1973:243,432,445,455).

It may be helpful to quote at length from his description of one of the ceremonies he attended, held in the Cairo mosque of the Imam al-Husayn for the festival of ‘Ashura’ (10 Muharram), the day on which several momentous events of prophets and saints occurred (viz: the meeting of Adam and Eve after being cast out of Paradise; the descent of Noah from the ark onto land; as well as the martyrdom of al-Husayn himself (Lane 1973:428)):

The darweeshes I found to be of different nations, as well as of different orders. Some of them wore the ordinary turban and dress of Egypt; others wore the Turkish ka-ook, or padded cap; and others, again, wore high caps, or tartoors, most of the sugar-loaf shape. One of them had a white cap of the form last mentioned, upon which were worked, in black letters, invocations to the first four Khaleefehs, to El-Hasan and El-Hoseyn, and to other eminent saints, founders of different orders of darweeshes. Most of the darweeshes were Egyptians; but there were among them many Turks and Persians. I had not waited many minutes before they began their exercises. Several of them first drove back the surrounding crowd with sticks...forty of [the darweeshes], with extended arms and joined hands...formed a large ring...The darweeshes who formed the large ring (which enclosed four of the marble columns of the portico) now commenced their zikr⁸, exclaiming, over and over again, "Allah!" and, at each exclamation, bowing the head and body, and taking a step to the right, so that the whole ring moved rapidly round. As soon as they commenced this exercise, another darweesh, a Turk, of the order of Mowlawees⁹, in the middle of the circle, began to whirl, using both his feet to effect the motion, and extending his arms: the motion increased in velocity until his dress spread out like an umbrella. He continued whirling thus for about ten minutes; after which he bowed to his superior, who stood within the great ring; and then, without shewing any signs of fatigue or giddiness, joined the darweeshes in the great ring, who had now begun to ejaculate the name of God with greater vehemence, and to jump to the right, instead of stepping. After the whirling, six other darweeshes, within the great ring, formed another ring, but a very small one; each placing his arms upon the shoulders of those next to him; and thus disposed, they performed a revolution similar to that of the larger ring, except in being much more rapid; repeating, also, the same exclamation of "Allah!" but with a rapidity proportionably greater. This motion they maintained for about the same length of time that the whirling of the single darweesh before had occupied; after which, the whole party sat down to rest. —They rose again after the lapse of about a quarter of an hour; and performed the same exercise a second time. (Lane 1973:432-3)

The great contrast of this ritual—for its complexity, elaborateness, distinctiveness, emotion—with those of contemporary Sufi orders will become apparent in the following chapters. Nothing like it exists today. The fact that this dhikr was such a public

occasion, and in the most sacred mosque of Cairo, makes it all the *more* remarkable for its ritual elaboration and unrestrained emotion, so far from the practice of ordinary Islamic rituals. For these days, it is precisely on such public festival occasions and in such public and sacred places that the Sufi orders must exhibit the most careful restraint, due originally to the censure of their critics, and continued as a matter of habit, at least; we will take up this topic later on. It is also remarkable that despite their diverse national and tariqa origins, these “darweeshes” (as Lane calls the Sufis) were performed such a coordinated performance. This fact also suggests a high level of inter-tariqa activity, and low level of exclusivity in participation in the orders, a factor no doubt resulting from the social dominance of Sufism at the time, but which was to be a weakness later on, since a disunified group could not easily formulate or enforce strategies designed to promote adaptive changes to social change.

In order to consolidate his power, Muhammad ‘Ali needed to control the religious establishment, consisting of the Sufi shaykhs and orders, and the ‘ulama’. Therefore, in 1812 he issued a *faraman* (edict) giving Shaykh Muhammad al-Bakri, who had just been installed as Shaykh al-Sajjada al-Bakriyya (head of the Bakriyya order), authority over all the Sufi turuq, tekkes (khanqahs), zawiyas, and shrines in Egypt. The Shaykh al-Bakri had always been extremely influential, but now his authority was backed by the government itself. In doing this, Muhammad ‘Ali also sought to undermine the power of the *naqib al-ashraf* (head of the *ashraf*, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad) and the ‘ulama’, many of whom were also Sufis. Rivalry between Shaykh

al-Bakri and the Shaykh al-Azhar was also useful to Muhammad ‘Ali in controlling the ‘ulama’ (de Jong 1978:1978:20-3).

In the 18th century *tasawwuf* (Sufism) had had a solid position in the religious curriculum at al-Azhar, along with *tajwid* (Qur’anic recitation), *qira’at* (knowledge of variant Qur’anic readings), *tafsir* (Qur’anic exegesis), *hadith* (Prophetic traditions), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *usul al-fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence), *fara’id* (laws of inheritance), and *tawhid* (theology) (Heyworth-Dunne 1939:41). But the new discord between official Sufism and al-Azhar caused the importance of Sufism in al-Azhar to wane, and the great religious university began a slow transformation into a stronghold of orthodoxy and opposition toward the orders. The gap between ‘ilm (religious knowledge) and *tasawwuf* (Sufism) widened. In addition, Sufi shaykhs were now sanctioned by al-Bakri, and consequently were less in need of scholarly credentials from al-Azhar. Sometime after 1864 Sufism was no longer taught there (de Jong 1978:23).

By the 1840s Shaykh al-Bakri had consolidated his authority with the help of government agencies, while the Shaykh al-Azhar was excluded from all affairs of the *turuq* (de Jong 1978:39). All appointments of local district *tariqa* officials (*khalifas*) had to receive al-Bakri’s approval. He rejected such appointments if a *tariqa* did not have enough members in a district, or if another *tariqa* had already established the right to appear publicly and proselytize in that area; this was called the right of *qadam* (de Jong 1978:45). Protecting it ensured that the *turuq* did not conflict with each other. He controlled the celebration of *mawlid*s, as well as the *Mawlid al-Nabi* (the Prophet’s

birthday celebration), which attracted much participation of government notables (de Jong 1978:56, 61-62). Upon the death of Muhammad al-Bakri in 1855, the position of Shaykh al-Bakri passed in turn to his son 'Ali, and later to his grandson 'Abd al-Baqi in 1880. The position thus became hereditary in the Bakri family line (de Jong 1978:40,96).

In the late 19th century the number of *turuq* grew, perhaps a response to the decline of the trade guilds. The *turuq* took over the roles of the guilds in public ceremonials, and so became more ritually visible than before (de Jong 1978:68-69).

At the same time the new centralization and bureaucratization of the orders under the Shaykh al-Bakri meant that ritual criticism could now receive the effective sanction of governmental authority. The Khedive himself banned the *dawsa* (in which a shaykh would ride his horse over the prostrate bodies of his disciples¹⁰), apparently on his own initiative, although it had drawn much European criticism, and compelled al-Bakri to ban other supposedly *bid'a* (heretical) rituals. Although public criticisms of these practices by reformers through the modern press had not yet begun in earnest (de Jong 1978:96-7), criticism of Sufi ritual had a long history in Islam. Now the machinery existed to ban them officially; even if such bans could not always be enforced, they were useful even as empty gestures in the face of critics.

In response, al-Bakri drew up the Circular of 1881 regulating Sufi ritual, including the following points of special relevance to ritual performance as well as social relations (here paraphrased):

- 1) Dhikr must be performed correctly and quietly for praise of God only.

- 2) No mawlid can be held without al-Bakri's permission; permission will be granted provided it has been performed before, and includes only recitation of the Qur'an and prayers.
 - 3) No acts of self-mortification—such as piercing the body with a dabbus (skewer), swallowing glass, live coals, serpents, or striking oneself with cannon balls—are permitted.
 - 4) Beating of drums are restricted except for mawlids, and within the takiya only.
 - 5) Hadrās are to be held inside houses of shaykhs only, not outside in the streets.
 - 6) Only prayers to God and the Prophet are to be recited in mawlids, as for the mawlid al-nabi.
 - 7) The shaykh may not take away the khalifa's 'idda, and the khalifa may not lend it out.¹¹
 - 8) No mawlid can be held for a living shaykh, or for a dead one unless it has been performed before, and then only with permission, as above.
 - 9) No shaykh can suspend a khalifa without permission from the al-Bakri administration.
 - 10) No shaykh can interfere in the affairs of another shaykh.
 - 11) Complaints regarding an order, whether from the shaykh or one of his deputies, can only be laid before the Shaykh al-Bakri or one of his deputies.
 - 12) A person can only affiliate to one order.
 - 13) Processions must be orderly, and only banners may be carried.
 - 14) Dhikr must be performed with reverence, and only in the presence of an authorized shaykh. Only prayers can be recited in dhikr, but no songs can be performed.
 - 15) Maddahin [singers of madih to the Prophet] may not perform in the cemeteries.
 - 16) Mawlids and processions inaugurated within the last 10 years are abolished.
 - 17) The dawsa is abolished.
 - 18) Processions may not be held for circumcision or marriage ceremonies.
 - 19) No drums may be performed in dhikr if women are present.
 - 20) Shadhili dhikr must conform to the same principles as other dhikr.
 - 21) Shaykhs may not initiate beardless young men, but only men with beards who are well-acquainted with their religion.
- (de Jong 1978:196-200)

The implications of these regulations—if they could have been entirely enforced—were considerable. The following discussion enlarges on de Jong 1978:97-101: First one may consider the articles limiting the power of the shaykh over his own group. He can no longer freely determine dates of mawlids and processions, and cannot even

discipline a khalifa by removing his 'idda or suspending him. Thus the structure of authority is directed entirely to the shaykh al-Bakri, weakening the turuq individually. The provision prohibiting one shaykh from interfering with others probably served to limit the power of all the shaykhs, by preventing any one from becoming too influential. The condition of exclusive membership limits the right of the shaykh to give the oath (*'ahd*) freely, since he may only take members who are not already affiliated. Exclusion of boys may have been a means of ensuring that affiliation proceeded from a mature commitment by a man understanding the exoteric principles of religion, and thus to avoid criticism of Sufis as religiously ignorant, but this article would also have tended to deprive the turuq of their most natural source of members. While the khalifa is given protection against arbitrary behavior by his own shaykh, he is also prevented from conducting rituals outside the scope of the tariqa, or lending out his instruments, for pay, a practice which evidently brought him economic benefit, but was undoubtedly criticized. Any problems internal to a tariqa resulting in complaints would have to come before al-Bakri or his designates, thus increasing the central power of his office.

The major public ritual displays, the mawlid and their attendant processions (*mawakib*), were placed entirely under control of al-Bakri. These were restricted to an orthodox form of Qur'anic recitation and prayers only. Significantly, new mawlid and mawlid for living shaykhs were abolished, thus reducing the number of opportunities for public ritual display, as well as preventing celebration of the founders of newer turuq. This article would have limited the ability of a new tariqa to establish itself. It also

guarded against charges of bid‘a since long-established mawlid could be justified as popular tradition, whereas new ones called attention to Sufi ideas of saint-veneration which had been so bitterly opposed by a polemic going back to Ibn Taymiyya. The same intent can be seen in the prohibition against prayers to saints in the mawlid. The processions themselves are required to be nearly uniform, since order is imposed, and only the group’s banners (flags, with characteristic color, designs, and name) can be carried; previously turuq often paraded with various kinds of drums, cymbals, swords and perhaps performed dhikr or inshad as well. The restriction on performance for circumcision and marriage ceremonies would have limited display, as well as income, since the group was hired to perform these.

The reduction of opportunities for mawlid would have a deeper spiritual effect as well, if we follow de Jong’s logic here (de Jong 1978:100). Since baraka (spiritual blessing, power, or grace) is believed to emanate from the ritual place and occasion of a mawlid, the prohibition of mawlid would be a limitation on the flow of that grace. Such a prohibition would be consistent with critical views for which baraka, particularly when associated with living shaykhs, is a heretical concept.

In particular, all sensational displays of self-mortification—many of which were closely associated with particular groups—were prohibited. These displays brought great discredit to the turuq generally since they were widely condemned as bid‘a, and they were performed in public with the express purpose of attracting attention. The performance of such miracles was identified with particular turuq; thus the Rifa‘i tamed

snakes and pierced themselves with skewers; the Handushiyya beat themselves with iron balls; and the Sa'diyya performed the dawsa. In banning such rituals, one source of group identity was therefore lost (de Jong 1978:98).

The dhikr itself was closely controlled. The required "authorized shaykh" is a khalifa, according to de Jong 1978:97, who would presumably be responsible for ensuring compliance with other regulations. This restriction also naturally limited how many dhikrs could be performed (and led to a subsequent trade in falsified credentials in order that dhikrs could be held for weddings and other occasions). Dhikr was limited to prayers and correct praise of God, implying (according to de Jong 1978:98) that invocations of saints would be prohibited, and that inarticulate dhikr formulas ("dhikr al-qalb", discussed in Chapter 4; such dhikr is considered by many Sufis to be more effective at evoking a mystical state) such as "ah" (used by the Shadhilis) would be prohibited. The dhikrs of the Shadhiliyya orders were expressly restricted, probably because the 'Arusiyya and 'Isawiyya sub-branches had their own distinctive dhikr rituals closely bound with their identities (de Jong 1978:99). The hadra was not to be performed outside, thus limiting the ability of ritual performance to attract attention, positive or negative.

Religious singing (inshad) was generally banned, from dhikr, mawlid, and the cemeteries (where itinerant religious singers probably performed). As we shall see, the repertoire of *qasidas* (classical Arabic poems) used in inshad could be highly significant in creating tariqa identity, both through authorship (often the shaykh wrote the poems)

and content (de Jong 1978:98). Additionally, melodized poetry is effective in creating a higher emotional level in dhikr. Drums too were highly restricted, being allowed only during mawlid and then inside the takiya (zawiya). Such a restriction would limit the ability of a tariqa to use a distinctive orchestration, for certain groups employed drums of distinctive shapes and sizes, which consequently came to be regarded as symbols of the tariqa itself (de Jong 1978:99). It would also limit the emotional effects of dhikr (which, as elsewhere in the world, are intensified by drumming), and would remove the target of much criticisms against the orders. The whole complex of music and singing served to identify the group and draw in new members, and this entire system would be disabled.

The restrictions would have altered the shape of each tariqa's distinctive rituals, thus disrupting their perceived efficacies, and the internal continuity of the group itself. Most importantly, many of these regulations would have undermined the use of ritual as a basis for tariqa identity. As I have mentioned previously, given the dearth of significant doctrinal differences, and in any case their unsensational nature, ritual is the most salient public source of identity. It is in corporate ritual that the individual feels himself part of the group, and distinctive rituals emphasize that his group is unlike others'. For outsiders too, distinctive rituals have the effect of creating a unique identity, and may also serve to attract new members. To reduce ritual distinctiveness could only lead to reduced group solidarity, and the tendency to collapse all group identities together into one Sufi type. But such a move would be precisely in keeping with al-Bakri's strategy of unifying the turuq under his command (de Jong 1978:97-101).

Each Sufi ritual can be viewed as a sign, within a semiotic system formed by the set of all such rituals. As in other sign systems, what is most critical is not the particular content of a sign-ritual (though content may index degree of orthodoxy or other beliefs, as when one group performs an ecstatic dhikr, and another a sober one) but the very fact of difference. To erase these differences is not only to erase distinctions between groups, but also to undermine the entire system of ritual signs upon which the distinctiveness and attractiveness of Sufism as a whole depends.

To summarize: the following performance parameters may be manipulated to create a distinctive ritual:

- The dhikr formulas employed and their pronunciation.
- Special patterns of movement or position in dhikr.
- Special musical patterns using drums, instruments, or singing.
- Poetry particular to the tariqa.
- Visual presence of instruments.
- Self-mortification illustrating the miraculous powers of the founding saint.
- Prayers addressed to the founding saint.
- Special mawlid festivals for the founding saint.
- Special features of processions, such as movements, carrying swords and instruments, and so on.

Under the conditions of the circular, there would be far fewer choices in this ritual palette of parameters from which to mix distinctive ritual colors. Enforcement of the circular would not only have made all ritual displays more conformable to the orthodox ideal (a uniform gray, to extend the metaphor), but would also have tended to make rituals of all the turuq self-similar. It is interesting to note, in light of the discussions of strategies in upcoming chapters, that in some ways al-Bakri's strategy

seems to have been precisely to create one super-tariqa under his control. Elimination of ritual differences and enforcement of his command over the shaykh's subalterns would be a necessary though not sufficient condition for such a consolidation to take place. Although he certainly was not successful in doing so, by weakening the independent identity and hence solidarity of an order, its ability to adapt to the coming changes of modernity was surely compromised.

Another notable effect would be to drive a wedge between the central and peripheral authorities of an order. The former, represented by the shaykh of the tariqa, would presumably be more likely to enforce the regulations, while at the periphery (often in a village or distant location) enforcement would be impossible. The central authority would be viewed by the periphery as merely carrying the official government line, to the detriment of their traditions, and so the authentic periphery would oppose it and attempt to preserve them. Thus *turuq*, many of which were presumably already far-flung, decentralized and low in social cohesion, would be made more so, and hence more likely to fission. For this reason too, it would then be all the more difficult for *turuq* to adapt to the coming social changes.

The regulations contained in the Circular were sent to the heads of all the Sufi orders in 1881. Although they evidently were not (and could not be) enforced completely, they no doubt did cause some of the adverse effects to individual tariqa freedom and identity as described above. To what extent? The range, distinctiveness, complexity, and emotional force of tariqa ritual visible today among the Sufi orders

which existed in Lane's time (what I call the "traditional" orders) is negligible when compared with his descriptions.¹² Today one finds a contrast between the more controlled and orthodox rituals performed at the structural center of an order, and the freer ecstatic styles characteristic of the periphery, but this contrast runs through all the traditional orders, and does not serve to differentiate them from one another. Thus in the past 150 years major changes in ritual practice have certainly occurred, although whether they were brought about by specific actions of the Shaykh al-Bakri and other reformers, or by more general social upheavals of the 20th century is difficult to say. But the same twin problems—loss of identity and loss of central control—tended to occur whenever conservative religious forces attempted to ensure the *turuq*'s firm compliance of the with religious law, and so these effects were continually thrust upon the *turuq*, whether by the Shaykh al-Bakri, or by the less direct effects of Sufi critics throughout modern society.

Originally, the establishment of al-Bakri as head of the orders was empowering to the shaykhs of individual *turuq*, since they profited from his authority. But the circular of 1881 reduced their powers, and more importantly infringed upon *tariqa* identity through ritual control. The heads of the orders therefore responded by distancing themselves from al-Bakri and his administration, and al-Bakri's post was seriously weakened (de Jong 1978:101). After his death, 'Abd al-Baqi was succeeded by his brother Muhammad Tawfiq al-Bakri (de Jong 1978:125).

Subsequent legislation strengthened al-Bakri's influence over the *turuq* once again. The Khedival Regulations of 1895, followed by amendments by al-Bakri in 1903

and his “internal regulations” of 1905, restructured al-Bakri’s authority on a legal basis by turning it into a bureaucratic office, the Shaykh Mashayikh al-Turuq al-Sufiyya (de Jong 1978:132, 136, 154). They also abrogated the former Circular of 1881, thus removing a source of dissension, and created a Sufi Council with al-Bakri at its head.

The Sufi Council, and al-Bakri, then assumed unprecedented control over the Sufi turuq of Egypt, while the turuq themselves were further weakened as independent units. Hereditary succession in the turuq was officially recognized (de Jong 1978:155); this condition was later to lead to schism when a shaykh’s son was considered unsuitable by tariqa members. Provisions were made for al-Bakri to better control regional branches of the turuq, including required records of all appointments within the turuq, and a system of deputies (de Jong 1978:154ff). In this way Muhammad Tawfiq al-Bakri regained authority lost by his predecessor.

Muhammad Tawfiq al-Bakri was sympathetic to movements for Islamic reform which were burgeoning at this time. He was apparently deeply impressed by Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (whose views are discussed below) whom he met in 1892, and subsequently even wrote a treatise on reform in 1893 (*al-Mustaqbal li l-islam*, “the future is for Islam”). But although the famous Islamic reformer Rashid Rida had pressured him, through personal contacts in 1897 and articles critical of Egyptian Sufism (published in Rida’s widely read journal *al-Manar*), al-Bakri refused further action at first, feeling that he could not act as a reformer until he had sufficiently strengthened his position (de Jong 1978:168-9).

But the pace of reformist criticisms directed toward Sufism increased at the turn of the century. Possibly in response to these, the last section of the 1905 “internal regulations” outlined ritual restrictions designed to prevent bid‘a (heresy); although they were less explicit than those of 1881, they had the same thrust, and were undoubtedly more enforceable given the increased power of al-Bakri and the Sufi Council over the orders generally. These restrictions required the presence of an authorized khalifa in order for hadra to be performed, assuring channels of control and positions of responsibility answerable to the Sufi Council. All ritual behavior had to be conformable to the Shari‘a; self-mutilation and “dancing”, ecstatic trance behavior, and singing of “immoral” songs (a term which might have applied to mystical erotic poetry) were prohibited. Dhikr was required to be clearly pronounced, performed in dignity, and directed to God. Processions were restricted to those authorized by the central authority, and were required to be entirely lawful (i.e. conformable to Shari‘a). New mawliids could not be created. Hadra was not to be performed for commercial purposes, and Islamic law had to be strictly observed in all cases. More vaguely stated but of the same nature as the Circular, these demands were more acceptable by the turuq, and yet provided evidence to reformers that al-Bakri was concerned with issues they addressed (de Jong 1978:169-170,206-214).

Like those of the Circular, ritual controls in the new regulations also hampered the ability of turuq to establish identity and gather members through ritual. Ritual and social controls also enabled Shaykh al-Bakri to undercut the authority of the central

shaykhs, pulling at least the central organizations of the turuq under his authority as “supreme shaykh”. The social boundaries of the turuq as individual entities were thereby further weakened. As the powers of each shaykh al-sajjada (tariqa leader) were undercut, the turuq become even more decentralized. Combined with the high incidence of multiple membership, the result was a blurring of tariqa identities, and a lack of social cohesion within any single order. These factors, which inhibited the ability of these orders to adapt to the coming social changes, would be exacerbated by the general decline of the orders resulting from Islamic reform.

Despite these reforms, some of the critics, such as the journalist and nationalist ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Jawish, felt that more must be done to reign in the behavior of Sufi orders. Jawish believed that Muhammad Tawfiq was not sincerely concerned to eradicate ritual offensive to Islamic principles, since these continued to appear in the mawlids (de Jong 1978:172-3). The well-known journalist ‘Abd Allah al-Nadim editorialized against dancing, drumming, and horse-riding in Sufi processions as being incompatible with true Sufi values, and moreover was concerned that foreigners were watching these displays, and criticizing them as primitive (Johansen 1996:25). The attempt to conform with western ways and values was thus implicated in reform.

D. Sufism in decline

1. Islamic Reform

Religious reform is the attempt to modify beliefs and practices so as to better represent a religious ideal. For most Islamic reformers that ideal was provided by the early Muslim community of the Prophet Muhammad, since it was only during this period that dissension was absent. As soon as the Prophet died, sectarian splits emerged between the Sunni, the Shi'a, and the Khawarij (Watt 1985:2). In the Sunni tradition (which dominated Egypt after Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi's conquest of the Shiite Fatimids in 1171), reform meant a return to the Islamic bedrock, provided by Qur'an (Revelation) and Sunna (traditions and practice of the Prophet Muhammad). Since other elements of Islamic law and practice might be derived via principles of *fiqh* (jurisprudence): *ijma'* (consensus) and *qiyas* (analogy), these tended to be rejected, along with the general principle of *taqlid* (imitation) which, it was felt, had mired Islamic society in the errors of the past. Reform movements generally aimed to throw out Islamic accretions which had accumulated during the centuries after the Prophet, labelling many of them as "bid'a" ("innovations"). They aimed to recapture a truer Islam which would be closer to the "straight path" ("*al-sirat al-mustaqim*") of the Qur'an, an Islam which could solve problems in the contemporary world.

Reform was therefore often an odd combination of literal conservatism (going back to original texts) and radical reinterpretation (to fit new situations). Imitation of

the immediate past was rejected; the reformed Islam must be based on a literal reading of Islamic fundamentals so as to properly realize the true universality of the religion. At the same time, early reformers of the modern period, such as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad 'Abdu, admired many aspects of western culture, and wanted to reread Islamic tradition so to prove its compatibility, or even support, of modern developments such as science and nationalism. Despite their religious basis, such positions were not always far removed from those of later secular reformers. By contrast, the later Islamic reformers (from Rashid Rida onwards) tended to reject western humanist culture (though accepting its scientific advancements), looking to a more literalist Islam to provide countervailing models of equal strength and relevance in the modern world.

But all reform opposed the old Sufi practices, considered to be a major factor in the decline and stagnation of medieval Islamic society. Reformers did not generally reject Sufism as a whole—al-Ghazali had ensured a measure of support even among strict reformists—but they tended to reject Sufi practices as *bid'a*, particularly when these were perceived as incorporating non-Islamic elements, encouraging withdrawal from society, or conflicting with any aspect of *Shari'a*. Rituals which were consistently attacked included outward asceticism (*zuhd*), retreat from society (*khalwa*), self-mortification, emotional or trance-like behavior (*wajd*), use of music and dance (*musiqa* and *raqs*), tomb visitation (*ziyarat al-qubur*), and petitions made through saints as intercessors (*shafa'a* or *tawassul*). Somewhat less consistently, they rejected speculative Sufism,

such as union (*ittihad*), and monism (*wahdat al-wujud*), which were felt to contradict the Shari'a, and could not be solidly grounded in Qur'an and Sunna.

Dhikr, the most characteristic corporate Sufi ritual, serves to illustrate the complexity of these attitudes, and the extent to which it was the style of ritual performance which mattered. In many verses, the Qur'an itself exhorts the believer to perform dhikr, in the sense of "remembering God" or "mentioning God", meaning that dhikr as an abstract practice must be accepted by all Muslims. Many Sufi orders chant only the Names of God as mentioned in the Qur'an. This too cannot be denied by the orthodox, since in chanting these Names the Sufi is merely reciting Qur'an. What is criticized to the present day are particularly the syntactic, sonic, and pragmatic aspects of such performance:

- Not pronouncing the Name distinctly. This issue was mentioned earlier.
- Intoning the Name with superfluous melodies.
- Accompanying the chanting with music or singing.
- Excessive body movements, suggestive of a kind of dance.
- Excessive expression of emotion accompanying dhikr.
- States of ecstatic trance during dhikr.
- Performing dhikr without a proper intention of its meaning (e.g. for entertainment)
- Performing dhikr in an inappropriate place
- Performance of dhikr by men and women together

From the late 19th century, dhikr was criticized by Islamic reformists as serving merely to indulge the senses, as a vehicle for irreligious ecstasy, a past-time, a pandering to the uneducated ignorant of their religion. But even the secular critics could not accept this sort of expressive behavior, viewing it as primitive and old-fashioned, and moreover

unnecessary in the age of the mass media, including cinema, radio, and later television, and the social centers established by the state (Gilsenan 1967:16).

In this section I provide some background information on these reformers and their movements. Two facts should be constantly held in mind: first, that in a practical sense reform was typically directed against Sufi rituals (particularly emotional ones), rather than against Sufism as a whole; second, that the distinction between reformers and Sufis is—consequently—not so sharp as might be supposed. The fact that many reformers were Sufis supports this hypothesis. I thus divide these sketches between “Islamist reformers” and “Sufi reformers”. While the reformers implicitly adopted many Sufi concepts, the Sufi reformers explicitly encouraged Sufi movements which would conform to a more orthodox religious position, along the lines established by al-Ghazali. Many of their attitudes were similar; the principal difference being that the latter were active in Sufi movements and did not reject the concept of saint veneration per se (while remaining circumspect about its too-broad application).

a. Islamist reformers

Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328). The most brilliant theologian of his age, Ibn Taymiyya was born in Syria, and lived his life mainly in Damascus and Cairo; his influence on religious life in Egypt was thus very direct. Following the conservative legal school of Ibn Hanbal, Ibn Taymiyya freely criticized other ‘ulama’ of his time, whom he perceived as unduly interested in their own careers. Opinionated and incorruptible, he was frequently persecuted for his views. I consider here his perspective on Sufism.

Most of his criticisms were directed toward popular Sufism, for its practices he felt to be counter to Islamic law in its pure and original form. He attacked the Ahmadiyya order (whose branch, the Bayyumiyya, we will soon consider) for performing rituals conflicting with Shari‘a, but the head of the order was well-connected, and Ibn Taymiyya was imprisoned. He famously attacked saint veneration, a practice which he felt to conflict with God’s transcendence (his polemical writings on this subject got him in trouble with Syrian rulers, and he died during a final incarceration in Damascus, as has been mentioned previously). He also opposed speculative mysticism, firmly rejecting doctrines of mystical union, absorption, incarnation, and monism; he upheld the absolute dissimilarity of God and man. His attacks on the doctrine of Unity of Being (introduced by Ibn ‘Arabi) led him again to prison.

But he general accepted the Sufi method of intuitive experience (*kashf*), though he denied its infallibility. He adopted many of the Sufi emotional values emphasized also by al-Ghazali, such as fear of God, trust in God, love for God, and humility, and applied the Sufi concept of self-annihilation (*fana*’) to the perfect fulfillment of the Shari‘a. Indeed he took over much of the Sufi vocabulary, while giving each term meaning within an orthodox and moral framework. Like many other Hanbalites after al-Ghazali (d. 1111), he accepted Sufism in an orthodox form, as a means of strengthening faith, deepening one’s understanding of the Qur’an and Sunna, but never negating them. For Ibn Taymiyya, Sufism—considered as ‘inner truth’ (al-Haqiqa)—was included in a broad

conception of the Shari'a, and was essential if faith was to be deeply rooted in the heart. (Watt 1985:142-5, Rahman 1979:111-2, 147-8, 195)

Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703-92). Born in central Arabia, he joined a Sufi order in his youth, and even taught Sufism for a time. But later he came under the influence of Ibn Taymiyya's writings criticizing Sufi practices, "superstitions", and intellectual doctrines. Becoming convinced of Ibn Taymiyya's position, he began to attack practices of saint veneration, doctrines of saint intercession, and other aspects of popular religion then prevalent in Arabia. In such popular religion he saw only bid'a (heretical innovation) and decadence responsible for the serious moral degradation into which his society had descended. Rejecting these accretions of medieval Islam, he aimed to reassert principles of monotheism and human equality, by rejecting taqlid (imitation) and returning to the confirmed practices (Sunna) of the early Islamic Community.

For the Wahhabi movement which formed about him, God transcends all of humanity absolutely, and no mediation or intercession with Him is possible (Rahman 1979:197-9). Saint veneration is *shirk* (polytheism); the fervor of the Wahhabis was so powerful as to lead them to attack and destroy shrines of the Prophet's own family, including that of the Imam al-Husayn at Karbala' in 1802 (Trimingham 1971:105). Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab's legal thought is based on Qur'an and Sunna, but rejects qiyas (analogical reasoning) and ijma' (consensus), legal principles which supported the accretions he wanted to dispose of. At the same time he accepted ijihad (independent judgement, as opposed to basing legal decisions on those of earlier jurists),

allowing him to fashion new interpretations on this narrower base. His reformism is thus a peculiar combination of literalism and new interpretation, a characteristic of modern reformers as well (Rahman 1979:197-9). At first, his reform met with opposition, but in 1744 he made an agreement with a prince from the family of Su'ud, which subsequently prospered and swept Wahhabi thought widely through Arabia, including Mecca and Madina. Though repressed by the Ottomans (by means of Muhammad 'Ali of Egypt), the Wahhabi-Su'udi alliance prevailed, and when the modern Saudi Arabian state was formed, Wahhabiyya remained at its religious core (Watt 1985:146). The Wahhabiyya ideology powerfully affected religious reform movements of Egypt through the writings of early reformers (described below); more recently (1970s and 1980s), Wahhabiyya exerted a direct influence upon Egyptian migrant labor in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere in the Arab gulf states.

Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-97). Born in Iran, he later came to live in Egypt and exerted enormous influence on reformist thought there. He may be considered the first Muslim modernist, aiming to strengthen the Islamic world against the west by demonstrating its compatibility with reason, science, and nationalism, aspects of European culture which he admired, while holding out for similar developments in Islamic lands, for "[t]he Islamic religion is the closest of religions to science and knowledge..." (al-Afghani 1982:19). He upheld faith in Islam as a means toward improving the social life in this world (Rahman 1979:1979:216). In his writings, al-Afghani resembles earlier reformers, such as al-Ghazali, Ibn Taymiyya, and Muhammad

‘Abd al-Wahhab, in his urge to restore Islam to its original dynamism. His aim was to renew Islam by eliminating blind taqlid (imitation), thereby freeing the east from colonial oppression. He went further than other reformers in removing “accretions”, basing Islam only on the Qur’an and reason; like the Islamic philosophers, he even implied that the latter represented a higher phase of religious development than prophetic revelations. Sufism in its contemporary form, dominated by ritualism and saint veneration, he firmly rejected. Yet at the same time the ideal Islam which he taught to his students, including Muhammad ‘Abdu (considered below) and others, paradoxically included mysticism (Johansen 1996:12-15). As Keddie suggests:

The esoteric tradition had practical value for Jamal al-Din [al-Afghani] and other Muslim intellectuals and activists. It reinforced pride in their own tradition, which was shown to contain much more than dogmas unrelated to scientific needs and it provided a model for creating a fresh interpretation of Islam...For activists like Jamal al-Din and many of his disciples, the esoteric tradition also formed a bridge between the elite and the masses, united them in one common effort to defend the abode of Islam against Western imperialist unbelievers. Much as esoteric Isma‘ili doctrines had in earlier centuries provided different levels of interpretation of the same texts, binding masses and elite in a common program, so Jamal al-Din’s practice of differing levels of teaching could weld the rationalist elite and the more religious masses into a common political movement. (from N. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal al-Din ‘al-Afghani’*, 1972; cited in Johansen 1996:15-16)

Once again we see that Islamic reform is not opposed to Sufism as a whole, but rather to certain of its techniques, and particular aspects of its beliefs, viewed as superstitious and without religious basis. Reformists could still draw upon Sufism as an example of how to go beyond the rule-bound legal tradition inherited from the medieval period, and—at a later stage—as a model for organization of a religious movement.

Here one notes a new tendency in Islamic reform, which shifts the balance of emphasis toward social, political, and economic action in the world, rather than spiritual salvation. Although modern reformists certainly did not deny the latter, neither did it receive the emphasis it had in the past, and Jamal al-Din's exaltation of philosophy and science could appear positively sceptical to some traditionalists. This reorientation no doubt stemmed from the influence of European culture whose effect was starting to be felt more strongly at that time.

Muhammad 'Abdu (1845-1905). He was an Egyptian disciple of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani who trained as a theologian at al-Azhar, and eventually became Mufti of Egypt. Like his mentor, Muhammad 'Abdu admired the value of scientific reason, reconciling science and faith by arguing that they work on a different levels, and therefore cannot conflict; he noted that Islam commands believers to use their powers of reason to the fullest. He restated the basic Islamic ideas so as to show their compatibility with modern knowledge, and was selective in his acceptance of hadith which he felt to be of doubtful authenticity, and—more centrally—incompatible with modernity (Rahman 1979:1979:217-9). He and his student Rashid Rida (below) are considered the founders of the *Salafiyya* (from *al-salaf al-sahih*, the “pious forbears”) movement, which held that the essential principles of Islam were articulated in the early Islamic community; in every age and circumstances, the law must be derived from these principles through application of *ijtihad* (independent reasoning). Only in this way Islam can remain relevant to the modern world (Hourani 1991:308). (By contrast, the traditional

orthodoxy had considered the “door of *ijtihad*” to have been firmly closed in the 10th century.)

But also, like al-Afghani, he was deeply interested in mysticism. His attitudes toward Sufism were evidently complex, and how he expressed them depended on whom he was addressing, much like any Sufi shaykh. Outwardly he criticized many of the practices and claims of popular Sufism, especially the use of ritual to induce ecstatic states, and the existence of non-prophetic miracles (*karamat*) (Rahman 1979:1979:218-9). But in his younger years he engaged in various Sufi practices (prayer vigils, fasting, and dhikr); one of his uncles was a Shadhili shaykh who exerted a formative influence upon him in his youth. Ibn ‘Arabi’s controversial doctrine of Unity of Being (*wahdat al-wujud*) pervaded his first book of esoteric knowledge, *Risalat al-Waridat* (“mystical intuitions”) (Johansen 1996:16-20). For him the concept of *islah* (reform, rectification) also had a Sufi sense, as he wrote in a passage glossing the word “Sufi” in his edition of the *Maqamat* of al-Hamadhani; the gloss is also revealing of his general stance:

[Sufis are] those whose concern is the rectification (*islah*) of hearts, the purification of their innermost selves (*sara’ir*) and the spiritual reception of the exalted and majestic Countenance of Truth, so that they are drawn to Him by divine attraction, [losing sight of] all others. Their essence (*dhat*) is extinguished in His Essence, their characteristics in His. The sages (‘arifun) amongst them who reach the end of their journey attain to the highest degree of human perfection after the prophets. (al-Hamadhani, Ahmad b. al-Husayn, *Maqamat*, ed. Muhammad ‘Abdu (Beirut, 1983), 21 n.3. Quoted in Johansen 1996:19)

His famous student Rashid Rida (see below) acknowledged his teacher’s mystical inclinations, saying that he was a “secret Sufi”. Probably such secrecy was merely

pragmatic in view of the close association of mysticism with the Sufi orders, which the Salafiyya movement criticized for unorthodox ritual displays, however in his intimate teaching circle Muhammad ‘Abdu distinguished between the two (Johansen 1996:16-19). Only later in life did he seem to have felt that Sufism was too idealistic, lacking in action, and that the Sufi reliance on God (*tawakkul*) and strong belief in predestination leads to social apathy (Abu-Rabi‘ 1988:208).

After Muhammad ‘Abdu, the path of Islamic reform split in two. One path, drawing on the legacy of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, led toward a greater rapprochement with western values, ideas, and institutions. The other, drawing on the more fiery Islam of Ibn Taymiyya and Muhammad ‘Abd al-Wahhab, adopted religious fundamentalism and revivalism while rejecting most western values. It is the latter path which has dominated modern Islamic reformism in the 20th century, following Rashid Rida (below). Later reformists viewed fundamentalism as well-rooted in Islamic history, therefore a powerful activist tool which could rally people of all classes and social positions against western domination (Rahman 1979:1979:221-2). But whether it was considered inimical to western-style progress, or a heretical deviation from pure Islam, both trends were critical of Sufism.

Rashid Rida (1865-1935). He was a Syrian, who emigrated to Egypt and studied with Muhammad ‘Abdu, becoming his most prominent follower. Lacking Muhammad ‘Abdu’s Sufi roots, he moved closer toward a fundamentalism akin to Wahhabism, and succeeded in spreading these views widely throughout the Islamic

world by means of the journal *al-Manar* (Rahman 1979:1979.223-4). Rashid Rida considered contemporary Sufi orders and their practices to be innovations (*bid'a*) and sought to replace them with a more rational and puritan perspective, although he accepted (with past reformers) the ethical Sufi teachings of al-Ghazali (Abu-Rabi' 1988:208). With Rida, one senses a more decisive break against the Sufi past.

Here is an example from *al-Manar*:

But what was the effect of this (the increase in the influence of the Sheikhs of the Orders) on the Muslims. In part, the aims of true Sufism were transformed and nothing remained... save noises and movements (aswat wa-harakat) which they call *dhikr* which every (genuine) Sufi keeps himself from; there is (in addition) the religious glorification of the tombs of the Sheikhs with the belief that they possess hidden power... and this is contrary to the Book of God and the Sunna of His Prophet. (*al-Manar*, v. 7, July 15th, 1904, pp. 331-2. Cited in Gilsenan 1967:15)

Having made his point, Gilsenan leaves this quotation, but it is worth emphasizing the phrases "... which every Sufi keeps himself from...", and "... the aims of true Sufism were transformed and nothing remained... save noises and movements...". While the Salafiyya were critical of the *turuq* extant in their day, their critique was not of Sufism as such, but rather of the fact that nothing remained of "true Sufism" in Sufi rituals.

Again, one finds a critique directed primarily against Sufi ritual, but not a wholesale rejection of Sufism itself. As in the time of al-Ghazali, this kind of hostility meant that Sufism could be rescued from its enemies and given legitimacy through ritual reform. But the traditional orders, dispersed and decentralized through age, and especially due to the 19th-century transformations of Sufism in Egypt, were not capable

of formulating and disseminating strategies to accomplish this. The newer orders were, and it was these modernist orders which proved to be successful.

Hasan al-Banna' (1906–49) and the Ikhwan al-Muslimin (Muslim Brothers).

The founder of the Muslim Brothers, Hasan al-Banna' was one of the most important social leaders in modern Egypt. He originally joined a Sufi order (the Hasafiyya) and even named his first group, al-Jam'iyat al-Hasafiyya al-Khayriyya (the Hasafiyya benevolent society) after it (Trimingham 1971:251). Hasan al-Banna' himself admitted the importance of Sufism throughout Islamic history in maintaining and propagating Islam throughout the world, and his Sufism—an attitude of moral and spiritual purity—was “the most important factor in shaping the doctrine and the organization of [the Muslim Brothers] for many decades to come”(Abu-Rabi' 1988:210). But while the founder exhibited the nuanced stance on Sufism characteristic of many of the other great reformers, the movement he founded subsequently developed to firmly oppose it.

The Muslim Brothers was a populist, dynamic, ascetic movement, aiming to solve social problems through Islam, by establishing a truly Islamic order based on Wahhabi principles. The Brothers tended firmly toward literalist anti-western Islam, unlike the earlier Salafiyya. Also unlike the latter, which was essentially a group of intellectuals whose direct influence on Egyptians was limited, the Muslim Brothers was a grass-roots movement. Growing fastest in areas of social strain, primarily in the cities, it provided a sense of purpose to those dispossessed by rapid change. By the second World War there were 500 branches around the country. They established schools,

clinics, scouting troops for the youth. There was even a secret army, a newspaper, and work cooperatives. The group used Islam to guide social action, drawing legitimacy from an ultimate order, but working in response to practical problems faced by its members: problems of freedom, identity, political and economic oppression, which had reached critical proportions during Egypt's painful social transformations after the 19th century (Gilsenan 1973:203-4).

To the new forces threatening Islam and Islamic civilization—colonialism, nationalism, science, technology, western values—the orders, based wholly in a medieval religious world-view, could offer no guidance. The Muslim Brothers, by contrast, was founded as a response to the new social, political, and economic conditions, and thus incorporated the modern world into the very basis of its existence. It was an organization which though based firmly in the ultimate reality of Islam, empowered its members in *this* world, to make sense of their reality, and act to change it (Gilsenan 1967:17).

The Muslim Brothers viewed the orders as antirational, antisocial, passive, and retreatist—as well as an unfounded innovation on the faith. In their stead, it offered a unified, activist, and political vision of Islam working in the world toward concrete goals. But the effect of the Brothers on Sufism extended much more broadly than overt criticism. The Brothers took over the role of the orders, both in providing individual guidance, and community service. As a mass social movement it drew thousands away from the orders, thus weakening them by attrition (Abu-Rabi' 1988:210-1).

Other Islamic groups later appeared, by derivation from or imitation of the Muslim Brothers, including Jami‘at al-Shubban al-Muslimin, Ansar al-Sunna, and al-Jama‘a al-Islamiyya. These varied in their means and revolutionary rhetoric, but all opposed the Sufi orders.

b. Secularist reformers

There was also a heterogeneous secular¹³ group, which adopted European ideas of nationalism, socialism, or communism for the sake of modernizing and improving Egyptian society and defending it against colonialist powers. While they did not seek a solution via a return to the principles of early Islam, they too were anti-Sufi, regarding (with many Europeans) Sufi ritual as primitive by comparison to the rational religion of Europe which had enabled advancement, and fearing for Egypt’s reputation and modernization should such rituals continue. I have already mentioned ‘Abd Allah al-Nadim, and can now quote him in his critique of Sufi displays during processions:

Is it not time that these innovations perished, and those ignorant people ceased [indulging in them], and realized that they are amongst nations which observe their actions, criticize their bearing and write about them as one would write about savages and desert-dwellers? (Al-Nadim, A.A., ‘al-Turuq wa ma fiha min al-bida‘’, *al-Ustadh*, 34 (11 April 1893), quoted in Johansen 1996:25)

The journalist and National Party activist ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Jawish was eager to rid Egypt of British domination. Having studied in England, he had come to admire British culture, and wanted to “inculcate these into the [Egyptian] make-up” (Johansen 1996:30). His motives for Sufi reform, while overtly based on the notion of “purifying

Islam”, probably had much to do with eliminating practices judged by the British cultural standard as backwards and incompatible with modern statehood. By raising the level of Egyptian culture in terms of that standard, he and other nationalists felt they could strengthen themselves internally, and refute the notion of imperialism as a form of “charity” for the “less advanced” world. In this way, nationalist reformists such as al-Jawish aimed to free themselves the foreign yoke.

By this cultural logic, many Sufi rituals, heretical innovations (*bida'*) with respect to orthodox Islamic norms of propriety, and “primitive” with respect to elite western religious values, needed to be eliminated. His critique is not only against Sufi practices, but also targets Shaykh Muhammad Tawfiq al-Bakri himself for his passive role in allowing such rituals to continue in mawlid despite official condemnation in ordinances issued by his Sufi administrative organization. He wrote the following letter, which was published in the newspaper daily *al-Liwa* in 1908:

We still see that which is reprehensible in the Sayyid [al-Bakri], in that he neglects to eradicate the reprehensible practices into which the generality of Muslims fall; they are under the delusion that these are part of Islam, but it has nothing to do with them. They yield nothing but trial in this world and shame and disgrace in the next. We feel that if the Sayyid wanted to eradicate these practices out of righteous anger for Islam (*ghadiban li l-din*), he would be requited and given success, and the Muslims would praise him everywhere. We see wayward practices committed by some of the Sheikhs of the Orders in broad daylight on the plain at Abbasiyya¹⁴ and Helwan, and in other places where the Prophet's birthday is celebrated, in full view of the Sayyid and within view and earshot of the most eminent scholars, the guiding elite of the nation and the defenders of [our already] tolerant Islamic law (*al-shari'a al-samha*). Circles of invocation (*dhikr*) are organized, being dances in which the dancers sway to the notes of lutes and singers, imagining that they are

invoking God, who is far above such drivel (hadhayān). What is al-Sayyid al-Bakri doing? He ignores such wayward practices, yet he could prevent them from taking place and thus purify Islam if he wished. (Quoted in al-Jindi, A. *'Abd al-'Aziz Jawish: Min ruwwad al-tarbiyah wa l-sahafa wa l-ijtima'* (Cairo, 1965), 6, as translated and cited in Johansen 1996:31)

For nationalists Sufism signified an escapist retreat from the world which could only lead to weakness within it. Whether personally devout or not, they tended to view Islam as a means of attaining active unity in order to expel the British, and Sufism, at least in its present state, provided no means of doing so. Some even accused European colonizers of promoting Sufism in order to further weaken the East. After the 1952 revolution, the new regime viewed Sufism as counter to intellectual and social liberation. During this period many of the 'ulama' of al-Azhar also came out against Sufism (Abu-Rabi' 1988:211-2).

In the mid-20th century a typical example of this sort of discourse is provided by the following example, taken from a popular magazine of photo-journalism, *al-Musawwar*:

But... does anything now remain of tasawwuf... other than the processions, the dhikr circles, the embroidered clothes, the flags, and the coloured banners, and scores of Orders and groups! The confused mumblings, the hysterical movements and the separation from the common life...

(*Al-Musawwar*, May 7th, 1965, p. 21; cited in Gilsenan 1967:11)

c. *Sufi reformers*

Within Sufism there was always a tension between more and less orthodox trends. I have noted the early Junayd/Bistami sober/intoxicated duality. al-Ghazali's

synthesis of Sufism with orthodoxy was largely accepted by the orthodoxy, but considered too restrictive by many Sufis. After the formation of Sufi orders as organized social groups, practices which Sufi conservatives viewed as heterodox became institutionalized.

Sufism therefore generated its own constellation of reformers. Some of these were probably apologists to the non-Sufi world, but others were genuinely interested in creating a mysticism more conformable to the Shari'a by eliminating accretions of the medieval period, a view quite similar to that of the non-Sufi reformers. As traditional modes of Sufism were deeply rooted in Egyptian society, the individual critics could have little effect up until the end of the 19th century. However some of these critics formed their own Sufi orders, (Rahman (1979) calls these "neo-Sufism", although they are probably better termed "Revival Movements", with Trimmingham 1971:105) in which they emphasized orthodox Islam, dispensing with ecstatic rituals (Rahman 1979:206)¹⁵.

'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani (1493-1565). Born in a village of the Egyptian Delta, he excelled in religious studies and engaged in ascetic Sufi ascetic devotions after moving to Cairo (in 1505), where he lived in a mosque. Under the tutelage of his teacher, Shaykh Nur al-Din al-Shuni, he became a prominent Sufi leader, and a zawiya was built for him (housing over 200 residents), where he conducted dhikr, prayer, and study sessions. He studied the religious sciences, including fiqh, hadith, sira, theology, Qur'an, exegesis, grammar, and Sufism, under distinguished teachers, and became one of the great 'alims of his time. After his death, a Sha'rani order survived until the 19th

century (Winter 1982:46-75). He was particularly well-known as a writer, having produced about 70 books most of which are extant (Winter 1982:7), especially his *al-Tabaqat* which detail the lives of Sufis and 'ulama'.

Sha'rani believed that while a founder-saint might be worthy of great veneration, members of an order were likely to go astray without a good shaykh to lead them. He venerated the famous Tanta saint Sidi Ahmad al-Badawi (d. 1276), but at the same time he criticized that saint's Ahmadi order for violating the Shari'a in its religious practices. Likewise, he admired Ahmad al-Rifa'i and Ibrahim al-Dasuqi, but criticized members of their orders for misdeeds. He believed that they needed to attach themselves to a proper shaykh in order to be saved (Winter 1982:102).

Although scholars have called him a Shadhili, and he supposedly was initiated into many orders, in his own works he never mentions membership in an order (Winter 1992:132). However he admired the Shadhiliyya way, known for its purity, ritual restraint (denying traditional asceticism, and not encouraging tomb visitation), emphasis on cultivation of inner life, and intellectual traditions. In addition he commended their defense of the mystical theosophy of Ibn 'Arabi and Ibn al-Farid (Winter 1982:89-92). This shows that while he harbored reformist tendencies in the domain of ritual practice, and condemned religious ignorance, he can hardly be labelled as a doctrinal conservative on all counts.

Ahmad ibn Idris (1760-1837). He was born near Fez, Morocco, into a family of *ashraf* (descendants of the Prophet); while still young he studied the standard

religious sciences (including Islamic law), and joined the Khadiriyya order. Apparently under the influence of this order, he repudiated the saint veneration which was then ubiquitous in the Maghrib. He performed the pilgrimage in 1799, then lived and studied in Cairo and Qina (Upper Egypt) before returning to settle in Mecca in 1818. In Mecca he taught, and gathered disciples into a new kind of Sufi order, the *Tariqa Muhammadiyya* (Muhammadan Path, named for the Prophet), based squarely on Qur'an and Sunna, while rejecting qiyas and ijma' (except that of the Prophet's Companions, the Sahaba), and insisting on ijihad. He thereby arrived in his Sufism to a position similar to the radical Islamic reformism of Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab, a position which in seeking to restore the purity of the early faith at once opposed the prevailing Sufi ritualism and saint veneration, and the corruption and blind imitation (*taqlid*) of the 'ulama'. There is undoubtedly a parallel between the two kinds of reform, Wahhabi, and Sufi.¹⁶ At the same time, while condemning the excesses of Sufi practices he wished to preserve the inner (*batini*) aspect of Islam.

Naturally in taking these positions Ahmad ibn Idris made enemies out of both Sufis and 'ulama'; persecuted, he was eventually forced to flee Mecca. Ibn Idris' mysticism is relatively orthodox; he clearly rejected the possibility of union with God, although he held out for the possibility of a union with the Spirit of Muhammad. He stressed that Sufism must comply with the Shari'a, and relinquish accumulated antinomian beliefs of the medieval period. But his Sufism also includes an emotional dimension, by which the believer is bound to the Law through devotion to the Prophet.

In his order, he taught largely orthodox beliefs, and conducted modest Sufi rituals (such as quietist dhikr), using the traditional Sufi organization as a social frame. Both severe asceticism and extreme emotionalism were rejected. Another distinctive characteristic is his rejection of conventional silsilas leading back to the Prophet; rather he emphasized that he received permission to found the tariqa from the Prophet himself. Thus the spiritual genealogy short-circuited the entire medieval period, in a kind of Sufi representation of reformist ideology (Rahman 1979:206-7; Trimmingham 1971:114-6).

His group spawned many other successful orders incorporating his spirit of reform, including the Sanusiyya, the Mirghaniyya, and the Ja'fariyya; the latter will be taken up later as one of the central examples of how a Sufi order can be highly successful in modern Egypt. While the Ja'fariyya appear traditional, it is in fact their reliance on a tradition of reform, and the expression of that tradition through ritual, which gives them such an aura of legitimacy in the current religious climate.

Muhammad Tawfiq al-Bakri (d. 1911). The general history of the Bakri family has already been discussed. Some of their attempts at ritual control, such as a ban on private hadras in 1872, can be attributed to an attempt to consolidate power. Other reforms, such as prohibiting various forms of self-mortification, music, singing, and drumming, and restriction of the number of mawlid celebrations may have been impelled at first by the force of external criticism. In particular, Rashid Rida claimed to have influenced Muhammad Tawfiq al-Bakri in his reforms at the turn of the century. But there is also evidence that Muhammad Tawfiq himself fell under the sway of reformist

trends, having met Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and composed his own reformist work (mentioned above). Still, he did not go far enough for the non-Sufi reformers such as Rashid Rida, who criticized the Bakri organization as ineffectual for real spiritual reforms. As I noted, the journalist ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Jawish also criticized him for having failed to eliminate detestable Sufi practices (Johansen 1996:30-1).

2. Social change

We have seen that from Mamluk times there have always been critics of Sufism, and yet throughout medieval and Ottoman Egypt the orders were extremely popular. What then led to Sufi decline in the 20th century in particular? One factor was certainly the greater number of critics in this period. Modern education and mass media awakened Egyptians of every social class to an understanding of Western culture, their colonial situation, and underdevelopment. People wanted freedom and modernity; a growing dissatisfaction with colonial control demanded a pragmatic response, which Sufism was ill-positioned to deliver. In particular, the effects of criticism became more real as sympathy for the critics’ position increased within the government; McPherson’s guidebook to the mawlid of Egypt, written in the 1940s, provides many examples of government control and cancellation of mawlids (e.g. McPherson 1941: 165).

Underlying this shift in opinion were the larger, transpersonal forces of history, beyond the power of the individual agents involved (whether Egyptian or colonialist), but influencing them all. These changes not only provided an increasingly large base of

opinion against the Sufi orders, but also diminished the role of the orders in society through attrition, as other options for social action became more attractive.

Michael Gilsenan has summarized this situation clearly. The Sufi orders were based on the old social-economic-political order, now crumbling or changing rapidly. In such a critical conflict situation, organizations evincing high cohesion, and a strong sense of association and dynamic organization are more likely to produce a “positive adaptive response”, as Gilsenan terms it. But the orders were decentralized, and lacked social cohesion. Multiple membership was common, and the nominally centralized tariqa was often riven by local charismatic centers. At the same time no tariqa was unified by a distinctive ideology to set it off from others.¹⁷ They were therefore unable to adapt, and so their social functions were taken over by other groups, whether state-run, or independent; whether populist, or elite (Gilsenan 1967:14).

It is precisely the ability of newer turuq to provide such a response which I will analyze in the subsequent sections of this thesis. In their weakened condition, criticism of the old orders was much more effective than it had been in the past, but the orders were likely to have withered even without the ideological critiques, simply due to their close-knit integration with a social system which had once been dominant, but now was deteriorating.

Some of the broad social changes which occurred from the 19th century onwards, fostering an environment increasingly unfavorable to the Sufi groups, were the following:

1) Split between Sufism and al-Azhar. As religious law became the exclusive province of the religious university, while Sufism was organized under the office of Shaykh al-Bakri, the former alliance between 'ulama' and Sufis was broken.¹⁸ While some Azharis continued active participation in Sufism, the great religious university gradually became transformed into a stronghold of orthodoxy. Sufism was no longer taught there, and the religious credentials of Sufi shaykhs (as measured by standards of al-Azhar) declined. Thus a conflict between the two, originally engineered by Muhammad 'Ali for political reasons, eventually resulted in the Sufi orders being more exposed to attack than before, especially since Shaykh al-Bakri was a new position and lacked the legitimacy of al-Azhar (Trimingham 1971:248, de Jong 1978:23).

2) Redistribution of wealth and religious organization. In Ottoman times the shaykhs had great control over their followers, as well as sources of wealth such as *awqaf* (pious endowments, often bestowed by rulers or wealthy followers), *iltizam* (tax farms), and contributions from members. As a means of consolidating his own power, Muhammad 'Ali confiscated *awqaf* and tax farms (Hourani 1991:273). (In addition, obligatory payments from disciple to shaykh were banned by the 1905 Internal Regulations (de Jong 1978:210).) These changes deprived the shaykhs of independent power by removing their major sources of discretionary income.

3) Modernism. There was a general sense among various sectors of the population that the time had come to embrace the modern world (defined through a combination of European culture and modern science), both as a means of opposing

European domination, and to generate social and technological progress. Islam therefore needed to look to the future, whereas the orders were firmly entrenched in the traditional values of the past, associated with the old Ottoman past. In light of modern values, the Sufi orders appeared backwards; even more than they were criticized, the *turuq* were simply ignored as anachronistic. Modern Islam would have to be compatible with science, whereas the orders were bound up with superstitious practices which could not be reconciled with the scientific world-view. Modern Islam should look respectable to Europeans' religious refinement, different from but parallel to Christianity; the orders were shot through with emotional display. Modern Islam should encourage nationalism and productivity; practices of the orders appeared indolent and introverted. The Salafiyya movement, with its emphasis on a narrow doctrinal base plus *ijtihad*, was ideally suited to develop an appealing modern Islam, whereas the Sufi orders could not do so without negating their own roots.

4) Politicization; nationalism and independence. The imperial British presence, combined with harsh economic conditions and oppressions of the ruling classes, fostered the growth of revolutionary nationalist movements aiming for independence. Political consciousness was on the rise among all classes and sectors of society. Religion was expected to provide a means of unification, so as to oppose the British Occupation. Sufi orders were divisive and limited, being connected to clan and local community. Successful religious organizations had to be broader, more universal and action-oriented. The orders also embodied a static notion of time: ahistorical, inward-looking, apolitical,

a relic of the old Ottoman society; not at all suited to the needs of political and social action or change (Gilsenan 1973:200-1).

5) Secularization. The religious sphere as a whole contracted in various cultural areas, especially in education (see next point). The social function of the orders was taken over by secular organizations: clubs, societies, political organizations, charitable organizations, vocational groups (Trimingham 1971:250, Gilsenan 1973:202). Secular political parties became more and more important as a form of voluntary association; even the fallahin were becoming directly involved (Gilsenan 1973:195). European political, economic, and social influence created demand for European values of consumption, and influence which is most evident in products of the Egyptian film industry. In music, where religious forms of recitation and singing had always been central for learning and performance, secular models were now preferred, in Cairo at least; old religious styles were considered old-fashioned. The power of the 'ulama' was greatly reduced, as the legal system adopted French law as its primary basis. As the urge to the religious life diminished, so did the orders which were its vehicle (Trimingham 1971:250).

6) Education, literacy. In the 19th century Muhammad 'Ali and his successors began sending doctors, officers, engineers, military officers, and teachers to Europe for special training, as well as opening new educational programs in Egypt based on European models (Hourani 1991:273), and bringing European teachers to teach in them. Secular schools gradually replaced most religious ones in the 20th century; while al-

Azhar continued to maintain schools and universities all over Egypt, secular subjects (medicine, engineering, agriculture) were later included. The traditional kuttab (religious school) slowly disappeared; children were no longer taught by shaykhs (Sufi or otherwise), but rather by teachers who had studied modern pedagogy in public universities. Formerly the orders and their shaykhs had served in educational roles, and thus naturally prepared students to be Sufis. This function was now eliminated. Many new foreign schools opened in Egypt, run by European and American religious or cultural missions, injecting foreign cultural influences and values (Hourani 1991:327). Most of the wealthy elites were sent to foreign schools, and many of the highest social classes became quasi-foreigners in their own country. Besides the secularization of education was the tremendous growth of school and university populations, and the consequent increase in literacy and publication of books, magazines, and newspapers, which transformed people's understanding of the world and their place within it (Hourani 1991:390, Gilsean 1973:193-4).

7) Emergence of new forms of religious community. Groups such as the Ikhwan Muslimin and their offshoots also took over the social role of the orders in providing a sense of community, and individual guidance. But for many, the new groups were more attractive than the orders because they provided a concrete agenda for action in the world, addressing issues of social justice, nation, and colonialism. The Sufis had always stressed the inward meaning of jihad (holy struggle), as directed against the lower spiritual self (al-nafs). The more successful new groups used the jihad concept more

literally as a means of opposing any perceived social enemy. The struggle with colonialists, tyrannical governments, poverty, illiteracy, infidels, and so on could all be framed in terms of jihad, thus raising any given struggle to the level of sacred duty, and indirectly empowering the group (Trimingham 1971:251).

8) Disruption of hereditary patterns of membership. The rapid social, economic, political changes of the 19th and 20th centuries undermined the continuity of social affiliations. Sufi groups could no longer count on automatic renewal of their ranks in each generation, because sons—faced with many choices and changed social conditions—no longer followed their fathers into the orders. Yet adequate recruitment mechanisms did not exist (Gilsenan 1973:151); these could not develop because the orders lacked the necessary social preconditions to formulate, disseminate, and actualize new strategies for this purpose.

9) Changes in modes of production and labor. Whereas Egyptians had planted crops they could eat, since the time of Muhammad ‘Ali the use of cash crops, particularly cotton, had increased. Such crops were exports, exposing Egypt to a new level of economic interconnection with the outside world. Agriculture in turn generally gave way to a service and industrial economy, causing increased urbanization (see below). Often a tariqa had been connected to a trade guild; when the guilds declined in the 19th century, the turuq lost the support of such connections (Gilsenan 1973:192-194).

10) Rapid urbanization. The population of Egypt expanded dramatically during this period, especially in the cities which drew large numbers of migrants from villages

and Upper Egypt. Many of the new migrants could obtain only unstable employment (Gilsenan 1973:191-2). The population increase and unstable economic base disturbed traditional patterns of life, particularly for migrants. Sufi groups based on geographical units were frequently broken apart; rather than a man seeing his shaykh every week he might only be able to visit once a year. Besides the sheer increase in numbers, urban neighborhoods started to lose their identities as social units with shifting populations, and changes in both production and consumption (Gilsenan 1973:194). Since tariqa chapters had been neighborhood-based, this loss of identity adversely affected the *turuq* as well.

11) Changes in social classes and dislocation. The service and industrial economy led to the formation of a new working class. A rising bourgeoisie was divided between the nationalist Wafd party, and collaboration with foreign investors in developing new industry (Gilsenan 1973:195). This class was permeated by western or secular values, by which Sufism was seen as regressive and impractical. Sufism offered no significant interpretation of the world for this group (Gilsenan 1973:200). Urbanization and economic changes also led to an increased urban impoverished class (Gilsenan 1973:192-3) for whom life's intrinsic instability did not permit regular participation in a Sufi group. Combined with raised political awareness, members of this group were better represented by the new political Islam than the by the introspective orders. In the new groups, which allowed them to identify material goals and work toward them, they could find a greater sense of purpose than in the more abstract Sufi path of inner development.

12)Reduced prestige of Sufi shaykhs. All of the previous factors contributing to the decline of the Sufi orders also served to reduce the prestige of their shaykhs. Shaykhs had previously enjoyed a high level of status and power, at least with respect to a wide swath of the population. They had also frequently been financially independent. Now the position was undermined. Whereas in the past, the shaykh was important as an arbiter in disputes, or for those seeking advice, now his influence was much diminished. This loss in prestige caused the orders to decline even further (Trimingham 1971:251).

In all of these ways the traditional social system with which the Sufi orders had been so closely bound up and upon which they had depended was disrupted. The heritage of medieval Islam within which the orders had been intricately embedded was eroding, and with it the orders. For as the hegemony of the Sufi symbolic system weakened, the world view they represented drew farther and farther from the world as it was coming to be. Functions which the orders had once fulfilled so well—spiritual, educational, social, political—were taken over by other groups, and the orders declined (Gilsenan 1973:196-200).

3. Recent trends

To a great extent the attitudes sketched above continue to apply to the current day. The forces of modernization and westernization which transformed the traditional Egyptian society earlier in the century still exist, as do the prevailing negative attitudes toward Sufi practices. But there have been changes as well, which may have contributed to renewed interest in non-political forms of Islamic spirituality.

After the Egyptian Revolution in 1952, the widely shared belief that politically disengaged social groups were detrimental was less necessary than before. Some of the population—especially the farmers—benefitted from the new political system, and hence became more quiescent. Among intelligentsia, and leaders of labor and religious movements, cynicism set in, as socialist dreams were to some extent discredited, and the new regime exercised strong repressive controls against independent political activity. Law 32, issued in 1964, required that all independent organizations (whether literary, religious, or political) come under the supervision of the state. Intellectual dissidents, of various ideologies, were imprisoned. While some responded with renewed political vigor, undoubtedly the total level of political activism declined. The Muslim Brothers were banned, their leaders jailed or killed. While many persevered, these factors created a body politic which was overall less political than before. The small segment of political extremists was the exception proving the rule. Egypt's tremendous defeat in the 1967 war also led to spiritual introspection.

Later, the economic “opening” (*infitah*) to world markets inaugurated by President Sadat in the 1970s, the new wealth derived from labor migration to the Arabian Gulf countries in the late 70s and 80s, together with heavy advertising (especially effective via television), has ushered in a new era of capitalism, consumerism, and materialism. Combined with government repression of independent political movements, much of the populace has turned more to the basic task of wresting a living since the 80s. Concomitantly, perhaps, extremist groups have made their violent marks,

but indications are that they are losing rather than gaining support. Many Egyptians sympathize with goals of the Muslim Brothers and other groups, and listen rapt to preachers spouting their ideology, but far fewer are actively involved. At the same time, the Egyptian government tacitly promotes Sufism as a harmless means of providing spiritual fulfillment to the masses, as well as a means of assuring that they will not participate in the militant Islamist movements, whose rhetoric is distinctly anti-Sufi.

The increased materialism and consumerism of modern Egyptian society is not at all incompatible with pure spirituality of the Sufi type. The spiritual urge never disappears. It is as present among materially advanced societies as deprived ones, as much among the rich as the poor. For those who struggle with basic material needs—and this segment of the population is by far the majority, as well as increasing—spirituality is a salve and comfort, while those who, having fulfilled basic material needs nevertheless feel a lack, turn to spirituality to find inner harmony and peace. Certainly the rapid increase in the west of spirituality in myriad forms cannot prove otherwise.

The general resurgence of Islam over the last twenty years resulted from a number of factors. One was President Sadat's tacit promotion of fundamentalist Islamic associations and the control of Islamists over labor unions, as a means of squelching the communist movement.¹⁹ During this period the Shari'a was officially adopted as the principal source of Egyptian law. Another was the mass exodus of Egyptian workers during the late 70s and 1980s to the more religiously conservative and oil-wealthy Gulf countries, where besides securing more lucrative employment they witnessed stark

evidence of the extent to which Egyptian society had become influenced by western, un-Islamic values. Upon their return to Egypt, they had often acquired both a deeper interest in Islam, and the money to empower their newfound religiosity through Islamic organizations and construction of mosques (the so-called “Oil-Islam” (“*batru islam*”)). There was also the Afghani resistance movement to Soviet aggression, the mujahidin, which drew many Muslim youths into an idealistic world-Islamic activism. Finally, but somewhat difficult to prove, there was undoubtedly a shift toward things spiritual resulting from Egypt’s failure in the 1967 war, followed by the sudden influx of western goods and values in the 1970s. The resulting social inversions created a class of nouveau riche, many of whom were still connected to traditional Islamic values (unlike the old aristocracy which tended toward things French); there was also a new class of the socially displaced poor, for whom increased religiosity served to mitigate their harsh circumstances.

While the spread of new Islamic religiosity often came from orthodox or political sources, and sometimes encouraged these trends in Egypt, the net effect was to increase the role of religion much more broadly. While the influence and number of political Islamists certainly increased during the past 20 years, the general level of religiosity in Egyptian society has increased far more. Many of those participating in the return to religion are completely uninterested in revolutionary Islamic movements; many actively oppose them, due to strong material and social connections to the existing political-economic system, and a resulting support for the status quo.

The difference between the two growth rates constitutes the increase in those seeking a non-politicized form of Islamic spirituality, many of whom find organized religious movements more satisfactory than mere individual practice. Such Muslims may be attracted to non-political non-mystical groups (such as the Jam‘iyyat Ansar al-Sunna), while others are interested in the Sufi orders. Thus the trend of increasing religiosity, while it may appear to fuel political Islam, also has a “spillover” effect in contributing to the growth of other groups, including the Sufi orders.

However, not all Sufi groups benefit equally; in particular the traditional groups have tended to decline because they are socially incoherent, and have not developed strategies for tapping new potential membership, but rather have remained in the old mold of hereditary membership. As I have mentioned, this mode of replenishment is bound to decline, since Sufism no longer has an assured role in Egyptian society. More and more, devotion to Sufi groups becomes an active choice made by spiritually inclined individuals rather than an automatic extension of obligatory Islamic worship. Therefore Sufi orders must work to attract and retain members if they are to grow, or even survive. What I will later try to show is how this “work” can be performed through LP.

It should be recalled that Islam in its “fundamental” state does not provide intimate religious communities. The sole grouping is the Umma, the Islamic “nation” consisting of all Muslims everywhere. The local mosque has never played the role of the parish church; it is a place to pray, but provides very few social functions beyond the congregational prayer on Fridays, and individuals are not attached to particular mosques,

but rather pray in any convenient location. The greatness of Islam consisted in part in this homogeneity, but also left a lack.

So the social-spiritual needs of Muslims were always filled in other ways. Such groupings may not have been necessary in the small villages, but in towns and cities individuals sought ascriptive bonds larger than the family. From the medieval period up until the 20th century the Sufi orders provided this function of religious-social solidarity, and indeed were a primary source of social solidarity in general, together with the trade guilds and geographical districts. In the early 20th century the function of religious-solidarity was largely passed to more political, social-activist, pragmatic movements, such as the Muslim Brothers, and various Islamic charitable organizations which could minister to the gaps left by government indifference. But the late 20th century is witnessing a decline in political Islam's appeal, for all the reasons outlined above. Although the scope of Sufi orders' power and influence has been greatly reduced, probably forever, they can continue to have an influence within a restricted sphere.

Those who have become disillusioned with politics but seek religious brotherhood; those who are repelled by religious activist- fundamentalist movements out of distaste for violence, or for politics; those who are more interested in an inner spirituality which can coexist with an ordinary life in the world; those who are comfortable and uninterested in revolution yet deeply religious; those who view the Islamic past romantically as a cultural ideal which can coexist with modernity: all these

are ripe candidates for non-political religious movements, of which the new Sufi orders still provide the principal model.

But how can a Sufi group exploit these conditions to achieve a limited success? How can it create a distinctive identity, recruit members, appear acceptable to religious establishment, create strong solidarity and centralized control? I will argue that these aims are largely achieved through ritual, more particularly through language performance (LP). How this is done is the subject of the rest of this thesis.

E. Conclusions to historical analysis

This brief overview of Sufism in Egypt helps one to understand why the traditional orders (established before the 20th century) first flourished there and then declined in the 20th century. A careful reading of this history shows that the factors which led to the decline were complex and circumstantial. While they caused a drastic contraction in the social role of the orders as they had actually evolved, they by no means theoretically precluded the possibility of some new form of Sufi order continuing to play a vital (albeit lesser) role in Egyptian society. All that had been negated was the vitality of the particular form of the orders as they had developed through history.

We have seen that orthodox critics of Sufism had always existed, while the Sufi orders flourished nevertheless. The new reformist criticism was therefore in itself not a sufficient factor to entirely stifle Sufi spirituality. That the former critics hadn't done so resulted from the fact that the Sufi orders had integrated themselves with temporal and religious powers, while making themselves attractive to ordinary people. Furthermore,

the lines were never so neatly drawn as to suggest two opposing sides. Critics usually did not oppose Sufism entirely, but rather were reformers, opposing particular practices and doctrines; men such as Ibn Taymiyya, al-Afghani, and Muhammad ‘Abdu drew on Sufi ideas, and even the Muslim Brothers were originally modelled on a tariqa concept of social organization. If critics were calling for reform, perhaps a new reformed Sufism would be acceptable, if not to the critics, then at least to a large segment of the population who were less radical in their views, but were merely swayed by the prevailing ideological winds.

The existence of Sufi reformers—al-Ghazali, al-Sha‘rani, Ahmad ibn Idris, Shaykh al-Bakri—indicated that the concept of reform was recognized and could even be applied within Sufism. al-Ghazali had paved the way theoretically, but these ideas had also been taken up in practice. Sufi reformers criticized elements of Sufi practice, while they continued to practice Sufism. This proved that Sufism could critique itself, so as to generate a type of tariqa more conformable to orthodox ideals. Sufi orders had always displayed a range of from heterodox to orthodox; the latter pole did not preclude the existence of a vibrant and dynamic order, as the stunning success of the orthodox Idrisiyya and its derivative orders showed.

It is impossible, then, to divide Islamic history into those in favor of Sufi orders, and those opposed, since individuals—both those who practiced Sufism and those who did not—usually adopted nuanced stances. But what is most central for this study is to note that *most of the critiques directed against the Sufi orders (from whatever source)*

were effectively critiques of ritual, and hence most of the calls for reform were effectively calls for ritual reform.

To be sure there were doctrinal critiques as well, but these were not directed against particular orders so much as against Sufism generally. More importantly, only a critique of practice could have direct practical consequences. While esoteric doctrines of mystical union (*wahda, ittihad*) and monistic Unity of Being (*wahdat al-wujud*) were unacceptable to critics, such beliefs were not visible in themselves because they had no ritual corollary, and they were therefore not a conspicuous feature of the orders. Consequently, critiques of such doctrines in themselves could have but little effect on the orders. We have seen how in Ottoman times some of the most respectable orders (the *Shadhiliyya*, for instance) defended the mystical theosophy of Ibn 'Arabi and Ibn al-Farid. Critiques of Sufi thinkers were another thing entirely (such individuals could be persecuted for their writings), but criticism against the orders was primarily directed against practices which appeared heretical to the orthodox, whether these practices indicated underlying unacceptable beliefs or not. What kept the Sufi from being a good Muslim, and made of Sufism a reactionary force in Islamic society, were its complex of practices and rituals which to them reeked of extra- or pre-Islamic influences.²⁰

The criticized practices included ascetic behavior (monastic withdrawal, excessive prayer, and the like), self-mortifications, rituals of saint veneration (visitation of shrines, *mawlid*s), ecstatic and trance-like behavior, music and singing (particularly using instruments, styles, or poetry reminiscent of secular music, expressing the

forbidden, or stating Sufi heterodoxies openly), rhythmic or patterned movements (“dance”), performance of rituals in secular contexts (especially in the mawlid), and the mixing of men and women. For the orthodox, such rituals either contravened the Shari‘a directly, or constituted an unauthorized supplement to the ritual obligations it imposed, thus implying it to be incomplete. Rituals suggested the existence of means of access to Divine grace (baraka) or knowledge (ma‘rifa) not encapsulated in or available through the Shari‘a due to its logo-centricism and dogmatism. Furthermore, attitudes of Sufis toward these rituals confirmed that they generally believed them to lead to a higher or deeper understanding of Reality (al-Haqiqa) than was possible through the Shari‘a. Some Sufis believed that the inspirations derived through ritual could supplant Shari‘a itself, even negate it. These notions were intolerable to the strict orthodoxy.

Such rituals were thus felt to degrade the Shari‘a and hence Islam, while distracting from the true prescribed religious obligation. Moreover, in calling attention to limitations of the Shari‘a as a complete spiritual path in itself, such rituals threatened the stability of Islam as a legal system, as well as the interests of those whose positions depended on that system.

Without practice to attract attention, beliefs are relatively inaccessible to outside scrutiny and critique. Even if the critics would have liked to have rooted out the beliefs themselves, it was only the rituals, practically speaking, which could be changed. Rituals called attention to beliefs; without a conspicuous sign, Sufis could believe what they wanted. Therefore, it was rituals, in the final analysis, which attracted the attention of

the reformers. Conversely, Sufi orders could shield themselves from such censures by limiting rituals, without necessarily limiting beliefs and doctrines.

Thus Sufi reform should have been possible, via ritual reform. Why then did the orders decline? I have argued that it was not only the existence of critics (in ever larger numbers), but rather the larger suprapersonal changes—social, political, and economic—sweeping across Egypt from the 19th century onward which tended to undercut all social organizations rooted in the old ways. The prominent position of the older orders in traditional society became a liability when that society was coming undone. But if reform Sufism was a theoretical possibility, why were they unable to transform themselves so as to adapt to the new conditions? More specifically, since my argument is that Sufi reform was largely ritual reform, why were they unable to transform their rituals so as to be more appealing to potential members, less objectionable to critics, and more compatible with modern society? That this question is substantive is shown by the fact that subsequent orders *were* able to effect such transformations. I have suggested several factors, which will be further developed in subsequent chapters.

The traditional orders were born in an era generally favorable to Sufism, in which they enjoyed a prime position in society. Despite the existence of some critics, survival did not entail ritual restraint, or the presence of a cohesive and centralized social organization. Organizations did not have to be closed and exclusive brotherhoods. Nor were they required to be rigidly organized, tightly responsive chains of command. Social boundaries could be informal, open, and non-exclusive; the prominence of Sufi tariqa

membership as a characteristic of the majority obviated the need to “circle the wagons” in a protective formation. Ritual and social structure were not designed defensively. The older order developed a habitual dependency on “automatic” recruitment passed from father to son, and the social prominence of the orders generally; such efforts at recruitment which did occur were far less in scope and intensity than what would be required in the 20th century under less favorable conditions, and when hereditary membership had largely dropped off.

Granted the logical assumption that the formative period of any social organization is critical in establishing its subsequent trajectory, these properties persevered through inertia (hysteresis) into an era in which they were no longer appropriate. In part the rituals themselves attracted criticism. But even when they did not, ritual resources were not being used effectively as a means of helping the order to adapt to modern conditions.

Other factors exacerbated the inability of these *turuq* to use ritual for strategic ends. First, it is a natural tendency (which I will discuss later) of a Sufi order to develop from a centralized cohesive group (during the lifetime of the charismatic founder, and that of his first successor) to a distributed and loosely bound group; most of the orders had progressed to this latter phase, especially since the former positive environment for Sufism had not encouraged attempts to resist this tendency (which one finds in the modernist orders).

Secondly, those orders which passed through the period of governmental intervention and control of Sufi orders in the 19th century suffered several direct blows to structure, identity, and autonomy. The changes implemented by Muhammad 'Ali to consolidate his own power reduced the economic basis upon which the orders had come to depend, and his empowerment of the Shaykh al-Bakri decreased the power of each order's central authority, thus further contributing to their decentralization and lack of cohesion. Legislated ritual reforms tended to deprive the orders of their individual ritual identities, and thus weakened them further as distinctive groups.

Reforms, criticisms, and a sense of diminishing influence, must have combined to cause the orders to conform their rituals more closely to orthodox conceptions, at least at the centers of power, during the early 20th century. There was thus a kind of ritual grey-out among older orders, who may have previously had more distinctive rituals, but lost them. In the villages, rituals probably continued with more freedom, but lacking control from the "disabled" centers, tended toward diversity and ecstatic abandon more than a distinctive elaborateness which could stand as symbolic of the order as a whole. Such reforms also contributed to decentralization by causing a split between urban center (which could be better observed and controlled) and rural periphery (which generally could not be). These orders therefore emerged from this period even less able to cope with social change than before.

The modernist critics and reformers had far greater influence than before due to their greater numbers, the dissemination of their ideas via mass media, and increased

education and literacy of the populace. At the same time, their critiques were supported by the large-scale social, political, and economic changes sweeping across Egypt which tended to undercut all social structures based on the old society. The drastic decline of Sufism in the 20th century resulted primarily from supra-individual historical forces which completely reshaped Egyptian life in its political, economic, and social dimensions. These forces changed the very foundations of Egyptian society, and thereby unavoidably narrowed the possible role of the Sufi orders.

But since their critiques did not preclude Sufism in all its forms (as I have shown), the factors causing the old orders to decline must have been at least in part the particular attributes of the orders themselves. In this case, a new kind of order could potentially be more successful. I have argued that *effectively* the critique was primarily a ritual critique, and that decline depended also on social factors. I will subsequently argue that the construction and maintenance of social structures depends critically, if not entirely, on ritual performance as well. If these assumptions and conclusions are correct, then it follows that ritual reform should make possible the existence of a new kind of Sufi order which can prosper in the 20th century, albeit on a more modest scale than before.

This possibility was probably enhanced by later historical developments which I have only mentioned briefly. When Egypt was suffering under foreign domination, and the currents of this-world activism were strong, otherworldly movements such as Sufism naturally suffered. But after independence, when the British had been expelled, spiritual movements should have been able to regain a following. Furthermore, during this same

post-independence period, the political Islam which had drawn so many youth away from Sufism was brutally suppressed. Although membership did not necessarily immediately respond to the tactics governments employed against it, repression, violence, and escalation into militancy eventually served to alienate some potential members of such groups.

Sufism could also benefit from the general increase in Islamic religiosity and rejection of western values among a large segment of the population over the past twenty years. That the development of a materialistic economic system (capitalism) is not incompatible with esoteric spirituality is obvious even in the US. Some of the newly religious became involved with political Islamic groups, but others—particularly those with an interest in the status quo—sought out movements of a more purely devotional or spiritual character. Governments may no longer actively support Sufism, but neither are they opposed, since Sufism is a useful bulwark against the spread of political Islam. Therefore, at the end of the 20th century, there is a larger segment of the populace receptive, at least in principle, to Sufism, while there are fewer forces opposing it.

But even if there is demographically a group favorably disposed toward involvement in the Sufi orders, the tariqa must still know how to find and attract them, while simultaneously legitimizing themselves in the face of continued critical opposition. Sufi orders must recruit members and repulse critics, while establishing strong identities and cohesive centralized social structures. These tasks, I will argue, can best be accomplished in newer Sufi orders unencumbered by direct historical connections to the

past, and more sensitive to what success in the modern era may require. It is here that one finds the locus of group level strategies which help the order to adapt, and these work primarily through ritual.

Notes for Chapter 2

¹ The question of the extent of non-Islamic influence on Sufi thought and practice has received polemical treatment by Muslims and non-Muslims alike, sometimes in odd combinations. Sufis and Sufi-sympathizers tend to emphasize Sufism as an organic development of Islam, owing little—if anything—to outside sources. Strict Sunni Muslim conservatives, together with many non-Muslim orientalist, often claim that Sufism is essentially an alien import—from Hinduism, shamanism, Pythagoreanism, Neoplatonism, mystical Christianity, Gnosticism, and Shi'ism—having little to do with the true Islam of the Prophet. Rahman's account of this matter presents a fair balance. The initial impulses of asceticism, trust in God, and love of God, appear based in the Qur'an, and "their rise to prominence is a result of the developments within the intellectual and spiritual life of the community...Outside influences must have played an accessory role and these no one may deny, but they must have supervened upon an initial native tendency." (Rahman 1979:131). On the other hand the Sufi concept of sainthood (*wilaya*) "...was elaborated with an appeal to the use of the term *wali* ('friend of God') in the Qur'an, but with a peculiar Sufi content borrowed from the mysticism of Eastern Christianity, Gnosticism and later on from Neoplatonism" and "...the doctrine of a hierarchy of 'preserving' saints [was] most probably a Sufi parallel to the Shi'a doctrine of the Imam." (Rahman 1979:136)

² This expression is properly used only for God, in a form analogous to "Subhanahu", "Glory be to Him".

³ This aspect of Sufism makes the clear delineation of doctrine nearly impossible for the researcher, both practically (the full doctrine is never presented to an outsider) and theoretically (which is the doctrine a Sufi actually believes?) Often it seems that all Sufis share in more or less the same beliefs; where they differ greatly is in their willingness to divulge them to others.

⁴ The Islamic polemic on listening to music is carefully summarized by Nelson (1985:32ff).

⁵ The Khalwatiyya were unique in not being attributed to a particular founder.

⁶ Cf. "fakir" (Hindi).

⁷ On the same page, the author goes on to say: "The value of the educational work done through the religious orders is worthy of attention, although the emphasis laid on the physical side through the *dhikrs* and other ecstatic religious exercises may be criticised." With this statement he somewhat

surprisingly reveals his own prejudices: what is noteworthy is the similarity of this ritual critique to that of Islamist leaders in the same period (Heyworth-Dunne was writing in the 1930s).

⁸ Dhikr. Lane's transcription conforms to Egyptian pronunciation here and elsewhere.

⁹ I.e. the famous Mevlevi of Konya (Turkey), the so-called "whirling dervishes" made famous today throughout the world due to their travelling stage-performances. The tariqa was founded in the 13th century by the great poet and saint, Mawlana Jalal al-Din al-Rumi (b. 1207), and came to Egypt with the Ottomans.

¹⁰ See Lane 1973:451-3 for a description of the dawsa.

¹¹ The local leader, or khalifa, was responsible for the order's equipment, including banners, percussion instruments, flutes, tents, and lanterns. These were collectively called the *ashayir*, or 'idda. In the past, he might have rented them for special occasions.

¹² In Chapters 5 and 6 we will describe the contrast in the Bayyumiyya hadra from Lane's day to the present time.

¹³ By this term we do not mean to imply "atheist" or "agnostic", but rather "relegating the sphere of religion to private life" as opposed to seeing in Islamic faith and practice the essential basis of the wider society.

¹⁴ Johansen notes that this may be a reference to the mawlid of Sidi Ahmad al-Rifa'i. However given the remainder of the sentence, it seems far more likely to be a reference to the Mawlid al-Nabi (birthday festival for the Prophet Muhammad), whose official celebration was moved to 'Abbasiyya in 1882 (see de Jong 1978:xii, and de Jong 1978:62 fn124). It was here that Shaykh al-Bakri received visitors in his tent (see de Jong 1978, plate V). The fact that al-Bakri could not offer the excuse that he was unaware of any practices taking place in 'Abbasiyya makes Jawish's criticism of his negligence in enforcing the new ritual regulations all the more stinging.

¹⁵ Rahman claims that these movements replace Sufism's traditional "ecstatic and metaphysical character" with a strictly orthodox Islam (Rahman 1979:206). The highly successful Egyptian Ja'fariyya tariqa, whose ritual ethnography appears below, is an offshoot of one such "neo-Sufi" group. While Rahman's claim that ecstatic rituals were dropped is completely supported by my evidence (and indeed corresponds to one hypothesis of this thesis, that modernist orders have survived—in part—through ritual reform), the notion that these groups lack metaphysical character is certainly *not* true, and there is much in their beliefs with which a traditional orthodox reformer (Wahhabi, say) would strongly quarrel. But the fact that traditional Sufism can survive provided that it is cloaked in soberly orthodox rituals is further testimony to the centrality of LP strategies in adapting to modern religious and social climates.

¹⁶ Trimingham (1971:115) assumes that he came under Wahhabi influence, while Rahman (Rahman 1979:207) attributes the cause of their similarity merely to the prevailing zeitgeist of reform, since Mecca was not at that time under Wahhabi control, and indeed the Ottoman authorities persecuted those who promoted Wahhabi views. However it does not appear unreasonable to assume that Ahmad ibn Idris may have received some Wahhabi influence, albeit indirectly.

¹⁷ Gilsenan goes so far as to claim that there were no doctrinal differences between members of the Sufi orders and other Muslims. While it is true that in the early 20th century many Muslims subscribed to the same Sufi-suffused Islamic world-view, and that the Sufis held generally to Islamic norms, it may be an exaggeration to say that no differences could be discerned between the world-views of the typical Sufi and non-Sufi by the end of the 19th century. What seems more correct (and no less apropos) is that the Sufi orders could hardly be differentiated from each other on doctrinal criteria; all orders shared a common heritage, and varied only in points of emphasis. In this sense, doctrine would not have supported group solidarity.

¹⁸ It is therefore especially significant that several of the successful orders founded in the modern period stress the teaching of fiqh (jurisprudence) and foster strong connections to al-Azhar in their hadras.

¹⁹ The strategy backfired when Sadat was assassinated by Islamic militants in 1981.

²⁰ Ironically, the pro-Islam reformers and anti-Islam European orientalist ideologies came together on this point. The former, denigrating Sufi thought as a corruption of pure Islam, criticized it as a result of foreign influence; the latter, admiring Sufi thought as possessing much broader human value than the dry legalism in which it was situated, praised it as a result of foreign influence. It would be interesting to know to what extent these two groups, in every other way diametrically opposed, may have influenced each other.

3. Sufism in Egypt Today

A. Overview of Sufism in Contemporary Egypt'

Orthodox Islam rests upon the *Shari'a*, the sacred law derived from the Qur'anic revelation and the *Sunna* (the sayings and practices of the prophet Muhammad). Through language, *Shari'a* describes the order of the cosmos, decrees the articles of faith, and regulates behavior, providing normative models for social life. But a purely legalistic formulation of Islam, in which the infinite gap between transcendent God and creation is mediated by the Word of Revelation, would leave an emotional vacuum. For many Egyptians, that vacuum is filled by Sufism (in Arabic, *tasawwuf*) which provides them with a richer religious experience, stressing Divine love (*al-hubb al-ilahi*) and the potency of the world of spirits (*'alim al-arwah*), especially the prophets and saints who are objects of love and devotion, as well as a source of blessing (*baraka*) and intercession (*shafa'a*). The Sufi view is that God is not infinitely far, but rather infinitely near; yet He is veiled by the presence of impurities in one's heart. Sufism provides a set of techniques by which one may polish the heart, and thereby draw nearer to Him. This process takes place via supererogatory ritual devotions, and loving devotion and obedience to one's shaykh, the saints, the *Ahl al-Bayt* (Prophet's family), and the Prophet.

Many Sufis maintain that while *Shari'a* is necessary to regulate society, it is *tasawwuf* which is the *jawhar* (essence) of Islam. *Shari'a* appeals to the intellect (*'aql*) which is insufficient to comprehend Divine Truth (*Haqiqah*). Rather, spiritual perception

(*basira*, or *shafafiyya*) is situated in the *qalb* (heart). The ‘aql, whatever its analytic precision and acumen, is veiled (*mahjub*), being limited to the visible, the material, and the logical, while the *qalb* transcends these limits to perceive higher truths constituted of feeling (*ihsas*). Sufism privileges the *qalb* over the ‘aql, and likewise affective insight over discursive intellection. As in the West, the *qalb* is also the locus of *hubb* (love).

In Egypt today, Sufism is commonly described as *Kitab* (“Book”, i.e. the Qur’an), *Sunna*, and *hubb* (love). The Sufi must perform all of the obligatory acts incumbent on all Muslims; he is a Muslim first, and the Shari‘a is the solid basis without which there can be no spiritual progress. But it is love, the capacity of one spirit (*ruh*) to join selflessly with another, which forms the basis for most Sufi discourse and practice. What stands in the way of this love are sensual and egotistical cravings (*shahawat*), rooted in the self (*nafs*); the luminous *ruh* and the earthly *nafs* are the two antagonistic elements of Sufi psychology. In the Sufi view, true love is disinterested: for God and for the sake of God, not for any selfish ulterior motive. By performing supererogatory rituals beyond those required by orthodox religion, the Sufi develops this love, striving toward *tazkiyat al-nafs* (purification of the self, seat of desire), in order to obtain *tarqiyat al-ruh* (ascension of the spirit toward pure love, and toward God). Such purification may be metaphorically represented as *zuhd* (asceticism), the purification of the body (*jasad*) and self, though true ascetic practice is rare today.

Sufi love is of many kinds and degrees, including the platonic love of one’s fellow Sufis, and shaykh; the spiritual love of the *awliya*’ (saints; singular *wali*) and the *anbiya*’

(prophets; singular *nabi*), especially the beloved Prophet Muhammad, and the *Ahl al-Bayt* (also Al al-Bayt; literally: “people of the house”; the Prophet’s immediate descendants through his son-in-law ‘Ali); and al-hubb al-ilahi, Divine Love. The joy of love, described as *widad* (affection); *mahabba*, *hubb*, *sababa* (love); intensified as *hiyam*, ‘*ishq*, *walah*, *wajd* (ecstatic love, passion), is often commingled with the pain of longing, due to the absence or remoteness of the *mahbub* (beloved): there follows *shawq* (passionate longing), *law ‘a* (lovesickness), *huzn*, *kadar*, *shajan*, *shajw*, and *asan* (anguish, grief). The lover’s body may become weak, emaciated and ill (*saqim*, *marid*), physical manifestations of the destruction of the *nafs*, and the effects of unfulfilled passion. But the source of all of these conditions is love and the desire for unification with the beloved, even to the point of self-sacrifice. In the most extreme degrees of love (‘*ishq* or *wajd*), the lover loses all individual attributes and becomes assimilated within the beloved, a condition technically known as *fana’* (annihilation). A Sufi may seek *fana’* in his shaykh, or in the Prophet, but the highest form of *fana’* is in Allah (God). On a lower plane, Sufi love is manifested as selfless generosity, tolerance, compassion, and empathy for others, regardless of their religious affiliations. Nearly all Sufi poetry speaks about love, longing, or praise for the beloved, and the Sufi is often called a *muhibb* (pl. *muhibbin*), or ‘*ashiq* (pl. ‘*ashiqin*); both words mean “lover”. As one Sufi poet told me:

There is a hadith which says: your faith is incomplete until you love God and the Prophet more than you love yourself. This love is a major theme for the Sufis as well. You must remember those whom you love. God gave to us through love; we return the love to Him, rapt in it....The Sufi loves until he forgets himself.

People were created to worship and submit to God. Without love, that worship is not complete. Therefore loving God is the highest possible way of worshipping Him. One ought to keep God constantly in mind, for He is the Everlasting; all else is transient. When one loves Him, one remembers Him continuously.

In the classical Sufi verse of Rabi‘a al-‘Adawiyya and Ibn al-Farid, love is directed to God. But in the linguistic formulations of contemporary Egyptian Sufism, God tends to be addressed more often via supplications (du‘a’, *ibtihalat*), perhaps because even Sufis perceive the enormity of the distance between God and man. Thus, it is more common to hear love expressed for the Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, and saints.

The Prophet Muhammad, Ahl al-Bayt, *awliya’* (saints), and *shaykhs* (Sufi leaders) are objects of great spiritual love, respect, and devotion in Egyptian Sufism. The Prophet is primary in this regard. He is the paradigmatic mystic, known as “*habib Allah*” (the one God loves), the *mahbub* (beloved), the *murad* (desired). He is God’s Messenger (*rasul*), bringer of the Qur’anic revelation as well as God’s sacred sayings (*hadith qudsi*). He is the only prophet to have been admitted to the presence of God, during his *mi‘raj* (ascension), regarded by Sufis as the prototypical spiritual journey. In his relation to God, he is therefore a model for every mystic. God loves him; if one loves and obeys God, then one must love Muhammad. On the other hand, loving the Prophet provides a means of coming closer to God, since no one is closer to God than he. All Muslims are required to follow his Sunna, but in loving him the Sufi hopes to draw nearer, to see him in visions,

and finally to merge with him spiritually (*fana' fi al-rasul*). In doing so, one is perfecting oneself as well.

The Prophet is also the perfect man (*al-insan al-kamil*), the best of creation, and the first (since God first created the Muhammad Light, out of which all else subsequently was formed). Besides receiving the Qur'an, many other miracles are attributed to the Prophet, providing further testimony to his greatness. Therefore the Prophet is continually the object of praise and blessings in Sufi circles. Indeed, such praise and blessing of the Prophet extends far beyond Sufism, for all Muslims add "May God bless him and give him peace" whenever his name is mentioned, as well as in obligatory prayer. God's love for him is such that whoever blesses him, is himself blessed by God ten times as much. But the Sufis intensify this praise, cast it into extended literary forms, and blend it with love. Indeed, praise, blessing, and love for the Prophet are considered by many Sufis to be in themselves a form of worship of God Himself.

Sufi love extends also to the Ahl al-Bayt, whose importance in Egyptian Sufism cannot be overestimated (for a much fuller discussion see Hoffman-Ladd 1992, Hoffman 1995:50-88). Many Sufis practically define Sufism as love of the Ahl al-Bayt, contrasting it with the attitudes of the unfeeling "Sunnis" (the term is popularly employed to denote the fundamentalists) and Wahhabis who reject this love. Just as one loves the Prophet, one loves those whom he loved. A hadith says: "Love God for the blessings by which He nourishes you; love me for the sake of love of God, and love the Ahl al-Bayt for the sake of my love." As in the case of the Prophet, love of the Ahl al-Bayt is also a means of

drawing nearer to them, so as to purify oneself, for they were pure. Popular belief also holds that the Ahl al-Bayt will extend help (*madaad*) and blessing (*baraka*) to those who are close to them; this blessing can be obtained anywhere, but preferably at the shrine itself. Upon visiting the shrine, one may recite the Fatiha, as well as supplicate to God; the supplication is more effective here. Although one may visit any time, particular days are preferred for such *ziyara*; sometimes public hadras are held on these occasions (on *ziyara* in Cairo see de Jong 1976-77).

Unlike the Shi'a (who venerate the Ahl al-Bayt as the locus of the Imamate), Egyptian Sufis are primarily devoted to the Ahl al-Bayt in connection with the rituals of *ziyarat al-qubur* (shrine visitation) and *mawlid* (saint festival; plural: *mawalid*).

Therefore the relative importance of members of the Prophet's family depend primarily on their representation on Egyptian soil by a physical maqam (shrine; whether mere cenotaph or true tomb), upon which spiritual practices such as *ziyara* and *mawlid*s are centered.

The following are the most important of the Ahl al-Bayt in Egypt, together with the locations of their shrines (maqams) which are believed to contain the physical remains.

The fact that some scholars doubt whether these individuals are truly buried in these shrines is of practically no consequence in seeking an understanding of Egyptian Sufism.

In fact, Sufis explicitly acknowledge that it is not essential that a maqam contain the body in order to be a source of *baraka*; on the contrary, saints are said to have 40 maqams.

- Imam 'Ali, father of Hasan and Husayn. He is revered, but usually only in connection with his children; ritually, he is of much lesser importance, perhaps because he has no

tomb in Egypt, or because of his over-exalted status among the Shi‘a (an attitude from which even Sufis in Egypt want to distance themselves). More importantly, ‘Ali is not a descendent of the Prophet, but rather a first cousin and son-in-law, and he was not born a Muslim. It appears that no mawlid is celebrated for him in Egypt.

- *Fatima*, daughter of the Prophet. She too is revered, but less than her children. Although she has no tomb in Egypt, some Sufis do celebrate her birthday² (on 9 Sha‘ban, five days after the birthday of Imam al-Husayn).
- *Imam al-Husayn*, grandson of the Prophet through his son-in-law, ‘Ali. He was extremely close to the Prophet, who said: “Husayn is from me, and I am from Husayn.”; this closeness helps to account for his importance. He is considered, with Sayyida Zaynab, one of the two patron saints of Cairo; his maqam is located in one of the central mosque of Cairo, and constantly receives a stream of visitors, although Friday is his “official” visiting day. An enormous mawlid, and a slightly smaller birthday, are celebrated yearly. He is often referred to as “Baba”, father; the name indicates the closeness he inspires in devotees.
- *Imam al-Hasan*, al-Husayn’s elder brother. Though he has no shrine in Cairo, he is remembered fondly along with his brother; they are “the two moons”, reflecting the sun of the Prophet (who may also be known as a moon). But his general ritual importance is far less than that of al-Husayn; no ziyara is possible, and no mawlid is celebrated for him, as far as I know.

- *Sayyida Zaynab*, sister of al-Husayn and al-Hasan. Her maqam is located in another central mosque of Cairo, and like her brother is visited on Friday, especially by women. Like al-Husayn, her shrine is the center of an enormous mawlid. She is affectionately called “Mama”, and by many other sobriquets, such as Umm al-Hanan (mother of kindness).
- *Sidi 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin*, son of al-Husayn. His shrine is located in a smaller mosque, in a cemetery somewhat off the main roads. He is frequently visited, especially on Saturdays, and a large mawlid is performed.
- *Sayyida Nafisa*, great-granddaughter of al-Hasan. Her expansive mosque is located in a cemetery district not far from the Citadel; she is visited especially on Sundays, particularly by women. Called Nafisat al-'ilm (Nafisa of Knowledge), her shrine is the center of a large yearly mawlid.
- *Fatima Nabawiyya*, daughter of al-Husayn. Her shrine lies in a mosque in the densely populated Darb al-Ahmar district; she is visited primarily on Mondays. A large mawlid is celebrated every year in her honor.
- *Sayyida 'A'isha*, daughter of Ja'far al-Sadiq (not the wife of the Prophet, although often confused with her). Also the site of a large yearly mawlid.
- *Sayyida Sakina* (Sukayna), daughter of al-Husayn. Her shrine and mosque is only a short walk from that of Sayyida Nafisa; Sufis often visit them, together with Sayyida Ruqayya (below) in one afternoon. A yearly mawlid is celebrated.

- *Sayyida Ruqayya*, daughter of ‘Ali. Her shrine and mosque is near that of Sayyida Sakina, and a yearly mawlid is held.

After God, the Prophet, and the Ahl al-Bayt, Sufi love extends naturally to the awliya’ (saints), for the spiritual lineage or “chain” (silsila) of each saint passes (or is supposed to pass) through the early Sufis (usually including al-Junayd) back to the Ahl al-Bayt, via Imam ‘Ali to the Prophet himself. These linkages are further reinforced when the saint is *sharif* (a lineal descendent of the Prophet), as most of them are. Because of these lineal connections, the notion of the “Prophet’s Family” includes the saints in a broader sense. The word for saint (*wali*) literally means “near” or “friend”. The Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, and other saints are beloved by God, and therefore near (*wali*) to Him. The *wali* is a person who, by virtue of spiritual gifts and mystical efforts, has come close to God, achieved mystical illumination from the Beloved, and received baraka (blessing) from Him.

While there is no official procedure for canonization in Islam, *karamat* (miracles; singular: *karama*) which the *wali* performs in his or her lifetime are indications of his or her exalted mystical station, for miracles are gifts bestowed upon the sincere seeker by God. Stories of these miracles are constantly recounted by Sufis, reinforcing the reputation of the saint who performed them, the majesty of God who granted them, and the limitations of the ‘aql which cannot comprehend them (and thus implicitly the superiority of the qalb and ruh); *karamat* are felt by the heart, not understood through reason. Some saints transcend physical laws, walking on water, or travelling great

distances in a single step (the so-called “ahl al-khatwa”). Others are healers, or may know one’s inmost thoughts.

But a Sufi’s most immediate relation of love and devotion is to his own shaykh, his spiritual mentor and guide. The shaykh is the immediate model (*qudwa*) for his followers, taken as a living representative of the Prophet; they must obey him in every way, “like the corpse in the hands of its washer”, as the saying goes. Loving him, to the point of spiritual unification, is the only means of completing such absolute obedience, without which spiritual progress is limited. While there is unanimity in love and veneration for the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt, as well as for the more famous saints, local saints and shaykhs have a more restricted domain of influence. Most shaykhs command love and devotion only from the circle of disciples (*muridin*) who have formally pledged their devotion to him, but some famous shaykhs also extend their influence, somewhat less formally, over a wide domain of *muhibbin* (devotees) who perceive their *baraka* (spiritual blessing) and approach to partake of it.

In a more general way, a Sufi’s faith depends on being able to love everyone disinterestedly; a Prophetic hadith says:

Abu Hurairah relates that the Holy Prophet said: By Him in Whose hands is my life, you will not enter Paradise unless you believe, and you will not truly believe unless you love one another. Shall I tell you something whereby you will love one another? Multiply the greeting of peace among yourselves (Muslim) (Nawawi 1975:85).

For later discussions, it will be very important to note that for Sufis the human emotion of love does not depend on the object of love being physically proximate, or even

alive. Love is a relation between spirits, and is thus unfettered by time and space. Furthermore, there is no qualitative difference between Sufi love (disinterested love, “for the sake of God”) for those among the living, and for those of the spiritual realm. Love for the Prophet and saints is so strong that Sufis feel that they are not really dead; rather they are alive, in their tombs, or in some less physical sense. Therefore, if one takes the notion of a “personal social structure” to comprise relationships of love (of various qualities and intensities), such a structure extends easily across the boundary between the living and the dead.

Sufi feelings of love are expressed in poetry of love and devotion. To love someone is also to praise them and ask for their blessings from God, and so Sufism is replete with praise poetry, called *madih* or *madh*. Most of this poetry is directed toward the Prophet Muhammad, as well as the Ahl al-Bayt generally. Particular saints may also be addressed, especially on the occasions of their mawlid, or by their spiritual followers. Followers may also compose poems of loving praise for their shaykhs. These expressions of love also create feelings of love in the listener, and thus serve an active role in maintaining the network of love on which Sufi practices are based. It is relevant to observe that in the previously cited hadith, the Prophet’s formula for increasing love involves LP (the greeting of peace, “al-Salamu ‘Alaykum”). This hadith thus supplies evidence for the means by which LP in hadra may serve to construct the personal social structure which defines a tariqa.

Underlying the theory and practice of Sufi love is the notion of spiritual proximity. The Sufi cosmology is centered on the *'alim al-arwah* (world of spirits), which is unfettered by the limitations of the physical world. The world of spirit existed in preeternity (*al-'alim al-azali*), before Creation. During this time, spirits met each other, and some established close relationships with others; the spiritual rapport two people on earth may feel results from their spiritual relation before time began. It is often said that after the death of the body spirits go to the *barzakh* (isthmus), where most wait until Judgement Day. But the spirits of the *salihin* (virtuous people), including the *awliya'*, are free to come and go as they please. In this way, they can meet with the living, often in dreams, and are present at their shrines, particularly on the occasion of special celebrations, such as mawlid. Due to this freedom, they are often considered to be alive, although technically they are not alive in the ordinary sense.³

The concept of *'alim al-arwah*, or *'alim al-ghayb* (the hidden world), illustrates the Sufi idea that reality displays both outer (*zahiri*) and inner (*batini*) aspects. The latter is not visible to ordinary perception, but only to those with spiritual discernment (*shafafiyya*), an inborn spiritual talent which may also be developed through elevation of ruh and refinement of nafs in the course of Sufi training. Eye-sight (*basar*), connected to mind ('aql) and perceiving material reality, is thus distinguished from insight (*basira*), which is located in the eye of the heart (*'ayn al-qalb*), and perceiving the more essential and permanent spiritual reality.

Since spiritual proximity to God is possible, and not all are equally close, it is logical for one to ask for *shafa'a* (intercession) or *madad* (assistance) from another who is closer to God than oneself, particularly the awliya' who have His baraka (blessing). Thus relations to saints, while rooted in love, are also characterized by *tawassul* (petition), especially at the *maqam* (shrine) of the wali, where his or her spiritual presence is felt to be stronger.⁴ The shrine comprises a *tabut* (wooden box) placed over the burial site, and draped with cloth (often green), which may be inscribed with Qur'anic verses and religious sayings; the names of the first four Islamic caliphs (Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali) are usually written on the corners. The head of the saint is represented by a large knob at one end, wrapped in an 'imma (traditional cloth headwrap of the Arabs). Qur'ans, prayer beads, and plastic flowers may be placed on top or around the shrine. The tabut is surrounded by a wooden or metal latticework called a *maqsura* which prevents visitors from touching the tabut itself.

Shrines for important saints are always busy, but the pace of ritual visitation (*ziyara*) intensifies on special festival days, especially during the yearly mawlid celebration for the saint. Visitors recite the *fatiha* (opening chapter of the Qur'an) while touching the *maqsura* (grill) to receive baraka, and may recite prayers of supplication to God, which are deemed more effective in the vicinity of a wali (one close to Him). They may also address the wali, requesting that he or she pass a particular request on to God, again relying on the wali's status of "nearness" as a means of increasing the efficacy of the prayer. The wali also has agency, and may extend help (*madad*) to the petitioner; visitors

may make vows (*mudhur*) to obtain intercession and baraka from the saint. However Sufis do *not* pray to the wali himself; this error has led to terms such as “saint’s cult” which are quite inappropriate in the total monotheism of Islam, for which “la ilaha illa Allah”, “there is no deity but God”, or, more explicitly, “nothing is to be worshipped other than God” is the central and constantly recited expression. In fact, the system of saint veneration is best understood as a natural extension of the respect and devotion shown to the living Sufi shaykh, since when a great shaykh dies, his tomb becomes a shrine (*maqam*), and a locus for devotional and supplicatory acts, at least among followers. After a number of years, he may begin to be regarded as a saint, and an annual mawlid held in his honor.⁵

Progress toward the twin goals of taming the nafs, and elevating the ruh, is formally accomplished within the *tariqa* (order; literally path; plural *turuq*), which is a social, ritual, and doctrinal unit of Sufism, led by a *shaykh*. A Muslim wishing to join takes a special *'ahd* (oath) from the shaykh or his deputy, upon which he becomes a *murid* (disciple; plural *muridin*). The shaykh is the spiritual father (*ab ruhi*), and his disciples are his sons (*awlad*, or *abna'*). This metaphor of familial relations is extended to the members of the tariqa, who are collectively referred to as *ahbab* (lovers; singular: *habib*), or *ikhwan* (brethren), and the theme of brotherly love among tariqa members is emphasized in practice. Some *turuq* employ special greetings, such as the simultaneous kissing of hands, to signify the affection and respect between members. The greatest degree of love and veneration is shown to the shaykh, because of his knowledge, piety, refinement and

elevated spiritual station. The shaykh is not only considered to be a father figure, spiritual teacher, and guide, but also a source of baraka (blessing) inherited from *his* shaykh.

The shaykhs of Sufism form a single spiritual genealogy, since every shaykh has a shaykh; one's spiritual antecedents form a *silsila* (chain) leading eventually to the Prophet Muhammad through his son-in-law, the Imam 'Ali. All of the great Sufis and saints, indeed all Sufis everywhere, are thus linked in one spiritual family. However, the early Sufi teachers did not establish formal turuq. It was only around the 12th century that major tariqa lines started to emerge as ongoing social organizations, several of which are still in existence today.

In contemporary Egypt, Sufis trace the principal turuq to the *arba'a aqtab* (four qutbs):⁶ Sayyid 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (founder of the Qadiriyya), Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi (founder of the Ahmadiyya), Sayyid Ibrahim al-Dasuqi (founder of the Burhamiyya), and Sayyid Ahmad al-Rifa'i (founder of the Rifa'iyya). To these names, Sayyid Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili's (founder of the Shadhiliyya) is often added. These founders are considered awliya' of the highest order, and thus a copious source of baraka, flowing to them from God through the Prophet Muhammad and the Ahl al-Bayt. This baraka passes through their disciples, flowing on through the genealogical silsila to the present-day shaykhs.

Most Sufis say that the different turuq are merely different paths to the same goal, just as the spokes of a wheel all lead from the rim to the hub. The hubb is Divine Truth (Haqiqa) or gnosis (ma'rifa), while the rim is the Shari'a. The paths of Sufism all

emphasize the purification of the nafs and the elevation of the ruh, in order to draw closer to God, the Beloved, via the Prophet. All the *turuq* lay stress upon the fulfillment of *furud* (basic religious duties, such as daily prayer) as prescribed in the Shari'a, together with emphasis on refinement in word and deed (*adab*). To be *mu'addab* (well-mannered), *akhlaqi* (moral), *sadiq* (truthful), *khalis* (sincere), and *muhtarim* (respectful) are basic requirements for the murid, without which there can be no spiritual progress.

To a great extent the *turuq* share a common world-view and doctrinal frame. They contrast mainly in their social aspects, and in the characteristic forms of their ritual practices. Each *tariqa* has its body of special prayers (*awrad*, *ahzab*, *salawat*, and others) and poetry to be used in the individual and group devotions. Books of *qasa'id* (singular *qasida*; poems in classical Arabic) may be employed, which often feature poems written or selected by the founder of the *tariqa*, or by a shaykh who is one of his spiritual descendants. Sometimes a shaykh composes an entire *diwan* (collection of poetry) which plays a central role in the *tariqa*'s liturgy. Many poems are written in praise of the Prophet or another holy spiritual figure, declaring love, or asking for spiritual intercession. Other poems express the mystical feelings and doctrines of the shaykh. Such poetry is rooted in the emotional experience of Sufism itself.

Under the tutelage of his shaykh, the murid progresses through sincere efforts along the *tariqa* (path) from one spiritual station (*maqam*) to another. Along the path, God may grant the seeker *ahwal* (singular: *hal*): transient states of mystical insight or emotional rapture. The shaykh assigns to each murid supererogatory prayers to be

repeated a fixed number of times on the *sibha* (rosary), usually after the regular prayer.

The murid attends to his *akhlaq* (moral character) and *adab* (behavior), performs required ritual acts, and participates in the activities of the tariqa. He may be called upon to serve the shaykh in any number of mundane capacities, such as serving tea, cleaning the mosque, or running errands; the shaykh in turn monitors his spiritual progress, and assigns spiritual exercises as he sees fit. Most turuq also conduct one or two *hadras* (group meetings) each week, either in a mosque or another meeting place. The hadra may include Qur'anic recitation, *durus* (teaching sessions), group prayer recitations, inshad, and *dhikr*.

Dhikr ("remembrance" of God) is a term covering a number of practices, both solitary and corporate, in which participants concentrate on remembering God. The central corporate Sufi ritual is *dhikr al-asma' al-husna* (remembrance of the Most Beautiful Names of God). In this ceremony, muridin (known in this context as *dhakkira* (singular *dhakir*)) draw closer to God through collective rhythmic chanting of His names, often accompanied by *tafqir* (rhythmic body movements). Alongside this chanting and movement, religious singers (*munshidin*; singular *munshid*) may perform *inshad* (religious song), sometimes with *musiqa* (instrumental accompaniment). Their leader, called the *mustafih* stands in the center of the dhikr, and controls it with his movements, clapping, and chanting. In each *tabaqa* (contiguous segment) of dhikr, there is a gradual buildup of chant, sound, movement, and emotional level.

In Egypt today, dhikr is performed both inside and outside the turuq. Within the tariqa hadra, dhikr may include inshad, but musical instruments are used only rarely, and

never within a mosque. Intensive displays of emotion are curtailed, and trance behavior is generally forbidden. However when dhikr is performed outside the *turuq*, for social occasions such as weddings, and within the *mawlid*s (saint festivals), the social and doctrinal strictures of the *tariqa* and its *shaykh* are absent. In such contexts, the use of instruments is nearly universal, there is more spontaneity and less formal structure in performance, and participants display a much wider range of emotional behavior.

Sufism is often identified with the orders themselves. This is a mistake, because in Egypt participation in the orders is relatively limited, whereas the underpinnings of Sufi thought, belief and practice extend outside the bounds of the formal orders to permeate, in one way or another, a very broad segment of Egyptian Muslim society. What I call “informal Sufism” is the larger system of thought, feeling, and action which includes the *turuq* as particular crystallized social structures, but which extends amorphously beyond them as well, though without central authority, hierarchical order, explicit doctrine, or fixed ritual forms. Others may call this system, somewhat pejoratively, “popular religion”, but in fact it is essentially the same Sufi worldview as that which is found in the orders. The main difference between formal and informal types is the absence in the latter of the social structures and formal spiritual disciplines characteristic of the *turuq*. In fact, many “informal Sufis” are officially members of orders, having taken the ‘*ahd* from a *shaykh*, but for various reasons may not attend a regular *hadra*. In colloquial parlance, they are often called *muhibbin* (lovers; singular: *muhibb*), *‘ashiqin* (lovers; singular: *‘ashiq*), or *darawish* (connoting a more intensive involvement with the Sufi life; singular: *darwish*).

Informal Sufism centers upon the veneration, love, blessings, and intercession of the Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, and awliya' in informal and individual practice. While the regular, structured hadra of the tariqa is the focus of corporate practices within the turuq, the most important social occasions for informal Sufism are the hundreds of yearly mawlid, the carnival-like religious festivals which punctuate the calendar irregularly, each lasting from one night to two weeks.⁷ Spiritually and spatially each mawlid festival centers upon the maqam of a particular wali.⁸ (On the mawlid, see Waugh 1989:52-59.)

The mawlid brings together Sufi orders, (many of which travel together and set up a camp) who perform their own dhikr and prayers, along with other muhibbin who come to greet the saint, bask in the radiance of his or her baraka, and meet friends. Wealthier Sufis (often shaykhs of Sufi orders) may set up a *khidma* (service), usually consisting of a tent (*suwan*), within which a temporary dining and kitchen area is established. Here, food and drink is served to all comers without charge, as a means of both distributing and receiving baraka; the khidma serves also as a focal point for informal and convivial gatherings of muhibbin. The khidma's sponsor frequently organizes open, informal sessions of dhikr in the suwan, to which he invites a professional munshid, who sings religious inshad; such performances are usually accompanied by musical groups. Sufi mendicants and *majdhubs* (Sufis who by birth or through excessive mystical practice have lost their intellectual faculties), often dressed in extraordinarily odd garb, are generously provided for. The mawlid also draws throngs of non-Sufi onlookers, who come simply to enjoy the festive atmosphere of food, games, rides; there are no restrictions on who may

attend. The mawlid is open, creative, improvisational, and even chaotic, as opposed to the more closed ritual order of the tariqa hadra. It is an occasion glowing with good feeling and altruism, which demonstrates par excellence the nature of Sufi love. On a smaller scale, *layali diniyya* (“religious nights”; singular *layla diniyya*, usually called simply *layla*) and ziyara days for the Ahl al-Bayt exhibit much the same atmosphere. The former, evening celebrations which may be sponsored by individuals for a wide variety of social and religious occasions, usually include a public performance of inshad and dhikr; they are attended by family, friends, and local residents. The latter are like weekly mawlids, drawing muhibbin of the saint to visit the shrine, recite prayers in its vicinity, and perform dhikr; food and toy vendors, providers of secular entertainments, and local cafes all do a brisk business.

Throughout Sufism, whether formal or not, participants are bound together by shared feelings of love, both for each other and for spiritual entities, which are based on a common worldview and experience. In the tariqa, emotional unity is the result of initiation, shared allegiance to the shaykh, long familiarity with one another, common beliefs and teachings particular to the tariqa, and regular devotional practices, as well as the performance of corporate hadra. Informal Sufis attending a layla or mawlid are likewise bound by communal feelings. However, the lack of fixed ritual formats and attendees, regular meetings, and definite ritual boundaries means that emotional unity in the dhikr of informal Sufism is more transient, constructed to a large degree during the performance itself.

Having concluded this general introduction to the “Sufi subculture”(Hoffman 1995:357) of Egypt, we can turn in to a more detailed description of the *turuq* themselves.

B. Doctrinal aspects of Sufi orders in Egypt today are widely shared

One of the results strongly suggested by fieldwork is that the doctrinal basis of Sufism in Egypt, as briefly outlined above, is largely shared across the *turuq*. This is not the same as claiming that there are no doctrinal differences at all. Rather, my claim is that such differences cannot be used a systematic basis by which to differentiate the *turuq* from one another. Differences may vary more from one shaykh to another within a *tariqa*, than they do from one *tariqa* to another, and in any case are better described as differences in emphasis and style than differences in essential content. Furthermore, apparent differences in doctrine may arise from differences in spiritual methods; *turuq* may vary in their reluctance—to some extent universal—to reveal potentially controversial doctrines to outsiders, leading to the concealment of such doctrines within an outer shell of orthodoxy.

Traditionally Sufism is a system of graded knowledge, revealed according to one’s progress along the spiritual path. Thus an outwardly conservative *tariqa* may teach seemingly antinomian doctrines of Unity of Being as an inner meaning of the Qur’an, but only to the most advanced disciples. Other *turuq* (such as the Ja’fariyya, to be discussed below) reject the writings of a controversial figure such as Ibn ‘Arabi (who developed this doctrine of Unity of Being). They do not reject the author, or even the ideas, but rather the writings themselves, not because they are necessarily heretical, but because the shaykh

believes that the content of these writings is unsuited to the modern Sufi, and liable to lead disciples astray. But these are differences in pedagogy, in the way knowledge is revealed, rather than in what is believed to be true. They are matters of mystical method, rather than systematic differences in belief per se.

To use the Sufi terminology, the *zahir* (exterior) of doctrine varies far more than the *batin* (interior), for the *turuq* are different ways to the same spiritual reality. Such differences thus inform about the *tariqa*'s strategy for survival and the grading of its mystical system, but not about its core belief system. Where differences arise, they can be traced to the mystical program, which is ultimately a matter of ritual and social relations. Differences in emphasis may suggest distinctions between one *tariqa* and another, and may appear in ritual, but they are not a central factor distinguishing one group from another.

While there are doctrines which are distinctively Sufi, not shared by all Muslims, there is no sharp contrast between Sufi and non-Sufi, as I have tried to emphasize in describing "informal Sufism" as a broad middle-ground (above). Rather, each aspect of Sufi doctrine exhibits a different distribution as an article of faith across the entire Muslim population; some distributions (as that of the doctrine of union with God) are largely confined within the group one would tend to identify as overtly Sufi, sloping off rapidly within the larger population. However, distributions of other doctrines (such as the intercession of the Prophet Muhammad) are centered on the nominally Sufi group, but tail off only gradually (like a bell-curve with a long tail), including most Muslims within its scope. The largely shared doctrinal basis of Sufi groups is firmly rooted in the general

framework of Islam, in Qur'an and Hadith, not only because Sufis seek legitimacy by doing so, but also because Sufism played a formative role in defining larger Islamic history and practice in Egypt. These doctrinal interconnections imply that Sufism is not sectarian; neither at the level of individual orders, or as a whole.

Sufis themselves emphasize these ideas. Asked to explain the difference between his order and the others, a Sufi will invariably respond: "There are no differences between the orders. All are one, all are Muslims, all say 'there is no deity but God and Muhammad is His Messenger', all love the Prophet of God and the Ahl al-Bayt." One never hears Sufis of one order claim that other orders are following a wrong path. There is a strong sense that a Sufi should love and respect other shaykhs; "know your uncle [i.e. your shaykh], and love them all", is the frequently repeated saying. When pressed, a Sufi will say that each shaykh leads his disciples along a particular path; some may be shorter (hence implicitly better) but all lead to God. At this point a commonly invoked metaphor is to say that these paths are like spokes on a wheel leading to a single hub. The hub is Haqiqa, Divine Reality, or God; the wheel is Shari'a. Another common metaphor is to say that the shaykh is a teacher; each teacher has his school, but all the schools teach the same knowledge; when you graduate you obtain a certificate which is recognized by all the other schools.

What are the differences in these "paths" or "schools"? They consist in the methods of the shaykh, his particular sets of prayers and manner of *tarbiyya* (spiritual training), i.e. in ritual differences. Each shaykh has his means of *tarbiyya ruhiyya* (spiritual

education), which is a set of practices (including hadra) for inculcating knowledge, developing spiritual relationships, and guiding spiritual development. It is these practices and techniques which differ, together with beliefs in their efficacy, not objective doctrinal points. Such techniques are the practical expression of a relationship between murid and shaykh, in which the murid believes in the shaykh, while the shaykh takes responsibility for the murid. The techniques are also a means of (indirectly) constructing such a relationship.

Thus the notion of “school” should not be conceptualized as in “school of thought”, but rather as in “pedagogical school”, a way of learning which includes particular relationships to one another and to the teacher. The differences between turuq are conceptualized as different ways of teaching, not as different bodies of knowledge. It is not the distinctive knowledge taught, but the way it is taught, and the particular social attributes of each of these “schools”—and above all, the personality of the shaykh—which is distinctive in each tariqa. If one is to speak of “beliefs” as characterizing the turuq, then the word must be given a social sense. The murid must believe in the shaykh more than he believes in any distinctive doctrinal point.

Asked to explain the difference between Sufism and Islam, the Sufi says first that there is no difference. Sufism *is* Islam, or rather is the essence (jawhar) of Islam; Sufism is the stages of iman and ihsan (explained earlier), as opposed to the exoteric “islam” (as submission) followed by ordinary Muslims. Sufism is merely a system for ensuring a higher level of worship and devotion to God, incumbent on all Muslims. Sufism is a means of purifying the self, so as to be a better Muslim. Sufism is a school (madrasa) by

which a Muslims can study the Sunna of the Prophet, in order better to do what all Muslims are supposed to do anyway: to follow the Prophet's adab and *siluk* (behavior). Most signally, he will typically say that he is a Muslim first, and a member of a particular tariqa second; such an attitude is evidently reinforced by the fact that many Muslims are members of many different orders, while no Muslims are members of any religion but Islam.

If all the turuq are the same, why is one particular shaykh selected? From the standpoint of Sufism in general there is a definitive answer: one must select a shaykh because Sufism is a practical system of spiritual instruction, and one must have a teacher to avoid going astray, or drowning in the infinite sea of Reality (al-Haqiqa). "He who has no shaykh has Satan as his shaykh" is the popular aphorism (cited as a Prophetic hadith by Schimmel 1975:103,472). Which shaykh one selects is not so important as having one. The importance of the shaykh and one's relation to him explains why the turuq are distinctive, without doctrinal conflict. The Sufi refers to his tariqa affiliation as his *mashrab* (drinking place), and much can be discerned from this metaphoric usage. Water is everywhere the same, but one cannot obtain it everywhere at once; rather one must drink from a specific source. That source represents the shaykh's method, his charisma, his baraka from which one drinks. In no case is the Sufi group identified with an abstract or identifiable group of teachings. The mashrab is an affiliation, whose *manhaj* (program) is to follow the beloved shaykh.

From the individual's perspective there are many reasons why one might prefer one shaykh to another: circumstances, a feeling of compatibility with the shaykh's personality and tariqa members, a sense that a shaykh is spiritually more powerful, satisfaction with the shaykh's mode of spiritual education, attraction to a particular set of ritual practices. When pressed a Sufi will typically testify to differences in the spiritual levels of the shaykhs themselves, in their proximity to the Prophet, and to God – and more importantly to differences in his intuitive feeling (relation) toward different shaykhs as being (or not being) suitable spiritual guides *for him in particular*. It is by means of such differences (which he admits are somewhat relative) that he makes and rationalizes his choice of tariqa (which may seem, objectively speaking, an accident of place or circumstances). Such differences are in effect social differences in the broader sense I have defined them, generalizing the notion of social relation to include all manner of spiritual relations: differences in a shaykh's relations to various entities in the spiritual realm, and differences in a Sufi's relations to various shaykhs. The difference between a member of one order and a member of another consists largely in that they maintain different sets of social affiliations, with the shaykh, individual brethren, and the group as a whole. Thus the differences between groups lie also in the fact that they are socially distinct, and socially distinctive.

Other scholars have reached similar conclusions about the common doctrinal basis of Sufi orders. Thus Hoffman writes:

The differences between the Orders, both in doctrines and methods, are relatively inconsequential. the Orders are not to be regarded as sects, for

their proliferation is owing to the array of teachers, not differences in doctrine. A disciple's attachment is not to an Order but to a specific spiritual master, his shaykh. (Hoffman 1995:123)

I agree with this assessment completely as applied to the traditional orders. But for the modernist orders, those founded in the 20th century with a greater awareness of the need to construct a viable position within the modern Islamic field, two slight modifications are required: (1) methods of modernist groups are indeed distinctive, as we shall see in detail; (2) attachment is to the *group* as well as to the shaykh, although this group may not be the entire order except during the initial phases of tariqa development (characteristic of the modernist groups), which I will discuss below.

Gilsenan even states that:

In Egypt...there are no doctrinal differences which set the members [of orders] off from other Muslims, nor do any of the Orders claim a unique insight into the Revelation or the Sunna. (Gilsenan 1973:6)

While this may be going too far, it is certainly correct to say that Sufism is doctrinally rooted in Islam, and that sharp doctrinal boundaries, either between Sufis and other Muslims, or between the orders, simply do not exist.

But this short discussion of the issue of doctrine has not only indicated that doctrinal aspects of the Sufi orders are largely shared; it has furthermore shown how what appear to be doctrinal differences may be better interpreted as social differences. This fact is not altogether surprising, since Sufi *turuq* are "orders" in the doctrinal, ritual, and social sense of the word. Admittedly, different *turuq* exist. If they do not contrast in their doctrinal orders, then contrast must be sought in ritual and social orders. Fieldwork indeed

suggests that *turuq* identify themselves primarily through social structure and ritual (which may reinforce that social structure). I focus on the *tariqa* as a social order in the remainder of this chapter. Because of its centrality in this thesis, I will devote the following chapter to ritual aspects of Sufi orders, as represented in various forms of LP.

C. Social aspects of the Sufi orders in Egypt today

1. The social order

a. Spiritual lines: Genealogy and personalities

The *murid* takes an *'ahd* (oath) from a *shaykh*, and thereby joins that *shaykh*'s circle of *muridin* and *tariqa*. The chains formed by such oath-taking relationships are called *silsilas*. The *silsila* is thus a spiritual lineage, extending backwards through the generations to the charismatic founder of the order, and (theoretically, at least) beyond. Most Egyptian Sufis have a *silsila* which can be traced back to one of the great saints of medieval Sufism, especially *'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani*, *Ahmad al-Rifa'i*, *Ahmad al-Badawi*, *Ibrahim al-Dasuqi*, and *Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili*. The latter three were particularly active in Egypt, and their groups subsequently spawned many suborders. These 12th and 13th century figures stand at the beginning of organized mysticism, and tracing the *silsila* beyond them may be dubious, historically speaking. However Sufis themselves often extend the *silsilas* back to the early mystical figures, *al-Junayd*, *Hasan al-Basri*, and others, reaching ultimately back to the *Ahl al-Bayt* (the Prophet's family) and from them to the Prophet himself.

Formerly the legitimacy of a particular group was closely connected to the continuity of such silsilas over the centuries. However, a phenomenon characteristic of reform or revivalist Sufism from the 18th century is for the founder to assert a direct connection to the Prophet. Thus both Ahmad al-Tijani and Ahmad ibn Idris claimed to receive the command to form a tariqa directly from the Prophet himself, and so their silsilas pass directly to him. This short-circuiting of the entire medieval era is precisely the genealogical equivalent of the reformists' desire to eliminate the accretions of the same period, in order to return to the purity of the original community surrounding the Prophet. Another possibility in the modern period is for a shaykh to claim to fuse a variety of silsilas together, or to be generally inspired by all great saints, or to reject the very notion of silsila. These are all strategies which undercut the notion of the silsila, and may even undermine a basic principle of Sufism itself: that a seeker should have only one spiritual guide. But they are also strategies for avoiding the burdens of a medieval Sufi inheritance.

Excepting those modern groups for whom the silsila has lost its significance, the total spiritual genealogy, formed by combining all silsilas, is a kind of family tree, whose root is the Prophet Muhammad. At the same time, the fact that this tree is divided into many different turuq indicates that it possesses a "segmentary" lineage structure, and is not merely a homogeneous hierarchy. That is, not all individuals in one's silsila are of equal importance, and the important ones have distinctive roles.

The following principal roles can be distinguished, considering the silsila from the end furthest from the living disciple who is a member of a particular tariqa (and leaving

aside the fact that the Prophet himself is the most spiritually significant person for all Muslim seekers, and so should rightfully be considered first):

Qutb (“axis” or “pole”). Muhammad was the Seal of the Prophets (Khatim al-anbiya’), and there are none after him. However the saints (awliya’) have continued to be born. These saints form a hierarchy (Hoffman 1995:93), at the top of which stands the qutb. As soon as the qutb dies, another appears, so that the world is never without this critical connection between heaven and earth, of which there is always exactly one at any particular moment in time. However the word is often used more liberally, together with *ghawth* (succor), as a term of honor for a great saint.⁹ Greatness, of course, is relative, and members of many (if not most) *turuq* address their own founder as *al-qutb al-ghawth*. However, relatively few saints are widely acknowledged as qutb by Egyptian Sufis in general, and it is only these to whom I will apply the term descriptively.

The qutb is an older saint whose reputation is very well established; usually he founded an order (or an order was founded in his name) which spawned subsidiary orders. Thus the qutb usually stands at the lineal head of several different Sufi orders, and a great many muridin trace their silsilas to him. Usually, the qutb is either the founder of the disciple’s order (if the order is old), or is the great spiritual figure standing behind that founder. The qutb is a mythical person, his person shrouded by the mists of time and the rich body of legend and *karamat* (miracles) with which he is associated. His tomb is a major source of baraka, and a large mawlid is held to celebrate him at least once each year.

The qutb is not the most salient figure within the turuq descended from him; that distinction belongs to the founder. However, this fact does not diminish his importance; the qutb looms in the background, representing the general spiritual tradition of which the tariqa is but one school. His presence in the founder's silsila supplies the order with an aura of spiritual legitimacy within the Sufi field, through its connection to a widely accepted saint figure. Many prayers, poems, and rituals attributed to him may be used in the tariqa's rituals. Although history does not always support claims that the qutb wrote that which is attributed to him (thus Sidi Ahmad al-Rifa'i is attributed with many prayers and poems, even though historians say he never wrote anything at all (Trimingham 1971:37)), it is significant that his name is invoked to give authority to materials used in ritual LP, even at the cost of the real author remaining anonymous.

Mu'assis al-tariqa (the founder of the tariqa). The founder is the primary charismatic center for the tariqa; often his name is included in the tariqa name, together with that of his qutb (if he is not himself the qutb). In the older turuq, he may be widely considered a qutb as well. Upon his death he is usually buried in the mosque or center of the tariqa, and his shrine becomes the site for *ziyara* (tomb visitation) and the center of a yearly mawlid. He is included in the silsila of all tariqa members, and is the main spiritual focus and source of most ritual material.

Khalifa (deputy). The khalifa is the founder's primary disciple, and is frequently the founder's son. After the shaykh's death, the khalifa consolidates and leads the group; indeed, in many cases the group cannot properly be said to exist as a defined social unit

before this period. While his spiritual level is surpassed by that of the founder, the khalifa provides the model for loyal discipleship, and usually is the primary force responsible for building a firm foundation for the tariqa as a social organization: increasing membership, conserving the founder's literary output and—most importantly—firmly establishing the founder's status, replete with karamat, maqam (shrine), mawlid, and ziyara. After his death he is usually buried next to his master. The khalifa is included in the silsila of all tariqa members, except for those who took the 'ahd directly from the founder.

Shaykh al-sajjada (literally “shaykh of the prayer-rug”; tariqa leader, sometimes also called khalifa). The shaykh al-sajjada is the living leader of the tariqa. When the tariqa is centralized, and centrally controlled, all new members are considered to have taken the oath from him, even when it was literally administered by the local shaykh. While the extent and size of the tariqa may preclude his active interaction with every member, he remains the most important living spiritual figure for group members. When the tariqa becomes decentralized, the importance of the shaykh al-sajjada declines; he becomes merely an organizational leader, while members' silsilas are traced through the local shaykh from whom they take the oath. As explained earlier, the degree of centralization, and hence the importance given to the shaykh al-sajjada, depends on the logical phase of tariqa development (described below), which is usually roughly related to the age of the tariqa.

Shaykh. Here I refer to the local shaykh, who is simply called shaykh, but may also take a variety of titles such as *na'ib* (deputy), *khalifat al-khulafa'* (leader of the

khalifas), *khalifa* (not to be confused with the founder's deputy or tariqa leader), or *mas'ul* (responsible one), depending on his position in the tariqa's bureaucratic hierarchy (the system of organizational rankings is explained below). The local shaykh leads the local chapter, or bayt, and provides immediate spiritual guidance to its members. His role and degree of independence as a charismatic figure in his own right depends on the centralization of the tariqa as a whole. In a tariqa which is tightly controlled from the center, the local shaykh is a mere proxy for the shaykh al-sajjada. He may give the oath to new members, but only in the name of the main leader (he is not in the silsila), and he is not permitted any freedoms which might enable him to become an independent leader. In a decentralized tariqa, however, he is the spiritual guide (murshid) and first silsila link for those who take the oath from him, who become his disciples; the shaykh al-sajjada in this case is relatively unimportant.

Besides the silsila, another lineal concept of great importance for Sufism is the nasab, or patrilineal line of descent. The nasab is of general importance in both Islamic and Arabic culture, not only in Sufism. Since leadership of a Sufi tariqa is often passed from father to son, one finds that from the founder onwards the nasab may frequently match the silsila for tariqa shaykhs. But in Islam the nasab takes on a legitimizing role when it leads to the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, 'Ali, who married the Prophet's only surviving child, Fatima. Descent from 'Ali and Fatima is therefore the only way one can participate in the Prophet's line of genetic descent. Those who trace their ancestry to 'Ali's son Hasan are called "Hasani", while those who trace to 'Ali's son Husayn are

called “Husayni”. Any person in the Prophet’s line of descent is called *sharif* (plural: *ashraf*). Being *sharif* is of particular legitimizing importance in Sufism, since the *ashraf* are widely respected within Egyptian Islam. Therefore, it is common to find the *nasab* of a *sharif* Sufi *shaykh* published along with other biographical information. The *sharifs* of Egypt have for long had a special organization devoted to them, whose leader, the *naqib al-ashraf*, was frequently a Sufi *shaykh* (for a time the *Shaykh al-Bakri* served as *naqib* as well; see de Jong 1978:31ff).

b. Positional and personal social structure

My argument is that while doctrinal aspects of Sufi orders form a largely shared system, it is in the domain of the social and ritual practice that unique identities emerge. Therefore it is necessary to pay close attention to social structure. I claim that there are two quasi-independent forms of social structure active in the Sufi orders, overlaying each other: positional social structure, and personal social structure.

The former consists of a set of social positions and the relations between them, and exists, at least to a great extent, independently of the particular individuals who fill them and the personal relationships between them. One enters a position and takes on its identity, leaves a position and sheds it. The system of positions is fixed or slowly changing, while individuals are substitutable within it, passing more rapidly through it. The positions and their interrelations are not imbued with human emotion, but rather exists as a kind of practical framework to ensure organizational efficiency, which is why individuals submit to it. Due to its practical function, the topology of the positional social structure is

always hierarchical; no other system provides a certain means of control. Each position is associated with a particular status, which is ranked with respect to the others. The fundamental structural relation between positions is always one of authority and obedience. Such authority and obedience are attributes of the position, not attributes of the person who happens to fill it at any particular moment; one follows one's superior not because one respects him personally (although one may), but because one respects his position, and the overall structure, which would fall to the ground if that position (and others like it) were to be challenged.

Personal social structure consists of the personalities of the human and spiritual entities which constitute the order, together with the personal relationships which interconnect them. Personality is here regarded as a set of attributes which being deeply rooted in the psyche—or what the Sufi would call the spirit (*ruh*)—cannot be easily added or subtracted without the expenditure of vast amounts of emotional energy, for any such change is equivalent to a transformation of inner identity. Unlike positions, personal attributes cannot easily be changed. Similarly social relations in the personal social structure are between particular individuals, not between positions. They depend on real emotional bonds, and serve to create an organic solidarity. These notions are supported by Sufi ideas, which hold that personal relationships are spiritual relationships; the Sufi explanation of true love between two human beings rests ultimately on spiritual compatibility.

Personal social structure cannot be established by mere positional authority, but rather must come about through human interaction and experience. In Sufi orders, personal relations develop in the murid naturally in social contexts, as a result of his perception of charisma in the shaykh, his experiences with tariqa brethren, and his feeling that he has found a suitable spiritual community. Since no one is forced to join a Sufi order, personal social structure arises as a result of individual inclinations. At the same time, because personal social structure develops through social interaction, ritual practices—centrally, LP—can play a pivotal role in shaping such relations, as I will suggest in great detail later on.

Because Sufism is based on the dyadic relation between shaykh and his disciples, personal social structure results from two fundamental structural relations: the vertical, and the horizontal. These are found in every tariqa, but in different relative degrees and emphases, and the personal social structure of a tariqa may be characterized in part by these variables. The vertical relation represents the archetypal relation between shaykh and disciple (and metaphorically the transcendent dimension of spiritual seeking, extending beyond the shaykh to the Ahl al-Bayt, Prophet, and God). Vertical relations define the tariqa as rooted in the shaykh as leader; everyone respects the shaykh, and the shaykh adopts a paternal or authoritarian relationship toward his spiritual charges. Vertical relations can be intimate, or distant and hierarchical. The horizontal relation represents the archetypal relation among a group of like-minded seekers (and metaphorically the spiritual solidarity encapsulated in the Sufi notion of selfless, disinterested, brotherly love).

Some of these horizontal relations are dyadic, rooted in experiences shared between two members. Others link the murid more abstractly to the group as a reified whole. The latter type helps to define the tariqa as a communal group, a “team” having an existence beyond that of its particular members. All relations vary in distance, and in strength.

The “team” aspect of the horizontal relation is related to another important aspect of the personal social structure: its boundary, whether sharp or diffuse. While most groups are open to new members (provided they are Muslims), some do not distinguish clearly between members and non-members. Sometimes a concept of membership does not exist at all (this is typical of the newest groups). Other times, the distinction between member and non-member is simply not emphasized, so that the tariqa’s sphere of influence extends far beyond the official group of committed members. Usually in such cases there is also less emphasis placed on a reified group. In contrast, other turuq may strongly distinguish the in-group from the out-group, thereby emphasizing the independent existence of the group as a reified entity.

The fundamental topology of the personal social structure is thus not a multilevel hierarchy, but rather resembles a raised center (the shaykh) connected directly to the murid below, who are themselves densely interconnected by relations of egalitarian friendship and companionship. Sharply bounded groups can be easily enclosed by a circle which includes only tariqa members; diffusely bounded groups are clearly centered on the shaykh as an orienting center, extending indefinitely (though increasingly weakly) in all directions.

Lest these concepts appear too abstract and structuralist, I turn to some ethnographic detail. Two metaphoric classes exist to represent the two forms of social structure, “bureaucracy”, and “family”.

1. Positional social structure

The metaphors for positional structure are generally taken from the military or government bureaucracies, in which there is a strict hierarchy of command. It is not infrequent for Sufis to compare the bureaucratic aspect of the tariqa to a functional structure of governance and control, especially when the positional structure has become largely detached from the personal, as is likely to occur in later stages of tariqa development (I examine these in a following section). Individual *turuq* vary in the kinds, numbers, and responsibilities of positions and what they are called, but the following are standard:¹⁰

Shaykh al-sajjada (shaykh of the prayer-rug), sometimes also called shaykh al-tariqa (shaykh of the tariqa), or khalifa (deputy; this usage probably derives from his status as deputy to the founder shaykh, but must not be confused with the khalifa ranking, described below¹¹). He is the living central leader of the entire tariqa organization, the last in the chain (*silsila*) of shaykhs connecting him with the founder. The founder’s prayer-rug (*sajjada*) is a metonym for his spiritual power, and is symbolically inherited by his successors in the *silsila*.

Wakil (proxy). Some *turuq* include the post of *wakil*, an office just below the *shaykh* who serves in an advisory capacity, without being affiliated to any particular geographical area; sometimes the term *naqib* is used in this sense as well. The term *wakil* may also be used as equivalent to *na'ib* (below).

Na'ib (shaykh's representative). The *na'ib* is appointed to oversee *tariqa* activities in each political region in which the *tariqa* has *muridin*, as a representative of the *shaykh al-sajjada*. There is a hierarchy within the rank of *na'ib*, corresponding to the hierarchical political inclusions of these regions: province (*muhafaza*), district (*markaz*), and police district (*nuqta*). Egypt is divided into 25 provinces, each of which is subdivided into a number of districts; in turn, each district is subdivided into a number of police districts. The *tariqa* structure aligns naturally with this ordering. Thus there is first a *na'ib 'amm* (general *na'ib*) who oversees all the others; then a *na'ib al-muhafaza* (provincial *na'ib*), who oversees a number of *na'ib al-markaz*, who in turn oversees a number of *na'ib al-nuqta*. Any of these may also function as a local *shaykh*, i.e. take on the responsibilities of the *khalifa* (described below) in giving the oath, guiding spiritual progress, and leading *hadra*.

Khalifat al-khulafa' (deputy of the deputies). This post is responsible for all the *khalifas* (see below) in a particular geographical district where they are numerous. He also carries out the responsibilities of a local *shaykh* (*khalifa*) in giving the oath, and overseeing spiritual training of *muridin*; he is usually active in directing a local group of *muridin* in weekly *hadras* as well.

Khalifa (deputy). The khalifa is the lowest rank at which one may take on the role of local shaykh, giving the ‘ahd (oath), forming a group of muridin (who have taken the ‘ahd from him), leading them in hadra, overseeing their spiritual progress, and establishing a khidma in the mawlid. The khalifa possesses the *ijaza* (license), an official document testifying to his advanced spiritual status and authorizing his performance of these activities. Formerly attaining the rank of khalifa was a significant achievement, attained after years of faithful study and practice, but today members of many traditional turuq are regularly promoted to the rank of khalifa after they have memorized the obligatory prayers particular to the tariqa (the hizb and awrad). Some khalifas direct a group of muridin, but many others have none.

Naqib (leader). There are usually various kinds of naqib, each responsible for performing a particular duties during hadra: cooking, making tea, serving, cleaning up, watching after members’ shoes, and so on. Sometimes the munshid (religious singer) and mustaftih (dhikr leader) are also considered naqib positions. The naqib al-nuqaba’ (head naqib) oversees them all.

Murid or *salik* (seeker). The entry-level position in the hierarchy.

Depending on the tariqa, there may be other positions as well. For each level of the hierarchy, there may be a secretary in charge of recording or disseminating information, a treasurer, and someone to plan events and trips. Another special title is that of the *munshid* (religious singer), however as it is strongly dependent on vocal and other talents, it cannot be considered a pure position per se.

Many of the terms used for positions within the Sufi order are also used in secular bureaucracies of the military, government, or business. Thus: *naqib* is an Egyptian military rank approximating a captain or lieutenant; *wakil* means “authorized representative” in the general sense, as well as sergeant; a *na’ib* is an agent or assistant in any administrative organization (and formerly denoted the military rank of sergeant); *khalifa* may be used to designate a deputy in any organization, and formerly denoted the leader of the Islamic community. The bureaucratic derivation emphasizes the positional meanings of these terms when used within Sufism as well.

2. Personal social structure

The metaphoric class for personal social structure is drawn from the family, as suggested by the *silsila*, which is tantamount to a spiritual patrilineal genealogy. The vertical relation is modelled on the relation between father and son. Sufis refer to the shaykh as a father (*ab*, *walid*), while the muridin are his sons (*abna’*, or *awlad*). One’s *jadd* (grandfather) is one’s shaykh’s shaykh. The devotion of an *ibn* (son) to his *ab* (shaykh), sealed by the taking of the oath (*‘ahd*), results from a mixture of love and awe at his charisma (*baraka*), spiritual level (*maqam*), knowledge, and so on. The shaykh in turn looks paternalistically upon his followers as an extended family, for whom he is responsible. Their relationships are thus deeply personal, formed through experience, and not merely a consequence of the official positions occupied by each. Indeed social structure positions become increasingly poor predictors of the actual personal relations among members of the group as the *tariqa* develops in time, as we shall see.

The horizontal relation is modelled on the egalitarian camaraderie and love of brothers and close friends. Sufis describe the followers of a particular shaykh using such terms as *ikhwan* (brethren), *ahbab* (lovers), *'ushshaq* (lovers), *muhibbin* (lovers, devotees), *mudama'* (companions).

Unlike those which constitute the positional structure, these horizontal and vertical relationships are imbued with emotion. The notion of love evident in many of the relationships is deliberately vague. Love binds the muridin together not only through direct relations of mutual affection, but also through mutual love for the shaykh, the Ahl al-Bayt, the Prophet, and God; direct love is a natural consequence of the mutual kind, embodied in the expression "hubb lillah", "love for the sake of God" (i.e. disinterested love). But love for God and His Prophet is common among nearly all devout Muslims, while love for the Ahl al-Bayt and saints is common to all Sufis.

What binds the members of a *particular* tariqa together, and distinguishes them from other groups, is largely their shared relationship to particular shaykhs, most importantly the qutb, the founder of the tariqa, and the active living spiritual guide (who may assume any number of positional roles, from shaykh al-sajjada to khalifa). These relationships in turn are oriented by the spiritual personality of the shaykh, especially his characteristic charisma, which selectively exerts an attractive force for particular people. Charisma of the shaykh-leader is the magnetic center of personal relations, creating a potential field that orients the personal social structure of the tariqa.

It is important to note that while positional structure is a strictly this-world phenomenon of ordinary reality, personal relations bridge time and space, this-world and other-world, with great flexibility. Relationships may be maintained between a disciple and his shaykh after the latter's death, as a purely spiritual interaction, or through dreams. Personal relationships may also extend to saints of the distant past, including the qutb, the Ahl al-Bayt, the Prophet himself, and perhaps other prophets as well. Physical limitations do not apply, for saints are everywhere. Sufis say that saints are alive; unlike ordinary people, who are trapped in the barzakh ("isthmus", a kind of limbo) until Resurrection Day, saints are free to wander the universe as they please. Therefore the web of personal social structure extends far beyond the realm of the living. (The continuity between social relations in the material world, and those which connect to the immaterial world, is firmly grounded in the Sufi notion that love relationships connect spirits rather than physical persons; these spirits are formed from a common substance, the Light of Muhammad (God's original creative emanation), and do not die.)

To understand the personal social structure, it is useful to inquire into the nature of the shaykh's spiritual personality, especially the basis of his charisma. Through its ability to selectively attract members, and shape their relationships both to the shaykh and to each other, charisma frequently emerges as the most important factor shaping the tariqa's identity. Certainly charisma is not the same for all shaykhs, for it is central to his unique spiritual identity. Max Weber (whose ideas I will take up below) defines charisma vaguely, as an "extraordinary quality" (Weber 1961b:1399), leaving it as an unanalyzed property of

an individual. But for subsequent discussion, it is important to analyze charisma, the attributes cited in support of its presence, and especially its performative basis, in order to better understand the importance of LP in constructing or strengthening charismatic claims. Egyptian Sufis frequently cite the following “extraordinary qualities” as indicating the high spiritual station of a shaykh. Some of these rely upon an empirical or experiential basis, while others are more dogmatic.

Baraka (spiritual power, spiritual blessing). This general concept perhaps provides the best translation of “charisma” in the Sufi context, so it will be worthwhile to consider it at some length. *Baraka* is conceived as a condition of a person, as well as an immaterial substance which he possesses, which may be distributed to others. The means of such distribution includes physical proximity, touching the body, touching that which has been in contact with the body (clothes, food, tea), attendance at sacred places (the maqam of a saint), physical contact with objects in the saint’s vicinity (e.g. the *maqsurah*, or grillwork surrounding the maqam) and events associated with the saint (the annual mawlid, or weekly ziyara). *Baraka* may also be acquired through receipt of a gift (*nafha*) originating with the shaykh or his tariqa.

Baraka is abstract, and may be evaluated by intuitive feeling, or by its effects; if an ill person goes to visit a shaykh and then is cured, he may attribute the cure to the shaykh’s *baraka*. Its abstraction means that emotion is often important in its detection; one “feels” that a shaykh has *baraka*. *Baraka* is intimately connected with personal relationships; the quality of a relationship may indicate the presence of *baraka*; conversely

baraka may serve to establish a personal relationship, by providing a strong emotional dimension. Baraka may also pass from one person to another through particularly close relationships. Baraka may be inherited through the nasab, and a large share passes through the descendants of the Prophet (thus the Ahl al-Bayt and even the present-day sharifs are recipients, though in successively lesser degrees); baraka also passes through the silsila. However, such “dogmatic” ascriptions of baraka may need to be backed up by empirical or experiential evidence in order to be sustained. The source of all baraka is God. These principles of baraka are hugely important in Sufism, and serve to structure many aspects of the hadra ritual, since it is here that the shaykh is present (even if spiritually) and claims of baraka can be reinforced through emotional manipulations, in which LP has a key role to play. (For a more complete discussion of baraka, see von Denffer 1976.)

Karamat (miracles). Miracles in Islam are of two types: *mu'jizat*, and *karamat*. Whereas *mu'jizat* are attributed only to the prophets, *karamat* are attributed to the saints. They are signs of God's blessing and approval, and hence of baraka. Miracles include a wide variety of types. Some miracles are violations of the ordinary laws of nature. The shaykh may prove himself by appearing in more than one location at once, or travelling great distances in a single step, or entering a locked house. Other miracles involve knowledge or inspiration. The shaykh may know the future, or the past (without having been told), or may possess vast stores of religious or scientific knowledge without having studied, or despite illiteracy. In states of mystic inspiration shaykhs may write or speak

gnostic words and poems, then later be unable to account for them. Still other miracles involve powers of transformation, as in curing disease.

Ruhaniyya (spirituality). A shaykh may be considered to occupy a high spiritual level based on other factors, outward or inward. This quality is often perceived intuitively and emotionally by the disciple, similar to the concept of baraka. But whereas baraka is a quasi-independent substance with no physical manifestations, ruhaniyya is strictly an attribute of the person, untransferable, resulting from and indicated by his accumulated spiritual practice: endless recitation of dhikr and awrad, periodic spiritual retreats (*khalwa*), supererogatory fasting and prayers, night-vigils (*tahajjud*). Spirituality may also be indicated by a shaykh's writings; this is considered separately below.

Basira, kashf, shafafiyya, firasa (spiritual insight). Vision and light are important metaphors in Islamic spirituality (as in other religions); the true shaykh is he who can see by means of Divine Illumination, which reveals the Unseen World (*'alim al-ghayb*). These qualities are indicated in the shaykh who can attain glimpses of that world and thus know that which is unknowable for other men. More mundanely, it may refer to his ability to see through walls and other physical obstacles, or to read others' thoughts. Many Sufis relate a shaykh's basira to his penetrating glance. Powerful eye contact is often taken as a sign of charisma. The glance of a shaykh may even be capable of instilling his knowledge or teachings into the disciple (see below). Many photographs and drawings of shaykhs are startling due to the appearance of the eyes. Wide open, the white portion of the cornea visible on all sides of the iris, they appear to watch the viewer from all angles. One hears

reports of a particular shaykh being able to “look into your heart”, that you know a shaykh “by his eyes”; perhaps for this reason many Sufi shaykhs acquire the *laqab* (nickname) “Abu al-‘Uyun”, “he of the eyes”.

Jadhb (spiritual madness). *Jadhb* differs from ordinary insanity, for it indicates that the mind is with God. While in a state of *jadhb* the Sufi may exhibit bizarre or antinomian behavior. Men may grow their hair in long braids, wear tattered clothes or go partially naked, pronounce strange or heretical utterances (*shathiyat*), and need to be cared for by others. *Jadhb* results from excessive spiritual devotions, constant recitation of *hizb*, *wird*, *dhikr*, supererogatory prayer and fasting; spiritual retreats; and frequent visits to the shrines of the Ahl al-Bayt and other saints, but it is primarily a condition determined by God and not by individual volition. While the *madhjub* (one in the state of *jadhb*) is considered unfit to serve as a spiritual director, a prior period of *jadhb* is a probative factor in determining charismatic status, and many great shaykhs are claimed to have passed through such a phase early in their careers, the result of overenthusiasm or lack of proper guidance (see discussion in Hoffman 1995:108-13).

Ilham, faydan (inspiration). As in the case of miracles, prophetic and saintly phenomena are strictly separated.¹² *Wahy* (Revelation) is reserved for the Prophets, but saints may receive a qualitatively different form of Divine inspiration, called *ilham* (inspiration) or *faydan* (flooding).¹³ One shaykh may be able to speak for hours on subjects he formerly knew nothing about. Another spontaneously composes books. Even more important is the spontaneous composition of poetry. Many Sufi shaykhs compose poetry

while in a state of inspiration, uttering verse after verse while a disciple copies everything down. Later such verses may be recited as *inshad* (religious song) during *hadra*; they are considered to be possessed of a special efficacy due to their unique mode of composition (see Frishkopf 1996 for a detailed treatment of this subject).

Ma'rifa (gnosis, intuitive knowledge). *Ma'rifa* is knowledge resulting from mystical experience and rank. It cannot be communicated through language, but can only be indicated to those who already know it via cryptic signs; others may infer its presence due to the presence of particular and unusual linguistic forms such as ecstatic utterances (*shathiyat*), *arcana* and *esoterica*, or *suriyaniyya* (the language of angels and jinn). Poetry or short epigrams are considered more suitable literary devices for such knowledge than discursive prose. *Ma'rifa* is the quintessentially Sufi form of knowledge, and therefore points to the exalted spiritual status of one who possesses it, who is thereby known as an *'arif* (gnostic), as opposed to *'ilm*.

'Ilm (discursive knowledge). Discursive knowledge—that knowledge which may be communicated by language—is not particular to the Sufi. Indeed the distinction between Sufi shaykh and Azhari shaykh is reflected in the terms used to describe the knowledge they have acquired: the Sufi is an *'arif*, whereas the Azhari is an *'alim* (plural, *'ulama'*). However the Sufi shaykh's reputation is enhanced by his learning, particularly in the religious sciences. Such learning bestows greater legitimacy and protects his reputation, since it indicates that he has mastered exoteric religion (*Shari'a*) upon which all genuine Sufism ought to be based before proceeding to the more ethereal regions of *Haqiqa*.

Possession of 'ilm may also be miraculous, and hence indicate charisma. Frequently one hears that a particular Sufi shaykh is well-versed in astronomy, chemistry, medicine, mathematics, and all of the religious sciences, besides speaking any number of languages fluently, without having studied any of this, or even despite illiteracy. Such knowledge is inspired by God directly and is thus a sign of His blessings.¹⁴

Inspired teaching. The ability to impart knowledge and inspire feeling in disciples is critical to a shaykh's reputation. Stories about teaching also border on the miraculous. Some shaykhs are said to be able to impart knowledge without speech, through their eyes, non-verbal communication, or thought-messages. Others come to teach through dreams. Even in the more mundane setting of a mosque dars (lesson), the charismatic shaykh is distinguished not only by what he knows, but how easily he can express it and sear it into the memories of his listeners. Sufis may praise a shaykh by noting his ability to command the attention of a diverse group comprised of individuals at all levels of education, from illiterate to Azhar professor. One may note that he felt as if the speaker were addressing him personally, even though he was but one of a large group of listeners. Often a shaykh's ability to make difficult concepts simple, to instill difficult or abstruse knowledge without effort is cited. A Sufi may remark that whatever he learns from a particular shaykh, he memorizes instantly, whereas the same information presented by another is forgotten after a short while.

It is not just the ability to communicate information which is important, but to impart a sense of its emotional weight and importance. For this reason the rhetorical

modes and paralinguistic or pragmatic features of a shaykh's speech are important and revealing. One shaykh may adopt a lofty, grand tone, using high Arabic and commanding gestures, to great effect. Another may employ a more intimate, simple, and soft style, yet one which is equally effective. A third may weep, and cause others to weep with him. Posture and bearing are important factors as well. One shaykh stands tall and erect, above his seated crowd of disciples. Another sits humbly in a mawlid tent, speaking quietly to those around him. All these devices and styles contrast in their affective and expressive qualities, but all may be effective in working a transformation in the listener, making him believe that which he hadn't previously believed, understand that which he hadn't previously understood, or feel that which he hadn't previously felt, by which he is convinced of the shaykh's power.

Respect. One of the most important factors serving to convince a Sufi of a particular shaykh's merits is the respect the shaykh is accorded by others, particularly those who already have his own respect. Thus one commonly hears that a particular shaykh was so great that the Shaykh of al-Azhar himself used to visit him. The reputation of Shaykh Ahmad Radwan of Luxsor was enhanced by the fact that President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir came to ask his advice (Hoffman 1995:266).

This list of charismatic manifestations is by no means exhaustive, but it serves to indicate that charisma is a complex property admitting of great variety. One shaykh is known as a great teacher by means of his sermons; another is known to perform miracles; a third visits one in dreams. All these manifestations serve to confirm a shaykh's

charismatic status, but indicate very different types of charisma. Since that charisma supports the personal social structure of the group, as I have argued previously, the shaykh's charismatic type is of critical importance in defining the group's identity. One of the primary tasks of the group ritual (hadra)—at least among those groups who use it strategically—is to maintain the group as a centralized, cohesive, identifiable social unit, an agent in the Islamic-Sufi field. One means of doing so is to reinforce the particular charismatic basis of the group: the shaykh himself. We will later see how the spiritual personality of the founder-shaykh emerges strongly in the hadra.

c. Formation of the orders

1. Routinization and conflict: the logical development of tariqa structure

a. Introduction

The way of Sufism consists in developing one's relationship to God and His Prophet, and this development is ideally mediated by a personal relation to a charismatically gifted living spiritual teacher. The relation to such a teacher is essentially practical, not theoretical, and depends on personal face-to-face interaction. How can such a system be established within an organizational system (the tariqa) which endures beyond the teacher's death? When the spiritual teacher passes on who will replace him and still be acceptable to the group? How can a continual supply of new teachers be predictably assured, without disturbing the unity of the organization? How can an organization

founded on dyadic relations between teacher and disciples expand much beyond the number of disciples one teacher can reasonably supervise, without loss of centralization? The difficulty of providing solutions to these problems has led to the continuous fissioning, schisms, and degeneration or disappearance of Sufi orders.

Weber was the first to thoroughly analyze the contradictions inherent in a social organization established by charismatic authority. With some modification, his arguments can be usefully applied toward understanding of the Sufi orders.

Weber defines charisma and charismatic authority as follows:

... "charisma" shall be understood to refer to an extraordinary quality of a person, regardless of whether this quality is actual, alleged, or presumed. "Charismatic authority," hence, shall refer to a rule over men, whether predominantly external or predominantly internal, to which the governed submit because of their belief in the extraordinary qualities of the specific person." (Weber 1961b:1399)

In another article (Weber 1961a:1297ff), Weber differentiates such authority from other forms of authority (e.g. based on rule of force, or economic incentive), by its dependence upon personal social relationships, and personal characteristics of the charismatic individual. The organization is thus not an abstract structure of positions, but rather is rooted by a particular individual. But a social organization held together by a particular individual cannot be sustained beyond that person's physical departure (by death or otherwise), and so the organization thus defined is unstable. In order to become a permanent, sustainable organization, the character of authority must become radically transformed, or else the group will cease to exist. Such a transformation Weber termed the "routinization of charisma", and it appears in earnest with the problem of succession.

This transformation is shaped by the ideal or material interests of the group's members, particularly those who were close disciples of the founder or who have secured positions within the group's administration, and therefore have a greater interest in the group's continued existence; above all it is shaped by those with access to power. But since generally all members identify with the group, all have some interest in ensuring its continuity, in order to protect their own participatory positions within it. Out of this complex of forces, a solution is devised to solve the problems of succession. [Using the terminology of this thesis, one could say that this is the first moment of the appearance of true group-level strategies, since formerly the charismatic leader supplied strategies which were immediately accepted by the group as a consequence of their submission to him, by which they submerged their individual wills to his.]

Weber suggests several possible ways in which the problem of succession is met after the departure of a charismatic founder. In all of his cases there is an attempt to preserve the charismatic basis of leadership, even though the nature of that charisma must necessarily change in the process, from what might be called "empirical/intuitive charisma" (based on an experience powerful enough to motivate membership in the first place) to "dogmatic charisma" (based—at least at first—on faith in the mode of successor-selection, which is motivated by a priori membership and the necessity of continuous leadership):

- Systematically searching for a new leader possessed of suitable legitimizing qualities. (Charisma of the new leader is viewed as following from the appearance of those qualities.)
- Revelation through oracles or lots. (Charisma of the new leader is then guaranteed by the efficacy of ritual appeals to the metaphysical realm.)

- Designation by charismatic founder. Charisma of the new leader follows belief in the founder.
- Designation by charismatically qualified organizational administration. Charisma of the new leader is based on their qualifications.
- Heredity. (Charisma of the new leader is believed to guaranteed by genetic connections.)
- Transmission through ritual. (Charisma of the new leader is based on the notion that proper ritual performance can cause transference or creation of charisma.)

In the same text, Weber goes on to discuss the processes of traditionalization or legalization by which the organization itself is routinized, so as to provide the economic or power advantages to its members which will ensure stability over time. Each process results in a particular form of social structure, which he elaborates in detail with examples drawn from world history. Eventually structures emerge which are ossified and only distantly related to the original charismatic spark with which they began (such as religious priesthoods, India's caste system, or kingship) (Weber 1961a:1297-1299).

But the routinization of charisma is not so simple in the case of Sufi organizations. A tariqa is not a sect or independent religion, and—for a host of reasons (not least of which because whatever their attachment to a shaykh, disciples always identify themselves as Muslims first)—cannot become one. Because turuq operate within a strictly Islamic framework (even if their interpretation of that framework is broad), they cannot develop an independent religiously sanctioned administration (“priesthood”) which preserves the founder’s teachings and embodies his power in the absence of an empirically charismatic leader. Any administrative body will be seen as merely that, since the concept of priesthood simply does not exist in Sunni Islam.

The idea of a tariqa, as a system of spiritual growth, is predicated upon the critical dyadic relationship between disciple and shaykh, and as a rule the shaykh can only be legitimized by an empirical sense that he is among the spiritually elect. Without this, the tariqa, having no religiously authorized social structure to uphold it, is reduced to merely a set of prayers, poems, and writings, with no basis to provide an independent social order.

Thus the nature of Sufism, as a mystical social association operating within Islam, means that ultimately there is no substitute for the existence of the charismatic leader, who must moreover engage every member directly. Without some sort of central charisma, the organization will eventually fall apart. In the long run at least, is not possible to substitute a nominal (purely “dogmatic”) charismatic authority (legalized, or traditionalized, in Weber’s terms) for the real thing.

Another way of saying this is to observe that the Sufi group must be composed of personal relationships, not merely formal ones between positions. Initially, the key relations defining the group must include a vertical relationship which connects disciple and shaykh directly and represents the transcendent aspect of the group as having access to a higher form of understanding through the shaykh. To this will be added, at a certain phase of group development, the horizontal relationships which connects disciple to disciple, as mutual members of a fraternity. All of these relationships are strictly personal, existing between individuals rather than between positions or posts, and they must be reinforced by personal feelings of legitimacy: that the shaykh is truly inspired, that the other followers are truly brothers. Hierarchical structures comprised of positions may also

exist as an administrative overlay for the sake of handling the group's mundane affairs more efficiently, but they cannot stand as the ultimate basis for group identity or to provide the essential mission, which is spiritual guidance.

Some of Weber's succession-modes may be acceptable in assuring temporary continuity, by producing a accepted charismatic leader of the "dogmatic" variety in the first few "generations" (successive leaders) following the founder's death. Legitimizing qualities may include personal closeness to the founder, similarity in speech, or other abilities, but these tend to be supported by physical proximity to the founder himself (and thus accumulation of his baraka); after the first generation there may be little agreement on who is legitimate in such a "meritocracy". More powerful is the mode of direct designation by the founder; such a designate is ordinarily accepted, but the legitimacy of the general principle "designation by a current leader" decreases rapidly after the first generation, since direct contact with the founder is no longer available. Heredity is the most common mode, being connected with baraka and sanctioned by traditional respect for the ashraf (descendants of the Prophet), but after several generations there may be little empirical justification for charisma, and this lack will tend to overcome dogmatic belief in charismatic heredity. Revelation by oracles is useless because the Islamic system (in which there are no oracles) must be respected; likewise transmission by ritual is impossible.

What actually happens in practice?

With the passing of the charismatic founder, succession ordinarily passes to his khalifa (deputy), frequently his designated successor, and often his son. If there is no designate and no son, the position of khalifa tends to pass to the closest disciple, one who has been constantly in his presence, although in this case the dangers of schism are much greater. When directly and publicly appointed by the founder, there tends to be unanimity in acceptance of the designate's charismatic status. Even when there is no explicit khalifa, the first successor usually has the advantage of spiritual proximity to the founder. However in subsequent "generations" of leadership, the problems of succession become more acute, and schism often arises due to conflict between heredity and designation by qualities, to return to Weber's typology.

Even when a successor is admitted to have the requisite charisma, tensions may arise because the disciple-shaykh relationship is personal. The disciple cannot so easily transfer his loyalties to a new shaykh, even when he admits the existence of charisma. After a succession transition there may be splits between those who took the 'ahd (oath) from the original shaykh, and who are thus closer to the source of baraka in the tariqa, and those who joined later and took the oath from the new shaykh.

Complementary to the problem of whether or not the leader is charismatic is the possibility that true (empirical) charisma may appear elsewhere, at the periphery of the organization; such an appearance tends to introduce imbalances and conflicts between center and periphery, leading either to decentralization or "revolutions" through which local groups declare their independence.

Besides the problem of succession, growth also introduces acute problems for the Sufi type of organized mysticism. These problems stem from the dependence of the organization on personal relations of the vertical and horizontal types explained earlier. There is a natural tendency for any successful new organization to grow, due to the enthusiasm of its members and a sense that size is equivalent to power and permanency. Certainly size may contribute vastly to material resources, and provide de facto legitimacy within the field of the group (here, Islam) since that which is widespread cannot be so easily ignored or repressed. Growth is both a realization of the founder's spiritual vision, and a sign of his Divine sanction.

Yet how can the fundamental topology of the Sufi order—consisting of dyadic “vertical” relations to the charismatic leader, together with “horizontal” relations among group members—sustain growth? The vertical relations all center on one individual, who cannot possibly maintain all of them by himself (especially when growth is geographically widespread); yet as he delegates others to do (either as his direct subordinates, or as leaders of local “chapters”), he introduces the possibility of schism and fission, and reduces the enthusiasm of members, who have thereby been deprived of his direct contact, for the group as a whole. This is especially true if his local designates are themselves charismatic. There remains in any case the problem of overseeing a potentially large number of subordinates (as well as maintaining them in their subordinate positions), which can only be solved by increasing the number of levels in the hierarchy, thus making it even more unstable. The situation with regard to the horizontal relations is just as problematic,

since ideally every member should have a close brotherly relation with every other, yet when the number of members is large and widespread, this becomes impossible.

Brotherhood then becomes more a formal matter of two individuals' mutual subscription to the same group, while spiritual fatherhood becomes mediated by local or subordinate leaders.

The relationship of any organization to its members can be conceptualized as a flow. Each member, a unit of this flow, joins the group, attains various positions within it, and then finally leaves it (by death or for other reasons). This flow does not necessarily leave the organizational structure unchanged or even intact. Because of the factors mentioned above, a Sufi order is transformed considerably by the flow of members through it, particularly at the beginning as the order is being established. Although the process is in many ways continuous, it also exhibits discrete aspects, due to the importance of the binary state of membership (although membership arguably exhibits a continuous aspect (due to multiple memberships, and levels of commitment), there is at least a discrete limit to membership: death of the member).

As a not irrelevant simplification, then, I will attempt to describe the formation of a Sufi order as a function of its silsila-length, i.e. the number of leaders in the continuous chain from present leader back to the founder.

As a further simplification, I will divide that length into three mutually exclusive categories, thus generating three phases of this process:

- 1) The era of the charismatic founder (silsila length=1)

- 2) The era of the first khalifa (sometimes including the following leader as well) (silsila length=2)
- 3) The era of subsequent leaders (silsila length=3 and beyond)

There is no rigid progression in these phases, of course; the actual scheme is multilinear, full of possibility, variety, creativity, and chance. Many small groups may disband after the death of their khalifa, or founder. Some groups—especially modernist groups—may actively strive to avoid the breakdown of central control (phase 3) through ritual performance, as we will observe. Nevertheless, it seems possible and useful to summarize a sequence of broad developmental phases which represent the predominant developmental tendency. Their sequence reflects the basic contradictions of organized mysticism: the original level of central and active charisma cannot be maintained at its original level, and cannot be maintained at the center.

It is important to note that the phases described below represent a logical unfolding of social structure, *not* particular historical periods. Throughout history, the phases recur with regularity, the more so since fissioning from an older order may result in a new order which repeats the phases from the beginning. In his comprehensive study of the Sufi orders in Islam, Trimmingham suggests a rough historical progression, from early transient and mobile teaching circles surrounding a spiritual master (c. 9th-10th century); to more organized and permanent convents (khanqah), which might break up or reform upon a master's death (11th century); to the formation of continuous mystical schools (turuq), each based on the teachings of a master-founder (henceforth regarded as a saint),

whose leadership was passed down through a silsila, and which bound members by initiatory ties (from the 13th century) (Trimingham 1971:1-30).

But anyone familiar with Sufism in Egypt knows too that these phases can all be found in the present. One meets individual shaykhs, lacking an organized group or *saha* (meeting center), to whom followers become loosely attached; they may meet by chance at mawlid, or irregularly at other times and places. There are charismatic spiritual teachers who lead regular teaching or prayer sessions at known locations, who may build a large following without any initiatory ties. Some of these build permanent centers dedicated to their group (like the old khanqah), attracting students who pray there, listen to the teacher's sermons, and take meals—all without any institutional tariqa having formed. Indeed, the biological principle of “ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny” seems to apply, because the historical phases which Trimingham describes are very similar to the developmental phases of most tariqas.

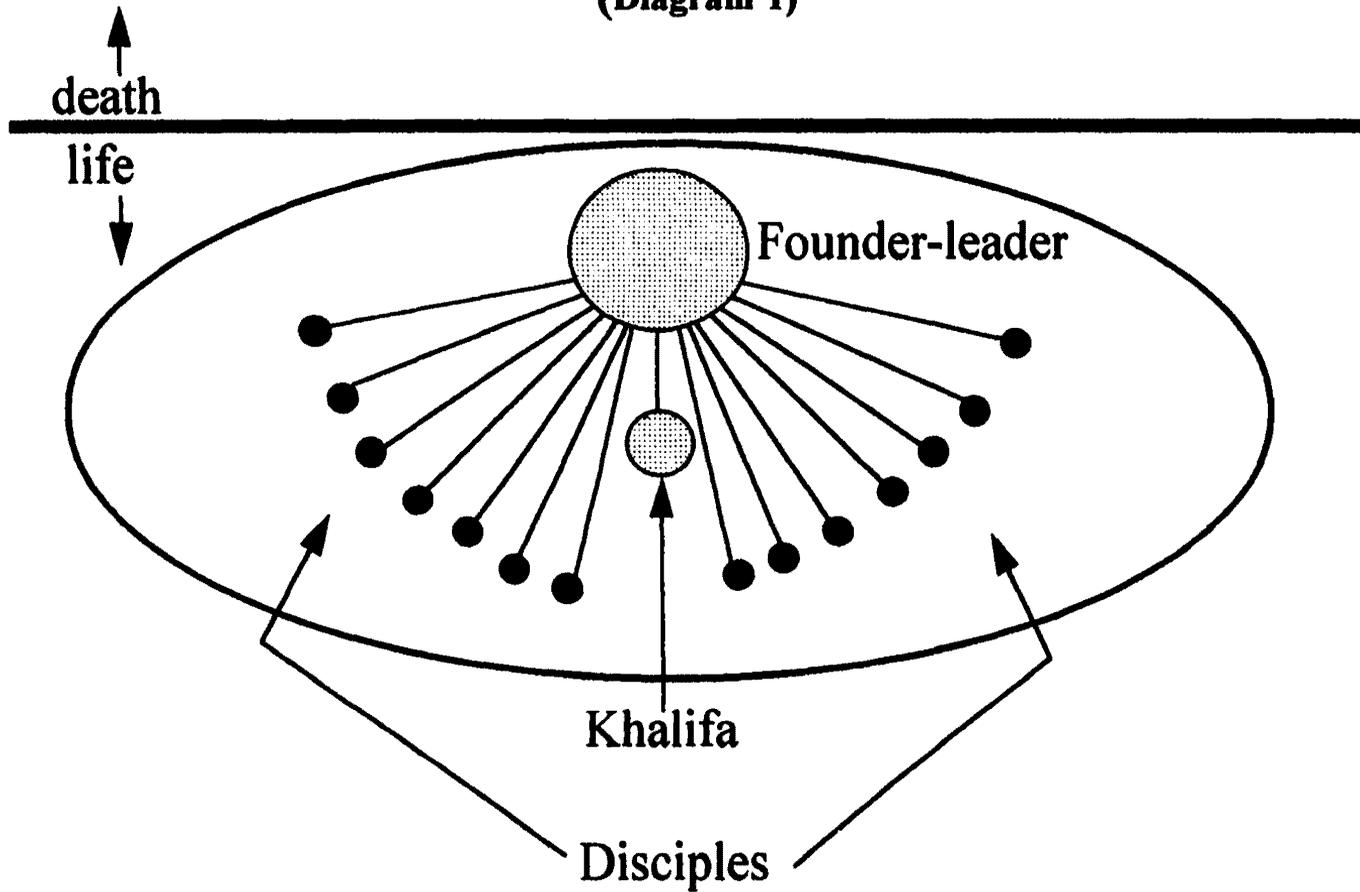
b. Phase 1: The era of the charismatic founder

In the first phase, a Sufi shaykh achieves renown for his high mystical station, as displayed in teachings or miracles (*karamat*), and gathers an informal circle of disciples, some of whom become loyal devotees (see Diagram 1, next page). At first the social organization is homogeneous except for its charismatic center. Gradually subsidiary roles are differentiated, and a successor (*khalifa*) emerges, most often the founder's son. Two subphases can be discerned, (a), and (b); the latter sometimes occurs in phase 2.

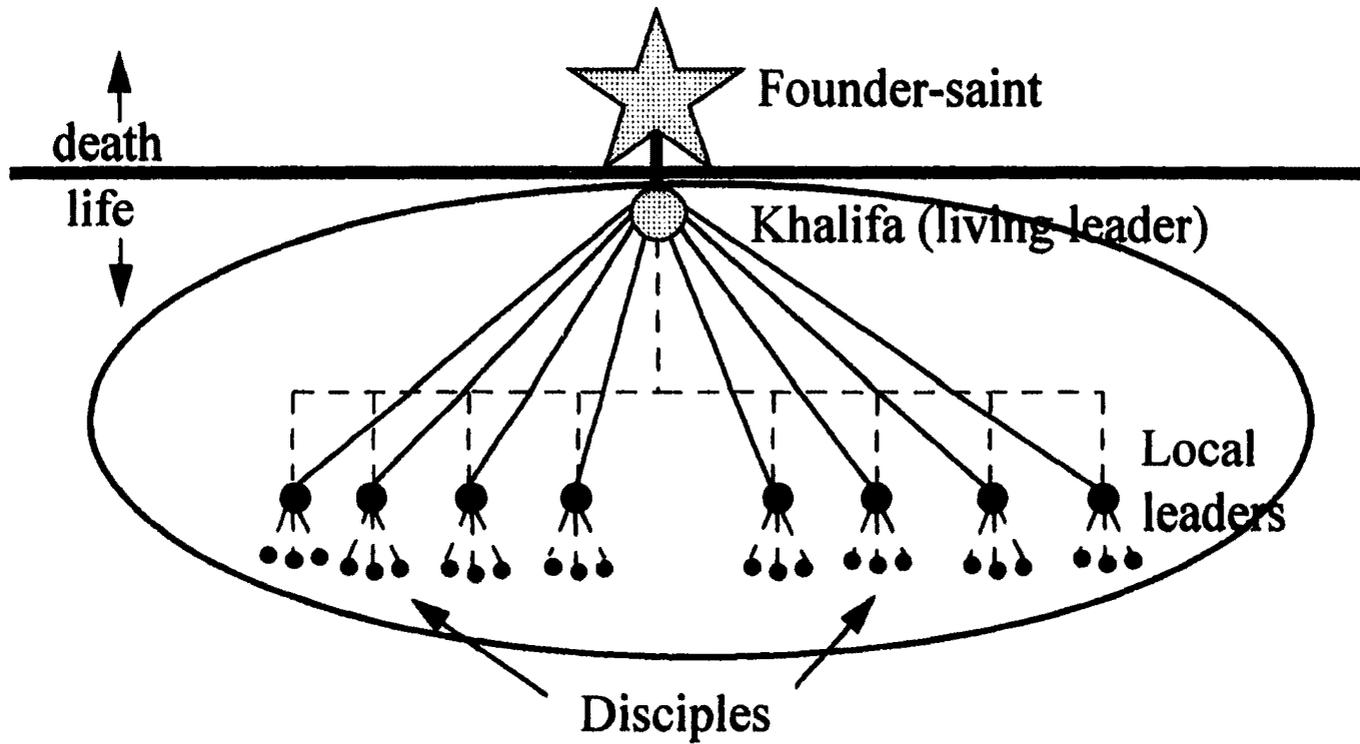
Diagrams 1-3 (following pages): The three phases of tariqa development. In these diagrams, broad horizontal lines separate life and death; solid ellipses bound a cohesive social group; narrow straight lines indicate spiritual relationships between master and disciple in the personal social structure; dashed lines indicate relations between positions in the administrative positional structure; dotted lines indicate metaphysical spiritual relations; filled circles represent ordinary individuals; shaded circles represent charismatic individuals; stars represent saints. Note that in Diagrams 2 and 3 there may be more levels of administrative hierarchy than are displayed.

Phase 1: Centralized - founder controls

(Diagram 1)

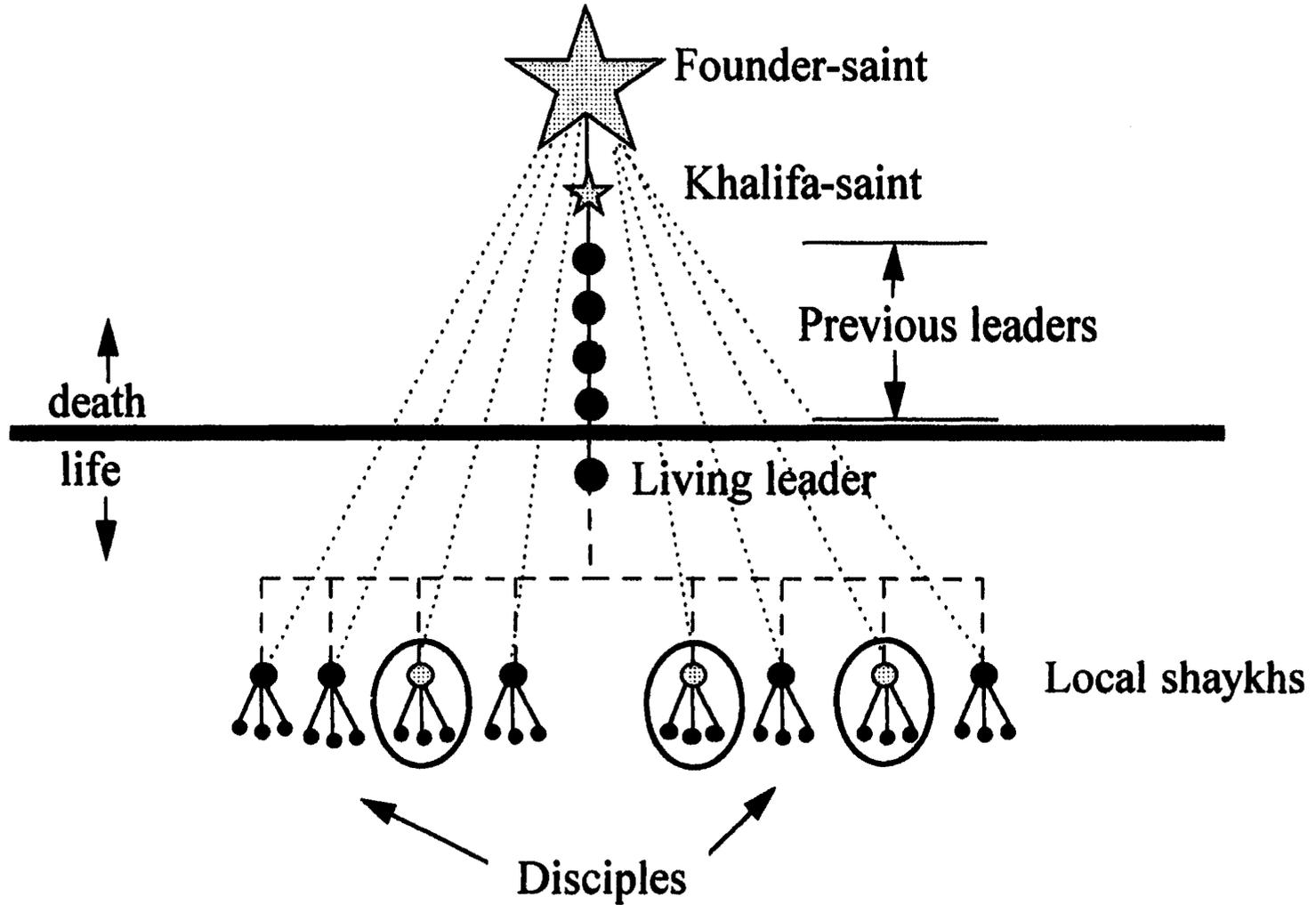


Phase 2: Centralized - khalifa controls
(Diagram 2)



Phase 3: Decentralized - local control

(Diagram 3)



(a) *Teaching circle around a charismatic center.* The founder is a Sufi mystic, usually a member of one of the existing orders, but he is charismatic and feels a call to preach independently. He thereby gathers a circle of listeners who may later become loyally devoted to him. At this stage the organization is based solely on the teacher, the charismatic center. Without him the group would immediately disintegrate, because he is the group's *raison d'être*; there is no viable social structure, since all social bonds radiate to and from the charismatic center. Though he may be affiliated with an established tariqa, he is distant from its center. He may occupy an official position at the periphery of a decentralized group whose administrative center lacks spiritual vitality; he may merely be an inactive member, or may have taken oaths from several different *turuq*. Often he composes his own ritual texts (poetry, prayers) which supplement those of his tariqa, and he may develop novel forms of ritual performance as well; new texts and rituals serve to give his group a distinctive character.

The group at this formative stage is molten, impressionable. It is formed by the forceful spiritual personality of the founder, as well as by the historical-cultural context within the larger field of Islam and the surrounding social space (general Egyptian culture) in which it is positioned, including (most importantly) its relation to other religious forces and groups. Later the group may change by degrees, but it will always bear the twin marks of the founder and the historical age in which he lived.

(b) *Establishment of the tariqa.* The second part of this phase involves the conscious decision to create a tariqa.¹⁵ This decision is frequently legitimized by Prophetic

visions or other metaphysical signs, the presence of which ameliorates potential conflict with other orders (particularly the order from which the founder is making a break) by increasing the legitimacy of this decision, at least for followers of the new order (even when it may not yet be recognized by authorities or any outsiders). If the founder is not an active member of any other order, or if he has taken the oath from many shaykhs, then he may encounter little resistance; in the latter case he may conceive of his order as a new synthesis.¹⁶

When he has a clear tariqa affiliation, the situation is more delicate, especially if his followers feel divided in their loyalties between him and the original tariqa. Some shaykhs do not break away formally at all, but simply continue as in (a), nominally under the auspices of another organization, but practically independent.¹⁷ He may break away while maintaining veneration for his own shaykh so as to maintain continuity, even if the charismatic center has shifted to himself. This is especially likely if his shaykh is not opposed to independent-minded followers.

In another type of establishment, he simply cuts his ties to his nominal tariqa leader and the break is more rebellious; the original order may try to reign him in, but if he has enough followers this will be impossible (although authorities may withhold official recognition). This type is more likely to occur when the founder belongs to a decentralized tariqa whose center is largely administrative; then his loyalties can remain faithful to that tariqa's original founder even as he rejects its current administrative head.

In any case, the founder now builds the tariqa formally, establishing a spiritually efficacious and distinctive set of rituals, both individual and group, which also serve to create a separate identity for the new group, and maintain its social structure. This identity may be carried by syntactic, semantic, sonic, or pragmatic aspects of LP. In many cases the founder composes at least some of the texts (prayers or poetry), which thereby forever bear his imprint in rituals. Teaching is a particularly important form of ritual at this phase, for it is through teaching that the founder can help to ensure continuity by training deputies and local leaders.

At some point the founder usually selects a khalifa (often his son). He may also establish a material basis for the group, such as a saha or zawiya (meeting place). But the group still tends to be defined by the founder's centrality; borders are as yet indistinct and social structure is radially focussed on the founder as kind of "gravitational center", exerting its pull very widely. Thus the vertical relations predominate over horizontal. During this phase, the group is most coherent in its unanimity, since group-level strategies are determined simply by the founder's decisions, to which all submit unquestioningly as a consequence of their loyalty to him.

c. Phase 2: The era of the first khalifa

The second phase begins when the founder passes away (see Diagram 2). The khalifa now assumes authority as shaykh al-sajjada ("shaykh of the prayer rug"; central tariqa leader), and makes provisions for the group's continuity and growth. This is a phase of expansion, proselytization, organization, canonization, and consolidation. The khalifa

works to assure the continuity and preservation of his shaykh's spiritual heritage. This means, first of all, consolidating the social organization.

The khalifa establishes a positional hierarchy by which to manage the growing group. Sufism is based on a direct relationship of trust and guidance between disciple and shaykh. Although the khalifa usually commands unanimous regard as the charismatic leader, he is unable to perform his end of this relationship personally for so many disciples spread over such a vast area, and must delegate authority to proxies (local leaders, sometimes called shaykhs), who supervise local chapters. A positional organizational structure is also necessary to ensure that administrative tasks of running an increasingly large and far-flung organization get carried out. Besides local leaders, positions of responsibility include secretaries responsible for reporting and correspondence, treasurers responsible for funds, others responsible for making travel arrangements, cooking and cleaning, publishing books, proselytizing, setting up for rituals, and so forth. Such positions may even be established via a written code of laws (as in the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya studied by Gilsenan (see Gilsenan 1973:208-241); we will find another example in the Jazuliyya tariqa considered later). The positional structure is an overlay on the more basic personal relations (vertical and horizontal) which actually constitute the tariqa; these positions are to a great extent independent of the people filling them (even if people are selected according to their suitability for service in one area or another). The relations of this positional structure are between positions, much more than they are

between the specific persons involved, and substitution of one person for another in the hierarchy has very little effect on the identity of the tariqa as a whole.

This is the phase of expansion and growth, usually considered highly desirable for reasons outlined earlier. This goal requires recruitment to take place, not only at the geographical base but around the country as well, which may be accomplished in several ways: holding hadras in public mosques, particularly following Friday prayer, so as to attract attention; making a strong appearance in public celebrations such as mawlid and mawkibs (processions) for Islamic holidays; publishing and distributing books; organizing trips to outlying districts in order to talk about the group; encouraging members to speak with family, friends, and neighbors about the group (for description of several of these techniques, see Gilsean 1973:151ff).

The khalifa must also establish the founder's widespread reputation as a saint. This rarely happens within the founder's lifetime, not only due to the importance of humility, but also because sanctification requires idealization, and is therefore generally not compatible with the physical existence of a real person. But after death, the image of the founder can be so idealized, and a high spiritual station for him is mapped out, replete with hagiographic material: stories of his early mystical calling, spiritual aptitudes, purity, piety, scholarly learning, gnosis, karamat (miracles), baraka, Prophetic visions, and other states of inspiration. This process of idealization will continue in the following phase, until nearly all purely human qualities have been erased, and replaced with the qualities traditionally associated with saints. (See Homerin 1994:33ff for a good example of the

process of sanctification, as applied by the great mystical poet ‘Umar ibn al-Farid’s grandson, in the transformation of his grandfather from poet to saint.)

The khalifa and other senior members collect, edit, and publish the founder’s writings, including poetry, lectures, theoretical works, and prayer booklets, sometimes adding critical commentary. More recently, tape recordings made of the founder’s talks may be available. The khalifa may catalog and edit this material, transcribe and publish excerpts, or duplicate segments on audio cassettes. Hagiographic material may also be published. Photographs of the founder are issued. All these materials are made available to members, and sometimes to the community at large.

The khalifa may also codify and standardize group practice. Books and pamphlets establishing and regulating group practices are published. A code of laws may specify precisely what every member is expected to do, and not do. Ritual form may become more elaborate, more formal, less spontaneous, more characteristic of the tariqa. Details of the rituals are fine-tuned, fleshed out, and fixed. These features also are intended to assure identity, central control, and cohesion.

Group identity is made more definite, through symbols of a material culture: flags, special colors, clothing, greetings, books all serve to identify members to each other and point to a common identity. These symbols become especially important in view of the expanding membership, since it is no longer possible for everyone to know everyone else personally. Publications also serve to provide identity. The khalifa generally supervises the construction of the founder’s shrine; this location becomes the site for visitation

(ziyara) and saint-festivals (mawlid). He may also supervise new construction of zawiyas (meeting places), creating one at least for the central meeting place, which incorporates also a shrine for the founder.

The charismatic authority of the khalifa, obtained directly from the founder (whether via bloodline, or spiritual proximity), commands allegiance from all quarters, and the tariqa remains centralized in this phase. Yet, the personal social structure of the group is shifting as well, as the group starts to become aware of itself as a definite unit of social solidarity, and the center is less conspicuous. When the charismatic founder was alive, he was the sharp focus of a social structure radiating outwards without definite boundaries; participants did not identify with a group or with each other, so much as with the founder. Now that the founder is no longer present—and despite the importance of the khalifa—the tariqa is no longer identified completely with any single living individual. At the same time, with the passage of time, the members begin to feel united in their shared experiences with the founder. The corporate identity of the group as a discernible unit is beginning to gel. The introduction of material symbols also helps in developing a sense of group unity, almost a kind of “team spirit”, as the group is reified as an independent entity. The boundary between in-group and out-group is usually drawn more sharply (though usually individuals may cross it easily enough, at least once, in joining or leaving the group). While the khalifa represents the founder and may display charisma of his own, personal relations are often horizontal, between group members, as much as vertical, to the shaykh. Horizontal relations are between specific individuals, as well as between each

member and “the group” as an abstract but well-formed entity. It is during this period that the group is most aware of itself as a social group, and thus most able to direct its own destiny collectively via group-level strategy.¹⁸

d. Phase 3: Subsequent leaders

It is in the third phase, after the passing of the first khalifa, that tensions begin to arise between the administrative hierarchy, and the actual loci of charisma (see Diagram 3). There may be succession disputes, especially when principles of heredity and spiritual merit conflict, and sometimes the resulting stresses are enough to induce schism, or even to destroy the group.

The shaykh al-sajjada grows even more distant from the daily functioning of the order. Even when there is no dissent concerning the legitimacy of his position, his connection to the charismatic founder, traced through a lengthening chain (*silsila*) of predecessors, becomes increasingly tenuous, and he may no longer rely upon the founder’s charisma as a touchstone for his own spiritual authority, which therefore weakens unless he himself is empirically charismatic.

If he is not, then the critical shaykh-disciple relationship is transferred completely to the local level, and the group’s cohesion and centralization diminish sharply. The positional structure, its center no longer imbued with charisma, becomes no more than a routinized hierarchy. Moreover, because Sufism depends on the existence of a living mediator, members recognize this situation for what it is. The leader cannot claim to have

special powers merely as a descendent of the original founder if he cannot demonstrate any spiritual ability of his own. The central administration is now viewed (except perhaps with those maintaining a stake in it) as merely a bureaucracy of self-interest, shorn of real charismatic power, perhaps even unworthy of the spiritual potential bequeathed by the founder; there is a sense that the real work of spiritual development will necessarily take place outside this administration. Thus a conflict arises—tacit if not overt—between the shaykh al-sajjada and local shaykhs.

When the chapters are numerous, local leaders may appear whose charisma far exceeds that of the central leader. These local shaykhs attract followers directly, and control tightly knit groups of disciples. This situation heralds a radical redistribution of power in the tariqa. The lack of an active charismatic center opens a vacuum to be filled by new spiritual talent at the periphery of the structure. When the local shaykh is charismatic, his group may begin to operate independently (if it does not break free entirely). If the local shaykh is *not* charismatic, group practice may become formally rigid (if the leader is strong), or anarchic and free (if not).

Local chapters continue to pay formal homage to the weak center, but become practically autonomous, bound together only in a loose association. While the founder continues to provide spiritual unity from his shrine, he cannot ensure social unity. Lines of spiritual relation now pass from the founder directly to the local shaykhs, by-passing the nominal leader and his administrative hierarchy. Thus the organization becomes far-flung

and decentralized, eventually spawning independent subgroups. Real power lies with the local chapter shaykhs.

There is gradually a change in the primary mode of affiliation. Lack of cohesion or centralization preclude effective group organization, including efforts at recruitment; lack of central charisma preclude the success of any such efforts in any case. Therefore, most new members join the group “automatically”, a result of family participation in a particular order. The number of members making an active decision to join as adults, is much less than before, leading to a less fully committed group, for whom membership is less salient as a factor shaping their identities. Those who join due to the charisma of a local shaykh will tend to lack commitment to the group as a whole, or to the central authority, thus paving the way for schism and fission.

Thus the basis of identity changes. Formerly identity was based on common loyalty to the living tariqa leader (whether founder or khalifa), regarded as a spiritual father figure, together with loyalty to one’s spiritual brethren, the other disciples of the shaykh. Now identity is based on loyalty to one’s local shaykh (with whom the real spiritual bonds are forged) and his other disciples, together with a more distant loyalty to the tariqa founder, who is by now a highly idealized spiritual figure. Much less is one’s loyalty to the full group of tariqa members (whose extent is often unknown and who rarely if ever meet together any more as a single body) or to the putative head of the order, the shaykh al-sajjada. Decentralization, loss of charisma at the center, and automatic rather than fully voluntary modes of affiliation thus lead to a lower degree of enthusiastic

identification with the group as a whole. Even the nominal group leader, who may have inherited a position he does not altogether know what to do with, may not feel a strong sense of commitment to the tariqa.

Those local groups with a strong charismatic leader may be cohesive, but others are not; those with weak leaders may even be non-exclusive, mixing freely with members of other orders in their rituals (we will see an example of this phenomenon in the Bayyumiyya local group discussed below). The tariqa as a whole is weakly cohesive, since horizontal relations are largely limited to the local group and do not criss-cross the tariqa as a whole or bind members to the group as an independent entity, and vertical relations to the shaykh al-sajjada are practically non-existent. What were once strong group boundaries are now divided and weak, while internally the group is subdivided rather than whole.

Under such conditions it is nearly impossible for the group's leadership to formulate, disseminate, and apply group-level strategies. Such strategies, it may be recalled, depend on a high level of group identification, to the point that the individual submerges his individual self in the group, submitting his own interests and motivations to group interests. They also depend on a high level of group centralization and cohesiveness, in order that the group be able to think as a unit, and so that strategies can be disseminated and brought into effect even at the periphery. None of these conditions applies, and so the group is unable to act strategically. Indeed, lack of centralization and

cohesiveness means that the group no longer resembles an agent within the field of Islam, but has become rather a loose assemblage of subgroups and individuals.

2. The effect of historical context and personality on the structure of a Sufi order

Besides the largely endogenous developmental process which occurs as the membership flows in and out of the tariqa structure, described above, the tariqa is also shaped by exogenous forces of historical context, and the influential individuals who exert a critical formative impact throughout the period of genesis. Although turuq are continuously shaped by these factors, an established tariqa has a great deal of “momentum” compared to a newly formed tariqa, because of the weight of tradition (hysteresis), and the large number of persons involved. This momentum means that in response to forces exerted upon it, from within or without, the group tends to change less rapidly. In the formative early phases of development, however, tariqa momentum is far less; the group is relatively molten (to use another metaphor), and is thus more susceptible to external influence. Hence it is during the historical period of the founder and his first khalifa in which forces present will indelibly impress the group; although subsequent continuous change will always be possible, discontinuous or rapid change may not be.

The most important factors in that influence are: (1) the historical context, in particular the field of Islam and Sufism, its range of preexisting groups, antagonisms toward Sufism.; the strategic position of the new group within that field; and intersecting fields such as the economic and political fields and the social space (Egyptian culture and

society) generally; (2) the personalities, motivations, and backgrounds (silsila, education, class, religious orientations) of the two figures who more than any other individuals stamp the tariqa with its future identity: the founder, and his first khalifa. To a large degree, the tariqa will absorb the personalities of these founder figures; its ethos becomes their persons "writ large". Due to their unequivocal charisma, these individuals are the primary forces in determining group level strategies, which aim to establish the new group in the face of a preexisting religious establishment which may look upon them unfavorably.

We have already seen that at this phase more than any other the group can formulate and actualize group-level strategies, since group self-awareness, unity, centralization, and the submission of individual to group identity is now at a peak. The charismatic founder is still living, or is a recent memory shared by virtually all members, and carried forward by his closest disciple, the khalifa. The group is relatively small, compact, enthusiastic. More than at any future time, members identify wholly with the group; many may have made tremendous personal sacrifices in order to establish it. Their interests are bound up with it, and they are ready to make sacrifices for it. Energies are focussed, undepleted by inner struggles over succession or charismatic inheritance. Most importantly, the group's character has not yet been established; it is still flexible and malleable, whereas later it will become entrenched as forces of hysteresis act to prevent change.

Thus it is the historical era of the founder and khalifa, together with their personalities, which more than any other era or persons will determine the particular shape

and trajectory of the group. During this critical period, when strategizing is at once most required and most intensive, the historical context impacts the group most directly, mediated by shaykh and khalifa; the group, consequently, adapts itself to that context as much as possible

Since subsequent group change is much slower and more difficult, while group-level strategies are less easily formulated and enacted, it follows that every Sufi tariqa will be best adapted to the period in which it is formed, during the period of greatest malleability and active strategizing. As time passes, the tariqa may slowly and incrementally change, in three ways. It may degenerate, as elements of its original formulation are lost or forgotten. It may suffer the effects of the logical transformation of structure, as it progresses from one developmental phase to the next, as outlined earlier. Finally, strategic changes may be implemented, but such changes will of necessity be incremental and not large-scale, due to hysteresis, and due to the limitations of strategic action in later phases. Thus subsequently the tariqa will continue to bear the imprint of the historical period in which it was formed, as well as the personal impact of the founder and his khalifa, the “initial conditions” of the tariqa.

As a result, over time the tariqa will tend to become less adapted to its environment. This entails a vicious circle, for as adaptation decreases, the tariqa becomes weaker (less centralized, less cohesive), and so the process of strategizing becomes all the more difficult. For instance, a tariqa formed in a period of great acceptance of Sufism may be relatively lax in controlling ritual. If it later encounters an era in which Sufism is more

restricted, it will be weaker, and hence such controls will be even more difficult to put into place.

In my subsequent discussion of the three *turuq* under consideration, I will therefore pay considerable attention to the historical context and history of formation as a means of understanding ritual performance.

d. Tension between positional and personal social structures

The positional and personal social structures are not completely independent. At least when the *tariqa* is young, the leader of the *tariqa* is still considered to be heavily endowed with *baraka*. The selection of persons to fill positions may depend on personal qualities of merit, especially at the beginning. Conversely, positions of leadership may affect identity as perceived by those who are led, and hence personal relationships may develop out of what were initially purely structural relations between positions. In particular, when the local leaders are empowered to give the *'ahd* on their own, they may attract *muridin* who believe in their spiritual capabilities. Despite their differences, the fundamental notion of authority in the positional structure in fact derives from notions of personal structure, because the relation between an administrative post (whether *khalifa*, *na'ib*, etc.) and the *muridin* under his jurisdiction is modelled on the personal relation between a *shaykh* and his disciples.

But over time the two structures tend to grow apart, due to appointments which are based upon politics, seniority, and heredity. With the progressive development of the *tariqa*, as outlined earlier, the administrative positional structure generally increases in

importance. Positional relationships start to become separated from personal relationships: the role a person occupies in one does not accord with the role in the other. Roles which ought to be personal (such as shaykh) become routinized into mere positions, assigned through heredity or political considerations, meaning that they may be filled by persons lacking the desired personal qualifications.

The positional head of a province (na'ib al-muhafaza), for instance, may be a mere administrator, appointed because he is influential in that district, or a relative of the shaykh; but he does not necessarily command the respect and devotion of those muridin living in his district, who may feel far more devoted—in personal terms—to a humble village khalifa (local shaykh). This situation results in tension between the local shaykh, who feels unappreciated by the tariqa's positional system, and the na'ib, who may be jealous that a mere khalifa commands the respect and devotion of far more muridin than he. Inheritance of positions creates tensions at the periphery as much as at the center. A charismatic shaykh—whether tariqa leader or local village leader—may command respect, but his son, who inherits the position, may not. Again there may be a tension between positional and personal structures, when someone more deserving is not given a commensurate position.

The disjunction between structures lowers the general level of respect for the positional structure, and since this structure has no necessary emotional basis (since it is primarily practical mode of organization only), it is likely to become weak and ineffectual. The result is a decline in enthusiasm at the points of disjunction, where the positional

structure is not supported by the personal structure. This decline in turn leads to a decrease in group cohesiveness and centralization; fissioning of subgroups; major schisms; or even disintegration of the tariqa as a whole.

The problem is that the positional structure is the only means of assuring a unified organizational structure which encompasses the entire tariqa, and such an organization, together with a high level of identification with the group, is required in order for the tariqa to adapt to new circumstances. When the emotional power of positional structure is missing (due to conflict with the personal structure), the group will no longer be able to formulate, disseminate, and enforce new strategies. There may still be a kind of reflexive reaction to change at the center of the group (which is under the direct control of the central leader, even if his position is now relatively weak), but it will be impossible to propagate such changes to the remote periphery. We will observe this phenomenon when analyzing the hadras.

e. The social basis of tariqa identity

Earlier, in discussion indicating that the doctrinal basis of Sufism in Egypt is largely shared across the turuq, I indicated that many of the factors which *do* serve to differentiate one tariqa from another are social, or ritual. The social basis of tariqa identity has been further emphasized in the foregoing discussions of various aspects of their social dimension. Ritual stands more independently as a source of tariqa identity, but ritual too is intimately connected with social aspects of the tariqa. Therefore it can be stated that in

a deep sense, the tariqa's identity is primarily social. Ritual is the surface manifestation of that identity, which also serves to reinforce it.

Thus, I asserted that upon closer inspection, apparent doctrinal differences often turn out to be differences in emphasis which can be attributed to a particular spiritual *manhaj*, a practical method for spiritual training. That program is largely realized through ritual. But in a deeper sense, rituals express also social relationships. In performing the ritual, the murid is expressing a sense of faith and trust in the guidance of his shaykh. In demanding that a ritual be performed, the shaykh is expressing his responsibility for his spiritual charges. More importantly, rituals serve to construct social relations; I will later analyze this aspect of ritual in great detail.

When doctrines are shared across *turuq*, beliefs do not differ because of differences in *what* is believed, but rather due to differences in *who* is believed. Thus the only notion of doctrinal "belief" which can serve to differentiate one tariqa from another is essentially *social*-belief in the shaykh. Such belief depends on a personal social relationship of loving closeness and trust, from the side of the murid, and loving paternal responsibility, from the side of the shaykh. Rituals too are only efficacious when they rest on belief in the shaykh who prescribed them; without such belief, the heart is unaffected. In this way too, ritual, as belief, can be construed as social, resting on a belief in the shaykh who prescribed it.

I also noted that besides differentiating shaykhs and *turuq* on the basis of their spiritual programs, some Sufis may also rank shaykhs on the basis of their spiritual knowledge and level. However, the ultimate criterion here is not discursive knowledge

(‘ilm) but rather gnostic or intuitive knowledge (ma‘rifa). The latter can never truly be represented in a logical form, but rather consists of mystical feelings, states, and stations which appear according to one’s closeness to God and His Prophet. Therefore, the “objective” measure of a shaykh’s rank cannot be observed in his articulated doctrines, but rather depends on his spiritual relationships to the metaphysical realm: to God, the Prophet, the Ahl al-Bayt, the saints, and so on. Moreover, the Sufi can only know this level intuitively and emotionally (since ma‘rifa cannot be evaluated discursively), and therefore even a Sufi’s assertion about a shaykh’s rank is essentially dependent on his relationship to that shaykh.

Therefore, extending the notion of social relationship to the metaphysical realm (and I have already argued that in Sufism such an extension is both necessary, and unremarkable, given that all relationships are already conceived as existing between metaphysical entities: spirits), one observes that both spiritual rank, and the assertion of spiritual rank, turn out to depend on social relationships.

In the foregoing sections, I have discussed at length the various dimensions of tariqa social structure, and suggested the ways in which they may vary. Primarily, the turuq differ because of contrasts in the personalities who comprise them. The most important of these is the shaykh. Each shaykh confers on the tariqa a particular spiritual chain (silsila), and even when segments of a silsila are shared, they may differ due to contrasting emphases on particular spiritual personalities along it. The shaykh also brings to the tariqa a unique personality of his own; the most important aspect of that personality

being his particular charismatic nature, and his relationships to metaphysical entities, as discussed above. The turuq contrast also due to differences in the spiritual personalities of other members, especially leading members, such as the khalifa, and the shaykh al-sajjada.

Each tariqa exhibits a unique network of personal relationships: among members, between members and the shaykh, and to various spiritual entities of the metaphysical realm. These emotionally shaded relationships constitute the essence of what it means to be a member of a tariqa, and are thus central to tariqa identity. The overall network, which I have labelled “personal social structure”, is comprised of horizontal and vertical components. Turuq contrast according to their relative weighting of both, and in the sharpness of the group’s boundary. The horizontal relations may connect one particular murid to another, or they may connect a murid to the group as a reified entity; both types tend to reinforce cohesiveness. The vertical relations connect muridin to the shaykh, and through him to the spiritual world. Each tariqa also exhibits a particular degree of boundary-sharpness. While practically no turuq are unwilling to admit new members, they vary in the degree to which the personal social structure sharply defines a group by differentiating in-group from out-group, as I have explained.

The positional social structure, on the other hand, is largely the same for all turuq. Differences in the positions and number of levels of the hierarchy, related to the tariqa’s size, stage of development, ritual order, and personal social structure, may be important, but are not usually taken by members to represent the tariqa’s identity. Rather, what unifies members of one tariqa as opposed to another is their particular relationships to

each other, and to their shaykh, together with the rituals they practice. These rituals are themselves closely linked to the personal social structure, both expressing it, and reinforcing it in performance.

The founder's spirituality initially sets the distinctive tone of a tariqa as a practical mystical way (tariqa); that spirituality is social-ritual. When Sufis talk about a particular shaykh's "way", they are not referring to a belief system, but to a spiritual style represented by his spiritual personality and spiritual relationships (in all their subtle emotional shadings), together with the kinds of practices toward which he inclines. This spiritual personality is the particular form of baraka which legitimizes the shaykh's leadership (and, as we have seen, baraka is a multidimensional quantity). If such spirituality is to be considered as "doctrine", it is a doctrine without assertions, but rather a doctrine which is embodied and lived.

For in the final analysis the shaykh is *himself* the Way (tariqa), a spiritual system in human form, applied by the seeker through a relationship love and obedience. Whereas the ordinary Muslim takes the Prophet for his model, the Sufi emulates his shaykh—lesser, surely, but more immediate—as well. Even if the shaykh does not say or do anything to distinguish himself empirically from any other shaykh, he is a unique guide (*murshid*) inasmuch as he is a unique spiritual person. Disciples follow him not by conforming to a characteristic set of beliefs (there aren't any), but by imitating his Way, living as he does, loving him, and thereby coming as close to him as possible. It is only through *fana' fi al-shaykh* (self-annihilation in the shaykh) that one may subsequently attain *fana' fi al-Rasul*

(self-annihilation in the Prophet) and finally *fana ' fi Allah* (self-annihilation in God) (Hoffman 1995:203).

Through a close and loving relation to his shaykh as model and guide, the disciple attempts to recreate in himself his master's spiritual personality. To emulate one's shaykh entails the development of particular personal spiritual relationships. The shaykh's personal spiritual relationships include his love for spiritual figures (God, the Prophet, saints, his own shaykhs) as well as the other disciples. If the disciple is to follow his shaykh, these relationships therefore become incumbent upon him as well. Thus the disciple must love his shaykh, and he must love God, the Prophet, the Ahl al-Bayt, other saints, and all the other disciples, because his shaykh loves them.

In their relationship to the shaykh, the disciples become the living embodiment of the shaykh's way, carrying it forward into the future. This process is infinitely more important for the continuity of the tariqa than books containing doctrines. Thus Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili is supposed to have said: "my books are my disciples". Sufi knowledge is personal, practical. The relationships among the shaykh and his followers, and the rituals they perform together, sets the tone for the group. It is this tone, or ethos, at once social and practical, in which the differences between the orders can be most clearly discerned.

Thus what characterizes the tariqa as a group—the shaykh together with his disciples—is the particular network of personal social relations formed by the superposition of those of each member, where each relation is a complex emotional construct between

two human beings, not a mere structural link between social positions. But this superposition is nothing but the personal social structure as I have defined it. This personal social structure, embodying as it does the particular charismatic configuration of the founder shaykh, together with the outward modes of ritual performance (including most centrally LP), is what serves to distinguish the turuq from one other.

The apparent position of a particular group along the orthodox-heterodox doctrinal pole can be best understood in terms of this personal social structure. For if Sufi groups have distinctive beliefs, these are largely embodied in the normative characteristics of one's (practical) relation to God and the Prophet, relations which are generated by and reflected in one's normative (practical) relation to one's shaykh. When these relations characterized by intimate love, strong emotion (*wajd*), intoxication (*sukr*), and self-absence (*ghiyab*) or self-annihilation (*fana'*), aspects of Sufi doctrine closer to the pole of *Haqiqah* are emphasized. When these relations are more distant, characterized by respect and sobriety, other aspects of Sufi doctrine closer to the pole of *Shari'a* are emphasized. But these doctrines are not expressed as abstract principles of identity; rather they are expressed through relations, and these relations exist in a practical form. When they are expressed overtly (which rarely occurs in Sufi practice), verbal doctrines merely provide a cognitive apparel to this underlying practical feeling.

Normatively, to follow the Way of a shaykh is to know his spiritual personality, to love him, imitate him, learn from him, and establish his spiritual relations for oneself; the perfect group of followers would each do so perfectly, producing an ideal personal social

structure. Therefore maintaining group identity is primarily a matter of striving to create such an ideal personal social structure. This, I will argue, is accomplished in ritual, and particularly in group ritual—the hadra—whose energy and social density presents great opportunities during which the efficacy of LP can be activated.

I suggest that LP in ritual supports the unique identity of a Sufi group in two main ways. First, the uniqueness of ritual may serve as an “arbitrary” sign of the tariqa, regardless of content. Each shaykh has his particular hizb and awrad (although they are very similar to each other) by which the group is identified, and rituals may be distinguished along many other dimensions as well as we shall see. But content *is* important too, because the ritual content supports the personal social structure of the tariqa: the particular charismatic personality of the founder, his spiritual identity as defined by his particular nexus of social-spiritual relations, all of which serve as a model for group personal social structure. More specifically, the hadra takes advantage of the group setting, using the full power of LP—in its syntactic, semantic, sonic, and pragmatic aspects—to work upon participants.

The centrality of personal social structure and ritual for the identity of the group, and the centrality of ritual as a means of reinforcing that social structure, carries important methodological implications for this study. It suggests first of all that a careful analysis of ritual may enable one to understand the basis for tariqa identity. Secondly, it suggests that through the study of ritual one may be able to understand how ritual is used strategically

to support the tariqa, particularly in periods during which its social structure is subjected to stress.

2. Traditional and modernist orders

The foregoing analysis facilitates a sharper distinction between the two classes of Sufi tariqa in Egypt alluded to earlier: modernist, and traditional. This distinction is based upon the two main process in order formation: logical development; and historical/personal context.

Note that I do not say “modern”, which would refer to a historical period. The idea of modernist subsumes the fact that these groups were formed in the modern era, but supposes also a self-awareness of those modern conditions in the process of formation, and the necessity to adapt through group-level strategies, in order to accommodate modernity in its religious, technological, political, and economic aspects. While the attitudes among modernist groups toward the past, conserving or rejecting, may vary widely, these groups share an active awareness of their ability to create themselves. The traditional groups, by contrast, are those orders which exhibit more or less unbroken continuity with the past, reacting reflexively to the present, but for a variety of reasons—lack of self-awareness, weak identity, decentralization, lack of cohesion—unable to formulate systematic strategies of adaptation to the drastic changes which have occurred around them. In this section I will elaborate on some of the reasons for this inability. While traditional groups are more widespread than the modernist ones, the former are in a state of decline, attracting members mainly through family connections (hereditary

membership) while the latter are successful in recruiting new members from among the educated, wealthy, and powerful.

The field of strategic adaptation with which I am ultimately concerned is LP in ritual. My overall claim is that modernist groups are socially positioned so as to employ LP in ritual in a strategic manner, and that this strategic employment is a major factor in their ability to maintain social identity, centralization, and cohesion in the face of modern hostility to Sufism in general. That is, the relation between the social structure of the modernist group, and its use of LP to maintain that position, is dialectical: each attribute supports the other. The traditional orders lack the social structure required to use LP in this way. Yet modernist groups also exhibit a wide variety of hadra styles, because each style is strategically suited to the particular social characteristics of the group, which are themselves strategic. General group-level strategies are manifested in the hadra as performative group-level strategies for LP. In subsequent chapters I will analyze sample hadras from two modernist groups, in order to demonstrate this contrast, and show how these strategies actually work.

a. Traditional orders

Earlier I traced the history of Sufi orders in Egypt: their rise in the Mamluk era, heyday under Ottoman rule, falling under government control in the 19th century, and decline in the 20th. Those orders which were founded before this period of decline share many attributes, due to similarities in history and development. During the early, formative period of these groups, Sufism was ascendant. Even though the 19th century is often

considered the beginning of the modern age in Egypt, orders founded during that period could draw upon the old cultural order for support. The formation of such orders took for granted the primacy of Sufism as a form of Islamic expression and practice. Their founders did not have to give much thought to recruitment, or to defending themselves against reformists, because reformism was not a powerful force with which one was required to reckon. Although there were critics, they did not yet have the weight of society behind them. The order (including ritual) could therefore be defined imprecisely, left to oral tradition, for that which was left out of the ritual specification would be filled in by a commonly understood cultural background of Sufism. More elaborate, heterodox rituals could also be performed with impunity, well into the 19th century.

These orders also share the period of 19th century government control and interference. The loss of material resources through Muhammad 'Ali's seizure of the waqfs and tax farms was a major blow to the authority, power, and independence of the tariqa shaykhs. Moreover, the Shaykh al-Bakri was granted broad powers to organize the Sufi orders under his authority. The results of these reforms were keenly felt. New regulations robbed the turuq of their characteristic ritual identities; the diversity of hadra formats about which one reads in Edward Lane's ethnographies is lost today. The turuq became more and more self-similar in their practices. At the same time, the Shaykh al-Bakri attempted in his legislation to undermine the authority of the tariqa leaders (shaykhs), bringing all the turuq under his jurisdiction. This move would have tended to weaken the social boundaries of the individual orders; turuq would have become

decentralized due to the weakening of leadership. Ritual restrictions could have only been enforced at the center and thus would have tended to have divided center from periphery. With the center weak, one may speculate that individual units of the periphery would have tended to go their separate ways, at least to some degree. This is the common historical background shared by the traditional orders.

Developmentally, the traditional orders all have reached the third phase in my typology, and this too imbues them with shared characteristics. Having lived and died long ago, their founders have long since been transformed into idealized saintly figures, and exert only a vague spiritual influence today. In most cases, the present shaykh al-sajjada is regarded as a hereditary leader, with tenuous connections to the high spiritual station of the founder. The major source of recruitment is via hereditary channels rather than active “conversions”, and since these are often perfunctory, horizontal bonds of group identification are relatively low. Members do not submit themselves wholly to the group, or regard their membership as their primary social identity, but rather as merely one component out of many. Divisions have occurred, and branch orders have emerged, a result of the separation of personal and positional structure, the lack of charisma at the center, and its appearance elsewhere. The focus of real spiritual action has shifted to the local chapters, and the tariqa is consequently decentralized, lacking in cohesion. Combined with the widespread penetration of these turuq into small hamlets and villages all over Egypt, the ability of the tariqa center to control the periphery, and hence of the tariqa to function as a unified social entity, is very low.

Ritual decline and lack of control has led to the existence of “strategic vacuums”, areas of tariqa practice which are not specified by the central organization, enabling greater freedom at the periphery. When the local group is weakly led, rituals may then become open (non-members may participate), lacking in formal organization, and tending toward the ecstatic practices typical of “informal Sufism”, which are fulfilling to the individual but unproductive for the continued social existence of the group. When the local group is strongly led, the local shaykh will fill these vacuums himself. In hadra, he may employ his own idiosyncratic liturgy, which may be different from those employed in other chapters.

In the 20th century, these groups appear mostly old-fashioned and out of date, unsuited to recruiting influential men of the modern age. Although some may retain upper class, educated, wealthy, or powerful members resulting from patterns of hereditary membership, they have little or no power to *recruit* such individuals. Earlier I argued that strategizing is most effective during the formative period of the order, but that subsequent change is more difficult. The traditional orders are adapted to a past age, and unable to adapt to the present. Because they contain a relatively low-level of group identification and are decentralized, they are unsuited to formulating, disseminating, and applying adaptive group-level strategies which might help them to prosper again as a central force in modern religious life.

At the same time, because they draw their membership mainly from villages and towns where the negative effects of urbanization are weaker, and because of the tendency

toward hereditary membership in these areas, these traditional orders are still extremely widespread, if practically acephalous and in decline. Social transformations, Islamic reform, and criticism have struck the urban centers far more than the countryside. While the traditional orders are certainly declining, forces of hysteresis—that respect for tradition which helps to ensure that the past continues into the future—assure that the rate of decline is very low, especially in the village areas of Upper Egypt. In the major mawlid traditional *turuq* continue to supply the majority of Sufi participants, and individual *bayts* (local chapters) often sponsor a *khidma* (service) in which they serve food and tea, and perform dhikr. Musical instruments are commonly used in such contexts, and professional singers may be hired.

When traditional orders have adapted to modern conditions, such adaptation has tended to be reflexive, an immediate knee-jerk response to local conditions, rather than strategically planned from the center. Thus a local shaykh might restrain his hadra because of fundamentalist criticism in his village, but in doing so he is not strengthening the tariqa against such criticism as a whole; on the contrary since other branches of the order might not respond as he does, he is further dividing the tariqa's unity.

b. Modernist orders

Modernist orders are those formed in the 20th century, in a climate in which increasing hostility to organized mysticism was being generated by both religious and secular reformers, and in which inexorable historical forces were causing the area of the Sufi field to diminish in relation to other the other fields of modern life. Modernist orders

are not merely formed in the modern period; they are formed in a period which demanded that they become aware of the conditions of their own formation, in order to meet the new challenges it presented. This awareness has been deeply impressed into their identities, resulting not only in a higher degree of adaptation (for all orders are adapted to the conditions into which they are born), but also the development of strategies to ensure their ability to continue to adapt. Modernity has provided members of these Sufi orders both with an acute consciousness of the problems created by mystical practice, and of the possibilities for avoiding them.

The modernist order is well-suited to strategic adaptation because it is centralized and cohesive. This centralization is in part a result of the realization of its necessity, which has led to strategic moves (particularly in ritual) to ensure it. It also results from the relative youth of these groups, which for the most part are still in the first or second developmental phases, as described earlier, and thus have not yet suffered the problems of conflict between positional and personal structures, and loss of charisma at the center. The modernist group, being new, contains highly motivated members who identify strongly with the group. Centralization, cohesion, and strong identification provides a powerful means of strategic adaptation, as was argued earlier. A critical number of members, especially those in leadership positions, have submitted their own interests to those of the group, considering group welfare to represent their own. Due to group centralization and solidarity, group leaders are in close contact with the entire group, and with each other. The modernist group is therefore able to become highly conscious of

itself, at least at its center, unlike traditional decentralized groups, which cannot do so. The leaders gather information from all branches of the group, systematically formulate strategic responses to problems, and disseminate these throughout the organization, with the assurance that the local leaders will carry them out.

The group may be defined primarily by vertical personal relations (focussed on the founder) or horizontal personal relations (emphasizing a “team spirit”); in either case the group is centralized and highly cohesive. Traditional Sufi practices which could bring discredit on the group are eliminated, at least in public, including those labelled as bid‘a by the religious extremists, or as anti-progressive by the socialists: *khatwa* (spiritual seclusion) and *zuhd* (asceticism), musical instruments, extreme ecstasy, use of bizarre or self-mutilating paraphernalia (swords, snakes, skewers, coals), mixing with women, performance of inarticulate dhikr. Because such groups can enforce these ritual restrictions even at the periphery, modernist groups are able to legitimize themselves to a great degree in the eyes of non-Sufis. Connections to traditional silsilas and the old qutbs are often downplayed; the group is portrayed to members more as an independent creation of the founder, thereby distancing itself from the discredited older orders.

Adaptation to modern conditions means that the group is adept in recruitment, particularly from among the educated, and social or economic elites. The average standard of living is therefore much higher for these groups, and a higher level of literacy enables the written word as a tool for social unity. Many members join voluntarily, rather than through heredity. They tend therefore to be more personally committed to the group.

The modernist group is founded in the city (usually Cairo) where the anti-traditional forces are most intense; it is usually not as widespread in the village areas, which are more traditional, and harder to penetrate and control.

The group exerts an active control over all aspects of ritual performance, in order to maintain and control tariqa identity; there are no “strategic vacuums”. Texts used in LP are almost all created by the order (usually by the founder) for its own internal use. Most frequently the founder composed not only prayers, but also other material for the hadra liturgy, such as lessons and especially poetry. In particular, one finds that inshad is actively controlled—either deliberately exploited, or rejected altogether—in the modernist groups. Aesthetic resources of hadra, poetry and melody, are used more purposefully than in traditional groups. Inshad may become much more prominent than in the traditional orders, more distinctive to the tariqa, even dominating the hadra.

The charismatic founder and his khalifa are either alive, or have died within recent memory of many members. Since they lived in the modern age, their spiritual personalities, writings, and other legacies appear contemporary. The modern age has also provided them with photos and tape-recordings which preserve the founders legacy. The founder’s books are published using the most modern methods available, and widely disseminated.

Compared to traditional orders, the modernist group is exclusive and insular. Leaders avoid mixing with other orders in ritual practice; although outsiders are never excluded from joining, they must relinquish other Sufi affiliations to do so. The most

extreme case, the Tijaniyya, actually forbids members to visit other shaykhs or saints other than the Ahl al-Bayt. In this way they avoid fragmentation and association with that which is out of their control. Most do participate in mawlid, but their participation is much different than that of the traditional groups. In the latter, individual bayts (local chapters) participate independently, establishing a khidma (service) area in the vicinity of the shrine, where they entertain guests and perform dhikr in the midst of crowds, commotion, musical groups, cafes, rides and amusements, strolling romantic couples, and groups of women as well as men. But these are the aspects of mawlid which tend to be criticized by reformers. Modernist groups protect their reputations and social boundaries by remaining together in one group, performing a respectable but impressive hadra near the saint's shrine, and then leaving.

It may prove useful at this point to present an ethnographic example in order to show that the distinction between modernist and traditional order is not merely analytic. The contrast between the two types is most evident in the mawkib (procession) held for the Prophet's Birthday (mawlid al-nabi) in Cairo. The procession includes all officially recognized Sufi orders who wish to participate. Each group marches together, carrying banners inscribed with the name of the order and bayt, often performing inshad (sometimes with percussion accompaniment), and wearing special dress. But the similarities stop here.

Although traditional groups such as the Rifa'iyya and Ahmadiyya are much more widespread than most modernist orders, it is the modernist groups which are the most

visible, and the most organized. The traditional groups make little effort to urge all their local chapters to attend, resulting in weak attendance. In the mawkib itself, these chapters march independently of each other, each dressed slightly differently or lacking uniform dress altogether, each performing inshad independently. Some are large, and some are bedraggled, consisting only of a standard surrounded by a small cluster of muridin. Their marching formations are open; anyone can cross in or out. Use of musical instruments is frequent, and some orders perform sensational displays, such as performing dhikr with swords, or inserting the dabbus into various parts of the body (the Rifa'iyya are most famous for this).

The modernist groups are far more effective in getting their members to participate, and they organize all their chapters into one coordinated group, color coordinated, and performing inshad all together. They march in regular formations, linking hands at the boundaries so as to prevent their formations from being disturbed by outsiders. Specially designated coordinators help to ensure a high level of order in marching, and in performing inshad. Musical instruments are not generally used, nor are there any sensational displays. The marching formations themselves are iconic of the actual social structures underlying them: the traditional orders are decentralized, with weak boundaries; the modernist orders are centralized, with strong boundaries.

The mawkib winds up at the mosque of al-Imam al-Husayn; at this point the orders are free to leave, or to enter the mosque for the official ceremonies, involving speakers from al-Azhar and the government. Such performances are well-attended by television

crews and dignitaries. The modernist groups use the opportunity to gain exposure and spread their reputation. Earlier in the day, they have sent members to reserve places for the group inside the mosque. After the mawkib, they file inside, sit in neat lines, identified by their brilliant banners and neat color-coordinated attire. They perform inshad while waiting for the official program to begin. By this time the traditional groups have mostly left.

The mawkib presents a good example of group-level performance strategy: the modernist groups use the occasion as a means to display their control to possible critics, to potential members, and to themselves. The performance of traditional orders displays very little group strategy; mostly, it projects the reality of each tariqa's decentralized social structure.

The existence of a category of modernist orders is also upheld by local discourse. Sufis from traditional orders may refer to the modernist groups somewhat disparagingly as *mustahdath* (novel). Certain stereotypical attributes are associated with them, not all of which are actually true. Frequently they view such orders as upstarts, lacking genuine roots in Sufism's rich history, undeserving of their independent status, and more concerned with fame and power than with real Sufism. Their leaders may be accused of crass opportunism, of lacking the necessary credentials or silsila. They are viewed as exclusivist and elitist, due to their unwillingness to mix with others in the mawlid. Some are falsely charged with requiring members to pay large amounts of money in order to

join, so as to limit their membership to the wealthy. Their founder shaykhs are suspected of claiming to be greater than they really are.

Modernist groups, by contrast, view the traditional groups as a sincere but degenerate form of Sufism for the masses. They are seen as overly populated by illiterate masses from the countryside, and insufficiently vigorous in protecting Sufism from the charges levelled at it by the reformists. Their dhikrs with musical accompaniment may be regarded more as opportunities for folklore and dancing than as genuine religious expression, a result of ignorance which allows the bid'a to mix with what is truly Islamic. They are seen as uncomprehending in the face of modern change, unprepared with a Sufism suitable for the modern world.

3. Group-level strategy and social structure

I have frequently alluded to the fact that social structure is closely related to the ability to formulate, disseminate, and apply effective group-level strategies. Having completed my discussion of the forms of social structure, this relation can now be restated more directly.

The formulation of effective and general group-level strategies depends upon at least two preconditions:

(1) A sufficient level of individual identification with the group, especially at the center of power. It is the willing submission of individual interests to group interests which both enables the individual to think for the group's long-range interests, and motivates him to do so. Given a "critical mass" of such submission, a phenomenon arises

which can only be metaphorically described as a kind of group-consciousness. This condition must apply in particular at the group's center, since otherwise those who have power will use it to achieve their own limited self-interest, resulting in group fragmentation.

(2) A sufficient level of central control and solidarity, usually achieved through a hierarchical administrative organization (positional structure), which is supported by personal relationships (personal structure) imbued with affect as brotherly (horizontal) or fatherly/filial (vertical), such that the entire group forms a tightly connected, centralized topology. Far-flung, decentralized, weakly connected groups cannot act coherently. This condition enables: unification of group-consciousness, gathering of information from the entire group, formulation of effective strategies addressing the needs of the entire group, dissemination of those strategies, and ensured application of strategies in all local chapters.

Given these conditions, it should be clear why traditional orders are less able to act strategically. In these groups, the personal social structure is decentralized, and therefore conflicts with the centralized positional structure. Individuals do not identify with the whole tariqa as a social group, but rather with their local chapter. While a hierarchical central structure exists, it is not supported by the personal structure, and therefore cannot function effectively as a means of gathering information or disseminating instructions which will be followed at the periphery.

D. Sufi orders in the modern era

1. Problems faced by organized Sufi groups in the modern period

I have attempted to distinguish two classes of tariqa: the traditional, and the modernist, and have argued that it is only the latter which are well-positioned to develop group-level strategies, which may be applied through strategic control of LP in the hadra. However, all turuq face similar problems today.

Summarizing the review of Sufi history in Egypt so far, the following problems can be enumerated, not all of which are particular to the modern period. When these problems remain unaddressed, the tariqa may decline. It remains to be seen how the modernist groups are able to summon the power of LP in order to address them.

1) Maintaining the founder's distinctive charisma and spiritual personality, especially as embodied in his personal spiritual relationships, as an active principle in the group. This is critical to maintaining group identity.

(2) Maintaining the distinctive personal social structure of the group (including spiritual as well as human relations). This problem entails creating bonds of both the vertical and horizontal types, and ensuring that they are imbued with emotional energy. This too is critical to group identity.

(3) Creating distinctive group ritual (hadra), as a means of asserting an independent identity to outsiders, and to selves.

(4) Maintaining deep and exclusive commitment among tariqa members. Tariqa membership must provide a major component of their identity.

(5) Maintaining a centralized, cohesive social structure, in the face of natural tendencies toward fragmentation which are exacerbated by modern conditions. This attribute is essential if the tariqa is to avoid fragmentation, and in order to facilitate control and maintain identity. It entails maintaining charisma at the tariqa's center, reinforcing the personal social structure (also essential for identity), as well as the positional structure (as a mechanism of control), and ensuring that the two do not conflict. As I have noted in the discussion of Weber's theories, the main problem of any charismatic group is how to maintain its charismatic basis.

(6) Attracting new members. Recruitment has become more difficult in the 20th century, with the waning of Sufi influence generally, competition from other groups, both secular and religious, and an increasingly hectic pace of life, particularly in the cities. It is particularly important that the tariqa be able to recruit young people, and that recruitment is not merely through hereditary channels, since the most committed members are frequently those recruited from outside the family circles of existing members, for whom membership is an active decision of identification. Recruitment means not only attracting new members, but also retaining them. Therefore the tariqa must also be able to meet the diverse spiritual needs of participants, and their demands for both spiritual growth and experience.

(7) Ensuring legitimacy. The tariqa must present an acceptable image to outsiders, particularly Islamic reformers and other critics. The major charges against Sufism are its alleged incompatibility with orthodox Islam or modern society, or both. The tariqa must be ever-vigilant in defending against such charges. Often it is the overtly mystical aspects (Haqiqa) which attract new members, while these are precisely what is critiqued by religious reformers and fundamentalists. Therefore balancing Shari'a and Haqiqa aspects of Sufi thought and practice is of great importance.

2. Tariqa survival and LP in group ritual as strategy

Despite these challenges, the Sufi orders live on, over 70 of them officially registered with the Supreme Council for Sufi Orders, the government regulatory body which oversees their activities (Waugh 1989:218). Some orders are successful, expanding, and attracting educated and affluent and politically powerful members of society. Others are in decline. How do Sufi orders survive in the modern period, in the face of this veritable army of forces arrayed against it?

I argue that the success of the modernist groups can be attributed to their ability to develop effective group-level strategies so as to meet the challenges presented by modernity. The continued existence of the traditional groups is, by contrast, more a result of hysteresis, a tendency of the past to continue forward through hereditary affiliation and imitation of the past; such orders therefore continue to play a significant role in members' lives only in regions into which the social transformations of modernity have not significantly penetrated, mainly rural areas of Upper Egypt, and older generations of rural

immigrants in major cities. As the extent of such regions diminishes, the traditional orders decline in importance, even though they are more widespread by far than the newer modernist groups. But it is primarily the modernist groups which are successful, due to their possession of social attributes which enable them to formulate effective group-level strategies.

I claim further that such strategies are realized primarily through group ritual—hadra—within which LP is most salient feature, and the primary tool. The hadra is the greatest opportunity for structured group interaction, a socially, ritually, and emotionally dense time interval in which the individually willingly submits himself to the group for the sake of spiritual advancement and fellowship. In their overt discourse, groups and participants suggest that the hadra is designed to provide for the individual spiritual well-being of participants.

However the modernist groups go farther, taking advantage of this moment to implement strategies designed to improve their social positions. These strategies operate via LP, which is both an expression of the group, and a tool for its control. Therefore, I believe that LP in hadra is the arena in which the differences between traditional and modernist groups, and the strategies of the latter, can be most clearly viewed.

LP must be controlled for two reasons:

1) LP in hadra is an effective means of group control, via its syntactic, semantic, sonic, pragmatic aspects. New orders have seized on the various dimensions of the hadra more actively, in order to maintain charisma of the founder, create or reinforce social

structure, formulate a distinctive ritual identity, attract and retain members (especially influential, wealthy, or well-educated members), and legitimize themselves for non-members, as a broad basis for tariqa existence.

2) Due to the behaviors (ecstasy) and sound (music) which accompany it, as well as its texts, LP has traditionally been a lightning rod for criticism of Sufism, and this criticism has only intensified in the modern period.

The significance of the hadra is that while overtly serving the spiritual needs of members, it can simultaneously and cryptically provide the social conditioning demanded by larger group-level strategies which seek to provide the tariqa with a secure “niche” in the Islamic field. Yet not all modernist groups follow the same trajectory, because LP is used in order to bolster the tariqa within its particular niche in the field of Islam, and not all groups have adopted the same posture; indeed they cannot, or else they would be constantly competing for members.

In the remainder of the dissertation, I will seek to understand how the hadra can be understood as the performative implementation of a set of strategies which serve to reinforce and recreate the order established by the founder. But first I must turn to consider the genres of LP involved in this process.

Notes for Chapter 3

¹ The most comprehensive ethnographic treatment of contemporary Egyptian Sufism to date is to be found in Hoffman 1995; other valuable sources are Luizard 1990, Reeves 1990, Waugh 1989, Gilseman 1973. For historical perspective, see McPherson 1941 (unfortunately anecdotal and unscholarly), and Lane 1973

(excellent, though full of an orientalist's biases). However, the information in this chapter is based primarily on the author's own fieldwork; references to other sources will be cited as such.

² There are various yearly celebrations for a saint. The saint's birthday (*'id al-milad*) and mawlid (literally, birthday) are theoretically different days. The *'id al-milad* is not always celebrated. Many say that the mawlid is the death-day (considered as a form of rebirth), although for some saints it is figured on a non-Islamic calendar. Furthermore, the date of a mawlid may always be adjusted by a few days, due to scheduling issues, and to ensure that the final night (*al-layla al-kabira*) falls on a fixed night of the week. (For the Prophet there is no problem of this sort, since he was born and died on the same day; this minor miracle is sometimes ascribed to other saints as well.) To add to the confusion, there may be a smaller mawlid called the Rajabiyya, which some say is equivalent to the birthday.

³ Certain prophets, among them Jesus, did not die, but were taken up to heaven directly. Everyone else dies, although the spirit (*ruh*) remains.

⁴ The wali may or may not be buried at the location of the maqam; Sufis say that every wali has 40 maqams.

⁵ On shrine design and ziyara, see Reeves 1990:77-112, and de Jong 1976-77.

⁶ The awliya' form a spiritual hierarchy, the highest rank of which is the qutb, the pole or axis of the world. At every moment, there is exactly one qutb alive in the world, a connection between heaven and earth. For more information see Schimmel 1975:57; Hoffman 1995:93.

⁷ For a detailed description of the mawlid of Egypt from the mid-20th century, see McPherson 1941.

⁸ The main exception is the mawlid of the Prophet himself, which is celebrated everywhere in the Islamic world on the 12th of the Islamic month Rabi' al-Awwil.

⁹ Another piece of ethnographic evidence supporting the notion that Sufi orders share a common doctrinal system is provided by analyzing the apparent contradictions of these multiple *qutb* claims. In each Sufi order we usually find the founder to be given the exalted status of *qutb* and *ghawth*; in the newer orders this status is not recognized by Sufis generally, but is a "belief" shared mainly by the founder's followers. Technically, there is only one *qutb* in the universe at any single moment. Since all Sufis claim to all be following the same doctrines, how can each claim his shaykh as the *qutb* without conflict? We suggest that if *qutb* claims are interpreted as statements about social relations, rather than points of doctrinal belief, the conflicts go away. If we take a belief such as "my shaykh is *qutb*" to represent an objective proposition, a doctrine, then there is a contradiction between different *qutb* claims. But such statements may be better regarded as describing spiritual-social relationships. To say "my shaykh is the *qutb*" is equivalent to saying "my shaykh is great and important for me". In this case, there is no contradiction among similar claims in different *turuq*, because relationships do not contradict each other, only propositions do. On the other hand, the shared belief that the great saints of the past are *qutbs* can be regarded as points of Sufi doctrine.

¹⁰ Official rankings are mentioned in the 1976 and 1978 regulations governing the Sufi orders; see Johansen 1996:265, 275-6 where translations are provided. For translation of relevant sections of the older ordinances of 1905, see de Jong 1978: 209-10

¹¹ See de Jong EI2: "khalifa (iii)". for full explication of this multivalent term as employed in Sufism.

¹² Such a separation obviously serves to protect Sufis against charges of *kufir* (unbelief); since there can be no prophets after Muhammad, saints must be clearly differentiated from them. The controversy over the existence of saints has led to some interesting consequences in Islamic history. The Qur'an ascribes miraculous deeds to Mary, mother of Jesus. Those who upheld the possibility of sainthood as distinct from prophethood pointed to these passages as providing evidence. Some of those who denied the possibility of sainthood therefore embraced the controversial notion that Mary was in fact a prophet. See Fierro 1997.

¹³ It is interesting to note the parallelisms between prophets and saints: *mu'jizat* and *karamat*, *wahy* and *ilham*, *nabi* and *qutb*. In addition, many of the great saints are considered to be connected to particular prophets.

¹⁴ Illiteracy as a touchstone of authenticity finds its Islamic origin in the situation of the Prophet Muhammad, who received the Qur'an while unable to read or write. Muslims commonly cite his illiteracy as a proof of the authenticity of his Revelation.

¹⁵ Sometimes this decision does not occur until the era of the first khalifa (below).

¹⁶ The Bayyumiyya, discussed below, is an instance.

¹⁷ Some of the Bayyumiyya bayts today are of this type; see description of the Bayyumiyya below.

¹⁸ Self-awareness, the emergence of group consciousness, depends on a high level of active commitment by members, who identify their own needs and wants strongly with the good of the group. Since the group is an extension of the founding shaykh, during his lifetime he represents that consciousness, and can serve as its central intelligence and strategy-formulator; loyalty of members precludes doubt and assures absolute submission to his will. After him, the khalifa can to some extent assume this role, but to a greater extent strategies are the result of a participatory group process, at least among the senior members. Group consciousness is very high in this period of group-formation, due to an awareness of the momentousness of this process. In later periods, it may only be when the group experiences a serious external threat to its existence that such a level of self-consciousness may reemerge.

4. Language Performance and the Hadra

A. Introduction

1. The hadra as ritual

Gilsonian has called the Sufi hadra a “liturgical ritual” in “virtual time”, far from social concerns, a statement of “primal identity”, not a ritual which effects transformations in status (rites de passage), or confirmations of status (ceremonials) (Gilsonian 1973:182). The negative portion of this statement, at least, seems an accurate assessment of the hadra. But though he recognizes the social effects and milieu of the hadra (as constructing unity, as subject to historical change), he somehow refuses to take them seriously, preferring to dwell on the “insider” notion of dhikr as constructing only a transcendent link between man as a “primordial” asocial being, and God. This is perhaps close to Sufi teachings, at least to some of them, and yet such an analysis is not useful if one wants to understand how the hadra works its social effects.

Sufis consider the hadra to be a form of supererogatory prayer (*nafla*, or *nafl*), incumbent on them by virtue of their membership in the tariqa. In terms of individual function, hadra hardly seems distinguishable from obligatory prayer (*salah*); both forms of prayer redound to one’s spiritual credit, the main difference being that obligatory prayer is enjoined by God as a minimum spiritual duty.¹ But from a social point of view, the differences are enormous, for while obligatory prayer (as liturgical ritual) could be said to

vaguely tie one's identity to the larger Islamic Community (Umma), the hadra binds one to a specific social group (the tariqa), and it is the only ritual act to do so effectively, the 'ahd notwithstanding. If one wishes to understand that group, and how it copes (or fails to cope) with the forces of modernity, analysis of the hadra would appear to be a good place to start.

How to analyze the hadra? Aside from occasional dress-codes and banners, the hadra does not offer many visual symbols to be interpreted, and those which do occur are not central to ritual efficacy. The hadra is therefore not open to a common style of ritual analysis, which is based on interpretation of visually present symbols: objects, colors, movements, signs. One soon tires of asking participants for the "meanings" of actions or geometrical formations, for interesting meanings are rarely yielded up in this way. Rather, many such visually present symbols are considered by participants to be merely abstract and traditional, not an object of thought, present without particular purpose or sense; "we just do it that way", they say, or else give pedestrian explanations where the researcher hoped for deep spiritual meaning. Others of these symbols have meanings, but those are not central to what is happening in the hadra. Visually present symbols may be practically effective, however; in particular, the arbitrary ritual patterns exhibited by each group help to form a symbolic system of differences which is used to characterize the group in distinction to others. But considering the entire ritual as a single composite symbol is not germane to understanding how its various parts works inside.

Gilsonian also remarks on this phenomenon of the hadra in his discussion of the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya (Gilsonian 1973:185). However, his focus is excessively on the repeated Name of dhikr and its power to produce a transcendent unity, whereas much of the hadra is not dhikr, and (even in dhikr) much of the experience is not of this type. Dhikr is surely that aspect of hadra most fascinating to western scholars; yet the “liturgical ritual” he describes is in reality a complex liturgy containing much more than dhikr. Furthermore the kind of mystical experience Gilsonian so beautifully portrays can hardly be analyzed further; it is, after all, mystical. But what is the empirical “stuff” of the hadra, the essential symbolic agents? I claim that the basic material of hadra is LP.

Therefore, if the hadra is to be analyzed as a meaningful or efficacious ritual, or even as an ineffectual ritual, what requires interpretation are the multiple dimensions of language performance, including its texts, meanings, the sonic substrate which supports it, and the pragmatic framework (behavioral, positional, communicative) in which it is embedded. For this reason I have structured the analysis of hadra in terms of LP.

2. Overview

The Sufi hadra is the central corporate ritual of Sufism, and the analytical focus of this dissertation. It consists primarily of various genres of LP. Later, I will analyze these genres as performed in particular tariqa hadras, in order to understand how they may represent group-level strategies for solving the social problems and meeting the social needs of the group. The goal of this chapter is primarily to introduce each of these genres, and their positions within performance.

In order to do this, I will present the general form of the hadra in detail, introducing the texts, general meanings, and performative characteristics of the principle genres of LP of which it is constituted, which are the following:

- Fawatih
- *Ad'iyya*
- *Hizb* (and related genres: *awrad, salawat, istighfar*)
- *Dhikr*
- *Inshad*
- *Speech*

These will be explained in detail later on. But first I present some general considerations regarding LP applying to all the genres, which will be useful for all subsequent discussions.

B. Language Performance in the hadra: general considerations

1. Tonal LP

The prevailing impression among scholars and laypeople alike is that Islam forbids music in religious ritual, and indeed frowns upon music in any context. The use of singing in Sufi orders is often cited as the exception which proves the rule. But melodious use of the voice is rarely absent even in mainstream Islam.

The prevalence of the melodic voice in Islam stems from the central position of language, texts, and linguistic recitations within Islamic faith and practice. Intoned and melodized versions of these forms developed in order to beautify and extol them, to draw the listener's attention, to facilitate retention, to clarify meaning, and to develop

appropriate emotional responses. Daily in Egypt one hears *tajwid* (Qur'anic recitation), *adhan* (the call to prayer), and *ibtihalat* (supplications to God) in ornate melodic styles. *Ad'iyya* (supplicatory prayers; singular: du'a') may be performed with great melodic artistry, particularly during Ramadan. The Prophet himself said: "He who does not recite the Qur'an tunefully is not one of us." (al-Nawawi 1975:187).

But such vocal-melodic recitations are not considered *musiqa*, which refers to the music produced by instruments, particularly melodic instruments associated with irreligious activities, such as dancing and drinking. *Musiqa* is therefore frowned upon in religious contexts. Even *ghina'* (singing) is too laden with secular connotations to be applied to true religious music.

Therefore, intoned recitation of poetry as a religious act is termed *inshad dini*. *Inshad* is always performed tonally², but different performances may vary widely in the elaborateness of the melodic resources employed, ranging from repetitive chants in a narrow compass, to elaborate vocalizations, full of melisma, drawing upon the full system of musical *maqamat* (melodic modes). When the recited text is not shi'r, special terms are used, such as *adhan*, *tajwid*, and *ad'iyya*; these solo genres are integral to the prayer rite. While they need not always be performed tonally, in their melodized forms they share many musical features with *inshad*, and display a similar range of musical complexity. Differences between these genres are determined more by textual and performative meanings than by musical style.

Other genres may also be performed tonally, albeit with less melodic elaboration, or at least contain tonal elements. The group prayers characteristic of each Sufi order (*hizb, awrad, istighfar, salawat*) are ordinarily performed using distinct recitation tones, and sometimes in a style similar to simple inshad. Speeches—in the form of sermons or lessons—are largely non-melodic, but tonality may be used as a form of emphasis or to raise emotion; Qur’anic segments of a khutba (sermon) are often performed using a melodic style of tajwid.

2. Repetition

Hadra LP often contains segments which consist of a unit of text, repeated over and over. These may be termed “textually periodic LP segments”; the number of repetitions is sometimes considered significant to the spiritual efficacy of performance. There are two kinds of repetition of such units: counted, and uncounted. Most dhikr falls under the latter category; the muridin repeat a dhikr formula for a certain period of time without anyone counting them; the total number of repetitions is not important. Textually periodic segments of the hizb and wurd, however, are normatively repeated a fixed number of times, even if such counts do not always actually occur in practice.³

There are three principles underlying such repetition: reinforcement, Sunna, and numerology.

Reinforcement. Some repetition is performed in order to create a state of concentration, in order to maximize the probability that at least one repetition will have

been performed with sincere intention, truly felt; in order to generate maximal spiritual benefits; or merely to ensure that the murid will spend hours each day in prayer. In such cases, either no repeat counts are given (as in most dhikr), or else the count is a large, round number (a thousand, ten thousand, and so on). Although large numbers are often given in specific form, the intention behind them is simply “a large number”, and the actual number of repetitions is not generally held to be critical for spiritual efficacy. Of such repetition, one prominent Sufi shaykh noted that we all know what “la ilaha illa Allah” means as a logical assertion; the goal of repetition is to “taste” its meaning, to *feel* its truth, and we do this by repeating it again and again, hoping to comprehend its true meaning in this way. Members of a particular Burhamiyya tariqa are supposed to recite several *adhkar* formulas, such as *istighfar* (a request for forgiveness), one hundred thousand times per day, and a blessing for the Prophet one million times each day! A member explained that the intention of such instructions is not to count these repetitions exactly, but rather to be constantly reciting.

Sunna. Many repeat counts are taken from the Hadith, reports about the Prophet’s words or actions which describe his customary practices (Sunna). Often the Prophet repeated his words thrice. Thus it was reported by Bukhari⁴ that the Prophet sometimes repeated his words three times in order that they be understood (al-Nawawi 1975:141); Muslim cites an example of this (al-Nawawi 1975:291). Three-fold repetition occurs in the obligatory prayer (salah). In specific hadith, the Prophet advises repetition of

particular prayer formulas three, ten, thirty-three, and one hundred times (al-Nawawi 1975:237-8).

Numerology. Unusual-looking numbers appearing in some prayers are frequently derived by means of complex mystico-arithmetic schemes, known generally as *'ilm al-huruf* (the science of letters). The “science of letters” is a cabalistic scheme assigning numerical values to letters in order to form a decimal place system (see Appendix). The numerical value of a word or phrase may be derived simply by adding the values of its letters, or through more complicated arithmetic manipulations. In Egypt *'ilm al-huruf* is attributed to the esoteric knowledge (*'ilm batini*) of Imam 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (thus suggesting a possible Shi'a origin) and is closely related to magic; all sorts of powers are attributed to textual formulas when repeated according to the numerical values produced by their letters, including the ability to see into the future, to conjure or exorcise jinn, or cure illness. Repeating one of the Names of God a particular number of times may also call the angel responsible for the Name invoked.

In Sufism, the following are some common-stated efficacious applications of the numerological system, where the “numerical value of x” means “the sum of the numerical values of the letters of x”.

- Repeat a dhikr formula n times, where n is the numerical value of the formula. (Thus “Latif” (a name of God) is commonly recited 129 times; “Allah” 66 times.)
- Repeat a dhikr formula $n*n$ times, where n is the numerical value of the formula.
- Let n be the numerical value of your name. Then repeat a Name of God n times.
- Find the Name of God (or group of Names) whose numerical value equals n , the numerical value of your name, and repeat it n times. Then God will protect you from evil.

While repetition can be considered an important aspect of local knowledge about the spiritual efficacy of LP, I will mainly be concerned to differentiate the three primary types just mentioned. The first (uncounted, or large number) represents the mystical type, in which LP is used to induce an altered state which is characterized by total concentration on the text's signified. The second (Sunna) represents the orthodox type, in which repetition follows Prophetic guidance. Finally the third represents an esoteric non-experiential aspect of mystical practice, sometimes condemned by the orthodoxy as a form of magic, in which it is the precise performance of a string of signifiers which is paramount. Another factor is whether or not repeat counts are actually respected in practice.

3. Naming

Naming is a central important component of three particular genres of LP—*fawatih*, *ad'iyya*, *dhikr*, and *madad* (a form of inshad, explicated below)—although it occurs in all of them. The named are various portions of the human/sacred spectrum: living people, shaykhs (especially those in the silsila), saints (especially the qutb), the Ahl al-Bayt, the Prophet, God. Names are significant for the particular *laqab* (epithet) employed, not only for the entity thus named; the reference is as important as the referent.

Requests (as in *ad'iyya* and *madad*) usually include a form of *nida'* (invocation) followed by a *laqab* of the entity to which the request is directed; that *laqab* sometimes indicates the thing requested. Thus one addresses God with “Ya Rahim!” (“Oh Merciful!”) to request His mercy, and as “Ya Ghaffar!” (“Oh Forgiver!”) to request His

forgiveness. Similarly, one may say “madad ya Umm Hanan” (“Help, oh mother of kindness”) to request compassion from Sayyida Zaynab. Fawatih are prayers for particular individuals, who must be named as well.

Which names are invoked says much about the group and its strategies; I will analyze them later on.

4. Textual sources

The major source of text for LP in the hadra is Qur’an and Hadith. That which is not quoted directly from these twin pillars of Islamic piety is inspired by them, albeit via a Sufi interpretation. However elements from both are taken out of original context and combined with words of the Sufi shaykhs and saints. Thus one finds elements of Qur’an and Hadith woven throughout the hadra, but interpolated with other material as well, forming a kind of collage.

Here I consider some of the principal “recombinant elements” out of which LP genres are constructed.

a. Qur’an

The Qur’an itself is a prime source of textual material used within fawatih, ad‘iyya, hizb, wurd, dhikr, and speech genres of LP; sometimes large stretches are recited in hadra as well (tajwid).

1. On the benefits of Qur'anic recitation

The great benefits of Qur'anic LP are attested by hadith. Thus according to Muslim, the Prophet said that the Qur'an will intercede for its readers on the Day of Judgement (al-Nawawi 1975:185). More specifically, he said that every letter which is recited will be counted as ten good deeds (al-Nawawi 1975:186). Even the recitation of recombinant bits of Qur'an, as woven into other genres of LP, is therefore spiritually efficacious. Its use also authorizes the hadra as true Islamic expression, and binds Sufi practice to general Islamic practice.

Particular verses are commonly performed:

2. al-Fatiha (chapter 1)

No chapter (*sura*) of the Qur'an plays such a large role in the Muslim's life as the Fatiha, whose English rendition may be given as follows:

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful
Praise be to Allah, Lord of the Worlds,
The Beneficent, the Merciful.
Master of the Day of Judgment,
Thee (alone) we worship; Thee (alone) we ask for help.
Show us the straight path,
The path of those whom Thou hast favoured; Not the (path) of those who
earn Thine anger nor of those who go astray.

Its specialness arises out of its meanings which encapsulate the essence of Islam, beginning with praise of God (“...Praise be to Allah, Lord of the Worlds...”); then an affirmation of faith, stating the clear relation between worshipper and God (“...Thee (alone) we worship; Thee (alone) we ask for help...”); and concluding with a du‘a’, a

petition to God (“...Show us the straight path...”). Its importance thus far outweighs its scant length (only seven verses); a hadith from the collection of al-Bukhari recounts that the Prophet accorded it the status of the “greatest chapter” in the entire Qur’an (al-Nawawi 1975:187). It is said to be two-thirds of the Qur’an; or (elsewhere) to outweigh the rest of the Qur’an seven times over (Padwick 1961:109).

The recitation of the Fatiha as an LPS carries multiple levels of meaning and significance. The significance of this act is highlighted by the existence of a plural form, “fawatih”, which is only meaningful as a description of recitation (since the sura itself cannot admit of a plural). All Qur’anic recitation confers spiritual benefits upon the reciter, but the special meanings of the Fatiha themselves imply an act of worship: praising God, affirming faith, and requesting guidance. The performative act of reciting the Fatiha itself conveys special blessing to the reciter as a generalized du’a’ for blessing or forgiveness. The significance of the Fatiha as a du’a’ is indicated by the position of the hands during recitation, which should be held before the face, palms turned up, as in other du’a’ recitations. Furthermore, the blessings of the Fatiha may be redirected to another person by preceding the recitation by an intention to that effect (vocalized or not) that the following Fatiha recitation is *for* someone.

Thus a person going on pilgrimage (*hajj*) may recite the Fatiha for friends and family left behind, and fawatih are recited for the ill or troubled. The Fatiha is recited before the tomb of any Muslim, where it functions as a prayer for that person’s spirit. When the Fatiha is recited at the shrine of a saint, however, its primary meaning may be as

a prayer of request for oneself (or for another intended person), a means of honoring the saint, or obtaining the saint's baraka. A recitation of the Fatiha *for* the Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, or saints carries the meaning of an invocation of them, and supplication to them. Such an act when performed in the hadra serves to make the saint present.

The recitation of the Fatiha may also take the meaning of an oath or promise, sealing any verbal agreement with a sense of gravity and commitment through the religious act of praying in this way. Thus for instance, the Fatiha is recited by both families to conclude a marriage agreement. This meaning is always present whenever the Fatiha is recited, in the sense that in reciting it, a transformation from the ordinary to the sacred occurs immediately. Perhaps because the Fatiha is also the opening verse of the Qur'an (and literally means "Opening"), or because of its great importance, no other Qur'anic verse has the same effect so strongly. Whatever is said or done in the sacred context must of necessity be more sincere. For this reason, perhaps, the Fatiha is recited as a way of marking the beginning and end of a sacred interval, such as the hadra.

The Fatiha must be recited in every rak'a⁵ of each of five obligatory daily prayers, and is therefore performed at minimum seventeen times each day by every Muslim who carries out this religious obligation. Sha'rani (considered earlier) wrote in his *Lata'if al-Minan*: "All the meanings of the Qur'an are gathered together in the Fatiha. It is as though in every rak'a they prayed the whole Qur'an." (cited in Padwick 1961:109).

3. al-Ikhlās (chapter 112)

al-Ikhlās is the third to last sura, and one of the shortest. It is a concise statement of God's principal attributes: unity, eternity, neither begotten nor begetting. Several reliable hadith in collections of Bukhari and Muslim recount that it is equal to a third of the Qur'an, and its recitation is equivalent to reciting a third of the Qur'an. In Tirmidhi's collection, the Prophet says that love of this sura will admit the believer to Paradise (al-Nawawi 1975:187). For this reason it is often recited thrice at various points in the hadra, and in nearly every hizb; sometimes it is used as a wurd in itself.

4. al-Mu'awwadhatayn

The last two suras in the Qur'an, al-Falaq (113), and al-Nas (114), are of great performative importance. They are frequently recited as a protection against the evil inclinations of *ins* (man) and *jinn*, thus being collectively known collectively as al-Mu'awwadhatayn (the two petitions for refuge), and appear together in many Sufi prayers, following the three-fold repetition of al-Ikhlās.

5. Ad'iyya from the Qur'an

Although the *du'a'* (prayer of request; plural *ad'iyya*) is not specifically required within the obligatory prayer rite (*salah*), it is nevertheless considered an essential part of faith, for God says in the Qur'an: "And your Lord hath said: Pray unto Me and I will hear your prayer. Lo! those who scorn My service, they will enter hell, disgraced." (40:60; the verb form used for "pray" makes clear the meaning "recite du'a'"). The *du'a'*

is a free form of prayer, in which the individual Muslim may supplicate God in his own words. However particular ad'iyya are considered to be more efficacious than others. Some ad'iyya are especially sanctioned because they are taken from the Qur'anic itself. These include the Fatiha (described above) and the end of surat al-Baqara (2:286). Booklets containing du'a' from Qur'an and Hadith are widely sold in Cairo, usually with the title "al-Du'a' al-Mustajab" ("Answered Prayer"; e.g. 'Abd al-Jawwad n.d.). These are employed by all Muslims, and are not particular to the Sufis.

6. Other

Other chapters and verses of the Qur'an are also frequently included in the hadra. Among these are the Ayat al-Kursi ("Throne Verse"; 2:256), surat Yasin (36), surat al-Sharah (94), and the final three verses of Surat al-Baqara (2:284-6). Other verses attesting to God's unity are also common (the Bayyumiyya hizb is built around these).

b. Hadith

1. Adhkar

Adhkar are remembrances of God, sanctioned by Prophetic tradition. (Sometimes the term is used to encompass the Prophet's ad'iyya as well, or all of his sayings.) The hadith from which these sayings are derived indicate that they are especially sanctioned in particular contexts: at particular times of day, or upon performing particular acts. They constitute a form of supererogatory devotion which, being sanctioned by Hadith, is not limited to Sufism. Adhkar occupy a central position in Muslim practice generally, being

ritual formulas authorized by Prophetic usage. However the Sufis, in their effort to imitate the Prophet and increase their devotions, take them up more seriously than other Muslims generally do, and sometimes become the focus of group and individual performances in the orders. Small booklets of adhkar are often sold in religious bookshops, or distributed by Sufi orders.

The recitation of many adhkar is exhorted in the hadith, sometimes with instructions for performance, the following are among the most common forms, taken from al-Nawawi's collection, *Riyad al-Salihin* (al-Nawawi 1975:236-241). Note that several of these LP formulae are actually themselves named.

- *Subhana Allah wa bi hamdih; subhana Allah al-'azim* (Glorified be God and His is the Praise; Glorified be God, the Lord of Majesty). The Prophet praised these phrases as "easy on the tongue, but heavy on the balance and loved by God".
- *Subhana Allah wa al-hamdu lillah wa la ilaha illa Allah wa Allahu akbar* (Glory be to God, and to God belongs all Praise, and there is none worthy of worship save God, and God is Great). The Prophet praised these four phrases as dearer than the whole universe. [They are called the *tasbih*, *tahmid*, *tahlil*, and *takbir*, respectively.]
- *La ilaha illa Allah wahdahu la sharika lah, lahu al-mulk wa lahu al-hamd wa huwa 'ala kull shay'in qadir* (There is none worthy of worship save Allah the One, Who has no associate, His is the Kingdom and His the Praise and He has Power over all things). The Prophet said that one reciting this formula one hundred times in a day would receive merit equal to having freed ten slaves, plus a hundred good actions would be

credited to him, a hundred defaults wiped away, and he would be guarded from Satan for the rest of the day.

- *La ilaha illa Allah* (There is none worthy of worship save Allah). [Various terms: *tahlil, haylala, kalimat al-tawhid, tawhid.*] The Prophet said that this is the best remembrance of Allah spoken by the prophets.
- *Subhana Allah wa bi hamdih.* (Glorified be God and His is the Praise). The Prophet said that for him who says it, a date tree is planted in Paradise.
- *Subhana Allah* (33 times), *al-hamdu lillah* (33 times), *Allahu akbar* (33 times), *La ilaha illah Allah wahduhu la sharika lah, lahu al-mulk wa lahu al-hamd wa huwa 'ala kull shay'in qadir.* The Prophet said that he who recites these phrases after every prayer will have all his sins forgiven. [Pious Muslims generally recite these formulas—called *tasbih, tahmid, takbir, and tahlil*—after prayers, using a *sibha* (rosary) of 33 beads, or 100 beads divided into three sections, or counting using a finger-system.]
- *La hawla wa la quwwata illa bi Allah.* (There is no strength to resist evil, nor power to do good except through Allah). [This formula is called the *hawqala*.]

2. al-Shahada

The *shahada* (Islamic testimony of faith) has two parts. The first is the creed of *tawhid* (unity), “*la ilaha illa Allah*” (there is no deity but God). The second is the creed of Muhammad’s apostleship, “*Muhammad rasul Allah*” (Muhammad is the messenger of God). Although not found in the Qur’an, the *shahada* has been accepted as *Sunna*.

The shahada (testimony of faith) is absolutely basic to Islam, being considered one of the five pillars (with prayer, fasting the month of Ramadan, paying alms, and making the pilgrimage if financially possible); its mere recitation is often considered sufficient for conversion. The shahada may be uttered in periods of stress or hardship. It may be written on a slip of paper, then separated into its two halves; friends or lovers who wish to be reunited each take one half; when two friends part, the first may recite the formula of tawhid, to which the second responds with “Muhammad rasul Allah”. It is inscribed on buildings, jewelry, banners, framed and hung in Muslim’s homes. Its performance is at the center of faith, repeated in every obligatory prayer, and is a doctrinal point upon which all Muslims can and must agree, whatever other differences may arise between them.

Tawhid. The formula of tawhid is comprised of two parts, which must be conjoined: the negation (nafy) “la ilaha” (there is no deity, by itself kufr (unbelief)), followed by the affirmation (ithbat) “illa Allah” (except God). This statement of monotheism is central to Islam’s call, especially in the early days when the religion of the idolaters had to be destroyed. The Prophet said that “la ilaha illa Allah” were the best words he or any previous Prophet ever uttered, and it was constantly on his lips, for this reason it is considered primary among the adhkar, the Prophet’s devotional formulas. For the Sufi the notion of tawhid is frequently interpreted more broadly to mean that nothing should be strongly desired other than God. Tawhid is a denial of all inclinations of the nafs (seat of sensual desires) toward various forms of pleasure, and an assertion that God

alone is worthy of attention. More esoterically it is sometimes taken to mean that there is no true existence other than God.

So central is this formula both theologically and in everyday Islamic practice (when a Muslim experiences hardship or astonishment he is likely to exclaim “la ilaha illa Allah!”) that although it is grammatically a sentence, it is given also the status of a Name of God, and is recited both as sentence and Name in dhikr. Further, the formula is itself named, being called the “lafz al-jalala”, and its recitation is called “al-tahlil” (the word also means “rejoicing”), or “al-haylala”.⁶ Recitation of the tahlil is an important variant of the Sufi dhikr. Because the tahlil is a central article of faith, its recitation is considered preparatory in dhikr, and often precedes recitation of the Names.

Sufis find the formula of tawhid encapsulated within the quasi-acronym “layla”. This acronym is homophonic with the Arabic word for “night”, as well as the female name “Layla”. The former becomes symbolic of the spiritual potential of the night, especially the *waqt al-sahar* just before dawn, when connections between man and God are closest. Night-time is associated with love, but those who stay up at night with the Beloved are the lovers of God, i.e. the true mystics; there is also a night-vigil prayer (*tahajjud*) performed late at night. God Himself is also imagined symbolically as a beautiful woman, Layla, and the relation between lover (Sufi) and Beloved can be described in terms of erotic love; this idea may have arisen through Sufi interpretations of the famous love poem, “Qays wa Layla”. These themes, images, and their connections are endlessly exploited in the dense symbolism of Sufi poetry.

But it is the second part of the shahada, “Muhammad rasul Allah” (Muhammad is the messenger of God) which is at once less subject to interpretation, and more defining of what it means to be Muslim. Tawhid is absolutely necessary to Islam, but belief in tawhid by itself is not enough to be a Muslim. Rather, the Muslim must also believe in the Prophet as Messenger of God, which implies belief in the Qur’an as a Divine Revelation.

The Shahada admits of variant forms sanctioned by Hadith:

- “la ilaha illa Allah Muhammad rasul Allah” (“there is no deity but God and Muhammad is the messenger of God”)
- “Ashhadu anna la ilaha illa Allah wa ashadu anna Muhammadan rasul Allah” (“I testify that there is no deity but God and I testify that Muhammad is the messenger of God”; this form is used in the call to prayer (adhan)).
- “Ashhadu anna la ilaha illa Allah wahdahu la sharika lahu wa ashadu anna Muhammad ‘abduhu wa rasulu” (“I testify that there is no deity but God, alone, without partner, and I testify that Muhammad is His servant and messenger”; this form is used in daily prayer.)

The elaborations are endless, but the meaning is always the same: God is One, and Muhammad is His Prophet.

3. Ad‘iyya Nabawiyya

Many Hadith exhort the faithful to perform ad‘iyya, providing specific texts for prayers to be used for a wide variety of purposes and circumstances, including general

protection against evil, forgiveness of sins, and safety while on a journey (al-Nawawi 1975:182-184, 241, 245-249). Booklets containing du‘a’ from Qur’an and Hadith are widely sold in Cairo, usually with the title “al-Du‘a’ al-Mustajab” (“Answered Prayer”). Ad‘iyya nabawiyya (Prophetic ad‘iyya) are also used in the hadra.

A most important class of du‘a’ is the petition for forgiveness (istighfar). Many forms for such prayers can be found in the Hadith. Thus the Prophet said that he who supplicates “I seek the forgiveness of Allah, there is none worthy of worship save Him, the Ever-Living, the Self-Subsisting, and turn to Him in repentance”, will be forgiven his sins (al-Nawawi 1975:320). The petition for forgiveness is frequently included in the hizb, or recited independently in group or individual devotions, as a means of self-purification.

c. Asma’ Allah al-Husna

God is described in the Qur’an as possessing “the most beautiful [fairest] Names” (7:180): “Allah’s are the fairest names. Invoke Him by them.” Thus this was the basis for a “theology of the divine names”, as Schimmel calls it, in which particular Names were elaborated, and their inner meanings and mystical efficacies explicated. The standard set contains ninety-nine such Names some of which are drawn from the Qur’an; mystics say there is a hidden greatest Name as well which is only revealed to those of high spiritual station. These Names of praise express particular attributes or qualities of God (Schimmel 1975:177). Others counted more Names, hundreds, thousands, or even exactly 124,000 (the number of prophets), since every prophet was endowed with the reality of a Divine Name (Padwick 1961:105).

Indeed, the Names constitute not merely a “theology” but also a mystical practice, following the Qur’anic exhortation “invoke Him by them”. The formulas repeated over and over in dhikr are drawn from the collection of ninety-nine Names. The Names are also used as epithets of God in performing the du‘a’, and a Sufi shaykh may assign his murid a particular Name to repeat or contemplate, according to the murid’s mystical station (maqam).

Many Sufi orders also perform the ninety-nine Names in sequence, such LP is often melodic. Thus the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya described by Gilsenan (Gilsenan 1973) perform them following Friday prayers, set to a fixed melody. It was no doubt partly for this purpose that the Sufi rosary (sibha) has ninety-nine beads. It was said “He who counts them enters Paradise” (Padwick 1961:105)

Recitation of the Names were also granted a purely performative efficacy. I have already mentioned the importance of the correspondence between numerical values of the Names and repetition in recitation, and likewise the importance of selecting a Name based on its numerical correspondence to that of one’s own name. (See also Padwick 1961:106-7.)

d. Salawat

Salawat are requests to God that He bless the Prophet. In the singular, it is known as the *tasliya* or “al-salah ‘ala Muhammad” (“blessing for the Prophet”). The performance of salawat is enjoined by the Qur’an itself, in Surat Ahzab (33:56): “Lo! Allah and His

angels shower blessings on the Prophet. Oh ye who believe! Ask blessings on him and salute him with a worthy salutation.”

The standard short forms are “Salla Allahu ‘alayhi wa sallam” (“May God bless him and give him peace”), “Allahumma salli ‘ala sayyidina Muhammad” (“Oh God! Bless our master Muhammad!”), or “‘Alayhi al-salat wa al-salam” (“May blessings and peace be upon him”). Most often, the Prophet’s family and companions (the Ahl al-Bayt and Sahaba) are appended to the prayer, which typically takes the following form: “Salla Allah ‘ala sayyidina Muhammad wa ‘ala alihi wa sahbihi wa sallam”, “May God bless our master Muhammad, his family and companions, and give them peace.”

Salawat are technically a kind of du‘a’ for the Prophet. This makes them particularly efficacious and beneficial in performance. Like the plural form “fawatih”, the word “salawat” denotes the multiplicity of performance, not the multiplicity of textual forms. Sufis say that salawat are the only kind of du‘a’ which are always granted, and that the performance of salawat in conjunction with other du‘a’ is a sufficient (or necessary) condition for those prayers to be accepted as well. Reciting salawat is said to be a means of drawing near to the Prophet, perhaps attaining a vision of him, in dreams or even while awake. A hadith qudsi (speech of God as recounted by the Prophet) frequently recounted by Sufis mentions that he who calls for blessings on the Prophet once will be blessed by God ten times (Schimmel 1985:92-93).

Thus salawat are widely performed outside of Sufi contexts. All Muslims recite them at the conclusion of every one of the five obligatory daily Muslim prayers, saying:

“Oh God, bless Muhammad and his family, as you blessed Abraham and his family.” A pious Muslim will always add a tasliya after mentioning the Prophet’s name, in speech or in print, thus: “...Sayyidna Muhammad, ‘Alayhi al-salat wa al-salam, ...” or “...Sayyidna Muhammad, salla Allah ‘alayhi wa sallam, ...”. If a speaker neglects to do so, the pious Muslim listener will insert the tasliya himself. In speech the command to “bless the Prophet” (salli ‘ala al-nabi, to which one responds with any form of tasliya) should not be refused; thus one finds that in ordinary conversations one Egyptian may interrupt another’s speech, or signal that he wishes to say something important, by telling the other to “bless the Prophet”; when the other does so, he seizes the floor himself.

Salawat are included by Sufis in many LP performance genres. They mix with Qur’anic verses in the hizb. Inshad frequently features tasliya in the refrain, or as a poetic theme. Speeches are constantly studded with instances of tasliya, at the very least following each mention of the Prophet’s name. The Sufi’s daily wird usually includes repetition of a short tasliya as well.

But the greatest creativity in this genre are the longer salawat composed by Sufi shaykhs and saints, often consisting of several verses of rhyming prose (*saja* ‘) which praise the Prophet’s glorious qualities as well as asking for God’s blessing upon him. Collections of such salawat, often organized alphabetically by rhyme letter, are published in booklet form or included along with the tariqa’s hizb and other prayers. The literary qualities of such prayers served to make them more memorable, as well as more beautiful (Schimmel 1985: 94). These may be performed collectively in hadra, or in individual wird

recitation. The most famous and widely used collection of such salawat is the “Dala’il al-Khayrat” composed by the 15th-century Moroccan shaykh, al-Jazuli (no relation to the founder of the Jazuliyya described in this dissertation); recitations from this book are frequently performed in Egypt.

Performance of salawat carries several meanings. Literally, tasliya is a du‘a’, but an altruistic du‘a’ which expresses one’s love for the Prophet. More generally, performance of tasliya is construed as an assertion of praise or honor for the Prophet. Based on the hadith qudsi just cited, performance of tasliya is a means of obtaining God’s blessings on oneself. Finally, performance of tasliya, like dhikr, causes one to draw closer to the Prophet.

As an example, one may consider the *Kanz al-Nafahat al-Ja‘fariyya* (The Ja‘fari Treasure of Spiritual Gifts), by Shaykh Salih al-Ja‘fari and Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani al-Ja‘fari. The former was the founder of the Ja‘fariyya tariqa, which we will take up shortly; he composed the principal texts in this book, which consists mainly of salawat.

The latter, the founder’s son and current head of the order, wrote an introduction in which he explains the virtues of salawat in general, and supports them with Qur’an and Hadith (see al-Ja‘fari n.d.b:3-18).

After noting the Qur’anic injunction to bless the Prophet, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani notes several meanings and benefits of salawat:

- 1) When one recites a tasliya once, God blesses him ten times.
- 2) Recitation of salawat is a kind of request to God to link oneself to the Prophet.
- 3) Recitation of salawat is a request to God to bless the Prophet, as is befitting.

Thus (continues the shaykh), recitation of salawat are one of the greatest means of coming close to God, after recitation of the Qur'an itself. Salawat are the only form of worship which is always accepted by God. A hadith (from Tirmidhi) says that when Abi bin Ka'b asked the Prophet how much of his prayer should be composed of salawat, the Prophet said: as much as you like, but as much as you increase, it will always be better for you. For salawat is a form of worship, and it is the basis for love of the Prophet, and assistance (madad) from him.

There follows Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari's collection of forty salawat, each containing several verses which both praise the Prophet and ask God to provide blessings upon him and his family. Typically the short tasliya form (as cited earlier) is opened and filled with praises; it begins and ends as usual, but praise is inserted in the middle. Such salawat approach madih: inshad which praises the Prophet; at the same time, from the existence of such salawat one can begin to appreciate why the Sufis say that madih is really a form of prayer. The following is an example of one of the shortest in this collection, which is usually recited by the tariqa in their Sunday evening hadra:

Oh God, bless our master Muhammad, pure of hearts
Full of love for the Lord of Worshippers
Possessor of comprehensive words, beneficial knowledge, and radiant
lights
Your bringer of glad tidings
Your warner
Your illuminating lamp
Most successful of the fortunate
Best of those who call to piety
And upon his family, and give them peace.

C. *Inshad Dini and Inshad Sufi*

Inshad is at once the most flexible, artistically elaborate, and emotionally powerful LP genre of hadra, and thus deserves a special ethnographic treatment. The general category is *inshad dini* (religious inshad), within which *inshad sufi* emerges a special case, depending on themes and contexts.

1. Introduction

Inshad dini (religious hymn-singing, often simply called “inshad”) is sacred Islamic singing: melodic vocal performance of shi‘r (Arabic poetry) within Islamic practice (Christian singing is usually called *taranim*). The singer of inshad is called a *munshid* (plural: *munshidin*), and is addressed with the title “shaykh” to indicate his elevated religious status.

Inshad dini is a form of worship, broadly defined. While inshad may be aesthetically pleasing or entertaining, its performance is primarily intended as a sincere religious act, and is interpreted as such by the listener. As worship, inshad dini is *nafila* (supererogatory), and does not enter into the essential core of religious practice. Therefore it is also freer to interact with secular music.

Inshad thus lies on a border zone between music and religion. The emotional impact of inshad draws upon both the affective influence of music, and the spiritual power of Islam. Inshad has a long history of interaction with the tarab tradition (the urban secular musical style featuring listeners’ deep emotional involvement) and for a period

served as a primary madrasa (school) for *mutribin* (tarab-style singers). Particularly in its solo forms, *inshad* shares many elements with tarab music: mono- and heterophony; the system of *maqamat* (melodic modes) and *iqa'at* (rhythmic modes); poetic and musical forms; centrality of poetry and the solo voice; a predilection for expressive-improvisatory singing of evocative texts; prevalence of ornament and melisma; and non-metric improvisation.

On the secular side, *inshad* borders *aghani diniyya*, songs employing the mainstream urban Arabic music tradition with a religious text, but lacking sincere religious intention, context, or authority. On the religious side, *inshad* is performatively close to various vocal forms which *are* central to Islamic practice, such as the *adhan*, and *tajwid*, which may be performed with great melodic intricacy. Yet neither are called *inshad dini*.

The terminological distinctions among different forms of vocal practice must be carefully heeded. Islam has historically adopted a restricted view toward the use of music as a means of religious expression; the terms used both reveal and protect the conceptual boundaries constructed to surround various kinds of vocalization, all of which would naively be labelled “singing” or “music” by the English-speaking non-culture bearer.

Within *inshad dini* lies the subcategory of *inshad Sufi*, although the boundaries between them are not sharp, just as the boundaries between Islam and Sufism are not sharp. Sufi concepts, beliefs, and practices permeate Islam generally, and musically there is interpenetration as well. When the term “*inshad Sufi*” is used, it usually indicates an attempt to differentiate *inshad* which incorporates explicitly Sufi themes, or which occurs

in explicitly Sufi contexts. I will simply use the word “inshad” in the subsequent discussion.

Inshad is a means of performing poetic texts in a way which makes them more memorable and more affective. Such texts may be important in the Sufi order as a means of generating spiritual emotion, communicating information, or as a form of ritual prayer in themselves. Solo inshad is used to maximize melodic power, while group inshad is used to maximize participation and total volume. When the value of inshad lies in its active performance or total energy, fully participatory group inshad may be emphasized; when listening or emotional experience is valued, solo or small-group inshad may be employed. Complex melodies and improvisation may be used for emotional depth, while simpler repetitive melodies are serve to maintain textual clarity and ensure unity in a group recitation. Only in the public hadra is inshad the central hadra activity. In the turuq, inshad may be more or less marginalized, or even absent. But in any case, a close examination of inshad is highly revealing of aims and strategies (whether group or individual), since inshad is a complex form of LP containing many dimensions which may be manipulated independently.

2. Inshad within the hadra of Sufi turuq

a. Meaning and purpose of inshad in the Sufi hadra

In Sufism, poetry is considered the linguistic vehicle most apt for expressing and eliciting mystical feeling, and for communicating Sufi teachings and doctrines. Thus

poetry is often composed by the shaykh, or one of his followers, and used for pedagogic purposes. Such poems serve to disseminate and inculcate the shaykh's teachings and mystical view; they are sung so as to be more palatable and memorable. Poetry is the preferred medium for praise and requests, to God or the Prophet, because it is beautiful and subtle; such poetry is sung to increase its beauty. Singing also provides *nashwa* (rapture) for the hadra, raising the spiritual-emotional atmosphere and warding off ennui. For some, the *wajd* (ecstasy) produced by inshad serves as a means of attaining mystical experience. Finally, group singing increases members' sense of brotherhood and camaraderie.

But music and *wajd* are controversial in Islam. Turuq, as official religious institutions, must carefully regulate inshad and behavior in the hadra, both in accord with their own doctrines, and to avoid denunciations by religious conservatives. In order to guide muridin, and as a response to defend the hadra against accusations of heresy from critics, it is necessary for turuq to restrict the practice of inshad and emotionalism in the hadra, and to clearly define its role.

b. Texts

1. Repertoire and selection

Poetry is considered the expressive medium most suitable for communicating the delicate fragrances of mysticism, becoming even more powerful with melody. Whereas *hizb* and *wird* are formulaic, poetry can be freely molded by the shaykh to convey his

mystical vision, assisted by the literary devices of poetry. At the same time, poetic rhyme and meter, together with group recitations and musical settings, assist in rapid memorization and internalization of meaning. For all of these reasons, poetry is a pedagogical device preferable to prose. Some Sufi shaykhs are prolific poets; while critics may judge their output to be of insignificant literary value, the purpose of their writing is expressive and pedagogic, not literary per se. As communication and understanding of poetry is of central concern, memorizing poetry is a requirement in some *turuq*; sometimes poems are even discussed and interpreted in the *hadra*.

Within the *turuq* *munshidin* frequently sing from an official canon of poetry composed or selected by a shaykh or other member of the *tariqa*, often the founder. Sometimes this canon is a *diwan* (collected poems) of the founder, or another *tariqa* member. Poetry may be published and distributed to members, who may sing from books during *hadra*. For *turuq* which employ group *inshad* (such as the Shadhili orders), such collections are essential to enable all members to memorize the poetry. When literacy is higher, the *tariqa* is more likely to publish an official poetry collection; for this reason many of the modernist *turuq* have done so. The founders of traditional *turuq* (such as Sidi Ahmad al-Rifa'i and Sidi Ibrahim al-Dasuqi) often have poetry ascribed to them, however these poems are not collected together and established as the *tariqa*'s canon. *Munshidin* may prefer them, but are equally likely to wander to other texts.

Poetry may also be selected from the Islamic and Sufi tradition, especially from the *diwans* of well-known Sufi poets (such as Ibn al-Farid, al-Bur'i, and al-Busiri), or from

widely available collections compiled for the munshidin and published by small presses.

Classical Arabic poetry may be learned orally, but derives from written sources. However, colloquial poetry often exists in oral sources only; munshidin learn by attending each others' performances in hadras.

When the tariqa lacks an established poetic repertoire, there is no group inshad. In this case, the source for inshad is simply the munshid's particular repertoire, limited by the standards of appropriateness which apply for the context in which he will perform. Such a situation is typical of many of the traditional orders, such as the Rifa'iyya, and the Bayyumiyya; the latter will be treated in detail.

Besides poetry, munshidin ordinarily sing madad (help), requests for spiritual assistance directed to the Prophet, ahl al-bayt, and saints: "madad ya sayyidna al-Husayn!". This is evidently an old custom, for it is described in Lane (1973:448); it is presented in more detail below.

Some turuq employ a fixed poetic program at each hadra, including for instance the "Burda" of al-Busiri, or particular poems written by the shaykh or founder. But more commonly poetry is chosen during performance, drawn from the official tariqa repertoire, or (if there is none) from the munshid's repertoire. The choice of poetry theoretically lies with the shaykh al-hadra; although he may occasionally exercise control in this domain, the actual choice is usually delegated to the lead munshid, particularly when the tariqa has no official repertoire. Munshidin usually attempt to match texts to the mood of the hadra, to the themes which were mentioned in it, or to the nearest religious occasion.

For special holidays, such as the Mawlid al-Nabi, mawlid of the saints, and other religious occasions, occasional texts may be sung, particularly outside of dhikr. Thus the tariqa may recite from the Sira Nabawiyya (story of the Prophet's life) on the occasion of the Prophet's birthday, or a poem in honor of al-Imam al-Husayn on the occasion of his mawlid, or a poem describing the Hijra (emigration of Muhammad from Mecca to Madina, marking the beginning of the Islamic calendar) for the Islamic New Year.

It should be noted that munshidin need not sing a poem all the way through from start to finish. For long poems, this would in any case be impossible within the time frame allotted by hadra. A segment of group inshad may consist of one whole poem, or (rarely) more than one; more often a section of one poem is performed. Poetry may be repeated, depending on the melodic form; such repeats are usually applied regularly to each strophe. When there is a responding chorus, they ordinarily repeat a refrain (*madhhab*) which typically consists of the first poetic line. Solo inshad is more flexible; the munshid may repeat freely by jumping backwards within the text—within the same line, or back to a previous line—and may also jump from one poem to another, or to non-poetic sections (see below).

In general, inshad used in the turuq tends to be conservative and direct, remaining close to uncontroversial topics clearly within the domain of Shari'a, as compared to the freer inshad performances performed for public hadras operating outside the jurisdiction of the turuq. More theosophical or ecstatic mystical poetry, employing the dubious metaphors of desire and intoxication, is less common within the orders regulated by

central authority. This is so for two related reasons: First, because the *turuq*, being permanent organizations, are accountable to the increasingly conservative mainstream Islamic establishment, and if standards are violated disciplinary actions may follow. If the *tariqa*'s repertoire is published, the *tariqa* must be especially careful about poetic choices. Secondly, because many *turuq* are guided by conservative *shaykhs* many of whom believe that Sufism, at least in its outward (*zahir*) manifestation, ought to be close to the Shari'a.

For both reasons, the pressures to repress more ecstatic forms of Sufi poetry are felt more acutely in public contexts. The pressures are also strongest when the *shaykh* in charge of performance is more vulnerable to reformist criticism, due to his position of conspicuous responsibility within the *tariqa* organization. Therefore, poetry of a more overtly mystical cast is more likely to be performed in private. Likewise, *hadra* performances performed by local chapters, at the periphery of the group, are also more likely to display mystical freedom. Such freedom may be curtailed, however, in strongly centralized *turuq*, in which the central leader can easily monitor and control the outlying districts.

2. Genre: forms, language level, and themes

Poetic forms include the *qasida*, *muwashshah*, *zajal*, and *mawwal*. Most poems performed within the *turuq* are *qasidas*. The term *qasida* should properly apply to a poem written in classical Arabic, following one of the sixteen classical poetic meters (*buhur*). Each line is divided into two hemistiches (*shatras*), and the end of every line, as well as the end of the first hemistich, all employ the same rhyme. Sometimes *muwashshahat*

(singular: muwashshah) are also used; the muwashshah is another classical poetic form, employing longer strophes and more complex rhyme schemes. Occasional the colloquial Arabic forms, zajal and mawwal, may also be employed; since they are most frequently drawn from the oral tradition, they tend to be selected by the munshid when no official tariqa repertoire exists.

Many Sufis divide inshad thematically into two main types: that which praises, thanks, petitions, or remembers God; and that which praises, blesses, petitions, or expresses love for the Prophet, as well as the Ahl al-Bayt and saints. The former category is generally called *tawhid*, while the latter is called *madih* (literally, praise). More esoteric poetry expressing the mystic's experience is usually included under the former category. Most munshidin perform the gamut of genres, selecting material suitable for the context or occasion.

More specific themes widely employed in religious inshad (not only Sufi inshad) include the following: *ibtihalat*, *ad'iyya*, *istighfar* (petitions and supplication to God); *tasbih*, *tamjid*, *takbir*, *adhkar*, *tawhid* (praise and remembrance of God); *tawassul* and *istighatha* (requests for intercession, mainly to Prophet); *madih* (praise and love, usually for the Prophet); *'aqida* (affirmation of religious creed); *qisas* (religious stories, especially miracles of prophets and saints); *hikma*, *wa'z*, *mawa'iz* (religious exhortations directed to the Muslim). These genres are not limited to Sufi contexts or munshidin; although they need not be acceptable to all Muslims, they may be widely performed as Islamic inshad dini in a variety of settings.

Other themes are more distinctively Sufi, and may be far less acceptable to Muslims who do not share the Sufi's world-view. Such themes include expressions of the mystical experience, especially love and longing for God and the Prophet, and wisdom and guidance for the Sufi path. Most of these poems employ special metaphors and esoteric symbolism which may be controversial even in themselves. The mystical experience, so central to the true Sufi, may lead him to compose ecstatic expressions of his mystical union with the Divine, or at least the longing for such a union. In such poetry, the boundary between self and other starts to fade. Such was the case for the renowned Sufi poets, al-Hallaj and Ibn al-Farid. Sufi poems may include themes of intoxication, or represent the Divine in feminine form as an object of desire. The metaphors of intoxication (including wine, the tavern, and the cup) were often used to express the mystical state; this genre is called *khamriyya*, or *takhmir*. Slightly more sober poetry on the subject of al-hubb al-ilahi (Divine Love) were made famous by Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya; many other Sufi authors followed. The Sufi *ghazal* is a love poem describing the object of love; such poems, which may be adapted from secular love poetry or constructed in the same style, express passionate mystical love, usually for the Prophet. Poems presenting such themes are usually included under the heading of tawhid.

Other poems which are unmistakably Sufi are those which provide guidance along the tariqa itself. Such poems are directed to the muridin themselves, exhorting them to be virtuous and pious, and instructing them in the Sufi way; these may be called hikma or wa'z. Still other poems which praise the tariqa's founder, and sometimes the khalifa as

well, falling under the generally category of madih. While poems in praise of the Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, and even the older saints (especially the arba' aqtab) are widely accepted, those which praise the founder of a particular tariqa are likely to meet objections even from Sufis of other orders.

Usually, inshad in the Sufi orders is dominated by madih. Madih complements the dhikr proper; while the muridun chant dhikr Allah, the munshidin sing of praise and love for the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt; the resulting texture is an elaboration of the shahada: "la ilaha illa Allah, Muhammadun rasul Allah": there is no deity but God, and Muhammad is His Prophet. Many Sufis say that madih is equivalent to salawat in its performative effects. Madih is also widely accepted; orders performing madih generally need not be concerned about censure. In private contexts, or in conditions of less control, poetry of a more mystical flavor—the so-called tawhid—will be employed as well. The importance of madih is such that the word is often used to refer to inshad dini in general, regardless of theme, excluding only the more esoteric, intoxicated poems (tawhid). The munshid who specializes in madih is called a *maddah*, and this term too is sometimes used as a synonym with the term munshid itself.⁷

Whatever the precise theme, recitation of these religious poems is considered to be a form of dhikr in its broadest sense. Sufis generally hold that inshad is a form of worship.

Besides poetry, the solo Sufi munshid may sing other texts, which usually take the form of supplications and requests for assistance from spiritual entities. The most common of these is the *madad* (help), a term which refers both to a request ("help me")

and to the assistance itself. In the former meaning, the concept of madad is similar to that of du‘a’; in the latter, it is similar to the notion of baraka. Conservative Sufis say that madad should only be requested from God, or from God and His Prophet. Others say that madad can be requested from anyone, but that not all are equally able to provide it; and in any case, all madad ultimately comes from God. The request itself is vague, limited to the word “help” rather than incorporating a specific wish, as in the du‘a’. Each listener thus interprets it according to his own particular spiritual or material needs and problems.

Usually the munshid performs a madad section before starting to sing poetry; he also tends to insert a madad section after completing a poetic section, when the dhikr has reached a climax. At the conclusion of his performance the munshid will inevitably insert the phrase “madad ya rasul Allah” (“help oh Messenger of God”). The madad section is based on an improvisatory text, not unlike the fawatih which open the hadra (described below). The munshid sings the words “madad” or “ya madad” (“oh help”), possibly repeating them several times. He may then insert the vocative “ya” (“oh”) followed by the name of the spiritual entity from whom madad is sought. This may be followed by more repetitions of “madad” or “ya madad”. Thus: “madad ya rasul Allah”, “madad ya Sayyidna al-Husayn, madad, madad”, etc. Plenty of examples may be found in the Bayyumiyya and Jazuliyya performances transcribed in the Appendix.

c. Performance ensemble

Inshad may accompany performance of dhikr, or may be performed independently. When inshad accompanies dhikr, there are several usual types of choral ensemble: a lone

soloist, or a soloist supported by a responding chorus, or a small group of leaders answered by a larger responding group, or two antiphonal choirs. When inshad is performed as an independent segment of hadra, outside of dhikr, there are two main possibilities. In one type, a soloist or small group of lead singers perform a poem, while the remainder of the muridin answer as a responding chorus, repeating a constant refrain (madhhab). In the other type, the entire congregation sings together. Less commonly, a soloist may perform while the rest of the congregation sits quietly and listens.

In some turuq (such as the Jazuliyya and the Ja‘fariyya discussed here), inshad is central to hadra practice, and everyone participates in inshad in some capacity, although there is a specialist core of munshidin which dominates performance. In other groups (such as the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya), munshidin are restricted to those with outstanding voices and the ability to memorize poetry. In all these turuq, munshidin are drawn entirely from the ordinary ranks of the muridin only. Turuq employing group inshad may hold special meetings during which the principal munshidin practice. This situation is typical of the modernist groups when the shaykh has prepared a book of poetry or diwan for the tariqa’s liturgy. Such books are made available to members, so that they can study the poetry individually.

In the traditional groups, there is often no systematic attempt to organize inshad. Although poetry may be ascribed to the founder, usually no canonical hymnal exists. Choral inshad is generally not employed. In many traditional turuq (e.g. Bayyumiyya, or Rifa‘iyya), inshad is sung by a munshid who may be semi-professional, receiving small

donations (*muqut*) during the hadra, and performing in other contexts for a fee. These munshidin, sometimes referred to disparagingly as “*arzaqi*” (“eking out a living”) often are not even members of the tariqa in whose hadra they perform. In such groups, inshad is necessarily solo.

Because music is controversial within Islam, its use is one index of orthodoxy. Thus the strictest turuq (such as the Ja‘fariyya) perform unaccompanied inshad in the hadra, or ban it entirely (as in the Tijaniyya). Commonly, the only accompaniment is the clapping of the mustaftih (dhikr leader). Another form of accompaniment is the metal cane (*‘asaya*), beaten with a short stick or *sibha* (rosary); this is not considered a musical instrument. Slightly less acceptably, the *duff* (frame drum) may be employed; it in turn is considered more acceptable than its cousins bearing jingles (*mazhar* or *riqq*). The *tabla* (funnel-shaped drum) is even less used, due to its association with dance and popular music. Melodic instruments are rare in the turuq, and absent in the mosque. The most acceptable of these are the *kawala* and *nay* (reed flutes), whose sounds are felt to be full of sadness (shajan) and hence more respectable; rarely *‘ud* (lute), *violin*, and other instruments may be employed as well, though these are more closely associated with the tarab tradition of secular music.

1. Musical form and style

The solo munshid sings poetry by extemporaneously selecting melodic phrases to match the poetic rhythm, or improvising a non-metric melody. During dhikr he must time phrases to the beat, whereas outside dhikr he sings non-metrically.

In choral inshad, the melody is fixed and precomposed. The musical form is strophic; a simple melody of usually narrow ambit, roughly matching the *bahr* (poetic meter) of the qasida, is repeated monophonically for each poetic line. When there is solo with responding chorus, the soloist(s) sings one or two lines of the poem, using the same melody in each case. Then the responding chorus sings a refrain text (the *madhhab*, often the first line of the poem) set to a fixed melody. All melody is approximately monophonic in texture.

While texts may be tariqa-dependent, or shared widely across the Arabic world, melodic material tends to depend on the specific cultural background of participants. Thus a Sudanese tariqa like the Burhaniyya employ pentatonic scales in Sudan and in their center in Cairo (where many Sudanese reside), yet in their branches in the Egyptian Delta, the Arabic maqamat are used.

In Egypt, melodies usually unfold within the most popular maqamat: *rast*, *nahawand*, *bayati*, *saba*, *hijaz*, and *sika/huzam*. Some group inshad employs only a fraction of the maqam. Meter is nearly always duple or quadruple, while rhythms are either simple divisions of the meter, or completely unmeasured (in the case of much solo inshad). Modulation is uncommon in group inshad.

d. Variation in inshad style and importance

While inshad is employed in most turuq today, it varies in style and importance across the turuq, depending on several factors:

1) Importance of poetry. When poetry is performed in hadra, it is nearly always performed as inshad. Thus if poetry plays a generally important role in the tariqa, inshad is important as well. Usually, poetry is central in the tariqa because a shaykh in the tariqa's silsila—generally the founder himself—wrote poetry, using it to express ideas or mystical states, or as a pedagogic device. If a particular book of poetry is associated with the tariqa, inshad is likely to take a more central role.

2) Attitudes toward music. A more conservative tariqa will tend to use a more restrained form of inshad, perhaps employing simple repetitive melodies which merely serve as a framework for the presentation of poetry. Some turuq reject inshad altogether. At the other extreme, a liberal tariqa might perform highly musical inshad together with musical instruments.

3) Attitudes about dhikr. Some turuq prefer to perform dhikr without inshad accompaniment, believing that simultaneous inshad is a distraction. In such turuq the role of inshad is necessarily more limited.

4) Attitudes toward emotionalism. Some turuq lean toward a more emotional form of hadra, as a means of expressing or instilling the emotional relationships, experiences, and concepts upon which Sufism is based. Such turuq will tend to use inshad for this purpose, since inshad is quite flexible in its ability to create and express emotion in conjunction with definite ideas or persons as contained in its poetry. Other turuq prefer a sober hadra; these may reject inshad, or use it only in a very restricted way.

5) Local musical culture. The style of inshad draws to some extent on local musical culture. Thus among *turuq* whose origins are in the Sudan, one may observe pentatonic singing, whereas inshad of Egyptian *turuq* employ the Arabic *maqamat* (melodic modes). Upper Egyptian inshad may employ local folk instruments.

6) Strategic attitudes toward inshad. Generally, the nature of inshad may vary depending on what the *tariqa* seeks to do with it. On the other hand, when strategic planning is absent, inshad represents a kind of “strategic vacuum” which is filled by the choices and abilities of the *munshid* himself.

As the reader may recall from the foregoing discussion of the *sama'*, music is controversial in Sufism. But despite this fact, many modernist groups have selected inshad as an important tool for realizing their spiritual and social aims. Poetry is far more flexible than most texts underlying *hadra* genres of LP (such as *hizb* or *dhikr*), while it is more unifying, memorable, and emotionally satisfying than sermons. For them, inshad is an important tool for teaching, creating group feeling, and representing the group to outsiders, in an age which is generally hostile or indifferent to Sufism. Inshad presents texts while opening the hearts, and drawing them together. At the same time, performance of inshad—praising God or His Prophet, supplicating, or teaching—is a ritual act in itself, and hence bestows on its performer a spiritual reward.

D. The hadra: contexts, organization, content, performance

1. Occasions and locations of hadra

Each active chapter (*bayt*) of a Sufi order holds hadra at least twice a week, often Sunday and Thursday after evening prayer, or Friday after the noon congregational prayer. These days are highly significant in Islam: the Prophet was born on a Monday, and so every Monday (which includes Sunday evening) was special to him, and to all believers. Friday (including Thursday evening) is special, because it contains the obligatory group prayer (*salat al-jum'a*). The tariqa may hold special additional hadras on religious holidays, including Mawlid al-Nabi (the Prophet's birthday), and mawlid of the saints (*awliya'*). Hadras may also be performed to celebrate a wedding, return from pilgrimage (*hajj*), circumcision, memorials, and other social occasions. Regular weekly hadra is held in a mosque, a *zawiya* (tariqa meeting place), or member's home. Special hadras may take place in these places as well, or outside in a large tent (*suwan*) which can accommodate more people; these tend to be more public.⁸

Performance of hadra is not enjoined by Shari'a, and for this reason some of the orthodoxy have considered it *bid'a* (an unauthorized innovation). However, Sufis regard *inshad* as one of many forms of supererogatory prayer, legitimized by the fact that the LP it contains is based on Qur'an and Sunna. They perform it with the same worshipful intention (*niyya*) which they would apply to any prayer.

The word “hadra” literally means “presence”. This concept of presence is susceptible to rich interpretation by Sufis. It includes the social presence of shaykh and muridin, meeting together bodily and spiritually. But hadra also refers to spiritual presence, of God, the Prophet, the Ahl al-Bayt, and the saints. Such presence is not to be conceived of as a form of conjuring, for God is omnipresent in space and time, and thus always with us; however, we are forgetful and thus not always with Him. In the hadra we remember God, and thus become aware of His presence. Beliefs about presence of prophets and saints are more variable. Some Sufis say that the spirits of the virtuous ones (*al-salihin*) are everywhere at once; others say they can appear in many places at once, or that they come to the places where they are remembered. There is a presumption that the Prophet attends every sincere hadra, as do the angels. Thus part of a hadith from the collection of Muslim states:

Allah has angels who travel constantly looking for companies who foregather for the remembrance of Allah. When they find one so occupied they sit down with them and cover one another with their wings so that the space between them and the sky is filled. (al-Nawawi 1975:243).

The presence of God, together with His most august servants, requires a serious demeanor, sound intention (*niyya*), careful *adab* (decorum), and earnest preparation. If approached properly, the sanctity of hadra is capable of conferring blessings on participants, hastening spiritual development through the spiritual maqamat and perhaps offering the flash of *hal*, a transient mystical experience.

But hadra is not merely a religious ritual which confers spiritual benefits on members through performance of particular texts. It is also the scene of group formation,

reinforcement, and (if necessary) transformation, and is thus a ritual of great social power. In a practical sense, the mere corporate performance of hadra affirms the tariqa's corporate existence, serving to make members' corporate membership visible and hence palpable for themselves. Hadra provides a locus within which LP can work its particular spiritual and social effects. It is "economical", since it is a prime opportunity during which large numbers of members can be simultaneously influenced by the same LP in parallel. Although muridin are required to perform special daily prayers individually at home, LP in hadra draws upon group density and interactions to produce a distinctive high emotional energy, intensified by feedback loops of interaction, which is not possible to attain individually. Hadra is the primary social occasion for face-face interaction and communication among tariqa members, with each other, and with the shaykh. Before and after the hadra there may be an opportunity for informal, friendly social interactions; this is the opportunity for personal relations of friendship and mutual respect to develop. New members are socialized into the group through hadra performances. For the disciple, hadra is the only regular opportunity to sit in the presence of the shaykh, to listen to him speak, perhaps to ask questions. Through such interactions, a social-spiritual relation develops between murid and shaykh. Thus the group is created and sustained in hadra.

The importance is acknowledged in the official Sufi regulations, which state that the khalifa must perform or delegate certain duties, among them the convocation of hadras on a predictable basis (Johansen 1996:277; the older regulations of 1905 were even more specific in requiring a hadra to be held at least weekly (de Jong 1978:213)).

2. Organization and control of hadra

Several official roles are distinguished in the performance of hadra. The leader of hadra is called the *shaykh al-hadra*. For the central tariqa hadra he is the shaykh al-sajjada if present, otherwise his deputy. The na'ib, khalifat al-khulafa', or khalifa leads the hadra of his local chapter. Whoever he may be, the leader presides over the hadra just as an imam presides over prayer. Ultimate control lies with him, and the others must follow his orders. He has control over the length and content of hadra segments, to the extent that the tariqa's ritual program admits of flexibility. He may exercise full control himself, or delegate it to others when he sees fit to do so.

The mustaftih ("opener", who may be the shaykh al-hadra), controls the regular recitation and movements of dhikr by clapping and setting an example with his own chant and movement; he may also lead group recitation of other prayers (hizb, fawatih, ad'iyya, described below). There is frequently a *muqri'* who recites Qur'an. There may be a *khatib* (preacher) to deliver a sermon, or a *mudarris* (teacher) to lead a religious lesson. Muridin with good voices and memories for poetry may serve as munshidin, or a munshid may be brought from outside the tariqa. If the liturgy of the tariqa calls for a vocal chorus, there will also be a lead munshid to select poetry and direct the others. In some orders there are accompanying instrumentalists as well, playing percussion or melodic instruments. Specially designated members of the group perform other duties, such as cooking, preparing tea, serving, cleaning, distributing and collecting prayer books, and guarding or arranging footwear; the person in charge of one of these roles is often called a *naqib*.

3. The content and performance of hadra

The hadra may comprise a variety of LP genres. Some of these, including ad'iyya (supplicatory prayers), Qur'anic recitation, khutba (sermon), and durus (lessons), occur in many other religious contexts as well. But the genres which are particular to Sufism, and whose performances best serve to distinguish the hadra of one tariqa from another, are the group recitations of extended prayers particular to the order, usually called hizb or awrad; the chanting of dhikr, and inshad.

The way these elements are combined in hadra can vary greatly depending on the tariqa. Within a given tariqa the sequential form is more or less fixed, although specific content may vary according to decisions issued by the shaykh al-hadra, or his proxies. However, lengths of sections typically may depending on context. There may also be optional sections which can be added or removed according to circumstances, and a limited amount of sectional repetition. The descriptions which follow are generalizations approximating the practices of most turuq, a composite picture obtained by combining ethnographies of many different groups. Describing the general form of the hadra will also serve as a means for introducing the various genres of LP employed in it. Later I will describe the specific hadras of the turuq under investigation in great detail. The following diagram provides a rough map for the discussion which follows.

1. Preparation for hadra
 - i) Physical, mental, and spiritual preparation
 - ii) Spatial preparation
2. Fawatih and ad'iyya
3. Hizb (awrad, wazifa; istighfar, salawat)
4. Dhikr, often with solo or group inshad
 - i) seated (julus) tabaqa; usually employs the tahlil ("la ilaha illa Allah")
 - ii) standing (wuquf) tabaqa; each tabaqa employs a different Name
5. Group inshad*
6. Qur'anic recitation (solo)*
7. Speeches (khutba, dars, mudhakara, muhadara)*
8. Nafha*
9. Khitam
10. Fawatih and ad'iyya
11. Greetings of brethren and shaykh

Diagram 4: Map of generic hadra. Items in bold are nearly universal among the turuq. The asterisk (*) indicates items whose position within the liturgy is variable; other items usually occur in the order shown.

a. Preparation

It is essential that participants prepare themselves physically and mentally for hadra, just as they would for obligatory prayer (salah). As for prayer, participants must be in a state of ritual purity (*wudu*'), accomplished through a prescribed sequence of ritual washings accompanied by correct niyya (intention). Some turuq may prescribe special elements of dress, often white is preferred; headgear may be required. Clothes should be clean and conservative; the traditional *jallabiyya* is often worn (though not required) even by those who would not wear it on other occasions, as a sign of traditional religiosity (the Prophet wore one). Perfumes may be applied (the Prophet approved of perfume). Participants should be calm of heart, humble in attitude, focussed on love for God, shaykh, and brethren. They should attempt to banish stray thoughts and worldly desires before beginning, although the structure of the hadra itself is designed to do this for them as well.

All of these preparations are required or encouraged by Sunna before obligatory prayer (salah) as well (especially Friday prayer, salat al-jum'a). Therefore, many of the preparatory conditions for hadra are easily fulfilled, because the hadra is usually held immediately after obligatory prayers (especially evening or night prayer). Thus, most participants are already dressed and groomed appropriately, in a state of ritual purity, and in a religious frame of mind.⁹ The similarity of preparation also emphasizes the fact that Sufi ritual is an extension of standard Islamic ritual.

After the preceding salah is completed, the muridin arrange themselves in a seated formation. Possible geometries include circles, squares, and (most commonly) two or more facing rows, with the shaykh, mustaftih, and munshidin at the ends, or in the center. The muridin face inward, toward the shaykh. Here is a significant departure from the obligatory prayer (salah), in which all face the same direction, Mecca (or, more properly, the Ka'ba, center of the world). Outside the Haram al-Sharif (the sacred mosque in Mecca), the geometry of salah consists of parallel lines in an open geometry. But the tariqa's geometry is closed on itself, emphasizing its independent group-identity.¹⁰

If the hadra takes place in a public mosque, the mustaftih will have to wait until non-members praying their Sunna prayers (individual supererogatory prayers following obligatory prayers, based on the Prophet's own practice) in the center of the formation complete them. Then he will begin the hadra.

b. *Fawatih and ad'iyya*

The hadra opens with call and response recitation of *fawatih* (singular Fatiha, here the recitation of the opening sura (chapter) of the Qur'an), recited as a *du'a'* (plural *ad'iyya*; supplicatory prayer) for blessings upon the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt, saints, qutb, founder of the order, founder's khalifa, other shaykhs and figures of spiritual importance to the group, as well as the muridin themselves. This significance of Fatiha performance is signified by the existence of the plural form, *fawatih*, which is only meaningful as a description of its recitation, since the Fatiha as a unit of text is singular.

All the various meanings of the Fatiha (mentioned earlier) are important in the recitation of *fawatih* during hadra, especially the notion of creating a sacred interval. When recited for spiritual entities, the recitation carries multiple meanings: a request for blessings upon them, request for their presence in hadra, and for their spiritual favor. Thus the opening Fatiha is usually for the Prophet, meaning that the Prophet should help us, and be present among us; it is also a kind of praise. When recited for ordinary people, the Fatiha takes the meaning of a request for help for that person. In either case, relationships are established through such performative acts.

Each Fatiha-recitation takes the following form: The *mustaftih* calls out a name or list of names, rapidly in a loud voice, concluding with "al-Fatiha!". This "call" is followed by a group recitation of the Fatiha, *sotto voce*. (The group recitation of the Fatiha may also be preceded by a group recitation of *salawat* (request for blessings on the Prophet) aloud; see the transcription of the *Bayyumiyya* hadra for an example of this style.) A series

of such fawatih usually occurs at the end of the hadra as well, and sometimes there are performances of fawatih in the middle too.

Although all turuq include fawatih, there are significant differences in their number and prominence, as well as in who is named. While all groups mention the Prophet and the Ahl al-Bayt, each group naturally focusses upon their own shaykhs (qutb, founder, and others in the silsila), resulting in differences between the turuq. But there is also a notable contrast between traditional and modernist groups. The former tend to invoke the names of many of the famous saints outside their own tariqa; the resulting overlaps between fawatih-names employed by the traditional groups reflects the non-exclusive relationships between the groups. Such practices tend not to reinforce the identity of the particular group, but rather its interconnections to the traditional Sufi fabric. In the traditional groups, the collection of fawatih recited tends to depend heavily on choices made by the particular mustaftih.

Modernist groups by contrast tend to keep the fawatih section shorter, focussing more on those individuals who can reinforce the group's identity, namely the qutb, the founder, and others in the silsila; with the possible exception of the qutb, these persons are *not* mentioned by the traditional turuq. Some of the modernist groups even write out the fawatih to be recited, an aid also in standardizing the tariqa and preventing divergencies. Thus fawatih are used as a strategy, as well as being the object of strategic control.

As of the most important meanings of the Fatiha is as a du'a', it is not surprising that additional ad'iyya may be interpolated among them. In the hadra, the mustaftih

recites a du'a', recognizable for its standard opening: "Allahumma..." ("Oh God"), and the congregation responds with "Amin" ("Amen"). In some turuq (mainly traditional) the mustafih is relatively free to insert whatever du'a' he prefers from among the standard forms (although the political sorts of ad'iyya, asking God to destroy the political enemies of Islam and the like, are almost never included in Sufi contexts), requesting children's success in school exams, while in others (mainly modernist) the ad'iyya are part of a fixed liturgy (sometimes written) which focusses on more lofty themes.

In general one finds that the modernist groups have opted for greater standardization and tighter limits in both ad'iyya and fawatih; this technique provides better assurances of uniformity and hence cohesion of a widespread group. The traditional groups, in not controlling this aspect of LP in hadra, thus miss an opportunity for strategic control. I will not analyze the ad'iyya texts in the sample hadras, but I will analyze inshad texts in detail, where we will see a parallel phenomenon in the limitations on naming saints.

c. Hizb

Next comes group recitation of one or more extended fixed-text prayers, sometimes from memory, and sometimes from prayer-books (which may be distributed at this point). Generically, each such prayer is called hizb, awrad, ratib, or wazifa; those with particular themes may be given special names, such as istighfar (request for forgiveness from God), or salawat (supplications to God for blessings on the Prophet). I will use the word "hizb" as a generic designation for all such prayers. Usually the hizb is characteristic

of the tariqa, and is frequently attributed to its founder or qutb. It may include Qur'anic ayat (verses), ad'iyya (mainly from Qur'an or Sunna, especially those requesting forgiveness), adhkar (sayings of the Prophet, from Sunna), and salawat, mixed with material from the saints and shaykhs, forming a kind of "mosaic" of recurring elements, to use Padwick's characterization (Padwick 1961:xxvii). Its recitation forms a prelude to dhikr, preparing the hearts for what is to come, and requesting God's assistance and blessings. A repertoire of several hizbs and other prayers is associated with each tariqa, from which the shaykh al-hadra may select those to be recited in any particular hadra.

Although sometimes a chapter from the Qur'an (most commonly surat Yasin) may be employed in its entirety as a hizb, more commonly there is a composer. The text bears the authoritative stamp of the shaykh who composed it, and is associated with his name. That shaykh is typically a member of the silsila of the tariqa in whose hadra the hizb is performed: the founder of the tariqa, or the qutb who functions as the tariqa's spiritual wellspring. In this case, the hizb is connected to the identity of the tariqa, and its recitation serves to assert that identity

Composition here must be understood as being quite different from authorship in the ordinary meaning of the term. On the one hand, because it is highly mannered and constrained, the text can scarcely be considered to embody the composer's personality in any naturalistic sense. Most of the hizb is outright quotation; the remainder is narrowly limited by conventions. Thus in composing the "author" mostly strings together excerpts

of traditional texts from Qur'an and Sunna, and only exercises control over the selections, orderings, and repeat counts of each section.

Certain short Qur'anic verses are commonly included, especially those containing tawhid (assertions of God's unity), expressing religious principles, or ad'iyya (certain du'a' come from the Qur'an); these include the Fatiha (1) (already discussed); Ikhlas (112) (a statement of God's unity); Falaq (113) and Nas (114) (requests for protection from evil); and the final three verses of Surat al-Baqara (2:284-6), particularly the last of these which is as a Qur'anic du'a'. Other famous passages which may be included are the Throne Verse (2:256), and any verse testifying to God's unity. Surat Yasin may also be used as a hizb in itself.

The composer may also insert sayings of the Prophet as recorded in hadith: adhkar and ad'iyya (especially requests for forgiveness); such texts are spiritually efficacious by sanction of Prophetic usage and occupy a central position in general Islamic practice. Sufis recite these adhkar not only in the hizb, but also in the daily wurd (litany) recited by each murid individually. Other ad'iyya may be included as well.

Salawat (requests to God for blessings upon the Prophet) constitute a third broad category of Islamic LP, intersecting the Sufi world, but extending far beyond it as well. Here the composer has more flexibility. Sufi shaykhs composed the most elaborate forms of prose salawat, which may combine praise and employ prose-rhyme (*saja'*) and other literary devices. But even such "original" material is heavily influenced by the themes and

styles of the Sufi-Islamic tradition, and the composer's individuality can hardly be expressed freely.

On the other hand, when metaphysical factors are taken into account, the *hizb* is revealed to be much more closely connected with its "author" than any ordinary text could possibly be, for in some ineffable manner it is imbued with his *baraka* (here perhaps best translated as "spiritual power"). This property is due in part to the method of composition. The *hizb* is often said to have been inspired by *hal* (mystical state); the long *hizbs* of Badawi and Dasuqi contain the "language of *hal*" *Suriyaniyya*, the language of the *mala'ika*, and are therefore referred to as *mitalsam* (talismanic).

Hizb performance is an act of ritual LP, whose efficacy depends largely upon its proper performance; particularly when the *hizb* contains Qur'an, great emphasis is placed upon proper pronunciation. The *hizb* is not overtly intended to be affective or communicative in a psycho-social sense; it is a communication to God which is intended to produce a preparatory purification for the *muridin* before *dhikr* begins. Thus the *hizb* may sometimes even include unintelligible language (*suriyaniyya*) devoid of any referential meaning. Esoteric repeat counts are non-referential as well. Thus while repeating the Name of God, "Latif", may be deeply meaningful, the fact of repeating it exactly 129 times is a purely performative act without semantic content. The purely performative efficacy of Qur'anic recitation and Prophetically sanctioned sayings has also been discussed. According to a hadith often recalled by Sufis, *salawat*, although overtly calling for

blessings on the Prophet, also bring blessings upon the reciter in the ratio of 10:1; bless the Prophet once, and God will bless you ten times.

But efficacy of hizb performance does not lie only in the performative power (supplicatory, benedictory) of recombinant elements such as Qur'anic verses, adhkar, or salawat. While these elements may not have been composed by the shaykh, their particular arrangement in the form of a hizb is characteristically his, and their proper recitation in this order invokes his characteristic baraka. Taken together the whole is considered protective against evil forces and inclinations (often the hizb bears the label "hisn", protection, and may be inscribed on a slip of paper to be worn as a protective amulet, or *hijab*) and therefore serves as a purificatory prelude to the hadra as a whole. As ritual language, hizb is therefore effective as a means of spiritual purification, as well as a protection and remedy for all manner of misfortune.¹¹ The hizb is language chosen by the founding shaykh for his followers' benefit, to prepare them for dhikr and protect them from evil.

While hizb content varies very little from one tariqa to another, the style of performance does vary. Recitation may be tonal, but tonal patterns are usually quite limited, since the hizb text generally lacks any regularizing poetic meter (although there may be rhyme) and group recitation precludes a treatment parallel to mujawwad Qur'an. While interesting results could no doubt be extracted from a detailed textual analysis (particular in its intertextual aspects), my analysis will focus on the more salient contrasts in performance style.

Performance of a particular hizb is what marks a hadra as unequivocally the liturgy of a particular tariqa, for the hadras of the traditional turuq—at least—are often otherwise roughly the same in their dhikr and inshad. The presence of the Bayyumi hizb marks a hadra as Bayyumi, the Rifa‘i hizb marks a hadra as Rifa‘i.

d. Dhikr and inshad

After this recitation is completed, prayer-books are collected, and dhikr (remembrance, or mention, of God) is performed, first seated (julus), then standing (wuquf). Dhikr consists of group chanting of a particular Name of God (or the tahlil), usually accompanied by particular body movements and inshad. In chanting a particular formula, the Sufi aims to concentrate on its meaning, ejecting everything else from his being; the sensory and physical aspects of the chanting help him to do so.

In hadra, dhikr most often begins with the formula of tawhid (also called the Shahada, *kalimat al-tawhid*, *tahlil*, or *haylala*): “la ilaha illa Allah”, “there is no deity but God”. This formula usually serves as a prelude to dhikr, focussing one’s attention on God by assertion of His unity and at the same time renewing one’s profession of faith in Islam; the inner meaning of the formula is said to be “there is no true existence except God”, expressing the Sufi concept of Haqiqa (True Reality). After this recitation, the *dhakkira* (performers of dhikr; singular: *dhakir*) may chant the Names of God, most frequently “Allah” (called the *ism al-jalala*, the Name of Majesty), “Hu (Huwa)” (“He”), “Haqq” (Truth), “Hayy” (“Living”), “Qayyum” (“Eternal”), and “Qahhar” (“Almighty”); these seven Names are sometimes correlated with the seven progressive spiritual stages of the

nafs (self) (see al-Bayyumi n.d.:23ff, also Gardet EI2:“Dhikr”). Sometimes dhikr is included within the formal scope of the hizb as well; in this case a separate dhikr section may or may not follow.

Sufis defend the practice of dhikr by citing the many Qur’anic verses and Hadith which exhort believers to remember God. Thus: “Lo! worship¹² preserveth from lewdness and iniquity, but verily remembrance [dhikr] of Allah is more important” (29:45), “Therefore remember Me, I will remember you.” (2:152), “O ye who believe! Remember Allah with much remembrance” (33:41), “When ye have performed the act of worship, remember Allah, standing, sitting and reclining” (4:103), “Verily in the remembrance of Allah do hearts find rest” (13:28). From the Hadith Qudsi (words of God as reported by the Prophet): “When the servant remembers me in himself, I remember him in Myself, when he remembers me in an assembly, I remember him in a better and more noble assembly.” The Prophet said: “Everything has a polisher, and the polisher of hearts is dhikr of God”, (cited in Darniqa 1990:45). “A man asked the Holy Prophet: Messenger of Allah, the ordinances of Islam appear to me a host, so kindly tell me something to which I should hold fast. He answered him: Let thy tongue be constantly occupied with the remembrance of Allah” (Tirmidhi, cited in al-Nawawi 1975:240).

Dhikr in the general sense includes all manner of religious practices: recitation of Qur’an, religious study, ordinary prayer (salah or du‘a’), inshad dini, recitation of the Prophet’s adhkār (especially in wird, the murid’s daily supererogatory litany), anything at all to remind one of God. However whereas the ordinary Muslim recites Qur’an and

receives spiritual benefits in the Hereafter, the Sufi chants a Name of God over and over, in order to draw closer to Him in this life. Some of the orthodoxy criticized such practices as bid'a.

The Sufis, however, point out that the Names they employ in dhikr occur in the Qur'an itself, being a subset of the Asma' Allah al-Husna, the "most beautiful Names of God" of which the Qur'an says: "Allah's are the fairest names. Invoke Him by them" (7:180). A hadith according to both Tirmidhi and Bukhari reports that the Prophet said: "Allah has 99 Names, a hundred less one; he who enumerates them enters Paradise..." (cited in Khamis n.d.:32). The recitation of dhikr is thus essentially Qur'anic in both content and injunction. How can Qur'anic chant be criticized? Members of Shadhili orders, for instance, emphasize that all the Names they employ in dhikr occur among the first few words of the frequently invoked Ayat al-Kursi (Throne Verse), the Qur'anic verse which begins as follows: "Allah la ilaha illa Huwa al-Hayy al-Qayyum...", "Allah! There is no deity but He, the Living, the Everlasting."

Generally Names employed in dhikr do not connote a supplication, as when a believer cries out "Ya Fattah" (Oh Opener!) as a request for God to solve a problem, or "Ya Rahim" (Oh Merciful One!) as a plea for compassion. The Names of dhikr are abstract attributes of God as subsisting in Himself, and independent of creation. To recite a supplicatory Name is to imply supplication, and thus an orthodox relation of man and God. However, the Sufi chants in order to immerse himself totally in a particular Attribute of Divine Reality (Haqiqa), in order to increase his faith, and to achieve a deeper

realization of the true nature of existence. (Gilsenan makes a similar point with respect to the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya; see Gilsenan 1973:167-8) While Sufi dhikr depends on repetition, its significance is usually independent of the precise number of repetitions (exceptions to this rule—suggesting relations to Cabalistic forms of invocation in which language form is more important than language meaning—commonly occur in the hizb).

My ethnography of hadra dhikr in Egypt suggests typologies of dhikr are based on sonic and spiritual attributes.¹³ These typologies are often intertwined in practice; the following components in use are quasi-separable:

(1) Spiritual levels: *Dhikr al-lisan* (dhikr of the tongue) vs. *dhikr al-qalb* (dhikr of the heart) or *dhikr al-ruh* (dhikr of the spirit). The first level contains two stages. In the first stage, dhikr is performed vocally only, without proper intention or understanding of the heart (signifier without signified); such dhikr is not guaranteed to be sincere, but is still useful as training for higher stages. In the second stage, vocal dhikr is accompanied by proper intention and understanding in the heart. The second level, *dhikr al-qalb*, refers to the complete immersion of the spiritual center (the heart) in dhikr; vocal performance is no longer of importance and may be omitted entirely (i.e. signified without signifier).¹⁴ Some advanced Sufis claim to be in a continual state of dhikr.

(2) Vocalization. The dhikr combines breath with vocal sound, and may tend toward either pole. When dhikr is fully vocal it is called *dhikr jahri* (loud dhikr), or simply *dhikr al-lisan*. Such dhikr is usually tonal; pitch patterns may be simple (a single recitation tone) or complex (the now defunct Laythiyya order, recorded during the 1932

Arabic Music Congress, provides the most elaborate examples on record). The sound of such dhikr serves to expel distracting thoughts (*khawatir*) from the mind of the *dhakir* (performer of dhikr), and is often preparatory. In such a condition the dhakir is *sahi* (awake). Dhikr comprised of pure breath is called *dhikr al-nafas* (dhikr of the breath), *dhikr ruhi* (spiritual dhikr), *dhikr sirri* (secret dhikr), *dhikr khafi* (hidden dhikr), or *dhikr khafid* (quiet dhikr); it may also be called dhikr al-qalb (due to association with the spiritual state described above). Exhalation is the expulsion of sensual cravings inspired by the Shaytan (Devil); inhalation is the interiorization of God. Focus on the process of inhalation and exhalation thus produces a more direct effect on the heart (whose physical correlate is located in the chest) than ordinary dhikr al-lisan. Although such dhikr is barely audible, the Name being recited is nevertheless distinctly present, and it produces a more powerful effect on the dhakir, leading to *wajd* (ecstasy); or *sukr* and *nashwa* (spiritual intoxication); for this reason, dhikr al-nafas is sharply limited or controlled by conservative and modernist groups.

(3) Linguistic articulation. There is a range of articulation in dhikr, from precise and clear expressions fixed by discrete phonemic structure, to inarticulate continuous sonic patterns from which discretely articulated consonant sounds have been removed and sound is produced in both inhalation and exhalation (the so-called “sawing” or “barking” dhikr). The former type is called *dhikr al-lisan*, *dhikr zahiri* (exoteric dhikr), or *dhikr shar‘i* (“legal” dhikr), since each letter in the Qur’anic Names of God is thereby given its full value according to the rules of *tajwid*; such dhikr addresses the ‘aql (intellect) through

ordinary linguistic communication wherein the signifier evokes the signified. But it is the latter type—called *dhikr al-sadr* (dhikr of the chest), *dhikr batini* (esoteric dhikr), *dhikr al-qalb*, or *dhikr al-ruh* (and which may combine with dhikr of the breath)—which most Sufis consider to be more spiritually powerful, at least according to their inner doctrines. For God in His Essence (*Dhat*) contains no attributes, hence no Names; in this form He is unrepresentable by linguistic codes. Dhikr batini is an immediate sonic expression of the qalb's comprehension of God's essence, without the mediating distortions caused by the intellect and its ancillary linguistic organ, the tongue. Inarticulate sounds express a deep awareness of God, whose nature transcends the expressive capabilities of language. Since such dhikr is not literally Qur'an, some Sufis believe that it may be accompanied by music and assume more ecstatic forms. The most common manifestation of dhikr batini is the common substitution of "Ah" for "Allah", a form of dhikr attributed to the Prophet Ibrahim in the Qur'an as a means of remembering God in his distress (9:114, 11:75), and especially associated with Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili, eponymous founder of the Shadhili line (who resorted to it when his tongue became paralyzed from excessive dhikr). In its more extreme forms, such dhikr is continuous vocal sound shaped by the patterns of breathing.

Aspects of dhikr performance style in hadra may be read as indices of tariqa strategy. Clear and straightforward dhikr (*dhikr shar'i* or *zahiri*) is the least controversial, and groups which are more conservative, or concerned to maintain appearances, tend to adopt these styles. Thus we saw earlier that the official Sufi regulations of 1905 banned

unclear dhikr (de Jong 213). Several orders today, such as the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya, explicitly ban it as well (Gilsenan 1973:226-7). Besides the distinctions of vocalization and articulation described above, chanting can be unified to a greater or lesser degree. Vocal styles are frequently mixed; dhikr al-lisan usually serves as prelude to breathy or inarticulate dhikr, since the latter produces as well as reflects the higher levels of mystical heat produced as the hadra progresses.

There are also kinetic and postural variables in dhikr (see Waugh 1989:42-45). Most commonly “la ilaha illa Allah” is recited while still seated from the preceding hizb recitation. The murid turns the head and upper torso to the right while pronouncing the *nafy* (negation, here: “la ilaha...”), and toward the heart while pronouncing the *ithbat* (affirmation, here: “...illa Allah”). At some point the muridin assume a standing position, from which they perform the remainder of the dhikr. While standing, chanting is accompanied by bowing, nodding, and turning movements. The first two, sometimes called dhikr shar‘i, “legal” dhikr, are generally considered more orthodox. Bowing is found in obligatory prayer (in the transition between *wuquf* and *ruku’* positions); both bowing and nodding movements are less prone to produce the vertiginous sensations which may lead to ecstatic behaviors, and are less likely to disrupt decorum since each murid remains within a narrow physical space.

Turning movements, sometimes called “dhikr Hifnawi” (perhaps after the famous Khalwati shaykh of al-Azhar, Muhammad ibn Salim al-Hifnawi (1690-1768)), are generally considered less orthodox, and the more conservative *turuq* sometimes forbid

them, while in the unrestrained public dhikrs of mawlid and certain social occasions such movements predominate. The more conservative groups perform more restrained movements, and the most conservative may not perform any regular noticeable bodily movements at all, considering them to be a form of bid'a (innovation) resembling *raqs* (dance). Thus the conservative Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya prohibit "dancing and swaying" (Gilsenan 1973:227). Like the sounds of dhikr, movements are both causative and expressive of mystical states. A poetic line of the famous saint Abu Madyan "al-Ghawth" (d. 1126) is frequently cited in this connection: "If the spirits tremble with longing for meeting, then the bodies will dance..." Movement may be voluntary, producing feeling; it may also be involuntary, the outer manifestation of inner spiritual movement.

Dhikr performance in the hadra is organized into a series of segments, each called a *tabaqa* or *'atf*. Each such segment is characterized by a single chanted phrase or Name, rhythm, and physical movement, and lasts between five and fifteen minutes. Each *tabaqa* may be led by a different *mustaftih*. The particular sequence of *tabaqa*s, and their attributes, is often a distinguishing fixed characteristic of the *tariqa* or *tariqa* chapter. Between the *tabaqa*s there may be a brief pause, allowing participants to rest.

Often, *inshad* is performed as an accompaniment to dhikr; such *inshad* is usually solo, but may also be choral (particularly in the Shadhili orders). The first *tabaqa* is usually performed without *inshad*. If *inshad* is used, it may accompany subsequent dhikr *tabaqa*s, or fill the pauses between them. During dhikr, the majority of the *muridin* are engaged in performing the movement and chant of dhikr, while a soloist (or small group) may perform

inshad; such inshad is metric. Inshad may also be performed as a *tabaqa* prelude; such inshad is ordinarily solo and non-metric. It is important for inshad to be coordinated with the *dhikr*, in tempo, meaning, and spiritual condition. The quality of a *munshid* is partly judged in terms of conventional aesthetics (vocal timbre, musical skill, poetic repertoire) but even more so in terms of how successful he is in raising the spiritual-emotional level. Inshad may also be accompanied by percussion or melodic instruments, although the latter especially have been severely criticized by reformers for centuries, and are excluded from most of the orders' *hadras* (e.g. the *Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya*; see Gilsean 1973:211); considerably less restraint is exercised in processions (*mawkibs*) and the open public *hadras* of the *mawlid*s.

Participants often cite the efficacy of inshad in raising the emotional level and maintaining spiritual concentration by presenting religious themes. But when poetry is performed during *dhikr* it is unclear to what extent the *dhakir* (reciter of *dhikr*) is able to concentrate on both *dhikr* and poetic text. Some Sufis say there is no conflict between listening to religious inshad and concentrating on *dhikr*, since everything sung or chanted is connected to God. Others believe that one cannot truly listen to both, and that the highest form of *dhikr* is free of any distractions, including inshad. Some say that inshad helps one to concentrate, but that when one's *dhikr* concentration is deep, one ceases to listen to inshad. Certain orders, such as the *Tijaniyya* and the *Ja'fariyya*, do not combine inshad with *dhikr*, feeling that such combinations create attention conflicts. Both emotional and pedagogical functions of inshad are heightened when poems are sung

outside of dhikr; all turuq admit the religious validity of performing inshad outside of dhikr, and some actually incorporate such inshad in their hadras.

Each tabaqa takes the form of a “buildup” of sound, movement, and emotion, of approximately five to fifteen minutes in duration. This buildup is the most important large-scale gestural unit in dhikr. The starting point, tempo, and ending point of each tabaqa are regulated by the mustaftih (who in turn follows the command of the shaykh al-hadra) via his handclaps and movements, which accelerate gradually before stopping to mark the end of the tabaqa; when percussion is used there may be modulation to a higher metric “harmonic” as meter collapses from quadruple to duple time. The roughly coordinated movements (including bowing, nodding, or turning) of the dhakira become correspondingly more rapid, energetic, and wide-ranging. Occasionally various forms of ecstatic behavior, including shouting, crying, jumping, falling, and even violent movement, seizures, or catatonic-like states, may occur, although these are discouraged and consequently rare in the more disciplined orders. The turuq vary in the extent to which they strive for uniformity in dhikr. In both dhikr and inshad, there is often a gradually rise in tuning, and munshidin may also modulate to higher pitch centers. The overall volume generally increases, and melodic phrases may become shorter.

e. Optional sections

After several dhikr tabaqas, the muridin sit once again. At this point several different genres of LP may be performed. Some hadras include a short solo recitation from the Qur’an, in the florid mujawwad style (Nelson 1985:102ff). A section of

precomposed group inshad (inshad jama'ī) may also be included in the hadra. Either all the muridīn sing the melody together, or the group divides into soloists, who sing the qasida, and a chorus, who respond with the madhhab (refrain). Here, inshad is the focus of attention, rather than an accompaniment.

Segments of speech may also occur. These vary in format, content, and formality. Sometimes there are perfectly mundane announcements about upcoming hadras, mawlids, trips, and other events. A speaker may deliver a formal sermon (*khutba*) or lecture (*muhadara*), read from a book of essays (*qira'a*), or teach a religious lesson (*dars*). Other speech is more interactive. Members may take turns talking on a particular topic, or there may be question and answer study sessions led by a religious scholar (*mudhakara*). Topics include all the standard religious sciences—*tafsir al-Qur'an* (Qur'anic exegesis), *hadith* (traditions of the Prophet), *sira* (Prophet's biography), *fiqh* (jurisprudence)—as well as more specifically Sufi topics: *adab* and *siluk* (proper conduct), stories of the Prophet or saints (*qisas al-ambiya'*, *qisas al-awliya'*), theories of spiritual progress, stations and states (*maqamat* and *ahwal*), mystical cosmology and theosophy, Divine Love, relations to saints, and so on. Even at its most formal, speech is more flexible than most other genres of LP, being essentially communicative more than ritual or expressive.

In every hadra a *nafha* (gift) must be distributed to participants, either during or immediately following the hadra. This *nafha*, which is considered to carry God's blessing through the shaykh, may consist of food, drink, perfume, or even money.

f. Conclusion of the hadra

1. Ziyara

If the hadra is performed in a mosque attached to the maqam (shrine) of an important shaykh (often a member of the tariqa's silsila), saint, or member of the Ahl al-Bayt), the hadra will frequently include a ziyara (visit) to the shrine, consisting of a group procession to the maqsura (grillwork) surrounding the shrine, followed by supplications performed at the shrine.

2. Khitam al-hadra

Each hadra closes with formulas particular to the order. These almost always include the following sequence, most often at the very end, which may be called the *khitam*, or *ikhritam* (ending):

1) Surat al-Fatiha 1:1-7 (Qur'an)

2) Surat Ahzab 33:56 (Qur'an). This verse exhorts believers to bless the Prophet (salat 'ala al-nabi): "Lo! Allah and His angels shower blessings on the Prophet. Oh ye who believe! Ask blessings on him and salute him with a worthy salutation."

3) Salat 'ala al-Nabi (traditional). There follows those blessings in a conventional form: "Oh God, bless and grant peace to our master Muhammad, and to all his family and companions."

4) Surat al-Saffat 37:180-2 (Qur'an). Finally, three Qur'anic ayas which praise God, and call for peace upon all the messengers: "Glorified be thy Lord, the Lord of

Majesty, from that which they attribute (unto Him).” “And peace be unto those sent (to warn).” “And praise be to Allah, Lord of the Worlds!”

3. Final salawat

The khitam is commonly followed by a final set of requests for blessings upon the Prophet, either in the following form or another very close to it:

“Blessings and peace be upon you, oh messenger of God! Blessings and peace be upon you, oh beloved of God! A thousand times blessings and peace be upon you, oh first of God’s creation and last of God’s messengers!”

4. Final Fawatih and Ad‘iyya

The final salawat may be followed by more fawatih and ad‘iyya, providing a symmetrical closure. However, unlike the opening set, the final fawatih and ad‘iyya are likely to be longer, and to include fawatih as supplications for members of the group who are experiencing life difficulties rather than being directed primarily to spiritual entities.

5. Greetings

The formal ritual having ended, the brethren greet each other, and line up to greet the shaykh (*musafaha*). These two forms of greeting are significant, since they embody the horizontal and vertical social relations which underlie the personal social structure of the tariqa.

E. Controversial aspects of Islamic LP, and degrees of acceptability

Every aspect of LP in Islam displays a range of variability, and of orthodox acceptability. Therefore LP can serve as both index and determiner of religious orientation and reputation. By manipulating the many variables of LP a tariqa can express its unique orientation, shape its reputation, and influence the world-view of its members.

1. Texts (syntactic and semantic aspects)

a. Authorization by Islamic texts

Qur'an and Hadith provide the essential textual basis for Islam. Therefore, texts drawn from Qur'an and Hadith are most widely accepted. Other texts may be legitimized by recourse to statements in Qur'an or Hadith. Conversely, as a tariqa strays from these texts, its practices will appear as less legitimate to Islamic reformers and critics.

b. Performative efficacy

While certain aspects of performative efficacy are established by hadith (which have been cited earlier), extremely large numbers of repetitions are criticized by the more moderate and modernist orders, since they distract the Sufi from leading a normal life by requiring hours of supererogatory devotion each day. Numerological counts, determined by the mystical 'ilm al-huruf, may be criticized as magical or unsanctioned by normative

Islam. Thus, the modernist Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya tariqa bans required recitation of very long wirds (Gilsenan 1973:211).

c. Poetic themes and symbols

All of the main themes and beliefs of Sufism, from the shar‘i beliefs of orthodox religion to the most extreme antinomianism (monism, mystical communion, unity) are present in its poetry; when strategically controlled, poetry is a good index of tariqa attitudes (when poetry is *not* strategically controlled, then its content reflects the predilections of the munshid, but cannot be said to reflect those of the tariqa as a whole). While many themes found in inshad dini are acceptable to most Muslims, some Sufi poetry can be controversial, as has been discussed. Even themes which are broadly acceptable among most Egyptian Muslims, such as excessive praise of the Prophet, or references to his intercession, may not be acceptable to Islamic reformers many of whom adopt the Wahhabi orientation of the Prophet as a “mere man”. It is in part for these reasons that modernist groups seek to control the inshad repertoire, as we shall see; the modernist Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya in their laws suggest use of qasidas “to which we are accustomed” (Gilsenan 1973:219).

2. Performance (sonic, pragmatic aspects)

a. Instrumentation

The voice is always acceptable (even if some vocal styles are not) as a mode of performance. Other instruments may be criticized by conservatives. Most of the genres of

LP used in hadra (fawatih, ad'iyya, hizb, speech) never employ any instruments, being inappropriate to the sacred nature of the text or the goals of performance. Thus it is only in inshad (sometimes with dhikr) that one can observe differentiation in instrumentation. In the mosques, there is little variability, since instruments are generally not used. The greatest range can be found in the more public celebrations, as in the hadras of mawlid, or mawkibs (processions).

The instruments display a rough hierarchy of acceptability. Within each of the following three categories, the acceptability of instruments is given in decreasing order.

(1) Most acceptable: voice; hand-claps; 'asaya (metal walking stick struck with a sibha (rosary) or metal beater).

(2) Less acceptable: percussion instruments: those which are traditionally associated with religious music, such as the duff (frame drum without jingles, sanctioned by hadith); those which are traditionally associated with folk music, such as the *tura* (brass castanets); and those which evoke modern secular music and dance, such as the tabla (funnel-shaped drum, which may sometimes be less acceptable than reed flutes, below).

(3) Least acceptable: melodic instruments. The most acceptable are the winds: kawala and nay (reed flutes), rarely *arghul* (clarinet). Less acceptable are those instruments which are associated strongly with secular music; 'ud (lute), *kamanja* (violin), and *urj* (synthesizer). The reed flutes have a long history of association with Sufism, and

are considered to produce a sad sound which is spiritually valuable; for some they may be more acceptable than the secular percussion instruments.

The modernist Ja'fariyya and Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya ban all musical instruments in hadra (Gilsenan 1973:211). Other modernist groups (such as the Jazuliyya) may use them under controlled circumstances, as we will see later on. Traditional orders such as the Bayyumiyya avoid them in the regular hadra, but may employ them in the mawlid.

b. Melodic (tonal, rhythmic) content

Meter and tempo. Non-metric melody is generally considered most conducive to a proper spiritual aesthetic attitude, perhaps due in part to the use of this style in Qur'anic recitation and *ibtihalat*. When metric melody is employed, certain meters which are conventionally associated with *inshad dini*, or which harken back to an older and more respectable musical age are considered more acceptable. These are often performed using a strong percussion line. Meters which are widely associated with popular dance and listening music tend to be avoided by groups wishing to project a more conservative image. Faster tempi too are considered less austere, and thus less suitable in projecting a dignified, austere religious image. Discrimination among *maqamat* (melodic modes) is a minor factor; one might only note that *maqam saba* is emphasized due to its mournful expressivity.

Melody. Religious conservatives (inspired by Wahhabi practices) may actually shout rather than sing the *adhan* (call to prayer), so as to avoid untoward associations with music; they tend to perform Qur'anic recitation using a straightforward *tartil* (simple

recitation) style of narrow ambit (sometimes consisting of only two or three recitation tones) in which melodic considerations are strictly secondary to textual ones. Similar considerations tend to apply when considering acceptability of LP melodic settings in hadra. Melody of extremely narrow ambit is always more acceptable for use when chanting hizb, given its quasi-sacred status within the tariqa, and the fact that it often incorporates much Qur'anic material. Complex melodic inventiveness may be criticized by conservatives as detracting from a text's clarity and for introducing tarab (musical emotion) or indicating excessive concern for tarab. Some fixed melodies seem to recur only within the Islamic sphere; these provide a more religious flavor. However, melodies reminiscent of—or even quoting—tarab song melodies are more liable to critique. When melodies *are* borrowed for use in inshad, the religious respectability of the source will impact the religious respectability of the resulting inshad. Older is generally equated with more traditional, hence more acceptable in a religious context. This notion is reinforced by the fact that the early tarab singers generally got their musical start as munshidin. Thus Umm Kulthum (who started out singing inshad) is more acceptable than 'Abd al-Halim Hafiz (who did not), who in turn is more acceptable than a modern popular singer such as 'Amru Diab.

In their laws, the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya, for instance, specifically ban use of secular melodies (Gilsenan 1973:227).

c. Bodily movements and emotional display

Minimal movement during LP is most acceptable. Some Sufis, in describing the acceptable ideal, cite a hadith that the Prophet would gently sway while listening to Qur'an, like a palm tree moved by the breezes. Such movement is slight, and uncoordinated, because it arises spontaneously from the listening experience. Deliberate and regular group movement commonly accompanies dhikr, but draws some fire from critics. The more ecstatic movement patterns found in mawlid, in which the range of movement is wide and disunified, is criticized by conservative Sufis and reformists alike.

Besides the metric movement which accompanies dhikr, there may be spontaneous expressions of ecstasy, falling, convulsions, catatonic states, supposedly evidence of a mystical state (*hal*), *fayd* (spiritual overflowing) or *tajalliyat* (Divine manifestations). Reformist critics condemn all these notions as *bid'a*. Most Sufis tend to be more sympathetic, but conservatives may argue that too often such states are mere fakery, or result from exhaustion alone. They say that those who fall in dhikr are merely dizzy dancers, and are far from true religion. Furthermore, say these Sufi conservatives, even if these states are real, they are not desirable. For these states result not from a high mystical state but rather from the spiritual weakness and unpreparedness of the individual. The spiritually mature experience such states, but do not manifest them on the outside.

Modernist groups tend to control movement. Some limit it to the "swaying palm" type, as in the Ja'fariyya; the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya require small amounts of orderly movement and ban "dancing and swaying" (Gilsenan 1973:227). The Jazuliyya allow free

movements only within a controlled context, as we will see later on. The traditional Bayyumiyya, on the other hand, do not effectively control movement, particularly in the local hadra far from central control.

d. Spectacle

Some LP, especially inshad and processional drumming, may be accompanied by spectacular feats of self-mortification, such as piercing the body with a long skewer called the dabbus, eating glass, and handling fire or poisonous snakes. The protection extended by the shaykh, presumed to protect participants from harm, is taken as a sign of his karama. These practices were formerly common among the traditional orders. While they are widely unacceptable today, they continue to be practiced at the local level since central control is weak; in the mawlid, they serve to attract crowds.

Objectively there is continuity between these religious expressions, and other more overtly circus-like entertainments in the mawlid (sawing a woman in half, or riding a motorcycle around a horizontal wall), hence the combined opposition of religious reformers, conservative Sufis, and secularists. Such practices are condemned by reformists as merely folklore, chicanery having no relation to religion. Secular modernists too despise such practices, which they view as casting an unfavorably primitive or premodern light on Egyptian society. Thus the orders involved in such activities must be careful to distance themselves from them publicly. For instance, the Rifa'i are famous for inserting the dabbus and snake-handling; recently the central Rifa'iyya leadership imposed an official ban on such displays. Privately they concede that such practices are valid, since

they serve to express the miracles of Sidi Ahmad al-Rifa'i. However, given the current religious and political situation in Egypt, they feel it unwise to advertise an aspect of the tariqa which is difficult to defend, and might lead to problems later on. At the same time, due to the decentralized structure of the Rifa'iyya tariqa, the ban is impossible to enforce.

Most of the modernist turuq reject such practices, and some even do so explicitly, such as the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya in their laws against eating glass, fire, and like practices (Gilsenan 1973:211).

e. Participation of men and women in hadra

The sight and even voice of a woman is considered to distract men from performing their religious obligations properly. Hence, mixing of men and women in hadra is a sensitive issue. The conservative Sufi position is that women should not join the orders at all. While this fact need not necessarily prevent them from joining in performances, the mixing of men and women in hadra is officially condemned by nearly all the orders. In practice, there is a range. The traditional orders officially ban women from ritual, but in practice women attend weekly hadras in several turuq (including the Rifa'iyya and the Bayyumiyya), standing a short distance away from the all-male hadra. In the mawlid, it is common to find men and women performing dhikr side by side, but this is one of the features of the mawlid which is most condemned by the orthodoxy. The presence of women in a special "women's section" of a mosque or zawiya is generally accepted, as it is for obligatory prayer. But more conservative opinion would have women stay in the house. Sometimes women are allowed to perform individual tariqa devotions,

although at least some orders (such as the Ja‘fariyya) ban them from performing the wurd. The modernist groups tend to be the most consistent in setting a workable policy which is followed. Both the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya and the Ja‘fariyya strictly exclude women from the hadra, although they may listen from the women’s section. The Jazuliyya allow women to participate in hadra, but they must wear conservative dress, sit on the far side of a central divider, and do not speak; only an occasional *zaghruta* (ululation) may be heard. Thus the LP role of women is extremely limited in all cases.

F. LP mode and LP genre

In the Introduction I suggested three modes of LP, the communicative, the affective, and the ritual. I based this analysis on the needs of the present study combined with pioneering work on language function by Roman Jakobson. It is now possible to apply this analysis to the genres of LP just considered. One can see that while each genre evinces more than one mode, there is also a dominant mode in each case (in the following table ‘*’ indicates the dominant mode; ‘o’ indicates the secondary mode; ‘-’ the tertiary mode):

	Communicative	Affective	Ritual
Fawatih	-	o	*
Ad'iyya	-	o	*
Hizb		o	*
Dhikr		o	*
Inshad	o	*	o
Speech	*	o	

Fawatih, ad'iyya, hizb, and dhikr are closest to the ritual mode in that their efficacy is held to be to a great extent dependent on the act of performance itself, when accompanied by proper intention. I have already mentioned the special performative efficacy accorded to Qur'anic recitation, which forms the principal basis for these genres of LP. These genres are not overtly intended to create a cognitive or emotional effect in the listener; they are certainly not intended to communicate anything. Rather, they are intended to raise one's spiritual level through the objective consequences of performance. In practice these genres do create affect, and are weakly communicative; if such properties were not present, these genres would be of no use in creating a social effect, whereas I will argue that social effects are possible to a limited extent, to be revealed through careful analysis. Dhikr, in particular, tends to create a high level of affect, and fawatih or ad'iyya communicate the centrality of entities mentioned. Hizb is less communicative, since the text is well-known. But these affective and communicative effects are generally weaker than the ritual effects in practice. It is interesting to note that as dhikr or hizb becomes more affective, textual clarity usually decreases (as in the dhikr al-qalb). Strict attention to textual performance is always a central demand for the ritual mode, whereas the affective mode requires flexibility in order to be expressive of emotion.

Inshad demonstrates all three modes, but it is the affective mode which dominates. Inshad is constructed so as to be affective, in its poetic meaning and structure, its flexibly expressive vocal line, and its musical basis and forms of participation. When accompanying dhikr, inshad serves to boost the affective level. Group inshad creates an emotion of participation. At the same time, the poetic texts on which most inshad is based may serve to communicate information or exhort to particular behavior, and are thus regarded as a form of spiritual training or pedagogy (*tarbiya ruhiyya*). Other texts may be regarded as a kind of prayer, spiritually efficacious in itself. Praise of the Prophet is widely considered equivalent to *salawat* (request for blessings on the Prophet), while assertions of *tawhid* (God's unity) have the performative force of a real declaration of faith.

Speech, by contrast, is primarily communicative. Whether religious truths are being reaffirmed or learned for the first time, the role of speech is primarily as a cognitive tool. Speech is completely flexible and hence capable of transmitting new ideas and information, unlike ritual forms such as the *hizb* and *dhikr*. But even speech includes the other two modes as well. The act of studying or teaching is often considered a form of worship in itself, among the forms of language employed in religious speech is Qur'anic recitation, and *ad'iyya*. Certainly speeches performed by skilled orators can be highly moving, due to manipulation of paralinguistic devices such as intonation, timing, pause, and stress. However the dominant and explicit mode of speech is communicative.

Ritual LP creates social effects only weakly and indirectly, because such language is not directed to human participants, but rather directed to God or spiritual entities (the Prophet, the Ahl al-Bayt, and saints). Affective and communicative LP, however, can create much stronger social effects. By manipulating participants emotionally and cognitively, such performance is capable of maintaining or transforming the personal social structure, which consists of cognitively recognized relationships among participants which are imbued with emotion. The tariqa which is situated so as to be able to formulate group-level strategies is likely to draw more heavily upon the affective and communicative modes as a means of creating the social effects desired: to recruit new members, retain existing members, and shape their relationships to the shaykh and to each other. Thus it comes as no surprise to find that the modernist orders appear to lean toward these modes. The traditional orders frequently conduct highly emotional hadras (though these tend to be at the periphery), but the emotion thus generated is likely to be enjoyed locally, rather than being channelled into supporting the social relationships which undergird the tariqa as a whole.

G. Three case studies

I have argued thus far that in the face of the critical difficulties posed by the 20th century for Sufis, the traditional orders (founded before the modern era) have been largely unable to adapt and therefore have declined, while the modernist orders (founded in the 20th century itself) have achieved a limited success. I have suggested various arguments for why this may have been the case, and have further suggested that it is LP, overtly a

tool of *individual* spirituality, which plays a critical role in *social* adaptation. Those orders which are able to formulate, disseminate, and apply LP strategically for social ends are the ones which are able to survive, and these are the modernist group.

In this chapter I have outlined the various forms and significances of LP in the hadra. It remains to analyze some test cases, in order to support the argument that LP can be socially efficacious. Therefore, I will consider three concrete examples of Sufi orders in Egypt today. Two were founded in the 20th century, and can be considered (for reasons to be given later) modernist orders. The Ja'fariyya began as a study circles surrounding a great teacher of al-Azhar, Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari, and was established as an order by the 1960s. The Jazuliyya started as a teaching circle surrounding Sidi Jabir al-Jazuli, probably in the 1940s; the tariqa began after 1952. Both have evolved strategies for using the resources of LP, in its syntactic, semantic, sonic, and pragmatic dimensions, in hadra to effectively handle the problems faced by Sufi orders in the modern period. Comparing them is instructive since although both have achieved a startling success, their strategic approaches have been quite different.

The third case is an older tariqa, founded in the heyday of Sufism during Ottoman rule of Egypt in the late 18th century to which I have frequently made mention: the Bayyumiyya, usually considered to be a branch of the Ahmadiyya. This tariqa, today in a state of decline, is taken to be representative of the traditional orders in general.

Notes for Chapter 4

¹ Here I take issue with Gilsenan, who claims that dhikr (by which term he refers sometimes to dhikr proper, and sometimes to the hadra as a whole) is communion, while salah is communication. The former, he says, is directed inward to the Shaykh and the self, enabling awareness of the link between lover and Beloved, but containing “no prayer”, whereas in salah there is prayer, prostration, and supplication (Gilsenan 1973:185). This seems to me an erroneous distinction. As we shall see, all the elements of prayer are present in the various genres of LP used in hadra (some quite literally). Even the dhikr proper is most certainly considered a form of prayer, as well as communion in Gilsenan’s sense. The mistake is in examining the outward forms rather than the intentions of various LP acts, as well as in overemphasizing the dhikr proper to the exclusion of other kinds of LP employed in hadra.

² I use the word “tonal” in a precise sense: that at any point in time, the spectral content of any vocal line is based on a particular fundamental frequency, or nearly so.

³ This distinction between counted and uncounted is made by many Sufis as a means of differentiating dhikr from wird, since both may involve repetition of the same textual formulas.

⁴ There are six widely accepted canons of hadith dating from the 9th and 10th centuries: those of Bukhari (d. 870) and Muslim (d.875) are the most esteemed; the collections compiled by Abu Da’ud, Nasa’i, Tirmidhi, and Ibn Maja are also considered authoritative (Watt 1985:57, Schimmel 1992:52). Subsequent scholars such as al-Nawawi (1233-78, compiler of Riyad al-Salihin, from which I quote) drew on earlier canonical sources in compiling collections of hadith, which could be used as manuals for the faithful.

⁵ The rak’a is a unit of prayer, consisting of a fixed sequence of postures and recitations.

⁶ Other adhkar are also named, and related verbs can be found from the same triliteral root. Recitation of “la ilaha illa Allah” is called tahlil, the verb is hallala; “Allahu akbar” is called “takbir”, the verb is kabbara; of “Subhan Allah” is “tasbih”, the verb is sabbaha (which can also refer to the operation of counting prayers on a rosary (sibha, from the same root); of “al-hamdulillah” is hamdala, the verb is hamdala; of “La hawla wa la quwwata illa billah al-‘ali al-‘azim” is “hawqala”, the verb is hawqala. But “la ilaha illa Allah” is the most important of these.

⁷ For a more complete discussion of madih, see Waugh 1989:136-147.

⁸ For mawlid and social occasions one also finds public hadras which are not performed as the liturgy of any particular Sufi order (although they may be sponsored by a tariqa shaykh). Here one finds the popular professional munshidin performing with instrumental groups, while anyone who wishes may join in the lines of dhikr.

⁹ In a sense the hadra is to the tariqa what Friday prayer is to the Muslim Umma (nation). Both are forms of group prayer. While Friday prayer is incumbent on all Muslims, the hadra is supererogatory (nafila) for them. But once a Muslim has joined a particular tariqa, its hadras become incumbent on him by virtue of his voluntary acceptance of the 'ahd.

¹⁰ Taking a broader view, the set of all Muslims praying the obligatory prayers while facing Mecca forms a set of concentric rings around the Ka'ba, but the closure of such rings includes the entire Muslim Umma (nation) in its scope.

¹¹ Copies of a hizb may be inserted into a hijab (leather pouch) to be worn round the neck as an amulet.

¹² Here referring to ordinary obligatory prayer.

¹³ Note that the terms described here are very close to classical usage: see Gardet EI2: "Dhikr".

¹⁴ Treatises may articulate the levels further, differentiating dhikr al-lisan (corresponding to the first level of religion, outward performance of religious duty, or Islam), dhikr al-qaib (corresponding to the second level of religion, inward faith, or Iman), and dhikr al-ruh or dhikr al-sirr (corresponding to the third level of religion, in which religious faith and practice are conditioned by constant awareness of God: this is called Ihsan). See, for instance, Darniqa 1990:47.

5. Three Sufi Orders: Background

A. Introduction

I have discussed the concept of the Sufi tariqa as an order in three senses: as a social order, a doctrinal order, and a ritual order. I argued that while doctrinal differences are slight (at least among Egyptian groups), consisting mostly of differences in emphasis and manifestation, it is in the domains of the social and ritual that one finds the greatest areas of contrast between different Sufi groups.

In this chapter and the next I present an ethnography of the social and ritual aspects of three *turuq* whose *hadras* will be subjected to detailed analytical scrutiny later on: the Bayyumiyya (founded by Sidi ‘Ali Nur al-Din al-Bayyumi in the early 18th century), the Jazuliyya Husayniyya Shadhiliyya (founded by Sidi Jabir Husayn Ahmad al-Jazuli in the mid 20th century), and the Ja‘fariyya Ahmadiyya Muhammadiyya (founded by Shaykh Salih Muhammad al-Ja‘fari in the mid 20th century). The Bayyumiyya is an older, traditional order, founded in traditional Egyptian society, and well-advanced into its third developmental phase. The other two orders are modernist, each led by the founder’s son and *khalifa*, and thus by definition in the second developmental phase.

Preceding the discussions of social and ritual aspects, I also include a background section briefly introducing the history, publications, and physical basis of each group. Many scholars (e.g. Gilsean 1973, O’Fahey 1990, Evans-Pritchard 1949, Johansen 1996, Abun-Nasr 1965, Lings 1994, just to mention a few) have devoted an entire

monograph to a particular Sufi order or shaykh, and certainly these groups and individuals provide such a wealth of material of religious, philosophical, sociological, anthropological, and historical interest that many volumes might profitably be written about each one without in any way having concluded the ethnographic task.

I do not pretend to present these groups exhaustively, but rather focus on those aspects which may provide useful background for the analysis and conclusions to follow. In particular, discussions of social structure will focus on the personal social structure, which, as was argued earlier, forms the primary basis for tariqa identity; doctrinal emphases and general attitudes will not be presented separately, but will be worked into other sections. Discussion of ritual (in the following chapter) will focus on regular group ritual (mainly the hadra), rather than individual rituals (such as the daily recitation of wurd) and occasion ritual (the mawlid). The ethnographies of the three groups are interleaved by topic, so as to facilitate comparisons.

B. History, publications, places

1. Bayyumiyya

In this study, the Bayyumiyya tariqa is taken as representative of the traditional Sufi order, currently in its third phase of development, and part of a dominant religious trend from the middle ages up until the modern era. It is the last of the major Sufi orders to be formed in Egypt during the pre-modern period (before 1798, the year of Napoleon's conquest), after which Sufism was first regulated in the 19th century, and

then declined in the 20th. Its recency means that its founder's life is somewhat less shrouded in mystery, and the tariqa itself is less bifurcated and complex, than other traditional orders such as the Ahmadiyya.

However the Bayyumiyya shares with other traditional groups, such as the Ahmadiyya, Burhamiyya, and Rifa'iyya, the following properties: (1) The founder is presented as a completely idealized spiritual figure - a qutb. (2) While the founder had to overcome some antagonism from the 'ulama' and government it is clear that the masses were with him as a result of his personal charisma. He passes tests and performs miracles sufficient to gain grudging acceptance and sometimes even win converts from the 'ulama' and government, without abandoning or compromising his way, which was quite unorthodox in many respects. It was unnecessary for the hadra to act specifically in order to defend the group or attract members. This is quite unlike the attitudes of the newer turuq. (3) The hadra consists essentially of the founder's hizb together with dhikr formulas accompanied by free inshad. Thus the performative resources of hadra are not strictly controlled. (4) The tariqa is widespread throughout rural Egypt, apparently having declined primarily in urban areas which have been subjected to greater outside influences and change.

Few sources are available to give an objective account of the tariqa and its founder. But I am less interested in such an account, in any case, than in the self-representations of this and other turuq under discussion. The following background

information is taken from the group's own writings about itself, and from ethnographic fieldwork.

a. History of the group

1. The historical context of formation

The tariqa was formed in the 18th century, during the period of Ottoman rule over Egypt, Sufism's heyday in Egypt. As I have previously noted, the Sufi orders in Egypt rose to prominence under the Mamluks, but enjoyed increased influence and prestige with the rulers and 'ulama' under the Ottomans. Not only was Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi able to overcome initial opposition to his new tariqa—from both government and 'ulama'—he was actually able to win important officials from both domains to his side. Therefore historical circumstances—the social “space” and “field” of Islam of his day, to employ the theoretical jargon—did not require him to create the strategic lines of defense evident in contemporary groups, and this lack is apparent in the hadra as well.

2. The founder and his formation of the tariqa

Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi occupies an historically intermediate position, between those shaykhs who are fully cloaked in the legends woven around them over the passing centuries—to the point that the men themselves are lost to view—and the shaykhs of the modern era, who appear more clearly as real men living in an age closely connected with our own. Books about Sidi 'Ali tend toward idealization, and yet one is more apt to believe in him as a historical figure than in the distant saints of medieval times. Still there

are conflicting reports, perhaps between reality and idealization: as artisan (weaver) and as teacher-scholar, as an isolated ascetic and as a teacher who travelled widely to spread his tariqa. These contradictions cannot be resolved here, and will simply be presented.

a. Biography of the founder

Sidi ‘Ali Nur al-Din Hijazi al-Bayyumi¹, known to followers as Sidi ‘Ali, founder of the Bayyumiyya tariqa, was born in 1108 Hijri [1696 AD], in the town of Bayyum in the Egyptian Delta, not far from Mit Ghamr. Bayyumiyya prayer manuals give his patriline (nasab) in full, connecting him with the Prophet through al-Imam ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib and his son al-Imam Hasan. He memorized the Qur’an while young, then studied hadith and fiqh, according to the *madhhab* of Imam Shafi‘i (Salim 1996:4-5).

The somewhat idealized biographies presented in the Bayyumiyya prayer manuals do not mention his source of livelihood, but his followers say that he worked as a weaver, a fact which figures in several of his karamat (for instance, when his loom performed the dhikr). Although he was later invited to lecture at al-Azhar, his livelihood was derived essentially from manual labor, and his tariqa is deeply rooted among the common people.

When he was older (the sources don’t specify exactly when) he moved to Cairo. Trimingham states that he first went to live in the Khalwati zawiya of Sidi Damirdash, and then at the age of about 30 became affiliated with Halabiyya, a branch of the Ahmadiyya. (Trimingham 1971:79). Other sources also indicate that his first Sufi

affiliation was to the Khalwatiyya Damirdashiyya, then to the Ahmadiyya (from which his tariqa is usually considered a branch), but that he also took the Shadhili and Naqshabandi oaths, diligently performing the rituals of all three (Salim 1996:5-6).

His followers today say that he gathered together the paths of all the past masters, but class his tariqa as an offshoot of the Ahmadiyya of Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi. (Thus red is the official color of the Bayyumiyya, as for all the other Badawi branches.) Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi is the most widely revered saint in Egypt, apart from the Ahl al-Bayt themselves. His order is highly ramified, today comprising 18 officially recognized branches and eight additional unofficial branches (Luizard 1990:85:87), including besides the Bayyumiyya the influential Ahmadiyya Marazaqa (often attributed to one of Badawi's followers, but according to Trimmingham (1971:274) preceding him), and the Imbabiyya. In addition, Ibrahim al-Dasuqi took the Badawi 'ahd (Trimingham 1971:45). Through Sayyid al-Badawi, and his spiritual descent from the Khalwati, Naqshabandi, and Shadhili orders, Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi and the Bayyumiyya are deeply enmeshed in the broad and complex network of traditional Sufi brotherhoods which prospered from Mamluk to modern times, only falling into decline in the 20th century.

At some point he moved to the al-Husayniyya district of Cairo (Salim 1996:6). He sponsored a circle of dhikr at the al-Zahir mosque of Sultan Baybars near his home, and every Tuesday (Trimingham (1971:79) says Wednesday) at the mosque of Imam al-Husayn (site of the Mashhad Husayni, shrine for the Prophet's grandson) (Salim 1996:6,

Trimingham 1971:79). His dhikr was known for its high volume and intensity (Khalidi EI2:“Bayyumiyya”, Trimingham 1971:79) (although today no significant contrast with other traditional turuq is apparent). Today’s followers say that he used inshad in hadra, although no information on his use of inshad is available; he wrote no diwan. He attracted many followers, particularly from among the poorer classes (Khalidi EI2:“Bayyumiyya”). Many sinners repented at his hand, joined his tariqa, and became men of God (Salim 1996:6).

His great piety caused him to experience extraordinary states, what one manual refers to as the “hal al-tawhid” (a mystical state induced by deep contemplation of God’s unity), “jadhb” (spiritual madness), and “istighraq” (absorption) (Salim 1996:5). Out of love, he worshipped God constantly, and so “arrived” to the rank of *wali* (saint). The Prophet himself appeared to Sidi ‘Ali in a vision, dubbing him “sultan al-Muwahhidin”(“the lord of those who say “la ilaha illa Allah”) and “basht al-amara” (“lord of princes”) and commanding him to form a new tariqa. The signs of his spiritual greatness were evident to others, and so he attracted a group of followers, who gathered around him to benefit from his instructions.

His Tuesday dhikr session, characterized by “particularly loud and emphatic utterances” (Khalidi EI2:“Bayyumiyya”) at the Husayn mosque was well-attended. Some of the poorer attendees also went barefoot in the streets, and soiled the mosque when they entered to perform dhikr. A number of the ‘ulama’ and amirs (ruling princes) objected to his dhikr, and questioned his religious qualifications.

But the Shaykh of al-Azhar, ‘Abdallah al-Shabrawi, defended him (Khalidi EI2:“Bayyumiyya”) and gave him an opportunity to prove that he was among the great saints and scholars, by delivering a lecture in which he would clarify his state and knowledge to the opposition. So the scholars met with him at al-Azhar, and he delivered a lesson on hadith in which he convinced them of his worth (Salim 1996:7).

Proving his scholarly abilities before the ‘ulama’ was evidently an important turning point which caused his tariqa to spread, and to draw more outstanding disciples, such as a subsequent shaykh al-Azhar, Hasan al-Quwaysni (Salim 1996:6, Khalidi EI2:“Bayyumiyya”). His success in this test is furthermore viewed as a miracle and confirmation of his baraka by present-day followers, since it occurred despite a rather limited formal education. Humble beginnings and a simple background are cited proudly by followers, since they are a touchstone for the authenticity of the saint’s inspiration from God, as opposed to those whose knowledge is “merely” a result of diligent study and bookishness. He no doubt established his spiritual reputation primarily through personal charisma, manifested in religious practices and karamat (see below). But after his trial before the Azhar scholars, he could be known as *‘Alim al-Shari‘a wa al-Haqiqa*, “scholar of religious law and Divine Reality”, i.e. of both exoteric and esoteric religion. It is this grand title which appears on the plaque in front of his maqam today.

Given these successes, it would not have seemed critical to restrain hadra performance, or to specify it in writings, or to control it completely, or design it carefully in order to attract members. That is, strategic control of hadra resources would have

been of limited value. This was a historical era in which Sufism was the norm, and Sidi ‘Ali was capable of attracting many followers by virtue of his charisma alone; furthermore he had succeeded in convincing the ‘ulama’ of his spiritual worth. Besides, many of the members of a popular Sufi group such as the Bayyumiyya were no doubt illiterate. The oral tradition therefore would have been deemed sufficient as a means for ensuring the continuity of the rituals established by the founder.

Sidi ‘Ali is reported to have been active in proselytizing. He instructed Shaykh Hasan al-Quwaysni to help him spread the tariqa. Shaykh Hasan, probably attempting to apply the standards of al-Azhar, wanted to be selective. He would test those wanting to join the group, requiring them to be both literate and pious. Those who exhibited shortcomings were asked to return only when they had remedied them. But when Sidi ‘Ali found out what he was doing, he told him: “Are you trying to spread the tariqa, or destroy it?”. Then he went around spreading the tariqa himself. He would round up sinners, driving them before him to the mosque of Sultan Baybars (al-Zahir), and forcibly holding them there until they had repented of their crimes. Then they would join his tariqa.

In addition to dhikr and wird, his spiritual routine included lengthy recitations of dhikr and wird, as well as ascetic practices in the khalwa (meditative cell). He specified seven possible dhikr formulas for daily recitation, which he correlated to the seven stages of the *nafs* (al-Bayyumi n.d.:23-35): “La ilaha illa Allah”, “Allah”, “Huwa”, “Haqq”, “Hayy”, “Qayyum”, and “Qahhar”.² One of these Names is to be repeated daily after

prayer, or as a night vigil, the number of repetitions depending on numerological derivations from the sums of the letter values, according to *'ilm al-huruf*. Thus for instance, the fourth Name "Haqq", is to be repeated 108 times after prayer (the sum of the letters), and 11664 times as a night vigil (= 108*108). He was known for his stern self-discipline. He would allow his hair to grow long, braiding it like a woman, a sign of his *jadhb*. When reciting his nightly *wird* at night he would tie his hair to the ceiling, so that he would be awakened if he dozed. Some pamphlets (e.g. Salim 1996:19) describe him as an ascetic, only leaving his prayers in the mosque of al-Zahir once a week, and then in order to visit the *maqam* of Imam al-Husayn and conduct a *dhikr* there. On the other hand, Trimingham reports that he frequently travelled to Mecca, preaching and winning followers to his *tariqa* there (Trimingham 1971:80).

It is instructive to note that the order's own books do not ascribe to him any new teachings which might form the basis for a new *tariqa*. Rather he is presented as having absorbed the teachings of earlier saints, as well as having mastered the Shari'a, and having attained a high spiritual level through his diligent spiritual discipline. As in the present day, the basis for a Sufi order is the saint's own charisma, not in establishing a distinctive set of religious doctrines.

Mustafa Basha, then a *wali* (governor) of Egypt (reg. 1757-60?), used to visit Sidi 'Ali. One day the latter gave him good news, telling him that he would be promoted to Grand Vizier on a particular date. When this prophecy was fulfilled, Mustafa Basha ordered a mosque to be built for the Sidi 'Ali, within which he could hold his *dhikr*.

Thus was established the Bayyumiyya mosque in al-Husayniyya, where the tariqa continues to meet to the present day (Salim 1996:6, Khalidi EI2:“Bayyumiyya”).

Sidi ‘Ali al-Bayyumi died in Cairo 1183 AH [1769AD] and was buried in a shrine under the dome of his mosque. His disciple and one-time Shaykh al-Azhar, Hasan al-Quwaysni was later buried next to him, in 1254 AH (Salim 1996:19). Today Sidi ‘Ali is considered a wali (saint) as well as a qutb ranking with the earlier four “axes” (al-arba‘ al-aqtab: Qadiri, Rifa‘i, Badawi, and Dasuqi). His followers consider him to gather the spiritual paths of his predecessors, and even to have surpassed them.

b. Karamat

Like the founders of other traditional turuq in Egypt, Sidi ‘Ali al-Bayyumi is not known for mystical teachings so much as for spiritual exercises (mostly the texts recited), his mawlid and shrine, and his fantastic karamat (miracles). Karamat, aspects of the shaykh’s biography which may be difficult for outsiders to believe, are important to study for what they reveal about the relation between murid and shaykh. The role of karamat, particularly in their more miraculous forms, is much larger in the traditional than in the modernist orders. While traditional Sufis might ascribe the lack of karamat in the modern period to a general decline in spirituality, Islamic modernists themselves ascribe it to the decline of ignorance. Members of modernist Sufi groups take an intermediate view, generally believing in the miracles of the old saints, but accepting the fact that the age of miracles has largely passed.

Whatever their truth value, miraculous karamat were formerly an important tool of legitimization for Sufi shaykhs and saints, helping to construct a particular personal relation of awe between Sufi and saint. Just as every prophet was granted at least one miracle (*mu'jiza*) to prove his spiritual standing to the incredulous, so the saints have their karamat to serve much the same function. When miraculous karamat were widely accepted, the shaykh was widely recognized and became a public figure outside the tariqa. In the past, this implied broad influence for the tariqa and its shaykh; mawlid would be widely attended by non-members.

But in the modern period, the more fanciful karamat were called into question by reformists and shaykhs had to support their reputations by more modest displays of charisma, such as demonstrations of insight and learning in sermons, scholarly treatises, or poetic inspiration, not instantaneous transport or walking on water. At the same time, these newer means, being largely based in language, could be reinforced in LP during the hadra. The modern shaykhs uphold their reputations through performances of their poems and speeches in the hadra. Thus the performance of hadra became an important means of sustaining the charisma of tariqa founders. By contrast, the older karamat could not be reinforced in hadra; they simply had to be believed. With the decline in such belief went the decline in the traditional orders supported by such karamat.

The relative decline of widespread belief in miraculous karamat seems to have had two consequences. On the one hand, because nothing could replace karamat as a tool of widespread legitimization, a means of constructing personal relations of awe with

a great many people, the modernist tariqa would become more a limited world; the ability of the shaykh to become the object of mass devotion had been eroded, if not erased. On the other hand, those turuq which depended on karamat for legitimization of their founders would decline, as the traditional forms of legitimacy became suspect. Karamat which originally produced a sense of awe and wonder might be a liability in the face of the modern man, who viewed them as quaint folk-tales, and yet the traditional turuq were not situated to strategically produce new legitimating tools to take their place, since these could not obtain the sanction of the founder, and since the social structure of the order made strategizing difficult, as I argued earlier.

Karamat also reveal the contrast between attitudes of traditional and modernist turuq toward the Islamic field. One of the most important types of karama, for the present analysis, is that which attempts to reconcile the world of Sufi knowledge (ma'rifa) and practice with that of the Azhari religious scholars ('ulama'). Although Sufism in Ottoman period occupied a much more central place than it does today, there was always conflict with certain of the 'ulama' and sometimes with rulers. But karamat of this period often boldly show how the harshest critic could become a disciple when exposed to the Sufi master himself. The 'alim is at first severe in his opposition, but is then won over by the Sufi's miraculous powers. Even the ruler is no match for the Sufi shaykh. But this confident attitude makes the traditional turuq relatively defenseless in the modern period, when the 'alim cannot be won over so easily. Modernist turuq, by contrast, take a more guarded attitude which allows them to survive, as reflected in the

karamat attributed to their shaykh, which focus upon his high spiritual level and inspired knowledge, values which are essentially compatible with the orthodox view.

The following miraculous karama of Sidi ‘Ali was related by a high-ranking shaykh of the order:

The shaykh of al-Azhar, Hasan al-Quwaysni, persecuted Sidi ‘Ali because he didn’t believe in him. He didn’t want Sidi ‘Ali to conduct dhikr sessions in the mosque of al-Husayn. For when Sidi ‘Ali chanted “Allah” he confused the Azhar students who were studying there. One day while lecturing to his students in the mosque of al-Husayn, he saw Sidi ‘Ali. Pausing in his lecture, he told Sidi ‘Ali that if he wanted to continue conducting dhikr in the mosque, he must bring a letter of permission signed and sealed by the Sultan in Istanbul. Sidi ‘Ali agreed to so, and left Hasan sitting in his chair, lecturing to his students.

Sidi ‘Ali took one step, and arrived in Istanbul, in the Sultan’s bedroom. It was night, and the Sultan was sleeping. Sidi ‘Ali clapped to wake him. The Sultan was startled and amazed. “What do you want? Who are you? How did you get past my guards?” Sidi ‘Ali explained why he had come. “But I don’t have my pen, paper, or seal here with me,” objected the Sultan. Sidi ‘Ali instantly brought him pen, paper and the royal seal from his offices to prepare the required letter. The sultan was frightened and did as he was told. Then Sidi ‘Ali returned as he had come, in one step, and delivered the letter to Shaykh Hasan al-Qawaysni, who was still lecturing from his chair in the mosque of Sayyidna al-Husayn. Shaykh Hasan was flabbergasted, but saw that the letter was genuine. Then Shaykh Hasan had a vision of the Prophet, who told him not to upset Sidi ‘Ali, for he himself would join the latter’s tariqa, and the two would be buried under the same dome. All this came to pass. Hasan joined the tariqa and helped to spread it, and was finally buried next to Sidi ‘Ali.

c. Writings

Sidi ‘Ali composed two hizb and a manzuma which are used in hadra and daily prayer. He also specified seven wurd formulas through which the novice progresses while simultaneously purifying his *nafs*. Although some seventeen treatises are

mentioned in the pamphlets as having been written by Sidi ‘Ali al-Bayyumi, I only located two of these. Members knew of the existence of certain books, but evidently did not own them. Except for the hizb, these books play no visible role in the tariqa today. There is no evidence that they were ever important in the hadra, probably because the Sufi orders did not at that time stand in such dire need of orthodox religious legitimization via scholarship. Rather these writings have attained an idealized, remote status, similar to that of the founder himself; several members mentioned that all of his writings can be found in Dar al-Kutub (the famous Egyptian library and archive)—in the public mind, a lofty place where great books are stored—yet they had evidently never examined the works themselves.

In examining the list (presented below) one is struck by the absence of any titles to indicate that Sidi ‘Ali was concerned to promote his own tariqa, or even that he was forming a distinctive tariqa at all. Rather he seems to have written on a variety of topics in Sufism and Shari‘a, oblivious to his own status as founder of a Way. Unlike many Sufi shaykhs, Sidi ‘Ali wrote no poetry apart from one *manzuma* (poetic du‘a’ using the 99 Names of God), nor did he specify particular poems as preferable for hadra. Neither is any poetry attributed to him by his followers, nor has any set of poems subsequently achieved canonical status in the group. Contemporary members claim he did use inshad in his hadras, but evidently the precise content was not important to him. Today, the modernist shaykh actively writes treatises and poetry as spiritual and social tools for the

tariqa itself, and these are used in religious practice, a partial substitute for the lost miraculous charisma of the traditional period.

3. Subsequent development of the tariqa

a. Silsila and expansion

Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi died in 1769, leaving no scion.³ His khalifa was Shaykh Ibrahim al-Damanhuri. Subsequent leadership was unstable, and there were many succession disputes in the 19th century; today there is no agreement among various manuscripts on the precise sequence of early tariqa leaders (de Jong 1978:34-35). At the contemporary end of the silsila there is agreement: from Shaykh Mahmud Ahmad Fadl, the position of shaykh al-sajjada passed to his brother Shaykh Hamid Ahmad Fadl, and finally to the latter's son, Ahmad Hamid Fadl, who presides over the tariqa today. But there is only a tenuous connection between these Bayyumiyya shaykhs of the 20th century and the founder, only 200 years before them. The uncertainty in silsila limits their charismatic power, weakening the tariqa's central authority beyond the inevitable problems of decentralization discussed earlier.

Members claim that the Bayyumiyya are extremely widespread, found all over the world; Trimmingham mentions that due to his preaching in Mecca the tariqa spread into Yemen, Hadramawt, Persian Gulf, lower Euphrates, and the Indus valley, but that after the death of the third shaykh al-sajjada (during the reign of Muhammad 'Ali) the tariqa

weakened. However I have located no contemporary scholarship or ethnographic evidence suggesting that the tariqa persists outside of Egypt.

b. Further history

There is evidence suggesting that shortly after the death of the founder, the Bayyumiyya hadra was highly emotional; later it appears to have been elaborate as well. The great Egyptian historian of the 18th century, 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti (1753-1825), mentioned the Bayyumiyya hadra as raucous and heterodox.⁴ But we are fortunate to have a rather thorough description from the mid 19th century.

In the 1830s, Edward Lane described a Sufi hadra (performed for the Mawlid al-Nabi (Prophet's birthday festival)), noting that it was of a type found only among the Bayyumiyya. Although the hadra was not actually performed by the Bayyumiyya, if one may take him at his word, then a complete citation seems justified, since it will be helpful to compare this with the Bayyumiyya hadra as performed today:

In the ensuing night, that which is properly called the night of the Moolid, I went again to the principal scene of the festival. Here I witnessed a zikr performed by a ring of about sixty darweeshes round the saree.⁵ The moon was sufficient, without the lamps, to light up the scene. The darweeshes who formed the ring round the saree were of various orders ; but the zikr which they performed was of a kind usual only among the order of the Beiyooomeeyeh [Bayyumiyya]. In one act of this zikr the performers exclaimed, "Ya Allah!" ("O God!") ; and, at each exclamation, first bowed their heads, crossing their hands at the same time before their breasts; then raised their heads, and clapped their hands together before their faces. The interior of the ring was crowded with persons sitting on the ground. The zikkeers [dhakkira] continued as above described about half an hour. Next, they formed companies of five or six or more together, but still in the form of a large ring. The persons

in these several companies held together, each (with the exception of the foremost in the group) placing his left arm behind the back of the one on his left side, and the hand upon the left shoulder of the latter : all facing the spectators outside the ring. They exclaimed “Allah!” in an excessively deep and hoarse voice ; (Performers of zikrs of this kind have been called, by various travellers, “barking, or howling, dervises [sic].” [Lane’s own footnote]) and at each exclamation took a step, one time forwards, and the next time backwards; but each advancing a little to his left at every forward step, so that the whole ring revolved, though very slowly. Each of the zikkeers held out his right hand to salute the spectators outside the ring ; most of whom, if near enough, grasped, and sometimes kissed, each extended hand as it came before them. (Lane 1973:455-6)

The chanting of “Ya Allah” followed by “Allah” (the first being incorporated in their hizb) continues to the present day and is indeed a unique characteristic of the Bayyumiyya. This fact provides independent proof that the dhikr described above was in fact of the Bayyumiyya type, as Lane claimed without further comment. But the behavioral aspect of the dhikr, as well as the description of vocal tone, differs substantially, as will become evident when I describe the current form of the ritual; today the ritual formation and movements are perfectly ordinary and more or less indistinguishable from those of any other traditional tariqa. Whereas the original ritual was elaborate, distinctive, and open to criticism (as excessively dance-like, emotional, and removed from the dignified postures of ordinary prayer), the contemporary one is simple, unremarkable, and—if one discounts the individual idiosyncrasies resulting merely from the absence of strong central control—rather orthodox. Whether this transformation took place as result of ritual reforms the Shaykh al-Bakri pressed onto the Bayyumiyya shaykh al-sajjada, from general reformist pressure, or from decentralization and ritual

neglect at the center is difficult to determine. What is clear is that a loss of ritual identity was incurred.⁶

Today the group has declined. While the number of Bayyumiyya in Egypt are still numerous, the organization is no longer bound by an active, living charismatic center. Power has moved from the center to the periphery. When the peripheral power is strong, local groups can appear as quasi-independent *turuq*. When it is weak, the local group becomes informal, and its meetings non-exclusive opportunities for mystical expression, as we will see below. Loyalty tends not to be to the *tariqa* as a social group, but rather to the local shaykh, or to Sidi 'Ali himself and his *tariqa* as an abstract spiritual path. The lack of a distinctive Bayyumiyya ritual (as Lane described) which could provide some form of unity at least through its distinctive identity is symptomatic of the overall disintegration of centralized social structure.

c. Sub-branches and saints

Over the past 200 years a number of *turuq* have branched from the Bayyumiyya. One such is the Khaliliyya based in Zaqaq (capital of the province of Sharqiyya), whose founder Ibrahim Abu al-Khalil, passed away in the mid 20th century. Another is the Qasimiyya founded by one Shaykh Abu al-Qasim. Several shaykhs have established large and strong bayts within the *tariqa* which exhibit a high degree of autonomy, such as that of 'Ali 'Abd al-Fattah 'Allam in Zawiya al-Hamra' (Cairo), and that of Muhammad Ibrahim Salim. Both have published prayer manuals combining Bayyumiyya material

with their own. Established Bayyumiyya saints include al-Sayyid Muhammad Ahmad al-Saghir (buried in al-Qusayyarin, Cairo); and Sidi Muhammad Yusuf al-‘Ashy (with a maqam in Qayt Bay, Cairo); both are celebrated with public mawlid attended by Bayyumiyya and others (the famous munshid Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami performs at the mawlid of Sidi ‘Ashy). ‘Ali ‘Abd al-Fattah ‘Allam is also celebrated with a mawlid.

The existence of these sub-branches and independent saints, together with the weak charismatic standing of the current central tariqa authority, are manifestations of the tariqa’s advanced phase of development, in which primary activity has moved to the periphery, and there is no longer a single charismatic center. (It should be noted, for instance, that the previous shaykh al-sajjada is not celebrated with a mawlid.) This structural situation precludes the formation and dissemination of strategic adaptations to modernity.

b. Tariqa publications

Generally speaking, books appear to play an extremely limited role in the tariqa. Available texts are mostly prayer collections; there are no publications which indicate an overtly self-conscious attitude by speaking about the tariqa as a social group, much less containing explicit strategies for its proper operation. Asking tariqa members for books yielded only one small pamphlet: the official prayerbook issued by the *mashyakha* (administrative office of the tariqa). By combing religious and antiquarian bookshops I managed to locate four other pamphlets, including two of Sidi ‘Ali’s treatises; most of these were published long ago and would not be easily available to members today.

1) Mashyakha 'Umum al-Sada al-Bayyumiyya. *Majmu' fi Awwad al-Tariqa al-Bayyumiyya*. This appears to be the sole official publication of the tariqa; members seem to acquire a copy upon joining the group. In it are the shaykh's prayers, consisting of the large and small hizbs ("al-hizb al-kabir", "al-hizb al-saghir"), a manzuma (poetic supplication employing the 99 Names of God)), a capsule biography, list of his publications, his *nasab*, and several *karamat*. Following are several poems by the classical Sufi poet 'Umar ibn al-Farid, and a lengthy section (nearly the entire second half of the booklet) explaining the basic duties of every Muslim. This booklet must be assumed to contain what the tariqa leaders perceive to be the essentials for every tariqa member. No publication date is given, but it is signed by the previous shaykh al-sajjada, father of the current shaykh.

2) 'Ali Nur al-Din al-Bayyumi, *Jami'a al-Asrar*. This short treatise is not dated, but comparing its paper and printing to the other volumes, one would guess at publication not later than the 1930s, especially because its printing resembles in every way *Risalat Ghariq al-Nur*, from the same publisher.

3) 'Ali Nur al-Din al-Bayyumi, *Risalat Ghariq al-Nur*. Another short treatise; my edition was published in 1921.

4) 'Abd al-Karim Mubarak al-Bilidi, untitled. This collection contains the two hizbs, the manzuma of Sidi 'Ali, his *nasab*, an *istighatha* (supplication, apparently by the author), and prayers of other shaykhs (Abu Madyan al-Tilmisani, 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani); the book was published in 1911.

5) Salim, Muhammad Ibrahim Muhammad. *Asrar al-Tawhid fi al-Majmu'a al-Bayyumiyya*. Cairo?: al-Sharika al-Muttahida li al-Tiba'a wa al-Nashr wa al-Tawzi'.

This booklet, by a prominent Bayyumiyya shaykh, expands slightly on that issued by the mashyakha, containing the nisba, capsule biography, several karamat, a listing of publications and excerpts thereof; this is followed by the two Bayyumiyya hizbs, didactic excerpts from his writings, blessings for the Prophet (salawat), and manzuma. He closes with several short excerpts from Sidi 'Ali, Sayyidna al-Junayd, Sidi Muhi al-Din ibn 'Arabi, hadith, and the Qur'an. The booklet is dated 1996.

6) Salim, al-Shaykh Khattab 'Umar al-Shaykh. 1925. *Kitab al-Anwar al-Jaliya fi Awrad al-Sada al-Bayyumiyya*. This pamphlet contains the two Bayyumiyya hizbs, a set of salawat attributed to the author (almost identical to those listed by Muhammad Ibrahim Muhammad Salim, above), the manzuma, the *wird sihr* (magical wird) attributed to the author, the *Da'wa al-Ism al-A'zam* (supplication of the greatest name; unattributed), a *wazifa* (attributed to the author), and a supplication to the saints (unattributed) which requests help from the most famous of them (including the four aqtab, and of course Sidi 'Ali). A later edition of this book precedes the above with a brief biography of Sidi 'Ali.

Thus the pamphlets consist mainly of prayers of Sidi 'Ali, sometimes supplemented by very brief biographical, hagiographic, or genealogical passages about the founder, and rarely including short excerpts from his prose works. The overall impression is of some disunity. Each compiler/author presents the basic information

differently, and there are slight variations even in the *hizb* texts. Other texts (prayers, poems, prose) are included from other sources, including Sufi shaykhs who are not Bayyumiyya, or the authors themselves, and these naturally vary from one book to another. Sidi 'Ali's teachings are not set forth systematically; the implication being either that he did not originate new teachings (but rather excelled in the Sufi and 'alim traditions) or that these are not so important for members to know. Although prayers are presented, their mode of practical use is not. No space in these pamphlets is devoted to a description of the tariqa, in its organizational, historical, ritual, or doctrinal dimensions, and there is a paucity of information about the founder. Indeed, these booklets are not about the tariqa or about the founder; rather they are textual sourcebooks for Sufis following Sidi 'Ali. Thus, they contribute little to the corporate unity, cohesion, boundedness, or centralization of the group. Quite the contrary: fissiparous tendencies are in evidence, especially when author/compiler insert non-canonical material of their own choosing.

c. Tariqa places

1. Bayyumiyya mosque

The tariqa's central mosque is located on Shari'a al-Husayniyya, a northward extension of the old Fatimid main street, Mu'izz li Din Allah, approximately one kilometer past the old city gate (Bab al-Futuh). It was built for Sidi 'Ali by the Ottoman governor Mustafa Basha, after Sidi 'Ali predicted his promotion to Grand Vizier. The

Bayyumiyya mosque houses the maqam of Sidi ‘Ali as well as those of several of his followers.

Although this mosque is the site of two weekly Bayyurniyya hadras, it is also a public mosque offering five prayers daily. While it is packed (conservative estimate: 300 worshippers) for salat al-jum‘a (Friday congregational prayer), less than 10% of these take part in the hadra which immediately follows the service.

2. Bayyumiyya maqam complex

Sidi ‘Ali’s maqam is beneath the dome of his mosque. Within the same maqsura, beneath an adjoining *tabut* (catafalque) is buried his principal disciple Hasan Darwish al-Quwaysni, former rector of al-Azhar (d. 1254 AH). In the antechamber are buried two other followers: Sidi Nafi‘ al-Hariri and ‘Abdallah al-Shimi. On the antechamber wall, plaques present a capsule biography, some of Sidi ‘Ali’s prayers, and a recent encomium, a qasida written by a follower in 1995. Two small red flags indicate his preferred color.

3. Mosque and maqam of Sayyida Amina

A few blocks away from the Bayyumiyya mosque is the mosque of Sayyida Amina, his wife. Within the mosque is a maqam for her, her mother (Sittina Tawhid), and their lady-servant.

4. Mashyakha: Administrative center

An old wooden building in Suq al-Limun, Jamaliyya serves as an administrative center, housing an office for the shaykh al-sajjada. Here he receives visitors, resolves

disputes, stores records, and generally manages the tariqa. However, no ritual activity transpires here. This center is relatively unimpressive when compared with other turuq. Its separation from the mosque (about 2 km away) deprives the tariqa of a complete ritual, spiritual, and administrative center in the manner of the modernist groups.

2. Jazuliyya

a. History of the group

1. The historical context of formation: Egyptian modernity

The first half of the 20th century was an era of tremendous cultural change in Egypt. During this period, education was becoming more widespread, and literacy was increasing. An educated elite was formed by the establishment of universities (Hourani 1991:389-90). Even the bastion of Islamic education, al-Azhar, was modernized. Mass entertainment played an increasingly large role, occupying free time and broadening tastes.

Traditional religion was on the wane, at least in urban centers. The old religious education of the kuttab declined, as a modern system of secular education arose to take its place. The new Islamic movements were modernist, following the lead of the forward-looking Salafiyya movement. These modernists aimed to create an Islam which would be compatible with the modern world, rapidly enveloping Egypt.

Technological advances came rapidly. Radio and cinema had taken their places, and soon television. The telephone was becoming more widespread; electricity had spread beyond Cairo to the larger regional cities, as well as running water and sewer systems. There was an optimism about the role science and technology could play in solving social problems and improving the quality of life, and people looked to the west for solutions.

The cinema industry began in 1924, and produced films displaying a strong western influence. Movie stars dressed in western clothes, often appearing indistinguishable from their Hollywood counterparts. Foreign films were also popular. Radio was established in 1934, spreading modern ideas: Arab nationalism, world events. Numerous newspapers were published and widely read. Books were published, about 3000 per year by the 1960s (Hourani 1991:394). Arabic music, which had formerly been closely tied to the old forms of classical Islamic civilization (the qasida, the muwashshah), as well as to the forms of Islamic LP, such as recitation of Qur'an, adhan (call to prayer), and inshad dini, changed course drastically. The new singers achieved fame through phonograph records, radio, and musical films; the new music was commodified, western-influenced, and generally lighter in feeling. New styles of popular singing arose to reflect the new era. Formerly religious LP had served as a training ground for most singers, many of whom even earned the title "shaykh". Now, singers could get their start directly through the new media.

This was also a turbulent political period for Egypt, still under the yoke of Britain, but eager for independence. Many groups and interests crowded the political stage: the British, the King, secular political parties, the Muslim Brothers, the army. Egyptians hoped for independence, but were far from unanimous about how this could be achieved, or who should rule. The ideological mix was rich: pan-Arabism, Egyptianism, Islamism, communism, socialism. Finally, in 1952 came the nearly bloodless coup, a revolution led by a group of army officers called the Free Officers.

It is thus highly significant that in this same year the Jazuliyya tariqa was formally established (although official governmental recognition would not come until 1995). As the Islamic reformers had attempted to create a modern Islam, and as Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir would now attempt to create a modern Egyptian state, so Sidi Jabir al-Jazuli now attempted to create a new and modern Sufism suitable for the age, which could respond to the criticism which had been heaped upon it by Islamic reformers, and secularists alike, and which could appeal to the modern Muslim, educated, rational, engaged with life; desiring a deep spirituality without political overtones. His challenge and stated goal was to create a truly modern Sufi order.

2. The founder and his formation of the tariqa

a. Sidi Jabir Husayn Ahmad al-Jazuli; his life and formation of the tariqa

Unlike the Bayyumiyya, whose prayer manuals include capsule biographies, and the Ja'fariyya, who devote much space to analysis of their founder's life and works, the Jazuliyya publish almost no "hagiographic" material of this kind. This lack reflects the familial relation to the shaykh, and the relatively closed nature of the group, which make such writings inappropriate and redundant. The following information was collected through interviews with members. [Critical commentary is enclosed in square brackets.]

Sidi Jabir Husayn Ahmad al-Jazuli (October 25, 1913 - October 8, 1992) was born in Alexandria, a city famous for its early Shadhili saints. Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili (d. 1258; eponymous founder of the Shadhili line) lived here (though he was born in the Maghrib, and is buried at Humaythara overlooking the Red Sea), as did his first and second disciples Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad al-Mursi (d. 1287; his mosque and maqam are largest in Alexandria), and Taj al-Din ibn 'Ata' Allah 'Abbas al-Iskandari (d. 1309; lived in Alexandria, but died and was buried in Cairo), Sharafuddin al-Busiri (d. 1298; buried in Alexandria, in a mosque neighboring that of his shaykh, al-Mursi), author of the celebrated encomium *al-Burda*, Yaqut al-'Arsh (d. 1307, Alexandria; another student of al-Mursi), and Jabir al-Ansari (d. ?; maqam at Kliyubatra, Alexandria). The

latter appeared to Sidi Jabir's mother in a vision, informing of her pregnancy, and instructing her to name her son Jabir, after him. She did so.

Sidi Jabir was raised in a rich Sufi environment. Although his father had not taken the oath in any particular tariqa, he was generally interested in the Shadhiliyya order, and sometimes hosted hadras in his home. When he was only seven or eight years old, Sidi Jabir sensed that he had a religious mission to fulfill in his life. At age 10, he and his family moved to Cairo. Sidi Jabir became interested in the Shadhili groups there, and attended many hadras with his father. He learned to read and write, but only completed his primary school education, feeling that his school subjects were dry, and a diversion from his life's mission in Sufism. By the time he was eleven, he had begun to make an impression on some of his colleagues, some of whom took him for a spiritual guide. After completing his formal schooling, he took a job at the government printing press.

Sidi Jabir learned the exoteric principles of Islam by reading books on hadith, fiqh, and other orthodox religious topics. But his Sufi knowledge did not come from reading books; rather he himself was the "axis of knowledge", as one of his disciples described him. He used to be fond of citing part of a Qur'anic verse (2:282) "...wataqqu Allaha wa yu'allimukumu Allahu..." ("Observe your duty to Allah. Allah is teaching you."), asserting that the pious are granted knowledge which cannot be read in books. Because of his religious diligence, he obtained his mystical knowledge through mystical inspiration. But he always felt that he had knowledge which words could not express.

[One will note a strong contrast with the Ja'fariyya, whose shaykh is legitimized through his ties to traditional modes and standards of learning, which imply traditional relations to disciples. Whereas the Jazuliyya is characterized by a warm mystical flavor in which the importance of emotional inspiration is elevated over sober book-learning, in the Ja'fariyya the balance is in the other direction. Both attitudes are reinforced in hadra.]

When he was older, he felt that he wanted to form a tariqa which would be appropriate for the 20th century. Most Sufi groups were firmly rooted in the past, and while he respected these, he could see that their appeal had diminished in the modern world. He wanted to combine their mystical "fragrance" of the past with the reality of the present, and was especially concerned that his new group should appeal to the modern youth. When he began to speak publicly about his vision of such a modern Sufism, many gathered about him to listen, particularly younger educated men: doctors, lawyers, university students. He also had a following among his colleagues at work (who started calling him by the title "Shaykh Jabir" when he was only 25), and word spread rapidly to their friends and associates. At first there were only 20-30 regular followers, but many more who came to hear him sporadically. He especially enjoyed sitting with young people, and he would tailor his talks to their way of understanding. Most of his followers were young, though even of these many were older than himself.

Sidi Jabir wrote only a few books, but gave many talks (many of these were recorded by his disciples), and placed all his emphasis on his disciples, rather than

concerning himself with the systematic presentation of religious knowledge. Like Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili, he would say: “my books are my disciples”. [Unlike the Ja‘fariyya, for whom the shaykh’s writings are a mediating term, for the Jazuliyya the relation between shaykh and disciple is more immediate.]

Although he was exposed to the Shadhili school of Sufism, based his teachings in their values, and drew upon their common stock of ritual forms, Sidi Jabir never took an official ‘ahd from any shaykh and so has no definite *silsila*. This lack was of no consequence to his followers, who considered him a uniquely inspired teacher and were not concerned with conventional credentialism. But others were critical, and his lack of silsila was later an obstacle to his registering his group with the High Council for Sufi Turuq.

[His lack of silsila (chain) can be viewed as a symbolic manifestation of his attempt to break the chains of tradition, in order to create a modern tariqa unfettered by the arbitrary conventions of the past, which had become a liability as Sufism was discredited among many of its traditional constituencies. By contrast, Shaykh Salih al-Ja‘fari used tradition to build an organization for the 20th century, and his silsila and nasab figure prominently in his biographies. While both groups have been highly successful, it is no surprise that they have also appealed to very different kinds of Muslims.]

When Sidi Jabir was 40 years of age, [a highly significant age; the Prophet received his first revelation at age 40], his followers requested that he form a formal

tariqa, with regular meetings. On October 25, 1952 this was done, and the tariqa was called al-Husayniyya al-Shadhiliyya, in remembrance of Sayyidna al-Husayn (the Prophet's grandson, of whom Sidi Jabir had had a vision) and Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili. In this same month, the Shaykh's son Sidi Salim was born. Sidi Jabir selected a short daily *wird* for his tariqa, consisting of *istighfar* and *salawat* to be repeated morning and night, for he didn't want his prayers to be a burden for the modern citizen and worker. He also established a weekly hadra on Thursday evenings, and a weekly study session on Monday evenings.

Early on, he predicted that the tariqa would grow until it extended from Alexandria to Aswan, and that foreigners would come to Egypt and bring the tariqa to other countries as well. "The day will soon come when the tariqa will be so large you will no longer all know each other by sight." Therefore, he chose for them a distinctive emblem, so that members would always be able to know each other. At the time the tariqa was still small, and his followers had difficulty imagining that the group would expand so rapidly. Yet his predictions came true. He also said that his writings would be translated into English, and the tariqa would endure until Resurrection Day.

Sidi Jabir wanted to create a Sufism for the 20th century, especially for the younger generation born and raised in this new age. Inshad, he felt, was a critical tool for fulfilling these goals. Sidi Jabir viewed inshad as the "language of the age", and the ideal tool for calling people to the tariqa (and thus to religion); he saw that inshad can speak to the hearts even when the minds don't understand its meaning. The munshid,

therefore, was for him the ideal *da'i* ("caller", proselytizer). Unlike conservative religious leaders, Sidi Jabir viewed music as permissible, so long as it carried a properly spiritual message in its text. The fact that popular music frequently accompanied the sinful activities which were drawing young people away from religion—bars, dance halls, nightclubs, cafes—made it all the more powerful as a means of drawing them away from these places, toward religious pursuits. Sidi Jabir therefore designed his inshad to incorporate many of the sonic elements of popular music, so as to call people to the tariqa. His inshad would be upbeat, and musically rich—thus satisfying the cravings of the nafs (lower self)—but nevertheless deeply spiritual in its poetic dimensions and performance context. Once a person had joined the tariqa, he would attend the hadra in which this music was performed, and these activities would displace the baser ones which had formerly occupied him. Such was his strategy.

Originally inshad was performed without instrumental accompaniment, using the simple, strophic melodies in the traditional style employed by the other turuq for group inshad. But Sidi Jabir didn't like such melodies, disparaging them as "qatr" ("train") melodies due to their tedious and repetitious grooves. He felt that they didn't suit the modern taste, and preferred complex and musically rich material, which could hold the listener's attention. At the time, young people were enjoying the new upbeat songs of 'Abd al-Wahhab, Umm Kulthum, Farid al-Atrash, and other popular singers. Rather than incorporate the old Sufi melodic patterns of the past, he decided to model his inshad on the modern songs of these new singers. He therefore encouraged the munshidin to

begin composing new melodies, with more melodic freedom, and faster tempos than employed in the other *turuq*, for he understood these to be characteristics of modern Arabic music.

In the 1970s, instruments began to make their appearance in the *hadra* as an accompaniment to *inshad*, following an initial *hadra shar‘iyya* (“orthodox *hadra*”) performed without them. The first instrument so employed was the *riqq* (tambourine with jingles), followed by the *‘ud* (lute). The development of music in the *tariqa* was a strategy which suggested itself due to the presence of talent in the group. The Shaykh had heard one of the group’s most gifted musicians, Muhammad ‘Arafa, playing the *‘ud*, and he encouraged him to apply his talents in the *hadra*. In 1981, Muhammad ‘Arafa began playing *‘ud* consistently for *hadra*. He has been the *tariqa*’s most prolific composer since he joined the group in 1975, and is the *de facto* musical director, having taught many others to play *riqq*, *duff* (tambourine without jingles), and *tabla* (hourglass-shaped drum).

Perhaps due to its highly musical character, the *tariqa* has attracted many members with musical inclinations, who have further enriched the *hadra* with their talents. These include Ibrahim al-Hajjar (a respected *mutrib* (secular singer), and father of the most highly acclaimed male singer in Egypt today, ‘Ali al-Hajjar), and the great *mubtahir* (performer of *ibtihalat*), Ibrahim al-Iskandarani. At least one of the current *munshidin* is a graduate of the Arabic Music Institute, and also works as a professional singer.

[The tariqa emerged as a product of the shaykh's own inspiration, together with the particular abilities of those around him. The development of music in the hadra is one instance of this phenomenon. One of the shaykh's great qualities was to nurture the talents he observed among his muridin, and thereby make use of them in order to strengthen the group as a whole. His vision of the tariqa was not rigidly preconceived, but rather adapted to his membership. In this way he brought the potentials of tariqa members to fruition, enabling each talented individual to gain in self-confidence create for himself a special niche in the group; at the same time everyone benefited from his abilities, and the group became more closely fitted to the people comprising it. The tariqa was thus built for and by the muridin; it was a collective development, rather than the purely independent creation of a talented shaykh, and this increased the sense of in-group solidarity among members. One will notice a sharp contrast with the Ja'fariyya group in this domain.]

Inshad in the tariqa Jazuliyya is largely based on the poetry of Sidi Jabir. Sidi Jabir composed poetry spontaneously, out of *hal* (a deep mystical state). Sometimes he uttered poems extemporaneously during the hadra, instructing the munshid to record his words in order to sing them later. But such "automatic" poetry, the first-fruits of mystical inspiration, often came piecemeal, breaking the strict poetical rules of rhyme (*qafiya*) and meter (*wazn*). Later, in a state of more reflective calm, the shaykh would rewrite these words in a more ordered form. Thus he created poetry out of *hal*, but polished and reworked the poems to his liking while in a state of sobriety. He wasn't

concerned to compose inshad per se, but rather to express his experience in a form which could convey its meaning to others, and poetry was his preferred means for doing so. Thus his followers do not consider him to have been a poet per se; rather he was a Sufi for whom poetry was the preferred means of mystical expression. The munshidin took these poems, and set them melodically, according to the Shaykh's stylistic preference for musically rich material.

Sidi Jabir used to sit with his group during the hadra, answering questions and speaking with them about a variety of topics, centered on Sufi love. His teaching was oral; he repeated the words of his master Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili: "my books are my students". The close intimacy of such gatherings is evident in his vocal style (lectures have been preserved on tape); he spoke sweetly and softly to his followers, as a loving father would speak to his children. Muridin report that when he sat with them in a *jalsa* (group session), each person felt that he was speaking with him personally, even when there were 150 present before him. These meetings were open, but they were not under the auspices of any official religious institution, such as the central Islamic university, al-Azhar.

[This relation between shaykh and muridin contrasts with that of Shaykh Salih, whom I will discuss next. Shaykh Salih was famous for his Friday *dars*, a lecture given at al-Azhar after the Friday prayer. These talks were public, open events, attended by a wide variety of people from the al-Azhar university community and beyond. Due perhaps in part to their public nature, he tended to focus on exoteric themes in the

religious sciences. In photographs one observes that he sat on a raised chair, far above his audience, and wore the traditional garb of an Azhari scholar. Extant recordings show him to have used the high rhetorical, strenuous, delivery typical of the *khatib* (preacher).]

People who remember Sidi Jabir say that he always treated everyone with kindness and love. He never criticized directly or scolded. He always taught love in Islam, and he was in turn beloved by the muridin. In the 1980s, the muridin wished to include their shaykh's name in the tariqa's name, and so by general consensus the group became known as al-Jazuliyya al-Husayniyya al-Shadhiliyya.

The Jazuliyya group was criticized by other orders on several counts: for employing musical instruments in hadra, for their modernizations, for allowing women to join and participate in group activities (although separated spatially from the men), and for the founder's lack of a silsila. These criticisms did not impede the development and expansion of the tariqa since 1952, but may have delayed official governmental recognition. Sidi Jabir tried once to register his order with the High Council for Sufi Orders, but his application was rejected. Unperturbed, he continued his religious mission, figuring that a governmental stamp of legitimacy was not so important. (Three years after his death, in 1995, his son and khalifa Sidi Salim, then shaykh of the order, finally obtained official recognition.)

[While Sidi Jabir did not compromise his Sufism in order to appeal to Islamic reformist and fundamentalist trends, he worked to ensure his compatibility with various aspects of secular modernity. Thus while his group (unlike the Ja'fariyya) was not

defensible from many of the Islamists' criticisms, and thus could not enlist their support, he benefited from widespread interest among those who had grown up in the new secular modernist climate, and thus avoided the decline encountered by the traditional groups.]

As Sidi Jabir grew older, he did not curtail his activities. He used to travel widely, visiting members of the tariqa all over Egypt. He would say "if someone at the end of the earth wants to know our Lord, I'll go to him." But before his death, he appointed his son Salim as his successor.

He attended his last hadra on 23 August, 1992, advising his followers that "the path [tariq] is a gift from me to you; fear God, be patient, and endure". He had been ill for some time, and all prayed fervently for his recovery. A month later he predicted that he would die in two weeks, and indeed he passed away October 9, 1992, at the age of 79.

b. Karamat

To a greater or lesser extent, karamat (miracles) constitute the representation of a Sufi shaykhs by and for his followers, and indeed for everyone else. But shaykhs of the 20th century are less apt to be known by fantastic miracles than before. The modern age has not been kind to miraculous stories about the saints (oral or written), which are usually dismissed by the educated—secular and religious—as fanciful folkloric creations. Whether or not tariqa members may believe them, publicizing of karamat are no longer effective strategies for attracting new members, and indeed may even produce a negative effect, especially for turuq which aim for an educated membership. Tariqa leaders

instead emphasize the high status of their shaykhs as scholars and writers, and as deeply spiritual, inspired, men of God.

The Jazuliyya is an example par excellence of the modernist, forward-looking Sufi order. While karamat are not lacking, they tend to focus on his learning, his spiritual insights as expressed in writings and poetry, his closeness to God, his Divinely appointed mission, and his keen understanding of his muridin, rather than on supernatural deeds so typical of older saints. Such karamat are easier to believe, reflecting a more personal relation to the shaykh himself, furthermore, those evidenced by his knowledge or poetry can be reinforced performatively in the hadra itself. Here are some examples:

1) It is often said that the rapid expansion of the tariqa and its large number of members is a sign of Sidi Jabir's greatness with God, for only God can cause people to love each other.

2) His poetry was composed spontaneously through hal (mystical state), and is imbued with that mystical state, in a metaphysical sense.

3) One young man said that Sidi Jabir was the last of the 40 qutbs following Abu'l-Hasan al-Shadhili. Another said he was the last of the great tariqa founders.⁷

4) Members say that Sidi Jabir had *shafafiyya* (clairvoyant insight), and was able to see the 'alim al-ghayb (hidden world) by the Light of God. But he could not reveal too much of his inner knowledge to the muridin, because they would not be able to bear it.

5) Three days after Sidi Jabir's death, Egypt suffered one of the largest earthquakes in its history. Members say that the earth shook at having lost the dhikr of Sidi Jabir upon it.

6) He could address a large crowd, and yet everyone felt as if he was speaking to him personally.

7) His knowledge was given to him by God through direct inspiration, a result of his piety.

3. Subsequent development of the tariqa

a. Codification, consolidation, and establishment of the legacy

Earlier I mentioned that in the second phase of any tariqa, after the death of the founder, several tasks must be accomplished if the tariqa is to be established on a sound social basis. These include maintaining the memory of the shaykh-founder as charismatic center, organizing and consolidating the group so as to ensure its integrity and central control, increasing the loyal membership, building the material foundations of the group, and preserving, editing, and often publishing the founder's written legacy. Direction of these tasks falls to the khalifa.

Sidi Jabir established a tariqa doctrinally, ritually, and socially. But the group was to a large extent centered on his magnetic personality. Personal relations bound members to the shaykh, and thus to each other. After his death, his son and khalifa, Sidi

Salim, has worked to preserve his father's legacy, to maintain an active central presence of Sidi Jabir (spiritually and in his works), while at the same time transferring much of the basis for group coherence onto the horizontal relations among group members. In doing so he has followed the spirit rather than the letter of the traditions established by his father, and he makes changes when he feels that these will be beneficial to the group.

After his first application to the Supreme Council for Sufi Orders had been turned down, Sidi Jabir had rejected the idea of official registration. But Sidi Salim felt that official recognition was important, since groups operating outside the government's authorization (such as religious extremists and communists) had been persecuted in the past. He realized that only official sanction could assure the group's safe continuance. In 1995 he was able to obtain such recognition.

Like his spiritual master Sidi Abu'l-Hasan al-Shadhili, Sidi Jabir wrote only sporadically. Most of his insights and ideas were communicated spontaneously in oral contexts, while talking with members, or in larger teaching circles; he held his students to be his books, with his master Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili. But after his death, Sidi Salim keenly sensed the importance of preserving this oral tradition, and of making it available to tariqa members of the present and future. Some muridin had taken copious notes during lectures, or recorded audio cassettes; others simply committed his teachings to memory. Sidi Jabir's poetry was written longhand in notebooks, or preserved in the memories of the munshidin. Transcribing, assembling, editing, organizing, and publishing this precious heritage continues to be one of Sidi Salim's main tasks. Some of

the lecture material has been published as a book (*Rasa'il Sufiyya* ("Sufi Letters"); al-Jazuli 1993a), but there remains a vast archive of tapes (about 250 lecture tapes) and notebooks. A diwan (al-Jazuli 1993b) containing a large number of Sidi Jabir's poems, together with traditional Shadhili inshad, has been published. Hizbs, wirids, hikma (pithy sayings, aphorisms), ad'iyya, salawat, and ritual forms (for the hadra, and 'ahd (oath)) used in the tariqa, whether from Sidi Jabir or from the Shadhili tradition, were included in *Rasa'il* or the diwan. Several tapes containing inshad or lectures have also been produced.

[Nearly the same tasks have been carried out in the Ja'fariyya tariqa, which is also in its secondary phase. However there is an important difference. Whereas the materials so carefully prepared by the Jazuliyya are for internal use by members only⁸, those prepared by the Ja'fariyya are sold publicly, and wide distribution is encouraged.]

b. Physical permanence

The tangible representation of Sidi Jabir's spiritual presence required the building of a maqam. Group cohesion also necessitated the establishment of a meeting place large enough to accommodate the growing group. These two places, the first pragmatic, and the second sacred, were significantly combined when the *maqarr* (central meeting place) was established in the Qayt Bay cemetery, next to the tomb of Sidi Jabir. The beautiful shrine was built in the traditional maqam style, with a tabut decorated by a green cloth, marked by a large 'imma at one end, laden with Qur'ans and flowers, and surrounded by

a wooden maqsura. Next to the shrine is a small mosque, and a large meeting room. The entire complex was decorated using Islamic motifs, but combined with bold colors in new designs, and large professionally produced color photographs of the founder and khalifa, in order to create a modern appearance quite different from any of the traditional orders.

c. Organization and growth

Another critical step was to establish a firm social organization. Toward this end, Sidi Salim (presumably in collaboration with senior members of the tariqa) prepared a set of tariqa laws which he appended to the book, *Rasa'il Sufiyya*. These include definition and responsibility of the various positional roles of responsibility within the tariqa hierarchy, of the performance of the teaching sessions, and—notably—of the munshidin (see Appendix).

A distinctive headdress (the *shi'ar*) was designed and produced, enabling all tariqa members to know each other, and creating a sense of in-group cohesion. Three colors mark off two special roles—the naqib (responsible for service, wearing a blue cap) and the munshid (wearing a green cap)—from the ordinary member (white cap).

In addition to the hadras, regular administrative meetings are held to discuss issues of concern to the group, such as membership, policy, building, participation in public festivals such as mawlid, expansion, new publications, and so forth.

These steps have resulted in a spectacular increase in tariqa membership, which today exceeds 10,000, double the number at the time of Sidi Jabir's death in 1992. The

muridin are distributed throughout all the provinces of Egypt, with a total of 56 centers (maqarrs), performing 109 hadras every week.

b. Tariqa publications

1. Books and pamphlets

The order publishes two books whose contents are central for participation in the tariqa: a diwan, *Qasa'id wa Anashid* (al-Jazuli 1993b) and a collection of short treatises, *Rasa'il Sufiyya* (al-Jazuli 1993a); nearly everything in these works was composed by Sidi Jabir. These books were published in 1993, after the founder's death. All members obtain copies of each upon joining the tariqa.

Conspicuously absent are retrospective books presenting the founder's life story, as recounted by followers. There is very little self-referential material. Publications are limited to what the founder, Sidi Jabir, wrote or said, together with the Laws of Sidi Salim, and some traditional Shadhili poems and prayers. This fact seems significant when compared to the Ja'fariyya, many of whose publications are of the self-referential type. The Jazuliyya tariqa welcomes new members, but it is a private group and well-bounded, and publications are intended for members only; those members tend to be familiar with their shaykh from the oral tradition which surrounds him, and they feel close to him as a father figure. Therefore retrospective or laudatory works are unnecessary and inappropriate. The Ja'fariyya, by contrast, is publicly visible, and its many publications are intended for a wide audience, both inside and outside the tariqa.

It appears that *turuq* which publish official accounts of their founders' lives must do so for a reason. One is to provide a model or inspiration to the *muridin*, toward which they may aspire, for the *shaykh* is the *qudwā*, the excellent model to be followed. A second reason is to reinforce and legitimize the founder's exalted position within the universe of Sufism for *tariqa* members and outsiders alike, especially by stressing his connection to the past through enumeration of teachers, *nasab*, and *silsila*. The first reason certainly applies for the *Jazuliyya*, although perhaps Sidi Jabir died recently enough that a written exposition of his life and works is not yet required; the oral tradition is sufficient.

However, the second reason may not apply. Sidi Jabir's status among members is secure enough, and while the group seeks new members, the group is relatively private, and publications are not available to the general public. There seems to be little sense of the importance of overt hagiography, neither for outsiders nor insiders. For however important Sidi Jabir is to his followers, one feels that the group he founded is not based on his spiritual personality so much as on the way of practicing Sufism which was his legacy. The group built on his teachings is dependent upon him, but also displays a high degree of autonomy and independent identity as a cohesive social unit. Rather than focus entirely on the man, the focus is on the group envisioned by the man, the more horizontal links of brotherhood rather than merely the shared veneration of a spiritual master. His works (both poetry and prose), which are continually performed in *hadra*, are sufficient testimony to his greatness, and biography is not required.

In addition, whereas for tradition-minded groups (of the past and present) lineages (spiritual or patrilineal) proving spiritual or blood connection to saints of the past are an important means of certification and legitimization (and assertions of such links are a ubiquitous features of hagiographic material), they are not necessarily desirable for a group which desires to make such a decisive break from the past, indeed they might be a hindrance. Shaykh Salih's tariqa, on the other hand, is more centered on the founder himself, constituting an attempt to continue his teaching tradition by performing his poetry, and the group's legitimacy is also constructed through the assertion of links to the past, as we will soon see.

a. Poetry: The diwan (*Qasa'id wa Anashid*)

Following color plates of the founder and his khalifa, the diwan contains several introductory sections, followed by the main body of poetry. Interspersed among the sections and poems are short maxims (hikam) from Sidi Jabir; these are not noted in the following plan:

i. Introductory sections

Opening words from Sidi Jabir. Following a paragraph in which he praises God for His guidance, and blesses the Prophet, Sidi Jabir writes:

This, our book which is between your hands, is a guide to our tariqa, and a teacher of our love. It contains the complete story of the shaykh of the tariqa, his state [hal] and station [maqam], in a simple form in order that the murid comprehend it without difficulty. This will help him and guide him in his behavior toward God, reducing the scope of the self [nafs]. I ask God that every seeker of God avail himself of it, upon the true path,

the Shadhili path [tariq] which brings together the true Islamic morals, and upon the Jazuliyya school [mashrab] which guides upon the path of the Prophet Muhammad (may God bless him and grant him peace).

al-Jazuli, 13 Dhi al-Qa'da 1405 AH, 22 July 1985 AD

This short paragraph sets the tone of the work. This is “our book”, and Sidi Jabir is constantly identifying himself with his disciples, as one spiritual family, in his writings and poetry, unlike Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari, who tended to speak “from on high”. It is made to be simple, for the member of modern society who has no time or background to read lengthy and abstruse treatises. After paying homage to Sidi Abu'l-Hasan al-Shadhili, the distant qutb who informs the tariqa, he identifies the group as specifically Jazuli and based directly upon the model of the Prophet. In this way the group preserves the Sufi heritage, but only via a distant and legendary, and in truth secondary, charismatic figure. The active teacher and charismatic center is Sidi Jabir, and he is following the Prophet. The independence and centrality of the recent or living founder, and a firm and explicit basis in the Prophet's Sunna are common features of modernist turuq, manifest in their social and doctrinal orders. He signs and dates this brief passage, unpretentiously, providing a personal touch, as if writing a letter.

Definition of the tariqa and its shaykh. Here, Sidi Jazuli provides not a self-definition, but rather a definition of these terms in general, interspersed with an abundance of Qur'anic citations. Explicit definitions and statements of purpose are typical of modernist groups.

Decorum (adab). A list of thirteen points relating to adab and principles (*mabadi*) of the tariqa is followed by a long qasida (50 lines) called “Adab al-Murid” (Decorum of the disciple). These two formats provide an easy and quick reference: the list format is simple to read, and the poetic form assists in memorization. Again, such verbal explicitness and condensation, of what must be gleaned from many writings and local oral sources in the case of traditional turuq such as the Bayyumiyya or Rifa‘iyya, is typical of modernist groups

Hizbs. This is followed by the four main hizbs employed by the tariqa: the poem “al-Da‘wa al-Rabbaniyya”; “Hizb al-Nur”; “Hizb al-Mu’min”; “Hizb al-Fath”; and “Hizb al-Nasr”. The first three were composed by Sidi Jabir, while the last is an opus of Sidi Abu’l-Hasan al-Shadhili himself. Again, one notes how Sidi Jabir has reworked the tradition.

Definitions of muhibb, murid, salik. The shaykh’s conception of three levels of participation in the tariqa, discussed further below. The muhibb has not yet taken the oath, the murid has, and the salik has completely surrendered his will to that of the shaykh. One notes a strong emphasis on commitment, oath-taking, and group membership in these books not found in the Ja‘fariyya texts, which focus rather on teachings, prayers, and poetry of Shaykh Salih on the one hand, and biographical works on the other.

The ‘ahd (oath). The shaykh presents a complete specification of the ritual of induction. This ritual is elaborate, corporate (it is performed by all the muridin in hadra),

and conspicuous. By contrast, the Ja'fariyya ritual is not published, short, and is performed in private. This contrast shows how the Jazuliyya aim to make the distinction of membership—and hence group boundaries—very sharp.

ii. The diwan proper

The remainder and bulk of *Qasa'id wa Anashid* (235 out of 266 pages) is devoted to poetry (except for the short maxims strewn throughout). The diwan, comprising 231 qasidas, contains four qasidas composed by tariqa members, and fourteen from the general Sufi tradition. The overwhelming majority of the diwan's contents, 213 qasidas, were composed by Sidi Jabir. But the openness of the diwan to other sources is noteworthy, particularly the tariqa members who are credited by name. Again despite the overwhelming dominance of Sidi Jabir, there is a sense of participation in these books as well, that they represent the group as a whole, which is symptomatic of a larger communality and solidarity in all the tariqa's activities. This fact contrasts with the Ja'fariyya, where all qasidas in the tariqa diwans are by the founder, except for a small number by the current shaykh, 'Abd al-Ghani.

Author	Qasida Count	Percentage
Sidi Jabir	213	92%
Sada (Sufi tradition, probably Shadhili)	14	6%
Tariqa members	4	2%

Since the shaykh emphasized poetry as a means of self-expression, and since the primary mode of poetic delivery in traditional Arabic and Islamic culture is via melodic intonation, the centrality of inshad dini follows naturally, as it does in the Ja'fariyya.

Also as in the Ja‘fariyya, this poetry is considered to be a direct transcription of the shaykh’s religious states and feelings, as well as one of the organizing principle of the tariqa. The strategic importance of musical inshad performance has already been mentioned.

Yet as important as it is, poetry and inshad in the Jazuliyya is not nearly so central as in the Ja‘fariyya, where the shaykh’s poetry—practically the sole basis for inshad—literally replaces the shaykh as teacher of the muridin. Inshad constitutes a proportionally smaller fraction of the Jazuliyya hadra, since *mudhakara* (group study) occupies an equally salient role, and serves to bind the group communally. Furthermore, such inshad as does occur is not constrained to the *diwan*, since solo *munshidin* are free to draw on other sources outside of it. This is not the case in the Ja‘fariyya.

On the whole, the poetry of Sidi Jabir is eminently singable in the light popular song style called *taqtuqa*. Compared to the poems of Shaykh Salih al-Ja‘fari (discussed below), Sidi Jabir’s display a preference for shorter rhythms. Whereas nearly all of Shaykh Salih’s poetry is written in elevated classical Arabic (*fusha*), Sidi Jabir employs a range, from classical to colloquial. This too gives his language a light and melodic quality, not unlike popular song material.

Shaykh Salih aimed for clarity and simplicity in presenting orthodox themes of conservative Sufism, mainly praise and love for God, the Prophet, and the Ahl al-Bayt, or supplications to God. Sidi Jabir’s poetry frequently treats the very same themes, although mixed with an exuberant emotional spirituality, and a closer, more intimate

sense of love than Shaykh Salih appears to have considered proper. Whereas Shaykh Salih often praises by mentioning noble deeds and miracles of the Prophet and others, Sidi Jabir's madih centers more on a personal relationship with spiritual entities. Praise and love are common themes of both authors (and in nearly all Sufi poetry), but while Shaykh Salih's poetry is dominated by themes of praise, Sidi Jabir's is dominated by themes of love. Given Sidi Jabir's scholarly inclinations, and Shaykh Salih's inner gnosis, it would be an oversimplification to say that Shaykh Salih is a sober mystic, whereas Sidi Jabir is an ecstatic. Nevertheless, the dichotomy applies quite well in comparing many domains of tariqa practice.

But other poems of Sidi Jabir move beyond the realm of ordinary love and praise to more abstruse, vague, and heterodox domains of mysticism. Some are overtly mystical, expressing the Sufi experience itself through metaphors of erotic love and intoxication. Esoteric metaphors and symbols are commonly employed in enigmatic phrases which must be felt before they can be understood, if they can be understood at all. Throughout the Beloved is often ambiguous. Whereas Shaykh Salih specified precisely whom he was speaking about—God, the Prophet, Hasan, Husayn, his shaykh—Sidi Jabir is often rather vague. His Beloved may be different things to different people, depending on spiritual station, or perhaps may suggest to some an essential unity of its possible denotations.

Generally speaking, inshad is active in the affective, communicative, and ritual modes. But whereas the clarity of the Ja'fariyya poetry (together with the mode of

performance) lays stress upon the communicative aspect, poems of Sidi Jabir stress the affective; this fact is further emphasized by their highly affective modes of performance, which include music and ecstatic participation, as we shall see in a subsequent section. Precisely because the meanings of Sidi Jabir's poems are not always crystal-clear, the listener tends to live in its affective aura.

There is also a contrast in intertextual linkages. Shaykh Salih's intertext is the broadly acceptable tradition of madih and Islamic poetry. When members of the Ja'fariyya—in articles published in their yearly magazine—seek religious legitimization for the use of madih in ritual, they cite the early Islamic praise-singers such as Hasan ibn Thabit, and Shaykh Salih's Diwan, focussing on madih and supplications to God, contains few poems that would not be acceptable to the wider Islamic community.

By contrast, Sidi Jabir's more mystical style of poetry draws on a long tradition of distinctively Sufi poetry, including the work of al-Hallaj, 'Umar ibn al-Farid, Ibn 'Arabi, and al-Shushtari. The latter's diwan, for its light, colloquial, musical style of conveying mystical intimations, perhaps demonstrates the closest resemblance to Sidi Jabir's poems. (Significantly, Shushtari's work was taken up by the Shadhilis in Egypt and continues to be sung today; a historical influence upon Sidi Jabir is therefore quite possible. See Abdel-Malek 1995:13⁹).

But Sidi Jabir's poetic influences seem to come from the popular song domain as well, and in this there is a parallel to his use of popular musical resources. Besides the fact that many of his poems are *performed* in the style of taqtuqa (the predominant

popular strophic Arabic song style of the 20th century), the texts themselves contain strong intertextual references to that popular song tradition. This occurs not only in his use of colloquial Egyptian, or in poetic form, but in content as well.

Thus one reads, for instance, his poem “Ya Sayyid al-Sadat”¹⁰ (al-Jazuli 1993b: 114) which contains the lines (not consecutive in the poetry; here the transliteration system is modified to preserve colloquial pronunciations and rhythms):

Ya Sayyid al-Sadat nazra, nazra, rida, wa taminni
(Oh master of masters, a glance! A glance, satisfaction, reassure me)

....

Aruh li min ashki wa a’ullu, aruh li min ghayrak ya’ni
(To whom can I turn, complain, and tell; to whom will I go, other than you?)

.....

Mahsub ‘alayk wanta ‘arif, insifni marra wa nasifni
(I’m obedient to you, as you know; give me my due, share with me!)

...

al-kilma minnak tawasini, wa al-nazra fika bitganninni
(A word from you consoles me, and a glance at you drives me mad)

and one is reminded at once of ‘Abd al-Min‘am al-Siba‘i’s poem of the complaining lover (set by Riyad al-Sunbati for the great Egyptian singer, Umm Kulthum), containing the lines:

Aruh li min wa a’ullu ya min yinsifni minnak?
(To whom can I turn, and tell, who will give me my due from you?)

...

Kilma wa nazrat ‘ayn wa al-’isma wayyahum, gama‘u sawa al-’albayn wa al-hubb munahum
(A word, a glance, and fate with them, gathered together two hearts; love is their desire.)

The outstanding connection is of course the phrase “aruh li min” (“to whom can I turn?”), which first triggers the association, and in some sense covers the general meaning of both poems. But once the connection is made, other shared words and concepts emerge: the request for a “nazra” (“glance”), for a “kalima” (“word”), and words sharing common verbal roots requesting sharing and justice (“insifni”, “yinsifni”, “nasifni”). More generally, both are love songs, cries to the beloved, complaint mixed with longing for sympathy and closeness, as contained in the phrase “aruh limin”. But in the Sufi poem, the beloved is clearly a saintly figure, a spiritual entity of some sort, though there is ambiguity as to who exactly this might be (the Prophet? A Sufi saint? The Shaykh himself?), and each listener must resolve this ambiguity for himself or herself, whereas for most listeners Umm Kulthum is singing of romantic love. Despite the evident differences (underscored by performance context), the points of intersection, together with the general thematic similarity, are entirely sufficient to invoke this famous song of Umm Kulthum and suggest connections to its world of secular love.

Another example of such intertextual connections is Sidi Jabir’s poem “Aqbal al-Layl” (al-Jazuli 1993b:85), which also demonstrates Sidi Jabir’s tendency toward mystical passion and ambiguity, from which I cite:

Aqbal al-layl wa al-hubb wa al-muna, wa kullima aqbal layl zad al-hawa
 (Night drew near, and love, and desire; as night drew near, passion increased)

...

Ya habibi ana wa anta ana, ya qariban li kull man dana
 (Oh my love, you are I, oh you who is near to all who approach)
 Ana al-layl wa al-layl ana, wa hubb hinak wa hubb hina
 (I am the night, and the night is I; love is there and love is here)

When these mystical-erotic lines are compared to the love song of the same name by Ahmad Rami (also set by Riyad al-Sunbati and sung by Umm Kulthum), certain connections become evident:

Aqbal al-layl ya habibi wa nadani hanini
(Night drew near, oh my love, and longing called me)

...

Ayna anta al-an, bal ayna ana
(Where are you now, or rather, where am I?)

...

Lastu adri ya habibi man ana ayna ana
(I don't know, my love, who or where I am)

Not only words, phrases, and themes (especially the confusion of self and other as a sign of mystical or lovers' union) but even rhetorical figures (such as the technique of permuting nouns and pronouns) are shared.

Such intertextual connections to the secular song tradition are a special characteristic of this particularly forward-looking modernist tariqa, which has deliberately left behind a large amount of historical Sufi tradition in order to appeal to the modern generation while preserving what they believe to be the essential ahistorical Sufi teachings. But this form of intertextuality is also widely employed in popular Sufi inshad performed by professional munshidin in the mawlid (especially Umm Kulthum songs), as a means of drawing an audience and moving the emotionally. Such singers are not part of any Sufi organization which could restrain them, and therefore their performative decisions are a direct consequence of what they believe will win them the most listeners.¹¹

These connections present several layers of significance. First, it is a truism that Sufi spiritual love and human love are closely related emotions, and for this reason there have long been close relations and borrowings between Sufi love poetry and secular love poetry. Sufi munshidin could borrow *ghazals* (love poems), such as the “*Nuniyya*” of Ibn Zaydun (Waugh 1989:126) to express their love for the Prophet, or they could write their own poems using similar metaphors (as did Ibn al-Farid). But here the connections are more specifically to the world of 20th-century Egyptian romantic songs, thus helping to generate a more powerful emotional appeal (as in the mawlids), and to form a bridge to the secular world, over which cross new members for the tariqa. Along with the use of secular music styles, such an intertextuality fit perfectly with Sidi Jabir’s overall strategy for building a modernist tariqa. The specific connections to Umm Kulthum, as the most famous and respectable of the great 20th-century Arabic singers, make the connection all the more powerful. Umm Kulthum’s respectability and authenticity, in turn, was grounded in her early training in Qur’anic recitation and Sufi singing (Danielson 1997:21ff) , and so the intertextual connections and channels of meaning thereby come full circle back to the Sufi context. Indeed, Umm Kulthum songs are occasionally adopted into the tariqa liturgy whole. The close relation of poetry of Sidi Jabir to secular song is quite unlike the closed religious traditionalism of Shaykh Salih, for whom relations to things secular is regarded as a weakness.

Sidi Jabir’s poetry, like his speeches, is intimate and brings the reader close, while Shaykh Salih’s poetry, like *his* speeches, is more formal and distancing. Shaykh Salih is

often not very present *personally* in his poetry, but since the words are known to come from him, this absence only serves to elevate him all the more. One reads his diwan and feels his presence as a scholar-Sufi towering above his students, while the objects of his poetic descriptions (God, the Prophet, and the Ahl al-Bayt) tower above *him*. But in Sidi Jabir's poetry, it is as if these levels have temporarily fused together in the heat of a mystical love. While these poems are not genuinely personal, in the sense of introspective, their emotional warmth makes one feel that the author is there, close. These comments will be more intelligible after I have discussed the Ja'fariyya in detail, and will be put into analytical practice in subsequent chapters.

Analysis of intertextuality and meaning in a poetic corpus is evidently a vast subject, and since it forms only one aspect of one component of LP in hadra, I will not be able to complete it here, although I will consider it again in the final analytical chapters.

b. Teachings: Rasa'il Sufiyya

i. Introductory section: dedication, definitions

The other tariqa publication is a collection of writings of the shaykh. Following the color plates (as in the Diwan) is a letter from Sidi Salim, who edited the volume. After the standard formulas of praise to God and blessings upon His Prophet, and a *du'a'* (prayer of request) for Sidi Jabir, the "secret of our meeting, founder of our tariqa,

teacher of our spirits, our shaykh and lantern of our spirits, our lord the Imam al-Jazuli...”, he goes on to introduce the book in the form of a letter, saying:

My brother for God the Beloved:

The book which you hold between your hands is the pearl of the association of the al-Jazuliyya al-Husayniyya al-Shadhiliyya, which will never be dissolved, God willing. It is a book which contains words and studies [mudhakara] of the founder of our tariqa, our lord the Imam al-Jazuli (may God be pleased with him). Among them is that which he wrote by his own hand, and that which his loving followers [ahbabu] transcribed from sound recordings, without change, subtraction, or addition. And among them is that which he concealed during his lifetime; God has willed that we discover these among the treasures of his gnosis [ma‘rifa] after his passing, which he wrote by his own hand (may God be pleased with him).

This book matured through 79 years of experience of the qutb and founder, our lord the Imam al-Jazuli (may God be pleased with him), from his birth October 25, 1913, until October 8, 1992. He spent these years calling to God (praised be He, Most High) via Islamic mysticism [al-tasawwuf al-islami], requesting from the Divine Presence [al-hadra al-ilahiyya], and making any who was pleased with him his murid in the way of God. So his words, sayings, and states [ahwal] were meaningful for all who wanted to follow the al-Jazuliyya al-Husayniyya al-Shadhiliyya as a path to God, and for all who made of Divine Love [al-hubb al-ilahi] his highest pursuit, working for it, and extinguishing himself in it [yafni fihi], servant to His Presence, standing at the door of [His] satisfaction. Oh God, reward our shaykh al-Jazuli (may God be pleased with him) with the best of the blessings you have given to shaykhs as leaders of their murids. And gather us with him, in the group of the prophets, the upright, the martyrs, the virtuous; and make them beautiful companions. May God’s blessings and mercy be upon you.

Shaykh of the tariqa, al-Jazuliyya al-Husayniyya al-Shadhiliyya,
Sidi Salim Jabir Husayn al-Jazuli. (al-Jazuli 1993a:5)

While this letter exalts the founder, it also lays stress upon the group itself as an “association”, addressing the brethren, and wishing for them to be gathered together

with Sidi Jabir. It furthermore is unequivocal in describing Sidi Jabir as a mystic, rather than as a scholar. These are the very aspects in which the Jazuliyya contrast most strongly with the Ja'fariyya.

This letter is followed by the photocopy of a page in the hand of Sidi Jabir himself, explicitly bestowing upon his son, Sidi Salim, the position of deputy to the shaykh (the word used is "na'ib", but it corresponds to the notion of khalifa as shaykh's successor). By this letter, continuity of leadership is authenticated, and a degree of charisma is assigned by "designation of the charismatic founder", one of Weber's means of charismatic continuity. Such continuity is not nearly so evident in the Ja'fariyya, which appears more focussed on the founder himself.

Next comes definitions of the concepts of tariqa and shaykh, nearly identical to those found in the diwan. There is a two-page discussion of submission (*taslim*), on the importance of submitting oneself fully to God, His Prophet, and one's shaykh. To submit is to be obedient, truthful, and satisfied; submission results in serenity and satisfaction, a mark of true faith, and prevents stumbling on the path. Again, one notes the explicitness of the Sufi formulation, a level of close control and unwillingness to submit such concepts to traditional formulations, as occurs in the traditional *turuq*.

There follow the four hizbs presented in the diwan.

ii. Letters (Rasa'il)

Next come the following Letters by the shaykh. These cannot all be summarized here; I provide summaries of the first three letters, which several muridin indicated to be

central (the first is presented in translation in the Appendix). Again, these set out goals and practices of the group, together with explanations and support from Qur'an and Sunna, with an explicitness not usually encountered among the traditional *turuq*. Such explicitness is one measure of strategic formulation: a means of controlling the group, and simultaneously (by the very fact of having been explicit) asserting its independence from traditional Sufi movements. The theme of love is stressed, as is the *tariqa*'s basis in Islamic orthodoxy. The Letters uniformly adopt an authoritative but warmly intimate tone; kind and compelling, but not forceful. Such a tone presents an underlying message to the members: we are one group bound by love. Since these Letters are performed in *hadra* (as recitations), they serve as LP to establish the group personal social structure, which is characterized by horizontal relations; I will elaborate this point later on.

The first letter (al-Jazuli 1993a:16-17):

Following praise of God, citing a Qur'anic aya enjoining *dhikr*, and blessing the Prophet, the shaykh addresses his *muridin* personally, as his *ahbab* (lovers). He praises group *dhikr*, for it is a session with God and the Prophet. In *dhikr* the *murid* should detach from the pleasures and distractions of the world in order to remember God. He goes on to specify the preferred sequence of the *hadra*, including *fawatih*, *istighfar*, *mudhakara*, *dhikr*, Qur'anic recitation, and *inshad*. He remarks on the benefits of discussing *qasidas* performed in *inshad* after their performance, in sessions of *mudhakara*. He stresses the responsibilities of the leader of *hadra*, and the need to train new leaders

of hadra. The letter ends with a sequence of du'a' for success, favor, blessings for the Prophet, and favor for Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili.

The second letter (al-Jazuli 1993a:18):

After praising God, Sidi Jabir turns to his ahbab. He stresses that the tariqa is founded on Qur'an, Sunna, and the ways of the virtuous. The goal of the group is to improve the character of the Muslim. The tariqa strives for three characteristics in its muridin: faith with truth, love with sincerity, and good deeds while denying the self. When these three characteristics have been established, then the murid is working for the sake of God. Each of these traits is backed up with a Qur'anic citations. Finally, he closes with a du'a' to God for success.

The third letter (al-Jazuli 1993a:19):

After praising God and calling for blessings on the Prophet, Sidi Jabir addresses the group. He stresses that the tariqa is a school for Islamic education, from a Sufi perspective. Sufism involves correct morals and behavior. The leader [local group leader] must serve as a model for such morals and behavior, and is responsible for the education of his brethren. He must ask after them, be virtuous toward them, support them, and befriend them for the sake of God.

The remainder of the letters address various topics, nearly all of them characteristically Sufi. Without further explication, I simply note that they contrast strongly with contents of Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari's books, nearly all of which could be

taught at al-Azhar (where Sufi subjects no longer find favor). A sampling of chapters from *Rasa'il* includes:

- Exhortation to struggle against the desires of the self
- The mystical language of the Sufis, and other esoteric Sufi topics
- The form of the oath (as in the Diwan)
- The meaning of freedom to the Sufi
- Spiritual madness (*jadhb*)
- Love for the sake of God as the core of happiness and faith
- The path of the murid
- The degrees of the spirit
- The difference between the people of veiling and people of light
- Principles of the tariqa
- Signs of the Names of God
- Sufi ecstasy (*Tawajud*, *Wajd*, and *Wujud*)
- Sufi self-annihilation (*fana'*)
- The truth of the Muhammadan Reality (*al-Haqiqa al-Muhammadiyya*)
- Lesson on obedience
- The decorum of asceticism in the world
- The path toward God

iii. Laws

The book closes with several sections of laws defining and regulating the tariqa in its social structure and ritual practices. These laws were prepared by Sidi Salim and therefore appear to have comprised part of the formalization and organization of the tariqa which took place after the death of its founder. The format resembles that established by another successful modernist group, the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya (see Gilsenan 1973:208-241). Here one sees the explicit strategies of group organization at work. Translations of the laws concerning the madrasa and munshidin can be found in the Appendix. The following sections are included:

- Laws of the council of deputies (*wukala'*), an administrative body

- Laws of the local leaders (mas'uls)
- Laws of the secretariat
- Laws of the treasurers
- Laws of the nuqaba' (assistants in the hadra)
- Laws of the tariqa's school (madrassa)
- Laws of the munshidin

2. Audio recordings

a. Inshad tapes

Besides books, at least five tapes of inshad are available. This in itself is a modern manifestation, not so much because cassettes are modern as because it suggests a new form of Sufi practice: listening to tapes outside the hadra. Such listening is a common practice among fans of famous Sufi munshidin who perform at mawlid (such as Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami), and serves a useful pedagogical role for the turuq as well. Members can be affected by inshad outside the hadra, and obtain its benefits; they can also memorize it for live performance later.

Four of these tapes are recorded by the regular munshidin and musicians who perform for the weekly hadra. Such tapes sound similar to that which would be heard in hadra; the listener can make an imaginary identification of context. The musical content is strongly influenced by secular styles of Arabic music, particularly the *taqtuqa* (strophic song) of Umm Kulthum and others, employing percussion instruments together with 'ud as instrumental support for choral and solo singing.

The fifth tape is unique. It contains poetry of Sidi Jabir and Sidi Salim set to music in a contemporary popular style employing contemporary western instrumentation

(such as synthesizers) together with traditional Arabic instruments. Music was composed by a professional composer and arranger, and recorded by professional musicians (including the well-known *mutrib* Tariq Fu'ad) in a recording studio. Eleven hours of studio time were used in performing the various tracks, and the final product required three weeks to mix.

Neither the composer, arranger, or performers are members of the *tariqa*, nor does the musical setting resemble anything performed in *hadra*. Such a production is unique among the *turuq*, as far as I know, and while it is not regarded as an unqualified success by *Jazuliyya* members, yet it is a clear manifestation of their uniquely modern strategy. For members do not critique this tape (as some outsiders do) for using a pop style unsuitable for religious texts, but rather for its distance from the group's live practices, thus precluding the imaginary identification of listener with context.

These tapes indicate that despite conservative criticism, Sufism can adopt a modern musical content, as long as that content does not necessitate a denial of the group's characteristic social and ritual basis.

b. Lecture tapes

Besides the *inshad* tapes, a series of lecture tapes, recordings of Sidi Jabir's talks to his group on a wide variety of topics, are also available to members. About 250 such tapes were recorded during the shaykh's lifetime and are kept in the *tariqa*'s archives; of these only a small number have been published, but a project is under way to release the remainder, and several have been completely transcribed.

3. Photos

The tariqa also publishes small wallet-sized photos of Sidi Jabir and Sidi Salim, and larger photos which can be framed and hung in members' homes. This practice is typical of all turuq today. However in the traditional turuq, members frequently carry or display photos of their local shaykh (the "shaykh murabbi" from whom they received the 'ahd, and who monitors spiritual progress), whereas in the centralized modernist groups the photos are of the tariqa founder and his khalifa. This is partly a practical result of the fact that the founders of traditional groups all lived before the era of photography. What is noteworthy, however, is that members of traditional groups rarely (if ever) carry or display photos of the shaykh al-sajjada (the official living leader). This practical contrast both reflects and reinforces the centralization of the modernist group, and the decentralization of the traditional group.

c. Tariqa places: maqarr and maqam

The main maqarr (tariqa center) is located in the Qayt Bay cemetery area, on a small alley running parallel to the major Cairo highway, Salah Salim. Although the residents of this area are limited to those who have inhabited the larger tombs (part of Cairo's so-called "City of the Dead"), there are also a prodigious number of mosques, many of them serving as headquarters for Sufi orders. The practical reason seems to be the proclivity of Sufi orders to construct a mosque and headquarters so as to enclose the tomb-shrine of the founder. But these locations also afford ideal private settings in

which a Sufi group can meet, undisturbed by on-lookers, random visitors, or critics. (On the other hand, for a group whose strategy involves open ritual display (such as the Ja‘fariyya), a more public location would be desirable, and this is what one finds.)

Among the other orders based in Qayt Bay:

- al-Khalwatiyya al-Shubrawiyya
- al-‘Ashira al-Muhammadiyya (this group is described in detail in Julian Johansen’s monograph (Johansen 1996))
- al-Mahmudiyya al-Rifa‘iyya
- al-‘Afifiyya al-Shadhiliyya

In the background looms the giant mosque and mausoleum of Qayt Bay himself, one of the most important of the Mamluk sultans.

The main center (maqarr) of the tariqa consists of a surprisingly modest structure (considering the great social extent of the tariqa itself) surrounding Shaykh Jabir al-Jazuli’s maqam. On approaching the maqarr from the street one encounters a large plastic sign emblazoned with the tariqa’s name and emblem (a pair of olive branches intertwined around the single word “Allah”) in bright colors. Walking down this alley one passes several tombs on the right, before arriving to the main double door of the Jazuliyya maqarr. During the hadra both sides of this alley are lined with chairs, and the alley itself is carpeted, so as to accommodate the large number of muridin.

Passing through the double-door one enters a medium sized carpeted “function” room, perhaps 15’ x 50’, used for hadra, meetings, and prayer. Mounted above are large color photos of Sidi Jabir and his son Sidi Salim, the current shaykh. The father looks elderly but strong and distinguished, inspired, captured unawares as he talks or interprets, evidently during a hadra, gesturing with his hands. Next to this, the son’s

portrait: a more self-conscious studio pose. The modernist turuq are the only ones to include photographic portraits of their shaykhs, for obvious reasons. More interesting is this consistent difference in representation between the founder as inspired, and his son-khalifa, as dutifully carrying on the mission. Qur'anic ayas are inscribed on the walls. The tariqa emblem is also inscribed on the wall; the same emblem is used on books and members' clothing. The use of unifying symbolic emblems is unique to the modernist groups (the Ja'fariyya also have theirs); traditional turuq have characteristic colors but not such elaborate "trademarks". Although Islamic motifs (shapes and texts) are used, the overall design and color scheme is modern and distinctive.

Immediately to the right is a low fence, marking the boundary of a small mosque, within which is the maqam of Sidi Jabir al-Jazuli himself. The maqam is surrounded by a wooden maqsura, containing a lovingly decorated tabut, upon which is affixed a marble plaque inscribed with his name, birth, and dates. The mosque, used primarily by tariqa members, contains bookcases filled with the books of the late founder, mostly on fiqh, hadith, and other traditional subjects.

At the other end of the function room is a narrow hallway, leading to a kitchen, mayda (ablution-place), and toilets. There is also an upstairs office.

Although the tariqa is widely distributed throughout Egypt, most local groups do not have a private structure of their own, but rather meet in members' homes or mosques, as available. Unlike the Ja'fariyya, the Jazuliyya are a communal brotherhood-sisterhood, than an institution, being structured by a sharp boundary and strong

horizontal relations; while they perform hadras in public areas, they do not aim to merge with the Islamic mainstream, but rather retain a somewhat closed and private aspect, a clear distinction between in-group and out-group, as a key element of identity.

3. Ja'fariyya

In distinct contrast to the Jazuliyya, who value a measure of privacy, the Ja'fariyya are a highly public group. Rather than being a semi-private brotherhood, for whom the line between inside and outside is important (even if open to new members), the Ja'fariyya is squarely centered on the public, and largely mainstream, religious teachings of one man—Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari—and publicly housed within mosques open for general use. This combination of founder as great 'alim with a strong public institutional basis brings it close to the lines of the Azhari establishment, with which it indeed has many connections, and is reminiscent of the old khanqah and zawiya establishments of medieval times.

a. History of the group

1. The historical context of formation

Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari laid the foundations for his eponymous tariqa in the mid 20th century, at about the same time as Sidi Jabir was forming the Jazuliyya. The two groups thus share the same social and historical context. Yet their positioning within it is totally different. For all their modern aspects (in dress, in admitting women, in music), the Jazuliyya also incorporate a vast amount of Islamic and Sufi tradition. Yet these

traditions are ahistorical, as if drawn from an atemporal metaphysical reality, because the Jazuliyya de-emphasize the traditional historical links between founder shaykh and the historical Sufi past: the silsila, and the nasab. The Ja'fariyya are well-adapted to modernity, and yet at the same time maintain strong links to the past, through the founder's silsila and nasab, as well as through their close connections with the 'ulama' and the institution of al-Azhar.

The Ja'fari silsila is particularly important, because it links the group with an earlier reformist movement, that of Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris (described earlier). Thus although the Ja'fariyya are well-connected to the past, that past is itself forward-looking, rejecting the accretions of the previous centuries, and closely related in its basic élan (if not in ideology or historical currents) to the reformist movements of the 20th century. While the Jazuliyya are modernist insofar as they are engaged in a dialog with the forces of secularism and modernism (using elements of modernity to show how Sufism is compatible with a modern life, and winning members from a largely secularized modernist group), they also manifest traditional Sufi aspects: a closed brotherhood espousing overtly mystical ideas which are not to everyone's liking. The Ja'fariyya, on the other hand, are centered squarely on the territory which the Islamic reform movements (of all shades and stripes) have tried to co-opt; rather than be a closed order within the larger Islamic field, they would become an open Islamic institution, situated at the center of orthodox Islamic values and community.

2. The founder and his formation of the tariqa; subsequent development

It is noteworthy that in their publications the Ja'fariyya devote much biographical space to their shaykh. I will discuss this point further later on; for now it is important to bear in mind that the following biography of the founder and history of the tariqa's formation was not acquired orally (as in the Jazuliyya case) but from a pamphlet issued by the tariqa, *al-Sira al-Dhatiyya li Mu'assis al-Tariqa al-Ja'fariyya al-Ahmadiyya al-Muhammadiyya* (The Biography of the Founder of the Ja'fariyya Ahmadiyya Muhammadiyya¹² tariqa). This information can therefore be interpreted in two senses: as a representation of a history, and as a formative agent in members' conceptions of their shaykh and tariqa, and for his public persona. Since my research included no sources which might have provided a different viewpoint, I will simply present the story as told in this and other books, as of interest both as a representation (even if incomplete or biased) and as an agent with serious consequences for the relation between murid and shaykh. Briefly, the biography helps to assure Shaykh Salih of an exalted position in orthodox and Sufi religious currents, both among murid, and for the public at large. [Critical comments and interpolated material from other sources will be included in square brackets.]

Note that the stereotypical stages of tariqa development are clearly described in the biography, namely:

1) Founder's noble lineage, early demonstration of religious aptitudes, Sufi affiliation; his maturation, development of a distinctive Way (tariqa), and attracting followers.

2) The consolidation of his heritage into a socially cohesive Order (tariqa) by his son and khalifa; rapid expansion and institutionalization.

Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari was sharif (a descendent of the Prophet), of the Ja'afara lineage (descendants of the Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 765), great-great-great-grandson of the Prophet, through the Imam al-Husayn). His family, a branch of the 'Alawiyya clan in Upper Egypt, had lived mainly in the town of Salmiyya near Luxsor (al-Uqsur), but some of them had emigrated to the Sudan. It was in the Sudan that Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari was born in the town of Dunqula in 1328 Hijri [1910 CE]. He memorized and mastered the Qur'an in Dunqula's "ancient" mosque, and joined the tariqa of Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris, taking the 'ahd from al-Sharif al-Sayyid Muhammad 'Abd al-'Ali ("Muhammad al-Sharif"), who took it from his father Sidi 'Abd al-'Ali, who took it from al-Sayyid Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Sanusi (founder of the influential Sanusiyya tariqa), who took it from al-Sayyid Ahmad ibn Idris. Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris, it may be recalled, was ordered to form a tariqa by the Prophet directly, thus eliminating the accretions of medieval Sufism. Thus from him, the silsila moves directly to the Prophet himself.

[The emphasis on traditional Qur'anic training is typical of most Sufi biographies. Unlike the Jazuliyya, there is here a strong appeal to history: the ancient mosque, the sharif patriline, and the silsila. This silsila, and more importantly its prominence in the

tariqa's literature, firmly connects Shaykh Salih with an important Sufi tradition. At the same time, since this tradition is originally reformist, and since he furthermore established his own independent tariqa, the Ja'fariyya is well-poised to meet the challenges of modernity using the strengths of the past. All this is evident in its future name: Ja'fariyya (for Shaykh Salih) Ahmadiyya (for Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris his shaykh) Muhammadiyya (for the Prophet, who commanded Sidi Ahmad to form a new tariqa). The strategic contrast with the Jazuliyya, which is forward-looking but lacks explicit connections to the past, is obvious.]

In a vision, his shaykh's father (Shaykh 'Abd al-'Ali al-Idrisi) instructed him to go to al-Azhar in Cairo, telling him that "knowledge comes from the hearts of men, not from books".¹³ Thereafter he travelled to Egypt, studying with the great 'ulama' of al-Azhar who had united exoteric and esoteric religion (*al-Shari'a wa al-Haqiqa*). [Thus his focus was knowledge ('ilm) but with a Sufi cast; moreover his quest for knowledge occurred (and is legitimized) within the framework of the shaykh-murid relationship. The reconciliation of Shari'a and Haqiqa by Azhari 'ulama' implies the fundamental compatibility of the two forms of religious knowledge, and of Sufis and 'ulama' generally. This is a means by which the tariqa roots itself in orthodox religion, while maintaining enough independent control to succeed as a new movement.]

He was spiritually close to a number of great Azhari professors, and impressed them greatly. He first visited Shaykh Habib Allah al-Shanqiti hoping to become his hadith reciter; Shaykh Habib Allah immediately knew why he had come and gave him the

position he sought [this is cited as a karama]. Thereafter Shaykh Salih attended his hadith lessons (*durus*) for fifteen years. Sometimes he would fill in if his teacher was late; when he arrived Shaykh Habib Allah would know exactly what he had covered and what he had omitted. He told Shaykh Salih: “you are the baraka of this dars”. Another teacher, Shaykh Yusuf al-Dajwa was also Idrisi, having taken the ‘ahd from Shaykh Muhammad al-Sharif. He combined ‘ilm and ma‘rifa (exoteric and esoteric knowledge) and published many articles in the Azhar religious periodical, *Nur al-Islam*. All of Shaykh Salih’s Azhar professors were astounded at his great memory, wisdom, and intelligence, and praised him highly; at the same time, they influenced the development of his own spiritual way.

[These Sufi-‘ulama’ appear to have provided a model for Shaykh Salih’s own synthesis; they also serve to legitimize his project and are no doubt mentioned explicitly with such legitimization strategically in mind. Karamat for Shaykh Salih occur within an Azhari context of miraculous shaykh-professors. Shaykh Salih can thus claim at least three key legitimizing links to the past: his genetic nasab to the Prophet via the Imam Ja‘far al-Sadiq, his spiritual silsila to the Prophet via Sidi Ahmad bin Idris, and his scholarly connection to the ‘ulama’ tradition of al-Azhar. Quoting a Prophetic hadith, he considered these latter to be the “heritage of the prophets.”]

[Sidi Jabir’s rejection of formal education in favor of self-directed study; his rejection of official religious or secular certification based on formal degrees (and his consequent detachment from official institutions); his rejection of intellectual

apprehension and scholarship in favor of inspiration and mystical insight represents an important contrast with the Azhari Shaykh Salih. For non-Sufis or potential critics, Shaykh Salih's reputation stands firmly on his credentials as Azhar scholar and teacher, and his followers are reassured by the same. Sidi Jabir did not secure his reputation by such traditional means. His personal strategy, the same one he implanted in his group, was to develop a Sufism compatible with the modern age springing naturally from his own spiritual genius, rather than to seek accreditation, support, or authority through ties to the past or to existing institutions. This decision also later committed him to seek members outside the formal religious community of Azharis (to whom he might have appeared unauthorized); rather his appeal was to be to ordinary, intelligent, educated Muslims who desired a deeper spirituality than exoteric religion could provide. The contrast is ultimately between two modes of Sufism: one tied closely to the rational and literate tradition, the other depending on inspiration.]

He persevered at al-Azhar until he had obtained "the two diplomas" [MA and Ph.D.?], and became the leader of a teaching circle. At the funeral of his teacher Shaykh Yusuf al-Dajwa died, Shaykh Salih spontaneously delivered a brilliant and eloquent eulogy, with a voice that shook everyone present, "carrying away the hearts". The other Azhar professors were so moved by his oratory that they appointed him a professor at the university.

[The story of a Sufi shaykh teaching at al-Azhar is frequently legitimizing. But Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi did so mostly in order to prove himself to the 'ulama'. Sidi Jabir

had no relation to al-Azhar or other institutions of traditional religion, preferring to make his mark on the growing secular world through more intimate talks. Shaykh Salih, by contrast, came from *within* the Azhari world, and his teaching was entirely legitimate, in both rhetoric (he employed a dramatic and high style) and content, in Azhari terms; his appeal, consequently, was greatest among the Azhari students and others with traditional educations or backgrounds. At the same time he mixed Azhari-style learning with a reserved but powerful emotional appeal.]

Thereafter, Shaykh Salih began to teach his soon-to-be-famous Friday lesson (al-dars al-jum‘a) following Friday congregational prayer at al-Azhar. In this he imitated the Prophet. He viewed knowledge (‘ilm) as a guiding light, and exhorted people to study it, saying: “The Prophet guided the people via lessons in ‘ilm through the Qur’an, and Sidi Ahmad bin Idris followed him in that throughout his life. I asked God for the same.” He called on all to memorize the Qur’an and attend religious lessons, quoting the Prophet who said: “The ‘ulama’ are the legacy of the anbiya’, for the anbiya’ bequeathed neither dinar nor dirham, but rather they bequeathed religious knowledge (‘ilm), and he who takes it takes it acquires abundant fortune”. He also quoted another hadith [which is important as a justification for this particular form of discursive mysticism, so different from the world of saints and mystic experiences which figures heavily in the Jazuliyya tradition (although the Jazuliyya stress pedagogy as well)]:

The Prophet entered a mosque and found two groups: one was studying religious knowledge (‘ilm) together, while the other was performing dhikr together. He praised both, then sat with the former saying: “I was sent as a teacher.”

His Friday lesson was delivered to a Sufi group, which studied the principles of religion and religious knowledge, verifying in them the principles of Sufism. His method is summarized by the Prophetic Hadith: “My Lord educated me, so know my education”. Shaykh Salih inherited Prophetic guidance through his nasab, and thus became a “tongue for the guidance of creation”. His lessons included *tafsir* (Qur’anic exegesis), *sharh ahadith* (explanation of hadith), *‘ilm al-tawhid* (theology), *sira* and *mu’jizat* (stories about the Prophet’s life and miracles), *siyar Ahl al-Bayt wa sahaba* (stories about the Ahl al-Bayt and Companions of the Prophet), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), and *hifz al-Qur’an* (memorization of the Qur’an). He would also address pressing social issues of the day. He set forth *hikma* (wisdom), *‘ilm, ma’rifa* (gnosis), bringing out new interpretations of the Qur’an which revealed its secrets. His intellect was not acquired by effort, but was a gift, inspired by God, emulating the Prophet. His lessons were an Islamic school, combining *‘ilm* and *ma’rifa*, Shari’a and Haqiqa, the exoteric and esoteric. People who came with a question would find it answered without their having asked [mentioned as a *karama*]. Everyone got what he sought from these lessons, whether *faqih* or Sufi. He had inner secrets of the Qur’an, and he spoke with great eloquence and power.

[Although this particular biography does not stress it—could it be that for public consumption the tariqa leadership does not wish to do so?—the prominent role of poetry and *inshad* in Shaykh Salih’s way is apparent not only in their ritual practice (described in detail later on) but also in other publications. Shaykh Salih expressed his knowledge

(‘ilm) and state (hal) in hundreds of poems, mostly *madih* (praise poems) for the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt. Such poetry is primarily asserted to have a didactic spiritual function, and currently occupies the role of logical substitute for Shaykh Salih himself, whose physical absence precludes the continuity of his famous dars. The characteristics of this body of literature and its performance will be further considered below; here I wish only to indicate its general importance.

In the introduction to the first volume of the founder’s Diwan (Ja’fari 1979), the compiler and editor (who is almost certainly the founder’s son Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani, although his name is not given explicitly) writes:

The Prophet said “Love God for the blessings by which He nourishes you; love me for the sake of love of God, and love the Ahl al-Bayt for the sake of my love.” Our shaykh (may God Most High be pleased with him) acted according to this noble hadith, carried it out in feeling and meaning, word and deed. He lived his life a lover of God, obeying Him in His commands and prohibitions ... And he lived his life a lover of the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), by following his Sunna, cleaving to his way, and by love in his heart for his essence. And he lived his life a muhibb for the Ahl al-Bayt, by following their method, and visiting their tombs, and revering them and loving them.

This love of his was translated by his words as by his acts. From his pen gushed forth thanks to God for His perfect qualities, and intimate conversations (*munajah*) with the High Essence, via supplications He bestowed upon him. And all this came in excellent qasidas, which reached the highest degree of Arabic poetry in their phrases, and whose meaning affected the hearts and spirits...

And his pen translated the love for the Muhammadan Essence via excellent *madih* which praised the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) according to his perfect human qualities...

And he translated love of the pure Ahl al-Bayt with fine qasidas which enumerate their great qualities, and call for their reverence and love, and increasing visitations to their tombs.

Later in the same introduction Shaykh Salih himself is cited:

[Shaykh Salih] exhorted his followers (muridin and muhibbin) to devote themselves to madih of the Prophet, and on this subject he has weighty words...:

“Oh lover of the Prophet, shall I tell you the shortest route connected to the Prophet without toil or exertion? It is his praise (mada’ih), listening and singing (inshad) with a sound heart, and great love, while imagining him with your heart: the Rawda (Prophet’s shrine, in Madina) if you visited, or his person if you have seen him in a dream, or via his characteristics as described in books of Sunna and mawlid. You should also do this when blessing him, always. This was the method by which arrived two great shaykhs: my shaykh Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris, and my shaykh al-Sayyid Muhammad ‘Uthman al-Mirghani. If you persevere in this, then success will be near, God willing. I advise you not to sit in the sessions of the deniers of the Sufi turuq, those rejecting madih of the Prophet and visiting him...”

In his introduction to Volume 9 of Shaykh Salih’s Diwan, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani emphasizes the central importance of madih in Shaykh Salih’s spiritual program, its legitimacy, and its efficacy in causing the tariqa to prosper even after his death:

[Madih] is the gate of success which our Shaykh [Salih] followed; he who follows it arrives, he who arrives contacts, he who contacts sees, he who sees knows, he who knows is guided to the Muhammadan Reality, and his love increases. For the Prophet said “Man is with the one he loves”.

In the life of our Shaykh we haven’t found a gate more enriched than madih of the Prophet. His poetry translates his own love for the Prophet. The Prophet spoke truly in saying “he who loves something is greater than he who remembers it.” And God gave our shaykh a great miracle (karama) of the greatest madih. For there are many who taught at al-Azhar in a circle, but after death the circle disbanded.

But the circle of madih which our shaykh established at al-Azhar continued to gather his followers and join them. And they performed the same roles they had performed when he was present. Indeed the madad was extended due to madih: their numbers increased, and sahas [local tariqa centers] were built from Alexandria to Aswan after his death.

For our shaykh held a circle of madih in the old qibla of al-Azhar on Monday and Friday evenings, to which the ‘ulama’ would come. This is a sign that madih nabawi is not bid‘a [unlawful innovation] and denied but rather a lesson in ‘ilm which was recognized by the ‘ulama’.

The longer biographical work *al-Kanz al-Thari* mentions that the Shaykh’s diwan contains the tariqa’s ethical system, adab, so that performance of qasidas is a central means of pedagogy: “The Shaykh gave instructions to disciples via qasidas, so that muridin can hear them in the hadra; they are his dars and madad in the hadra. They also specify the adab of the murid with the Shaykh, for spiritual instruction. The manzumat include qasidas on love for the shaykh, faith in the shaykh, and other topics.” (al-Ja‘fari 1990:178)

Current members of the group report that Shaykh Salih would sometimes include madih in a dars, and that following each dars he would conduct a hadra, similar to that performed today, in which performance of madih and other inshad was a central feature. At first he performed this inshad himself, but later he assigned *maddahin* (munshidin performing madih) to do so.]

[Among the Ja‘fariyya, the emphasis on emotion-tinged knowledge, combining esoteric and exoteric traditions, as a means of spiritual progress is reinforced in the mode of hadra performance as well as in the texts used. Karamat are manifested despite the emphasis on ‘ilm; therefore rather than being dry and coldly intellectual, ‘ilm becomes a

warm locus of Sufi values: karama, baraka, emotion. Most topics of the talks correspond to those of inshad, focussing on a conventional orthodox relation to God, and intercessionary role for the Prophet. The inclusion of social issues gives the group a position as an Islamic society parallel to the Ikhwan.]

[The Jazuliyya dars was similar in certain respects. But there were major differences. Sidi Jabir preached to a group comprising many professionals and students of relatively secular orientation; seated with his followers, his talks were intimate and private, focussing on personal spirituality and esotericism. Shaykh Salih preached to an Azhari group, and many others of traditional and relatively orthodox religious orientation, in a much more public and religiously central setting; standing or seated above his listeners, his talks were delivered in a forceful public oratory, a high rhetorical style derived from preaching.]

[Shaykh Salih spoke using the highest standards of classical Arabic. But despite his lofty style (and claims to the contrary), he limited his discourses primarily to the zahir (exoteric dimension of religion). Sidi Jabir aimed to communicate with the masses. His writings, as much as his speech, employ a simple and accessible style, all the while wandering through the abstruse territory of the batin (inner mystical dimension of Islam). Combined with his lack of official credentials, Sidi Jabir probably alienated some who sought an approach at once more traditional and more sanctioned by tradition, but he attracted those who found in mysticism a deeper or more compelling approach to Islam.]

In his biography of the founder, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani reports that Shaykh Salih felt close to Shaykh Muhammad ‘Abdu, the 19th-century Islamic reformer (discussed earlier) and that he would frequently discuss the latter’s views and opinions in his dars. While he respectfully differed with Muhammad ‘Abdu on certain issues (such as the legality of visiting tombs (ziyarat al-qubur)), he nevertheless held him in the highest esteem, especially due to his defense of Islam against its western detractors. (al-Ja‘fari 1990:52)

[This fact, and more importantly the fact that his biographer saw fit to include it, is key to understanding the position—both actual and ideal—of the Ja‘fariyya within the fields of Islam and Sufism in Egypt. Shaykh Salih led his followers in the spirit of reform, following in the way of Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris; thus although he was Sufi, he had to admire aspects of the modern reform movement as well. At the same time, reformist Islam presented the most direct threat to the prosperity of the group. This was a challenge later taken up by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani, in his development of the tariqa, who tried to give the tariqa a central and public social-religious, institutional position at once imitative and preemptive of widely popular reform groups such as the Ikhwan al-Muslimin.¹⁴ In this he departed from the traditional notion of a closed brotherhood.]

Due to his remarkable spiritual condition (hal), Shaykh Salih’s name spread widely during his lifetime. He indicated his way as a tariqa, and pointed out its awrad and principles. The Prophet himself gave him permission to form it, although Shaykh Salih did not want this fact to appear in his lifetime. But he clarified the basis for his

tariqa in one of his poems, in which he writes: “my way (*tariqi*) is Qur’an, knowledge (‘ilm), piety (*tuqa*), and praise (madh) of God’ Prophet which erases error (*dalala*)”. This line indicates the independent status of the Ja‘fariyya tariqa, and its direct connection to the Prophet via Shaykh Salih. But during his lifetime Shaykh Salih was averse to being mentioned as this connecting link.

[Note the hierarchical personal structure: Shaykh Salih, towering over his group, is the group’s link to the Prophet. The fact that Shaykh Salih did not overtly accept a position as “connecting link” implies that the tariqa was not really established as a social organization until after his death; this situation contrasts to the Jazuliyya which were a strongly communal group during the founder’s lifetime.]

But after his death the tariqa spread widely and rapidly, through the efforts of his son, and inheritor of his spiritual condition (*hal*), Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani Salih al-Ja‘fari. With the help of God, and *madad* (spiritual assistance) of his father, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani welcomed this burden and trust, and he led the tariqa with strength and *basira* (spiritual insight). He worked hard to preserve his father’s heritage, and spread the tariqa, seeing himself as the custodian of the tree planted by his father, determined to ensure that not a single leaf was lost. He edited and published many of his father’s works for the benefit of the muridin and muhibbin, “...in order for its benefits to spread to all Muslims...”.

[Here is revealed a second distinctive property of the tariqa: its public institutional character. Shaykh Salih himself was a highly visible and public figure, by no

means restricted to an in-group “in the know”, as was Sidi Jabir. Similarly, his written works are published for the good of all, and sold in public bookstores. Most turuq adopt a much more private, if not secretive, attitude toward their published works. In the Jazuliyya printed volumes are not supposed to circulate outside the muridin, and it is not a simple matter for the field worker to obtain copies.]

Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani was especially concerned with madih nabawi (poetry in praise of the Prophet) from his father’s heritage, viewing it as a main cause of the special honor he enjoyed among the ‘ulama’ and awliya’. He edited and published this collection in twelve volumes of poetry, and the brethren benefited greatly from its pearls.

[Through his regular Friday lessons, Shaykh Salih had provided the primary basis for the not-yet-established tariqa carrying his name. His sessions were largely one-way expressions of his religious knowledge and insight, dependent on his particular genius for rhetorical exegesis. After his death, this primary basis was lost; the group thus turned to ritual performance of his knowledge through poetic performance (inshad) as a means of keeping his voice and knowledge alive. The tariqa thus remained focussed on its founder, who served as the irreplaceable spiritual center. Despite Sidi Jabir’s importance, the Jazuliyya by contrast was established more as a tariqa and less as a religious group surrounding a particular individual; durus (lessons) from the founder were more participatory, and occupied a smaller role in the overall activities of the group. When the founder died, it was more possible for the dars format to continue, as led by senior members, and more routine practices such as dhikr could continue easily

enough. Thus while both groups suffered a great loss with the deaths of their founders, the greater dependence of the Ja‘fariyya on the personality of the founder forced them to adopt a more ritualized hadra; Sidi Jabir by contrast had established a more sustainable organization. Combined with the public nature of Shaykh Salih’s preaching, the Ja‘fariyya therefore tended toward an open institutional format, while the Jazuliyya became a tight brotherhood. The former was an attempt to compete with the successful Islamic reform groups but drawing on traditional-minded Muslims, while the latter—more in the mold of traditional Sufism—strove to attract those products of the modern secular world who were searching for a deeper spiritual life. The former focussed on ‘ilm and sedate religious ritual conformable to orthodoxy, while the latter employed a highly ecstatic style to draw members in and provide them with spiritual nutriment. All these strategies were then supported through LP in the hadra, as we will see in the following chapters.]

Thus Allah caused the tariqa to spread widely, through the actions of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani. In a short time it had expanded beyond all expectation. Tariqa centers carrying his father’s name were established. These gathered his students, and kept his tradition alive. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani created multipurpose Islamic centers, including a *kuttab* (Islamic school) for the young, a club for the youth, study and dhikr groups (*halaqat ‘ilm wa dhikr*) for the adults, a function room for social occasions, a guest area for serving food, and medical clinics. In this way he restored the mosque to its original position [in Islamic society]. Through his efforts, these centers proliferated from

Alexandria to Aswan, exceeding fifty altogether. They constitute a "...comprehensive movement for the creation of a Sufi society, complete in both religious and social life (din wa dunya)."

[Here the institutional nature of the tariqa, proposed to stand at the center of Islamic life, stands revealed. Qualitatively both the Ja'fariyya and the Jazuliyya are in the second phase of tariqa development: the period of control by the founder's khalifa. However, quantitatively the Ja'fariyya are slightly more advanced, since Shaykh Salih passed away in 1978, about fifteen years before Sidi Jabir. This fact may also be related to some of the differences between the two groups (such as the Ja'fari's greater scope of publication and institutionalization), for the Ja'fariyya have been in the consolidation and preservation phase for much longer. But the historical periods of formation are roughly the same, and their differences seem better accounted for as a matter of strategic placement within the Islamic field, than through recourse to either developmental phase or historical factors.]

[In many tariqa publications, the Ja'fariyya is defined as a religious organization based in Qur'an and Sunna, aiming to strengthen faith, increase religious knowledge, provide social functions, and bring people closer to God. With its traditional roots in the past, it is at the same time modern: suited for the present age. In an article appearing in the tariqa's yearly magazine, al-Hasan 'Abd al-Ghani al-Ja'fari (one of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani's sons) provides a particularly articulate description of the tariqa and its strategic position within the Islamic field. As in other definitional articles of this type, the author

argues for the group's sound religious basis in Islamic fundamentals, which serve as a foundation for distinctively mystical goals (al-Haqiqa). At the same time, there is a general social goal: to improve society at large, by restoring it to a lost "golden age" which existed before the long decline of the medieval and early modern periods. Thus the tariqa is to provide something at once modern and traditional; suitable for contemporary society, and yet connected to the past. Such a formulation appears to be a reaction to the contemporary configuration of the Islamic field, and the need for Sufi orders to compete head to head with reformist groups for whom such a call has always been a primary *raison d'être*. Even Shaykh Muhammad 'Abdu's notion of "salafiyya" is invoked directly:

The Ja'fari tariqa: is a Sufi tariqa of Shari'a and Haqiqa, traditional and modern [salafiyya hadariyya], whose aim is the Book of God and the Sunna of the Prophet, and the heritage of the virtuous forefather, and that which we learned from our Shaykh the Imam al-Ja'fari.

The basic goal: creation of the Muslim molded by Islamic morals, in speech and act, in order to build society, the Islamic Community (Umma), religion, the country, and all which concerns Islam and the Muslims. And working to restore Sufism to its form at the time of the virtuous forefathers: adherence to Shari'a in order to arrive at al-Haqiqa, while remaining distant from fables and vanities, in order to raise a generation of Muslims who are conscious and enlightened, guided by the spirit of love and cooperation, in order to work for the raising of condition of the Islamic Community, to realize the saying of our Shaykh [in a poem]: "My way is the Qur'an, knowledge, and piety, and praise of the Messenger of God, eraser of error". (al-Ja'fari 1996a:35).]

b. Tariqa publications

1. Books and pamphlets published by the tariqa

The public, institutional, and soberly pedagogic nature of the Ja‘fariyya is nowhere better displayed than in their publications. This inference can be made not only from the content of those publications (which aims toward a general Islamic audience through emphasis on ‘ilm and synthesis of Sufi and orthodox points of view), or the sheer quantity of material (exceeding that of any other tariqa in Egypt, at least to my knowledge), but also their publicness, available to all at reasonable prices through the tariqa’s own bookstore. This bookstore is located on property adjoining the mosque, but its highly visible entrance is on the main street across from a major bus terminus (Darrasa), and not within the mosque complex (many other turuq sell books only from restricted locations and at restricted times, which the result that books are effectively available mainly to tariqa members). The shop stocks the most comprehensive variety of Sufi and Islamic books in Cairo, and is widely patronized by students and professors at al-Azhar, religious scholars, and Muslims generally, besides members of the tariqa. Tariqa publications are thus available for sale in a public and visible location, alongside a wide array of traditional religious material (Qur’ans of all sizes, hadith collections, fiqh, exegeses of religious texts, theological tracts, standard Sufi treatises, religious poetry, prayer manuals) which serves to emphasize the tariqa’s mainstream status, in both intention and reality. All of the tariqa’s own publications are issued by their publishing

organization, Dar Jawami' al-Kalim. The mere existence of a publishing company operating under the auspices of a Sufi group is itself testimony to the centrality of texts and 'ilm in the tariqa.

The sharp contrast to the Jazuliyya and Bayyumiyya should be continually be kept in mind. For the former, publications are limited to two books (the *Diwan*, and the *Rasa'il*) distributed to tariqa members only, and which serve to bind the group through a shared set of affective poems and doctrinal writings from the founder, rather than via exaltation of the founder or lengthy awrad. For the latter (Bayyumiyya), publications are not standardized as a tariqa strategy except for one slim book of devotions issued by the *mashyakha* (tariqa administration), which is limited to a capsule biography of the founder together with prayers; other publications may be issued by particular local shaykhs for their muridin, but these are not authorized by the mashyakha.

Ja'fari publications include literary works by Shaykh Salih (mostly his poetry), biographical and historical works about the founder and his tariqa, Sufi treatises and pedagogical works (including texts of Shaykh Salih's Friday lessons, Shaykh Salih's commentary on his shaykh's writings, and select treatises by older Sufi masters), prayer manuals (including several works by Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris), and a yearly tariqa periodical. Most of these works tend to be didactic—even the poetry is rather sober—and an orthodox tone and content prevails. Language is high classical Arabic, serving to create a sense of vertical distance between murid and shaykh.

a. Literary works

Diwan al-Ja'fari (The Ja'fari Diwan), v. 1-12, by Shaykh Salih Muhammad al-Ja'fari; collected and edited by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani al-Ja'fari. The most conspicuous of Shaykh Salih's literary outputs is his monumental diwan containing 711 poems (mostly qasidas) arranged in twelve volumes, most of which were published after his death. These are ordered by *qafiya* (final rhyme letter) for the first seven volumes; a second alphabetically arranged series begins in the latter portion of v.7, ending in v.10., and v. 11 presents yet a third series. Volume 12 comprises the so-called "manzummat" organized topically; these poems demonstrate *tasri'* (matching rhyme of first and second hemistiches) but are not monorhyme qasidas (a small number of such polyrhythmic poems can be found appended to each alphabetic series as well). These series must result from different compilation periods. Volumes 1-6 were published in 1979, [just after the shaykh's death], then v. 7-10 in 1987-88, and v. 11 in 1990 (v. 12 is undated, but presumably post 1990). There is currently a project to republish the entire diwan, organized topically instead of by qafiya; only the first two volumes have been released so far. This arrangement is intended to facilitate the munshidin's rapid location of poetry appropriate to any particular occasion, since performance of poetry tends to be selected according to theme.

Shaykh Salih wrote on a wide variety of themes, but nearly all remain within the scope of mainstream Islam and could be considered as Islamic, rather than specifically Sufi, poetry; while there is Sufi material which speaks about the tariqa, and one's

relation to the shaykh, there are very few poems which attempt to portray the Sufi mystical experience itself, or which present esoteric interpretations of religious tradition which would not be acceptable to religious conservatives. Poems are generally devoid of ambiguity, arcane and obscure language, ecstatic expressions (*shath*), and heterodox symbols and metaphors (erotic love, intoxication, music and dance, union), any of which might render the Diwan susceptible to criticism and would lend a more overtly mystical cast to the tariqa as a whole.

Furthermore, Shaykh Salih's own presence in this poetry is formal and limited, unrevealing of strong personal feeling. He is not given to ecstatic expressions, but rather tends to maintain his composure; one senses that he speaks not from a point of nearness to the listener, but from his exalted position (great scholar and Sufi that he was) above. His relation to the mystical figures of which he writes (mostly God, the Prophet, the Ahl al-Bayt) is similarly distant; he expresses love but only in the most dignified, sober, and respectable form.

The tariqa's own publications present a limited definition of Sufi poetry. Thus in an article in the tariqa's annual magazine, *al-Tariqa* (al-Ja'fari 1996b:28) the author stated the following definition:

By "Sufi poetry" I mean the poetry which emerges from the latent depths (kawamin) of the self, a translation of its conditions and agitations, expressing its perfections and longings, whether it is glorification of God (tamjid) and mentioning of his Names and Qualities, or praise (madh) for the Prophet and an exposition of his life story, perfection of his qualities, and his miracles.

While this definition begins broadly enough, it quickly narrows to two basic types, praise of God, and praise of the Prophet, both of which are widely acceptable in mainstream Islam. While praise is frequently combined with love, Ja‘fariyya expressions of love are refined, restrained, distant, respectful, and sober—very unlike the more ecstatic and jubilant outpourings of Sidi Jabir, which are always verging on a kind of mystical union.

Thus prominent themes in the poetry of Shaykh Salih include¹⁵: *madh al-rasul* (madih, praise for the Prophet, often mentioning his miracles, mu‘jizat), *madh Ahl al-Bayt*, love for the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt (but restrained), *al-hubb al-ilahi* (Divine love, likewise restrained), *tamjid* or *tasbih* (glorification of God), *tawassul* and *du‘a‘* (supplication to God), exhortations on the value of the Qur’an and its recitation, or the value of prayer; and occasional poems about Hajj, Ramadan, the Mawlid al-Nabi, and other religious holidays. Some poems aim to kindle desire to visit the Prophet, or to perform the Hajj. Poems may instruct in hadith, sira, and tafsir al-Qur’an. Even fiqh, Arabic grammar, and *wiratha* (laws of inheritance) are treated, mainly in the final volume (12) known as the manzumat. Other poems are more specific to the tariqa, guiding muridin on the path, describing their proper spiritual training, exhorting them to diligence in performing devotions and prayers, instructing in the Ja‘fariyya *adab* (ethics, behavior) in their relations to others, to Shaykh, to Prophet, and to God. All these themes are considered pedagogic, whether such a goal is explicit or not:

For this diwan is the method which the murid follows in the way of arriving to God, and it is a lantern which illuminates for those on the path, a lighthouse which guides the lost, a sun which shines on the hearts of the muhibbin, because its meanings and goals are an extension of the book of God and the Sunna of His Prophet, the sciences of Shari'a, and the secrets of the Haqiqa. For this reason, the breasts [sudur] opened to it, the nufus [singular: nafs; baser self] were trained by it, and the hearts occupied themselves with it. (al-Ja'fari 1996b:29).

According to tariqa members, one of Shaykh Salih's primary aims for his poetry was teaching, spiritual training (*tarbiya*). His diwan is believed to result from a high spiritual station, and to have been composed in the rapture of states of intensive mystical closeness. But in practice this poetry is considered to function primarily as a pedagogic device, a didactic tool for guiding his muridin, for his poetry is considered an encapsulation of his vast 'ilm (religious knowledge). Toward this end, poems teach Hadith, Qur'an, fiqh, and sira nabawiyya (the story of the Prophet's life), all traditional religious subjects. Poems also teach the murid about Sufi adab (ethical comportment): how to behave, how to relate to others, to one's shaykh, to the Prophet, and to God. They praise the Prophet, and express love for him and the Ahl al-Bayt, as a means of teaching the murid how to feel. They supplicate God, as a means of showing the murid how to relate to his Creator.

A second aim was to create a body of Sufi literature whose recitation would itself bring spiritual reward, as a mode of prayer. Sufis consider *madih* to be equivalent to *salawat*, whose mere recitation brings spiritual benefits upon the reciter. Poems which remember God are effectively *dhikr*; those which supplicate God are *du'a'*, and among those supplications may be requests for forgiveness. Nearly every *qasida* features a *radd*

(refrain) which asserts tawhid (“la ilaha illa Allah”), praises God, or calls for blessings on the Prophet. Thus in reciting this poetry, the murid effectively performs salawat, dhikr, du‘a’, and istighfar, all ritual forms of LP which are counted as worship in themselves.

Shaykh Salih viewed religious poetry, especially madih, as the shortest and easiest path of spiritual development, toward “wusul” (“arrival” to God) via the Prophet, by teaching ‘ilm and creating love of the Prophet in the hearts of the muridin. He wrote in poetic form so that his texts would be memorable, and so they could be sung. As inshad, they could be performed in a group, and would serve to “enliven the hearts”, as one member put it. Shaykh Salih himself used to perform his poetry during religious sermons, if doing so would help him to make a particular point, and later his inshad became incorporated into his hadra.

Several volumes of the Diwan contain introductions, mostly by his khalifa and son, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani; reviewing this material is an effective way of understanding the position and nature of Shaykh Salih’s poetry in the tariqa as a doctrinal and ritual order. It should be noted that the Jazuliyya present no such background material, but rather are concerned simply to publish their founder’s poetry. But the Ja‘fariyya, trying to occupy a more public niche in the Islamic field, assign far greater importance to detailing the justifications and benefits of this material. Some of these passages are the words of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani, while others are quoted directly from his father, Shaykh Salih.

Much evidence is presented in support of madih and inshad as a spiritual practice, based on Qur'an, Sunna, Sira Nabawiyya (the Prophet's life story), and the subsequent history of Islam and Sufism. The fact that the Ja'fariyya find it important to cite such traditions is itself revealing of their strategy, in which they adopt a conservative version of Sufism, then defend it using the same discourses and reasoning applied by the traditional and reformist Muslims. The issue of poetry is sensitive since the Qur'an criticizes it, but while some conservatives had spoken against poetry, moderate praise of the Prophet and other religious poetry is generally accepted, at least today.

In volume 10 this approach yields a veritable thumbnail history of madih, which serves to position Shaykh Salih as part of an unbroken tradition stretching back to the Prophet's time. This mode of legitimization in Islamic discourse by appeal to a historical chain of venerable antecedents is itself highly traditional, and characteristic of the Ja'fariyya. Note, however, that this effort to show how Shaykh Salih is part of a continuous tradition of mainstream madih, established in the earliest days of Islam, also limits what he can write about. (By contrast, Sidi Jabir al-Jazuli draws more freely on the esoteric Sufi traditions. In doing so he does not seek support from the past, but rather from the inner experiences of his followers. While such an approach finds only limited acceptability among the mainstream, it is powerfully attractive among the select circle who are drawn to his order.)

“In the Qur'an his (may God bless him and grant him peace) praise appears in many ayas. And the authentic hadith report that he would provide the minbar to Hasan bin Thabit, saying “speak!”, and that he listened to the famous qasida of Ka'b bin Zuhayr and then bestowed upon

him his cloak [burda], and his (may God bless him and grant him peace) praise has been heard from many of the Companions. And many of the pious forefathers [salaf] and their scion [khalaf] praised him with qasidas, including “al-majmu‘ al-nabahaniyya” among them. (From the introduction to the first volume of the Diwan; al-Ja‘fari 1979.)

In this introduction we want to provide a quick overview of the role of poetry and poets in drawing a picture of the life of the Prophet from the birth, to the call, and after that...on his constitution and character and miracles and attributes, the conditions of his life and his biography. [Here the author reviews the poets who praised the Prophet in his own lifetime, including: ‘Abd al-Muttilib, Zubayr bin ‘Abd al-Muttilib, Waraqa bin Nawfil, and Abu Talib.] ... The Prophet liked poetry ... he listened to Khansa’, and forgave Ka‘b bin Zuhayr when he recited “Banat Su‘ad”. Hasan ibn Thabit praised him, and the Prophet defended him in this; he was in truth the Prophet’s poet. In his poetry, Hasan praised the Prophet, defended Islam, using great poetic skill.... The Prophet encouraged writing poetry, to defend the mission and respond to enemies. Other poets emerged from the sahaba (Companions of the Prophet): Ka‘b ibn Malik... [lists several]. Hamid bin Thawr al-Hilali announced his conversion to Islam in a poem...

In the generations following one finds madih of the Ahl al-Bayt from al-Farazdaq, al-Kumayt, Wa‘bal al-Khaza‘i...Then came the Imam al-Busiri with the “Burda” and “Hamziyya”. He represents a new trend in madih, carrying meanings of love and longing, and characteristics of the Prophet, his miracles. Then others wrote madih, including al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Rifa‘i, al-Fakhr al-Razi, Ibn Hajar al-Haythami, Imam al-Jazuli [here the 15th-century saint, author of the famed “Dala’il al-Khayrat”], and Sidi ‘Umar ibn al-Farid, who is among the most famous and included in his poetry the new, and strange secrets of madih and Divine Love. The Sufi masters generally wrote madih. Among them Sidi Muhammad ‘Uthman al-Mirghani, who was confirmed in this practice by his shaykh Sidi Ahmad bin Idris...

Now after this introduction to the history of madih we can speak of the Ja‘fariyya school of madih. The diwan of Imam Ja‘fari rests in its method on study of the sira nabawiyya, including poems describing the personality of the Prophet, his attributes, indicating his miracles, and including hadiths giving guidance. Our shaykh intended madih to be a means to the greatest end—the murid’s study of sira—by means of poetry and madih. This method draws upon both the common and the special [‘awwamm wa

khawwass]. (From the introduction to volume 10 of the Diwan; al-Ja'fari 1979)

The historical approach is also adopted in an article by al-Husayn 'Abd al-Ghani al-Ja'fari (one of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani's sons), describing the poets who praised the Prophet Muhammad during his own lifetime, and thus indirectly supporting the practice of madih in the tariqa as sanctioned by venerable Islamic historical tradition (al-Ja'fari 1993). Another article (Muhammad 1993) attempts to prove the Islamic legitimacy of Shaykh Salih's qasidas, by showing that they fall into four categories, each of which can be grounded in Qur'an and Sunna: signs of God, virtues of the Qur'an, characteristics of the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt, and Sufi spiritual values. The author concludes that this is not poetry in the ordinary sense, but rather religious knowledge, presented in a linguistic form which best facilitates comprehension. Yet another of this sort also aims to defend poetry against its detractors, describing the poets surrounding the Prophet who helped to spread Islam (al-Ja'fari 1995).

Many passages point to the great spiritual benefits in the practice of inshad in training and raising the murid, eventually uniting the him with the Spirit of the Prophet (*fana' fi al-rasul*; annihilation in the Prophet):

Madih was for our shaykh a means to a great end, presenting to his disciples knowledge of the Divine Essence, Its most beautiful Names, the Prophet's biography, praise of the Ahl al-Bayt, presenting their virtues, and those of the saints and virtuous ones. They present ethics, and tasawwuf and its siluk (behavior)...When one hears them [poems of madih], their meanings drive him toward concepts of 'ilm and ma'rifa, before the music of the inshad fills him with longing. And many of the instructions and advices which come in the shade of these poems train the

murid and direct him toward the straight path. (From the introduction to Volume 7 of the Diwan; al-Ja‘fari 1979)

In this volume you will see the muhibb of God and His Prophet with the eye of your heart, gladdening your external eye and internal eye of the heart with the secrets of the shaykh and his educational method, by which he intends every Muslim to be a muhibb of God and His Prophet and the Ahl al-Bayt, and to sing their praises, which is dhikr of God and blessings on the Prophet and his good and pure family. (From the introduction to Volume 8 of the Diwan; al-Ja‘fari 1979)

There is a hadith which reports that ‘Umar bin al-Khattab said to him: Oh Prophet of God, you are dearer to me than anything but myself. The Prophet said: None of you has faith until I am dearer to him than himself. Then ‘Umar said: Now you are dearer to me than myself, upon which the Prophet said: Now, my ‘Umar, your faith is complete. ... A person may be dominated by love of something other than the Prophet not because of preference, but due to negligence. Therefore the people of sincere love, the Sufi masters, came to send love and renew it, curing the self of its negligence, carrying out the saying of the Prophet: “Love God for His blessings to you, and love me for the love of God, and love Ahl al-Bayt for my love”. Madih sessions cause the selves to awaken from heedlessness, from drunkenness...

So it is incumbent upon you to do according to what our shaykh advised: praise of the Prophet, sitting in circles of madih to obtain mushahada [witnessing], which is the highest desire of lovers of the Prophet. (From the introduction to Volume 9 of the Diwan; al-Ja‘fari 1979)

“And with my [Shaykh Salih’s] good intention toward him [the Prophet] (may God bless him and grant him peace) I imposed myself on this great tradition [of composing madih] and ask God to make it sincere for him. It is upon you, brother for God, to repeat it while seeing with the heart, until he is a spirit of your essence.” (From the introduction to Volume 1 of the Diwan; al-Ja‘fari 1979)

Shaykh Salih’s madih is also a key to the tariqa’s method, and success:

The tariqa Ja‘fariyya was taken from madih as a method for training [tarbiyya] and siluk, and increasing the murid in ‘ilm Shari‘a and Haqiqa...God blessed our shaykh with a mosque and maqam in the heart of Cairo...for he praised the Prophet through his tarab and causing tarab

to others in the hadras... (From the introduction to Volume 9 of the Diwan; al-Ja'fari 1979)

... the madih is a karama [miracle] of our shaykh, and a gate for success of his disciples, and the reason that his group continued after his death, until that which he had indicated in his poems became realized via the establishment of his tariqa, based on his lessons and madih. The madih of the Ja'fariyya school is the means of tarbiyya of the murid... (From the introduction to Volume 10 of the Diwan; al-Ja'fari 1979)

The inspirational manner of composition is itself cited as proof of his poetry's spiritual legitimacy; this poetry is a direct expression of Shaykh Salih's spiritual state (hal), a Divine gift:

Our shaykh recited poetry instinctively; he would improvise it and it would come in the most beautiful and perfect form. It is an overflowing from the Divine Overflowings, by which God chooses whom He will from the worshippers. Every qasida in the diwan has its hal, which it calls for, and a maqam displayed in it, and a taste, lights, secrets. But only those with sound hearts and pure spirits can understand this. (From the introduction to Volume 1 of the Diwan; al-Ja'fari 1979)

The rich content of the Diwan is elaborated in detail, including interpretations of specific qasidas (but these will not be cited here):

Each group contains qasidas on: the Divine Essence, the Muhammadan Essence, Ahl al-Bayt, instructions to the murid or muhibb containing exhortations toward obedience of God, *qiyam al-layl* [nighttime prayer vigil], increasing dhikr, increasing salawat; others awakening a desire for recitation and listening to the Qur'an, and the hajj, and visiting the Rawda, and other things to soften the hearts, enliven the nufus, direct the minds, and nourish the arwah... (From the introduction to Volume 1 of the Diwan; al-Ja'fari 1979)

There are qasidas on the mawlid, the character of Mustafa, and his virtues, his ethics, his miracles [*isra' wa mi'raj*, splitting of the moon...], his intercession [*shafa'a*]. There are other qasidas on: description of visiting the Prophet, hadith on the Rawda [site of the Prophet's shrine in Madina], longing to visit the Prophet; dhikr and istighfar and hubb ilahi;

praise and hadith on the Qur'an and its virtues; du'a' using the Names in the Qur'an; description of hajj; praise of the Ahl al-Bayt and hadith about their virtues and exhortation to visit them and benefits of loving them; praise of the Sufi notables such as al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi, al-Sayyid Ahmad bin Idris, and others. (From the introduction to Volume 10 of the Diwan; al-Ja'fari 1979)

Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani praises the diwan, as an expression of praise for his father.

The existence of the Diwan then constitutes proof of Shaykh Salih's elevated spiritual status:

The author was imam Shari'a and tariqa and Haqiqa, 'alim and 'amil and warith who devoted his life to love of God and His Prophet. So it is no surprise that his diwan is a lamp which illumines the salikin [muridin], a light guiding the lost, sun shining on the hearts of the muhibbin. We ask God to spread its benefit...and to give our shaykh a high place in heaven... (From the introduction to Volume 1 of the Diwan; al-Ja'fari 1979)

This great diwan full of means overflowing with secrets, expressing the character of Shaykh Salih, indicating his great 'ilm, expressing his madad; full of attributes of his school of Sufism. His method lies in dhikr and madih nabawi. (From the introduction to Volume 10 of the Diwan; al-Ja'fari 1979)

The diwan's author was an imam of Shari'a and Haqiqa, 'alim and 'amil and wali who spent his life in love of God and His Prophet. Thus the diwan is a lantern, illuminating the path of those on the way [salikin], a light for the lost, a sun illuminating hearts of the lovers; we ask God to benefit from it... (From the introduction to Volume 11 of the Diwan; al-Ja'fari 1979)

The manzumat are treasures full of 'ilm [exoteric knowledge] and ma'rifa [esoteric knowledge], a store of secrets and lights, containing supplications.... And it is no less in importance than his diwan of madih. The manzumat display the 'ilm of the shaykh, serving the Qur'an, Sunna, Da'wa Islamiyya [Islamic mission], including 'ilm tawhid [theology], fiqh [jurisprudence], nahw [grammar], tasawwuf [Sufism] and other topics. They also display the states [maqamat] and stations [ahwal] of the shaykh. And they show his superiority in tarbiyya of muridin, and moving with them from ahwal and maqamat until arriving with him to the favor of

God and His love...He who reads them will see how the shaykh is a lordly 'alim ['alim rabbani] who devoted his life to God and His Prophet, in his teachings, guidance, tarbiyya, worship, devotion [*tabattul*], humility, requests [*ibtihal*], and love for God and His Prophet, and to the Ahl al-Bayt, and all the virtuous ones....And he will see that he was firm in '*ilm al-tawhid*, upon the school of Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jama'a, and that his method in tarbiyya and guidance is unblemished and unblameable, for it is derived from Kitab Allah [Qur'an] and Sunna of His Prophet. (From the introduction to Volume 12 of the Diwan; al-Ja'fari 1979)

Although Shaykh Salih was known for writing poetry in elevated classical Arabic, perfect in *wazn* (meter) and *qafiya* (rhyme), he also wrote simply and directly, without ambiguity or obscurity of any kind. This simplicity is cited as a positive quality both by his muridin and by others outside the tariqa, for its facilitation of communication. Rather than employing the confusing symbols of esoteric poetry, he wrote to be understood, as a means of teaching the murid, training him, and raising him closer to God. Members praise the old mystical poetry tradition, as in the diwan of 'Umar ibn al-Farid, but say that those poems do not address the modern age, for every age has its literary requirements. In the modern period, obscure mystical poetry is likely to be misunderstood, and hence lead to error.¹⁶ Thus despite Shaykh Salih's clear appeal to tradition, he was also well aware of his role in creating a modern Sufism, though evidently along very different lines from Sidi Jabir. One might add that simplicity and clarity is also less susceptible to criticism, and more acceptable among the Azhari community, especially because the themes he presents are themselves uncontroversial. Ambiguity, because of the richness of interpretation it presents, is always dangerous for those whose power is based upon fixed beliefs and meanings, such as the 'ulama'.

Long and important poems in the Diwan are published separately as small booklets; among these are “al-Burda al-Hasaniyya al-Husayniyya fi Madh Khayr al-Bariya” (a madih for the Prophet following the thematic and poetic model of al-Busiri’s famous “Burda”), “Jalibat al-Faraj” (a manzuma, or poetic du‘a’ employing all 99 of God’s Most Beautiful Names), “al-Maqbula” (a madih of the Prophet), and “Rawdat al-Qulub wa al-Arwah” (a madih for the Ahl al-Bayt). Recordings of select poems as performed in the hadra are also sold on cassette tape.

The compilation, production, and editing of these diwans is, perhaps together with the preparation of volumes of Friday Lessons, considered of greatest importance in preserving the legacy of Shaykh Salih. Unlike Sidi Jabir, who seems to live on more in the personal relations and rituals he established, Shaykh Salih lives on in his written works, and the poems constitute the central liturgy of the hadra. Thus a tremendous effort and expense has been expended in this direction.

Other literary books published by the tariqa include:

- *Raqa’iq al-Haqa’iq*, by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani al-Ja‘fari. The current shaykh’s own slim diwan, whose title poem is a madih for his father.
- *al-Sira al-Nabawiyya al-Muhammadiyya*, by Shaykh Salih al-Ja‘fari. The founder’s version of the Prophet’s sira (life story).
- *Mawlid al-Nur*. Booklet prepared for the yearly Mawlid al-Nabi (Prophet’s Birthday) celebration, containing a collection of texts, primarily poetry.

b. On the founder and his tariqa

The tariqa publishes a number of “self-referential” books about Shaykh Salih, his life and works, the development of his tariqa, and its principles. These works tend to focus on the founder and his religious orientation and program more than the tariqa as a social body. They are designed for consumption by tariqa members, as well as by outsiders who may wish to have a better understanding of the group. Here is a clear contrast with the Jazuliyya, who do not produce such works at all. Among them:

al-Sira al-Dhatiyya li Mu'assis al-Tariqa al-Ja'fariyya al-Ahmediyya al-Muhammadiyya, Sidi al-Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari (The biography of the founder of the Ja'fariyya tariqa, Sidi Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari), prepared by the Central Committee for Celebrations, at the Main Center, Darrasa. This booklet contains photos of both shaykhs, followed by biography of Shaykh Salih, and history of the tariqa; it concludes with a poem by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani in praise of his father.

al-Tariqa al-Ja'fariyya: Shaykhan wa Manhajan: al-Ams wa al-Yawm wa al-Ghad (The Ja'fariyya tariqa: its shaykh and method: yesterday, today, and tomorrow), prepared by the Central Committee for Celebrations, as above. Similar material to the previous entry, with photos, biography, and description of the tariqa, plus additional poetry, salawat, and ad'iyya.

al-Khitab (The Speech), by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani. Following photos of the shaykhs, a speech given by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani about his father and the tariqa on the occasion of his father's mawlid.

al-Kanz al-Thari (The Rich Treasure), compiled and edited by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani. Contains rare photos of Shaykh Salih, followed by a very detailed biography, including his youth, studies at al-Azhar, relation to shaykhs there; presenting his method (manhaj), and its relation to the Idrisi tradition, and detailing his system of adab (ethical comportment), including the murid’s ideal adab with God, the Prophet, his shaykh, himself, and the other brethren.

c. Treatises and pedagogic works

Dars al-Jum’a bi al-Azhar (The Friday Lesson at al-Azhar), v.1-7, by Shaykh Salih al-Ja’fari, compiled and edited by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani. The texts of these famous talks, including speeches and answers to audience members’ questions, are presented, several to a volume. With the Diwan, this is considered the most important publishing project in conserving Shaykh Salih’s heritage. Dar al-Jawami’ al-Kalim periodically publishes new volumes in this series. Many of the lessons were recorded, and are now sold as cassette tapes. However, unlike the functionally parallel *Rasa’il* of Sidi Jabir which are recited and discussed during hadra, these “lessons” of Shaykh Salih do not play any overt performative role in the hadra; rather they are available for individual muridin (or outsiders) to read on their own.

al-Ilham al-Nafi’ li Kull Qasid (The Useful Inspiration for Every Seeker), by Shaykh Salih al-Ja’fari; interpretation of the writings of Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris.

al-Ma’ani al-Raqiqa ‘ala al-Durar al-Daqiqa (The Delicate Meanings of Particular Pearls), by Shaykh Salih al-Ja’fari; a treatise on Sufi topics.

al-Fatawi wa al-Ajwiba al-Ja'fariyya (Ja'fari Legal Opinions and Answers), by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari. Sequence of questions and brief answers, as extracted from Shaykh Salih's Friday lessons. Most of the text pertains to orthodox topics of fiqh (jurisprudence).

al-Nafahat al-Kubra (The Great Gifts), by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari. Instruction in Islamic prayer.

al-Tawfiq fi Adab al-Tariq (Success in Ethical Conduct of the Way), by Ahmad ibn 'Ata' Allah al-Sakandari. Treatise by the famous 13th-century Shadhili saint.

al-Anwar al-Qudsiyya fi Ma'rifat Qawa'id al-Sufiyya (Sacred Lights upon the Gnosis of Sufi Principles), by 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani. Treatise by the famous Sufi saint of 16th-century Egypt.

d. Prayer manuals

Husun al-Awrad al-Ja'fariyya (Protections of the Ja'fariyya Awrad), by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari. These awrad are performed in the daily individual devotions of tariqa members, and confer protection on the reciter.

al-Salawat al-Ja'fariyya fi al-Salah 'ala Khayr al-Bariya (The Ja'fari Blessings upon the Best of Creation [the Prophet Muhammad]), by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari. These salawat (each comprising a set of rhyming lines of prose (*saja'*)) are divided into seven parts, one for each day of the week; the murid recites one part daily in his individual prayer.

Hisn al-Aman min al-Shaytan, min al-Jan, min al-Insan (Protection of Safety from the Devil, the Jinn, and Man), by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari. Also used in individual prayers, and confer protection.

Da'wat al-Takhalli wa al-Tajalli (Supplications of Surrender and Manifestation), by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari. Supplications to God.

Kanz al-Sa'ada wa al-Da'wat al-Mustajaba (The Treasure of Happiness, and Answered Supplications). The former, by Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris, is recited as the hizb during the tariqa's main Thursday hadra. The latter consists of a set of devotional poems by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari.

Kanz al-Nafahat al-Ja'fariyya (The Ja'fari Treasure of Spiritual Gifts), by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari and Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani al-Ja'fari. Following photos of the founder and his son, this prayer manual includes an introductory discussion of the merits of salawat prepared by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani (which I discussed earlier). Next comes two prayers by Shaykh Salih: the standard opening ("al-iftitahiyya") of the Ja'fariyya hadra, and a collection of 40 salawat for the Prophet ("al-Salawat al-Arba'iniyya al-Muhammadiyya") which is performed in the group's Sunday hadra. There are also several ad'iyya, most in the form of qasidas, by Shaykh Salih, and a final collection of ad'iyya by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani which is performed at the close of every hadra.

Awrad Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris (The Awrad of Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris). A collection of his daily prayers.

Majmu'a Ahzab wa Awrad wa Rasa'il (Group of hizbs, awrad, and treatises), by Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris.

Khatmat al-Qur'an al-Karim (Seal of the Glorious Qur'an), compiled by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani. Recited following a complete Qur'anic recitation (khatma) during hadra. This is accomplished within about a half hour by distributing the 30 sections (the Qur'an is divided into 30 sections, each called a *juz'*) among the muridin; simultaneously, each participant recites one *juz'* silently.

e. Magazine: *al-Tariqa*

The tariqa also publishes a yearly periodical, called *al-Tariqa*, on the occasion of the founder's mawlid. The magazine is distributed to members, but available also to the public, especially interested visitors. It thus serves as a means of disseminating information throughout the group, as well as impacting the group's image in the outside world. It is staffed by a large group of contributors and editors, including several professors from al-Azhar, representatives of the central Sufi council (al-Majlis al-A'la li al-Turuq al-Sufiyya), and others from the tariqa, headed by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani. Articles include stories on Shaykh Salih (his life, teachings, sayings, writings), or on other important religious personalities; general Islamic topics (on Qur'an, tafsir, fiqh, hadith, Sunna); Sufism in general (its principles, practices, literature, history, ethnography); the tariqa, its goals, principles, and practices (adab, ritual, poetry, dhikr), and beneficial role in Egyptian society.

Articles often defend Sufism against its detractors, emphasizing what is good in Sufi practice and supported by the principles of religion, and denying the rest. Sometimes there are interviews with the shaykh or other religious leaders. The magazine tends to stay away from esoteric knowledge or description of the Sufi experience itself, or any topic which might fall outside the bounds of orthodox Sufism. Every issue also features new poetry (often about the tariqa or the shaykh), and articles and photographs describing tariqa news and events (tariqa-wide, or in local centers), such as celebrations of the mawlid (for Shaykh Salih or the Prophet), pilgrimage, visiting other turuq, meetings with dignitaries, Qur'anic recitation contests, or national holidays. Photographs of local tariqa leaders and those holding official positions are also often featured.

2. Non-textual publications

Besides publishing books, the tariqa also sells cassette tapes of inshad performances, and of the lectures of Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari. Photographs of the founder and his son, together with other important saints, are sold in the tariqa bookstore adjoining the mosque.

c. Tariqa places

Whereas the Jazuliyya is primarily a closed brotherhood and sisterhood, the Ja'fariyya is an institution laid squarely within the field of Islam in Egypt today, in which

distinctions between members and non-members are deliberately ambiguous. Places provide a physical and visible basis for that institutional structure.

1. Main mosque complex

The main mosque is situated in a conspicuous and accessible location, next to the new Dar al-Ifta' (Office of the Mufti), near the main thoroughfare of densely populated Darrasa and the expressway Salah Salim, along which runs a tram. Just in front of the mosque is a major bus terminus. It is thus easily accessible by public transport or by car. It is a ten minute walk to al-Azhar university, or to the mosque and shrine of Sayyidna al-Husayn, the spiritual and social hub of the old Fatimid city. This public location in a traditional and religiously oriented district is significant for a tariqa which aims to become a general Islamic institution.

The Ja'fari mosque is capacious, easily accommodating five hundred worshippers at Friday prayers. There is a screened upper level for women, and another room below from which they can listen to the hadra. Below the mosque level, in an adjoining building, are massive bathroom and ablution facilities, separately for men and for women. These facilities are used for daily, and especially Friday, prayers by a wide community of Muslims, a relatively small proportion of which are members of the tariqa. As a respected 'alim (as well as a Sufi), Shaykh Salih is conspicuous as the center of a wide community extending beyond the tariqa proper.

Although photos of the shaykhs do not dominate the interior of the Ja'fariyya mosque (as they do in the Jazuliyya maqarr), several are placed in the glass cases which

line the hallway leading to the main mosque area, together with notices, poetry, and photos of recent tariqa events, and Shaykh Salih's books are displayed in glass display cases here and inside the mosque itself. Unlike the Bayyumiyya, the tariqa is firmly centered in this mosque. Here Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani and other tariqa officials maintain offices; there is a library, and an extensive archive of Shaykh Salih's books and papers.

A domed shrine containing the large and elegantly appointed maqam of Shaykh Salih adjoins the mosque building. Featured prominently on the walls are framed qasidas either written by Shaykh Salih, or in praise of him. The layout is traditional, with a brass maqsura and collection box on the outside, more like the Bayyumiyya maqam than the Jazuliyya (which is relatively small). The principal difference between this maqam and most traditional ones is that, due to what would appear to be a deliberate design decision, one cannot enter the maqam from the mosque directly. This might have the effect of appeasing those religious conservatives who are opposed to shrines in general.

On the other side of the main mosque are, there is a general hospital. More than a clinic, which one may find attached to many mosques, this hospital contains a surgery ward, and rooms for overnight stays. The hospital is available for use of the general public.

Below the mosque, within a row of shops facing the street, is a bookstore owned by the tariqa and open to the public, which stocks an impressive variety of books on Sufism, including all of the books published by the tariqa's publishing house "Dar Jawami' al-Kalim", as well as a full selection of general Islamic books, most of them

elegantly bound in rich red or green leather upon which titles and designs are embossed in golden script: Qur'an and its tafsirs (exegeses), collections of hadith, fiqh, sira, kalam, philosophy, Arabic grammar and rhetoric.

2. Local chapter centers (sahas)

The local chapter (called a saha) is not merely a group of individuals, but a physical structure resembling the tariqa's main mosque, on a smaller scale. In a small community such as al-Jabal al-Asfar, to the north of Cairo, the saha lies on the main road in the middle of town, a massive building easily conspicuous even among the large apartment buildings rapidly being constructed in this once-rural community, mostly by immigrants from Aswan. Upstairs, there is a large mosque where tariqa hadra and general prayers are conducted. Downstairs there is a *mayda* (room for ablutions) and function room where large numbers of people can take meals together.

C. Social features

I have noted earlier that it is the social and ritual dimensions of the Sufi orders which serve most completely to define their identities, while doctrinal aspects tend to be shared to a large degree. The tariqa as a social order is its deepest level of distinctive reality, particularly the personal social structure which binds participants, together with spiritual entities, into a single whole. Ritual, I argued further, is the manifest identity of that social order, that which is visible to participants and observers alike, and which serves most directly to maintain the tariqa as a social group. The goal is to understand

how ritual (as LP) can serve as a strategy for tariqa prosperity in the modern period, or why it fails to do so. The social order is critical to such an understanding, both because it is the tariqa's social properties which enable the formulation of group-level strategies, and because it is those social properties which those strategies act to maintain, primarily through group rituals.

In this section, I will quickly review the following social aspects of the orders: membership, positional social structure, and personal social structure.

1. Membership

a. Bayyumiyya

1. Joining the group

As in any tariqa, one joins the tariqa by taking the 'ahd (oath) from a shaykh possessing the *ijaza* (rank of khalifa or higher). Upon recitation of the 'ahd, one immediately becomes a murid, and is subsequently issued a membership card.

Membership is open to men only.

Some men join the tariqa for purely spiritual reasons. Thus one member recounted that he saw Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi in a dream, recognizing him by his red ta'iyya (headgear); for him this was a sign that he should join the tariqa. Another man, one of the senior naqibs, reported that although his father occupied a high rank in the Rifa'iyya tariqa, he joined the Bayyumiyya because he felt more spiritually compatible with Sidi 'Ali.

But most commonly a person joins because the tariqa is prevalent in his family or village, in which case membership is a natural (or even perfunctory) extension of Islamic piety, something inherited almost like Islam itself. In modernist turuq as well, a member is likely at least to attempt to introduce his son to the order. But whereas the modernist groups have designed strategies suitable to attract new members in the modern age, the traditional groups continue more or less in the old ways, with the consequence that relatively few new members join without some kind of family connection to point the way. For this reason, the traditional orders continue to attract new members most readily in the villages, where Sufi participation is frequently still the norm for adult males. Thus in Sidi 'Ali's home village of Bayyum, nearly the entire village participates in the order, according to residents there.

However, hereditary membership has consequences. For members whose oath-taking was not the result of a deeply felt and conscious choice, who may have joined due to peer pressure, inheritance, or lack of alternatives, tariqa membership may supply a relatively small portion of identity. In the cities, where competing trends of western secularism and Islamism rage most strongly, the traditional orders find it more difficult to retain even those for whom membership would have formerly been an automatic inheritance.

Active proselytization is another mode of gathering members. However, as a rule, the traditional turuq tend not to proselytize, due to their lack of centralization and cohesion which would facilitate development of an organized effort in this direction. An

individual shaykh within the tariqa may be active in gathering muridin for his particular chapter (bayt), but in this case the loyalty of new members tends to be to the shaykh rather than to the tariqa as a whole, which is regarded as a spiritual source (mashrab) rather than a social affiliation.

Thus, as new members enter at the periphery of the group rather than the center, the tariqa tends to lose its focus with the addition of new members. The principal charismatic center of the tariqa (the founder shaykh), long deceased and idealized as qutb, is not accessible to ordinary social interaction, and thus cannot serve as a social center. In some cases a charismatic shaykh may form the nucleus of a spiritually vibrant Bayyumiyya group, but such vibrancy will remain at the local and peripheral level, since local spiritual talent is blocked from reaching the administrative center of the group by a rigid, largely hereditary, positional structure. The decentralized accumulation of members who have little to bind them together, many of whom may be weakly committed, leads to a loosely connected, far-flung, and relatively incoherent tariqa, subject to schism or formation of breakaway subgroups.

2. The membership and its social characteristics

It is difficult to estimate the numbers in such a far-flung tariqa; even the more organized modernist turuq often lack precise counts. Luizard reports that in 1982 there were 250 na'ibs, 150 khalifat al-khulafa', and 4000 khalifas, although he does not cite his sources and the numbers are all suspiciously rounded (Luizard 1990:83). What is certain from observation of mawlid and travel to villages is that the Bayyumiyya, like other

traditional orders, are widely distributed across Egypt, particularly in the rural areas of the Delta, penetrating the countryside in a way that the newly formed orders of the 20th century do not. These orders have tended to move into the cities with the general patterns of urban immigration which have led to Cairo's rapid expansion over the past 30 years, although many rural Sufis who immigrate to the city cease their active participation due to detachment from shaykhs and traditional contexts.

The Bayyumiyya has frequently been characterized as an order of the lower-class social segments, poorly represented among the educated, wealthy, or political elites (Hoffman 1995:152). While I conducted no systematic study of this issue, observations of the dress, language, and behavior of members participating in tariqa hadras, together with informal conversations, suggests that while "lower class" may not be a precise description, most members do come from the less well-off or less well-educated segments of society, including tradesmen, artisans, and lower-level government functionaries (note that tradesmen and artisans are frequently wealthy). Post-secondary education among members is relatively uncommon, and while most members are not poor, neither are the majority well-off. Extensive and systematic statistical research would be required to determine whether there is a significant difference in patterns of membership along these lines between the Bayyumiyya and other traditional orders such as Rifa'iyya; informal observation suggests there is not. On the other hand, differences in class, education, and wealth between the traditional orders and the modernist groups is immediately obvious to the hadra observer. Most participants in the Bayyumiyya

Friday hadra are men who appear to be over 40; there are far fewer youths. Although the hadra generally attracts large numbers of small boys (sons of the members accompanying their fathers to Friday prayer) who may attempt to participate, the low incidence of youths indicates that these boys do not necessarily join the group later. These facts suggest that the group is gradually dwindling in size.

Officially, women are not eligible to join the tariqa; unofficially they may do so. The official tariqa discourse is firm about excluding women's participation in hadra. However, women do attend the hadra, watching quietly from the far mosque wall; one can observe similar behavior in the weekly Rifa'iyya hadra. Women frequently pay visits to the shrine of Sidi 'Ali, and may recite individual prayers (wird and hizb) in the home. But their most prominent role is during the mawlid, since the maintenance of a khidma requires nearly round-the-clock efforts in cooking and cleaning.

Although the Bayyumiyya are extremely widespread, corporate events such as the weekly hadras or mawkibs performed on special occasions tend to draw a relatively small turnout. Many members of the Bayyumiyya tend not to be active in group activities (although they may perform individual prayers), and this pattern holds also for the other traditional groups. Particular local branches (bayts) of these turuq may be highly active, depending on the local shaykh, but the tariqa as a whole lacks corporate unity; its activities do not generally receive a high priority in members' lives. This fact reflects both the low level of identification with the group, and the absence of a strong living charismatic center which could unite them.

Another cause of low involvement is multiple affiliation. Officially, a person may belong to only one tariqa. In practice multiple affiliations are common among members of the traditional turuq. Sometimes one's affiliation is merely as a muhibb (literally "lover"), one who attends the hadra or visits the shaykh without having officially taken the oath of membership; this phenomenon is common enough in modernist groups. But in the traditional turuq, being less demanding of time and identity, many men have taken the oath from more than one shaykh. This practice is not a result of the modern decline of Sufi orders, but is rather traditional in Egyptian Sufism; 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani supposedly had joined 26 orders. Although a person cannot practically maintain ritual commitments to more than one group, multiple membership does weaken social structure by diluting commitment, reducing solidarity, and lessening the tariqa's role as a primary source of identity. In the past, when Sufism was ascendant, this weakness may not have threatened the tariqa's continued existence; today it is a serious liability.

By contrast, the modernist groups are less well-established, and depend on a conscious act of commitment from new members; while membership may be less widespread, members are more dedicated to the group, and consider it to form a larger part of their personal identity. Indeed, modernist orders frequently draw members from those whose families historically belonged to traditional turuq such as the Bayyumiyya. Such men, having been raised in a Sufi environment, are naturally well-disposed toward Sufism in theory, but may feel that the practices of traditional orders have degraded, or may desire a living charismatic center. Thus a member of the modernist Hamidiyya

Shadhiliyya recounted that while his grandfather was Bayyumi, his father was greatly impressed by the charisma of Sidi Salama (founder of the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya) and therefore joined his order. In another case, a youth from a Bayyumiyya family boasting an important local shaykh (khalifat al-khulafa') broke from the group to join the Jazuliyya, citing their higher level of spiritual training and organization.

b. Jazuliyya

1. Joining the group

A feature of the modernist groups is their desire for growth and expansion. Proselytization is in part a natural response to the flushed exhilaration and enthusiasm felt by members of a new group, especially in the presence of the living charismatic center, who want others to share in their discovery of a new truth, or means to it. It is also encouraged by the leaders' desire to build a strong foundation for the fledgling group by establishing a broad and strong membership. Thus expansion is to some extent typical of the early phase of development of any group. But modernity has presented Sufism with particular challenges, as we have seen, which require an especially strong, compact, defensible group in order to survive, and sheer numbers, while not sufficient, are a necessary step.

As in the Bayyumiyya, one joins the Jazuliyya by taking the 'ahd from a qualified shaykh (at the level of mas'ul; this term is explained below). However, unlike the traditional turuq, modernist groups such as the Jazuliyya maintain centralization in part

by emphasizing that the 'ahd binds the new murid to the shaykh al-sajjada himself, and to the tariqa as a whole, not to the tariqa official who actual performs the ceremony. While in theory the 'ahd ritual can be performed by any qualified local shaykh at any time, it frequently occurs in the central tariqa hadra in Cairo, in the presence of the shaykh al-sajjada (see following chapter on ritual for a detailed description). This fact implies that taking the 'ahd at the tariqa's center is considered preferable. By this strategy, ritual reinforces the connection of each individual to the tariqa's center, while disempowering the local leaders; at the same time, the local leaders are allowed to give the 'ahd as representatives of the shaykh al-sajjada, enabling growth to occur at the periphery where it might be difficult for prospective members to travel to Cairo. Unlike the traditional tariqa khalifa, whose ijaza empowers him to spread the tariqa by subscribing new members as his own muridin, local tariqa leaders in the Jazuliyya act more as religious functionaries, representing the shaykh al-sajjada in each geographical region where there are muridin. Therefore while the traditional khalifa enjoys considerable autonomy and may even form a virtually independent tariqa, the local Jazuliyya officials cannot do so.

As opposed to traditional orders, where membership frequently runs in families or entire communities as a matter of course, the modernist orders tend to draw members who have made a conscious and active commitment to affiliate. To be sure, hereditary factors also play a role; indeed, members of modernist groups are even more likely than traditional orders to try to recruit family into the tariqa, which is still in its active phases.

But during the early phases of tariqa growth, hereditary membership can supply only a relatively minor source of new members. If the tariqa is to expand, most new members must enter from outside the tariqa's family limits. For these members, joining involves an active and decisive break, from a state of limited religious practice, anti-Sufi stance, or from a traditional order (as I described above). This conscious decision is like a religious conversion on a minor scale, leading to a group of active and dedicated members.

The modernist group strives to be attractive to an educated, influential, and well-to-do segment of the populace, some of whom may even be westernized in outlook, and to draw them toward religion via Sufism; it may also appeal to those who have become disillusioned about political Islamic movements. By attracting such members, the tariqa helps to ensure its respectability, influence, wealth, and hence survival, even when the number of members is relatively low.

In order to draw new members, a tariqa must be visible and attractive. This may be accomplished by performing public hadras with careful decorum. Besides performing private hadras in their Sufi centers, the Jazuliyya perform more public hadras after evening prayer in a number of mosques. Many members of the Jazuliyya tariqa report having joined after seeing the group perform one of the public mosque hadras (described in more detail below); one high-ranking member said that most of the current members joined in this way. Organized, dynamic hadras held in a public location after prayer when the mosque is still somewhat full tend naturally to draw a crowd of on-lookers. Those who wish to find out more about the group will be invited to attend another hadra, and

some may ultimately join the tariqa. They also perform vast hadras at the major mawlid; their hadra at the 1996 mawlid of Sayyida Nafisa was a brilliant performance of over 300 members, all dressed in white.

The Jazuliyya appear to be particularly attractive to the educated youth who desire a deeper form of Islamic spirituality, and are not attracted to more austere or political models offered by Islamist groups. Sufism in the Jazuliyya is rich with feeling, and free of the dangers of politics. For the person concerned with personal spiritual growth more than large-scale political struggles, Sufism provides an attractive alternative. Yet the college-graduate may feel out of place in many of the traditional groups, perhaps because of rituals are performed with less dynamism or due to the absence of an active membership surrounding a charismatic shaykh, but also due to his inability to form strong social connections with the members of traditional orders. The modernist group, designed to attract the new educated elite, fills these lacunae.

For the outsider to Sufism, joining the order may create family stresses. One young man reported that he saw a Jazuliyya hadra in the Husayn mosque; enthused, he subsequently joined the group. His father was at first highly critical, feeling that all the time spent at these religious activities would adversely affect his studies. But when his son obtained an excellent score on the final high school exam (called the *sanawiyya 'amma*; one's result virtually determines one's future in Egypt), then his father no longer doubted his judgement. The Jazuliyya tariqa actively promotes values of education, participation in society, and hard work so as not be criticized by anti-Sufis or modernists

(who formerly pointed to Sufism as responsible for the decline of Islamic society), and these values indeed have positive results. Furthermore, the presence of young educated members draws in others by their example.

Another factor encouraging new members is the shaykh's ability to communicate. In his writings and talks (many of which were recorded) he attempted to speak to his own age, and the youth in particular, writing according to what they could understand in a clear expository style. He simplified complex concepts, and presented them in a comprehensible form, while avoiding the lofty style of Shaykh Salih. Although some of his poetry contains mysterious ideas, he uses simple Arabic to express them.

Creating a young tariqa is one of the best ways of ensuring its survival. But what attracts the youth to the hadras in the first place is their manner of performance, and especially their style of inshad which has been specifically designed to appeal to youth by its upbeat tempo, high emotion, rich instrumentation, and close relation to popular song. One of the principal musicians and composers told me that he believes that most members enter the tariqa via inshad.

It is typical of all modernist turuq that members actively proselytize informally to family and friends, for the enthusiasm of his decision to join cannot remain a personal matter in a tariqa so expansive in its energy and scope. Furthermore, such behavior is ordinarily encouraged. In this way, the tariqa becomes established in a new locale or family. But there may be problems when the boundaries between family and modernist tariqa loyalty intersect, for here is a conflict of interest. A wife might criticize her

husband for always being at the tariqa; family members might doubt the judgement of one who dedicated himself to some new shaykh. The Jazuliyya have solved this problem by allowing the entire family to join and attend hadras together. When the family boundaries lie wholly within the tariqa boundaries, then the group is strong and secure. In this way, the Jazuliyya also ensure a constant supply of new members, since children are brought to the hadra and grow up within the tariqa.

2. The membership and its social characteristics

No systematic study of tariqa membership was carried out; the following characterizations result from discussions with tariqa members, together with informal observations of hadras.

Based on dress, language, and behavior, most members appear middle to upper class; the vast majority are well-educated at the high-school and college levels, through Egypt's secular school system; very few are graduates of the parallel religious system of al-Azhar. Members typically work as professionals in the government or private sector, as teachers, administrators, lawyers, physicians, engineers, businessmen. Members exhibit a modern outlook toward religion, by which they are able to combine active lives in the modern, western-influenced world with an intensive system of inner spirituality. Although they form a small minority of participants even in the traditional orders today, the full-time beggar-Sufis, what Lane in the 19th century observed as the "fuqara'", are totally absent in the Jazuliyya and other modernist orders. These *darawish* (singular *darwish*) as they are sometimes called, are the most potent symbol of the discredited old

Sufism, regarded by secularists and Islamists alike as degrading to religion and nation, and therefore modernist groups must be careful to dissociate themselves from such individuals.¹⁷ The greater penetration of western values and lifestyles is indicated by the low incidence of traditional dress (so common in the Bayyumiyya and other traditional orders) except perhaps among the older men. The hadra thus indicates a great contrast with most traditional orders, whose ranks are filled to a greater degree with the less educated (including small shop-owners, merchants, artisans) and the poorer segments of society (labor workers, street-sellers, low-level government employees).

Tariqa leaders say that there are approximately 10,000 members in Egypt today; approximately half of these joined since the death of Sidi Jabir in 1992. As the membership expands, new local centers (which they call maqarrs) are established in each district with sufficient members to warrant one. Thus in 1998 there were 56 such centers distributed around Egypt, concentrated in Cairo and the Delta, but extending to Upper Egypt as well; the center in Luxsor alone is said to represent 300 members. Although these centers are not usually associated with a physical structure, they do present a social structure and mode of accounting to the central leadership; this will be described below.

The Jazuliyya is one of the few Sufi orders to include women. It appears that women members are all wives, daughters, mothers, or other close relations of male members; a woman does not take the initiative to join on her own. Women generally dress in white, and sit in their own section in the inner half of the hadra room behind a low fence, together with the small children. As I mentioned earlier, inclusion of

womenfolk in tariqa rituals enables the tariqa to absorb whole families into the social structure; as a consequence, weddings and other celebrations are performed within the context of hadra. This serves to further strengthen the tariqa as a communal group.

The tariqa is also striking for its relative youth. Active members in a traditional tariqa such as the Bayyumiyya tend to be relatively older, due to the lack of appeal these turuq present to the younger generation, at least in urban areas. However, in the Jazuliyya, a majority of active members appear to fall in the age range 20–40. The shaykh himself is only in his 40s.

Jazuliyya members are exclusively committed to the Jazuliyya tariqa and its shaykh. They do not attend other hadras, as many members of the traditional groups may, and certainly would never take the ‘ahd from another shaykh. One quoted the maxim: “stick to one father, and all the doors will open for you”. They do not take the ‘ahd lightly, members are regular in their attendance, and the tariqa is the dominant force in their lives. No important life decision is undertaken without first seeking guidance from the shaykh.

c. Ja‘fariyya

1. Joining the group

Centralization is ensured in the Ja‘fariyya by requiring members to take the ‘ahd from the shaykh al-sajjada directly, either by travelling to Cairo, or during one of the shaykh’s visits to regional centers. Local tariqa leaders are not empowered to give the

‘ahd, thereby ensuring centralized loyalty and identification. While this policy may restrict growth at the periphery, in this tariqa the contrast between member and non-member devotees of the shaykh is much less than in the Jazuliyya. Prospective members simply wait for the opportune moment, when they can take the ‘ahd in person from the central shaykh. Again, this situation contrasts strongly with nearly all the traditional turuq, in which the ijaza (permission) is given to members of rank khalifa and higher, allowing them to give the ‘ahd to whomever wishes to receive it. The ‘ahd ceremony itself (which I will describe in detail later) is much smaller and more informal than that of the Jazuliyya, indexing the lesser salience of membership in the Ja‘fariyya. It is performed in such a way as to minimize the distinction between members and non-members in this tariqa, which is notable for its publicness and openness to visitors.

Proselytizing is not so much in evidence. Although I did not systematically gather information on the manner in which members joined, many appear to have joined because of the central role one of the tariqa’s local centers plays in their communities. The tariqa sponsors mosques throughout the country, and these are open to all Muslim men for prayer, or to participate in hadra. The tariqa is less a communal brotherhood (as is the Jazuliyya) than a kind of public religious institution. Furthermore, the communities in which these local centers are established are often connected by familial bonds. A young man growing up near such a center would be likely to pray in the Ja‘fariyya mosque, and might thereby join the tariqa. The hadras performed in the tariqa’s central mosque in Cairo are especially public, due to the mosque’s central location and

openness. Here the tariqa naturally attracts many visitors from students and faculty of nearby al-Azhar university, as well as visitors to the shrine of al-Husayn, not far away. There is a large community of tariqa members from al-Azhar, both faculty and students, and these appear to spread the tariqa within the religious university.

2. The membership and its social characteristics

As for other turuq, it is difficult to obtain accurate figures on membership. The problem is especially acute for the Ja'fariyya, because of the group's openness to visitors and muhibbin. Participation in tariqa activities greatly exceeds the number of official members, according to muridin.

The tariqa operates at least 50 local centers (sahas) according to current reports, of which 43 were listed in Volume 11 of Shaykh Salih's Diwan (al-Ja'fari 1979:11:245-6). This list indicates that the tariqa is concentrated in Cairo and in Upper Egypt. Examining numbers by province, there are nine centers in Cairo, four in Qalyubiyya (just north of Cairo), two in Manufiyya, one in Gharbiyya, and one in Alexandria (these in the Delta region). The remainder extend southwards: two in Bani Suwayf (just south of Cairo), two in Asyut, (in middle Egypt), then nine in Qina and thirteen in Aswan (the two southernmost provinces). That this distribution accurately reflects the patterns of membership is confirmed by conversations with members. Furthermore, most of the members of the Cairo sahas are immigrants from Upper Egypt; for instance, the Qalyubiyya center in al-Jabal al-Asfar is a community of Aswan immigrants to Cairo. The membership thus exhibits the reverse pattern of the Jazuliyya, which is centered on

Cairo and the Delta. These differences are also reflected in the greater religious conservatism of the Ja'fariyya as a whole, resulting in part from Arabic-Islamic traditionalism still to be found in Upper Egypt.

The tariqa also exhibits an international feeling. This stems from several factors. Close ties to al-Azhar, resulting from Shaykh Salih's tremendous prestige there, have brought many faculty and student members. al-Azhar's students come from the entire Islamic world. Therefore it is common to find among the tariqa's student members citizens of Malaysia, Thailand, Sri Lanka, and elsewhere. Shaykh Salih's roots in the Sudan have fostered close connections with the religious elites of that country as well. Besides teaching at al-Azhar, Shaykh Salih used to preach when he went on pilgrimage, and thus he acquired followers from other areas of the Islamic world as well, particularly Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain.

Like the Jazuliyya, the membership is generally well-educated. But whereas the Jazuliyya are nearly all educated through Egypt's secular school system, a large percentage of the Ja'fariyya receive a religious education in the al-Azhar school system, and many work as teachers of traditional Islamic subjects within this system. In the tariqa's yearly magazine, a large number of articles are penned by al-Azhar professors who are tariqa members. This phenomenon is due both to the tariqa's ability to attract al-Azhar students directly, and to the traditional Arabic Upper Egyptian society from which the majority of membership is drawn. But it is also common to meet Ja'fariyya muridin who have advanced degrees in science, business, and medicine.

The tariqa's social boundaries are deliberately diffuse, and visitors are encouraged to attend hadras. On any given Thursday evening, it is common to find religious dignitaries and esteemed al-Azhar professors sitting in on the hadra, and even participating by contributing a speech between performances of inshad (the following chapter contains a description of hadra format). In the tariqa's yearly magazine, important religious officials, such as the president or shaykh of al-Azhar, as well as important Sufi shaykhs from the Sudan, often contribute articles.

Unlike the Jazuliyya, women are excluded from tariqa membership and activities. This is a reflection of members' traditional upbringings, combined with the tendency to renew Islam through strict enforcement of basic social rules, such as the prohibition on mixing and greeting between men and women. Whereas the traditional orders pay lip service to these ideas, in practice there is frequently mixing, at least in Cairo and the Delta. But the Ja'fariyya cleave strictly to the letter of the law in this regard; one member cited this fact as a secret of their success. Women can recite madih in the house, but are unable to join the tariqa officially, and are prohibited from reciting tariqa liturgies. They can attend hadra only by sitting in a separated women's section.

Youth are strongly encouraged, however; this is a trait common to other modernist orders as a means of promoting membership. Young boys as young as six or seven may begin to take part in the hadra; some of these may even perform inshad. Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani pays special attention to the youth in rituals, and also established a

special library for the youth, as well as an official in charge of youth affairs (his son, al-Husayn ‘Abd al-Ghani).

2. Positional social structure

Sufi orders begin as simple teaching circles surrounding a charismatic shaykh. But as soon as the tariqa grows, it must develop a hierarchical organizational structure to ensure control. This organizational structure is here termed the positional structure, since it consists of a set of positions, each characterized by attendant responsibilities, connected together by relationships of formal power and authority which are not *necessarily* supported by personal bonds. It is important to note that it is the positions, and not the persons filling them, which are connected in a network of relations; people flow through this network as they join the group, are promoted, or leave it. This positional structure is here contrasted to the personal structure, consisting of a set of human relationships between individuals, the most important of which are the relations between the murid and the shaykh, and among the muridin following a particular shaykh.

a. Bayyumiyya

As in other turuq, the official head of the tariqa is the shaykh al-sajjada. He is honored, as the direct representative of Sidi ‘Ali himself, through the silsila which connects them. Today, however, the position appears largely administrative and ceremonial, and there is little pretense that the shaykh al-sajjada carries much of the baraka of Sidi ‘Ali al-Bayyumi. Rather, he is accepted as the official leader according to

the protocol that leadership passes through the bloodline. Shaykh Ahmad, the current shaykh al-sajjada, spends much time visiting the Bayyumiyya branches around Egypt, and resolving disputes among members and problems with other turuq. He is a modest man who dresses in an ordinary jallabiyya (traditional robe) and does not demand any special treatment from others. The muridin consider him their nominal leader, but do not employ the traditional acts of veneration (such as bowing and kissing the hand) in his presence employed in the modernist groups for the founder or his khalifa; unlike modernist orders, there are no claims made for his sanctity.

In his absence, the shaykh al-sajjada is represented by any one of twelve naqibs (nuqaba'), whose leader is the naqib al-nuqaba'. The nuqaba', like the shaykh al-sajjada, are responsible for the entire tariqa and thus are assigned no particular geographical area.

The na'ib is in charge of the tariqa in each geographical region, where tariqa regions are defined hierarchically to correspond to the official Egyptian ones. Thus there is a na'ib at the level of the muhafaza (province), markaz (district), and nuqta (police district). These na'ibs are headed by the na'ib 'amm (general na'ib). Each na'ib is responsible for the tariqa in his district, and reports to the next higher na'ib; the na'ib 'amm reports to the shaykh al-sajjada.

At the lowest level are the muridin of each district. Each murid is under the supervision of the shaykh from whom he took the 'ahd (oath). Above the level of murid is the rank of khalifa (to which most muridin attain within the first few years of joining); the khalifa has the ijaza (permission) allowing him to give 'ahd, lead hadra, or sponsor a

khidma at a mawlid. Thus responsibilities are highly distributed. Above the khalifa is the khalifat al-khulafa', who is responsible for a number of khalifas. The khalifat al-khulafa' in turn answers to the local na'ib. Usually the khalifa or khalifat al-khulafa' functions as the regular murabbi (spiritual guide) for a group of muridin, while the na'ib's role is more often to make sure the tariqa operates smoothly, and to adjudicate disputes, although he too may have muridin. All these ranks are recorded at the mashyakha (tariqa administrative office) and inscribed on the members' identity cards.

The khalifa, khalifat al-khulafa', or na'ib with a sufficient number of muridin may become leader of a *bayt* (local chapter); permission to open a bayt must be granted by the central tariqa authority (mashyakha), led by the shaykh al-sajjada. The bayt is the local geographical social unit of the tariqa, conducting its own weekly hadras. It is also the unit of spiritual cohesion for the traditional turuq.

One is promoted in positional rank in three ways: achievement and ability, seniority, and heredity. The importance of the latter two implies that titles need not be deserved based on spiritual merit, and some members are quick to point this fact out. The disjunction between real spiritual power and position leads to a general lack of regard for the positional structure, which therefore weakens.

Achievement and ability. As soon as one takes the 'ahd (oath) one becomes a murid, the lowest position. Promotion to khalifa is more or less certain after a period of time during which one is expected to learn and perform daily prayers, and attend hadra. At the level of khalifa, one obtains the ijaza (permission) to give the 'ahd, lead hadra, or

sponsor a khidma at a mawlid. If many muridin are collected, and attain rank of khalifa, one may be promoted to khalifat al-khulafa', particularly if one's own khalifat al-khulafa' has too many muridin to manage them effectively. If a member of this rank dies, his position will usually be filled by inheritance (see below) unless no suitable person can be found from among his patrilineal relations (usually brother, son, or brother's son); in that case the position may be filled by the most suitable member. The same considerations apply for promotion to na'ib, and naqib. The decision to promote is made by the shaykh al-sajjada, on the basis of one's achievements, seniority, and kinship ties.

Modernist groups generally place greater emphasis on achievement as a means of promotion than traditional groups, because such a strategy avoids placing unqualified members in high-ranking positions. But the traditional groups tend to be more mechanistic in allowing their positional structures to be determined by birth and seniority; these criteria are traditionally acceptable in Arabic society, and thus constitute the natural course in the absence of active strategies or central control which could establish an alternative practice. But the relative neglect of spiritual and charismatic merit in the traditional groups has the consequence that the spiritually talented may form breakaway groups, or else establish unofficial charismatic centers at the administrative periphery. Another consequence is the general lack of respect for the positional structure as a whole. The following two principles of promotion therefore tend to produce discord between the personal and the positional structure:

Seniority. Promotion is commonly granted to senior members. Whereas having many muridin is regarded as a personal achievement of note, indicating one's spiritual talents, achieving an advanced age is not. One naqib complained ruefully that the naqib al-nuqaba' is undeserving of his position; he doesn't even know how to lead a hadra! How, then, did he obtain this position? Because he was the senior naqib. "What a shame!", he said, "they should put an appropriate person in an appropriate position". Given the norms of Arabic society, seniority and lineage can never be discounted entirely. However, the modernist groups use seniority as only one factor among several, thereby managing to fill positions according to merits of leadership ability and spiritual knowledge. Promotion based solely on seniority tends to weaken positional structure, leading to disrespect not only for the person in power, but also for the tariqa structure as a whole. Of course the incommensurability between position and person may be greatest with the shaykh al-sajjada himself. Whenever this situation occurs, the possibility of local independence, fission, and schism increases.

Inheritance. The other promotional path never results in the creation of a new position, since one is merely promoted into a position left vacant by death or promotion. Usually sons, and sometimes brothers, brothers' sons, or other patrilineal relations are so promoted. Ever since the Shaykh al-Bakri's "Internal Regulations" of 1905 (de Jong 1978:155), the position of shaykh al-sajjada itself has officially passed by lineal inheritance. Unless the tariqa leadership harbors serious apprehension about the next-in-line kin, succession of bayt leadership also follows the blood lineage. The advantage of

this method to the group as a whole is the avoidance of disputes and preservation of the status quo to the greatest possible extent. In addition, there is a strong feeling among many Sufis that a son inherits the spiritual status of his father, either in a mystical sense (baraka) or a practical sense (since he was raised in a spiritual environment). However, the inheritance scheme does not appear to be a good strategy for the tariqa's well-being as a whole. It presents a clear advantage to those in power, by allowing them to maintain family control over the bayt, or the entire tariqa. But despite beliefs in inherited baraka, the fact is that gifted spiritual leaders do not always pass this quality to their sons, and when succession follows the patrilineal line, a fissure between spiritual talent and power—and therefore between personal and positional structure—is bound to develop in the tariqa after a number of generations. As I mentioned above, selection by seniority and inheritance does not represent an active group-level strategy so much as the absence of one, leading to the natural filling of roles according to social norms which favor age and birth.

Thus one khalifat al-khulafa' of the Bayyumiyya is only about 20 years old, having inherited this rank together with control of a bayt after his father passed away two years ago. He did not receive this rank automatically, but only after deliberation by the mashyakha; however it seems clear that to have denied him his father's position would have been considered highly irregular. While members of the bayt acknowledge the right of his succession, he is as yet unable to effectively control the group, since he lacks the experience to do so, especially in the eyes of older members from his father's

generation, and the local hadra is extremely freewheeling, and promotes decentralization of the tariqa. Greater confidence and leadership skills will no doubt continue to develop, so that he may grow into this position of responsibility; but in the meantime elder associates of his father from the Bayyumiyya and other turuq assist him, so that the bayt lacks a clear spiritual center of control.

The newest modernist turuq, such as those considered in this study (the Jazuliyya and the Ja'fariyya) perhaps have yet to face the dilemma of choosing between the best-qualified, and the patrilineal inheritor. The case of shaykh al-sajjada is often not problematic for at least the first generation, since the founder's baraka is widely recognized, and belief in its inheritance is strong; besides this, the founder's son often has ample claim to be his successor if he has been so chosen by his father, as is often the case. But it is interesting to note that one older modernist group, the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya, have gradually done away with the notion of hereditary bayts. The newer groups generally seem to prefer a more democratic, meritocratic approach to promotion. Only the position of shaykh al-sajjada remains hereditary for all groups by law; this has caused a major schism to occur in the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya itself, between those who recognize the founder's grandson as shaykh, and those who do not; this conflict appears unlikely to be resolved in the near future.

The positional structure does not correspond to the lines of spiritual discipleship in the traditional groups such as the Bayyumiyya, and this fact leads to weakness. The murid generally has no real spiritual connection to the shaykh al-sajjada, but only to his

local shaykh; thus the tariqa is naturally decentralized. Furthermore, often the murid's spiritual guide, the shaykh from whom he took the 'ahd, need not be his immediate superior in the positional structure. This situation can arise when either murid or shaykh is promoted. In addition, the number of a shaykh's disciples may have little relationship to his position in the structure; thus a khalifa may have more muridin than a khalifat al-khulafa', or a na'ib. The fact that spiritual relationships can cross-cut the positional structure in this way also leads to tensions in the tariqa, which weakens its cohesion and centralization as a single organization.

It is instructive to examine also the roles which are not officially recognized, lying in the "strategic vacuum" in which central control is absent. In the Bayyumiyya, munshidin have no official position, nor must they satisfy any positional conditions, despite their potentially prominent role in the hadra. While the hadra leader, the mustaftih, must be of rank khalifa or higher, the munshid is not even officially required to be a member of the tariqa; frequently munshidin are professionals or semi-professionals, who attend hadra as an opportunity to sing for baraka, at the same time advertising their abilities, and collecting small tips (*muqut*). The tariqa's neglect of the munshid role does not imply a condemnation of inshad or even a sense that inshad should be minimized. Rather such neglect is an instance of a "strategic vacuum". The hadra ritual was established without specifying who the munshidin should be, or what they should perform. Therefore these details of personnel and repertoire are filled according to circumstances, governed by individual motivations within a particular context.

The modernist *turuq* permit no such “strategic vacuums” of such a magnitude. The *munshid* is a potentially powerful figure in the *hadra* because he is a means of introducing LP especially of the affective and communicative types—emotion and teachings—through his *inshad*, in its sonic and semantic aspects; indeed he is often the primary point of flexible and adaptive affective and ideological influx, since other aspects of the *hadra* tend to be more ritually constrained. To leave him as a “loose cannon”, to place no conditions on repertoire or the person to fill the role, is therefore strategically illogical. Properly controlled, the *munshid* can support the *tariqa*. Left to his own devices, as in the *Bayyumiyya*, he tends to act so as to promote his own interests, which may be to the detriment of the group. This neglect among traditional groups is not intentional, of course, but rather results from their inability to exercise or even to formulate schemes of control, of which the designation of an official position called “*munshid*” would be the logical first step. By contrast, in the modernist orders all these roles have been officially recognized, and are thus made to function more efficiently and with greater central control and order.

b. Jazuliyya

The positional structure of the *Jazuliyya* is outlined in great detail in the group’s Laws, included at the end of *Rasa’il Sufiyya*. Here I will point to the principle features, including also recent changes to the *tariqa*’s code.

As for all *turuq* in Egypt, the *Jazuliyya* is led by a *shaykh al-sajjada* (currently Sidi Salim, son of the founder); below him is the standard hierarchy of *na’ib ‘amm*, *na’ib*

al-muhafaz, na'ib al-markaz, na'ib nuqta, khalifat al-khulafa', and khalifa. The na'ib, who is required to have been a member of the tariqa at least five years, controls all the khalifat al-khulafa' in his region, whether muhafaza or markaz. The na'ib al-muhafaza serves as the deputy of the shaykh al-sajjada in each province of Egypt; he is responsible for transmitting new instructions and policies of the shaykh to the murid in his province. The khalifat al-khulafa' or na'ib al-markaz is responsible for the local hadra in each district, and is generally known as the mas'ul (responsible one). The murid participating in this hadra may be divided into groups, each group overseen by a khalifa. Every district also contains a number of naqibs, who are responsible for specific tasks such as preparing food, taking care of equipment, or performing inshad (the use of the word naqib here is standard, unlike its use in the Bayyumiyya to designate the rank just below that of shaykh al-sajjada). Within the positional structure, a strict system of hierarchical control obtains, like a *jaysh* (army), said one member. In this way, the tariqa maintains discipline and centralized order.

As mentioned earlier, the tariqa comprises approximately 56 centers (maqarrs), distributed throughout Egypt but concentrated in Cairo and the Delta region. The main center (*al-maqarr al-ra'isi*) in Qayt Bay serves as the administrative headquarters (mashyakha), and is led by the shaykh al-sajjada; here tariqa members from the greater Cairo area convene for biweekly hadras; the entire tariqa gathers here for yearly festivals, such as the mawlid of Sidi Jabir. Like the traditional groups, the Jazuliyya also comprises

local centers in each geographical region, but these enjoy of little autonomy and are strictly controlled by the center via an elaborate system of reporting and accounting.

Each local maqarr is headed by a qualified leader, called the mas'ul (responsible one), who may be a khalifat al-khulafa', or na'ib markaz. The mas'ul leads the local group in all its activities, including hadra, takes care of administrative duties (assisted by a secretary and treasurer), may administer the 'ahd to new members, reports to the shaykh al-sajjada, and follows his orders. Assisting each mas'ul is a secretary and a treasurer, who help fulfill administrative tasks. Information is efficiently distributed in both directions through this hierarchy: the shaykh al-sajjada may send instructions to the muridin, and the local secretaries file reports on group meetings and other issues which are sent back to the mashyakha, helping the leadership to formulate decisions; the group is thus centralized, cohesive, and highly "self-aware". Though he may sometimes be identified as a shaykh, the mas'ul always remains completely subservient to the true shaykh, who is the shaykh al-sajjada, at the center of the tariqa. The mas'ul must follow his command and refer problems to him; he commands no independent loyalty among his muridin, and cannot make decisions independently except within his specific limits. Rather his role is as a "connecting link" (*halaqat wasl*) between the members and their shaykh.

Indeed, the shaykh al-sajjada selects the mas'ul according to these criteria, according to members. The ideal mas'ul shows no signs of desiring power or independent leadership for himself. He must be a strong leader in attending to his

muridin, yet must not seek power over them, or demand their loyalty and devotion for himself. His goal is to create love for God among them, not for himself. His muridin must be committed to the shaykh and the tariqa, so that if the mas'ul left the tariqa for any reason, the muridin would not disperse or follow him. He must have experience, character, and present a good appearance; he should be a model and support for his muridin, befriending them as a brother, without any self-interest. He is not required to be a religious scholar; very few tariqa members have degrees from al-Azhar. With the help of the secretary, the mas'ul keeps attendance records; if a member has been absent, he must find out why, whether he has some problems they ought to help him with; perhaps he needs money. Under his guidance, members of the local group help each other. In this way they become tightly knit, but all the while maintaining strong connections to the center.

The training of the mas'ul is designed into the hadra. By participating in hadra, especially mudhakara (group study), members learn how to lead a hadra themselves. Thus, the first risala of the tariqa handbook *Rasa'il* clearly states that in the hadra, “the ahbab learn how to study, how to select material to study, and how to direct a hadra...” (al-Jazuli 1993a:16)

Unlike the Bayyumiyya, the munshid occupies a central and official role in the Jazuliyya tariqa. All munshidin are drawn from the ranks of the tariqa; those who have the ability to memorize poetry and sing can become munshidin by recommendation of the head munshid, and appointment of the shaykh al-sajjada. Others with musical abilities are

designated to play instruments: the *duff*, *mazhar*, *riqq* (all varieties of frame drum), or ‘ud (fretless lute). The status of munshid is signified by wearing a green cap. Though there are many munshidin, only a small percentage of these are qualified to sing as soloists. These munshidin take the lead during group inshad, and may also support the soloist during solo inshad. Sometimes special rehearsals for munshidin are held, during which new melodies can be learned. Most have no formal musical training, and do not perform as professionals outside the group, although this is not forbidden and occasionally occurs. Among the munshidin there is an informal hierarchy based on talent and seniority; munshidin are led by the *ra'is al-munshidin* (lead munshid).

The importance of munshidin is confirmed by the existence of an entire section of the tariqa Laws devoted to them (see Appendix). There, inshad is asserted to constitute one of the “pillars” of the tariqa, while the munshidin are described as “the guides toward God, for inshad strengthens a person in dhikr; through inshad we know, learn, and follow the way.” (al-Jazuli 1993a:128) Munshidin must follow directions of the mas’ul or shaykh during hadra, take care in selecting texts and melodies, and maintain unimpeachable standards of morality, since they perform words of the founder. Because they are brought within the scope of tariqa control in this way, the inshad which they sing—both texts and melodies—is susceptible to careful control by the tariqa leadership, as we will see later on.

In contrast to the traditional *turuq*, where inheritance is standard, in the Jazuliyya only the position of shaykh al-sajjada is inherited. This policy as yet creates no tensions,

as is usual for a phase two tariqa. Tariqa members firmly support succession by inheritance for the position of shaykh, noting that the son is always the closest person to the father, having been raised by him in the same house, and thereby learns his secrets more than anyone else. Members particularly stressed the importance that the shaykh al-sajjada maintain the ability to command respect and obedience from the entire tariqa. When he was alive, say group members, Sidi Jabir could issue an order to any of his muridin anywhere in Egypt, and it would be carried out immediately. Among current tariqa members, only his son, Sidi Salim, has this power, they say. Thus one notes the importance of centralized control to tariqa members. However, other positions need not follow hereditary lines, but rather are assigned by the tariqa mashyakha (administration), as they see fit.

c. Ja'fariyya

The positional structure of the Ja'fariyya is not unlike that of the Jazuliyya. The only significant difference is that whereas the Jazuliyya spell out their structure explicitly in lists of rules, the Ja'fariyya maintain the positional structure as an oral tradition. This difference reflects the traditionalism of the Ja'fariyya, who have not adopted the explicit tools of the modern bureaucracy. However the structure is much the same. The leader of the tariqa is the shaykh al-sajjada, also known as the *shaykh 'umum* (general shaykh), currently Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani, son of the founder. Under him is the *na'ib 'umum* (general na'ib). As mentioned above, the tariqa is divided into approximately 50 sahas, besides the main center in Darrasa. Each saha is led by a wakil (deputy) of the shaykh

(officially, *wakil al-mashyakha*), who is a senior respected member of the *tariqa*. The *wakil* has even less independence than the *Jazuliyya's mas'ul*, as he is not empowered to give the *'ahd*. However, his responsibility is greater. His job is to run the *saha*, which is more ambitious than the *Jazuliyya maqarr*, comprising a public mosque and social center, serving the needs of an entire community of people extending far beyond the bounds of the *tariqa*. One member estimated that only 10% of those participating in *saha* activities are actual members of the *tariqa*. The *wakil* also leads a weekly *hadra*, and helps members to solve personal or *tariqa*-related problems; if he cannot do so, he must refer matters to the *shaykh al-sajjada*.

In each *saha*, specific responsibilities are assigned to members in charge of preparing for the *hadra*, preparing food, cleaning up, and so on. Since each *saha* contains a full-functioning mosque, there must be an *imam* (prayer leader) and *khatib* (preacher). In the main center, there are members charged with meeting and seating visitors, an important responsibility given the *tariqa's* emphasis on extending participation to non-members of the Islamic community. There are also other special positions, including: head of spiritual guidance (*amin al-irshad*); leader of the youth; curator of the youths' library; the latter two indicate a recognition of the strategic importance of youth. Other positions are dedicated to *tariqa* publications: the editor of the *tariqa's* yearly magazine, and for books periodically issued by the *tariqa's* press, *Dar Jawami' al-Kalim*.

As in the Jazuliyya, munshidin¹⁸ are taken only from within the ranks of members. To become a munshid, one must be able to read classical Arabic correctly (since Shaykh Salih's poems are all written in this language), have a good voice, memorize the melodies, and also maintain religious virtues. The position is less formally defined than in the Jazuliyya; there is no special dress, and a large fraction of the membership (some say over half) participate as munshidin. Munshidin are not required to attend any special rehearsals; rather the local hadra meetings (described below) are sufficient to provide practice for performance in the main Thursday evening hadra. This relatively relaxed attitude toward member participation as munshid soloist in part results from the fact that musical quality is not required to be high, nor is Ja'fariyya inshad musically complex, when compared with the Jazuliyya. In the Ja'fariyya tariqa, correct pronunciation is of primary importance, in order that the poem be understood by participants; all factors are subservient to the main goal of communicating a text.

3. Personal social structure

Personal social structure consists of the personalities of the human and spiritual entities which constitute the order, together with the personal relationships which interconnect them. Metaphorically, such relationships are connected to family relations. I argued that these relationships were of two basic types: vertical, and horizontal. The vertical, based on the father/son metaphor, may be intimate, or distant and hierarchical. The horizontal, based on the metaphor of brethren, may connect tariqa members in

dyadic bonds of friendship and loyalty, or may serve to connect each member more generally to the group, as a member of a brotherhood; in this case loyalty is to the reified group rather than merely to the particular members who comprise it, something like belonging to a sports team or other fraternal organization. Personal social structure is also defined by the nature of the group's social boundary, whether sharp or diffuse.

Positional social structure can be defined by enumerating roles, their responsibilities, and the formal relations between them, independent of the individuals who fill those roles. Personal social structure, depending on personalities and emotion-laden relationships, is more subtle and complex, less discursive, and consequently less amenable to description. Nevertheless, as it is the personal social structure, together with ritual style itself, which comes closest to defining the tariqa's unique identity, it is necessary to attempt to summarize its principal distinguishing features. While tariqa members do not explicitly recognize something called "personal social structure", they constantly comment on its constituent elements. This information, together with informal observations of behavior, forms the basis for the discussion which follows.

a. Bayyumiyya

Typical of a phase three traditional tariqa, the Bayyumiyya is diffuse, decentralized, and lacking in overall social cohesion. The central positional authority, shaykh al-sajjada, exudes little charisma and serves in a primarily administrative capacity. While he is respected, members do not treat him as a source of baraka; after hadra he is greeted in an ordinary way, with a kiss on the cheeks and handshake, not with the

eneration shown to some shaykh-leaders, who may be kissed on their hands or even knees or feet. The Bayyumiyya shaykh al-sajjada does not give the 'ahd, or serve as anyone's immediate spiritual guide; these roles are the responsibility of the local shaykh. Overall, his low-key personality is relatively inconspicuous in the tariqa. He is not a central figure in the personal social structure.

Bayyumiyya tariqa boundaries are generally diffuse due to non-exclusivity. Multiple membership, visiting other tariqa hadras, and participation in free-wheeling mawlid are all common activities, and many Bayyumiyya members are only quasi-active in their tariqa participation. The diffuse boundaries are most evident at a mawlid. There, each local chapter (bayt) may establish a khidma. Members of the traditional orders typically visit each others' khidmas, where they sit together for hours, or perform dhikr. Exclusivity is not important to maintain. For these traditional Sufis, formal Sufi affiliations is not so important as sharing in the general world of informal Sufism with its saints and celebrations; one's specific affiliation may play a relatively minor role in determining the form of one's participation in that world, so frequent are the phenomena of multiple and quasi-active membership.

Of the Sufis sitting in a Bayyumiyya mawlid khidma, one is Rifa'i, one Sa'di, another Bayyumi; what is important is their shared world view and respect for shaykhs and saints. For them, participation in a mawlid means basking in the warm glow of the saint's baraka, serving food or consuming it, performing in rather public hadra sessions, and sitting and chatting with other Sufis. Under such conditions, the boundaries of any

particular tariqa are only weakly defined. When asked for the differences between the turuq, members of the Bayyumiyya and other traditional groups typically reply that they are all the same, based on “la ilaha illa Allah Muhammad rasul Allah”. “Know your shaykh, but love them all” is the typical advice. “You must visit others’ hadras, so that they will visit yours.” Members of traditional groups are often critical of the exclusivity and insularity of modernist orders, sometimes portraying them as snobs and upstarts. For them, the denial of boundaries is a manifestation of Sufi love and acceptance. The social relations promoted by these values tends toward the creation of a Sufi supergroup, interconnecting all the traditional orders in a single web of social relations.

Thus, like other traditional groups, the Bayyumiyya tariqa is deeply interconnected with other traditional Sufi groups. This phenomenon is especially strong for the Bayyumiyya, since among the traditional saints Sidi ‘Ali was a relative latecomer; in forming his tariqa, he gathered together several major tariqa lines (Ahmadi, Khalwati, Naqshabandi, and Shadhili) in his silsila. All group members trace a spiritual relation to Sidi ‘Ali, and through him to Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi, and thus to the many Ahmadi subgroups. But due to weak boundaries, multiple tariqa memberships, and the general interconnections running through the traditional orders, the personal social structure additionally includes all of the major Sufi saints and shaykhs of the other orders, in addition to the Ahl al-Bayt and Prophet. Diffuse boundaries at the metaphysical level parallels diffuse boundaries at the human level.

The Bayyumiyya is also decentralized. The immediate vertical relation for each murid is not to the shaykh al-sajjada, but rather to his local shaykh, ordinarily (but not necessarily) the khalifat al-khulafa' or na'ib in his geographical area. The precise character of that relation (its strength, its vertical distance) varies with the charisma and character of the local shaykh himself. Beyond the local shaykh, each murid maintains a more ethereal and distant vertical spiritual relation with Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi himself. But it is the local shaykh who gives the murid his 'ahd, and prescribes daily prayers tailored to his spiritual level, serving as his immediate and practical spiritual trainer (*murabbi*). Each local shaykh is the nucleus for a local group of disciples, whose centralization, cohesion, horizontal relations, and boundaries may vary. Thus for each such local group, there may also be strong horizontal relations of either the dyadic or "team" types.

Local group boundaries thus vary from one local group to another. When the local group is led by a strong shaykh, it may function as a well-defined independent group, whose members identify more with the local group more than with the tariqa as a whole. When the local group lacks a strong shaykh, members may identify more with the entire tariqa than with the local group, but in this case participatory boundaries are diffuse, with much mixing of members from different orders, because the tariqa as a whole is non-exclusive. In either case, the boundaries surrounding the Bayyumiyya tariqa as a whole are weakened by decentralization: diffused by diffuse subgroups and subdivided by strong ones. Therefore, the group presents a low level of reification;

members do not associate themselves with any overarching corporate group, but rather with a local group, local shaykh, or with Sidi 'Ali himself.

While all tariqa members share in their common relation to the founder, Sidi 'Ali, this affiliation does not provide cohesion or centralization since Sidi 'Ali is only present spiritually, and is idealized. The Bayyumiyya tariqa exists as the set of muridin whose spiritual source is Sidi 'Ali; however this group has little social reality, and is not reified. Sidi 'Ali cannot unify the group socially, due to his great remove in both time and in human qualities, which have been totally idealized. His charismatic personality has been reduced to an abstract quality of baraka, miraculous karamat, asceticism, and jadhb (spiritual madness); there are no writings or personal memories which might provide him with a more human presence. Thus, the personal social structure of the Bayyumiyya largely results from the sum of a set of detachable substructures, each surrounding a local shaykh. The centrality of the local shaykh, and the heterogeneity of local groups (each manifesting a potentially different character), creates a decentralized personal structure.

A tension thus arises between the centralized positional and decentralized personal social structures. While the tariqa is officially controlled from the center, the real locus of living charisma lies at the tariqa's periphery. Structural tensions also emerge when any person ranking lower in the positional structure has more charisma, or more devoted muridin, than a higher ranking person. The tension is especially acute when he has more muridin than his immediate superior in the hierarchy. Administratively all his

muridin answer to his superior, but spiritually they answer to him. The result of these factors is to weaken the administrative structure of the tariqa, since personal relationships challenge, rather than undergird, positional ones.

As a result of such tension, several local groups have split off from the Bayyumiyya when they became stronger than the central authority, and thus uncontrollable within its scope, while others function virtually autonomously. Thus a former na'ib 'amm of the Bayyumiyya, Shaykh 'Abd al-Fattah 'Allam, gathered many muridin and built his own mosque, where his descendants continue to conduct a weekly hadra. This shaykh even prepared his own hizb, different from that of Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi. Today a yearly mawlid is performed for him, whereas no mawlid is performed for any former shaykh al-sajjada of the tariqa. Another disciple of Sidi 'Ali was Ibrahim Abu al-Khalil, founder of the Khaliliyya, which functions as an independent tariqa based on Zaqaqiq, Sharqiyya (in the eastern Delta).

This divergence of personal and positional structures is a natural progression over time; a group which rigidly maintains central control lacking in spiritual charisma will simply break apart, or become moribund. However, traditional groups, formed in a period when decentralization would not necessarily lead to group extinction, failed to develop mechanisms by which centralization could be actively reinforced. Modernist groups are typically still in their early phases of development and thus not yet facing these problems. But in addition, in response to modernist pressures these groups have

developed ritual means of assuring the continued strength of their particular centralized social structures, we will examine these in later chapters.

b. Jazuliyya

Typical of a phase two modernist group, the Jazuliyya tariqa is exclusive, centralized, and cohesive. Like the Bayyumiyya, it is divided into subgroups (the maqarrs), but these are tightly bound to the center, combining in one cohesive whole, because the positional and personal structures are largely congruent. The acknowledged living spiritual leader of the tariqa (Sidi Salim) is also its positional head (shaykh al-sajjada), and the local leadership positions are selected for their spiritual capabilities, as well as for their loyalty to the center. Thus the local leader is respected, but not followed as an independent shaykh. The local maqarr functions as a practical unit of spiritual education, rather than as a small tariqa unto itself.

In the metaphysical domain of purely spiritual entities, Jazuliyya personal social structure is restricted compared to the Bayyumiyya. The Jazuliyya do not claim any specific historic silsila, but rather vaguely trace themselves to the Shadhiliyya tradition. While Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili, together with the Prophet and the Ahl al-Bayt are included in the personal social structure of the tariqa, other saints are not. This exclusiveness at the metaphysical level, a detachment from the constellation of saints who anchor the traditional Sufi orders, precisely parallels an exclusiveness at the ordinary social level of human relations, and the group's rejection of the world of traditional Sufism.

Several years after his death, Sidi Jabir is still the spiritual center of the group; highly venerated, but also dearly beloved and deemed close. His relation to the group is as that between a kind and wise father, and his children. All tariqa members feel a deep personal connection to him, even those never knew him while he was alive (these now numbering about half the total membership). Besides an abstract quality of baraka and *ruhaniyya* (high spiritual level), Sidi Jabir's charisma exhibits more empirical "extraordinary qualities", including the flashes of inspiration (*ilham*) by which he composed poetry; expressions of esoteric Sufi knowledge (*ma'rifa*) and esoteric interpretations of standard religious texts; an ability to transmit this esoteric knowledge to his followers; and the promotion of ecstasy as a means of attaining higher mystical levels for his followers. His particular charismatic style continues to color the group as a whole.

While Sidi Jabir was respected for his conventional religious knowledge ('ilm), the discursive knowledge of books is not a central aspect of his charisma. The tariqa is bound together by the shaykh's *hal* (spiritual condition) and *ma'rifa* more than his 'ilm, giving the tariqa an emotional cast, since *hal* is essentially emotional. While members say that Sidi Jabir was a great 'alim of Shari'a as well as Haqiqa, they dwell more on his characteristically Sufi attributes, including his direct emotional connection to God and His Prophet, and his inner knowledge of religious truth. His mystical closeness to God, the Prophet and other spiritual figures, expressed in his talks, writings, and poetry, became a model for members' relations to him. The vertical aspect of tariqa social

relations was thus minimized by the general mystical thrust of the tariqa. While he was greatly venerated for his charisma, the quality of that charisma also brought him close to tariqa members.

The vertical relation of the murid to Sidi Salim is likewise a close, fatherly sort of relation, following the model set by Sidi Jabir. Sidi Salim was explicitly appointed by his father to be the future shaykh,¹⁹ and therefore tariqa members unanimously regard him as constituting the living spiritual center of the group, as well as a locus of extraordinary qualities inherited from his father. Many tariqa members are active in seeking his blessing and guidance.²⁰

Since Sidi Jabir's passing, the relation between members and shaykh has become more egalitarian. Whereas Sidi Jabir was an active and vocal teacher and leader, Sidi Salim has taken a more subdued role as consolidator and organizer, in collaboration with other senior members. In hadra, he tends presents a low profile, mostly allowing rituals to take their standard courses, ably guided by senior members. He chooses not to dominate the group, but rather leads in conjunction with other tariqa members, many of whom sat with Sidi Jabir for many years, and are therefore venerated for their experience and wisdom. Despite his taciturn character, members display the utmost respect for their shaykh, venerating him for his charismatic radiance. They interpret his silence as resulting from his inability to express Divine truths too magnificent for words, or too sublime for members to comprehend. Therefore, since Sidi Salim has taken over as shaykh al-sajjada, vertical distance between shaykh and muridin has decreased greatly,

while a living charismatic presence has been maintained. Sidi Salim is therefore well-positioned to serve as a focal point about which the group can rally itself.

The Jazuliyya feature extremely strong horizontal relations among members, forming a tightly knit communality which crystallizes around the living spiritual energy provided by Sidi Salim, as received in turn from his father. Group cohesion is assured primarily by these horizontal relations. The prominence of horizontal relations in the tariqa appears to be enhanced by the fact that the tariqa is relatively egalitarian; vertical distance between shaykh and muridin is not emphasized. Indeed, the tariqa's corporate unity appears almost as a single family (and the family metaphor is supported by the fact that it includes nuclear family bonds within its structure, due to the fact that women are admitted). These horizontal bonds exist not only as real dyadic relations between particular members, but also connect each member strongly to the group as a reified entity in itself; the shared Jazuliyya identity is enough to imply closeness even among group members who have never met each other. The team-like nature of the group is emphasized in performance by the wearing of specially designed clothing, emblazoned with the tariqa's emblem, and the use of group cheers during mawlid.

Correspondingly, group boundaries are sharply defined. While new members are always welcome, the group at all times forms a closed social unit, a brotherhood-sisterhood of strong and exclusive communality. Multiple membership does not appear to occur. Unlike the Ja'fariyya, the Jazuliyya does not radiate influence into the society at large, except for recruitment purposes. Visitors are allowed at hadra, as a means of

gaining new members, but are not a regular feature of group activities. Therefore nearly all attendees at tariqa events are members, not guests. The two main weekly hadras take place in the group's center, far from casual public view, further discouraging casual dropping-in. Attendance is strictly required by the tariqa Laws, and the Laws are enforced by an efficient positional bureaucracy; those who are consistently absent can be expelled. The tariqa is not insinuated into other organizations, such as al-Azhar (which is closely connected to the Ja'fariyya), but rather maintains its complete independence. Members are not supposed to attend other hadras, or visit other shaykhs. All these policies serve to sharply distinguish the exuberant and loyal membership from everyone else, thus emphasizing group boundaries and reification.

It is typical of modernist groups to be exclusivist. This would appear to be a strategy for survival, due to their newness, and (consequently) less secure situation. The traditional orders were founded by saints who are recognized by all Sufis, whereas the modernist orders were not. Lacking the general support of the traditional Sufi community, they must be all the more firm in their unwavering commitment and dedication to their own shaykhs. They therefore discourage participation in other groups' hadras, visiting other shaykhs, or saints' shrines, because an exclusive group is easier to control, and because traditional Sufi groups have a negative reputation among many segments of the population. The modernist groups lack, relatively speaking, rich social connections to the world of informal Sufism.

The exclusive and independent nature of the Jazuliyya personal social structure also results from the kinds of persons who join. Whereas members of traditional turuq often come from Sufi-oriented families, in which everyone has taken several 'ahds from different groups, a relatively large proportion of members of the Jazuliyya lack prior familiarity or social connection with the world of Sufism in general. Although some members are recruited from older Sufi groups, it is also typical to find members with no former experience with Sufism at all. Many members therefore know only the Jazuliyya. The group thus becomes insular. Since the Jazuliyya is all they know of the Sufi orders, exclusivity comes naturally.

The tariqa's independent and self-contained character is also reflected in its practical doctrinal basis. Individuals always attempt to conform their speech to what they think Sidi Jabir would have said in every particular situation. All statements are supported by quotations from Sunna, Qur'an, and the writings or speech of Sidi Jabir. His centrality is reflected in a group chant placing him within an extended shahada: "la ilaha illa Allah, Muhammad rasul Allah, Sidi Jabir wali Allah", "there is no deity but God, Muhammad is the Messenger of God, Sidi Jabir is the saint of God". Members say that Sidi Jabir is their teacher, and that they have no need to go outside for books or other wisdom. They are not supposed refer to other Sufi treatises, or to quote Sufis besides Sidi Jabir in the hadra. Such exclusivity is practical, not theoretical; they do not deny the validity of other shaykhs' writings, but simply recognize that by focussing on their own shaykh as a source of doctrine in ritual, they can simultaneously strengthen their tariqa

socially. While the Ja'fariyya likewise focus on the writings of their founder, they are not nearly so exclusive, since writings of Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris and other shaykhs are also considered legitimate sources for spiritual training. This reflects and reinforces the fact that the Jazuliyya are more closed and sharply defined.

c. Ja'fariyya

Like the Jazuliyya, the Ja'fariyya is a phase two modernist tariqa, with a centralized and cohesive personal social structure. Subgroups (sahas) are led by respected local leaders, but all are completely loyal to the group's center. Thus positional and personal structures are congruent. The living spiritual leader, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani, is also the positional head of the tariqa.

But there are important differences between the Ja'fariyya and Jazuliyya structures. In the Jazuliyya, relations to spiritual entities are highly restricted, apparently as a means of cutting historical links to the past. However, the Ja'fariyya overtly recognize a historical silsila leading back to Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris. Thus in the metaphysical domain of purely spiritual relations, the Ja'fariyya is less exclusive, more mainstream, and rooted more deeply in the past; at the same time, by tracing the silsila to Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris, the group avoids connecting to any of the qutbs of traditional Sufism, especially the popular orders (mainly Ahmadiyya, Rifa'iyya, and Burhamiyya) which have always drawn the brunt of ritual criticism.

The Ja'fariyya is likewise less sharply bounded and exclusive at the level of human social relations. While keeping a distance from traditional Sufi groups, the tariqa

aims to situate itself in the center of the Islamic community, as a relatively open institution comprising religious and social services, unlike the traditional orders which were criticized for being socially harmful. While a distinction is made between members and non-members, the latter are officially welcome to participate in tariqa activities. Those who wish to join may do so, but membership is not a firm prerequisite for participation. In communities containing a Ja'fariyya mosque, such participation extends far beyond the official membership. Thus the group is only semi-exclusive: non-members are admitted, although muridin do not mix with other groups; like the Jazuliyya, they discourage their own members from participating in other orders, visiting public mawlid, or otherwise mixing their loyalties to the Ja'fariyya.

Due to this diffusion of boundaries outward from the core membership into the Islamic community, the tariqa lacks the highly communal form of solidarity exhibited by the Jazuliyya, although group influence is broader and more central. The Ja'fariyya is less reified, and less emotionally unified, than in the Jazuliyya. Instead of the exuberant "team spirit" of the Jazuliyya, the Ja'fariyya appears as a more sober Islamic school, designed to appeal to a broad spectrum of Muslims. While strong dyadic horizontal bonds may form among group members, there is less of an attachment between each member and the group as a communal whole. Instead, the primary relations are vertical, between each murid and Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani, and between each murid and Shaykh Salih himself.

Shaykh Salih's charisma and relation to followers was quite different from Sidi Jabir's. While the latter was overtly mystical, focussed on love and mystical communion with the spiritual world, Shaykh Salih manifested a more conservative form of Sufism comprising more distant devotions to God, the Prophet, and the Ahl al-Bayt as distinct spiritual entities far above. At the same time, in his linguistic content, style, and manner of speaking, he addressed his muridin in didactic terms, as far below. While Sidi Jabir was venerated by his disciples, he also maintained warm and close relations to the tight group they soon formed about him. Shaykh Salih was more of a public persona, exalted by his Azhari credentials, towering above his followers like an Azhari professor or mosque preacher, and addressing a wider, more public, and thus less cohesive group at al-Azhar. The main features of Shaykh Salih's charisma were his verbal inspiration in formal speech and poetry, his rhetorical skills, and his vast religious learning ('ilm), contrasting to Sidi Jabir's emphasis on esoteric knowledge and interpretations (ma'rifa). Shaykh Salih's mode of interaction with followers tended to create vertical distance, whereas Sidi Jabir's created closeness.

The dominance of distant vertical relations in the Ja'fariyya continues to serve as the basic paradigm for spiritual relationships in the tariqa. Thus Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani is elevated far above the group, as are the dignitaries who visit to give religious speeches. Vertical relations are hierarchical and often distant, with the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt at the top; below them, Shaykh Salih's shaykhs (including Ahmad ibn Idris), then Shaykh Salih, and finally Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani. Below Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani come tariqa

members who are especially respected, or invited speakers. In the Jazuliyya, hierarchical differences may exist, but they are slighter and less distant compared to the sense of group solidarity based on horizontal bonds of brotherhood. But in the Ja'fariyya, horizontal relations and communal brotherhood play a much more limited role.

Another distinguishing feature of the Ja'fariyya personal social structure is its close relation to al-Azhar and other religious institutions. This relation is not merely institutional, but consists in personal connections taking several forms. Since Shaykh Salih was a preacher and professor at al-Azhar, he influenced a wide circle of Azhari students and colleagues. Some of these later joined the tariqa. Others in the Azhar community did not join, but respected Shaykh Salih and hence his tariqa; these may occasionally visit. Friends and colleagues of tariqa members in the Azhari community may also do so. The conservative form of Sufism practiced by the Ja'fariyya is appealing to many of the Azharis, and many of them prefer this tariqa to others for this reason. In addition, the traditional Muslims who join the Ja'fariyya are likely to send their children through the al-Azhar educational system, instead of sending them to ordinary public schools. The same kinds of relations obtain between the tariqa and official religious institutions (ministries of religion and religious universities) in other Arab countries. These connections tend to provide the tariqa with a firm niche in the mainstream Islamic field, although they are also thereby limited to a conservative and sober form of mysticism, at least in public.

Notes for Chapter 5

¹ He is mentioned in Khalidi EI2 as well as in Winter 1992 as 'Ali ibn Hijazi al-Bayyumi; both these sources cite Jabarti. I employ the name by which he is known to his followers today.

² This 7-fold relation of LP to spiritual development typical of other traditional Sufi orders as well (Trimingham 1971:155).

³ A doubtful story emphasizing his extreme asceticism states that he commanded his infant son Muhammad to die because the latter continually disturbed him in his ascetic devotions; Muhammad complied.

⁴ Khalidi EI2: "Bayyumiyya"; Winter 1982:137-8.

⁵ The "saree" (mast) may be erected at the scene of the mawlid. In Lane's day, the mawlid celebration centered on a large open space in Cairo, called "Birket al-Ezbekeeyeh"; here the sari was placed among the tents which housed nightly dhikr sessions. But dhikr was also performed in a ring *around* the sari, which was decorated with lamps. See Lane 1973:443.

⁶ As another sign of the general changes in public attitude toward Sufis (though of little relevance to the Bayyumiyya in particular) one may note the great devotion extended to the dhakkira in Lane's description. Today one may observe Sufis clamoring to kiss the hand of a great shaykh only.

⁷ "*Khatim mu'assisin al-turuq al-sufiyya*"; this phrase gains force through its intertextual relation to the Islamic concept of "*khatim al-anbiya*" (the Prophet Muhammad, last of the prophets) and the Sufi concept of "*khatim al-awliya*", described by Ibn 'Arabi (Rahman 1979:146). Asserting this status for Sidi Jabir is a noteworthy expression of his modernity; it implies that his tariqa, being suited to modern times, would last until Judgement Day and no other new tariqa would be necessary.

⁸ They are sold at the hadra for purchase by muridin only. Outsiders are not supposed to possess them except by permission of the shaykh.

⁹ One of Shushtari's poems appears in the second Bayyumiyya hadra, whose text is included in the Appendix

¹⁰ Portions of this poem were performed (with slight modifications) in the hadra which is transcribed in the Appendix.

¹¹ For discussion of the use of secular songs in Sufi inshad, see Abdel-Malek 1995:37-41, and Waugh 1989:149.

¹² This name combines the three main figures: the name of the founder (Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari), the name of the founder's shaykh (Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris), and the name of the Prophet Muhammad. Note that "Ahmadiyya" does not refer to the Badawi movement, as Luizard implies in his study (Luizard 1990:84).

¹³ A scholar of the Idrisi tradition says that Shaykh Salih was sent to al-Azhar by his shaykh Muhammad al-Sharif while still a child, basing this information on an interview with Mustafa ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Sharif (apparently Muhammad al-Sharif's grandson) conducted by another researcher. (O'Fahey 1990:172-3).

¹⁴ It should be noted that most Sufis in Egypt are not politically liberal, and do not object to political aims of the Islamist groups, even if they do not actively support such a development. Sufis differ from Islamic reformists primarily in method, because they are not willing to transform their *turuq* into political organizations, but rather seek to maintain a purer spiritual purpose. They also object to the "Sunnis" (as they call fundamentalists of all stripes) because the latter deny the legitimacy of Sufi practices, but not because an Islamic government would be illiberal.

¹⁵ Examples of nearly all these types can be found in the transcriptions and translations of a particular Ja'fariyya hadra, included in the Appendix. In the subsequent analysis chapter, themes are analyzed more explicitly.

¹⁶ It is interesting to note that Shaykh Salih composed a *tashtir* ("splitting", a procedure whereby a poet interpolates his own poetry with that of an existing poem) on a famous poem of Ibn al-Farid ("Zidni bi fart al-hubb...") as a means of explicating the latter, and demonstrating its conformity to shari'a and mainstream Islamic orthodox.

¹⁷ This is accomplished, in part, by avoiding full participation in the mawlid which attract many of these darawish; I discuss this point later on.

¹⁸ Here I refer to the lead munshidin, since all tariqa members are expected to participate in the responsorial sections; see description of hadra in the following chapter.

¹⁹ Besides an explicit statement to this effect included in *Rasa'il* (al-Jazuli 1993a:6), members point also to cryptic clues, such as a qasida in Sidi Jabir's diwan (al-Jazuli 1993b:103). In it, Sidi Jabir advises his "copy" (sura) on the future of the tariqa, and declares that this "copy" came from a reliable "original". The word "copy" is widely interpreted as referring to Sidi Salim.

²⁰ One member from Luxsor (approximately 800 km to the south) says that before making any major life-decision he always travels to Cairo in order to consult with his shaykh.

6. Three Sufi Orders: Ritual Performance

Ritual practices prescribed by Sufi orders are supererogatory (*nawafil*). Thus all Sufis are required to pray five times daily (*salah*), fast in Ramadan, pay the *zakah* (alms tax), and perform the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*) if circumstances allow. Besides these basic Islamic duties, a member of a Sufi order is expected to perform some additional ritual duties. These can be divided into two basic categories: individual rituals, and group rituals; these may be occasional or regular.

Individual rituals include the regular daily *wird* (litany). The *wird* usually consists of a set of short formulas, including *istighfar* (requests for forgiveness), *salawat* (blessings for the Prophet), *adhkar* (formulas of praise or remembrance of God), and short Qur'anic verses, which are to be recited a fixed number of times each day. These are usually performed every morning and evening. Traditionally the *wird* is assigned by the local shaykh for each of his muridin individually. Individual rituals may also include recitation of a *hizb*, *dhikr* (chanting of one or more Names of God), special prayers performed after each of the five obligatory prayers, and occasional shrine visitations.

Occasional group rituals include attendance at *mawlid*s (saint festivals) and *mawki*bs (processions, held for Islamic holidays and during *mawlid*s), and visits to other branches of the order, or to other orders. But the primary regular group ritual is *hadra* (also called *ratib*, *dhikr*, or *jalsa*). Here the discussion will be primarily limited to a consideration of *hadra*.

Four hadras are partially transcribed in the Appendix. These include a central Bayyumiyya hadra, a local Bayyumiyya hadra, a central Jazuliyya hadra, and a central Ja‘fariyya hadra. (Local Jazuliyya and Ja‘fariyya hadras are similar enough to the central tariqa hadra that there is no need to present them separately.) For each of these four hadras, three transcriptions are provided. The temporal transcription indicates sectional divisions and tempos of dhikr sections; the translation of the textual transcription provides much of the performed text in English (including all inshad) together with explanatory comments; and the textual transcription provides the original Arabic. The two textual transcriptions follow the same format, and lines are numbered so that they can be cross-correlated. These four hadras are among the many which are described below; they are also analyzed in detail in subsequent chapters.

A. Bayyumiyya

1. Overview

As in other traditional orders, the central ritual practices are the local hadra, and individual daily wird recitations. Both are performed under the guidance of the local shaykh (the same shaykh from whom one took the ‘ahd (oath)), who leads the hadra, and prescribes wird formulas for each murid, according to his spiritual progress. This shaykh indicates when one is to change from one formula to the next, through verbal instructions or dream visitations.

The Bayyumiyya feature a series of seven wird formulas corresponding to the seven progressive stages of the *nafs* (baser self). Beginning muridin repeat a formula of *istighfar* (“astaghfir Allah al-‘Azim”) and tawhid (“la ilaha illa Allah”). Later one receives a wird from one’s local shaykh, according to one’s spiritual level. Sidi ‘Ali al-Bayyumi specified the seven dhikr formulas for daily wird recitation, which he correlated to the seven stages of the *nafs* (al-Bayyumi n.d.:23-35): “La ilaha illa Allah”, “Allah”, “Huwa”, “Haqq”, “Hayy”, “Qayyum”, “Qahhar”. One of these Names is to be repeated daily after prayer, or as a night vigil. Repetition of each formula is computed according to esoteric calculations (*‘ilm al-huruf*) which assure spiritual efficacy in a quasi-magical manner. Thus for instance, the fourth Name “Haqq”, is to be repeated 108 times after prayer (the sum of the letters), and 11664 times as a night vigil (108*108).

Performance of such wird causes the tariqa to become decentralized and disunified, for at least three reasons. First, different members are repeating different formulas, which index spiritual level; rather than a single prayer which represents the group, members find themselves differentiated and ranked. Second, excessive performance of wird required by strict adherence to the repeat counts tends to turn the murid into an asocial recluse, the ascetic of early Sufism. Third, the method of assigning the wird establishes a relation with one’s local shaykh as the primary relationship of spiritual *tarbiyya* (education); subsequently, performing that wird sanctions and reinforces that relationship, since strong belief in the shaykh is a prerequisite to diligent recitation. If a shaykh acquires many disciples, all of whom are loyal to him, he may

promote distinctive methods of spiritual training, or even issue prayer books of his own, and his group begins to separate, socially and ritually, from the larger tariqa. Thus, for instance, the Bayyumi shaykh and saint, ‘Abd al-Fattah ‘Allam, published an independent hizb, called *Sa’d al-Sa’ud* (Fortune of Fortunes), which he claimed to have received through independent inspiration. The beginnings of a schism may thus appear through ritual practice.

Hadra performance too tends to cause divisions in the group to appear. Hadras representing the entire tariqa are far less prominent than in the modernist groups. The central group hadra is usually relatively brief, often perfunctory, and not well-attended, while the local group hadra—performed weekly, or at a mawlid—is longer and more emotionally intensive. Thus even performance of group rituals does not serve to reinforce the tariqa’s corporate unity, but rather causes decentralization to occur. As I have argued earlier, lack of social cohesion and decentralization are also the factors which inhibit group strategizing, and so the group finds itself unable to adapt to the cultural shifts which have occurred in the modern period.

Three central Bayyumiyya hadras are performed each week. The principal hadra is held immediately following Friday communal (noon) prayers at the Bayyumiyya mosque in Husayniyya, drawing roughly 30-50 participants. A second hadra is held on Sunday after night prayers at the nearby mosque of Sayyidna al-Husayn (where Sidi ‘Ali al-Bayyumi used to hold a hadra on Tuesdays, as the biographies tell us). The third is held on Wednesday after night prayers in a side-room of the Bayyumiyya mosque; this

hadra is dedicated to Sidi 'Ali's wife, Sayyida Amina. The latter two are smaller than the Friday hadra.

In addition, each of hundreds of bayts performs a local weekly hadra on a particular, fixed night of the week known to all its members. Depending on the shaykh, the local hadra can be much less formal than the main hadras, longer, and more open, bringing together members of many different turuq.

Modernist turuq frequently organize joint hadras. A local chapter may pay a visit to another chapters or to the tariqa's center, or the central group may visit a local chapter. During the visit the two groups perform a hadra together. Such hadras help to increase group cohesion, centralization, and unity. However, joint hadras do not appear to be a feature of the Bayyumiyya, due to their limited ability to strategize as a group. The tariqa seems to be too large and far-flung, diffused especially throughout village areas, limited in corporate identity, and weak at the center, to enable them to plan an organized schedule of such visits. At the same time, this lack is one of the factors preventing a level of solidarity from developing which might enable such strategic organization.

It is instructive to note how greatly the basic form of the hadra departs from that which Edward Lane described in the 1830s (presented earlier). One should note once again the implications of these changes. The current hadra format is unremarkable, relatively orthodox, and hardly distinguishable from those of any other traditional tariqa, other than the hizb: Bayyumiyya recite the Bayyumiyya hizb, the Rifa'iyya recite the

Rifa'i hizb, and so on. The contrast (as will be observed) between central hadra and peripheral (local) hadra is that the latter is longer; more free, ecstatic, and musical; and generally more heterodox. But this contrast can be regarded as stemming from the absence of formal sanctions in the local hadra (especially in the one described here, which lacks strong leadership); besides a similar contrast is found among most of the traditional turuq. In Lane's day (if one may accept his description as accurate) there was a distinctive Bayyumiyya ritual, distinguishing it from other hadras. As I noted earlier, the change may have resulted from sanctions imposed in the late 19th century, or due to general sentiment that Sufi ritual ought to be more conservative. But the upshot is that ritual does not serve to strongly identify the group, or to create group solidarity.

Thus the Bayyumiyya hadra reflects, more than impacts, the social history of the tariqa. The central hadra, more exposed to reformist critiques and under the immediate supervision of central tariqa authority (the shaykh al-sajjada), has reflexively become more restrained and therefore lost its ritual distinctiveness, although the hadra is not unified performatively since the center is so weak. But the center is completely unable to control the performance of hadra at the tariqa's periphery. Therefore hadra at the periphery is conducted according to the style and control of the local shaykh in charge. If he is strong, he may fashion a controlled hadra in whatever style suits him. If he is weak, the local hadra will tend to exhibit the relatively free ecstasy typical of open mawlid celebrations. The latter is the case we will observe.

This situation evidently contrasts strongly with the modernist groups, whose strong centers control ritual absolutely at both center and periphery, ensuring that it is unified and distinctive, and furthermore using it in order to achieve their strategic goals.

3. The Hadra

The central hadra focusses upon hizb and dhikr—ritual modes of LP—while inshad is less important, and speech is absent. In the local hadra, the affective power of inshad comes to the fore.

The three central hadras are similar enough that a description of the main Friday hadra will suffice to represent them. The local hadra is quite different, and so requires a separate description. This contrast between central and local hadras reflects the lack of central control over the tariqa's periphery, and more particularly its inability to effectively strategize using LP as a resource. In the modernist turuq, by contrast, local hadras are controlled precisely, and either resemble (the Ja'fariyya) or are more conservative (Jazuliyya) than the main hadra; in the former case there is no need to describe it separately.

a. Central hadra: following Friday prayer at the mosque of Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi

1. The group and setting

Held in the main Bayyumiyya mosque, and attended by a large number of tariqa leaders (at the levels of shaykh al-sajjada, naqib, na'ib, or khalifat al-khulafa') from the

Cairo area, this is the largest of the tariqa's three main weekly hadras. Officially the hadra is led by the shaykh al-sajjada himself, although he attends only occasionally; members say that he frequently travels throughout the country, visiting various Bayyumiyya groups. In his absence, the hadra is led by one of the naqibs.

Unlike the local bayt hadras, the central hadra is associated with the entire Bayyumiyya membership, although in practice only members who live nearby and are suitably inclined attend. Most of them attend Friday prayer at the mosque, and then stay on for the hadra afterwards. Muridin begin gathering together shortly after prayer ends, but as the hadra progresses latecomers join in as well; the total number of participants reaches about 30-50, including about 4 or 5 each of ranks naqib, na'ib, and khalifat al-khulafa, as well as three munshidin. Most participants are men over 40 and up, although a large number of young boys also attend.

Usually the same three munshidin perform, but there is some variation from one week to the next. Only one of the three regulars is a member of the tariqa. While one of these munshidin said he is officially appointed as munshid, one of the senior shaykhs described the munshidin as retirees who perform voluntarily, without formal tariqa authorization. Two were formerly low-level government functionaries, while a third worked as a trader in used goods (*rubabikya*). Because inshad is not an essential part of the liturgy, tariqa leaders do not consider the selection of munshidin to be a matter of great importance.

Dress is ordinary, except for the symbolic red *ta'iyya* (or, occasionally, *shal* (scarf)) which serves as a tariqa emblem; it is worn by only perhaps 20% of the participants. Otherwise, muridin wear whatever they would ordinarily wear to Friday prayer, usually the best dress for their class and profession; for most this consists of a decent jallabiyya (traditional gown).

Women do not actively participate in the hadra. However they do gather in the mosque (there is a women's gallery for Friday prayer), visit the maqam of Sidi 'Ali, and observe the hadra from the far wall.

2. The social geometry

Muridin begin seated in the following formation. A prayer rug (*sajjada*) is spread at S (facing left in the diagram). This rug, representing the *sajjada* of Sidi 'Ali himself, symbolizes the rank of the tariqa leader (*shaykh al-sajjada*) inherited through a *silsila* from Sidi 'Ali. When present, the *shaykh al-sajjada* sits upon it, (also facing left in the diagram). When not present (as is most often the case) the prayer rug is spread in the same way, and is vacant. All others face toward this center point while remaining in line (i.e. in the diagram the bottom x line faces up, top x line faces down, z line faces right, S, y and m face left). Each line contains members of particular ranks, although there are no fixed seating positions within a line. If present, the *shaykh al-sajjada* is the official leader (*mustaftih*) of the hadra, otherwise leadership passes to one of the *naqibs*.

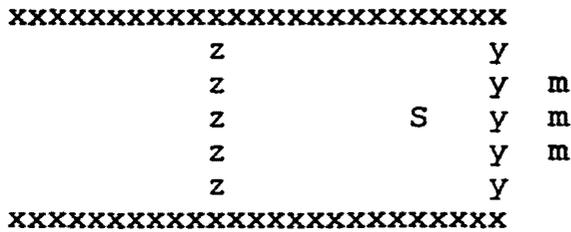


Diagram 5: Social geometry of the central Bayyumiyya Friday hadra.

Key:

Symbols indicate positions and not precise counts, except for the three munshidin.

S = sajjada, and shaykh al-sajjada (not often present)

x = murid or khalifa

y = khalifat al-khulafa' or na'ib

z = naqib

m = munshid

The often-empty prayer rug and consequent “empty center” of the ritual is an accurate performative manifestation of the relatively weak position of shaykh al-sajjada, and the decentralized nature of the tariqa as a whole, in which real power and activity have moved centripetally to the periphery. Even when the shaykh al-sajjada does attend, his role is modest and low-key; further, his social relation to the brethren is not a vertical one of spiritual master to disciples (father-son), but rather a horizontal one of brother to brother, a further indication that there is no living spiritual father figure in the tariqa, at least not at its center. If the shaykh al-sajjada does not attend, the mustaftih does not move to the center of the formation, and it can be difficult to determine exactly who is in charge.

Although the social geometry represents a clear group-level strategy for spatially indexing the various positional rankings, the disjunction between positional and personal structure means that it can do so only weakly, or may even serve to call attention to this

disjunction when someone who is clearly undeserving of his position is sitting in a distinguished location. Such an indexing scheme is also weak because there is no performative basis for the different spatial positions; except for the mustaftih leading the hadra, all assume more or less equal roles in the performance. Further, as we will see, the spatialization of position is absent in the local hadra. Therefore it appears as an older strategy, not adapted to the current tariqa situation, but continued due to hysteresis, and either eroded or unapplied at the tariqa periphery.

Note that munshidin are outside the main square, and sing to the backs of the shaykh and members in front of them. Their spatial position thus reflects their status as ritual outsiders, for they are not necessarily members of the group, and their performance is freely added to the basic hadra liturgy as established by Sidi ‘Ali. Furthermore, they accept nuqut (monetary tips), which financial transaction makes their relation to the hadra quite different from that of other participants (although nevertheless deeply spiritual, since such tips carry the baraka of nafha). By contrast, in modernist turuq such as the Jazuliyya, Ja‘fariyya, or Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya, the munshidin are regular members of the tariqa, sing poetry from an official hymnal, and take positions near the center of the hadra geometry.

Usually one of the naqibs raises his voice when leading the hizb. Only the mustaftih (shaykh al-sajjada or naqib) claps during dhikr; the clapping sound being in a different frequency range is clearly audible by all.

No electrical amplification system is employed, and so inshad is nearly inaudible when the dhikr is in progress. This fact both indexes and reinforces inshad's marginal status. Amplified inshad is a regular feature of the two modernist *turuq* to be considered shortly. Although more data should be assembled, amplification appears to be a tool of the modernists. This has nothing to do with the modernity of the technology, for amplification systems are widely available. Funding might be a factor (modernist groups in appealing to the middle and upper classes generally receive better financial backing), or a sense that microphones are not suitable in traditional Sufi ceremony. Yet all groups (traditional or modernist) rent amplification equipment for *mawlid* performances and other special occasions, and both the *muqri'* (Qur'anic reciter) and the *khatib* (preacher) regularly employ them, even in the Bayyumiyya mosque.

A better interpretation appears when one considers that amplification is used primarily to boost the sonic level of solo inshad to be heard by all. Not all modernist *turuq* employ inshad, but when they do, they tend to use it strategically, which means controlling it and making it audible, the latter being a particular problem in a large mosque or when inshad accompanies dhikr. One solution to the audibility problem is group inshad, but group inshad requires more *munshidin*, allows fewer *dhakkira* (those performing dhikr), and—more importantly—requires fixed melodies, precluding the flexibility, improvisation, and feedback loops which can lead to *tarab* (musical emotion; see Racy 1991). Amplification enables solo inshad to be audible, even when accompanying a large dhikr group. The presence of amplification can thus be interpreted

as a sign that inshad is deemed important, and therefore treated strategically using the tools available. The absence of amplification combined with solo inshad, on the other hand, can be interpreted as a sign that inshad is neglected as a strategic resource in performance. This conclusion is supported by other indicators as well: the lack of a special poetic repertoire, the outsider status of the munshidin, and their physical position outside the main square of dhakkira.

3. The ritual process

After Friday prayer, members begin to gather in formation. The *mustaftih* (shaykh al-sajjada or, more frequently, one of the *naqibs*) waits several minutes for the mosque to clear and for the *muridin* to complete their Sunna (supererogatory) prayers. When about 20 are seated in the arrangement as diagrammed above, he may optionally open with *fawatih* (to which the group responds with silent recitation). Then, after reciting the *isti'adha* (“a’udhu bi Allah min al-Shaytan al-rajim”, “I seek protection with God from the accursed Satan”, recited before all Qur’anic recitations), he leads the group in reciting the small Bayyumiyya *hizb* (al-*hizb* al-saghir), while all remain seated. Rarely printed copies of the *hizb* are distributed; although it is quite long, most have memorized it (a sign that participation is limited to Bayyumiyya), but the absence of a written text leads to some unevenness in recitation. The performance of *hizb* is vigorous, highly accented, only roughly unified in time and pitch; behaviorally, it is accompanied by quasi-synchronized swaying. At certain points symbolic hand and arm

gestures dramatizing textual meaning are employed, though this is neither universal, nor unified.

The small hizb is recited as the main text in most Bayyumiyya hadras. Members say that they begin the hadra with hizb because doing so invokes Sidi ‘Ali, and marks the hadra as Bayyumiyya. Its prayers also serve to safeguard the hadra from satanic influences. Once this protection is established, the dhikr can take place. Following standard opening verses from the Qur’an (al-Fatiha and others), the hizb contains all Qur’anic verses containing a statement of tawhid (of which he found 37)⁴, together with ad‘iyya and salawat, much of which also comes from the Qur’an, or Hadith. Thus the Bayyumiyya hadra (like hadras of other traditional turuq) is almost totally constituted by traditional religious texts. Lacking in distinctive inshad or speech material, the hadra contains little of what could be considered a personal message from Sidi ‘Ali, unlike modernist hadras which often include material of a communicative or affective nature. Rather the Bayyumiyya hadra is centered on ritual language.

The hizb contains dhikr (understood here as the regular chanting of the Names of God) as well: first, 129 repetitions of “Ya Latif” (“Oh Kind One”), then (following more hizb text) 66 repetitions of “Ya Allah” (“Oh God”). The numbers 129 and 66 are derived from the numerological sum of the letters in these two formulas; according to the esoteric science of ‘ilm al-huruf, repeating a formula according to the sum of the letters it comprises should be particularly effective. However, the counts are not adhered to precisely. Dhikr is accompanied by handclaps from the mustaftih. As they

begin chanting “Ya Allah” (about 15 minutes into the hizb), all stand. The mustafih leads them in dhikr movements, swaying forward and back; he accelerates the tempo for several minutes, then finally brings the dhikr to a close. All dhikr in the central hadra is performed as dhikr al-lisan (clear dhikr), whereas in the local hadra the more ecstatic dhikr al-qalb (dhikr al-nafas or dhikr batini) tends to predominate.

The first munshid then performs a short non-metric solo, usually madih (praise of the Prophet) or tawassul (supplication to God). The munshid signals that he has finished his solo by performing a *qafla* (melodic cadence). Because inshad is neglected in the hadra liturgy, it is necessarily solo, and often performed by outsiders, who receive small tips (*nuqt*) for doing so. As in nearly all traditional *turuq*, no instruments are employed in the regular central hadra, since *musiqa* is considered to violate the Shari‘a; this rule is relaxed when hadra is performed in the *mawlid*s.

Although members consider inshad to be useful for creating emotion in hadra, inshad is also considered marginal to the main liturgy, which consists of hizb and dhikr. Most members believe that the main purpose of inshad is to encourage dhikr by raising the affective level. Inshad gives the hadra ruh (spirit), as one shaykh said, and inshad texts need not be understood to be affective. Inshad’s marginality results from the fact that no official body of poetry is associated with the *tariqa*. The only poem which has come down from Sidi ‘Ali is his *manzuma*, which most of the *munshidin* don’t use or don’t know. While the *Bayyumiyya* booklet issued by the *mashyakha* contains a few

poems by ‘Umar ibn al-Farid, these appear to have no special significance in actual ritual practices.

In both the central hadra, and in local hadras, inshad is thus left as a “strategic vacuum”: accepted and welcomed, but not specified. This vacuum is filled in by the munshidin themselves, who therefore have great flexibility and freedom. While the founders of some traditional turuq (such as the Burhamiyya) did write inshad which may be performed in hadra, the situation is similar to that of the Bayyumiyya in that there is never a specific inshad liturgy associated with the tariqa as a whole, as is commonly found in the modernist groups.

Most munshidin sing from an oral tradition; some may learn poetry from the cheaply printed chapbooks sold in popular bookstores, especially during the mawlid. Conservative poems—*madih* (praise of the Prophet or Ahl al-Bayt) and *tawassul* (supplication to God) are emphasized in the central hadra; in private contexts poetry of more mystical flavor is also performed. While some munshidin have learned classical *qasidas*, many may perform *mawwal*, *sharh*⁵, and *zajal*, genres of the colloquial tradition. Generally speaking, inshad in hadra depends entirely upon the repertoires and preferences of the munshidin who come to sing; their poetic choices are usually made extemporaneously, and depend heavily upon personal mood and context. For this reason, inshad in the traditional turuq is criticized by some outsiders as disorganized, unpolished, and substandard, performed by munshidin who “just sing anything that

occurs to them”; such inshad, say the critics, exists simply to create emotion, not understanding. This feature is more apparent in the local hadra (described below).

During non-metric inshad solos, most of the dhakkira stand in position, listening quietly, swaying gently, and occasionally reacting with verbal exclamations. They may also leave their places, walk to the line of munshidin, and make a small monetary donation (*nuqta*) to each (with closed hand, so that the amount is not noticeable⁶). This practice, known as *tanqit*, is characteristic of professional inshad in mawlid and laylas (public religious celebrations, which may include inshad and dhikr), and of popular music in general, but does not occur in the modernist *turuq*, or in any *tariqa* in which munshidin are considered full-fledged participants as members of the group. Not all contribute *nuqta*; however the munshid can on average expect to earn a few pounds per hadra.

After this solo inshad introduction comes group dhikr. The *mustaftih* begins clapping and chanting the formula “Allah” while bowing up and down; the dhakkira follow and all perform dhikr together. Concurrently, the first munshid performs metric inshad, but his voice is all but drowned out by the dhikr texture. Because munshidin sing solo without a microphone, and since there is no official canon with which participants are familiar, inshad accompanying dhikr tends to blend in with the dhikr, not so much understood as felt. The munshid may try to fit his inshad to the dhikr Name, semantically, or in a kind of rhythmic dovetailing. Gradually, the *mustaftih* accelerates, and then brings the dhikr to a close. The second munshid now performs a non-metric solo, usually *madih* in a *mawwal* format, followed by a third munshid in a similar style.⁷

After the third munshid completes his non-metric solo, the mustaftih starts the dhikr again, this time using the Name “Hayy”, while the third munshid performs inshad. This dhikr, too, accelerates until stopped by the mustaftih. Next, all sit, and recite the remainder of the hizb; this portion consists primarily of ad‘iyya (prayers of request). Meanwhile, two or three muridin take responsibility for handing out the *nafha*: breadsticks, ta‘miyya (fried fava bean) sandwiches, small wrapped sweets, or sometimes 10 piaster coins. These are considered baraka from Sidi ‘Ali. When the hizb is completed, they slowly chant “Ya Allah” over and over. They rise, and (still chanting) slowly process to the adjoining antechamber, where they face the maqam of Sidi ‘Ali al-Bayyumi.

When all have arrived there, the chanting continues for a few moments, then stops. Led by a mustaftih (who need not be the same leader as before, and seems not to be the shaykh al-sajjada even when present) the entire group recites the standard khitam (hadra conclusion) used by nearly all Sufi orders. Then the mustaftih calls a series of fawatih, to each of which the group responds with a quiet recitation. He passes to a series of ad‘iyya, to each of which the group responds “amin”, aloud. Then he calls for them to turn to God, and each murid pivots 90 degrees to face the *qibla* (direction of Mecca), and recite a du‘a’. Finally they turn again to face the maqam, and repeat the standard khitam once more. The hadra is concluded, and ritual formality is broken.

Now all greet each other. Most persons greet their neighbors first, then line up to greet the shaykh (mustaftih or shaykh al-sajjada if present). These greetings are

ordinary, lacking the formality and special features of some of the orders, many of whom employ a special handshake, and require a show of deference to the shaykh (stooping to kiss the hand is most common). In the modernist groups, the central position and spiritual authority of the shaykh is expressed and reinforced in the greeting; if the shaykh should be absent (which is rare) this treatment may be redirected to his khalifa. In the Bayyumiyya, by contrast, all greetings are familiar, warm, and informal, as if between equals, even when greeting the shaykh al-sajjada.

b. Local hadra: Monday evening at Madinat al-Nur

1. The group and setting

Shaykh Fahim Shadid was the Bayyumiyya khalifat al-khulafa' for Madinat al-Nur (a densely populated sha'bi (popular) district within Zawiya al-Hamra' (Cairo)), and leader of a bayt. For many years he conducted a weekly Monday evening hadra in his home, to which he invited Bayyumiyya members of his bayt or district, as well as Sufi friends from other orders. Together with his wife, he ran a khidma at many of the major mawlid from Cairo to Alexandria. When he died in 1996, his son Ibrahim, then in his early 20s, inherited his position as khalifat al-khulafa' and leader of the bayt. He has continued to run the Monday evening hadra, and with the help of his mother the family continues to provide khidmas at many of the mawlid. Occasionally the Monday night hadra is larger to mark a special occasion, such as the anniversary of Shaykh Fahim's

death, or the Mawlid al-Nabi, when they invite a munshid to recite sira (the story of the Prophet's life).

The hadra itself takes place in a small room in Shaykh Ibrahim's home, perhaps 15' by 20' in area. People begin gathering from sunset (maghrib) prayer onwards, although the hadra proper doesn't begin until after the night ('isha') prayer. Some women attend, although they do not perform hadra with the men. Many of the attendees sit in the hadra room, or outside in the hall, talking, drinking tea, or smoking *shisha* (tobacco water pipe), until the time for night prayer arrives. The total number of participants is typically in the range of fifteen to twenty-five.

Although Shaykh Ibrahim officially presides over the hadra, he does not assert his authority, and the hadra is relatively acephalous, even anarchic, led by the munshid together with a series of mustaftih. There are several reasons for this. First, Shaykh Ibrahim inherited the position of khalifat al-khulafa' from his father while still young, and many of the other participants are much older and more experienced. Secondly, the local hadra is not controlled by the tariqa's center (due to the decentralized nature of the tariqa), and hence tends toward informality which allows control to be distributed instead of vested in a single individual.

Since the bayt of a traditional tariqa acts, in many ways, as an autonomous organization, the problems of succession which apply to the tariqa as a whole may also occur at the local level. Thus the hereditary head of the bayt may be inexperienced, or lacking in charisma. If he nevertheless seizes his rightful control, the hadra may be dry,

rather formal, and poorly attended (as is the case in the central hadra). If he defers to others, the hadra may become free and ecstatic, at the cost of a certain amount of anarchy. This latter case applies to the situation in Madinat al-Nur. Other bayts may be led by charismatic shaykhs, whose firmly controlled hadras tend to lead to virtually independent organizations; this occurred in the case of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Fattah ‘Allam, considered earlier.

This hadra is by no means restricted to members of the Bayyumiyya order; on the contrary inter-tariqa visiting is encouraged. While a core group of hadra participants are Bayyumiyya, the distribution of members across other turuq varies. However visitors are nearly always from the traditional turuq—Burhamiyya, Ahmadiyya, Rifa‘iyya, Sa‘diyya—and only rarely from modernist groups, which tend to be more exclusive. Because such visits are individual, rather than group, they tend to erase rather than reinforce the distinctions among these traditional turuq.

While the hadra is denominationally open, the location is relatively private; both factors tend toward greater spontaneity and informality. The situation is opposite to that of the central mosque hadra, which is open to observation, but generally limited to Bayyumiyya muridin, and which therefore tends to a more cautious sort of formality. Usually from ten to fifteen persons participate actively in the hadra, while others sit outside in the hall listening, drinking tea, and chatting. For special occasions (such as the yearly *dhikra* (memorial) for Shaykh Ibrahim’s father) the number might increase two or

three times. The atmosphere is generally amiable and informal, resembling the good-natured generosity of the mawlid khidma.

Usually two munshidin attend the Monday evening hadra at Madinat al-Nur, although not always the same two, and take turns performing. The munshid is likely to come from outside the Bayyumiyya, but in any case his position is very different from that of the dhakir (participant in dhikr). While members of other turuq are welcomed as guests and participate exactly as the Bayyumiyya members do, the munshid's relation to the others is tinged with economic and professional interests, combined with the special spiritual benefits accruing to his occupying a central performative position. As at the main hadra, he may receive small tips (nuqut) during performance, to which he generally responds with a call for the Fatiha to be recited for the giver. Such munshidin may perform regularly at a string of small weekly hadras, and may also be hired to sing at larger laylas (public religious performances) or mawliids. But economic factors are not enough to explain the presence of a munshid at these small hadras, for the nuqut they collect will not generally amount to more than two or three pounds (a third of which might go for transport). Rather, they also sing for baraka and madad of Sidi 'Ali and other saints which permeates the occasion, out of love for these saints, the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt. In addition, they clearly enjoy performing and participating in the warm Sufi atmosphere, while demonstrating their talents, and can also use the occasion as a means of practice and exposure, in order to build their reputations as munshidin. The status of the munshid is therefore somewhat ambiguous. What is clear, however, is that

his performance is governed by individual strategy toward spiritual and professional interests, not by the goals of the tariqa as a whole.

No standard musical instruments are used, but there is often a performer of the *'asaya* (in this context, a metal cane), who accompanies the munshidin and shares in their ambiguous status. This musical cane is said to be derived from the shaykh's walking cane, which he beat with his *sibha* (rosary) to keep time in his dhikr. Today the *'asaya* has been refined as a musical instrument. It is made from resonant metal tubing and beaten with a home-made striker which provides a louder sound than the *sibha*. However Sufis do not regard it as an *ala musiqiyya* (musical instrument), and thus its use is not considered to break the general taboo on the use of musical instruments within dhikr.

Dress is utterly ordinary, unmarked by special adornments or other potential symbols. Further, this is not the best dress of Fridays, but the regular dress of the work-day.

The atmosphere of this hadra is less formal and much more ecstatic than the Bayyumiyya mosque hadra. Rather than formal ritual or strict tarbiyya (spiritual training), this hadra presents an occasion for people to achieve some measure of spiritual delight (*bast*), "intoxication" (*sukr*) in the Sufi sense. It resembles the open hadras conducted at the mawlid khidma, in combining relaxed Sufi camaraderie, food and drink, some material advantages (for the munshid), and religious worship, in simple but pleasantly familiar surroundings.

Its informality appears to derive from several factors:

- 1) the private location in a home**
- 2) the fact that most participants are old acquaintances and friends**
- 3) distance from the public mosque and the official Islam it represents**
- 4) the absence of a central charismatic spiritual authority: the disjunction (even at this local level) of positional structure (by which Shaykh Ibrahim is in charge) and personal structure (a complex tangle of spiritual levels and relationships, which varies from week to week)**

But the overriding factor enabling informality and ecstasy to occur is the decentralized and weakly cohesive nature of the Bayyumiyya tariqa as a whole, which precludes central control. Most Sufis may enjoy participating in an emotional and informal hadra, but such performances do not necessarily serve the social interests of the group as a whole, since they work against central authority and controlled tarbiya. In the modern period they must be especially regulated due to possible criticism, and in order to attract members who are dismissive of Sufi practices. Modernist orders such as the Jazuliyya may allow informal sections of hadra, but all maintain a firm control of ritual as a matter of strategic necessity. The informality of some local hadras in the traditional orders is not a strategy, but rather results from the lack of one.

2. The ritual process

After performing the night ('isha') prayer together in the hadra room, the men sit with their backs against the walls on all sides of the room; some may also sit in the

middle if space is insufficient. Usually there are one or two munshidin, sometimes supported by a third man playing the 'asaya (metal cane). Prayer books containing the small hizb are distributed to those who have not memorized it; they are needed here more than in the main hadra due to the presence of muridin from other turuq.

The informality, diversity, and spontaneity of this hadra means that are few formally fixed spatial locations either for individuals or for roles in the hadra, other than the mustaftih in the center, and the munshid at the far end of the room; this location enables him to avoid the traffic of those coming or going. At the same time, the center is not so "empty" as in the case of the mosque hadra; there is always a conspicuous mustaftih in firm control at the center of things, although the person assuming this role changes during the hadra, and from one week to the next.

One of the senior men, a shaykh in his own tariqa (whether Bayyumiyya or not) is selected, by consensus, to start as mustaftih. The informality of the situation, combined with lack of clear authority, make the selection a matter of performative negotiation, full of polite refusals (in the transcription, the same issue can be observed in the selection of the munshid). For the case transcribed (see transcriptions in the Appendix), the mustaftih is a member of the Rifa'iyya tariqa; this is clear upon perusal of his initial fawatih, which pay special homage to Sidi Ahmad al-Rifa'i, the 13th-century Iraqi founder of the order.

This first mustaftih begins by leading a series of fawatih. These are more elaborate than in the mosque hadra, due to the greater time available, lower formality,

and the rather ecumenical setting (which encourages recitation of fawatih for many different Sufi saints). The response is more elaborate too, including a blessing for the Prophet which precedes the quiet recitation of the fatiha.⁸ The sequence of fawatih goes on for a relatively long time, mentioning a large number of categories and individuals (see transcriptions). After fawatih, the group recites the small Bayyumiyya hizb, all together. The recitation is similar to that in the central hadra, but somewhat more impassioned and less unified. As in the central hadra, the dhikr counts of *'ilm al-huruf* ("Ya Latif" 129 times, and "Ya Allah" 66 times) are not respected precisely. Upon reaching "Ya Allah" all stand, as in the mosque hadra.

Next there is a sequence of dhikr tabaqas, each preceded by non-metric solo inshad, often in a mawwal format. The senior participants, of rank khalifa or higher in the Bayyumiyya or other turuq, take turns serving as mustaftih. During non-metric inshad the congregation may respond to the munshid where appropriate, with cries of "Ah" and "Allah!" as in any informal musical setting, where such feedback serves to boost the emotional level and create what would be known in a secular context (at least) as *tarab* (musical ecstasy) and which may be known here as *wajd* (spiritual ecstasy) or *nashwa ruhiyya* (spiritual intoxication). They may also hand him small tips (nuqut), to which the munshid responds with calls for the Fatiha to be recited. After the munshid completes a *qafla* (cadence), the mustaftih signals the dhikr to begin by clapping, turning, and chanting a particular dhikr formula; the others follow him, and the munshid now adjusts his phrases so as to fit with the dhikr's pulse. He may be accompanied by the player of

‘asaya (metal cane), who may also (together with any other munshid present) serve as spontaneous bitana (responding chorus), especially during madad sections (see below). Verbal or non-verbal communication between mustaftih and munshid ensures that they remain synchronized, but the mustaftih is ultimately in charge. During each tabaqa, the tempo accelerates; dhikr movements and sounds become increasingly dynamic and ecstatic. If the tempo becomes too fast, or the dhakkira appear tired, the mustaftih may drop the tempo by cutting the pulse roughly in half.

Meanwhile the munshid performs poetry set to short improvisational phrases. As the dhikr continues, he moves freely from one poetic fragment to another. Often he begins and ends with traditional madih, but in the middle he may introduce mystical poetry of a more intoxicated or erotic-mystical ecstatic cast, what is often called “tawhid”, which would not be appropriate in the Bayyumiyya mosque hadra. Between poetic segments he may improvise words, or sing madad: sequences in which he repeats the word “*madad*” (“help”) followed by the names of various saints from which help is sought. Finally the mustaftih brings the dhikr to a close, and there is a brief rest for the dhakkira, during which the munshid sings non-metric solo again, before another mustaftih takes over with more dhikr. If more than one munshid is present, this role may be exchanged as well. The local Bayyumiyya hadra is much longer than the central hadra, and its dhikr and inshad is more emotionally and physically intensive.

Unlike the mosque hadra, here inshad is central, and more musically developed as well. The briefer and more formal mosque hadra can easily be conducted without inshad,

while here it is required in order to sustain the longer and more energetic dhikr.

Therefore, the munshid is far more important in the local hadra. In neither hadra does he have an officially sanctioned position in the liturgy, and he is socially marginalized by his outsider status in both as well. But unlike the mosque hadra, here he is central to the performance, and interacts closely with the dhakkira. Whereas in the mosque he can hardly be heard, here the dhakkira listen to him and are moved to perform dhikr, while he is influenced by their dhikr, and is moved to sing. This feedback resembles the tarab processes of secular music, as has been noted. Because of his outsider status, his inshad tends to support the dhikr emotionally more than it makes an independent ideological statement.

His words are not a message from any known spiritual authority, carry no known “T” (unlike turuq in which inshad is based on poetry written by the shaykh). But this situation also gives him freedom: to deform or obscure its assertional and communicative character, to bend it musically, to distort it rhythmically, to fragment it, to focus on its elemental sounds, to fit it to the dhikr, all in order to raise the emotional level of performance. He is freest in the non-metric sections preceding the dhikr, which is also his best opportunity to cause people to donate nuqta. During these segments, he may include various forms of solo inshad, such as madad and mawwals, interspersed with the spoken recitation of fawatih for members of the group, particularly those who have donated nuqut. He is also freer to include poetry of a heterodox (mystically esoteric or ecstatic) character.

There is also more freedom for the *mustaftih*. Each *hadra* is different, because the *mustaftih* has wide latitude in determining the length and speed of each *tabaqa*, and the Name to be recited in it. He controls the tempo with handclaps, and can continue for much longer than is possible in the mosque. Names typically include “*la ilaha illa Allah*”, “*Allah*”, “*Hayy*”, and “*Hu*”. While the first few *dhikr* formulas (including those of the *hizb*) are always performed as *dhikr al-lisan* (clear *dhikr*), in the remainder of the *hadra* the more ecstatic *dhikr al-qalb* tends to predominate, and it is therefore often difficult to understand what the *dhakkira* are chanting. Participants say that Allah’s Name must be felt in the heart, not merely pronounced by the tongue. Indistinct *dhikr* is common in the *mawlid*s, but the orthodox *turuq* tend to proscribe such *dhikr* (the *Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya* even have an official rule to this effect, and the matter was addressed by the administrative body supervising the Sufi orders; see de Jong 1978:213). Similarly, *dhikr* here tends to employ turning movements more than bowing movements. Turning movements and *dhikr al-qalb* are considered more ecstatic, but they are also less orthodox and not employed in the *Bayyumiyya* central mosque *hadra*.

The *dhakkira* too are freed to be more creative and expressive in the *dhikr*, and hence better able to attain fulfillment of their desire for ecstasy (*wajd*) or mystical states (*hal*). Participants are also likely to express ecstasy or *hal* with shouts, exaggerated movements, falling, or even loss of consciousness, all of which is precluded in the shorter and more sober mosque *hadra*. Freedom, *dhikr al-qalb*, and powerful *inshad* lead to an emotionally powerful local *hadra*.

Informality and the lack of a definite form or control structure creates the need for a higher level of interaction and group decision-making. For instance, there are frequent changes in personnel (munshidin and mustaftih). Who is to perform next as mustaftih, or munshid? These are matters for group negotiation, using traditional modes of etiquette and protocol which apply to any unstructured social situation. There is also a dynamic between the munshid and mustaftih which does not happen in the mosque, where the shaykh is clearly ascendant. Although the mustaftih is ultimately in control, the munshid is also central. Thus the munshid may criticize the mustaftih for starting dhikr too soon, before he has had a chance to sing solo, or he may want to change the tempo. Or the entire group may protest when the mustaftih starts the dhikr without giving the munshid adequate time for his prelude. The mustaftih may criticize the munshid for not following his pulse. Although the position of mustaftih has final authority, the individual filling this role may be asked by others to step aside if he is unable to build a powerful *tabaqa*.

This dhikr portion of the hadra generally ends by around midnight. At this point everyone sits and, led by the mustaftih who began the hadra, completes the recitation of the small Bayyumiyya hizb aloud. After closing with more *fawatih* and the standard *khitam*, the ritual formality, such as it was (not a formal mood so much as an ecstatic one) is broken. Small talk predominates, until a light meal (*nafha*), prepared and served by Shaykh Ibrahim's mother, is served; this is consumed and followed by sweet tea and perhaps *shisha*. After eating, participants drink tea and eventually go home, each at his

own pace. It is interesting to note the absence of any formal line-up to greet the shaykh, (a ritual process which is present in every other hadra) a performative indication of the lack of central authority.

However there are no fixed formal boundaries here, and it can easily happen that after the meal more dhikr and inshad might start up, or the group might recite a section of Busiri's *Burda*, or even the *hizb* or *salawat* of another saint, such as Ahmad al-Badawi or Ahmad al-Rifa'i. There could also be some Qur'anic recitation, or impromptu religious talks by the learned (though these are informal rather than weighty). At the hadra transcribed below, the group recited the final fawatih and khitam, and then (perhaps realizing that they'd forgotten it) returned to recite the end of the hizb and close once more. Boundaries between formal and informal within the ritual are flexible and unpredictable, subject to the vicissitudes of the moment, and outside the reach of tariqa control.

c. Variation in the Bayyumiyya hadra

The lack of centralization in the tariqa together with its dispersion has given rise to wide variation in hadra liturgy and practice across the tariqa. The central Wednesday evening hadra differs only slightly from the Friday hadra discussed above (there is usually no inshad, but an extra group prayer is recited and there is Qur'anic recitation). However the practices of other local groups (bayts) can vary much more. Thus there are local Bayyumiyya chapters which:

- Recite the large rather than the small Bayyumiyya hizb

- Recite Surat Yasin prior to the hizb
- Insert extra salawat for the Prophet
- Employ different or additional dhikr formulas
- Employ a special diwan for inshad⁹

Here I have considered, in a tariqa which is itself decentralized, a bayt which is also decentralized. However there are other bayts in which the local leader assumes firm control. Such leaders may introduce their own variations to the liturgy, depending on their own spiritual predilections; they “localize” the liturgy. Liturgical form, and its performance as LP, is an important device by which a tariqa may be unified, or fragmented; it is therefore a natural target of strategic control. To the extent that the local leader is able to alter the liturgy, he brands his group as distinctive, while also (incidentally) denying the universality of the central group. He thus asserts his group’s quasi-independence, as a branch rather than a part of the tariqa whole. By this process, the tariqa tends to fragment into its local units, which may eventually detach and become new turuq; in this manner the Khaliliyya branched from the Bayyumiyya, for instance. In the modernist groups, by contrast, the liturgy of local groups is firmly controlled from the center, and normally replicates the central hadra; local leaders are not empowered to make changes, and thus are not encouraged to become independent shaykhs or charismatic, nor to cultivate a group of muridin who will be loyal to them more than to the main group.

B. Jazuliyya

1. Overview

While individual ritual practice still maintains a role in the modernist groups, it is group ritual which comes to the fore as the dominant aspect of tariqa participation. Private dyadic relations with one's local shaykh, as in the Bayyumiyya, give way to a corporate solidarity, unified through vertical relations with the founder (as in the Ja'fariyya), or by a strong sense of brotherhood and in-group communality, as in the Jazuliyya. Whereas some modernist groups (such as the Ja'fariyya) nevertheless require substantial individual practices, almost everything is performed communally among the Jazuliyya. This emphasis on the group—either an official central group or a subgroup clearly sanctioned by the main group—is a hallmark of the modernist tariqa, for in the mere act of convocating a meeting cohesion is maintained and dispersal minimized.

Only the regular daily wird is performed individually, and it is deliberately kept short (about five minutes daily is all that is required) so as not to interfere with one's daily work routine. Consisting of standard wird-material (istighfar, salawat, tawhid, and du'a'), the wird is identical for all tariqa members, rather than graded and controlled by the local shaykh, as is the case for most groups. This feature tends to promote group unity, and discourages the rise of independent charismatic centers at the periphery, as has tended to happen among the Bayyumiyya. The number of repetitions of each formula in the wird is not derived from esoteric lore ('ilm al-huruf) as in the Bayyumiyya, but rather

has a “rational” basis. Repeat counts are set at 100 (99 plus a final repetition of the same formula in an extended version), as a means of increasing the chance of reciting with full concentration, in conformity to certain Prophetic hadith (cited earlier), or both.

The total group activity rate for the Jazuliyya member in Cairo is very high compared to most turuq. Each week includes two long tariqa-wide central hadras (Thursday and Monday), and several tariqa-wide mosque hadras, as well as a local hadra. All of these activities are well-attended; at least the central hadras and local hadra are considered compulsory. There are in addition regular meetings for munshidin and tariqa officers. During Ramadan meetings are nightly. The total schedule assures the full engagement of the murid with the group throughout the week, to the exclusion of any other voluntary associations. In particular, Jazuliyya muridin do not individually attend any other group’s hadras or mawlids; this affords the tariqa a greater degree of solidarity and control over members, as well as avoiding association with the often-criticized practices of the mawlids. While the Bayyumiyya have three central hadras, attendance is extremely limited, hadras are much shorter, and there is no means of sanction. For the Bayyumiyya murid, his status as member forms a relatively smaller fraction of his individual identity. In the Jazuliyya, however, the Laws ensure that repeated unexcused absences lead to expulsion from the group. Thus active group commitment is maintained. Through continual participation in hadra rituals, the member is conditioned to assimilate group identity to his own; he begins to think and act as a Jazuliyya member.

The form of hadra is explicitly prescribed in their books. In traditional *turuq*, the form of ritual practice is established primarily by tradition, even when strategies arise to manipulate elements of that tradition for specific ends. In the Jazuliyya tariqa, however, the hadra program is outlined in the first letter of *Rasa'il*, as well as in portions of the Laws (partial translation in Appendix). Overt specification of the hadra provides a greater degree of control, centralization, and uniformity in the tariqa. It also indicates that the plan of the hadra has been subjected to strategic thinking.

Unlike most orders, there are several distinct kinds of Jazuliyya hadra, strategically specialized according to function and context. Thus the program for the mosque, *maqarr*, and local hadras is completely different, evincing the high level of organization in the tariqa. By comparison the Ja'fari have one basic type of hadra sufficing their purposes, while the Bayyumiyya hadras differ as a result of the lack of central control. The different Jazuliyya hadras display a strategic logic. Local hadras focus on teaching and training, and mosque hadras on proselytization, while the central hadra provides the greatest measure of spiritual feeling, as well as developing a sense of communal solidarity. The Jazuli hadra is an entire ritual system which works together to meet the social and spiritual aims of the group.

The weekly madrasa (school) is held at the main center (*maqarr*) in Qayt Bay, on Monday evenings after 'isha' prayer. This is an occasion for the group to meet and study Islam and Sufism together. The madrasa is divided into segments, including recitation and discussion of passages from Qur'an, hadith, fiqh, and the writings of Sidi

Jabir, between segments, there is group inshad. The central hadra is held in the same location on Thursday evenings, also starting after 'isha' prayer. After some prefatory *mudhakara* (study), the group performs the *hadra shar'iyya* (explained below), followed by group inshad, religious speeches, and solo inshad. The performance concludes with some words from the shaykh, the 'ahd (if any participants wish to join the group), and a standard concluding section. Both Monday and Thursday meetings are approximately three hours long.

Weekly hadras are also held at a number of the principle mosques of Cairo and Alexandria, after 'isha' prayer, or after Friday communal prayer. These more visible hadras, conducted in public places at times when large numbers of Muslims are gathered, are an effective strategy for publicizing the group, as well as a means of showing respect for major saints and obtaining their baraka. Such hadras consist of the orthodox hadra *shar'iyya* only, but using choral inshad, and are followed by a group visit to the maqam. They are completed in less than one hour.

Each local chapter within greater Cairo also performs one hadra per week, employing a format resembling the main center's Monday evening study session, but on a smaller scale. Outside of Cairo, the local group performs hadras on Monday, Thursday, and Friday evenings.

The tariqa maintains an active schedule of self-visiting during hadras, as required in the Jazuliyya Laws. Local groups frequently visit the main tariqa center in Qayt Bay. In the summer months, when children are out of school, the central Thursday hadra is

scheduled in a different regional center on alternate weeks. The effect of such visits is to bind the group more tightly together, both through horizontal bonds (among members who would not otherwise meet) and vertical bonds (since in this way more members have a chance to meet the shaykh al-sajjada). Such visits depend on a high level of central coordination and planning, down to the details of transportation, food, seating, and so forth, and thus evince considerable strategic thinking. Not surprisingly, then, it is primarily the modernist groups which do so; members of traditional turuq tend meet each other by chance at mawlid.

In sum, the Jazuliyya hadra schedule is demanding compared to participation in most traditional turuq. Occupying a full evening, meetings are much longer than those of traditional turuq. But like other modernist groups, Jazuliyya ritual is designed to fit the lifestyle of the modern worker; late arrival due to work is always excusable, and members leave in time to get a good night's sleep. When the tariqa participates in the mawlid of Ahl al-Bayt and saints, they never perform all night, or camp out in the mawlid area, as do bayts of the traditional groups. Thus the tariqa fills one's free time with religious activity, but not at the expense of a conventional and productive social existence.

Since the tariqa functions as an extended family, and in order to prevent scheduling conflicts, many social celebrations are simply incorporated into the hadra. Thus all religious holidays are celebrated within the context of hadra performance. Celebrations for departing for hajj , or returning afterwards, may likewise be celebrated

by the group. An engagement or marriage may be celebrated within the context of a hadra as well. While Sufi LP–inshad and dhikr–might not constitute a satisfactory wedding celebration for the average Egyptian, such weddings are really quite joyous, especially within the close-knit group of the Jazuliyya, and for members the presence of the shaykh, maqam, and performance of hadra provides the new couple with baraka: marriage, as always, is sanctified by religious ritual. Such is the meaning of wedding-in-hadra at the overt level of discourse. But the reverse is also true, and indicates the more hidden social aspect of this group strategy at work: performance of weddings within the hadra “sanctifies” the tariqa, because the willing absorption of marriage into the hadra affirms the tariqa as a true extended family, and builds the tariqa out of couples who will–it is hoped–be active and loyal members. By celebrating a wedding with men and women present, the tariqa affirms itself as modern and amenable to modernity. And it demonstrates the principle that the tariqa is able to encompass members’ lives completely; nothing is left outside its scope.

Thus festivals of all sorts, for social or religious occasions, tend to be subsumed within the tariqa hadra, in such a way as to obviate their secular performance without denying their validity. This is the primary strategy of the group: to replicate within itself that which members would otherwise obtain from modern secular society, but stripped of all forbidden aspects, which are replaced with spiritual ones. Exactly the same principle is applied to inshad.

2. The Hadra

Participants say that the Jazuliyya hadra is composed of three primary components: dhikr, mudhakara, and inshad. Compared to the traditional turuq, the hizb and other forms of formal ritual prayer are relatively marginal, whereas inshad and speech—the affective and communicative modes of LP—are central.

a. The main Thursday hadra (or jalsa)

The basic plan of the Thursday hadra is presented prescriptively in the Rasa'il, First Letter (see Appendix for text). The ethnography which follows demonstrates a fairly high degree of coincidence between plan and reality, even though the plan was written many years ago by Sidi Jabir himself. While I am not concerned here to point out the precise correspondences or points of difference, it should be mentioned that the very existence of an explicit hadra plans is strong evidence for the existence of strategic thinking in the tariqa. The hadra is a ritual resource whose performance is carefully planned by the tariqa leadership.

1. The group and setting

Every Thursday, about half an hour after 'isha' (night) prayer, the tariqa holds its principal weekly hadra at its main center in Qayt Bay. In principle, all members within Greater Cairo (the domain of communities which are connected by ordinary city buses and subways, including provinces of Cairo, Jiza, and Qalyubiyya) are required to attend; central tariqa leadership is always present. In addition, there are always visitors from

farther away, and frequently an entire Jazuliyya chapter from the Delta or Upper Egypt will travel together to Cairo, in order to attend the central hadra.

Formally the hadra is led by the shaykh al-sajjada, although because he is often busy with tariqa business he frequently does not arrive until later in the evening, and he does not serve as mustaftih. His low-key role has the effect of emphasizing the horizontal bonds of communal solidarity which characterize the tariqa. Senior members of the group, most of them mas'uls of local maqarrs, serve as leaders of mudhakara, or as mustaftihs for hadra. (The mustaftih is here called *naqib al-hadra*, *shaykh al-hadra*, or *masik al-hadra*.) In the *hadra shar'iyya* (described below) each tabaqa is frequently led by a different senior member who assumes the role of mustaftih by standing and moving to the center of the space. After the tabaqa ends, he sits and becomes an ordinary murid once more. Leadership of mudhakara and inshad also rotates among qualified personnel. Such rotation serves several functions: giving more senior members a chance to lead (and thus reducing tensions among them), preventing any one individual from assuming undue prominence (hence emphasizing horizontal group relations), and ensuring that the mustaftih is always fresh and energetic.

Anyone who serves a special function in the hadra is called *naqib*. Thus there is the naqib al-hadra, who serves as mustaftih, as we have seen. There are also naqibs for cooking, preparing, and serving food and drink (naqib al-shirab, naqib al-ta'm; women may also play a role). There is a naqib who meets and seats newcomers, a naqib who

guards their footwear, and a naqib to *yidhakir al-ahbab* (lead the group in mudhakara).

Some of these posts require particular talents.

Munshidin are full members of the tariqa, and participate in hadra as such, whether or not they perform inshad on any particular occasion. There is never any *muqta* or anything else which might indicate a non-spiritual motivation, and hence define their roles as other than ordinary members. One participant explained his preference for such “amateurs”, saying that although tariqa munshidin might be technically less proficient than professional munshidin, the former are more powerful because of their spiritual connection to the group, the shaykh, and his inshad repertoire. The munshid is secondary to the naqib al-hadra in the hadra shar‘iyya, but takes the lead during the *hadrat al-inshad* (these terms are defined below). Musicians are munshidin who are able to play an instrument, usually percussion; there is also an ‘*ud* (fretless lute) player.

Being eligible for membership, women do attend the hadra, although they sit in their own section, separate from the men. They help with food and perform dhikr quietly, but do not serve as munshidin, the woman’s voice being considered ‘*awra* (indecent). Girls and babies sit on the women’s side, while young boys sit with their fathers. While including the entire family in this way may render it less *shar‘i* (conformable to the Shari‘a) in the eyes of some conservatives (who believe that women should not be visible at all during religious ritual), it also has the effect of strengthening the group internally, and makes the group more appealing to liberal Muslims.

Unlike most *turuq*, which may only be associated with a color which may optionally be worn by some members in *hadra*, the *Jazuliyya* dress code is more specific. Men wear the *shi'ar*, a cap emblazoned with the *tariqa*'s emblem and motto on the front; the background color indicates one of three general status classes: green for *munshidin*, blue for *khidma* (service), and white for all others. However the traditional *jallabiyya* (robe) preferred by many Sufi groups is largely absent among the men, most of whom wear shirts and slacks, or suits; the *shaykh* himself wears only western-style dress. Such a dress code is another sign of their modern attitude, by which external signs of the historical Sufi tradition are of little significance; what is important is the inner meaning of Sufism, and that is ahistorical. However, the women all dress modestly, wearing a white *jallabiyya* and white veil (*hijab*); wearing white on white ("*abyad fi abyad*") is a standard Sufi practice signifying purity. This practice appears to be a concession to tradition which balances their exceptionally visible status in the *tariqa*.

As in all *tariqa hadras*, the total number of attendees increases over the course of the evening. At the start of the session there may be roughly 70 men and 25 women. By the end of the evening there are two to three times as many. The *shaykh* rarely arrives during the first hour or so, but eventually enters and takes his place in the green chair. In strong contrast to the *Ja'fariyya hadra*, very few outsiders attend *hadra*. The *hadra* is certainly not secretive, but it takes place out of the public view, and there is no official position where visitors can sit. Most of those visiting are Muslims who have expressed an interest in joining the group.

2. The social geometry

For their main hadra, the Jazuliyya adopt an usual geometric formation. The space of the central maqarr is sanctified by the presence of the founder's shrine (maqam), although the space is narrow and irregular. The social geometry is therefore cramped and determined by its physical boundaries. The function room is divided at approximately two-thirds of its length by a low metal railing. Women sit inside this boundary, while the Shaykh's upholstered green chair is placed on just the other side. Across from him are the munshidin (allowing him to direct their performance) and the maqam of Sidi Jabir. The senior members (who were closest to Sidi Jabir) tend to sit near the Shaykh, but there is no definite seating order. Since the men's section of the function room is limited, the lines of muridin extend out into the alley in front of the building, which is carpeted and lined with chairs for this purpose. Those who have trouble sitting on the ground (due to age or for any other reason) may sit on the chairs; all the rest sit in closely spaced lines on the ground. Before the shaykh arrives they sit facing each other, but as soon as he sits the line of muridin who would have their backs to him turn ninety degrees in order to face him.

The geometry is thus densely packed, oriented by the boundaries of the space available, and by the presence of the Shaykh as a magnetic center. In this packed formation there is also a strong sense of corporate unity. Individual boundaries between members dissolve, since there is little discrimination based on positional rankings, and

since the physical space between members is limited; the spatial limitations thus help the group to act as a unit.

Tapes and books are sold at the far end of the alley, where members enter. This is also where participants leave their shoes, under the protection of several naqibs.

Within this performance geometry, communication is divided into two levels: one via ordinary speech, and the other speech via an amplification system. The latter intensifies selected sound signals, depending on who has access to the microphone. Microphones are provided for the Shaykh, and the munshidin, as well as for the speaker in mudhakara. Although access to the microphone is limited, everyone is encouraged to take a turn speaking during the mudhakara sections. After the shaykh's arrival, most communication is directed overtly toward the shaykh, and generally toward the group as a whole. During mudhakara (see below), individual speakers stand, take the microphone, and turn toward the shaykh. Munshidin also sing facing the shaykh; in this way he can more easily cue a munshid, or interject a comment. Women do not participate in LP during hadra, but their zaghrutas (ululations) may be heard on occasion.

3. The ritual process

After 'isha prayer on Mondays and Thursdays, the naqibs in charge of setting up the mosque arrive. They unroll a carpet so as to cover the alley leading to the main door; most of the ahbab will sit here. They line both sides of this alley with simple wooden chairs. The shaykh's chair, upholstered in green, is moved into position and a low table placed before it. Next to it, a low fence which will mark the boundary of the

women's section on the inner side of the room. The sound system (amplifier, loudspeaker, and microphones) is connected and tested.

Gradually, members arrive, remove their shoes, and take their places. Men wear their shi'ar (the cloth cap with the tariqa's emblem emblazoned on the front), white, green, or blue according to their roles. Women are modestly veiled, though with faces exposed, and wear all white. Not everyone arrives promptly at the beginning of the hadra. It is acceptable to enter late, since it is understood that work and possibly other responsibilities may take priority over hadra. But a specific *adab* (here, protocol) must be followed. When a person enters, he greets in the standard Islamic fashion ("al-salamu 'alaykum", "peace be upon you"), but no one need answer other than the hadra leader. He walks with his right arm held over his stomach and the left by his side, then sits in position as indicated by a naqib. During this segment of the hadra, members sit on the ground, or on chairs, facing the leader.

a. Opening mudhakara

Mudhakara (study) is a kind of performed knowledge which is a special feature of the Jazuliyya hadra, being counted as one of its three principal components (the other two being dhikr and inshad). It consists of activities here collectively labelled as speech, including discussions, brief sermons, and lessons. As opposed to dhikr, which leans toward ritual, and inshad, which leans toward affective language modes, mudhakara is primarily communicative. At the same time, it presents an important social function, as I will explain shortly.

When a sufficient number of muridin have gathered one of the senior members recites fawatih, including the Prophet and founder. Then he opens the hadra with a study session, or discussion on some religious topic. The opening mudhakara is smaller than those which follow, since not all the muridin have yet arrived (there are as yet perhaps only 40); the PA system may not be used, although it will be during subsequent mudhakara sessions. But I will describe the general format of mudhakara here.

The leader begins by introducing a passage or topic to be discussed. These may be drawn from standard religious sources: Qur'an, *hadith* (reports of the Prophet's sayings or actions), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), or *sira* (the Prophet's biography). They may also come from Sidi Jabir's own writings or sayings, including passages from the *Rasa'il* or *Qasa'id*. The leader may read a passage or present a topic from one of these sources, or have someone else do so. Then a series of muridin volunteer in turn to take the microphone and offer their interpretation of the passage or topic. A specific protocol (*adab*) must be followed in mudhakara. Each person who wishes to speak obtains permission from the leader, then stands and takes the microphone. He begins by saying "na'm ya sidi" ("yes, sir"), and stands in a particular posture before continuing. Usually the younger members take the microphone first, leaving the more experienced to speak at the end (Sidi Jabir used to speak last).

Often there is interaction between speaker and group. When a senior member addresses the group, he does not continue for long without a "feedback check", stopping to ensure the group is following along with the words "ma'aya ya ahbab?" ("are you

with me, friends?"), to which the group responds, shouting "na'm ya sidi" ("yes, sir!") as if one. Or else he may say "kadhalika ya ahbab?" ("is it not so, friends?"), to which the group together responds "kadhalika ya sidi" ("it is so, sir!"). Such exchanges, reminiscent of the corporate unity one might expect from a sports team, are indicative and supportive of the close horizontal bonds of solidarity among the group.

When Sidi Jabir was alive, he conducted such mudhakara in order to teach his muridin, and to prepare them spiritually for dhikr. The mudhakara today serves a similar role. According to Sidi Jabir, dhikr is a kind of du'a'. Before one recites it, his heart must be purified from the base desires of the nafs (lower self), and this purification can be accomplished through study of religious topics. Today, members say that the mudhakara is also an opportunity to recollect the teachings of Sidi Jabir, and serves to unify the group, rallying them around this shared heritage. Sidi Jabir is sadly no longer with them, and so group members take turns speaking when formerly their shaykh had spoken to them.

But when speaking in mudhakara, it is critical that one recall the words or concepts of Sidi Jabir, as preserved in his writings or from memory. Mudhakara is not an open discussion or forum for expression of any opinion, much less for debate and critique. It is forbidden to bring in words from other shaykhs, or found in other books. Rather, the group's members seek to gather socially via the words and ideas of their shaykh, to dwell in his knowledge as a means of spiritual advancement and purification, but also for social unity. As each speaker stands to present his interpretation of the topic

under discussion, he must speak words which are in his own heart, but which arise out of the love of the shaykh, which come originally from him, and which are therefore shared with others present. Members do not try to give their own opinions; rather they try to interpret according to the ideas of the shaykh—they try in some sense to think like the shaykh, to become the shaykh, and thus to speak as the shaykh would have spoken. Mudhakara is not an exercise in critical thinking or individuality; rather the goal is unity upon the words and thoughts of the shaykh. Such words thus express and construct personal social relationships.

Group members say that they respect all the saints: Rifa'i, Badawi, Dasuqi, Jilani and others. However, in their tariqa they must stick to their own mashrab (spiritual way). If they started bringing in words of other shaykhs then differences might develop between them, whereas they are trying to develop a unity based on the words of the shaykh.

What is significant about this form of performing and imbibing one's shaykh's knowledge is its social aspect, and its active character in creating a tightly bonded group. Members are expected to participate in mudhakara, and it is through such participation, in which (because there is no debate) everyone who speaks is saying something which is automatically the subject of agreement by everyone else, strong and active horizontal bonds are formed among the members. That is, mudhakara is not merely a communal and interactive social activity; it is a communal and interactive social activity in which everything which is said serves to reaffirm that which is shared, and to remind them of

their shared basis. The speaker's faith in the shaykh's knowledge is confirmed by the massive show of positive reinforcement which unfolds before him as he speaks, which simultaneously reminds all participants of the ma'rifa and 'ilm of Sidi Jabir, which is the basis for their special and separate community, a community open to new members, but whose boundaries with the outside world are always very well marked. In a sense, the shaykh's knowledge and opinions is primarily the catalyst for this process which unfolds in mudhakara.

But the nature of that knowledge, tending toward the esoteric and affective, is also important, for it makes group members feel that they are in possession of deeper meanings than those available to the ordinary Muslim. The esoteric, therefore, has a definite social function in separating the in-group from the out-group, and in supplying the emotional basis for solidarity. (The Ja'fariyya, by contrast, in choosing to emphasize the exoteric as a means of situating themselves more securely in the Islamic field, necessarily reduced their ability to separate in-group and out-group, although their diffuse boundary also fits with their different strategy as a central and institutional type of tariqa.)

The mudhakara is also important as a means of developing public speaking abilities. The Jazuliyya consider public speaking ability an important part of membership, for it assists in da'wa. Sidi Jabir used to insist that everyone be able to stand and speak in front of a group. The goal was to overcome one's fear of speaking before groups, and to learn to speak coherently and convincingly in one's own words. Members report that

children as young as five and six sometimes take the microphone and speak a few words. The shaykh encouraged all members to participate, saying anything at all, even if merely “I love the Prophet Muhammad”.

(It is useful to contrast this system of mudhakara with the Ja‘fariyya, where, as we shall see later, the shaykh’s knowledge—represented in his poetry—is performed as inshad. This mode of knowledge performance is repeated verbatim (by the munshidin) or received passively (by listeners). Neither performer nor listener is required to restate the knowledge in his own words, and hence performance can proceed with little intellectual engagement. Since there is no possibility of error in interpretation, the shaykh’s wisdom is preserved more perfectly, but the performance of his knowledge does not serve to unify the group horizontally, but rather through mutual vertical relations with the physically absent founder; such relations do not form a well-bounded corporate group. Furthermore the Ja‘fariyya emphasis upon exoteric dimensions of faith, which renders this tariqa more open and uncontroversial, does not supply a basis for a strong in-group defined by such knowledge.)

Sometimes this period may also be used for Qur’anic study or inshad practice instead of mudhakara. After more muridin have arrived, the hadra becomes more formal, and an introductory hadra shar‘iyya is performed.

b. Hadra Shar‘iyya

The hadra shar‘iyya is a hadra-within-a-hadra performed near the beginning of the evening, containing hizb, dhikr, and inshad. It is qualified as “shar‘iyya”

(conformable to Shari‘a, Islamic law) because it consists primarily of dhikr of the Names of God mentioned in the Qur’an, without any instrumental accompaniment, in a relatively restrained and orderly style. The hadra shar‘iyya, which may also be called hadrat al-dhikr (hadra of dhikr), or hadrat al-asma’ (hadra of the Names [of God]), unifies the group by creating a unity of sound and movement, and creates a state of alert wakefulness in their concentration upon God. In all these characteristics it contrasts sharply with the hadrat al-inshad performed later in the evening, which is described below. It is quite similar to the full liturgy of many traditional turuq, such as the Bayyumiyya. The mosque hadra performed by the Jazuliyya (described below) is similar to the hadra shar‘iyya, and appears designed to create a positive public image for the group, an image which includes the notion of orthodox conformity. The hadra shar‘iyya is private, but contains a similar message, directed not outwardly to others, but inwardly to themselves. Performing it is a form of religious legitimization, a proof to themselves that the Jazuliyya are well-grounded in an indubitably orthodox form of worship.¹⁰

After the mudhakara is complete, the lines of muridin move further into the mosque, in order to accommodate their growing numbers. The hadra shar‘iyya is led by a senior member (one of the mas’uls), since the shaykh has generally not yet arrived (see below). The leader begins by calling for the Fatiha. Then he leads the group in reciting the Shahada (Islamic testimony of faith), performed in a format common to many Shadhili turuq: “la ilaha illa Allah” (“there is no deity but God”) (thrice), “Muhammad rasul Allah” (“Muhammad is the messenger of God”) (once), using a fixed melody. He

may next lead a short series of fawatih, primarily following the tariqa silsila: the Prophet, Sayyidna al-Husayn, Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili, Sidi Jabir, and Sidi Salim.

Then he conducts a group recitation of one or two of the tariqa hizbs. Besides the five hizbs mentioned earlier, the Qur'anic surat Yasin is commonly employed. Before reciting dhikr, one's heart must be purified from base desires of the nafs. The prefatory mudhakara aimed at such a purification, and it is the main purpose of this hizb as well. The "Da'wa Rabbaniyya" (a poetic hizb) is performed in vigorous melodic unison, while the others are chanted in a more traditional manner (not unlike the Bayyumiyya, but far more unified), employing a narrow compass and restrained style. But the frequent use of the poetic hizb ("Da'wa Rabbaniyya") and its more melodic performance style seems to be unique among Sufi turuq, reflecting a predilection for that which is emotionally unifying. The "Da'wa" is also distinctive in that it is an original literary work of Sidi Jabir, unlike his other hizbs (and the hizbs of most other turuq), which are mostly assemblages of Qur'an and Hadith. The "Da'wa" therefore serves as a distinctive symbol of shaykh and group, contributing to the memory of the former, and the unity of the latter.

There follows dhikr, performed from a seated position, and accompanied by solo inshad (inshad fardi) performed over the PA system. No musical instruments of any kind are used. Some members say that the seated position was originally adopted by Sidi Jabir in response to criticisms from religious conservatives that Sufi dhikr is *raqs* (dance); he also found that it ensured a higher degree of group unity in the hadra

shar' iyya, particularly given the large number of muridin present. The former explanation does not explain the seated dhikr at present, since in the mosque hadra (described later on) the group does stand. But the seated position also has the advantage of allowing participants a better view of the mustaftih and shaykh, and enabling a high level of emotion to be expressed, while constraining excessive movement and hence protecting the social order. Sidi Jabir himself noted that this form of dhikr is distinctive, and thus differentiates the Jazuliyya from other orders (Hoffman 1995:184-5).

As in other Shadhili orders, dhikr is based upon the beginning of the Qur'anic Ayat al-Kursi (2:255, the Throne Verse): "Allah la ilaha illa huwa al-Hayy al-Qayyum" ("God! There is no deity but He, the Living, the Eternal"), from which the following dhikr formulae are extracted: "La ilaha illa Allah" ("There is no deity but God"), "Allah" ("God"), "Hayy" ("Living"), "Qayyum" ("Eternal"), and performed in five *tabaqas*:

- 1) La ilaha illa Allah
- 2) Allah
- 3) Hayy
- 4) Qayyum
- 5) Allah

Nearly every *tabaqa* is led by a different *naqib al-hadra* (mustaftih), who controls it from a standing position in the center of the space; recitation of the Name accelerates. The second and third *tabaqas* are accompanied by solo *inshad*.

The first, fourth, and last *tabaqas* are performed using the clear pronunciation style, *dhikr al-lisan*. However the Names in the second and third *tabaqas* are recited

using dhikr al-lisan followed by dhikr al-qalb. The initial dhikr al-lisan (clear pronunciation) serves to reinforce concentration and prepare for a deeper contemplation of the Name, by dispelling stray thoughts (*khawatir*). When the mustaftih feels that participants are ready, that the distractive thoughts of everyday life have been expelled and the spirit has begun to drink more deeply of the dhikr, he claps twice. This is the signal to switch from dhikr al-lisan (also dhikr jahri, or loud dhikr) to dhikr al-ruh (dhikr of the spirit; also dhikr al-qalb), in which the Name is pronounced with more breath, without consonantal articulation. In this style, dhikr on “Allah” is pronounced “Ah”, while dhikr on “Hayy” is pronounced “heh”. Dhikr al-ruh is performed double-time (twice as fast). It is a deeper, more intensive engagement with dhikr, as well as providing a rest from the outward exertion of loud chanting. The final two tabaqas are connected without a break. The last chant of “Allah” builds up rapidly in tempo, volume, and pitch (steadily drifting upward).

These dhikr formulae are pronounced with vigor and unity by all participants except for the solo munshid; indeed the munshid is restricted to a soloist in part so that as many members as possible can participate in the dhikr. Spiritually, the recitation of dhikr causes participants to concentrate on God, dispelling all else from the mind. But the unified performance of dhikr formulae suggests group unity as well, as each participant becomes one with the rest in voice and breath. While the dhikr al-qalb segments especially may cause a certain amount of *ghiyab* (absence), in this dhikr the murid is understood to be essentially *sahi* (sober) and connected to the social group, in

sharp contrast to the later *dhikr al-hana* (dhikr of the tavern) in which more mystical states of intoxication, absence and individuality are cultivated.

Movement patterns are vigorous, but at the same time standardized and highly unified in each *tabaqa*. This kinetic unity, enhanced by the fact that *muridin* are seated (and thus generally less mobile), combines with the chant to intensify the *dhikr*, while also creating a strong sense of group unity among participants. On the spiritual function of movement, Sidi Jabir said: "Movement is essential to life; the opposite of movement is death. It is God who causes movement and stillness. Movement and stillness, this is the rhythm of life...There is a link between the body and the spirit." (quoted in Hoffman 1995:167) But this *dhikr* movement has a social utility as well, for in making the group move as one, each participant feels a part of a larger whole. The following movements are employed:

1) "La ilaha illa Allah" ("there is no deity but God") is performed with turning movements: to the right for the *nafy* (negation: "La ilaha"), to the left for the *ithbat* (affirmation: "illa Allah"). The leftwards turn is said to be toward the heart, which is considered to be that part of man capable of reflecting the Divine Light. (This is a standard pattern followed by many *turuq* for the same reasons.)

2) "Allah" using *dhikr al-lisan* is performed with bowing movements: forward while pronouncing "Allah", then upward with intensification of the final letter "ha".

3) "Allah" using *dhikr al-ruh* is performed with slight bobbing movements of the head.

4) “Hayy” using dhikr al-lisan is performed with bowing movements: forward on “Hayy”, then back up.

5) “Hayy” using dhikr al-ruh is performed with slight bobbing movements of the head, down and up for each repetition of “Hayy”.

6) “Qayyum” is performed with bowing movements: forward while pronouncing “Qayyu” and backward while pronouncing “um”.

7) “Allah” is performed as in #2.

Despite the absence of instruments, and relative conformity to one set of dhikr and movement patterns, dhikr is notably forceful; members display tremendous collective enthusiasm and energy, much more than is typical among other turuq.

While inshad is secondary to dhikr in the hadra shar‘iyya, it nevertheless plays an important and conspicuous role. No instrumental accompaniment is employed, but inshad is amplified through the PA system. Standing, the munshid spontaneously selects and performs poetic fragments, mainly from the diwan of Sidi Jabir, but also drawn from other sources, together with improvised madad segments. Words may be substituted, and phrases otherwise varied freely. The relation of the performed text to the original is not predictable in advance, and in some cases the performed text varies the original so drastically as to scarcely be considered an instance of it. Melodic material is improvised, and the munshid is free to modulate within the Arabic system of *maqamat* (melodic modes) as he pleases, as long as he follows the metrical framework of the dhikr. Inshad

accompanies the second and third *tabaqa*s only, and is clearly audible over the *dhikr al-ruh* performed in these segments.¹¹

Sidi Jabir considered solo *inshad* to be extremely important, not only as a means of attracting members, but to express and instill the essence of Sufi experience.

According to his disciples, he used to say that the *munshid* is one who is “*munshadd*¹² *ila al-sama*” (“drawn to the heavens”). He is longing (*mushtaq*) for the light of his Lord, and therefore calls Him in *inshad*: “*ya habibi!*”, “Oh my Beloved!” Out of his love for God he must also sing of he who informed him about God: Sayyidna Muhammad, the messenger (*rasul*) of God. So he sings of praise and longing for the *Rasul*. The *munshid* thus accompanies *dhikr* in order to *yihannin al-qulub* (soften the hearts), *yishawwaqha li Allah* (cause them to long for God), so that *dhikr* is performed with feeling, as it ought to be, not as a perfunctory act.

Inshad is also a means of eliminating distractions, helping one to focus on *dhikr*. A senior member explained that participants may arrive at *hadra* distracted by worldly problems. Listening to *inshad* dispels these problems, by focusing the mind upon the *shaykh*'s words, and brings one back to the spiritual sphere. However at a higher state of concentration, one does not listen to *inshad*, but concentrates on *dhikr* only. This is one reason why *inshad* accompanying *dhikr* is improvised. The shifting style of solo *inshad*, with constant changes in text and an improvised melody, helps to prevent one from concentrating on *inshad* instead of *dhikr*, mistaking the means for the end.

Another compared the solo munshid to a tour guide, translating the feeling of dhikr into words, and thereby raising the emotional level of the hadra. His ability in this depends on his own spiritual level. If the munshid is spiritually advanced, he can connect with the shaykh, and with God, in order to match his inshad to the spiritual condition of the hadra. In this case he may be able to raise its spiritual level, through faith and love (*iman wa mahabba*), until it approaches the level of the shaykh, so that all can rise up together. (Behind the munshid's spiritual role is thus a definite social role of group unification.) On the other hand, if the munshid is deficient in some respect—if he has sinned, or is overly concerned with the material world—then he may lower the level of the hadra, and the shaykh may stop him from performing. Such subtle conditions cannot be applied to the Bayyumiyya munshid, who may not even be a member of the tariqa.

The munshid thus plays a critical and central role in the Jazuliyya tariqa, one which entails considerable responsibility and is therefore explicitly set forth the Laws of the Munshidin (see Appendix), which require, *inter alia*:

- 1) That as the munshid is the *saqi al-dhakirin* (cupbearer for those who perform dhikr) in the hadra, he must preserve his purity, and avoid vexation as much as possible.
- 2) That he memorize by heart all the poetry and words of the Shaykh, and have gathered also some of the poetry of the Sufis.
- 3) That he be skillful and intelligent in selecting, during his inshad, the words or poems which suit the *hal* (condition) of the hadra, and the condition of those performing dhikr.

...

10) That the munshid adorn himself with morality, and Muhammadan, Sufi, Jazuli characteristics, as is appropriate for a man bearing the words of the shaykh and singing them.

11) That the munshidin alone must wear the white dress and decorations which distinguish them, so that the leaders can gather them during public occasions.

(al-Jazuli 1993a:128-129)

The Shaykh's diwan is always a prominent source for inshad, and the near-exclusive source for group inshad. But texts for solo inshad, whether accompanying dhikr or in the subsequent hadrat al-inshad, may move outside the diwan as well. Furthermore, poetry can be modified, fragmented, and recombined in performance. Unlike the methodical inshad of the Ja'fariyya (described below), integrity of the original qasida is not important here. It is as though the crystalline structure of the qasida (preserved by the performance practice of the Ja'fari) is here dissolved, loosing individual poetic fragments to float freely, or recombine. This freedom allows the munshid to express himself, and therefore raises the emotional level far more than if he were constrained slavishly to one text. The latter course—held by the Ja'fariyya, and by the Jazuliyya during group inshad—maintains the cognitive message of the poetry, which may be lost when the poem is performed in a “recombinant” form. But in dhikr it is not communication, but emotion which is important. Texts therefore tend toward the emotional as well, ghazals and other forms of love poetry, for which the solo voice is ideally suited. The freedom of the soloist to select texts here is similar to that of the Bayyumiyya munshid, and yet by periodically returning to the Shaykh's diwan, the

munshid always reestablishes himself as a Jazuli munshid, an insider performing texts of special significance to other insiders.

The Jazuliyya hadra contains layers of preparation. The initial mudhakara is preparatory for the hadra, and the hizb is preparatory for dhikr. In a larger sense the entire hadra shar'iyya is preparatory. Participants describe it as designed to transfer muridin from a state of engagement with the world to a state of engagement with God. This transition cannot be made too quickly, or else it will be ineffective. Loud dhikr increases concentration, and so does inshad. But at this stage the spirits are not yet ready to drink the more intoxicating varieties of Sufi poetry, which could dangerously lead the nafs (baser self) to non-religious states. Therefore, until the nafs has been purified of worldly cravings, poetry must remain relatively *sahi* (sober), consistent with the orthodox character of the hadra shar'iyya.

While solo inshad is capable of creating a potent mystical experience through imagery of love and intoxication, the munshid therefore is more constrained in his selection of texts than he will be in the later hadrat al-inshad. He tends to focus on more sober themes of contracting the self (*inkisar al-nafs*), bringing it into a state of awareness of God's magnificence (*jalal*). The effects of such inshad, together with the simultaneous dhikr, will prepare the nafs to receive the benefits of inshad and mudhakara which follow.

There is also a social interpretation of these strategies. Indulging the spiritual desires of muridin could only lead to social chaos. Spiritually, the preparatory sections

of the hadra may be a means for driving out worldly distractions and base desires, and creating a spiritual receptiveness for what follows. But socially, they are a means of turning participants' attention to the group, driving out that which distracts from it, bringing participants together. In the hadra shar'iyya, the group becomes hyper-alert, superaware of itself. Through texts, performative unity, and shared feeling, inshad and dhikr serves to bind the group more closely together. The group having been established, the rest of the hadra can proceed on a surer footing.¹³

After dhikr is complete, the group together recites several verses from the Qur'an, a performance evincing the same level of strong energy as in dhikr, with temporal unity and rough tonal unity: Surat al-Sharah (94:1-8) (assuring the Prophet that God is with him, that he should persevere, and strive to please his Lord); and the last verse of surat al-Baqara (2:286), a Qur'anic du'a': plea for mercy and forgiveness from God. The recitation emphatically repeats the phrase "pardon us" three times. Finally they close the hadra shar'iyya with the characteristic recitation of the shahada: "la ilaha illa Allah" (3x), "Muhammad rasul Allah".

Despite its undeniable energy and vigor, and the flexibility of its inshad, the hadra shar'iyya is the most formal and serious of all Jazuli ritual practices. Once it ends, the level of formality—in the sense of a fixed adherence to prescribed form—drops. Typically one of the senior members will rise speaking semi-formally and extemporaneously, about the hadra shar'iyya itself, its role or function. The remainder of the hadra is either less formal, more ecstatic, or both.

c. Group inshad (inshad jama‘i).

Following the hadra shar‘iyya, the group performs a song in the group inshad (*inshad jama‘i*) style. Such a song consists of a single qasida from the shaykh’s diwan set to a precomposed melody and sung by the whole group, with instrumental accompaniment consisting of ‘*ud* (fretless lute), *tabla* (funnel-shaped drum), *duff* (large tambourine without jingles), and *mazhar* (large tambourine with jingles). One of the senior munshidin plays the ‘*ud*, while percussion instruments are usually played by the youth. Guided by the *ra‘is al-munshidin* (head munshid) and ‘*ud* player, the official munshidin (those entitled to wear the green shi‘ar) lead the inshad, and dominate the soundscape due to their access to the microphone. But the entire congregation is expected to sing along with them, and everyone invariable does so.

Except for several of the very longest poems (from which composers select fixed excerpts), all the lines of the qasida are sung in order, verses (*kublays*, from “couplet”) alternating with a refrain (*madhhab*) which is ordinarily taken from the opening line or two. Such a procedure is rational and straightforward, leading to a cognitively clear presentation of the whole, and very unlike the more emotional and irregular collage produced by the solo munshid, who samples different poems and reorders their lines, in order to create the particular feeling he wants. Most members have memorized poems used in group inshad, but it is also acceptable to read from the diwan while singing, and the newer members often do so. If the melody is difficult, or not well-known, temporal and tonal unity may be low. But volume and enthusiasm are always uniformly high.

While a few melodies consist of a single strophe which repeats with each line or two of poetry, most are more complex, employing different tempi and maqams (melodic modes) for each kublay, together with a fixed refrain melody, on the model of the *taqtuqa* (strophic song) as performed by famous popular urban singers such as Umm Kulthum, ‘Abd al-Wahhab, Farid al-Atrash, and others. When the tariqa began, they employed traditional melodies used by the other turuq. But Sidi Jabir didn’t like what he termed “train” (“qatr”) melodies, poems set using a simple repetitive melody repeated over and over for every line of poetry. Therefore he encouraged the muridin to compose new ones. Today the tariqa Laws themselves sanction such composition.

Unlike the Ja‘fariyya group inshad, where text is central, Jazuliyya melody and text share more equally in importance. Melody is said to play an important role in understanding a qasida by generating *hal* (a spiritual condition). The melody “makes me feel that I said the words, as if they were from me and not from the shaykh. Melody gives immediate feeling so you can live in the words”, as one member said. A good melody can help express the depth of the word, said a munshid; complex melodies are needed to express the subtle meanings of the words. Sound here is not merely a vehicle for the text, but rather emotionalizes the texts so that their meanings can be felt; emotion thus supports cognition. Melody is also important as a spiritual device in itself. One munshid said that the shortest path to the heart is through melody. Natural sounds, such as thunder or birdsong, create an emotional response in us, and musical sound is an extension of this effect. Melody helps the muridin to memorize their shaykh’s important

words, and focusses distracted minds in the hadra. This latter function is present in the Ja'fariyya as well, but its restrictive character limits its use for emotional stimulation, which is precisely what is desired, since the Ja'fariyya aim for a more sober and austere ritual. But one of the important side effects of the Jazuliyya emotionalism is the generation of a strong corporate feeling, which does not occur in the Ja'fariyya.

What is especially distinctive to the Jazuliyya is their deliberate cultivation of elaborate melodies in the style of popular music, as a means of attracting members to the tariqa, while displacing the sinful texts and contexts of the original songs. The key to this process is the Jazuliyya notion (widely adopted in Islamic discourse about music; see Nelson 1985:32-51) that melody in itself is morally neutral, while texts and contexts may carry good or bad influence; therefore secular-style melodies, or even melodies borrowed from the secular tradition, can be beneficial when applied to texts of real spiritual value, as long as they are not too intimately associated with depraved texts and contexts. By contrast, the Ja'fariyya employ staid, restrained melodies which evoke a self-contained traditional religious world, without reference to modernity. This contrast in strategy is largely related to a contrast in the target audience for proselytization.

That the development of new melodies is a deliberate strategy of the Jazuliyya is evident from their efforts in encouraging composition. Any munshid may contribute new melodies. These are proposed to the other munshidin in special meetings. If accepted, the new song will be learned and polished before being taken to the hadra. Each year at least fifteen new melodies are introduced during the tariqa-wide celebration of Mawlid

al-Nabi. In addition, there is a yearly inshad competition, held at the festival for the founding of the tariqa (October 25th), when all the local chapters gather in Cairo. Each chapter performs one of Sidi Jabir's qasidas for which they have composed a new melody, and a panel of judges awards a prize for the best one. Although senior munshidin in the Ja'fariyya group also compose, melodic scope is far more limited, and composition is not institutionally encouraged as it is in the Jazuliyya.

The composition of new melodies is even sanctioned by the tariqa's Laws, which state, *inter alia* (see Appendix):

7) The munshidin of the tariqa must record new melodies, and distribute them to all the areas of the tariqa, in order that there be agreement among the brethren in all regions.

8) The munshidin should undertake to review the melodies for the districts of the tariqa which intend to present them in the celebrations of our master the Imam al-Jazuli (may God be pleased with him), so that they can be reviewed and adjusted in order to be presented in the best form.

(al-Jazuli 1993a:128-9)

Although Sidi Jabir did not compose songs himself, in principle any qasida from the diwan may be employed as the basis for one. However, the munshidin have not yet composed melodies for all of them. About 70% of the qasidas have been set to fixed melodies. The other 30% have mostly come into their hands recently, since the shaykh's death. Therefore only a limited set of qasidas can be employed as group inshad, although any qasida can be used in solo inshad. Some of these qasidas have more than

one melody, such as “Ya Abu Ibrahim” which has four: the first was a well-known folk melody, and the others were composed by members of the group.

An usual feature of many group inshad songs is what one munshid calls the “mawwal” style: non-metric group singing, using a composed melody. Such sections are naturally highly heterophonic. He says that the composer may use this format to avoid the monotony of continuous meter. More interestingly, the non-metric melodic setting calls attention to a key segment of the text, containing the principle *hikma* (wisdom) of the qasida. This technique appears to be a unique musical innovation of the tariqa, since Arabic music generally does not employ non-metric styles except as solos.

Melodies can also be adapted from popular songs directly, although this practice is not encouraged because original melodies (even if influenced by popular music) give the tariqa a distinctive character through performance. One munshid estimated that 80% of all melodies are composed by the members, while 20% are taken over from popular songs, such as Umm Kulthum’s “Ya laylat al-‘id anistina”, or Asmahan’s “Alayk salat Allah wa salam” (the latter sanctioned by being originally a religious song, although its words are replaced with those of Sidi Jabir). When melodies are borrowed, they should only be taken from songs of good repute, so that the performance of such inshad will not serve to remind muridin of its original text (and no doubt to avoid criticism as well). The Laws of the Munshidin (see Appendix) states (article #4) “That the melodies should not be vulgar, or quoted from non-Sufi melodies”. This latter condition is evidently not applied too strictly, and may have been included more as a theoretical line of defense.

Less commonly melodies are adapted together with their original texts, this is discussed below.

One munshid said that Jazuliyya melodies are complex in part due to the presence of much musical talent, and the fact that Sidi Jabir encouraged them to compose. Other Sufi orders use simple melodies, often handed down from tradition, which are easy to memorize. But because the musical talent in the Jazuli is extensive, they are able to make use of complex melodies which better express the feeling and suit the structure of the poems. One member said that he considers composition to be a blessing from the shaykh, who encouraged it.

Another strategic factor informing the diversity of the Jazuliyya melodic repertoire is their desire to accommodate local culture. Each area of Egypt has its particular “fuklur” (folklore), as one member said. Local chapters incorporate their own local folk tradition in group inshad compositions. Such melodies have a special significance and power in this region, and may be more effective than others in stirring feeling or attracting members to the group. During the mawlids, when all the chapters gather in Cairo, such melodies are performed for the entire group, so that they will unify the tariqa, rather than drawing it apart by geographical region. In this way, one finds traditional wedding melodies from Upper Egypt or Nubia being performed in the Cairo center (see transcription of Jazuliyya hadra for examples).

Because melodies are numerous, and often complex, texture tends toward a loose temporal and tonal unison. But this lack of precision, and any consequent ambiguity, is

not detrimental since everyone is performing the text himself, and since the aim of group inshad is affective at least as much as it is communicative; what is important is the collective effort which generates group feeling. This can be assured when the group is together rhythmically; thus one of the Laws states in part "...the hearts of the dhakirin and the munshid depend on regulation of the beat, and when they are different, the hearts are different." (al-Jazuli 1993a:128). Melodic unity is not mentioned, and is evidently of lesser importance. In the Ja'fariyya, by contrast, inshad is something performed by munshidin and communicated to the group, and therefore must be precise. Tolerance for imprecision in the Jazuliyya also enables a much greater dynamic range of expression and hence more powerful group emotion; some songs are sung so forcefully that one can barely distinguish the tonal center. In the Ja'fariyya the range of emotion is far more muted, in coordination with their strategy of orthodox conformity.

Complex melodies are supported by the presence of a group of dedicated munshidin (equipped with microphones), and accompanied by musical instruments, mostly percussive. Although use of instruments is criticized by many groups, the Jazuliyya use them to intensify the mood, as well as to regulate the inshad; perhaps they are required all the more urgently due to the complexity of inshad melodies. Thus the previously excerpted Law requires of the munshid

5) That he supervise the members who play percussion instruments. For the hearts of the dhakirin and the munshid depend on regulation of the beat, and when they are different, the hearts are different.
(al-Jazuli 1993a:128)

Selection of melodies in performance may be just as important as selection of text. When they perform group inshad in the public hadras held in the mosques (described below), they often use the more widely known or simpler melodies, for these attract a bigger group outside of the tariqa and perhaps are less controversial for being less similar to the taqtuqa tradition. When they perform in their private maqarr, they tend to use the more difficult melodies which they have composed themselves.

Unless the Shaykh requests a specific qasida, selection of poetry lies with the ra'is al-munshidin, and depends on the *hal al-hadra* (state of the hadra), as well as the *munasaba* (occasion). If someone has just given a speech about faith (*iman*), a qasida on the importance of faith might be used. During the season of the Prophet's Birthday (Mawlid al-Nabi), the group will tend to sing madih (praise of the Prophet), while during Ramadan they may sing about the Qur'an, or supplication.

Although group inshad is almost entirely based on the qasidas of Sidi Jabir, bits of other texts may be mixed in as a refrain, and these are often designed to create interest and emotion by referring to or incorporating popular secular musical culture. Since they are added to Sidi Jabir's own text, they may refer back to him, a loving response from the devoted group to their Shaykh. Thus in the group inshad "Ya Jamaluh" ("Oh his beauty"; transcribed in the Appendix) the line "ya jamaluh ya jamaluh" ("oh his beauty, oh his beauty")—together with its melody—was taken from a traditional Upper Egyptian folk song, a wedding song in praise of the groom; here it is reconditioned and used to praise the Shaykh. Similarly the words and text of a Nubian folk song, "al-'Ali 'Ali

Yaba”, adapted as a popular song by the famous Nubian singer Muhammad Munir, is woven together with a qasida of Sidi Jabir, and used to praise him (also transcribed in the Appendix). Several Umm Kulthum song texts are used in a similar fashion.

The basic Jazuliyya qasida can thus be augmented with outside material, even non-Sufi, as long as it makes Sufi sense in context. As one munshid said, the Sufi savors any word which he can interpret according to his own meaning. He takes a love song, and reinterprets it according to his own love [for the Shaykh, Ahl al-Bayt, Prophet, and God]; the original intention of the song isn’t important. In such songs the object of love remains ambiguous, and thus susceptible to reinterpretation. It should be added that such ambiguity is also characteristic of much Sufi poetry (including that of Sidi Jabir) because it enables a deeper and hence more powerful emotional experience. The Sufi tariqa is a path, a series of *maqamat* (spiritual stages) and—despite their evident *social* unity—group members are strewn along that path, each at a different level. Ambiguity in poetry allows each participant to derive from the poem the meaning best-suited to his own level; the group can thus be unified by the performative act despite differences in spiritual experience. On the other hand ambiguity is also dangerous precisely because it is uncontrolled, open to heterodox interpretations which may be criticized, or run counter to the tariqa’s agenda, and perhaps for this reason more conservative *turuq* such as the Ja’fariyya nearly always specify the object of love and praise overtly, as we shall see.

Rarely an entire popular song can be adopted for use in the tariqa, words and melody undergoing only minor changes, provided that it admits of a religious interpretation. In this way Umm Kulthum's patriotic song, "Ya hubbina al-kabir" was adopted for use in the tariqa, with only a few minor textual changes so as to change love of country to love of shaykh.

Not all qasidas in the diwan are suitable for group inshad. Since these songs are used to create a state of unified spiritual wakefulness (*sahwa*), and because they are frequently sung in public contexts outside the hadra (in the mosque hadras, or in public processions), poetry employing metaphors of intoxication, eros, and esoteric symbolism tend not to be employed. Such themes are better suited for solo inshad, especially during the hadrat al-inshad which is the one segment of hadra devoted to creating intensive states of individual mystical experience.

Thus, following the "spiritual journey" of dhikr in the hadra shar'iyya, the first episode of group inshad serves to reestablish unity and alertness among the group, preparing for the mudhakara which will follow. This function is even more necessary following the hadrat al-inshad (described below), for the hadra shar'iyya is a relatively sober exercise by comparison, but it too can create a degree of absence (*ghiyab*) when an individual immerses himself completely in dhikr. Group inshad is strong and social; it brings the group back together, creating wakefulness (*sahwa*) and alertness (*yaqaza*), because it is a temporally fixed structure (unlike the meandering improvisations of solo inshad), focussed on sober poetry, in which all participate actively, together.

Group inshad also serves the broader function of connecting Sufism and popular secular culture, in order to provide a bridge for those immersed in the latter to cross to the former. This strategy is peculiar to the Jazuliyya. Most turuq are too unthinkingly rooted in tradition (the Bayyumiyya) or concerned about religious propriety (the Ja‘fariyya) to attempt such a project. But Sidi Jabir was concerned to create a tariqa appealing to the youth of the modern age, no doubt realizing that he lived in a critical historical moment, during which Sufism could either be made relevant to the larger society, or lost to the past. He cared for religious principles, and was passionate about calling people to God, but saw no need to preserving outward aspects of the Sufi historical tradition for their own sake.

Thus he wrote his own poems with intertextual links to contemporary songs (as indicated earlier), and encouraged his musically talented disciples to use these as the basis for songs which would appeal to the youth. He gave them wide latitude in composing and arranging, feeling that the more his inshad resembled popular music of the secular realm, the more he would be able to draw young people into Sufism. By using similar melodies, but with religious texts, he could also replace the harmful effects of morally lax lyrics with spiritually uplifting effects of his own poetry. Sidi Jabir did not view melody or timbre as intrinsically good or bad. If attractive melodies and instruments could draw people away from vulgar popular culture, and toward uplifting Sufi culture, they must be used. In this matter, Shaykh Salim has continued the same policy as his father, and the role of group inshad has continued to blossom.

Much of the discourse of group members attests to the spiritual function of group inshad. Members hold that the words of group inshad create positive effects because they fall within the frame of love for God, His Prophet, and the Ahl al-Bayt. The meanings of inshad are beautiful. This love and beauty raises the heart above worldly concerns. The Qur'an calls for blessings upon the Prophet, and blessing the Prophet brings blessings from God. So praise of the Prophet, which is equivalent to blessing him, causes positive effects as well. One sings inshad to the Prophet so that God will be pleased with me.

But a social function is explicit as well. Members say that group inshad binds the muridin together, as well as instilling the words of their shaykh and dispelling distractions. Their inshad is strong, said one member, creating group enthusiasm, and eliminating worldly concerns. Melody is important to wake people up, generate spirit, and to gather them all together. Inshad serves as a means of diffusing, learning, internalizing the words of the shaykh. Such inshad also serves to advertise the tariqa to others, and to assert their unique identity, because it is distinctive.

d. Mudhakara

Following inshad there is usually more mudhakara, often a speech from the hadra leader. Frequently the words of the qasida which have just been sung are discussed using the standard mudhakara format (the benefits of discussing the qasa'id are mentioned in the First Letter of *Rasa'il* (see Appendix). The mudhakara leader begins by discussing several of the lines. Then different members stand to take the microphone

in sequence; each one begins by restating those lines, followed by his interpretations of the poetic text. This inshad mudhakara, which is not employed by either Bayyumiyya or Ja‘fariyya, offers a particular strategic function. Jazuli inshad is more difficult than that of the Ja‘fariyya, who pride themselves on crystal-clear, exoteric inshad, which they say is ideally suited to the modern age, in which symbolic forms are likely to be misunderstood. But the Jazuliyya take a different approach to modernity, emphasizing the esoteric (*batini*) as a means of attracting members and meeting their spiritual needs. Sidi Jabir’s qasidas frequently (though certainly not always) contain obscure references or symbolism, and such inshad is more likely to be confusing to participants. Through mudhakara, interpretations are shared, and confusions dispelled; this process also facilitates a form of mutual agreement which produces group unity.

e. Hadrat al-Inshad (inshad fardi)

Hadrat al-inshad (literally, “the hadra of inshad”) focusses upon the performance of a solo munshid (*inshad fardi*) together with instrumental accompaniment, and occasional choral backup. During this performance, the muridin listen to words and music with intensive engagement. Unlike hadra shar‘iyya, there are no prescribed words or actions imposed on the muridin; rather, each responds spontaneously and idiosyncratically according to his or her hal (spiritual state). Therefore, there is often little unity in these responses. One murid may sit quietly; another may chant dhikr, turning his head from side to side; a third stands and sways back and forth like the darwishes of the public mawlids.

Rather than simple madih or ibtihalat, poetry tends toward more daring themes of love, intoxication, and union; the munshid tends to repeat irregularly, and jump from one poem to another, thereby breaking the linear cognitive flow, and emphasizing the affective moods of individual lines and words. The performance is musically elaborate, employing devices common in older Arabic music, such as modulation, evocative *qaflas* (cadences), expressive singing, and improvisation to create *tarab* (musical emotion). The munshid also receives feedback from the muridin, and thus a feedback cycle is created which intensifies the emotional level, just as in the traditional secular tarab style (see Racy 1991). These characteristics, combined with behavioral and vocal freedom permitted each murid, can lead him to a distinctive *hal*, in which he is absent (*ghayib*) from the social group, or *sakran* (here, spiritually intoxicated), due to the intensity of his remembrance of God, His Prophet, and the Shaykh. “The melody serves to make me live in the hal of the shaykh”, said one member, “even when I don’t understand the meaning”. Especially when the qasida is difficult to understand cognitively (due to the text, or the disjoint manner of its performance), it is music and affective understanding which come to the fore. For this reason, hadrat al-inshad is also called *dhikr al-hana* (dhikr of the tavern) or *hadrat al-Haqiqa* (hadra of the Divine Reality).

As one munshid explained it, hadrat al-inshad presents a structural contrast with hadrat al-dhikr. Both contain inshad and dhikr. But in the former dhikr is primary, active, unified, and shar‘i (conformable to Shari‘a), consisting of *dhikr al-lisan* focussed on the Names of God; inshad is secondary, following the hal of dhikr performance. In

the latter, inshad is primary, causing an emotional-spiritual reaction in each listener which may incite him or her to perform dhikr, though everyone responds in his or her own way. Here, dhikr is inward, often silent. This is dhikr al-Haqiqa, remembrance of God Himself, without the intervention of language. Sidi Jabir used to say that the Shari'a is like a tree, and the Haqiqa is its fruit. After dhikr al-Shari'a focusses the mind on God, dhikr al-Haqiqa is that fruit: one is absent from the *asma'* (Names) and enters the presence of the *dhat* (Essence).

This segment of the hadra comes closer to the definition of classical *sama'* (spiritual listening, as described by the Sufi authors, e.g. al-Hujwiri 1911:392ff (Nelson 1985:32ff presents an excellent summary) than any other portion of the liturgy, perhaps more than any other performance within any Egyptian tariqa. It is quite similar, however, to the performances of professional munshidin in the mawlid.

While hadrat al-inshad may be spiritually fulfilling for participants, it is not socially constructive, at least not directly. Due to its prescribed movements and chants, restrained poetry, and absence of music, the hadra shar'iyya encourages sobriety and intellectual presence; it is essentially a social ritual. The dhikr al-hana encourages intoxication, emotionality, intellectual absence, and individualism. Yet the presence of hadrat al-inshad is certainly appealing to many muridin who are seeking precisely this sort of experience out of Sufism, something which goes far beyond ordinary religion. Furthermore, the individualism of hadrat al-inshad is temporally bounded; only one or two sessions of about 20 minutes each are included in an evening, and therefore it does

not seriously threaten the form of the group. Such a ritual would be criticized by many conservative Muslims, and could be difficult to control at the periphery of the group; perhaps for this reason it is not performed except at the main central hadra.

I will now continue with a more detailed description of the hadrat al-inshad. It is an interactive process by which the munshid attempts to generate strong emotion in his listeners.

Hadrat al-inshad begins with an instrumental solo. The tariqa's leading 'ud player says that he often starts with a metric melody from the introduction to an Umm Kulthum song, accompanied by percussion, in order to draw people's attention. He follows this with an 'ud *taqsim* (non-metric improvisation), which establishes the opening *maqam* (melodic mode). If the munshid sees that the *qulub* (hearts) are sleepy, or if he senses that concentration is weak, he may begin with a brief segment of metric group inshad. He selects a qasida with a simple melody, which he sings while the group responds with a refrain. This dialog between munshid and group restores alertness and concentration, dispels worldly concerns, and gathers the group together. Then the munshid can begin singing his solo, assured that his audience is present. Before he can intoxicate them with inshad, he must ensure that they are awake and with him. "You can't become drunk if you are asleep," affirmed one senior munshid.

The munshid starts with solo improvised non-metric inshad, supported by 'ud accompaniment. When he requires a break, or needs musical direction, he may pause after completing a cadence (*qafila*), allowing the 'ud to play a short solo, or suggest new

tonal directions. During this period the muridin listen, sway, perhaps shouting their approval at cadences. After several minutes the percussion section enters, and inshad becomes metric. Once the percussion have entered, they do not stop until the end of the section. Rather, there is a steady “buildup” in the hadrat al-inshad, lasting up to half an hour, during which the music increases in tempo, meter, tonality, tuning, and volume.

The munshid continues performing an improvisational melody consisting mainly of repetitive metric fragments. Occasionally he may employ a non-metric style over the metric texture, or introduce longer repeating melodic structures, which can be taken up by the chorus of munshidin who support him. This style tends to occur especially during madad sections, when the munshid repeats the word “madad” (“help”) followed by the names of saints from whom help is sought. While not everything is improvised at the level of note sequences, the performance does not consist of “songs” because no fixed melody-text units are employed; rather, there are reusable melodic elements which are spontaneously attached to textual units. (Such a style is similar to the musical means by which a mutrib presented a qasida in older Arabic music.) During the metric section the munshid may take a break by performing a qafila, handing the musical foreground to the ‘ud player, or signal to the other munshidin that they should enter, repeating his last melodic line.

The recognition and explicit control of this aspect of inshad is indicated by detailed instructions in the book *Rasa'il*, such as the following point from the Laws of

the munshidin, which serve to indicate that tariqa leadership thinks about inshad in strategic terms:

6) That the solo munshid control the vocal register which he chooses, when he wants the brethren to respond behind him to one of the lines. (al-Jazuli 1993a:128)

As in other forms of Jazuliyya inshad, vocal melody is ascribed a central role.

Muridin say that they obtain tarab (musical emotion) and nashwa (spiritual intoxication) by listening to the munshid. This feeling enables them to understand the meanings of the words sung, which are of central importance because they come from Sidi Jabir. In this way, melody is responsible for spiritual education. A good voice can convey the feeling of the shaykh's words; the melody is like a plate which serves the words in such a way as to draw the listener's attention, says one munshid.

As in the hadra shar'iyya, the munshid is free to flit from one poetic fragment to another ("like a butterfly moving from flower to flower", said one murid), searching for poetry suitable to express his own hal (spiritual state), and the hal of the hadra as a whole, bringing in the meanings which can help the hadra to move forward. But here the poetic range is wider. In keeping with the general atmosphere of the "hana" (tavern), he can also bring in more ecstatic texts than he would in the hadra shar'iyya, poetry which expresses and induces the higher mystical states, employing the metaphors of *khamra* (wine), *sukr* (intoxication), *kas* (winecup), and so forth. As usual, Sidi Jabir's diwan is central, especially the more ecstatic, intoxicated, or esoteric poems. In addition, the munshid may sing other Sufi poetry, from such masters as 'Umar ibn al-Farid, Imam

Shafi'i, or Sidi Ahmad al-Rifa'i (to whom many poems are attributed), provided that such poetry does not conflict with the tariqa's principles by incorporating the notion of hulul (incarnation) or other notions rejected by the Sufi turuq. Indeed, moving outside Sidi Jabir's output is essential, and required by one of the Laws of the munshidin, which states:

2) That he memorize by heart all the poetry and words of the Shaykh, and have gathered also some of the poetry of the Sufis.
(al-Jazuli 1993a:128)

The essential thing is that munshid should use poetry whose meanings express the spiritual state (hal) of the hadra (discussed further below), and those of its participants. The hadra's state reflects the attributes of God, ranging from Jamal (Beauty) to Jalal (Majesty); the former dominates in the hadrat al-inshad (while in the hadrat al-dhikr, the latter dominates). In order to do so, the munshid must have a large repertoire; the diwan of Sidi Jabir may not suffice. If he is unable to express himself, Sidi Jabir recommended that the munshid merely sing "ah", at once the most meaningless and meaningful of words.

But the more difficult the words he selects, the more important his melody for the listeners. If they cannot understand his words, they will listen to the melody and obtain spiritual emotion from it. Poets such as 'Umar ibn al-Farid are extremely difficult, said one munshid, employing metaphors which are not comprehensible to the average listener. If the munshid sings such poetry, listeners may simply focus on the melody. This is one reason for the importance of music in this section of the hadra.

The munshid may also use poetry taken from popular music, providing that the words can be suitably reinterpreted in the hadra context; most of these treat the subject of love and longing. (An example can be found in the transcription of the Jazuliyya hadra presented in the Appendix, which contains the poetry from an ‘Abd al-Wahhab mawwal.) As in group inshad, the use of such poetry is productive of emotion, and also serves to bridge the gap between religion and popular culture, making the tariqa at once more accessible and more attractive.

Besides poetry, the munshid sings madad. As in the case of fawatih, relatively few saints are named, typically the Prophet, the Ahl al-Bayt, Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili, Sidi Jabir, and Sidi Salim; this appears to be a strategy by which attention is focussed on the group rather than dissipated among the full constellation of saints; the Jazuliyya do not deny the inherent legitimacy of other saints, but only the spiritual usefulness of invoking them all indiscriminately, as is common in the traditional turuq. As usual, we see that the differences between turuq are practical and ritual more than doctrinal.

Dhikr—as both chant and movement—is also performed in this section, but in a idiosyncratic way, each participant according to his or her state (hal). Such dhikr is inarticulate (*dhikr al-sadr*), or not pronounced at all. The wineman (*khammar*) is present, and so dhikr is intoxicated, the dhakkira is absent from the social space around him. Such dhikr is also *dhikr al-Haqiqa*, a level of intensity beyond the quiet dhikr (dhikr al-qalb) of the hadrat al-dhikr. Unlike the latter, it is not controlled by the naqib al-hadra, but rather is an involuntary reaction, welling up from an inner hal, as a response to

listening to inshad and the general hal of the hadra. Note that women also participate, swaying and chanting. However they are more demure than the men; they do not stand, and remain veiled at all times.

Superficially, the solo munshid controls the hadrat al-inshad. But at a deeper level, the munshid is enmeshed in feedback loops which tend to distribute control, even if he remains its primary locus. Thus the munshid is said to express his hal, or the hal of the hadra, so as to raise its spiritual level. Indeed, this is required in the Laws of the Munshidin:

3) That he be skillful and intelligent in selecting, during his inshad, the words or poems which suit the *hal* (condition) of the hadra, and the hal of those performing dhikr. (al-Jazuli 1993a:128)

The hal al-hadra exists in a dialectical relation with the emotions felt and expressed by individual participants in dhikr. They feel according to the hal al-hadra, and the hal al-hadra emerges as a macro-property of everyone's individual feeling. The munshid's own hal, which guides him in his qasida-selection, reflects this process. This dialectic is in turn related to a second one, between hal and choice of qasida. The munshid chooses his words depending on his hal, and his perception of the hal al-hadra, and the result of his inshad is to influence that hal. In this way he is able to bring an appropriate message to the hadra, as well as unify it. In order to do this he must not only possess a good voice and the ability to improvise. He must also live deeply in the hal of the hadra himself.

Despite the munshid's practical control, the shaykh always maintains final control, which he can exercise whenever he wishes. Therefore the munshid must face the shaykh, in order to receive the latter's signals. That this fact is mentioned in the Laws of the munshidin is perhaps most interesting for indicating the level of strategic planning:

9) That the gaze of the solo munshid should be on the shaykh of the hadra, in order that he be able to receive signals from the shaykh with ease and facility.
(al-Jazuli 1993b:129)

The munshid's selection of texts in particular is also linked to the preceding *mudhakara*, especially words delivered by the shaykh, as well as to the contextual occasion. Thus if the shaykh has just spoken about sinning, the munshid may sing a *tawassul* (asking for forgiveness), producing grief in the hadra. If the shaykh has just spoken about love of the Prophet, the munshid may sing *madih* or *ghazal*, leading to *shawq* (longing). Or during the mawlid of Sidi Jabir, words may recall the blessings of the shaykh for his *ahbab*, and people feel joy.

Thus with the musical buildup goes an emotional one: the development of *wajd* (ecstasy). Participants are free to respond to this *wajd* as they wish, sitting or standing, still or moving, silent or uttering. All such behavior is considered to result spontaneously from the *wajd* of listening, rather than to be a voluntary cause, as in the hadra *shar'iyya*. While *inshad* is initially central, participants may also transcend the listening experience. As *wajd* increases, one reaches higher non-sensory spiritual states, and may then cease to

listen. During such dhikr, one may attain miraculous visions of the Ka‘ba (“cube” toward which all Muslims turn in prayer), prophets, or angels, depending on one’s state.

It is the freedom granted to both the solo munshid and other participants in hadrat al-inshad (and to a lesser extent in the hadra shar‘iyya) which enables such a high level of emotion to be generated in hadra, because feedback and flexibility enable inshad to adapt to circumstances, and maximize impact. This emotion is spiritually attractive. It also has a social function, in that it binds the group together, producing an experience which is memorable and distinctive. In the more constrained inshad of the Ja‘fariyya, we will therefore note a much lower emotional level, related to a lower level of social cohesion and in-group definition.

It is interesting to note that the musical, poetic, and pragmatic processes of hadrat al-inshad display remarkably close correspondence with the old pre-WWI *wasla* (suite), which usually consisted of a *dulab* (metric instrumental prelude), *taqsim* (non-metric instrumental improvisation), *muwashshah* (strophic song, sung by chorus); and finally a *qasida* or *dawr* (quasi-improvisational solo performance of a qasida or dawr poem, with choral accompaniment). These sections were accompanied by a small chamber group (*takht*), and tended to display modal unity. In both cases, texts tend toward love, and singers employ a highly expressive voice which creates a moment of maximal emotional intensity at the *qafila* (cadence), to which listeners are likely to respond with ecstatic cries (on the *wasla* and its aesthetics, see Racy 1983:398). The parallelism with the hadrat al-inshad is nearly complete; the interactions between solo

and chorus in hadrat al-inshad even resemble the *hank* episodes the dawr (in which the lead singer would improvise in alternation with a cyclic choral melody).

These similarities may stem from historical connections (the *mutrib* of the *wasla* was often a Sufi *munshid* as well), but it seems more useful to view them functionally, for both the *wasla* and the *hadrat al-inshad* seek to create *tarab*. But while *tarab* is an means of musical entertainment in the *wasla*, it serves as a means of spiritual intensification in the *hadra*, especially in conjunction with mystical texts. Another useful perspective is to note that the application of emotional techniques of secular music within the *hadra* is entirely consistent with Sidi Jabir's general strategy of creating a rapprochement between Sufism and the larger secular culture, and can be classed with related phenomenon, such as his adoption of popular song styles and melodies from the mid 20th century in group *inshad*. The *Ja'fari* by contrast use traditional musical resources of group religious *madih*, which preclude *tarab*, but focus attention on the text.

According to participants, the solo *munshid*'s goal is spiritual, but by means of a social function: he must employ *inshad* in order to gather the spirits of the *muridin* (*arwah al-muridin*), and bring them together with the spirit of the *shaykh*. He does so by selecting *qasidas* to match the *hal* of the *hadra*, and by singing them in such a way as to make everyone live in their meanings. Once they have arrived in the presence of the *shaykh*, all can "ascend" together. He should also attempt to gather together the *mudhakara* which preceded his performance, reinforcing the meanings presented through his *inshad*, and unify the spiritual states of participants on this meaning. But whereas

social unity in the hadra shar'iyya is manifest in behavior, here social unity is of a more metaphysical kind. The munshid is considered the cupbearer, serving the intoxicating drink (meaning of the poetry) via inshad, and thereby increasing the spiritual power of the hadra, as well as the spiritual unity of its participants. These spiritual roles necessitate spiritual purity, not merely musical talent or a beautiful voice (which is all that a mutrib requires). The Laws of the munshidin state this:

- 1) That as the munshid is the *saqi al-dhakirin* (cupbearer for those who perform dhikr) in the hadra, he must preserve his purity, and avoid vexation as much as possible. (al-Jazuli 1993a:128)

The following table summarizes the oppositional balance between the hadra shar'iyya and the hadrat al-hana:

Hadrat al-dhikr (hadra shar'iyya)	Hadrat al-inshad (hadrat al-Haqiqa)
manifest unity in movement and LP	manifest individuality in movement and LP
control by naqib al-hadra	control by munshid
inshad follows dhikr	dhikr follows inshad
hadra created by dhikr	hadra created by inshad
creates and manifests sobriety	creates and manifests intoxication
dhikr Shari'a	dhikr Haqiqa
manifest dhikr	internal dhikr
willful dhikr	involuntary dhikr
no musical instruments	musical instruments
texts inspire sobriety	texts inspire intoxication
presence of minds (hudur)	absence of minds (ghiyab)
overtly social	overtly individual
group enthusiasm	individual enthusiasm
preparatory concentration	essential mystical experience

Following the hadrat al-inshad the Jazuliyya hadra continues with an alternation of mudhakara and inshad, either group or solo; the precise sequence varies from one hadra to another.

f. Local chapter inshad

A special form of group inshad is that which is presented by the local chapter representing a particular district (*mantiqa*). Members of the district have selected and rehearsed a qasida from the diwan which they wish to sing in hadra; sometimes it is a new melody of their devising. They stand and gather near the main door, then sing while facing the shaykh. While this practice emphasizes to some extent their independent existence as a chapter, the rest of the congregation joins in as well, and the boundaries are quickly erased. Thus, as always, it is the communal, horizontal social bonds which are emphasized through LP, rather than structural divisions and hierarchies.

g. Arrival of the Shaykh

Sidi Salim al-Jazuli generally arrives around the middle of the hadra, no earlier than one hour after its start. He enters the performance space during *mudhakara*, after the hadra *shar'iyya* and first segment of group inshad have been performed, dressed in western garb (shirt or sweater and slacks). As soon as he enters, the speaker stops. All stand so as to form parallel lines. By this time, the energy level is high, the group is enthusiastic and unified, and most members have arrived, making the sudden interruption all the more dramatic. He strides down the center of the aisle, takes his place in the stuffed green chair, and motions for the hadra to continue. Then all sit and whoever was speaking continues where he left off. But the row of men seated on the ground parallel to the shaykh's chair, who formerly had their backs to the wall, and who would

otherwise be sitting with their backs to the shaykh, now turn 90 degrees so as to face the shaykh directly. Everyone thus faces the shaykh, as if oriented by a magnet.

Sidi Salim mostly sits and observes the hadra, only occasionally intervening to make a comment in *mudhakara*. Toward the end of the hadra he delivers a ten minute discourse on some topic of his choosing, and mentions upcoming events. His words constantly demand interaction from listeners, binding the group into a unified whole; when he says “*kadhalika ya ahbab?*” (“is it not so, friends?”) all immediately cry out “*kadhalika ya sidi*” (“it is so, sir!”). The list of events during the coming week is always a full schedule, especially during the season when most of Cairo’s *mawlid*s take place. Besides the regular *hadras*, he may announce group visits to the outlying districts, participation in *mawkibs* (processions), or other religious festivals in which the group will take part.

During *inshad* he may become more proactive, sometimes introducing a *munshid*, selecting a *qasida*, or making critiques, even of the percussionists (once critiquing the tambourine player, saying that he should play the *shakashil* (jingles) with three fingers rather than five, because the sound was too loud). His interest in directing these activities indicates the importance of *inshad*. At the same time, his mostly low-key role and modest denial of overt control emphasizes the communal and egalitarian nature of the group.

h. Nafha

At various points during the speeches the naqibs distribute some sort of food and drink. Nafha may consist of merely a sweet or piece of fruit, or it may be a hearty meat sandwich. Then tiny cups of sweet tea are served. Naqibs may also come around with spray or roll-on bottles of perfume, applying a spray or dab to everyone's hands. The distributions of nafha do not occur during inshad or dhikr.

Although not considered nafha, this may be the most appropriate moment to mention that the tariqa is unusual in allowing smoking during the hadra. After the hadra shar'iyya, ashtrays are distributed, and members who wish to do so may smoke. It seems that at one time Sidi Jabir tried to ban smoking, but later they reinstated the practice. The explanation given parallels one of the justifications of musical performance in hadra, and indeed represents a main strategic principle of the group. The nafs (lower self) has sensual cravings, which the Sufi must strive to control in order to make spiritual progress. Some Sufi groups teach a harsher form of asceticism: that one must completely deny the nafs its cravings. But Sidi Jabir took a different approach. He felt that the nafs is best controlled by satiating its desires but in a spiritually positive form, through content or context. In this way, the group can attract more muridin without their suffering any ill effect. Later the nafs can be weaned from its dependencies. Thus music is provided, but with spiritual content; cigarettes are smoked, but while listening to spiritually beneficial mudhakara. This strategy allows the tariqa to expand and retain

members; it is a strategy for calling people to religion, as well as benefiting the group itself.

i. Initiation ('ahd)

This corporate ritual performed if and only if there are persons present who wish to join the group as new members. If such persons are present, the ritual takes place at the end of the evening. Those wishing to become new members move to the area in front of the shaykh. Each man (both muridin and novitiates) places his right hand on the right shoulder of the person to his right, so that all the male muridin are interconnected. Then the entire group recites the 'ahd text as set forth in their manual *Rasa'il*, led by one of the senior members. Most of the text is divided into short phrases which are recited aloud by the leader, and repeated by the entire group; several passages are recited by the leader only. This text includes the following main components:

- 1) *Istighfar* and *tawba* (petition for forgiveness and repentance)
- 2) *Shahada* (Renunciation of all religions other than Islam; testimony of faith in Islam)
- 3) Assertion of devotion to the Jazuliyya and its shaykhs Sidi Jabir, Sidi Salim, and Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili.
- 4) Recitation of *tawhid* as means of joining the hearts
- 5) Qur'anic aya (48:10), which states that those who swear allegiance to Muhammad swear allegiance to God.

6) Pledge to God and His Prophet to perform what is required, and leave what is forbidden.

7) Giving permission to recite the *Jazuliyya wurd*, and statement of that wurd: *istighfar*, *salawat*, and *tahlil*, along with a concluding *du'a* (recited by the leader)

8) Leader asks whether all have accepted this; they respond in the affirmative; he replies that all who accept have now become members of the group, and calls for the *Fatiha* to be recited.

This short ritual (perhaps ten minutes in all) is remarkable for being so corporate, so communal. Other than their spatial positions there is no distinction made between the novitiates and existing members. Everyone joins in and recites the 'ahd together, so that besides inducting new members it functions as a renewing of vows for existing members. It is a process of (re)socialization, in which all (re)declare their faith not only for the *tariqa* but also for Islam itself. Since the taking of 'ahd is a public and communal form of LP, all members are well-aware of who has just joined the group. The new members are welcomed with warmth and openness, as if they have been admitted to a new family. The 'ahd is therefore an important aspect of group socialization.

Rituals of induction represent the boundary between in-group and out-group. It seems self-evident that the more such rituals are constrained, complex, or communal, the more emphasis is placed on that boundary. From this point of view, the contrast between the three groups is instructive. In the *Bayyumiyya*, the 'ahd does not occur within *hadra*, but is a personal relation established between *murid* and *shaykh*. In the

Ja'fariyya, the 'ahd is relatively informal, occurring just after hadra, when most muridin have already left (see below). Only in the Jazuliyya does the 'ahd occupy a central position in the hadra ritual itself. This would appear to be a strategy for emphasizing the horizontal social relations which constitute the group.¹⁴

j. Close (khitam).

The hadra ends with the standard khitam (described earlier), together with fawatih and ad'iyya. These are relatively short, resembling those which opened the hadra, and the list of saints mentioned is restricted to the Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, and silsila of the tariqa.

k. Greetings

At this point the formal mood restricting free speech and movement is broken. Members rise, greet each other, and chat amiably. A special greeting is used between members of most Shadhili groups (*musafaha*), consisting of a handshake with the thumbs interlinked; each person kisses the other's hand. Members also line up (men and women separately) to greet the shaykh, who remains seated in his green chair. The head of each line is positioned some two or three meters from the shaykh. Each person comes forward in turn, bends down, and kisses the shaykh's hand. Some may also request a special *fatiha* from him, or discuss personal problems; he is always patient and willing to do so. These greetings thus illustrate the close horizontal relations among brethren, as well as the close vertical relation to the shaykh.

4. General ethos

A distinctive feature of the Jazuli throughout the main Thursday hadra (and to a lesser extent in all their hadras) is their verve, emotional vitality, vibrancy, and love all channeled into a corporate unity. This mood electrifies the hadra from start to finish.

Sudden shouts, cries, or movements expressing hal-ecstatic response-are not uncommon, especially when listening to solo inshad, but even during recitation of Qur'an. There is no sense that such emotionalism constitutes a ritual violation. Rather it is accepted as a natural response to the power of religious LP. Throughout the group appears emotionally rather than ritually unified; they may not move together with military precision and there is considerable scope for individual expression, but what is expressed is very much a group feeling. People react to each other's emotional states, which are thereby shared. Another feature is sheer energy and force of this expressivity, which far exceeds that of the other turuq.

The hadra also exudes a tremendous sense of warmth and love, as if they are one collective family. It is intensified in hadra through shared feeling, texts from the shaykh which stress love (in his poetry or letters), and the communal unrestrained style of performance which also allows emotion to develop.¹⁵ This feeling as developed in hadra appears to undergird, as well as reflect, the strong horizontal bonds which constitute the group's collective organization and identity.

b. The main Monday madrasa

The Jazuliyya are proud of their madrasa, as an innovation among the Sufi *turuq*. As in the case of the Thursday hadra, the plan of the madrasa is presented in the tariqa's handbook, *Rasa'il* (a translation of this plan is presented in the Appendix). Even more than the Thursday hadra plan, the madrasa plan is presented in great detail. The very existence of such plan furnishes strong evidence for the strategic use of the madrasa as a performative resource for the tariqa.

Overtly, the main purpose of the madrasa is religious instruction (*ta'lim dini*), mostly in traditional subjects: Qur'anic recitation, *tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis), *hadith*, *sira*, and *fiqh*. To these are added the Sufi topic of *adab* (ethics) and the specifically Jazuli teachings as contained in the volume of their founder's essays, *Rasa'il Sufiyya*. The madrasa serves to fulfill the educational goals of the tariqa, for religious knowledge is a spiritual goal in itself, as well as assisting one in becoming a better Muslim. For potential critics or members, it also serves as a sign of the tariqa's high organizational level, and commitment to Islamic law.

The group and setting, social-communicative geometry are as for the Thursday hadra, although attendance is usually slightly lower. As in the case of the Thursday hadra, the emotional atmosphere ranges from serious-energetic, to jubilant-ecstatic; it is never subdued, and at times there is even laughter and smiling. No one—not even the shaykh—is ever harsh, critical, or disciplinarian. But the ecstatic level is somewhat lower than in the Thursday hadra, since this session aims at communication.

They begin by reciting the Fatiha, followed by their performative version of the shahada (“la ilaha illa Allah” three times, “Muhammad rasul Allah” once), and fawatih, as for the Thursday hadra. Then the following sections occur (the order given is typical, but slight variants may occur as well), an alternation of mudhakara and inshad. Note that there is usually a theme to the evening, often determined according to upcoming religious holidays, and this theme suggests textual selections. Thus, during the season of the hajj (the yearly pilgrimage which ends at the al-‘id al-kabir, the “Greater Bayram”), selections of Qur’an, Hadith, inshad, and other texts selected, recited and discussed may pertain to the meaning and performance of the Hajj. Thus the evening’s events are bound together by a common thread.

Qur’anic recitation. Qur’ans are distributed to all members; the leader (one of the senior members) indicates the passage to be read, which usually consists of two consecutive hizbs (a hizb being one-sixtieth of the Qur’an). Using the amplification system, he recites one breath-phrase in the simple *murattal* style (see Nelson 1985:105ff) and all repeat after him. Then he moves to the next phrase. When the entire passage has been completed in this fashion, alternating between leader and group, they return to the beginning, and all recite the passage together. The recitation is performed at a high volume and energy, in a strong and energetic style; all follow the same basic melo-rhythmic contours, though with slight variation reflecting differences in ability and tendency toward individual feeling. The recitation may be followed by a few words from the leader, on the value of Qur’anic recitation, and exhorting its practice.

Hadith. The leader (not the shaykh, who takes a more subdued role and delegates active directing to others) recites a *hadith nabawi* (Prophetic Tradition) over the PA system. Then the microphone is passed to each of a sequence of volunteers from the muridin, in turn. Each person must stand, repeat the hadith, and present his understanding of it, based as much as possible on the teachings of Sidi Jabir. Sometimes the leader gently corrects, explains, or guides the response. The more authoritative speakers go last, but no one appears to be excluded from participating.

Group inshad (inshad jama'i). The madrasa includes group inshad between consecutive mudhakara sections of the madrasa, as a break from the solemnity of textual recitation and discussion. According to members, such inshad serves to lighten the mood, providing some relaxation, communal feeling, and emotion; it makes the madrasa more attractive and wards off the risk of boredom which continuous mudhakara would present. The text is a qasida from Sidi Jabir's diwan, and it is selected so as to fit with the themes of the evening. All sing together, but the official munshidin take the microphones and the lead, providing 'ud and percussion (tabla, duff, mazhar) accompaniment. As in the Thursday evening hadra, melodies are often complex, with modal shifts, starts and stops, and even non-metric sections. Therefore the level of unity may be relatively low. But energy and enthusiasm is extremely high. Most members have memorized the qasidas, while a few recite from their copies of the diwan.

Fiqh (jurisprudence). The tariqa Jazuliyya generally does not appeal to students and professors of the conservative al-Azhar, nor are the group's strategies designed to

attract such members. But at least one of the senior members is an Azhari scholar, and he frequently leads this section, explaining a point or principle of fiqh, and expounding its subtle implications, especially those which are important in everyday life and worship. Members may also ask questions.

Group Inshad. As above.

Rasa 'il Sufiyya. One or more sections of Sidi Jabir's book is recited aloud by one member using the PA system; this is followed by commentary on particular passages by volunteers who stand, take the microphone, and speak. Again, the more authoritative speakers, those who knew Sidi Jabir, or are considered to have deeper knowledge, go last.

Inshad. Toward the end of the evening inshad may be solo rather than group, accompanied by the dhikr al-hana. The format is as for the Thursday hadra, described above.

Adab (etiquette). A senior member raises a point of tariqa adab from the writings of Sidi Jabir, which is then discussed using the standard mudhakara format.

Final words from the shaykh. As in the Thursday hadra, the shaykh may speak briefly about tariqa values (such as love, sincerity, faith, and so on); he also mentions tariqa activities for the coming week. The talk is punctuated by ritual exchanges between shaykh and muridin; as in the main hadra he checks their attention with phrases such as "kadhalika?" ("is it not so?") to which all the muridin shout "na'm ya sidi" ("yes, my master") in unison. The pragmatics of such exchanges—actions of response and

mutual participation—which recur throughout the hadra in various ways, underscores and reinforces the special organismic unity of this group: the horizontal bonds of brotherhood among members, as common descendants of their spiritual father.

Fawatih. As usual.

Shahada. In the standard manner.

Greetings. At this point the formal mood restricting free speech and movement is broken. Members rise, greet each other, and line up to greet the shaykh, exactly as in the Thursday hadra.

Nafha and smoking of cigarettes also take place during the madrasa, as in the Thursday hadra.

c. *Mosque hadra*

The tariqa also conducts weekly hadras in several of Egypt's major mosque-shrines, including those of the following saints:

Mosque	Place	Time
Sayyida Zaynab	Cairo	After Friday communal prayers
Sayyidna al-Husayn	Cairo	After Friday communal prayers
Sayyida Nafisa	Cairo	After Friday communal prayers
Sidi 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani	Cairo	After Wednesday night prayers
Sidi Mursi Abu al-'Abbas	Alexandria	After Friday communal prayers
Sidi 'Abd al-Rahim al-Qinawi	Qina (Upper Egypt)	After Friday communal prayers

It should be noted that many turuq use the older public mosque-shrines to hold hadra, for several reasons. First, not all turuq have their own mosque or private zawiya (the terms zawiya, maqarr, and saha are used more or less synonymously to refer to a private meeting place which is not necessarily a mosque but usually which provides

kitchen facilities and function rooms(s)), and so use these public spaces instead. Second, these mosques provide a means of publicizing the tariqa through its hadra. Thirdly—and most importantly with respect to local discourse—the mosque contains the shrine of a holy man or woman, a saint (wali), who is honored and remembered through the hadra, and whose presence may provide baraka. For the Jazuliyya, these *salihin* (virtuous ones) are considered to provide the third major pillar of the tariqa, after the Qur’an and Sunna.

Governmental permission must be sought and granted before such a hadra can be held. The most important of these mosque-shrines are quite fully booked, particularly at the preferred times: after night prayer (especially on Sunday, Thursday, and Friday evenings), and after Friday noon prayer, when the mosque of Sayyidna al-Husayn hosts five or six hadras of different turuq. Among these, the Jazuli hadra stands out for its size, organization, and inshad.

1. The group and setting

Many members of the tariqa, but usually those living in Greater Cairo, attend the hadras held in the mosques of Sayyidna al-Husayn, Sayyida Zaynab, and Sayyida Nafisa. These mosques are popular places to pray the Friday prayer, and are overflowing with worshippers at that time. After prayer tariqa members gather for the hadra. Other hadras, such as that held at the Sha‘rani mosque (at Bab al-Shi‘riyya) occur in the evening, but still draw a geographically diverse group from Greater Cairo. However the number of attendees at these hadras is far less than the main hadra: perhaps 50 or 60 at Sayyidna al-Husayn, half that number at Sha‘rani.

The shaykh al-sajjada normally does not attend, but there is a mas'ul responsible for the hadra, as in the case of district hadras. This mas'ul controls the hadra, determining who will serve as mustaftih, and who will perform inshad. Unlike the main hadra, inshad here is mostly choral, although solos may also be employed during the quiet dhikr al-qalb sections. All tariqa members wear the shi'ar as a mark of distinction.

The hadra tends to draw a crowd of on-lookers, and if they express interest they will be invited to join in. The tariqa gains many new adherents in this way, unlike the traditional turuq in which membership is largely passed through the family lines. Women members do not participate, but may gather and watch from the women's section, if the mosque has one.

2. The social geometry

Unlike the dense geometry of the Thursday evening hadra, the mosque hadra is performed in a traditional rectangular formation, with the shaykh al-hadra at one end. The muridin begin seated, but rise to a standing position during the dhikr. Facing inward, they link hands to create a strong wall. The mustaftih moves to the center of the rectangle, whence he controls the dhikr with claps, chant, and movement.

There seem to be several factors behind this more traditional arrangement. There is more space and fewer muridin in the mosque hadra than in the main center. Accordingly, it is more feasible to create an open rectangular formation. Standing also does not create the disorder which it might in the narrow alley which is the scene of Thursday night hadra. These are the practical reasons often given.

However, it is also possible to view these differences as practical strategies for utilizing the public mosque hadra as a means of advertising the group. Thus standing and occupying a large area is more salient, and furthermore more traditional. The closed rectangle of linked hands acts as a spatial fortification, temporarily enclosing, claiming, and structuring a definite space. As with the tariqa itself, outsiders can be admitted to the formation, but only with the permission of two muridin whose hands are linked; these in turn will not give such permission except to another member, or by permission from the hadra leader. These procedures, which can be viewed as a form of ritual protection, are unnecessary in the private space in Qayt Bay. When the tariqa performs a hadra in the public mosque after prayer in this way, all dressed in their colored caps, they appear very impressive and attract much attention from others, especially because they usually contrast so strongly with other Sufi groups (Johansen provides an evocative description; Johansen 1996:82ff.)

3. The ritual process

The mosque hadra resembles the hadra shar'iyya of the Thursday hadra quite closely, and includes the following components. Where various possibilities are mentioned, it is the mas'ul who decides what to do, though the lead munshid may select the qasida.

Fawatih. Fawatih are recited for the Prophet, Sidi Jabir, Sidi Salim, Sidi Abu'l-Hasan, as well as the saint whose maqam is in the mosque. As usual, there are no fawatih for the vast majority of Sufi saints.

Istighfar. A brief prayer for God's forgiveness is recited, as for daily *wird*.

Members say that this *istighfar* can be recited in any *hadra*, however it does not seem to be common in the main *hadra*. One might speculate that *istighfar* serves to make this *hadra* more traditional; the *hadra shar'iyya* in the main Thursday *hadra* is perhaps abbreviated since the main activities of the evening are *mudhakara* and *hadrat al-inshad*.

Shahada. "La ilaha illa Allah" (3x), "Muhammad rasul Allah" (once), recited in the standard *Jazuliyya* fashion.

Hizb. When circumstances require brevity they may recite recited *Surat Ikhlas* (7x), *Surat al-Falaq* (once), *Surat al-Nas* (once). Alternatively, another *hizb* may be recited, such as the "al-Da'wa al-Rabbaniyya", if there is time.

Dhikr, in the usual sequence ("la ilaha illa Allah", "Allah", "Hayy", "Qayyum", "Allah"). The group begins seated, but all rise during recitation of "Allah", and continue thereafter from a standing position, hands linked. Each *tabaqa* (*dhikr* segment) is led by a different *naqib al-hadra* (*mustaftih*), who comes to the center of the rectangle to lead via clapping.

Inshad. *Dhikr* on "Allah" and "Hayy" is accompanied by *inshad*, using *qasidas* from the *Sidi Jabir's diwan*. But unlike the *hadra shar'iyya* at the *maqarr*, *dhikr* here is accompanied by metric precomposed group *inshad* performed by a chorus of the *munshidin*, who stand together on one side of the rectangle; texts are more conservative (emphasizing *madih*), and there is little if any *madad*. The practical reason given for some of these changes is that group *inshad* must replace solo *inshad* because there is no

sound system available to amplify the latter, and under such conditions solo inshad would be inaudible. Group inshad in turn necessitates the metric and precomposed format, and less emphasis on madad singing, which is always solo. This strategy reveals the value placed on textual clarity, both for members and (one assumes) for on-lookers, since texts are taken from the diwan of Sidi Jabir. Since outsiders will presumably not know these texts, and since they are so central to the tariqa, it is all the more important to present them clearly.

But another factor appears to be the desire to make this hadra more disciplined and more properly orthodox than the hadra shar'iyya, or hadras of other turuq which take place in the mosques. For these mosque hadras serve to construct the tariqa's "public face", and are a major source of new members, as well as a means of deflecting criticism. Rather than present their distinctive brand of modernist Sufism to the general public, they opt to perform a more traditional hadra, which is all the more irreproachable for its more perfectly ordered and disciplined form.

This discipline and order can be achieved in part by limiting the emotionalism which results from the improvisation, expressivity, and madad of solo inshad; madad in particular is often criticized by reformists as *shirk* (polytheism), and although such charges can easily be rebutted, there is always some sensitivity in the issue of madad. Group inshad used in the mosque is clearer, and melodies employed are simpler. Rather than stir emotion among the dhakkira, such inshad causes greater precision in their performance. As one senior member said, "Inshad in the mosque hadra consists only of

some songs with the same rhythm as dhikr, in order to help those who make dhikr to be in the same motion.” More conservative poetry is also selected. The Laws of the munshidin allude to the special importance of selecting qasidas for mosque hadra, although rather unspecifically:

12) That group qasidas which are appropriate to hadras of the mosques be selected, and that they begin with a section appropriate to the mosque. (al-Jazuli 1993a:129)

Group inshad is more orderly and less ecstatic than solo inshad, but at the same time more assertive of group unity; such unity is even more important when the group must assert its identity in a public location. The use of a chorus also marks the tariqa off from traditional groups, most of which employ a nearly inaudible solo munshid.

Seated prayers. Following the dhikr, all are seated. Nafha (usually a wrapped sweet) is distributed by a naqib. Closing prayers are recited, including surat al-Sharah, and the end of surat al-Baqara, as in the hadra shar‘iyya.

Group inshad. Optionally, a segment of group inshad may be performed by all participants

Shahada, as above.

Procession and greeting. All rise and form lines, then walk slowly to the maqam of the saint buried within the mosque’s enclosure, while singing group inshad (some form of madih). When they arrive, the front line places their hands upon the maqsura, and everyone else places their hands upon the backs of those before them, so that all are “connected” to the shrine. Such connections act like an electrical circuit, because baraka

flows via touch. But this spiritual purpose conceals the social effect, which is to create a more tightly unified group.

Close. Then they recite ad'iyya and fawatih (as above), followed by the standard Sufi khitam, as presented earlier.

Greetings. The formal ritual having ended, all greet each other in the usual manner, and then depart.

The mosque hadra, being in public, is somewhat more serious and less individualistic than in the main hadra, though the overall level of expressive energy is still quite high. It is effectively an extended hadra shar'iyya, serving strategically to create orthodox visibility for the tariqa in a public setting, as a means of drawing in new members, and reassuring others of the group's propriety. For this reason, LP employed emphasizes group unity, order, and conformity to Shari'a. The group appears as compatible with traditional Sufism, but improved: neater, brighter, sharper, more disciplined, more educated. Aspects of the main hadra which might contradict this impression (such as use of instruments, ecstatic movements, ecstatic texts) are not performed here. Group inshad is preferred for its clarity, audibility, and power; use of precomposed melodies makes for a forceful, but less emotional, mood. Melodies should be simple, according to the muridin, and texts focus upon conservative madih.

The contrast between the Sufi zahir (exotericism) and batin (esotericism) is amply evident in the contrast between the mosque hadra, and the Thursday central hadra. This principle of contrast runs all through Sufism, even the Bayyumiyya; and indeed one

observes the same contrast in the Thursday evening hadra, between the hadra shar'iyya and the hadrat al-inshad. But even when these contrasts are of strategic design, they do not always have the same significance. Thus the contrasts between local and central Bayyumiyya hadras are a consequence of contrasts in context, but there is absolutely no evidence that they result from any central strategy; quite the contrary. The contrast between hadra shar'iyya and hadrat al-inshad in the Jazuliyya central hadra has its own meaning, which has been explicated earlier.

In the public setting of the mosque hadra, the contrast with the central Thursday hadra serves a different social strategy of creating an outward image: maintaining reputation, and gaining new adherents. Such group-level strategic differentiation between private and public hadra does not appear to be practiced by traditional turuq. What makes the Jazuliyya distinctive is that these differences are systematically and centrally controlled as a matter of tariqa policy.¹⁶ Indeed, it appears as a logical principal that whenever the peripheral hadra (as in the mosque hadra, or local hadra, below) is more constrained than the central hadra, then a group-level strategy must be at work, since the natural tendency (i.e. in the absence of such a strategy) is for the peripheral hadra to be less constrained. A totally different strategy is suggested by the Ja'fariyya, which stresses its entirely orthodox character by performing all hadras in exactly the same way.

d. Local hadra

1. The group and setting

For the purposes of Jazuliyya tariqa organization, Egypt is divided into districts, and the tariqa is thereby divided into subgroups resident in each district. Each such group, constituting a local chapter, is led by a mas'ul (responsible one), who acts as a kind of local shaykh, although unlike the traditional turuq he does not administer the oath ('ahd) in his own name. Those districts located within the Greater Cairo area hold hadra once a week, in addition to the two hadras at the main tariqa center in Qayt Bay. Those further away hold two meetings per week.

One such local chapter, consisting of tariqa members from Shubra in the north of Greater Cairo, meets in a different member's home every Sunday after *maghrib* (sunset) prayer. This situation is typical, although some groups may have official and permanent meeting places. Meeting in the home provides an intimate and more flexible setting, unlike the Ja'fari who always meet in a public mosque, albeit one under their control.

The mas'ul of this district, representing *Zawiya al-Hamra'*, is a senior member of the tariqa, having learned directly from Sidi Jabir for many years, in his late 50s. He often takes a central role at the main hadras on Thursday and Monday evenings. The mas'ul is unequivocally the leader at this local level. Unlike the main hadra, in which leadership is assumed by a number of elder members, together with the shaykh (who tends to assume a low-key role) and the lead munshidin, here control is firmly grasped by

one man, who sets the program and leads the discussions. But his allegiance to the tariqa is absolute, and he follows the rules governing hadra (as set forth in *Rasa'il*) to the letter; therefore control over the peripheral group lies effectively with the central leadership, just the opposite of the Bayyumiyya situation.

The tariqa is strategically structured to inhibit the natural tendency of local groups toward breaking away, by controlling the local leader, through careful selection, meetings of the mas'uls, a uniform wurd (not determined by the mas'ul), and disallowing ecstatic practices in the local meeting. These steps help ensure that loyalty is to the tariqa. At the same time, the local leader must be strong, otherwise the group could begin to disintegrate at its periphery. These strategies work; the local meeting is at least as disciplined as the central one, despite the small number of participants and informal surroundings.

Most of the participants are men under fifty, and many are youths. All wear their colored caps (*shi'ars*). Two or three are *munshidin* (green caps), these bring percussion instruments (the 'ud is not used). Those in blue caps serve refreshments, exactly as at the main hadra. Women do not meet together with the men.

While the mosque hadra is roughly equivalent to the hadra *shar'iyya*, the local hadra is roughly equivalent to the Monday evening *madrassa*. No *dhikr* (in the narrow sense of chanting the Names of God) is performed; rather the hadra consists of prayer, *mudhakara* (mostly), and *inshad*.

2. The ritual process

Here I describe a particular instance of the local Jazuliyya hadra.

The group met on the roof of the host's house (on hot summer nights, roofs are most pleasant), which was covered over with plastic mats and furnished with cushions for the backs of the older members.

Members gradually arrived after maghrib (sunset) prayer, each wearing his shi'ar. They seated themselves in a regular rectangular formation, with the mas'ul in the center of one side. Munshidin and musicians sat opposite him (as in the central hadra), holding among them two large duffs and a riqq (all percussion instruments). For about half an hour informality prevailed, as they waited for more muridin to arrive; meanwhile members chatted with each other amiably. When a suitable number had gathered, the mas'ul indicated that the hadra would begin. He removed from his pocket a neatly written program, on which was neatly written a list of eight items:

- 1) Istighfar
- 2) Surat Yasin
- 3) Hizb al-Fath
- 4) Inshad "Nahnu 'Ibad Allah" p. 257
- 5) Rasa'il: "Hubb wa Iman", p. 80
- 6) Inshad "Ya rasul Allah Ghawthan..." p. 150
- 7) Hikma
- 8) Inshad "Rabb al-Rida..."

(Inshad items listed are the names of qasidas of Sidi Jabir, appearing in his *Qasa'id wa Anashid*.)

Although they did not follow his program precisely due to lack of time, the mere existence of such a list indicates the level of central control in the local hadra. Certainly

elements of the main hadra may also be planned in advance, but not in such detail, all in the hands of a single person. In the main hadra, control is more distributed; the munshidin, in particular, have some choice as to which qasida they are to perform.

Thus the local hadra appears to be more highly controlled than the main hadra. Again, this fine level of control appears as a deliberate strategy, designed to ensure that at the “leaf” level of the tariqa tree, order does not break down. At the same time the mas’ul is chosen for his loyalty; as one member said, he should not be the type of person who might leave the group, or—especially—who might try to take his muridin with him if he did.

As the mas’ul varied this program, the following sequence actually ensued:

1) Istighfar, performed in a call and response format between leader and group, which seemed designed for memorization.

2) Surat Yasin (36:1-83). Qur’ans were distributed, as most have not memorized this relatively long sura. Then they recited ensemble, pausing in the middle to listen to the adhan (call to prayer) for the ‘isha’ prayer as broadcast from a nearby mosque¹⁷, then completed it.

3) ‘Isha’ prayer. The group prayed together.

4) Hizb al-Fath, of Sidi Jabir. Small booklets, containing the Jazuli ahzab and awrad, were distributed prior to group recitation.

5) Discussion of passage from *Rasa’il* of Sidi Jabir: “Hubb wa Iman” (“Love and Faith”). One man stood and read it through. Then each of a series of participants

stood in turn to repeat the opening of this passage, followed by his own interpretation, using rather formal language. At the end, the mas'ul provided a long discourse on it. This format of mudhakara is identical to that employed in the main hadra.

6) Group inshad: "Ya Rayhin al-Madina" ("Oh travelers to Madina"), from the diwan of Sidi Jabir. This qasida was performed by all present, and led by the munshidin, several of whom performed percussion instruments as accompaniment.

7) Further mudhakara, including questions and answers.

Thus the Jazuli local hadra, like the Monday madrasa, is carefully controlled and ordered, focusing on teaching and discussion, and leavened with group inshad which adds spirit and more of Sidi Jabir's words and presence. But the local hadra is even more focussed on group study and prayer, since there was only one qasida performed and no musical instruments were used.

Overall, the level of control and planning is extremely high, distinguishing this local hadra completely from that of the Bayyumiyya, which is improvisational, focussed on dhikr and ecstatic inshad, and displaying intensive emotionality. The Jazuliyya main hadra can be ecstatic too, but always their emotionality is a free play within definite ritual boundaries. Furthermore, those boundaries are always much smaller than the total boundaries of the ritual, so that one never feels that the ritual as a whole is improvisational or unplanned; there are simply episodes of chaos within a highly ordered whole.

In the Jazuliyya local hadra, those episodes are ever more firmly limited. Ecstatic practices, including dhikr, music and evocative texts, can be controlled in the private context of the main hadra, under the supervision of tariqa leaders. If such practices were to be allowed in the local hadra, they would be much less susceptible to control. If they were not performed discreetly, or if the local leader allowed too much ecstatic behavior, local hadras could attract criticism from reformist-minded neighbors, and the group's reputation would then decline. Furthermore, ecstasy at the local level might tend to have the effect of establishing the local shaykh as a more forceful charismatic presence, since he would be the one who could direct that emotional energy and might choose to do so in such a way as to form his own local group loyalties. In this case, the entire group would become decentralized, as has occurred in most of the traditional turuq. For all these reasons, strategy dictates that it is best to keep control of ecstatic practices in the central hadra, and have the local hadra focus upon recitation of less emotionally charged prayers and mudhakara.

C. *Ja'fariyya*

1. Overview

The Ja'fariyya logic of ritual practice is not stated quite so explicitly as in the Laws and discourses of the Jazuliyya's *Rasa'il*. This fact is perhaps to be expected in a tariqa which ostensibly cleaves to tradition, for traditional Sufism does not state explicitly that which is known by every Sufi; to publish a set of rules might appear crass

to such a sensibility. But the modern period which has demanded a new level of explicitness, and despite its traditional pretensions, the Ja'fariyya is a modernist group, being conscious of the need to affirm its positions as a means of self-control. While they may not wish to appear so modernist as the Jazuliyya, their attitudes can often be observed just below the surface in articles published in their yearly magazine, *al-Tariqa*.

Thus an article in the tariqa's magazine *al-Tariqa* (Khalil 1995) lists the "five pillars" of true Sufism, which are exemplified in the Ja'fariyya tariqa. The intertextual meaning of "five pillars" is immediate, as is the intent behind the usage. The "five pillars of Islam" (shahada, prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and pilgrimage), based in Hadith, are understood by all Muslims to represent a concise summary of the basic Islamic ritual requirements, about which there is virtually no disagreement. The use of the same phrase here serves indirectly to legitimize the ritual requirements of the tariqa, as if to say that the Sufi performs these, just as the ordinary Muslim performs those. Although the article does not say so directly, several of these "pillars" support the main Ja'fariyya ritual practices: recitations of individual wurd, and of hizb and inshad in the hadra. At the same time, the requirements are explained to be incumbent upon all Muslims; thus the tariqa and its rituals are shown to be central to Islamic life. They counter the popular images of Sufism prevalent among reformists, by stressing that which can be supported through Qur'an and Sunna, as well as that which has a social utility. [The following summary of the article is interrupted by critical comments in square brackets.]

The basic religious requirement for every person is to know God and worship Him, for the Qur'an states: "We created jinn and ins in order to worship". The Sufi aims to actualize his faith in sincere worship for God. True Sufism therefore requires the following pillars:

(1) Following the Prophet; loving him and the Ahl al-Bayt and the *Salihin* ("virtuous ones", including the saints). God said "say: if you love Allah, follow me, and God will love you". The Prophet also said: "No one has faith until I am dearer to him than himself." The worshipper loves the Prophet out of his love for God, and loves the Ahl al-Bayt out of his love for the Prophet, and loves the *Salihin* out of love for the Ahl al-Bayt, as the Prophet said: "Love God for He nourished you with His blessings, and love me for the sake of your love for God, and love my Ahl al-Bayt for the sake of your love for me." These elevated forms of love must replace love of the world and its temptations; in this there is great good for individual and society.

[This requirement, rooted in Hadith, motivates the Ja'fariyya emphasis on performing *madih* during the *hadra*. Performance of *madih* is not only an expression of love and devotion for the Prophet, but is also held to cause it. While all *turuq* include *madih*, the Ja'fariyya are centered on it to a much greater degree. The Jazuliyya adopt a more ecstatic mystical attitude in which the distance between self and God may diminish, but the Ja'fariyya always view the Prophet as the mystical goal. This goal no doubt stems from the Idrisi tradition, but also the focus on the Prophet as a mediating term is more widely acceptable to Muslims, since God's transcendence is thus not jeopardized;

doctrines of mystical union are excluded. Another point is the claim that this pillar will lead to social good, which is reminiscent of the claims of Sufi reformers.]

(2) Devotion to dhikr of God, unvoiced and voiced. For God said, “Oh you who believe! Remember God often!” Dhikr protects man from evil, according to Hadith; as long as dhikr is in the heart, the Devil cannot enter, and man can only do good. For this reason, the daily wird and regular hadra are both critical, and Shaykh Salih urged to both, having said in a qasida:

Oh you whose heart needs to be cured perform dhikr, for in dhikr your
are saved from error
In the dhikr session is all good; God is in it, with the angels and prophets
Take pleasure in dhikr of God, both silent and aloud, to live contentedly
in life and in the grave

[The requirement of dhikr, rooted in Qur’an, underlies performance of individual wird, and the hizb in hadra. It also underlies performance of inshad, which is considered by the Ja‘fariyya to constitute a form of dhikr, due to its text. Note that the definition of dhikr here makes no mention of the stereotypical Sufi style of chanting, movement, and singing in an ecstatic session, which is not practiced in the Ja‘fariyya. The form of dhikr required here cannot easily be disputed by reformists.]

(3) Pursuit of religious knowledge (‘ilm), which is a duty for every Muslim. Only with religious knowledge can one worship God with insight. The Prophet said: “When God wants good for someone, He teaches him religion, and inspires in him the true path,” while Shaykh Salih says: “The acquisition of knowledge in religion consists in one’s learning the duties which God has required to be performed, and knowing the

things which God has forbidden, in order to avoid them....”. The sincere Sufi therefore strives toward knowledge of God, the Prophet, Qur’an, Sunna, and fiqh. This knowledge also helps him to enlighten society.

[Since one of the primary features of Shaykh Salih’s poetry is its ‘ilm, the performance of inshad in hadra is also a means of fulfilling this “pillar”, which is rooted in Hadith. But ‘ilm also has a social utility, therefore inshad, hadra, and the tariqa itself are socially useful.]

(4) Striving of the self to rid itself from blameworthy qualities, and to adorn itself with praiseworthy traits. [Elsewhere in the article, it is made clear that wurd and hadra assist in such purification.]

This article thus supports a hadra which encourages love for the Prophet, remembrance of God, and teaching of religious knowledge, as a means of fulfilling one’s religious duties as a Muslim, and contributing to society.

Another article, by the preacher and imam of the tariqa’s central mosque, Dr. ‘Atiya Mustafa Husayn, enumerates six pillars which are particularly applicable to ritual performance (Husayn 1996):

- 1) Sticking to Qur’an and Sunna in both zahir (externals) and batin (internals)
- 2) Restoring the tasawwuf [Sufism] of the pious forefathers (salaf), and conservatism in asceticism and piety.
- 3) Focus on sessions of ‘ilm and dhikr.
- 4) To be far from praise and extravagance in everything.
- 5) Spreading the spirit of brotherhood [among all Muslims], and melting of differences.
- 6) Fighting against the bida’.

Note the emphasis on Qur'an, Sunna, Islamic tradition, conservatism, and the avoidance of anything which could draw criticism. The reformist's concept of "salaf" (as in the Salafiyya movement) is explicitly co-opted, under the assumption that the "pious forefathers" of early Islam really were Sufis; it is their Sufism which must be restored. Bid'a is denied. At the same time, the importance of 'ilm and dhikr as ritual practices is upheld. Finally, there is the importance of brotherhood, not defined in the traditional Sufi manner as brotherhood among tariqa members, but rather brotherhood among Muslims in general.

These attitudes constitute the group-strategic logic for the Ja'fariyya ritual forms. Such rituals are to be as close as possible to conservative Islam, avoiding emotionalism entirely, centering the tariqa as an Islamic institution fostering broad Islamic ideals of brotherhood and ethics in service of the wider society (like groups such as the Muslim brothers), and disarming Sufism's reformist detractors by appeal to an exemplary Sufism of the early Islamic community, the same community to which the reformers constantly appeal in rejecting Sufism.

* * *

As in the case of the Jazuliyya, group ritual is central among members of the Ja'fariyya. Hadra is performed twice a week: a central hadra at the tariqa's main mosque in Darrasa on Thursday evenings, and a local hadra which takes place in every *saha* (local meeting place) on Sunday evenings. The *saha* is an important mosque in the

community where it is located; thus hadra is always performed in a central and public location.

As in other *turuq*, the hadra is critical. But the importance of a main central hadra which all members are expected to attend is typical of the modernist groups in particular, which seek to use this ritual, with all the powers of the LP they contain, as a means of ensuring the continued solidarity and centralization of the group. As in the case of the Jazuliyya, attendance is an important issue, and absences are carefully noted. In answering one of my questions, Dr. ‘Atiya Mustafa Husayn (preacher and imam of the tariqa’s central mosque) wrote: “Every murid in the tariqa attends hadra, as well as the muhibb. For the hadra is equivalent to the *hamzat al-wasl* between the Shaykh and the murid.” In Arabic grammar, the *hamzat al-wasl* (conjunctive hamza) is a letter which disappears in order to join the two letters on either side of it.

This quotation is also telling for what it reveals about who attends. For the Jazuliyya, the hadra is a ritual which serves in part to distinguish the in-group from the out-group; boundaries are sharp. Only rarely do non-members attend, and they have no special seating area. Performance of the hadra thus provides a massive show of group communal solidarity, the horizontal relations of the group’s personal social structure. But in the Ja‘fariyya, the role of the muhibb (devotee who has not joined the group) is more central. They frequently attend the hadra, and are provided with a special place to sit. Such a practice supports the group’s claim to social centrality, and promotion of universal Islamic brotherhood. Here the Jazuliyya attitude is the traditional one (albeit

more precisely executed in practice), while the apparently traditional-minded Ja‘fariyya are really quite revolutionary in proposing such a role for a Sufi tariqa.

Like the Jazuliyya, but unlike the Bayyumiyya and other traditional turuq, the Ja‘fariyya tend to be exclusive, not in rejecting visitors, but in maintaining member loyalty. Members do not attend other hadras, attend mawlid individually, or open an independent khidma at the mawlid. The entire group may attend a mawlid upon invitation, but when they do so they perform their own liturgy in a mosque, and then leave. These affirmations of independence serve to reinforce identities of the newer turuq, which otherwise risk being swallowed up by their less organized but more widespread antecedents. More importantly, exclusivity guards the tariqa against incrimination by association with the oft-criticized practices of other groups, and affords a higher measure of self-control.

Unlike the Jazuliyya, murid perform a more traditional, lengthy daily wird, tailored to his spiritual station, including the following parts, prepared by Shaykh Salih:

- 1) One section from *al-Salawat al-Ja‘fariyya fi al-Salah ‘ala Khayr al-Bariya*, which is divided into seven sections, one for each day of the week.
- 2) “al-Husun al-Qur’aniyya”, from the booklet *Husun al-Awrad al-Ja‘fariyya*
- 3) “al-Husun al-Ja‘fariyya”, from the booklet *Husun al-Awrad al-Ja‘fariyya*
- 4) Recitation of *tahlil*, the number of repetitions being assigned by the shaykh
- 5) Recitation of *istighfar*, the number of repetitions being assigned by the shaykh
- 6) Recitation of *salawat*

The variable portions of the wird are assigned by the shaykh al-sajjada (presently Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani) to each murid individually. Thus, not everyone is reciting the same wird (like the Bayyumiyya, but unlike the Jazuliyya). Using his *basira* (insight), the

shaykh is able to see inside his muridin, know what is in their hearts. He can therefore gauge the wurd according to one's spiritual progress, in order to help one to evolve to progressively higher spiritual levels. Besides this wurd, the murid is required to recite a portion of the Qur'an every day.

The wurd is held to be an important aspect of ritual practice, because it contains dhikr, salawat, and other ritually effective forms of LP. In addition, the length of time required to recite it serves to displace other, baser, activities. Thus one reads in the tariqa's magazine: "The Shaykh also prepared awrad [wirds] to take up their free time, so that they would be occupied with Qur'an and dhikr and worship, with no free time which could be filled with evil pastimes." (al-Husayni 1991:33) This attitude is precisely the opposite of the Jazuliyya, who wish to minimize the wurd-time so as to avoid criticism that the Sufi spends too much time in private devotions, at the expense of a productive social existence. The Ja'fariyya would no doubt be sympathetic to this view, but they are rooted in an older tradition of traditional wurd-recitation.

Thus there are several important contrasts between Jazuliyya and Ja'fariyya in their strategic use of ritual:

First, while the wurd has been standardized and abbreviated by the Jazuliyya, as a means of unifying the group, avoiding a strong dyadic relation between local shaykh and murid, and reducing the amount of time which members spend "ascetically" in private devotions, in favor of productive work or group hadras, the Ja'fariyya wurd is far more

traditional. In part, this is a consequence of their decision to maintain strong ties to the Sufi past, albeit to the reformist Sufism of Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris.

Second, in both *turuq* *wird*-use exerts a centralizing effect, but reinforcing the principal aspect of personal social structure in each case, creating horizontal structure in the *Jazuliyya*, and vertical structure in the *Ja'fariyya*. Earlier I mentioned that the use of a uniform *wird* in the *Jazuliyya* encourages group unity. The different *wird* practice in the *Ja'fariyya* evidently does not produce the same effect. At the same time, the determination of *wird* is centralized. Thus while the practice of *wird* recitation may not unify the group as completely as in the *Jazuliyya*, the assignment of *wird* does connect every member to his *shaykh*, more so than in the *Jazuliyya* where the *wird* represents no particular relationship. This difference is precisely the difference between the horizontally unified *Jazuliyya*, and the vertically unified *Ja'fariyya*. In the former, ritual action constitutes a horizontal connection to other members of the group: everybody does the same thing. In the latter, ritual action represents a vertical connection to the *shaykh*, through whom everyone is indirectly linked. But note that the *Ja'fariyya* avoid the pitfalls of local *wird*-assignment in the *Bayyumiyya*, which tends to reinforce the independence of the local *shaykh*. In the *Ja'fariyya*, the *wird* is assigned by the central *shaykh*, and thus tends to maintain group centralization.

Third, the *Ja'fariyya hadra* is public, in support of the *tariqa*'s desire to establish itself as a mainstream Islamic institution, a Sufi society in the center of public life which offers religious and non-religious services both to *muridin* and others within the Islamic

community. Given this goal, the role of the batin (esoteric) must be sharply restricted. Certainly rituals cannot be performed which would conflict with mainstream Islamic sensibilities in any way, because there is no private setting in which to perform them. Indeed even if private rituals could be shielded from public view, their very existence would run counter to the tariqa's aim of universal Islamic brotherhood.

Fourth, and as another consequence of this aim, the rate of group activity is less than that of the Jazuliyya. This rate, along with the level of devotion to the group, is still very high, certainly much higher than most of the traditional groups. But in order to become a mainstream institution, the Ja'fariyya cannot be too demanding of members' time. Therefore there is only one central hadra per week, together with one local hadra.

Fifth, and as yet another consequence, there are no real differences between the different hadras. The central hadra is a public event, and is supposed to be orthodox. Therefore there is neither possibility nor reason to introduce any heterodox practices into it. I argued earlier that the modernist group must seek to restrict its local hadra if it expects to hang together and avoid censure, but when the central hadra is itself conservative, there are few if any differences between the two. Because the tariqa is an institution in itself, with its own mosques, and a wide public "cross section", members do not perform regular weekly mosque hadras as many other turuq do, either out of need for performance space, or in order to attract new members.

Sixth, it is a matter of pride among the Ja'fariyya, as a testimonial to their orthodoxy, that they only perform hadra in mosques. In this way, the hadra comes

closest to orthodox Islamic practice, as a form of nawafil prayer. But the mosque setting is also restrictive; having made the strategic decision to situate themselves in the mosque, they cannot then engage in performances which cannot take place in a mosque (thus even the Jazuliyya would not perform music inside a mosque, and their mosque hadras are likewise more conservative).

2. The hadra

Having considered several general aspects of Ja'fariyya ritual, I now turn to the hadra in particular.

a. The main Thursday hadra

Similar to the Jazuliyya in their *Rasa'il* the Ja'fariyya provide some hadra guidelines in an article published in their yearly magazine (al-Muhami 1994). These guidelines are an enumeration of essential points of *adab* (here, proper behavior, protocol, and intention). Although the form of hadra is not presented explicitly, it appears implicitly in the course of discussion of these points. As in other *turuq*, it is not generally considered necessary to state what has become habit for all participants, and even the Jazuliyya do not do so precisely. However the existence of any explicit hadra instructions beyond the mere texts employed can be regarded as indicating the existence of group-level strategies. In this case, part of the strategy is to link the performance of hadra to Islamic tradition, rooted in Qur'an and Sunna, while guarding it from aspects which might be criticized or used to marginalize the *tariqa* within the Islamic field. The

text is also a general assertion of the hadra's importance within the tariqa itself, and thus represents a means of encouraging members to attend, which ought to help maintain the group's centralization and solidarity.

The author explains that "hadra" refers to the presence of God, the angels, spirits of the prophets, pious ones (salihin), and Ahl al-Bayt, basing the possibility of such "presence" on Qur'an and Hadith. The hadra also attracts a large number of muridin and muhibbin (non-member devotees; thus one observes an explicit sanction for the public nature of Ja'fariyya hadras). The hadra is a meeting of pure hearts, and allows love and brotherhood to spread among them. The collective aspect of hadra is important because it gathers people for collective dhikr, in which people encourage and energize one another.

He says that the hadra is the first pillar and spinal column of the tariqa, since the shaykh said [in a poem]: "my tariq is Qur'an, 'ilm, piety, and madh for the Prophet, the eraser of error", and all of these things are present in the hadra Ja'fariyya. The way of the tariqa is through perseverance in hadra. If one takes the 'ahd (oath) he must be present at hadra. It is not enough to perform the wurd, which some see as a substitute for the hadra. For he who is not present, it is as if his electric supply has been cut off.

[This is an important statement. I have noted before that the traditional turuq tend to focus on local hadras and individual wurd, both bonds between the murid and local shaykh, leading to the decline of the tariqa's center as an active strategizing power. Attendance at the central hadra is critical to prevent this from happening.]

The author goes on to enumerate the rules of adab (behavior) in the hadra, I present these in the Appendix, and discuss only a few main points here:

- The order of the hadra must be respected. (rules 3,4,5,6) Muridin must sit still, not get up without a good reason, and comply with whatever is happening, without interference or meddling. [Without this condition, the group could be threatened; only in this passive, malleable condition can the murid be effectively “worked up” by the LP in hadra.]
- The murid must listen to and heed what is said in hadra (rules 7,8). [This condition is necessary if speech LP is to be effective.]
- All the brethren must be regarded as equal, except the Shaykh, who is the teacher. No murid should be exalted or regarded as khalifa by virtue of his speech or madih or seniority. (rule 11) [Thus the essential vertical social relation, by which the Shaykh is definitively placed above all others, is enforced.]
- The murid must try to get from the hadra a strong charge of faith (*shahna imaniyya*), in order to live in its joy and blessing until the next hadra. This “charge” is what strengthens him in religion, and causes devotion to the hadra. (rule 15) [Thus the ultimate purpose of the hadra is to improve faith.]

1. The group and setting

The Thursday evening hadra is the principal central tariqa hadra, taking place in the group’s central mosque in Darrasa. All members in the Greater Cairo area are

expected to attend, and those who are not ill generally do so. In addition, there are always a large number of members visiting from out of town, as well as visitors from outside the tariqa. The total number of participants generally falls in the range 200-300.

Several special roles are marked. The shaykh al-sajjada, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani, is always present, and serves as an extremely active hadra leader, setting the general program, and overseeing its various aspects. Sometimes he even requests particular qasidas to be performed. Unlike Sidi Salim of the Jazuliyya, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani is always moving about during hadra, checking on things and people, ensuring that the ritual is progressing smoothly. At any moment he may seize the microphone to give an impromptu speech. His prominence and activity establishes himself as the central figure, thus reinforcing the underlying vertical relations which define the group.

Senior members, sitting among the muridin at the end closest to Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani lead recitations in the first part of the hadra; one of them usually serves as mustaftih. Particular muridin, especially members of Shaykh Salih’s family, serve in special roles: setting up the room, distributing or collecting prayer books, greeting and seating visitors. Others prepare and serve food in the eating rooms, distribute nafha to the seated congregation (including sweets, tea, cold drinks, perfume, and incense), and clean up. Those performing special roles usually wear a name-tag, which also states their positions.

There are many munshidin, although these are not formally distinguished but rather consist of those members who know how to perform the madih as soloists. One

man is known as the *mumazzim al-madih* (organizer of madih). He arranges the munshidin, determining performance order, and carefully recording who performs which qasidas. Under ordinary conditions, no one is allowed to perform more than once, and no qasida should be performed more than once, in a single hadra. Those muridin who are Azhari scholars, as well as the occasional outside guest, may deliver religious speeches during the hadra, from the lectern at the front of the room.

In general the tariqa draws on a wide array of people: poor and rich, educated and simple. Although there is a certain geographical bias (toward those of Upper Egyptian descent) the social range is greater than that of the Jazuliyya, who tend toward middle-upper class professionals and businessmen.

There is no dress code particular to the tariqa (nor any special handshake), a feature which renders the line between members and non-members invisible in most situations, thus at once reducing in-group solidarity, and increasing the viability of the tariqa as an open and publicly acceptable entity. However, the traditional jallabiyya is far more prevalent than among the Jazuliyya, one sign out of many pointing to their more traditional orientation. Whereas the leading members of the Jazuliyya (including the shaykh) generally wear western-style dress (pants and slacks, or suits), the prominent members of the Ja'fariyya nearly all wear the jallabiyya; the shaykh always does so.

Women are entirely excluded from visible presence in the hadra. We have seen that the Jazuliyya make it a point of modernity to include them, though they are confined to an inner and less visible space and take a largely passive role; the Bayyumiyya include

women in the performance space not as a matter of policy, but because there is no strategy to exclude them. Only in the Ja'fariyya, however, is the strictest form Islamic law laid down (Shaykh Salih even recommended that members should never greet a strange woman, i.e. one who is not within the required degrees of relation). Women can participate in the hadra by sitting in a room underneath the main mosque, where the sounds of the hadra are piped in via an amplification system; however judging by the numbers exiting, relatively few do so.

2. The social geometry

A rectangular area, approximately half of the mosque's interior, is used for the hadra. In preparation, large green banners upon which are written the tariqa's name, shaykh, and mottos, are erected parallel to the qibla wall¹⁸ at the fore and aft of this area. On the side closest to the qibla wall is a row of seats parallel to it. Each seat consists of a cushion placed directly on the mosque's carpet, with another cushion at right angles forming a back. These seats are blue except for the central one, which is green. The shaykh al-sajjada (Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani) sits on the central green cushion, while the others are reserved for special guests and leaders of local tariqa centers (sahas). In this way the various ranks, far more invisible in the Jazuliyya hadra, are clearly marked off.

In front of these cushions are six carpet strips, three on either side of an open central area, running the length of the hadra space from one banner to the other. Here sit the muridun, facing inwards toward the open area. During the second part of the hadra,

the munshidin sit at the end nearest to the shaykh, on both sides. There are also cushions arrayed along the wall closest to the mosque's entryway. Guests who are not tariqa members, the so-called muhibbin, are invited to sit here in order to observe the hadra. In the back of the mosque are two rooms in which a simple meal of meat and *fatta* (hot broth poured over crumbled bread) is served during the hadra for all participants (members or not).

A large wooden box, specially designed with twelve compartments to hold the twelve volumes of the founder's diwan, sits at this end as well, providing the munshidin with easy access to the poems they will perform during the hadra. Slightly to one side, and facing the carpet strips, is a lecturn, at which invited preachers stand to make their speeches. There is also a PA system consisting of speakers mounted on the mosque's pillars around the hadra space, and at least five microphones: two mounted in a stand and used for the munshidin (who ordinarily perform in pairs), a third for the respondent munshid (described below), a fourth on the lecturn, and a fifth for the shaykh.

3. The ritual process

The hadra divides naturally into two parts: between sunset (*salat al-maghrib*) and night (*salat al-'isha'*) prayers, and following night prayers. The first part, consisting primarily of *hizb* recitation, is less well-attended, because many members are unable to come to the mosque so early, due to work schedules (it should be noted that most hadras take place after 'isha' prayer only, thus the Ja'fariyya hadra is exceptionally long). (Some members label only the second part (consisting of *inshad* and speech) as hadra,

considering the first part to be awrad, since it consists primarily of the hizb which Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris recommended should be recited daily between maghrib and 'isha'; however the whole ritual is also called hadra.)

Muridin begin arriving at the mosque shortly before sunset (maghrib) prayers. The Ja'fari mosque is located in a densely populated area and is a large and public mosque at which prayer is regularly held five times daily; thus the prayer preceding hadra, like any other, is attended by a large number of Muslims many of whom are not connected to the tariqa itself. Immediately following the prayer, the mosque is set up for hadra (as described above), and after greeting Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani (with a kiss on the right hand) members take their places, while non-members who wish to observe are invited to relax on cushions next to the wall. Nearly everyone is seated and physical movement is limited to a gentle and individual swaying; only those with official tariqa roles (such as greeting visitors) stand and move about. A prayer book, *Kanz al-Nafahat*, is distributed to all muridin. Although many may have memorized the text, the presence of prayer books ensures an even performance, unlike the more variable Bayyumiyya hizb.

The first part of the hadra consists of group recitations, led by the Shaykh or senior members of the tariqa. All recitations are performed in a low, calm, relatively unaccented voice, highly blended and unified. Volume increases gradually, as the mood warms and more members arrive, but energy is always highly controlled, restrained. Recitations are performed in near-perfect tonal unison, but employ a narrow range,

consisting usually of a primary recitation tone, plus an upper and lower neighbor; the latter serves as a *finalis*.

They begin by reciting the *Fatiha* all together (not *fawatih*, as in many groups). This is followed by the “*Iftitahiyya al-Hadra al-Ja‘fariyya*” (from *Kanz al-Sa‘ada*), by Shaykh Salih, which consists primarily of blessings for the Prophet and other religious figures, and a *du‘a’*. When this short text is complete, the prayer books are collected again, and the *mustaftih* calls a short sequence of *fawatih* in a quiet voice, including the Prophet and founder among the names mentioned.¹⁹ Meanwhile, another prayer book, *Kanz al-Sa‘ada*, is distributed to the group. The *mustaftih* and other senior members then lead a recitation of the main *hizb*, “*Kanz al-Sa‘ada*”, by Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris, which lasts nearly an hour. This *hizb* is long and complex, containing many sections which are repeated variable numbers of times, including Qur’anic verses, *salawat*, *istighfar*, *ad‘iyya*, and *adhkar*; there are also sections of *dhikr*: repeated chanting of particular Names of God.

Each section of *hizb* is normatively repeated a fixed number of times, and these counts are strictly followed in practice. The number of repeats assumes three basic forms: the standard value of three (confirmed by numerous *hadith*); the standard value of one hundred, which may also be connected to various *hadith*, or merely taken as a round, large number providing an opportunity for concentration; and more specific unusual values derived from *‘ilm al-huruf* as discussed earlier. (The latter two of these forms are applied to *dhikr* sections only; see below.) Such attention to the ritual power of LP in its

purely syntactic aspect is absent in the more emotion-intellect oriented Jazuliyya; among the Bayyumiyya the hizb is likewise endowed with particular powers as well as ‘ilm al-huruf repetitions, but these repeat counts are not followed in practice (again, indicating the degeneration of earlier ritual strategies).

Like other portions of the hizb, dhikr sections are performed in quiet, solemn tones, in unison, with great control and very little accent or sharp emotional expressivity. Muridin remain seated, and there is no coordinated movement during dhikr. Like other sections of the hadra, dhikr is governed by repeat counts which are followed strictly. Often there is a whole step rise in the fundamental recitation tone after precisely 34 repetitions of the dhikr formula; this pitch rise is then maintained through the non-dhikr sections of hizb which follow, until it becomes raised yet again in a subsequent dhikr section. There is also a slight, almost imperceptible, tempo increase during dhikr sections. Such precision suggests strategy.

The ordering of sections is evidently significant. Like most hizbs, it begins with the Fatiha and istighfar, but the patterning goes deeper. In this hizb, dhikr is followed by ad‘iyya or salawat making use of the Name just mentioned. The sura “Ikhlās” (112) thrice repeated alternates with other sections throughout most of the hizb. No doubt there are other less obvious patterns as well. It suffices to emphasize the length, centrality, and complexity of hizb performance in the Ja‘fariyya, as compared to the more compact and marginal hizb performance of the Jazuliyya. In addition, the performance of this hizb constitutes a clear assertion of spiritual connection to the shaykh’s shaykh, Sidi

Ahmad ibn Idris, and thus of the connection between the tariqa and the Idrisi tradition as a whole. This rooting in a specific historical tradition is absent in the Jazuliyya, as has been noted, a break from the past which allows them to turn more totally to the future. Yet the Ja'fariyya turn to the future as well, but using the strength of the past as a means of support. The two strategies are equally effective, yet different.

The following are the thirty primary sections of "Kanz al-Sa'ada", followed by repeat counts in parentheses and a brief description. Except for the first, each section is introduced with a standard phrase addressed to God, approximately "I present the following to You:" (the names employed are merely descriptive, and do not appear in the Hizb):

- 1) Salawat for the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt, and statement of intention (once)
- 2) al-Fatiha (once)
- 3) Istighfar I (3x). Short prayer requesting forgiveness from God, by Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris.
- 4) Istighfar II (3x). Standard istighfar wird formula.
- 5) Shahada (10x). Extended standard testimony of faith, in a form typical of the Idrisiyya.
- 6) Salawat for Prophet (3x). Extended standard blessing formula, in a form typical of the Idrisiyya.
- 7) Surat al-Ikhlās (3x). This key sura (number 112) is repeated thrice after most sections of the hizb. Its three-fold recitation is sanctioned by hadith, and represents a full

recitation of the Qur'an (since the Prophet asserted that this sura is a third of the Qur'an).

8) Dhikr al-tahlil: "la ilaha illa Allah" ("There is no deity but God") (100x)

9) Surat al-Ikhlās (3x)

10) Dhikr ism al-Jalala: "Allah" (100x)

11) Salawat for the Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, other prophets, the angels, saints, virtuous ones, and faithful worshippers, of Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris (3x)

12) Surat al-Ikhlās (3x)

13) Dhikr: "Hu" (100x)

14) Salawat for the Prophet, as the essence of being (*dhat al-kunh*), and the Ahl al-Bayt, and a request for a Prophetic vision; an unusually esoteric prayer of Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris (3x)

15) Surat al-Ikhlās (3x)

16) Dhikr: "Ya 'Azim" (100x)

17) Salawat for Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt, focussing on attribute "'Azim", followed by a supplication to God for union with the Prophet's spirit ("unite me with the Prophet, as the nafs and ruh are united, make the Prophet my ruh in this world, before the next"), from Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris (3x)

18) Surat al-Ikhlās (3x)

19) Dhikr: "Ya Hayy ya Qayyum" (174x). The number of repetitions is the sum of the values of the letters in the formula, derived via 'ilm al-huruf.

- 20) Istighatha: du‘a’ to God, focussing on attributes “Hayy” and “Qayyum”, from Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris (once).
- 21) Praise for the Prophet, and salawat, from Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris (3x)
- 22) Surat al-Ikhlās (3x)
- 23) Dhikr: “Ya Latif” (129x)
- 24) Supplication and praise of God, focussing on attribute “Latif”; from Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris (3x)
- 25) Salawat and praise of the Prophet, followed by request for forgiveness; from Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris (3x)
- 26) Surat al-Ikhlās (3x)
- 27) Short salawat for the Prophet and the Ahl al-Bayt (3x)
- 28) Praise for God using standard Prophetic adhkar (once)
- 29) Salawat for the Prophet and the Ahl al-Bayt (3x), using formula similar to section #1.
- 30) Series of Prophetic adhkar: praise of God (tasbih), assertion of unity (tawhid), and request for forgiveness (istighfar, tawba) (3x)

The “Kanz al-Sa‘ada” occupies a central role, because it is an important hizb within the Idrisi tradition, which was recommended by Shaykh Salih himself to be recited at all meetings of the brethren. Like other hizbs, it is considered to have a purificatory influence on the heart and spirit of one who recites it, as well as strengthening one’s faith. Less overt, but nevertheless evident from the way members speak about it, is the

sense that its benefits stem in part from the baraka of Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris himself, which in turn comes from the Prophet and from God.

The first part of the hadra concludes with a supplicatory prayer (“Du‘a’ wa raja’”) composed by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani, which combines a call and response format (in which the leader recites the prayer while the congregation responds “Amin” after each line) with a concluding group recitation. Finally, the leader calls for more fawatih, mentioning Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris, Shaykh Salih, and Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani. Thus ends the first section of the hadra.

An important feature of the Ja‘fariyya hadra is that dhikr and inshad are kept entirely separate. To mix them together is thought to create confusion. More precisely, members say, one cannot concentrate on both at once. The value of inshad is in understanding the words and receiving their meaning, not in merely receiving an emotional feeling. Therefore it is impossible to use inshad as a background for dhikr. Furthermore, inshad itself contains dhikr. This separation of dhikr and inshad is certainly more acceptable to the orthodoxy as well.

Participants now arise and greet each other. For about ten minutes the mood is informal. Then comes the call to prayer (adhan) for salat al-‘isha’ (night prayer), including a lengthy extension of salawat for the Prophet. Individuals pray supererogatory prayers, and then sit to listen to a solo Qur’anic recitation, following which comes the second call (iqamat al-salah), obligatory group prayer, and concluding supererogatory prayers performed individually.

Shortly after the end of the night prayer, the muridin regroup, assuming their former positions, and the second section of the hadra begins. This section consists primarily of inshad, what group members typically call madih (praise), even though the themes used do not always involve praise. No musical instruments, or even handclaps, are used as an accompaniment. While the use of such instruments is never outright condemned, members say that this is not their way as established by Shaykh Salih, and furthermore that the use of instruments is not sanctioned by the Sunna of the Prophet.

Inshad's central importance in the hadra, and indeed in the tariqa as a whole, can be attributed to the fact that it is based almost completely on the voluminous poetic output of the founder, and is supposed by members to represent a textual transcription of that founder's vast store of knowledge ('ilm), teachings, devotions, and spiritual experiences. Since the founder is no longer with them, his poetry serves in his stead. Performed as inshad in hadra, these poems are a pedagogical tool, simplifying learning, and preserving the founder's tradition.²⁰ Finally, they are in themselves a form of worship. One senior member expressed the situation as follows:

My opinion is that inshad is the basis for the tariqa Ja'fariyya. Why? Because mawlana Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari put his 'ilm into his qasidas, in order to be easy on he who listens... in order that the 'ilm be memorized. ... So inshad renews the 'ilm of shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari. Inshad is also dhikr, and salawat on the Prophet... We find then that the 'ilm, dhikr, and salawat on the Prophet of shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari is all to be found in his qasidas... This is the benefit of inshad for Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari, and as I told you, inshad in the tariqa Ja'fariyya is the basis of the tariqa.

This ‘ilm is furthermore not merely “data” about religion, but rather is saturated with the high spiritual state (hal) of the shaykh who composed such poetry out of a flood of Divine inspiration. Indeed, poetry is the literary form par excellence for capturing spiritual states. When such poetry is performed, the spiritually attuned listener senses the hal out of which it emerged at the moment of composition. In an article in the tariqa’s magazine, Mahmud ‘Abd al-Rahim Farraj, a professor at al-Azhar and member of the tariqa, describes poetry as the expression of an emotional experience in an inspired form; the truer and deeper the feeling, the more powerful the expression. Such expressions then draw listeners in; they are moved by the true and beautiful feeling carried by its words. Shaykh Salih’s poetry is a case in point. He who contemplates or listens to the poetry of the Imam al-Ja‘fari feels its true and sincere Islamic feeling, and is deeply moved by it; if he cannot restrain himself, his feeling will be displayed by the flowing of tears (Farraj 1994). Note that while feeling is high, external manifestation of that feeling only takes place among those who cannot control themselves; the emphasis on self-control of emotion in hadra is one of the hallmarks of the Ja‘fariyya which renders their hadra more widely acceptable, though no less powerful for its restraint (Farraj 1994:26).

Another passage from the tariqa’s yearly magazine is useful in explaining the importance of madih in hadra performance:

The people of true love, our Sufi masters, understood the creation of atmospheres which arouse love in the hearts, renew friendship, and cure the selves [nufus] of negligence when they followed the saying of the Prophet: “Love God for what He grants of His blessings, and love me for the sake of love of God, and love the people of my house for the sake of my love”.

And so the characteristics of their praise for Mustafa, his family and companions, make a garden whose fragrance is sweet. By its breezes the selves awaken from their slumber. Those who listen to it listen with the ears of the heart, and the sentiments of the selves, and they pray with the delicate meanings toward the soft breezes of truth. Then their souls shake with tarab from those meanings.

Our Shaykh travelled the path of the virtuous forefathers [salaf] in training his [spiritual] sons to love the Prophet and his family, and passion for his fragrant way...In this way the tariqa Ja'fariyya adopted madh as a program for [spiritual] upbringing and manners, and supply of the murid with what he requires of the sciences of Shari'a and Haqiqah.

In the Sufi doctrine, madih is the mirror which reflects the true form for Muhammadan Love. For this reason, its meanings, indications, and influences appear on the muridin and muhibbin when they hear madh of the Prophet of God, for it sends secrets of passion to their nufus [selves] and qulub [hearts], and they savor their hearing of it, and their nufus obtain tarab from it, and their bodies quiver; their arwah feel longing, and their eyes cry.

Madih in the tariqa Ja'fariyya is an essential material in Sufi upbringing [tarbiyyah]. Through it, the pillars of Shari'a and Haqiqah are strengthened. If our Shaykh made 'ilm the basis for his tariqa, then he made from Sufi poetry a way leading to it. 'ilm is an essential component for the Sufi way, since the Shari'a is built upon it. And madih is also an essential component in it, for it strengthens the pillars of the Shari'a, and connects to the meanings of the Haqiqah. Our Shaykh made of his diwan a school of knowledge [*madrassa 'ilmiyyah*] extended from the Qur'an and Sunnah, and the doctrines of the virtuous forefathers, besides what it contains of the secrets of the Haqiqah and its meanings.

For each poem in this diwan there is a state [hal] which it calls, and a station [maqam] to which it is a witness, and a taste and lights and secrets. No one understands this, except those who are masters of proper belief, and nufus which are consenting, and *arwah* [spirits] which are pure.

This diwan is none other than a garden of song, its flowers splendid, its fruits ripe, with varied doors, purposes, and meanings.
(al-Ja'fari 1996:28-9)

This discussion emphasizes the importance of madih as a means of orienting oneself emotionally toward the Prophet, while providing ‘ilm and prayer. Ja‘fari madih is a form of spiritual training which while rooted in Shari‘a also points toward Haqiqa. However, the performative aspects of madih, particularly melody, are not mentioned at all. The emotional effect of tarab mentioned here has no relation to musical tarab, being contained entirely in the text itself.

A more immediate factor leading to the central role of madih today is that inshad was a distinctive feature of Shaykh Salih’s spiritual method. While he was alive, Shaykh Salih used to perform his own inshad during his weekly sermon, or in hadra. His shaykh, Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris, did not write or perform inshad. Therefore the method of inshad appears as something distinctively and specially Ja‘fariyya to his muridin; while such poetry is widely acceptable in mainstream Islam, it is also—in its particulars of text and performance style—a defining characteristic of the group.

The centrality of madih—praise of the Prophet—is evident in the fact that members ordinarily call their inshad madih or madh, while the munshid is ordinarily called a maddah (praise singer). A large number of Shaykh Salih’s qasidas, though by no means all, do indeed focus on madih, but the entire repertoire tends to be referred to as madih in a non-specific sense. Shaykh Salih believed that praising the Prophet in madih was the quickest means of spiritual success, for madih strengthens the bond of love between Muslim and Prophet, and the Prophet is the only means by which one may come close to God. Furthermore, recitation of madih is spiritually beneficial, carrying the same

performative efficacy as *salawat*. While admitting the similarity of the two terms, members stress that *madih* is not *ghina'* (singing), because the latter term is connected with secular musical practices and contexts (many of which are sinful), whereas the former is purely spiritual devotion.

Indeed, the practice of singing is condemned by Shaykh Salih altogether, albeit indirectly. In the booklet *al-Fatawi wa al-Ajwiba* (Ja'fari n.d.:102) Shaykh Salih is asked for the Islamic opinion about listening to song. He said that when Imam ibn Hanbal's son asked his father this question, his father replied that song causes hypocrisy to grow in the heart, while Imam Malik said that sinners perform it. Shaykh Sharqawi (former rector of al-Azhar) said that singing is permissible if it is free of temptation and sinfulness, but otherwise it is *haram* (forbidden). Shaykh Salih then adds that this is the case for songs of the present age. While his stance is somewhat ambiguous on the legality of singing in all historical periods, he is undoubtedly very negative compared to attitudes which prevail among the Jazuliyya.

This opinion shows that *madih*, a prime basis of the *hadra*, must be considered quite different from *ghina'* (singing) in the Ja'fariyya *tariqa*. But the distinction between *madih* and *ghina'* is not merely a matter of local concepts and categorizations, for the *tariqa* has striven to make the distinction evident in the physical reality of sonic style. The Ja'fariyya *madih* (*inshad*), containing only simple and repetitive melodic content, and performed without instrumental accompaniment or regular rhythms, genuinely bears no resemblance to any aspect of Arabic music today.

Munshidin sit at the ends of the lines of muridin nearest the shaykh, performing usually in duos (rarely trios, or solo). Those actually performing sit in the front row, with the microphones placed before them. Performance alternates from one side of the central space to the other, so that while one group is performing a qasida, those on the other side can be readying themselves for the next. When they have completed their performance, the munshidin move back so that others can take a turn. The man in charge of inshad (*munazzim al-madih*) can set the order of performance within limits, but in fact the order is fixed, at least at first, by seniority. Thus the first munshid to perform, called the “shaykh al-maddahin”, is always the same person.

Each group of soloists typically comes from a single saha (local tariqa center) and thus the performance serves to emphasize the social structure of the tariqa. Munshidin say they prefer not to have soloists, because in a group the burden of singing is shared and thus the sound is stronger. Another reason is to enable more munshidin to perform in an evening. Yet a fourth reason, stated by one of the senior tariqa officials, is to cultivate modesty. Thus members are not permitted to become too proud of their inshad, which might lead to a presumed proximity to the shaykh; the vertical distance between shaykh and group must be upheld, and it is upheld in part through performance.

Nearly all inshad is based on poetry from the 12 volume diwan of Shaykh Salih; occasionally poems by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani may be used as well. Normally the munshidin performing are free to select any qasida from the diwan, although they will try to match themes to the season (thus inshad will focus on madih during the Mawlid al-

Nabi), and usually they have rehearsed what they will perform in the hadra of the local group. Sometimes Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani may request particular qasidas, and if he or anyone else has just finished delivering a religious speech (khutba or dars, discussed below) the following munshidin are expected to select a qasida compatible with the themes of that speech. Thus the munshidin must be sharp, and know the entire diwan well enough to locate its qasidas rapidly.

Each qasida is associated with what they call a *radd* (refrain; more commonly known in Arabic as *madhhab*): either the first line is used, or a special refrain line is added. The munshidin perform this refrain, and the congregation then repeats it, led by a special respondent munshid, who has his own microphone for this purpose. Usually the munshidin repeat the refrain again, and again the congregation repeats after them. Then they begin singing the qasida itself. After they complete each line, or pair of lines, the congregation responds with the refrain. They need not perform every line of the qasida, indeed this is impossible for the longer ones, but do perform at least the beginning and end, usually by prior agreement. They may not jump from one qasida to another, however. All muridin perform either as munshidin, or as part of the response chorus. The performance of a qasida usually lasts between ten and twenty minutes.

The system of soloists and responding chorus is carefully designed. Because qasidas are numerous and complex, it is impractical to have everyone perform together. More abstractly, one may discern in the soloists’ recitation of Shaykh Salih’s qasidas a pragmatic resemblance to Shaykh Salih himself, addressing his study group during the

Friday lesson. Practically, to have only one soloist could present problems for the group if he makes a mistake. More abstractly, members assert that having multiple soloists serves to avoid reputation-seeking and emphasizes that all group members are equal before (and below) the shaykh. It is also important that the congregation sing the responses, for two reasons: doing so keeps them engaged with the qasida and its message (for the qasida is the message from their teacher, Shaykh Salih), and prevents them from drifting into an individual experience (as may happen in the Jazuliyya hadrat al-inshad), and because the responses usually contain a statement of tawhid or salawat, and therefore are in themselves a beneficial form of prayer. This system is stated in the tariqa's hadra rules (see full list of rules in Appendix):

9) The murid must listen to the madih in the hadra, in order that he not be deprived of understanding and blessing.

10) He must also respond after the maddahin. It does not behoove him to exceed the limit [on soloists] and perform with the maddahin in their inshad, and so the way of the Shaykh is to have two or three maddahin, while the rest of the individuals in the hadra respond.

11) The brethren must not look to any of their number as if he is the shaykh, or the next in line after the shaykh in order. It is not seemly for them to be dazzled by one of the brethren or guests, whether for his knowledge or the melody of his madih, or the length of his association. Rather, all the brethren are equal. The Shaykh alone is responsible for education, and deserving of one's appreciation and attention and self-abnegation... [i.e. the vertical distance must be preserved between murid and shaykh]
(al-Muharni 1994:37-8)

While performing, soloist munshidin ordinarily read from the diwan itself.

Although Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani encourages memorization, most munshidin consider

their role as communicator of Shaykh Salih's heritage to be primary, and therefore rely upon the written word in order to avoid any mistakes in performance.

Melodies serve as simple and unobtrusive carriers of the words, which are always the salient feature of Ja'fariyya madih. Because there is a fixed melody for the refrain, and another fixed melody for each qasida line, or pair of lines, the melodic form is strophic. Melodies tend to be narrow in ambitus. They are slow and rather stately, do not modulate, contain no improvisation or elaborate *qaflas* (cadences), and are generally not prone to producing the tarab characteristic of the Jazuliyya and Bayyumiyya hadras. Some of the senior munshidin compose new melodies, but the majority are drawn from a tradition of responsorial Islamic singing which is not particular to this tariqa; many are stylistically similar to melodies of Sufi groups in Sudan, Yemen, and the gulf countries. Such melodies have little in common with secular urban Arabic music.

One senior munshid said that the particular melody used is not important; all that matters is that it be compatible with the wazn (meter) of the poetry. Others agree, saying that the important thing is the words and their meaning, not the melody. Any melody, new or old, can be used as long as it goes with the qasida. Melodies are important as a means of attracting attention, facilitating concentration, in order that the words of the qasida be memorized, and the meanings be imbibed. But the melody should also be simple, to ensure that the words are absolutely clear, for the congregation must understand every line. Simple repetitive melodies also help the congregation to participate as a responding chorus.

[Parenthetically, one may note also that because the Jazuliyya sing ensemble, everyone experiences the text whether or not the resulting sound is clear. But the Ja'fariyya are interested in communicating the text from munshid to listener, and this can only occur through the sound itself. This contrast entails different pragmatic performative emphases. The reasons for the contrast are both indexical and constitutive of the fundamental contrast between the two groups' personal social structures: the Jazuliyya, closely bound into a communal unity of horizontal relations, performs group inshad together; the Ja'fariyya, defined principally by allegiance to the public and towering figure of Shaykh Salih (and his khalifa, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani), performs in a call-response format in which the soloists represent Shaykh Salih by presenting his poetry.

The connection between munshid and Shaykh Salih is not explicitly stated by members. But they do emphasize the importance of spiritual qualities for the munshid in particular—piety, virtue, purity, humility, love of God and His Prophet, and love for the Shaykh—without which he cannot function effectively in this role. Indeed such qualities are mentioned at least as often as more pedestrian technical ones, such as having a beautiful voice or the ability to memorize poetry.

In light of this idea, it is especially significant that soloists perform in small groups of two or three, since a solo munshid might be identified with Shaykh Salih to an unacceptable degree. I will return to this point later on.]

At the same time, another munshid affirmed, it is rare for anyone to introduce melodies in a novel style; new melodies tend to imitate the old ones, which come from the Sufi tradition and more specifically from the style of inshad which Shaykh Salih employed himself. At least one composer is inspired in his melodies by Qur'anic recitations, thus legitimizing his new melodies by appeal to a traditional source. Unlike Sidi Jabir, Shaykh Salih did not encourage new directions in melodic composition. Furthermore, unlike the Jazuliyya the composer of a Ja'fariyya melody is generally not known; after composing a melody, it is added to the traditional repertoire and used without thought of who originated it. Thus the weight of tradition is not changed by composition, since innovation and the concept of authorship are not introduced.

Besides clarifying text and avoiding excessive emotional buildups, the strategy of using simple traditional melodies has a social function. Unlike the Jazuliyya, who strive to create sonic connections to the secular musical tradition as a means for new members to cross over from decadent secular culture to the tariqa, and as a means of retaining members (especially youth), the Ja'fariyya strive to create a distinctive sonic world, insulated from the decadent outer world by referencing only other religious contexts. There are no connections between the shape of Ja'fariyya melodies and secular melodies, but this too is a strategy. Tradition-minded Muslims prefer that the world of worship be specially marked off from ordinary life, and the sounds of inshad are one means of doing this. In entering the Ja'fariyya hadra, one immediately feels that one has made a transition to a sacred space marked by its distinctive patterns of behavior, sounds, sights,

and fragrances. Such a space is appealing to many conservative Muslims, especially because the world of the Ja‘fariyya hadra is itself conservative. It serves to attract a certain kind of Muslim (though not those who are attracted to the Jazuliyya), and also to construct and strengthen the group’s identity.

Inshad set to melodic improvisation is rare in the Ja‘fariyya. Members stress that inshad jama‘i (group inshad) is preferred, because it is important for the group to respond with the refrain (*radd*), so that the entire congregation will “live together in the meanings. The radd brings everyone in together”, as one munshid explained. Freely improvised melodies would make the introduction of a radd difficult or impossible, and thus fixed, precomposed, metric melodies are preferred.

The restrained musicality of the Ja‘fariyya is a strategic tool. Ideologically, it is a means of signalling their conformity to orthodox Islam, which largely rejects musicality in religion. In the past, the mujawwad style of Qur’anic recitation, containing inventive melodic improvisation, was widely accepted. But today, with the growing influence of Islamic reformers, excessively melodic styles of Qur’anic recitation are regularly criticized as “singing”. While tonal recitation as such is not rejected, elaborate melody is. The Ja‘fariyya do not ban singing, but rather constrain it. Significantly, they don’t even criticize it in other turuq, a sign that perhaps the limits they place on vocal performance represent more a strategic adaptation than a deep-seated conviction.

Thus one high-ranking tariqa official said that some turuq allow use of the duff (tambourine without jingles) and while they do not criticize this practice, neither do they

follow it. They feel that music is not justified in the Sunna, and furthermore that it pulls the listener away from the words, which are the central message of inshad. For Shaykh Salih put his entire system of religious knowledge and education into his poems; one should listen to the texts, and not be distracted by music. Furthermore, they must be careful of appearances for appearance's sake; as one senior member said: "Our shaykh was an 'alim of al-Azhar, in Shari'a and Haqiqa. And he feared for his abna', feared that anyone would protest against them. So he held tightly to Shari'a as well as Haqiqa."

One munshid explained that the purpose of melody is not to create ecstatic emotion, but rather to prevent boredom and assure unity in recitation of the poems. Melody makes the words more palatable to the nafs (lower self), so that the hearts may benefit from them. It is the understanding of the words which is absolutely necessary; without this understanding, madih conveys no benefit at all. Another said that words and meaning are basic; melody merely serves to attract one to the words, but in order for the words to remain primary, the melody ought to be simple. The musical concept of tarab (musical emotion) is central to the musical-spiritual thought of the Jazuliyya, for it can even substitute for strict understanding of poetry as a means of creating spiritual emotion (wajd), and toward this end musical devices (instruments, improvisation, expressive singing) are cultivated. But among the Ja'fariyya, this notion of tarab is not acceptable as a description of inshad's ideal role, and indeed the musical devices employed (constrained strophic melodies) are not sufficient to produce tarab for the typical Egyptian listener.

Whether performing or listening, muridin remain seated and calm. They do not perform dhikr, or move their bodies in any regular fashion. Only a gentle swaying motion may be detected, similar to the movements of Qur'an reciters, as the muridin say. Nor may they emit any ecstatic exclamations during inshad performance. Such restraint is another factor restricting the development of musical tarab, which requires listener response and interaction with performers.

But restraint is also a strategy which aims at fostering a religious conservatism. Foremost, it is a practice imitative of Shaykh Salih himself, who is said to have followed Hadith which described the Prophet and his Companions as having performed dhikr without excessive movements. As one munshid explained, Shaykh Salih was an 'alim (scholar), not a darwish, and believed that the shaykh must be *sahi* (awake), not *sakran* (intoxicated). In hadra he may be deeply affected inside, but he does not allow the effect to appear, for the ecstatic expression of inner hal signifies weakness. The muridin follow their shaykh. The conception of a connection to the movements of Qur'an reciters reinforces the idea that nothing in this tariqa contradicts the Islamic mainstream. These comments show how behavior in hadra is connected to deeper attitudes. To move ecstatically or reach a state of sukr (intoxication) is to deny the path of 'ilm, which is the firm basis upon which Shaykh Salih founded the tariqa, through his qasidas. It should be added that this firm basis is not only sanctioned religiously, but also socially. By siding with the 'ulama' in this way, Shaykh Salih was able to build a secure organization which

avoided the pitfalls of the traditional *turuq*, many of which were discredited in the modern period.

When the *munshidin* have completed the *qasida*, they stop and allow congregation to sing a final refrain. Then they call for the *fatiha* for Shaykh Salih, and cede their positions to other *munshidin*. No one sings twice, for there are always plenty of *munshidin* eager to have a turn.

Between *qasidas*, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani, *tariqa* members, or special guests, may make speeches, called *dars* (lesson) or *khutba* (sermon). Usually these are rather formal and prepared, although Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani himself speaks off-the-cuff. Many speakers speak on mainstream Islamic topics, resembling the words of the Friday *khatib* (preacher). Others speak about Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris, Shaykh Salih, or the *tariqa* generally. There never seems to be any esoteric Sufi content to these speeches; they are always firmly orthodox.

Speeches are not an essential ingredient, as in the *Jazuliyya hadra*, and are dispensed with if there is no one to present them. Several *tariqa* members confirmed this fact, saying that it is the *madih* of Shaykh Salih which is important, not the *khutba*. While Shaykh Salih was alive, his Friday lessons were at the center of his *tariqa*. After his death, it was impossible for anyone to take up this role, not only because of his great talents, but because the *tariqa* had literally been defined as knowledge received from his charismatic personality. His *qasidas* are considered to represent this charisma, and so their performance continues to unify the group after his physical departure. Therefore

the transition from khutba-centric (in the days of Shaykh Salih) to madih-centric (after his death) represents the continuity of Shaykh Salih as the charismatic center of the tariqa.

There is here an important strategic contrast with the Jazuliyya. In the latter group, the muridin keep the founder's memory alive by actively reconstructing his knowledge in their own words, during mudhakara. In doing so they are bound closely to Sidi Jabir, and to each other. However in the Ja'fariyya, Shaykh Salih's knowledge is more distant, presented through a fixed collection of formal poems. These poems are deeply meaningful to participants, but they tend to place Shaykh Salih at a distance, and their mode of performance prevents them from serving to establish a close relation with the founder, since most of the congregation merely listens, and even those who perform are unable to change a single word of the original, or even to deviate expressively through melodic excursions. This contrast is related to the characteristic horizontal personal social structure of the Jazuliyya, and the characteristic vertical structure of the Ja'fariyya.

Qasidas (and speeches) are performed for approximately two hours. During this time, nafahat are distributed, in several forms. Fragrant incense is burned in a large censer placed in the center of the hadra area. Sweets and cold drinks are distributed, often by young boys, who may also apply perfumes to the hands or faces of participants. At a certain point, dinner is served; groups of muridin are escorted to the back rooms to partake of a meal consisting of *fatta* (dry bread with broth), meat, and sometimes salad.

Since not everyone arises at once, the hadra continues without interruption; it is characteristic of the Ja‘fariyya hadra to allow no cracks in the ritual seriousness throughout the hadra; members are not enabled to socialize informally, but must maintain formal relations to the shaykh at all times. After the dinner, small cups of tea are distributed. As always, nafha carries the baraka of the shaykh, and it is important to partake at least of the meal, regardless of whether one is actually hungry. One senior member also noted that serving food and tea forces muridin to be social, so that no one can claim to be wholly absorbed in religious devotions, for claims of this sort are inevitably a form of hypocrisy.

Muridin may arrive late. Those arriving in the middle of the hadra will attempt to greet Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani before sitting, if possible, with a kiss on his right hand. They may also leave early, but only with permission from the shaykh, whom they must bid good-bye as they greeted him upon arrival.

The hadra ends by about midnight. Shortly before this, the last qasida is performed. The concluding section of the hadra is usually led by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani himself as mustaftih. Ensemble, they recite some supplicatory prayers for forgiveness and salvation, mostly drawn from the Qur’an. These are followed by another recitation of the “Du‘a’ wa raja” of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani, and more fawatih, for the Prophet and Shaykh Salih, as well as various tariqa members who require assistance in illness or other problems. Finally the khitam is recited (as defined earlier), led by one of the senior members. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani now sits in a chair at the front of the room, and all the

muridin arise—except the munshidin—forming a line in front of him. Standing, the munshidin perform a final qasida, as each murid advances in turn to kiss the shaykh's hand. Once he has done so, he exits the mosque. Members are not encouraged to hang about speaking, but rather should leave immediately. For the tariqa rules state (see Appendix for full list):

13) The muridin must depart the dhikr promptly after the session ends, and after greeting the shaykh and brethren. Tarrying is not proper. One must not linger in the mosque after the hadra except in case of urgent necessity (al-Muhami 1994:38).

There are several possible explanations for this rule. Sufi group, like all other groups, are likely to attract government suspicion if they mill about without any particular ritual underway; at least, this was the case until relatively recently. More simply, they may want to close the mosque since the hadra generally runs past midnight. But a deeper reason may be that the tariqa aims to provide a specific ritual function, within which all social activity should occur. To allow informal socialization to occur outside that frame would allow relationships to form outside the tariqa's formal control. This in turn might lead to formation of a web of unequal in-group relations, whereas the tariqa's strategy is to remain open and public, and to treat all members identically. Whatever the correct explanation may be, the upshot is to make the development of independent friendships among members more difficult, so that a communal solidarity tends not to form, as in the Jazuliyya; rather, members are linked together by their common allegiance to the shaykh.

The munshidin continue performing until all have greeted the shaykh and departed, then they greet the shaykh themselves and depart.

There is then a brief informal period when tariqa members may speak with the shaykh. This is the moment when the 'ahd may be taken by those desiring it. Those taking 'ahd extend their right hands. The shaykh places his hand over theirs, and recites a few brief prayers, which they repeat after him. There is no spectacle, no complexity, and no involvement with the brethren at large, who will not know who has been inducted on any particular hadra night. There is thus no possibility of systematic social bonding with new members, unlike the Jazuliyya where such bonding occurs immediately. The taking of 'ahd thus contrasts with both the Bayyumiyya (where it is a private affair between local shaykh and murid, conducted outside of hadra) and the Jazuliyya (where it figures centrally in the hadra, empowered by a massive display of solidarity). The Ja'fariyya 'ahd, combined with the presence of large numbers of visitors in the hadra, the public location of the mosque, the centrality of their institutional services, and the public availability of their publications all serve to reinforce the low boundary between members and non-members in this tariqa, which aims for a central position in Islamic society. Whereas the Jazuliyya is truly a brotherhood (and sisterhood), the Ja'fariyya follows the paradigm of an open *madrassa*, an Islamic school. Both are legitimate and successful strategies for handling the special problems presented by modernity.

The hadra is now over; those responsible put away the cushions, rugs, and books, and the mosque is closed for the night.

b. The local Sunday hadra

Sunday evening each local chapter (saha) gathers to perform its own local hadra. Those who live near the main center in Darrasa may attend at the main mosque, but the number of participants is much less than on Thursdays; in the local centers there may be twenty or even less. The hadra is nearly identical in form, except that the forty salawat contained in Shaykh Salih's work *Kanz al-Nafahat* may be recited in the first part, instead of the hizb of Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris. In the second part, inshad is performed exactly as on Thursday. The atmosphere is slightly more relaxed in the local centers, and because they are fewer in number, munshidin may be able to perform several times in an evening, providing them with an opportunity to practice qasidas which they will later perform in the main Thursday hadra.

Jabal al-Asfar, a small agricultural town to the north of Cairo, is populated by many immigrants from Aswan, many of whom are members of the Ja'fariyya. Their saha (described earlier) contains a large mosque and function room, on the main road, and clearly serves the community as a main public mosque. On Sunday evenings, roughly twenty members of the tariqa gather after the sunset prayer to perform the hadra. Their leader is a gentle, older man who joined the tariqa in the early 1960s, and knew Shaykh Salih well. They form two facing lines on one edge of the mosque, with the leader in the center of one line. Before him is a large wooden box with twelve compartments containing the complete diwan of Shaykh Salih, identical to that used in the main mosque. After fawatih, they recite hizb from maghrib to 'isha' prayer, following which

all pray together, along with many others who have come into the mosque specifically to pray, and appear not to be tariqa members.

After the prayer, these latter leave again, and the hadra group reassembles to perform inshad. Munshidin perform in pairs or trios as in the main mosque, although there is no need for them to assume special positions for performing, since the space is small, and no microphones are used. There is plenty of time for all the munshidin to sing once or twice; while one group is performing, another will be looking through the diwan to find the qasida they wish to perform next. The leader determines the performative order. After less than an hour, the leader signals that they will end. The conclusion is nearly identical to that used in the main Thursday hadra. Members greet each other, but there is no special veneration paid to the leader as there would be to Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani. Then they adjourn to the function room below, where a meal of lentil fatta (thick lentil soup poured over dry crumbled bread) is served, followed by tea.

Notes for Chapter 6

¹ Some of the other founders of traditional turuq are credited with poems (whether they truly wrote or not), although these do not form complete hymnals for liturgy, but rather are sampled and mixed with other poetry. In the modernist tariqa, by contrast, the shaykh prepares and publishes a diwan, which becomes a liturgical source equal to the ahzab and awrad. The Bayyumiyya may tend to diminish the importance of inshad in hadra because they cannot control it.

² Indeed the Bayyumiyya do not use these instruments, but they do employ the 'asaya (metal cane) which is not considered by them to be an instrument.

³ This comment is a response to a common criticism of Sufism: that Sufis request madad from other than God.

⁴ One Bayyumiyya shaykh said that the Prophet himself indicated the existence of 37 “ayat tahlil”. ayas containing tahlil (assertion of God’s unity), saying that he who recites them will be protected from the Fire.

⁵ The sharh is a term apparently used only by munshidin; it refers to a colloquial poetic form similar to a mawwal, but containing a single end-rhyme, like a qasida.

⁶ Careful observation can reveal the amount, however. Most donations appear to range from 10 to 50 piasters (\$0.03 - \$.17 in 1998 dollars); the total amount per munshid per hadra probably does not exceed \$1.00.

⁷ The word “mawwal” has at least two meanings. In Arabic literature, the mawwal is a colloquial poetic genre, featuring particular rhyme schemes, meters, styles of word-play, and themes. In Arabic music, the mawwal refers also to a performance style, in which a singer declaims a text in a non-metric style, improvising the melody with the system of melodic modes (maqamat); in this usage, the text need not be a mawwal in the literary sense. The munshidin prefer not to use the word “mawwal”, probably because it is primarily a non-religious genre. Instead, they use the word “sharh” (especially when there is a mono-rhyme) or “madih”.

⁸ When asked why the Fatiha is preceded by salawat, participants said that this is best, for “la ilaha illa Allah” is followed by “Muhammad rasul Allah”. Another reason might be that the fatiha is treated as a du‘a’, and the effectiveness of du‘a’ is increased by salawat (Schimmel 1985:93).

⁹ Members say that Shaykh ‘Abd al-Fattah ‘Allam, the famous Bayyumiyya shaykh in Zawiya al-Hamra, employed his own diwan. Unfortunately I did not verify this fact. But I have witnessed other turuq (such as the Burhamiyya) in which the local shaykh composes poetry to be used in “his” hadra. Such localization does not happen in the uniform liturgies of the modern groups.

¹⁰ In Islam, performance of nawafil (supererogatory prayers) often follow the obligatory ones. One might speculate that the hadra shar‘iyya is here regarded as the Sufi’s basic religious obligation (though supererogatory for the ordinary Muslim); having performed it, the group then moves on to a second level of supererogatory devotion, a kind of nawafil al-nawafil, consisting of ecstatic inshad and mudhakara.

¹¹ This use of inshad to accompany the central tabaqas only is typical of several turuq, especially the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya whose hadra is very similar to the Jazuliyya’s hadra shar‘iyya (see Gilsenan 1973:156ff).

¹² The etymology is not linguistically correct. “Munshid” derives from the Arabic root n-sh-d, while “munshadd” derives from the root sh-d-d; the two are not related. But mnemonically and pedagogically the suggested relationship is brilliant.

¹³ The analogy between things spiritual and things social may be reminiscent of Durkheim, who was inclined to see God and religion as projections of the social group. But I by no means wish to explain away the spiritual, or argue that the social is what is really real. On the contrary, the spiritual is just as real. Rather I wish to suggest that ritual performance, LP in particular, admits of both spiritual and social levels of interpretation, and indeed may be strategic on both levels. The difference is that while spiritual strategies are often articulated in discourse, social strategies may not be. Furthermore, while all Sufi groups maintain spiritual aims, it is primarily the modernist groups act to effect social aims.

¹⁴ For a more detailed description of this 'ahd performance, see Waugh 1989:160-163 (note the typographical error "Ghazouli" instead of "Jazuli").

¹⁵ At least once the shaykh gave a directive toward the end of the hadra designed to make this feeling explicit: he said that everyone must turn to his or her neighbor, and tell them "I love you". Although some members felt bashful, they did as they were told.

¹⁶ Johansen (1996: 82-88) makes nearly the same point in comparing a mawlid performance in the mosque of al-Husayn with a private hadra of the Jazuliyya. But in considering the hadra shar'iyya as a special occasion, he misses its strategic importance as a regular feature of tariqa practice. He furthermore errs slightly in supposing that the hadra shar'iyya is not also performed in private.

¹⁷ Each adhan is everywhere audible in Egypt, since each mosque has a mu'adhdhin (caller to prayer), and the adhan itself is broadcast by a PA system.

¹⁸ The qibla wall is the wall of a mosque toward which Muslims pray in order to face Mecca. It is indicated by a niche (the mihrab) as well as by the preacher's pulpit (minbar), and is perpendicular to an imaginary line drawn between the mosque and Mecca.

¹⁹ This section is extremely difficult to hear, however it seems reasonable to assume that the same names are mentioned as in the concluding fawatih at the end of the section. The fawatih are certainly short; less than five names are mentioned in all.

²⁰ Jazuliyya group inshad is not devoid of pedagogical function, although the mood is less suitable for pedagogy than the Ja'fariyya. On pedagogical songs in general, see Waugh 1989:147ff, 167-168.

7. The Theory and Method of Analysis

A. Comparative analysis of the four Sufi hadras

1. Review of the thesis

This dissertation began with a question: how have modernist *turuq* succeeded in meeting the challenges presented by modernity? I suggested that an important part of the answer lies in the ability of these *turuq* to strategically manipulate the performative resources of LP to their advantage, especially in the context of group ritual (*hadra*). Such group-level strategies exist at varying degrees of explicitness: they may be something like “laws” or “codes” of the *tariqa* existing in fixed oral or even print form, or they may be unarticulated conventions which are nevertheless formulated and sustained with deliberateness. I argue that adaptation to circumstances (such as the difficult environment posed for Sufism by the late 20th century) does not happen by accident or by “natural selection” alone (as in evolutionary theory and speciation) but rather depends inherently on human faculties which allow them to think, predict, evaluate, and organize. The ability of a group to formulate strategies thus depends on the extent to which it is positioned to enable such thinking to take place on the group level and then to be actually disseminated throughout the organization.

Summing up the previous chapters, one finds two necessary conditions:

1) The ability to formulate effective strategy depends on the existence of a sufficiently unified and centralized social structure, in which positional and personal structures reinforce rather than oppose each other. The tariqa forms a cohesive solidarity, richly connected by a set of strong personal relationships, and reinforced by an effective positional organization, such that it can act as a unit. It must furthermore have a dominant center of power which is charismatically charged, to which all its parts are firmly and loyally connected, and which therefore has the potential to direct and coordinate group-level strategic policy and action.

2) Development of strategy also depends on a sufficiently developed level of group-awareness among individuals, especially at the power center. This means that individual members (leaders in particular) should feel a strong and exclusive identification with the group, to the point that the group becomes their primary source of self-identity.¹ In this way they will naturally submit their ordinary individual self-interests to those of the group. Having made this identification, members will be motivated to think *as* the group, and thus *for* the group. The group becomes aware of itself, as it were, comprehends its own contours and position in the social space (at least at the center of power), understands the problems and challenges it faces, and is poised to act in a coordinated fashion. Only under such conditions will effective group-level strategies be formulated, which can be disseminated and enforced by virtue of centralization and cohesion.

Group solidarity and consciousness may be supported by Sufi values (such as loyalty and disinterested love), although these values may just as easily favor the decentralization and fragmentation of the tariqa into subgroups. Sufi doctrines do not explicitly stress loyalty to the tariqa as a social group, but rather to the shaykh as an individual. For this reason a tariqa may easily fragment without any of the ethical codes (adab) associated with Sufism being broken.

I suggested that given these two conditions it should be possible for a tariqa to develop and apply general strategies for effectively adapting to the modern world, and that these general strategies would be represented by practical performative strategies which could be applied in the hadra as LP. This is the case for the two modernist examples, the Ja‘fariyya, and the Jazuliyya. The traditional turuq, such as the Bayyumiyya, are typically unable to do so.

Such strategies are in no way uniquely determined by the field of Islam, or the social space as a whole. Rather the development of strategies resembles the process of finding the solution to a problem with more variables than equations: the set of possibilities is infinite in number, but not unbounded. Similarly the space of possible strategies for Sufi orders is in general infinite. However each tariqa presents certain social and doctrinal features, to some extent the result of historical accident (most importantly, the founder’s personality and biography, and the nature of the early community for which he formed the nucleus), which serve to set an initial position and subsequent trajectory for the group within Islam and Egyptian society at large. Strategic

limitations result from that initial position and trajectory, as well as by the structure and historical flows of the society within which the tariqa must exist. But despite these constraints (which never firm, but only determining easier and harder courses) there are always many ways to go, and thus many choices which can be made. The directions selected by the Jazuli and Ja'fari are examples of diametrically opposed strategies (albeit determined to some extent by the possibilities available), both highly successful.

On the other hand a group such as the Bayyumiyya, lacking (for reasons of both external history and internal development) both a centralized and cohesive social structure (especially due to the absence of a strong charismatic center), and a sufficient level of self-consciousness (due to a relatively relaxed sense of group loyalty) is unable to formulate such strategies today. What group level patterns exist appear to be primarily an inheritance from the past, an age when careful formulation of strategies was perhaps less necessary. These patterns were eroded and "gapped" due to 19th-century repressions, together with the gradual loss of central control, group cohesion, and strong identification. Patterns which remained were not necessarily suitable for maintaining the group, and the gaps in such patterns (especially at the group's periphery) were filled by individual strategies which aimed toward richness of immediately mystical experience. Such experience might be considered as a form of "symbolic capital" in Bourdieu's sense, for it may be usefully exchanged: for success and fame by the munshid, and for social status and prestige for the host of a successful performance (particularly when

public). Others simply savor the experience in itself. The point is that such experience in itself provides no social benefit for the group as a whole.

There are thus two goals for the analysis. First, I wish to show that the modernist groups do employ strategies to control performance; I want to describe what these strategies are, and how they work to support more general strategies which enable the group to maintain a viable position within the social space. Second, I wish to show that such strategies are lacking—by and large—in the traditional groups.

In the preceding two chapters, I have provided detailed portraits of three Sufi orders in their social and ritual dimensions. I have described the various genres of LP used within each, and outlined their role in the performance of the hadra, supplementing verbal description with notations and analysis. Throughout this description I have striven at every opportunity to point to contrasts between the different cases, and suggested reasons for these differences in passing.

In this section, I wish to carry out the task of comparison and interpretation of LP among these three orders in a more systematic fashion. The goal here is two-fold. First I will attempt to point out how patterns in or attributes of LP may (or may not) *represent* performative group-level strategies. I want to understand how such patterns serve to realize group-level strategies, i.e. how they are efficacious in helping the group to flourish. Second, I will argue that certain attributes of LP can be used to *infer* the existence of group-level performative strategies.

Analysis of LP itself is necessary to achieve these aims, because even at the group level, practical strategies are not necessarily articulated within the discursive realm, but rather often fall within the “universe of the undiscussed” (Bourdieu 1977:168). Even when they are articulated in books or speech, such articulations may not correspond to reality, and so can only be used as clues. The real evidence lies in LP itself.

How can LP provide evidence for the existence of group-level strategies? I offer the following working criteria, which though perhaps not sufficient conditions in themselves, tend to indicate the existence of group level performative strategies underlying LP, often by suggesting the existence of effective central control:

Unity. Unity (in any aspect of LP, but especially sonic and pragmatic) cannot easily be explained as the sum of individual strategies, because individuals are different and thus likely to act differently. Therefore, the greater the level of unity, the more likely there is to be an underlying group strategy in control. However such strategies may have been formulated in (and inherited from) the past, rather than having been developed as an active response to modern conditions, and so need not indicate adaptation. It may also happen that unity is created spontaneously as a result of the dynamics of performance, but in that case the unity will not be a consistent feature of performance (see below, consistency).

Restraint (narrow dynamic range). This criterion often goes together with unity, although the two criteria are in principle independent. The individual acting freely,

unchecked by group level strategies, will usually display a relatively wide dynamic range of behaviors in hadra. Conversely, when a wide dynamic range is absent, one infers the existence of group level strategies to which the individual willingly submits. Extreme slowness or softness tend to indicate group strategy.

Consistency among performances. It is possible for particular features (such as unity) to develop spontaneously in a particular performance. However features which are consistent from one performance to another are more likely to have been determined at the group level. In many traditional orders such features may be primarily formal and textual, when one considers all the group's hadras as a set (e.g. each bayt of the Rifa'i has its own hadra plan), even if individual bayts may display more consistency. But in the modernist orders, there is a high level of consistency across all performances.

Uniqueness (particularization). LP features which are shared with many other groups may not represent strategy so much as a non-conscious adoption of available patterns of LP from the general tradition. There is a broad repertoire of available LP resources upon which any tariqa can draw without making any performative decisions. The extent to which LP deviates from the standard models can be interpreted as a measure of self-determining control exerted by the group itself. These are signs that the tariqa has appropriated and reshaped traditional resources so as to create a unique ritual.

Formal elaborateness. The more elaborated and articulated hadra form, the more likely it is to be the result of group-level strategy. Elaborate form is not synonymous with order and predictability, for form may contain disorder. A sufficient

(though perhaps not necessary) condition lies in the temporal boundaries of the disorder. Are those boundaries coterminous with the boundaries of the performance itself, or is the disorder embedded within an otherwise well-articulated, formal plan? Thus a tariqa whose hadra evinces ecstatic abandon throughout (e.g. the local Bayyumiyya hadra considered earlier) would seem to lack group strategy, but a tariqa which provides fifteen minutes of ecstatic abandon within a rigid program which includes other highly ordered activities as well (e.g., in the Jazuliyya hadra) demonstrates a clear strategy. When free sections are sharply delimited in this way, strategy is indicated, because such a situation cannot arise without definite self-consciousness and articulation of the notion of freedom in performance. Note that control need not imply unity, nor restraint, since unity and disunity, freedom and constraint, can all fit within the overall plan.

Participatory complexity. Complexity in itself is not a sufficient condition; a professional munshid may perform complex LP in a totally unstructured setting. But if all participants participate in complex LP behaviors, group-level strategy is indicated.

Consistency with discourse. When one finds LP which matches the preferences of general strategies articulated in discourse, then one may surmise that they result from it.

Adaptation. The above features provide indications that strategizing may have taken place. But such strategies may have been formulated in the past, then handed down to the present (hysteresis). If in addition they produce effects particularly beneficial for the group in the modern age (i.e. *vis a vis* the particular problems faced in

modernity, discussed earlier), one may take this as a sign of active strategizing in the present.

2. Complexity of LP and problems of analysis

The foregoing descriptions of hadra performance underscore the fact—known of course to ethnomusicologists and others who consider human behavior—that LP in general is an extremely complex phenomena when considered in its totality. One way to handle this complexity would be to reduce it to its textual aspect (as a literary specialist might do), or to its behavioral aspect (as a sociologist might do). My aversion to any such reduction to only one of its aspects stems not from a romantic desire to paint a full portrait of the culture (since that is impossible) but rather from my belief that it is necessary to consider as many dimensions of LP as possible when searching for the means by which it serves as a means of social action.

The systematic comparison of a set of complex multidimensional objects such as hadra performances, even if they are numerically few, requires the deployment of a diverse set of descriptive analytical categories, what I term metrics or variables, consistently across the different cases. Without these, any effort at comparing is doomed to miss important angles, or to treat different cases inconsistently.

This scheme described below may remind some of Cantometrics (Lomax 1976). However my limited scope enables me to avoid some of the pitfalls of that study. The metrics employed here have been specifically selected for their relevance and utility to the LP genres under consideration, and not for world-wide application. The goal is to

design analytic “grid” especially for comparing Sufi hadras. Given this restricted aim, variables can be tailored to the limited scope of the data at hand. There should therefore be fewer aspects of LP lying outside the bounds of the measuring framework. The problem of sampling (undoubtedly Cantometrics’ most fatal flaw) is greatly reduced, because whereas Lomax sought to represent an entire culture area with only a handful of songs, my examples need only represent a single Sufi order. Finally, the present effort will present far fewer methodological difficulties in interpretation. There are only four cases, and these share a common cultural and historical background. Thus there will be no recourse to statistical correlations as a means of suggesting relationships, and no need to introduce wild speculations ungrounded in history and ethnography to explain them.

B. Variable analysis method

1. Why variables?

The practice of LP within hadra which is the focus of this study is an extremely complex multidimensional phenomenon. Proper understanding requires a consideration of its many dimensions, what are here grouped in “aspects”: syntactic, semantic, sonic, and pragmatic. By formulating variables along different dimensions within these aspects, one is forced to consider these aspectual dimensions systematically; one creates a single grid through which to view the different performances consistently; and one organizes the results of analysis within a coherent framework.

The virtue of variables is the systematic description they facilitate. Without them, intuitive impressions are likely to remain incomplete, arbitrary, or biased—and thus misleading, like the proverbial blind men describing an elephant after grasping one of its parts—leg, tail, or ear (“the elephant is like the trunk of a tree...”, “the elephant is like a rope...”, “the elephant is like a piece of leather...”). Of course limitations nevertheless persist: only a limited number of variables can be considered, the variable definitions themselves can be biased, it may not be possible to operationalize a variable, or there may be error in its measurement. But even if the application of variables only affords an opportunity to gaze at the object under scrutiny—the performance of hadra—from several contrasting angles, one will thereby be in a better position to formulate general conclusions about what it is and how it works.

2. What is a variable?

A variable is a tool for measuring or describing an object, a metric. For every object (or at least for objects of suitable type) the variable assumes a value. Each variable can be considered to define a dimension, just as “length” and “time” define dimensions in space and time. The more dimensions which are measured, the more an object is known (e.g. to “length” and “time” one could add: “color”, “temperature”, “weight”, etc.). Since LP performance in hadra is complex, a great number of variable values are required in order to begin to arrive at a complete picture.

Sometimes one needs a value to represent the variable on a class of objects, when the variable is defined on each object in the class. There are several ways to proceed.

One may attempt to measure the variable for every instance (element) of the class, and then combine these values in some way (by taking an average, for instance). But for large or infinite classes this is impossible, and so one must make do with a set of sample instances, or even a single instance, which represent the class well enough to be useful, given the purposes in mind. For present purposes, one may make do with a semi-rigorous heuristic: an instance will represent a class for a particular variable when the value of that variable for the instance is qualitatively close to its value on other observed members of the class, when compared to other classes evaluated.

Some variables are descriptive or “open” variables. A descriptive variable’s values are determined “on the fly”, and are completely unlimited. One defines a variable such as “emotional state of the gathering”, and then evaluates it on a case by case basis. Such a variable may be easier to evaluate, as it is less prone to distort the object it measures. However, for present purposes it is not ideal, because it does not allow for systematic comparisons.

Other variables are fixed-range, assuming values from within a definite set. Such a set may be a continuum (as distance in meters), an ordered set (such as {low, medium, high}), or an unordered set (such as {black, green, red}). In general descriptive variables can be reduced to fixed-range ones. But sometimes it is not obvious how this should be done. In such cases it is helpful first to evaluate the open variable in order to survey the range of possible values, before selecting a definite set which should be used across all the cases. This was the procedure followed in defining the variables used here.

The objects evaluated by the variables defined in this chapter are sets of LPSs in a hadra. Among the possibilities:

- 1) All LP in the hadra
- 2) All LP in the hadra of a particular genre (e.g.: hizb, dhikr, inshad)
- 3) All LP in the hadra of a particular type, where a type is a subcategory of a genre (e.g.: solo inshad, dhikr with inshad, group inshad)
- 4) All LP which falls into some other defined category in the hadra (e.g. inshad based on poetry by a particular author)
- 5) Particular LPSs

3. Independent vs. dependent variables

In designing Cantometrics, Lomax aimed to construct a set of variables which would describe singing style as completely as possible, in the hopes of discovering correlations between those variables and other variables defined on the cultures from which his musical examples were drawn.

In the present study, the point of defining variables is not to discover correlations, but rather to provide evidence for the existence of group strategies, and to indicate how both group and individual strategies are represented in LP.

Therefore I will consider only potentially independent variables: those variables whose values can be determined in performance (at least in principle) by participants. Some variables' values can be determined by individual participants (particularly soloists), while others can be controlled by those who determine group-level strategies, to the extent that they are able to enforce them. Nearly every aspect of LP sound and text (syntactic, semantic, sonic aspects), and many pragmatic aspects as well, are potentially independent variables. Not all potentially independent variables are actively

determined at all historical moments. Most of the time, a variable's value results from imitation of a past strategic decision (hysteresis). Such variables may still be considered to be strategic, even if those strategies are no longer effective or well-adapted. But sometimes a potentially independent variable's value cannot be traced to any group-level strategy (even in the past), due to absence of strategy and central control, possibly combined with the loss of tradition (which erases hysteresis). The value of such a variable then arises as the sum of many individual variables.

The level of disunity in performance, for instance, might be thought a dependent variable, resulting from the sum of individual decisions about conformity. However I consider it as independent at the group level, since the authorities responsible for the hadra could choose to enforce unity if they so chose and if the social structure of the group allowed. If they do not, or cannot, unity will result from the sum of individual decisions, but I regard it nevertheless as an independent variable in principle, whose value however has not been determined, and is thus left to be determined at the individual level.

However certain attributes of performance, such as the number of people attending or the emotional level produced, cannot be regarded as resulting from performative decisions at all. Rather such variables are determined as a result of such decisions, and thus are considered dependent variables.

4. Establishing variables - definitions

The variables have been defined in as objective a fashion as possible, or feasible. Objectivity here simply means that more than one analyst applying the same variables to the same material ought to obtain roughly the same results. The ultimate form of objectivity in this sense would be a machine into which one drops the material; such a machine would always work the same way. But there are several problems here. First, one cannot “process” reality directly, and so the hypothetical machine must always work upon (material) representations, such as cassette recordings, each of which represents a particular viewpoint. It is *practically* impossible to standardize such views.² Second is the difficulty of creating such machines, at least ones which would give interesting results.

In fact it was not possible to automate variable evaluation, and in several cases the definitions may seem suspiciously subjective. For this reason I have focussed on rank orderings rather than absolute values in discussions of variable values. For while variable values may indeed be relative, the rank orderings of those values are much less so. Thus an objection may rightly be raised against a variable which rates loudness of hizb on the scale “high, medium, low”. But such scales can only be objectively relied upon as a means of ordering the cases under consideration, not to provide an absolute measure of loudness. By using such a scale, rather than giving the rank order directly (e.g. loudest hizb, second loudest hizb, third loudest hizb, etc.), other variables of similar types (e.g. loudness of dhikr, loudness of inshad) are automatically drawn into the ranking as well.

It is also important to note that “objectivity” scarcely guarantees any measure of usefulness. For a variable to be useful in any comparative study, it must be well-defined on the underlying classes from which cases are sampled, yet it should also vary from one class to another. Thus I tried to emphasize variables which vary from one hadra class (whether Ja’fariyya, Jazuliyya, or Bayyumiyya) to another, but not between instances of a single class. These statements may require a brief explanation:

Thus a Jazuli hadra is an instance of the general class of past and possible Jazuli hadras. A finite amount of time precludes examination of the entire class, even were this possible. If a variable would vary a great deal across the class, such that its values significantly overlap with its values on another class, then it is not useful as a way to represent either class as a whole. (Thus the classes {men} and {women} cannot be represented by the variable “hair color”.) Of course any real variables may vary from case to case; the important thing is that they vary mostly within a range with minimal overlap with characteristic ranges of other classes.

A useful variable should also be significant. Significance means that the variable’s values have significant consequences, or serve to indicate significant features. The mere fact that a variable usefully distinguishes classes of hadras is noteworthy, but still awaits interpretation. Such an interpretation is likely to depend on some theory, which explains variable differences. These theories are particularly important when considering LP as a strategic tool for the turuq. Thus, to take an example: suppose LP in one tariqa is on average faster than in another; the significance of such a fact would be

assured by a (hypothetical) theory which stated that faster LP is (on average) more emotionally potent, especially if it could be shown why such potency was desirable in that particular case.

But since one cannot predict what the outcome of a variable-based analysis may be without trying it, it was also important to be general in coverage. This principle was especially applied in the musical domain; since this thesis is intended as a work in ethnomusicology, some of the subtler aspects of poetry or communicative behavior could be omitted, but not major segments of sonic performance itself. Therefore the set of sonic variables is fairly complete in spanning the musical field, even when some of these variables may not be highly significant in and of themselves. In other aspects, such as “semantic” (the aspect of language meaning), I was much more selective in limiting the number of variables to a chosen few which seemed likely (based on informal impressions drawn from performances, interviews, and so forth) to yield interesting results, or to which a high degree of significance (according to some theory) could a priori be assigned.

To a musicologist some of these variables will seem unduly vague or abstract. To an anthropologist, or cultural area specialist, there will be variables which will appear overly concerned with musical technicalities. I have tried to provide a balance. The scope of LP intentionally includes a much broader swath of phenomena than the concept of music can reasonably cover, even in its widest avant-garde definition. The fundamental differences between cases often hinge on rather abstract contrasts, rather

than detailed “note level” differences. Both factors have militated for general and abstract variables, which can be applied across a wide spectrum of LP types, and which highlight their essential contrasts. On the other hand, I felt it important to maintain a strong musicological bias in a work of ethnomusicology, rather than focus on details of textual meaning, philological significance, or behavior and social action, and therefore there is a certain emphasis on the sonic aspect of LP.

Generally, the formulation and application of these variables to the hadras under consideration involved a perpetual struggle between defining quantities complex enough to be useful, and defining quantities that would be—to some limited extent at least—rigorously defined. The idea was to apply the methodological apparatus of variable analysis, without being constrained to work with quantitative or strictly objective quantities (on the grounds that such a procedure—whatever its methodological weaknesses—could only be an improvement upon the more intuitive and ad hoc sorts of analyses which are usually performed in an ethnography), by providing a consistent and systematic gridwork through which to evaluate the ethnographic data. The present method’s attempt (or failure) at rigor may expose some of the logical limitations of ethnographic analysis, while its systematic character may illuminate patterns and relationships which would not otherwise have come to light.

Each variable is defined, followed by a listing of the possible values it may assume. For descriptive variables, the definition only is given.

5. Aspects of LP

For the sake of variable classification, the four aspects of LP were considered: syntactic, semantic, sonic, and pragmatic. These names are drawn from semiotic and linguistic theory, but they are used in a special sense here. Each aspect is associated with a multitude of possible variables, of which relatively few were selected for use in this study. The aspects were introduced earlier, but it may be helpful to review them in terms of the variables which I will shortly introduce:

Syntactic. The syntactic aspect of LP is defined to comprise all that depends only on the text as a “black box” outside any particular performance context, a sequence of signifiers without considering the particular meanings they encode. (However, meaning in a general sense is relevant to the syntactic aspect because it serves to define different syntactic segments, just as the semantic notion of noun or verb is relevant to the syntax of a sentence). Thus syntactic variables include the following: the syntax of LP genres, the relative prominence of categories of LP, textual rate, and language level.

Semantic. The semantic aspect of LP is defined to comprise the meanings of the texts which underlie LP, without regard for the particular signifiers used to generate that meaning, or the specific performance context in which they occur. Under this heading I place variables which analyze themes, metaphors, and symbols. I also examine how texts reference spiritual and human entities, how texts are related to other texts (intertextuality), and the authority which empowers the text.

Sonic. The sonic aspect of LP is defined to comprise LP as a total acoustic phenomenon, without regard for either signifiers, or signifieds, or for the particular social processes which serve to generate that phenomenon. The sonic aspect of LP is the “carrier”, not itself language, but without which verbal language cannot exist. Under the heading of this aspect are placed all those variables which examine the carrier itself, rather than the verbal signs carried. In linguistics the sonic aspect might be termed phonology or phonetics, but musical variables go far beyond the interests of most linguists. Yet not all sonic features should be considered music, which implies a certain aesthetic attitude, especially in a culture which severely restricts the meaning of its cognate word (*musiqā*) so as to scarcely apply it to any sound produced within any Islamic context. Therefore the word sonic—neutral and broad—is applied.

Pragmatic. The pragmatic aspect of LP is here defined to comprise the social and contextual aspects of LP. Here, several of the concepts and metaphors of sociolinguistics (see Hymes 1974), including communities and networks of senders and receivers, communicative contexts and channels, feedback, and control can be applied, as well as concepts such as proxemics (Hall 1974), kinesics (Birdwhistell 1972), and behavior generally. Under the pragmatic heading I place variables which examine who is engaged in LP and how, where they are spatially, and how they interact, without regard for form (syntax), textual meaning (semantics), or sonic substrate of the LP produced. Such variables will all be descriptive.

Having briefly introduced these aspects, the variables to be considered under the rubric of each can now be defined more carefully .

6. Canonical form and word counting

A brief note of explanation is required for the sake of interpreting transcriptions and translations of hadra texts, most of which are inshad texts (presented in the Appendix), especially because these transcriptions form the basis for several of the variables defined below.

Transcriptions and translations of the hadras are not complete maps of every word uttered during performance. Rather, they are presented in a reduced *canonical* form, in which adjacent repeats (of individual words, phrases, lines, sections) are collapsed together (presented only once). The canonical form is intended to conform more closely to the hypothetical sequence of generative texts which the performer brings to the hadra (although I do not go so far as to claim a cognitive reality for the canonical form), and to facilitate reading the transcription. The determination of canonical form encounters problems when repetitions are not exact, mostly in solo inshad. If two adjacent variants are very close, they may be collapsed together anyway, and a special non-linear notation inserted to indicate possible variations.

This form has been adopted for several reasons. A literal transcription would be exceedingly long, and difficult to read. More importantly, it would obscure the form of the underlying text as heard by listeners, especially when there is a clear poetic structure (rhyming lines in a consistent meter). When I asked literate listeners to transcribe inshad

from tape, they created written texts resembling the canonical form as presented here. No one thought to transcribe every word a munshid uttered. Egyptians hear every word, of course, but they map these back to a reduced text which, they presume, is the text the munshid is actually intending to communicate in his performance. It is this reduced text which provides the impetus for canonical form. I do not mean to imply that the repetitions characteristic of the performed text are unimportant, but only that the listener can distinguish between the two levels of generative text, and performed text. In a more complete transcription both the underlying generative text, and its performed manifestation, could both be represented, but this did not seem necessary here in light of the analysis to be performed.

Transcriptions attempt to indicate poetic structure, whenever it exists, by breaking lines at end-rhymes, and separating *shatras* (hemistiches) when the poetic meter suggests that these exist. Where poetic considerations are insufficient to determine line breaks, lines each contain a single “assertion”. In the case of madad, each line usually focusses on one epithet. Transcriptions are divided (by comments enclosed in square brackets) into segments, each of which is drawn from a particular source text (the preceding comments indicate the source, if known). When the source text is known, then if the munshid inserts a few words or a short phrase (such as an interjection) in the middle of a line from the source text, that insert is enclosed in parentheses.

The problem is that repetitions are not always exact. When they are almost exact, differences can be ignored. When they differ only in single words or phrases,

these can be collapsed into a non-linear representation within the canonical form. When they differ more substantially, then they may be treated as distinct segments in the canonical form. Thus, the attempt to provide a “canonical form” for texts does not work so well for a purely improvised text, in which there is little poetic structure to serve as a guide. In such cases the tendency has been to transcribe more literally.

As a more precise explanation of the way canonical form encodes the actual performed text, one could list the procedures used to collapse performed texts to canonical texts, or one could invert these, and list the set of procedures which may be applied to “expand” the canonical text in performance. I provide the latter, since it is these which the reader may bear in mind when examining the transcriptions of the Appendix. For *hizb*, *fawatih*, *ad’iyya*, and speech (which by and large have not been transcribed) the canonical form is very close to the performed text (there are few if any repeats). For *dhikr*, the performed text repeats the given phrase over and over. Group *inshad* employs a regular repeat structure; usually a refrain alternates with verses which consist of a line or two, whose halves (hemistiches) are repeated in some regular way.

Solo *inshad*, whose repeat structure is more complex, can be generated from the canonical text by applying the following procedures. Obviously these procedures are not sufficiently precise to enable any reader to generate a realistic performance text. Nor is it claimed that they are the actual cognitive schemes used by the performer, although it seems apparent that whatever mental operations he employs in performance must at least

resemble them. However, they will serve to suggest the kinds of reductions and abbreviations which have been encoded in the canonical form text for solo inshad:

Backwards jump. One may jump backwards within the text, as long as one remains within the same segment. This may occur within a line, or to a previous line. The distance of the jump is usually limited to within a dozen lines, but there is variability. In solo inshad, jumps are irregular, being improvisatory.³ In group inshad, repetitions depend on the strophic structure of the song. Such jumps follow regular patterns, and occur only on line and hemistich boundaries.

Interjections. Common interjections may be inserted at any pause, especially “ya habibi”, “ah”, “Allah”, etc. (Sometimes these are transcribed and enclosed in parentheses; see below.)

Substitutions. When a sequence of text items enclosed within square brackets and separated by dashes is encountered, select one. (Thus, for example, the line “He [ran - walked] home and then [ate dinner - slept]” could be read in four ways: “He ran home and then ate dinner”, “He ran home and then slept”, “He walked home and then ate dinner”, “He walked home and then slept”.) When the source text is available (e.g. a printed diwan), the word(s) which correspond to the source text are underlined; others are generally synonyms. They are presented in the order of appearance on the tape. (In an effort to make the English version easier to read, only the most common option has been translated in the English version.)

Improvisational inserts. Anything enclosed in parentheses is optional. These inserts are usually interjections (see above).

The foregoing discussion has concerned only the concept of text as an abstract sequence of words. The canonical form is a representation of text only; it does not indicate the placement of those words in time: how rapidly text is presented, or where there are pauses or melismas. However, an usually long pause within a line may be marked with an ellipsis.

When word counts are given, they are derived from this basic canonical form, from which repeated lines have been completely eliminated. The canonical form may still include repeats when separated by another text (since non-adjacent repeats are not collapsed). Thus if text A is followed by B, and then by A again (ABA), the canonical form consists of: A (without repeats), B (without repeats), and then A again (without repeats). But whenever a variable calls for a word count, it will be based on a special canonical form, from which such non-adjacent repeats have been eliminated (i.e. AB only).

However the definition of “word” used in counting is typographic, rather than grammatical. All word counts are performed by the computer, which treats any sequence of letters bounded by spaces or punctuation to be a word. The computer algorithm is thus unable to count separately words which are typographically attached. In Arabic, several short prepositions and conjunctions (*li, bi, fa, wa, etc.*) attach to the following word, while object pronouns (*ya, ni, na, ka, ki, kum, etc.*) attach to the

previous word. The compound words which result from such connections are counted as one word only by the computer, since knowing when to treat an initial "bi" as a preposition, and when to treat it as an initial segment of a larger word, would require that the computer understand a great deal of Arabic! The problem could have been easily averted by preparing a special version of the text in which all words are separated by spaces or other punctuation. However, this is a labor not worth its trouble. The error is applied consistently to all word counts, and the distribution of attached words should be more or less constant across turuq and munshidin. Therefore, counting compound words should produce statistics which are useful for comparative purposes.

7. Timing

Many of the variables falling under the sonic and syntactic headings depend timing information for sonic events: computing the rate of a particular event (such as a beat), or the time between two events (the length of an LP section). Timing measurements were made from cassette recordings of hadras in two ways. The first is useful when one desires to make many rapid successive measurements over a relatively short period, while the second is preferable when one desires to make just a few measurements over a relatively long period.

1) Computer software was devised allowing different real-time events to be registered by striking correspondingly different computer keys. Using such software, it was possible to record time-stamps for particular sonic events (beats, pitches) in a hadra by listening to the recording while running the software and striking the appropriate

keys. Additional software was devised in order to process these time-stamps, in order to compute rates or other statistics. This technique was particularly useful for measuring tempi.

2) In addition, a fairly simple technique was devised for laying a time-code track on an ordinary stereo cassette tape (45 minutes per side), provided that only side A is used for the signal; side B is then used for the time-code track. This is accomplished as follows. First, a time-code tape is produced, consisting of verbal statements of time (from 0 to 45 minutes) spaced in 10 second intervals (... "one minute ten seconds"... "one minute twenty seconds" ... etc.) for 45 minutes (one side of one tape), using a stop-watch. Each 90 minute tape to be measured requires two blank 90 minute tapes: side A of the original tape is copied onto side A of the first blank tape, and side B of the original tape is copied onto side A of the second blank tape (thus producing twice as many tape copies as originals). Finally, the time code tape is transferred onto the B side of each tape copy. For tape copies prepared in this way, one can find the time code corresponding to any event on side A by flipping the tape, pressing "play" and starting a stop-watch simultaneously, then listening until the next recorded time code on side B, and stopping the stop-watch. The time code heard may be in error up to 10 seconds (the interval between time codes) as a representation of the given event, but the correct time code value can be easily derived by subtracting the stop-watch value from this time code. One then computes the time-interval between any two events on the tape by subtracting

their time codes. This technique was used for measuring the boundaries and temporal durations of sections.

C. Variables

1. Sonic variables

The sonic variables applied in this study comprise the largest class. They have therefore been divided into subcategories corresponding to the primary domains of sound: temporality, tonality, melody, texture, timbre, and energy.

Despite the appearance of precision in some of the definitions, all of these variables are qualitative, approximate, and somewhat subjective. To make them more quantitative, precise, or objective would necessitate a level of mathematical rigor and computational effort inappropriate for the requirements of the present thesis. Sometimes I allude to statistical notions in order to provide a motivating heuristic for qualitative definitions, but statistical rigor is not applied in practice, nor is it the real basis for most of the definitions. Real precision and objectivity is neither possible (given the psychological basis of many sonic quantities, and the difficulty of absolute measurement even of physical sonic quantities), or necessary in view of the present goal: to provide a framework for systematic comparison which is superior to the unsystematic and informal descriptions which limit the value of so many ethnographic descriptions.

Many variables assume values along a general and qualitative scale consisting of three degrees: "low", "medium", "high". Sometimes "none" (or "zero") will be added

as well. In practice I may augment such values with “very low”, “low/medium”, “medium/high”, “very high”. Such values present very little absolute meaning; rather, they should be interpreted as having primarily relative value in comparing different examples.

Most of these variables are defined to analyze specific LPSs within the hadra (a hizb performance, say), but they are also applied more generally to a set of LPSs falling within the same genre or type (e.g. all group inshad, speech, solo inshad accompanying dhikr).

a. Temporality

1. Rhythmic type

a. Definition and explanation

Rhythm is defined here as the surface temporal aspect of the LP sound signal, determined mainly by the onset points of syllables. I assume that there are four main factors shaping LP rhythm: the speech rhythm of its underlying language, the implied pulse (if present), the implied musical meter (if present), or melodic considerations. This variable indicates the dominant factor among these possibilities.

1) Speech rhythm is the rhythm which is—roughly and relatively—determined by the phonemic sequence and syllable pattern as produced in ordinary speech. In LP the contrasts between long and short syllables may be heightened and fixed for emphasis, clarity, or to ensure group unity, especially during recitation of sacred texts.

2) Pulse rhythm is the surface manifestation of the underlying periodic pulse.

When dominant, the natural durations of spoken speech are adjusted and aligned so as to suggest the underlying pulse.

3) Metric rhythm is the surface manifestation of the underlying periodic accent sequence, or meter. When dominant, the natural durations of spoken speech are adjusted and aligned so as to suggest the underlying meter.

4) Melodic rhythm is that which is suggested by melodic trajectories. When dominant, the natural durations of spoken speech give way to exigencies of melody. It is most evident in free, unmeasured singing.

b. Values:

Each value indicates the dominant or most prevalent rhythmic type in the LPS(s)

being evaluated:

- 1) Speech rhythm
- 2) Heightened speech
- 3) Melodic rhythm
- 4) Pulse rhythm
- 5) Metric rhythm

2. Pulse definition

a. Definition and explanation

The pulse is the primary periodic accent which underlies some LP. Although pulse is essentially a psychological construct which guides or responds to LP, this variable attempts to measure its manifestation in the sound signal itself. Such a pulse

may be strongly present, or it may be weak or interrupted. This variable is intended to indicate how well-defined the pulse is in a particular LPS, or set of LPSs.

b. Values

- 1) High
- 2) Medium
- 3) Low
- 4) None

3. Speed

a. Definition and explanation

Speed, or tempo, is the pulse rate measured in beats per second. Such a variable is much trickier to measure than might be supposed, because the pulse (like the meter) is really a psychological construct not physically present in the sound signal—and hence is not objectively measurable from a tape—and further because there may be more than one pulse. Even if it is assumed that each listener will maintain one primary pulse at any moment, the definition is cloudy because this pulse may change from one moment to the next, and because different listeners may maintain different pulses. These pulses are normally integral multiples (or subdivisions) of one another. Most LP contains more than one contender for pulse.

These problems are not totally insurmountable, however. Clapping and body movements are clues suggesting the primary and dominant pulse within the performing group. While it may be impossible to state with assurity *the* pulse for a particular strip of LP, it may be possible to compare different performances by matching similar sonic

features (such as clapping), and it is possible to examine change in a continuous pulse (see acceleration, below).

For non-pulsed recitation (speech rhythm) a different measurement scheme entirely may be employed. Here, the average syllable rate (where Arabic syllables⁴ are of three types: CV, CVC, CVV) may be computed and taken as a measure of speed.

Although this is a somewhat different concept, it yields a useful variable.

Although speed can be measured at an instant, a more useful value is the average over an LPS; occasionally it may be useful to examine the minimum or maximum values as well.

b. Values

- 1) None
- 2) Low
- 3) Medium
- 4) High

4. Acceleration

a. Definition and explanation

Acceleration is the rate of change of speed. It may be measured instantaneously, but here I will be concerned with the average acceleration over an LP strip as a percentage change. In theory acceleration can be negative (deceleration), however in practice one finds that LP nearly always accelerates and so it is unnecessary to provide values for deceleration.

b. Values

- 1) None
- 2) Low
- 3) Medium
- 4) High

5. Meter

a. Definition and explanation

Meter can be conceived as the superposition of a set of periodic (regularly recurring) accents, whose periods are all integral subdivisions of one largest perceptible period. Likewise, there is a shortest perceptible period, a fine pulse, of which all periods are integral multiples. Often the entire set can be suitably represented using the following notation: $a(b(c(\dots)))$ where a, b, c, \dots are integers. This notation can be read as follows: “a groups of b groups of c...” Thus for instance “common time” or 4/4 meter in western music would be $2(2(2))$ (two groups of two groups of two eighth-notes, assuming an eighth-note fine pulse); 6/8 would normally be $2(3)$; 3/4 would be $3(2)$; 12/8 (common in West Africa) would normally be $2(2(3))$, but could also be interpreted as $2(3(2))$ or $3(2(2))$ (note that the product of the integers is always fixed). Using this scheme, a simple undifferentiated pulse would be notated as (1). It is also possible to notate “additive” meters in the same way, as e.g. $(2(3) + 3(2))$.

Clearly these definitions suffer from the problems inherent in the notion of pulse: the accent structure is a psychological construct. Therefore variables should not attempt to “measure” meter too carefully. However, several broad distinctions can be drawn.

First, there are situations in which there is clearly no meter. Second the number of levels in the metric structure serves to distinguish simple meter and macrometer.

One normally assumes that meter is defined only within the short segments known as measures in western music. In fact, similar segments can be found in many non-western musics, especially when ostinato percussion patterns are present. The measure may be defined generally as the longest periodic accent pattern which is felt to repeat independent of tonal considerations. But meter may extend beyond such measures due to periodic phrase structures. Thus a melody in 4/4 time might consist of a two bar antecedent phrase, followed by a two bar consequent phrase; this entire unit might then be repeated a second time with a different ending, forming a macrorhythm constructed out of measures, of the form 2(2(2)). If such a structure were periodic – repeated indefinitely (because it comprised the structure of the strophe in a strophic song, say)– then one could assert the existence of a macrometer and label it as 2(2(2)) using the measure as a unit (or as 2(2(2(2(2)))) returning to the fine pulse as a unit). Additive structures are also possible at the macrometric level.

Macrometer is here defined to be periodic temporal structure of music above the level of the measure, as determined by phrase structures. A simple macrometer may contain only one or two parenthetic levels. Thus a four-bar phrase repeating over and over (4), or an antecedent-consequent phrase pair, each consisting of two bars (2(2)) are instances of simple macrometer. But more complex macrometers are possible too, and often exhibited in strophic songs e.g. 2(2(3(2)+2)) + 3(2) + 3(2) + 2 + 3(2) (a

macrometer which occurs in one of the Ja'fariyya qasidas). Like meter, these macrometers are structures which are assumed to repeat many times, enough to establish themselves as patterns of psychological weight. A complex macrorhythm which does not repeat is not considered macrometer.

The variable attempts to distinguish these four possibilities by indicating the highest level of metric complexity in an LPS.

b. Values:

- 1) Non-metric
- 2) Pulse only
- 3) Metric only
- 4) Simple macrometer
- 5) Complex macrometer

6. Metric modulation

a. Definition and explanation

Meter (or macrometer) may change within an LPS. The change may be from metric to non-metric, or the reverse; or to emphasize a different pulse level. In the latter case, metric modulation may be critical in effecting a sense of buildup.

b. Values

- 1) None
- 2) Low
- 3) Medium
- 4) High

7. Temporal unity

a. Definition and explanation

Temporal unity is the degree to which all lines participating in the LP strip display identical rhythms. When LP texture (treated below) consists of a single line, temporal unity is infinitely high by definition. Unity is a concept with manifestations in various domains; several variables attempt to measure it from different sonic angles. Temporal unity, together with tonal unity (defined below), can be considered a measure of heterophony.

b. Values

- 1) Low
- 2) Medium
- 3) High

b. Tonality

1. Pitch definition

a. Definition and explanation

Pitch definition in the tonal domain corresponds to pulse definition in the temporal domain. Pitch is a psychological response to sound, roughly corresponding to the existence of a fundamental frequency. It occurs when a sound signal is periodic over a suitably long time interval, and within the range of acoustic perception (approximately 20 - 20,000 Hz). For the purpose of this variable, pitch is considered well-defined when

all pitches are drawn from a finite discrete pitch set (the gamut, defined so as to discount pitch drift (see below) by ignoring changes in tuning); the smaller this set, the higher the level of pitch definition⁵ (thus “mistakes” will automatically decrease the level of pitch definition by increasing the size of this set). The less pitches are drawn from such a set (due to presence of pitch continua), or the more the sound signal is non-periodic (e.g. when it contains noise), the less well-defined I consider pitch to be.

b. Values

- 1) Low
- 2) Medium
- 3) High

2. Intonation

a. Definition and explanation

Intonation is a measure of pitch accuracy. This concept presupposes the existence of a prescriptive pitch set, and measures the deviation of pitch practice from such a set. It may be objected that since the prescriptive set cannot be known, it is impossible to distinguish pitch deviations. However the existence of a normative set may be ascertained in two ways: (1) the closeness of a pitch set to a culturally normative pitch set as described in music theory (in Arabic music, the maqams: melodic modes); (2) the existence of a statistically dominant pitch set, with respect to which all other pitches may be considered deviations. Thus when only one or two individuals out of fifty seem to account for the four or five pitches which lie outside of a culturally

normative pitch set, such as maqam rast, I consider these “outliers” deviations, and attribute them to low intonation.

It should be noted that these variables are not independent. Thus, intonation is related to tonal unity, since low intonation tends to imply low tonal unity, unless the performance is solo.

b. Values

- 1) Low
- 2) Medium
- 3) High

3. PS range

a. Definition and explanation

The pitch set (PS) of an LP strip is the set of all pitches used, discounting pitch updrift (see below). The PS range is defined as the difference between the maximum and minimum elements of the PS, after first excluding “outlier” pitches whose usage is statistically negligible.⁶ In traditional music theory this value might be termed the ambitus.

b. Values

A musical interval, such as: P1, m2, M2, m3, M3, P4, etc. (unison, minor 2nd, major 2nd, minor 3rd, major 3rd, perfect 4th, etc.)

4. PS cardinality

a. Definition and explanation

Pitch set cardinality is a measure of the number of pitches used, independent of the range. If every pitch were counted once, the evaluation of PS cardinality would be straightforward. However some pitches in the pitch set may be used only rarely. In effect one wants to count a pitch in proportion to its rate of occurrence. To solve this counting problem properly would require unnecessary mathematical complexity (see Appendix, Theory of Counting Weighted Sets). The simple solution is to count every pitch once, after discounting rarely used pitches in the pitch set, as in the calculation of PS range.

b. Values

A positive integer: $\{1,2,3,\dots\}$

5. Modulation

a. Definition and explanation

Sometimes contrasting pitch sets become well-established during different stretches of the LP strip. In this case we say that modulation has taken place. A modulation may take place gradually, but the pitch sets contrast discretely; drift (see below) is not considered a form of continuous modulation

b. Values

- 1) Present**
- 2) None**

6. Updrift

a. Definition and explanation

In vocal performance it is common for the frequencies of an entire pitch set to drift continuously upwards (or more rarely downwards). Such updrift is considered here to represent a retuning of the pitch set, and not a change in the pitch set itself. The identity of a particular pitch set element as it drifts up or down in frequency can be recognized by its stable melodic function. Such drift is often unintentional, always continuous, and therefore not considered as either modulation or as increasing the size of the pitch set.

b. Values

- 1) None**
- 2) Low**
- 3) Medium**
- 4) High**

7. Tonal unity

a. Definition and explanation

Tonal unity in the tonal domain corresponds to temporal unity in the temporal domain. It is a measure of the degree to which all lines participating in the LP strip

produce identical pitches. When LP texture (treated below) consists of a single line, unity is infinitely high by definition.

b. Values

- 1) Low
- 2) Medium
- 3) High

c. *Melody*

The melodic domain results from sonic action within the twin domains of temporality and tonality. Certain variables cannot be considered entirely under one or the other of these two domains, and so are taken up here.

1. Form

a. Definition and explanation

Melodic form is a complicated topic. However for present purposes it will admit of a straightforward definition. At the lowest level musical form consists of a sequence of musical phrases. These phrases are grouped by repetition or melodic connections (such as antecedent/consequent pairs) into phrase groups. Phrase groups themselves are grouped into sections, and so forth, thus forming a hierarchy. Since such groupings may not reach the level of a “universal” grouping (a single hierarchical which subsumes the entire LPS), the grouping operation leads in general to a linear sequence of hierarchical structures.

When the entire LPS is not covered by a single such hierarchy, and when form is limited to the phrase level (phrases and possibly phrase groups), then we will say that the LP strip is (melodically) unformed. (Note that no value judgements are intended here or elsewhere.) When the LP strip takes the periodic form AAA... where A is a single phrase, I will label this a litany (following Alan Lomax). If this A section contains structure only at the phrase level, I will label the LP strip a simple form. If the A section contains several layers of structure, I label it a medium form. Finally, consider the case when the entire LP strip manifests several layers of structure and is non-periodic. If there is a repeating refrain, it is a rondo form; otherwise, it is a complex form.

b. Values

- 1) Unformed: non-periodic, no hierarchy other than phrase and phrase group levels
- 2) Litany: periodic (AAA...), where each A is one phrase
- 3) Simple: periodic (AAA...), where each A is a phrase group
- 4) Medium: periodic (AAA...) where each A displays layers of structure
- 5) Rondo: non-periodic with recurring section (AXBXCX...)
- 6) Complex: more elaborate forms, with multiple sections

2. Phrase temporal aspects

a. Definition and explanation

Melodic phrases are defined by temporal-melodic unity. They are grouped in a hierarchy, which merges with form at the higher levels. Eight phrase types can be distinguished by examining their temporal characteristics. The LP strip is categorized by this variable according to the most prevalent type of melodic phrase within it.

This variable overlaps somewhat with rhythmic type (above). However whereas in considering rhythmic type I was examining the forces shaping the syllabic attack points, here I am concerned with the overall temporal shape of the melodic phrase (its start point, articulations, end point) and to what extent it supports the ongoing pulse and meter.

b. Values

- 1) Unpulsed melodic: the temporal shape of the phrase is determined primarily by melodic considerations
- 2) Unpulsed speech: the temporal shape of the phrase is determined primarily by the text
- 3) Pulsed: the phrase supports the pulse, without regard for the metric structure
- 4) Metric: the phrase strongly supports the meter
- 5) Multimetric: each phrase is congruent with meter, and groups of phrases are punctuated by a final qafla (cadence). However, each phrase contains a sequence of measures of irregular length; thus these phrases do not strongly support the meter, nor do they develop a macrometer.
- 6) Regular phrases or phrase groups: phrases join in simple groups (often merely repeated, or in antecedent/consequent pairs), thus creating ephemeral macrometer; however such patterns do not continue.
- 7) Simple macrometric: Phrases or phrase groups repeat regularly, establishing a simple macrometer.
- 8) Complex macrometric: Phrases are arranged in a regular hierarchy which defines a multilevel macrometer.

3. Phrase tonal aspects

a. Definition and explanation

Just as phrases may aggregate temporally (as discussed above), so they may aggregate tonally, concluding with release at a qafla or tonal cadence. This variable considers the overall length of such tonal aggregates. In some of the melodic LP under

consideration, each phrase is melodically independent; there is little or no sense of forward tonal movement. In other cases, phrases come in pairs, the second completing the first (antecedent/consequent) and providing a sense of tonal rest. Phrases may also come in longer developmental sequences which reveal the pitch set gradually, providing a sense of tonal movement which is not resolved until a final cadence. The variable measures the temporal range during which there is a sense of melodic forward momentum.

b. Values

- 1) None (static)
- 2) Low (short range)
- 3) Med (longer range)
- 4) High (long range climax)

4. Complexity

a. Definition and explanation

This variable provides a general measure of melodic complexity, as defined by the ability of a listener who has heard some portion of it to predict the rest. As the level of repetition increases, complexity decreases. Improvised melody (considered below) tends to imply greater complexity, although the converse does not hold. This admittedly vague definition is nevertheless quite useful; recall that these values will only be used to make general categorical distinctions (which are made in any case by the ethnographer) more explicit; they are not true objective measures.

b. Values

- 1) Low
- 2) Medium
- 3) High

5. Melodic freedom (improvisation)

a. Definition and explanation

This variable is a general measure of sonic freedom in performing a text, including both the temporal and tonal dimensions. As freedom increases, complexity will tend to increase. However complexity may be high while freedom is low (as in western symphonic music, for instance).

This variable concerns individual control over LP and as such should properly be considered under the pragmatic aspect. However the difference between improvised and precomposed melodies is ordinarily so manifest in the sound produced that the distinction can be considered under the sonic heading.

b. Values

- 1) Low
- 2) Medium
- 3) High

d. Texture

Texture is here defined to comprise two levels: individual lines, and groups of lines. The texture of an LP strip consists of its constituent lines and line groups, and the relations among them.

For the purposes of the following variables, I will posit some definitions and assumptions relevant to the case of hadra. I assume that each LPS consists of a set of superimposed lines, each line produced by a single voice (LP lines). Other lines are generated from non-vocal sound sources (non-LP lines). Lines are organized into heterophonic groups, each of which contains a set of lines which are more or less the same. These groups display a range in heterophonic degree, from monophony to increasing degrees of heterophony. (Such definitions are useful, because in fact all hadra LP consists of such monophonic or heterophonic groups.) More complex textures result from the superposition of groups, such as the combination of a soloist (a “group” of one) with a choral response.

The full texture of performance at any point in time is defined as the sum of the textures of all simultaneous LP strips.

1. LP groups

This descriptive variable lists the different groups of LP lines which occur concurrently in the LPS being analyzed. Those which occur in a different but simultaneous LP strip are listed in parentheses.

2. Non-LP groups

This descriptive variable lists the different groups of non-LP lines which occur concurrently with the LPS being analyzed.

3. Intra-group unity

a. Definition and explanation

This variable measures the degree to which each group merges sonically into a single line. It is the inverse of the degree to which individual lines are distinguishable (heterophony). Such unity is clearly related to tonal and temporal unity, but also takes account of such factors as unity in timbre and energy.

b. Values

- 1) Low**
- 2) Medium**
- 3) High**

4. Group differentiation

a. Definition and explanation

This variable examines the relation among different line groups in the LPS: the degree to which the different groups are audibly separable.

b. Values

- 1) Low**
- 2) Medium**
- 3) High**

5. Inter-group coordination

a. Definition and explanation

This variable also examines the relation among different groups in the LPS. Here this relation is examined in terms of coordination: the level of coincidence of temporal events between groups. (Note that the coordination among lines within a group has already been considered under the heading of intra-group unity.) Groups may be uncoordinated, alternating, meshed (fitting together more tightly), or unison. These possibilities are not exhaustive, but are sufficient for the cases encountered.

b. Values

- 1) Uncoordinated
- 2) Alternating
- 3) Meshed
- 4) Unison

e. *Timbre*

1. Vocal smoothness

a. Definition and explanation

Smoothness of timbre, indicated by absence of noise or harshness in the voice.

b. Values:

- 1) Low
- 2) Med
- 3) High

2. Accent

a. Definition and explanation

Accent is timbral and dynamic stress placed upon particular syllables. This variable measures the dynamic differential between emphasized and unemphasized syllables.

b. Values

- 1) Low**
- 2) Med**
- 3) High**

3. Articulation

a. Definition and explanation

This variable provides a measure of clarity of pronunciation.

b. Values

- 1) Low**
- 2) Med**
- 3) High**

4. Expressivity

a. Definition and explanation

In speech, humans communicate emotion in part via modulation of timbre over time (considered in a broad sense to include tonal and rhythmic factors); the same

procedures serve to communicate emotion in LP generally, whether the performative mode is speaking, singing, or chanting. This variable measures the level of emotion encoded in LP via modulation of timbre, as well as pitch and rhythm. This definition may appear vague. However, quantities such as “expressivity” are likely to be used informally in any case when describing performance. By providing a crude definition and systematizing values one can at least strive to make such judgements systematic, explicit, and comparative.

b. Values:

- 1) Low
- 2) Med
- 3) High

5. Timbral unity

a. Definition and explanation

This variable measures the degree of timbral blend among lines, providing a measure of timbral heterophony. The quantity “unity” has appeared under a number of different sonic domain headings. (Texture: Intra-group unity combines all these notions of heterophony, whether temporal, timbral, or tonal.)

b. Values

- 1) Low
- 2) Medium
- 3) High

f. Energy

1. Average dynamic level

a. Definition and explanation

This variable measures average total sound energy produced, per unit time. This quantity will depend on the number of performers, the style of performance, and whether electrical amplification systems are used.

b. Values:

- 1) Low
- 2) Med
- 3) High

2. Average individual output

a. Definition and explanation

This variable examines the average dynamic output of each participant. When the number of participants is very large, or electrical amplification is used, this value may be low despite a high dynamic level. Conversely, a high output may result in a relatively low dynamic value.

b. Values

- 1) Low
- 2) Med
- 3) High

3. Crescendo

a. Definition and explanation

This variable indicates the degree to which the total dynamic level increases over time. Note that this variable, together with acceleration, metric modulation (in the temporal domain), and pitch drift and modulation (in the tonal domain), are all components of the total sonic buildup characteristic of many dhikrs.

b. Values

- 1) Low**
- 2) Med**
- 3) High**

4. Unity

a. Definition and explanation

This variable measures the variation in energy output over all participants. It represents one factor in the overall group unity (examined above in its temporal, tonal, melodic, timbral aspects) measured in the texture domain.

b. Values:

- 1) Low**
- 2) Med**
- 3) High**

g. Relation to text

1. Melisma

a. Definition and explanation

Melisma occurs when one syllable is set to more than one pitch. Due to the importance of text, this style rarely occurs. Only two values are provided: “yes” indicates that this style is conspicuously present.

b. Values

- 1) No
- 2) Yes

2. Formal support

a. Definition and explanation

This variable examines the extent to which the sonic aspect of LP supports the text’s regular formal structure, if there is one. Typical poetic forms are multiline strophic (a strophe consisting of multiple lines, often with different meters or rhyme schemes), monorhyme monometer (single line strophes in a consistent meter, as in the qasida), free rhyme (as in the mawwal: freer metrical structure with recurring rhyme). Repetitive texts (such as the dhikr litany) can also be considered as having a regular form. When the formal structure of the sonic aspect matches the formal structure of the text, then there is formal support.

b. Values:

- 1) No
- 2) Yes

3. Clarity

a. Definition and explanation

This variable is intended to measure the degree to which the sonic aspect of LP (the “carrier”) transmits the text (the “message”) so that it can be understood by the listener.

b. Values:

- 1) Low
- 2) Med
- 3) High

h. Other variables

1. Interality

a. Definition and explanation

The word “interality” is derived from “intertextuality”, a concept important in poststructural literary theory to denote the interconnection of literary texts through shared linguistic resources, whether phonemic, lexical, syntactic, or semantic. Each text is viewed as the product of other texts, through the systematic transformation of their

literary resources into a new context (Riffaterre 1979). Of this project Geoffrey Hartman writes:

Each text is shown to imbed other texts by a most cunning assimilation... Everything we thought of as spirit, or meaning separable from the letter of the text, remains within an "intertextual sphere"... (quoted in Leitch 1983:117)

These interconnections point to the (somewhat shadowy) existence of more abstract intertexts broadly related to society and history. Such a perspective tends to erase the boundaries between texts, emphasizing the continuity of the textual "space" on which they depend, de-emphasizing the text as an autonomous work, and de-emphasizing the author as creator, since nothing is ever entirely new.

Many attempts have been made to apply literary theory to music, most suffering from the inappropriateness of the textual metaphor for musical studies, or for performance studies more generally. "Text" becomes a catechresis when applied to include performance. It is fine casually to call music (or other performance) a text, so long as one is not deceived by one's own metaphor. But such deceptions are unfortunately all too easy to fall into. Thus no sooner does a textualist scholar call performance a text than he or she starts to attribute to it text's attributes: permanence, composition out of a string of discrete signifiers, reference, abstract existence. Yet music is ephemeral, continuous, and not dependent on referential meaning to produce an effect. Music doesn't exist as an abstract object, but only as a performative act in time (notation, along with recordings, musicians, instruments, and audio systems being tools for musical production, rather than loci of the music itself). Musical performance is thus

essentially anti-textual. "Music is a text" is not a useful statement for scholarly purposes; indeed it is misleading.

What about LP? When a text is performed, it loses its textual attributes to the extent that the significance of performance is *qua* performance (as an act, in all its sonic and temporal richness), rather than as a means of communicating the text as an abstract string of discrete signifiers. I have already argued that the significance of LP in hadra depends on all of its aspects (sonic, semantic, syntactic, pragmatic), indeed depends heavily on its ontological status as a performative act (the ritual mode), and so cannot be reduced to its underlying textual content. Therefore, despite being based *on* text, LP itself is closer to music than to literature. As with music, applying the concept of text to LP tends to conceal and distort its significance.

However the idea of intertextuality—suitably modified—is useful, because it is a theoretical notion which does not depend on properties of discreteness or permanence. Indeed, the presence of intertextuality appears even more applicable to performance than to text. Even more than texts, musical performance is always drawn from some larger space of possibilities (the "piece", the "song") of which a particular performance is never more than a partial representation. Performances are interconnected along many dimensions of the sonic aspect: temporal, tonal, melodic, formal, and timbral; there can furthermore be social or behavioral connections (to be considered under the pragmatic aspect), not to mention the possibilities of literal intertextuality between the texts underlying LP themselves (considered under the syntactic and semantic aspects; I have

already presented an instance of this phenomenon, when discussing poetry of the Jazuliyya and Ja'fariyya).

In order to escape the hegemony of the text metaphor, which is of relatively minor importance when considering the full range of interrelations among performances, I coin the word "interality"⁷ to refer to "intertextuality minus text", as a broader concept applicable to the non-discrete, ephemeral world of performance, its rootlessness and empty center a means of emphasizing the limitations of the textual metaphor. It is also important to note that which textual theorists may be concerned with only in passing, due to their focus on textual structure and meaning: that for the perceiver (hearer, reader, viewer) interality serves to establish an emotional and semantic connection with something else upon which it draws, and is thus critical in considering listener response.

Here I define interality as a descriptive variable, and use it to indicate those other performative genres (whether LP or not) whose styles or specific materials are incorporated in the LPS being evaluated. Sometimes interal connections will consist of literal quotations from musical material; other times the connection will be more subtle: the use of a form, a texture, a timbre, a melodic style. Such connections have psychological consequences for the apperceiver, because even a brief invocation of another genre (through literal quotation, paraphrase, or stylistic influence) may constitute a sufficient opening through which another world of meanings and associations may flood into performative experience. An "interal" connection to another LP source can draw upon that source's meanings, as defined by context of use, and/or textual meaning.

Therefore analysis of interality is critical to an understanding of the effects of LP.

Because interality is powerful, its use is likely to be governed by deliberate strategies (at the individual or group level) which intend to produce particular consequences and employ interality as a tool to do so. Analysis of interality is consequently central for an understanding of LP strategy. The variable is descriptive.

2. Total freedom

a. Definition and explanation

This variable represents the general level of freedom and improvisation in LP across the various domains considered individually above. Earlier I considered improvisation within the melodic domain; but freedom as defined here includes all sonic domains considered together.

b. Values

- 1) Low
- 2) Medium
- 3) High

2. Syntactic variables

a. *Formal syntax*

1. LP hadra genres

This descriptive variable consists of a list of the LP genres employed in hadra.

2. LP hadra grammar

This descriptive variable consists of a formula generating the primary sequencing possibilities for LP genres in hadra.

b. Aggregate duration of LP categories

Whereas formal syntactic variables have merely evaluated the presence or absence of a particular type of LP, the following variables examine durations of LP types. The assumption is that the duration of a type is a good measure of its emphasis, as well as its intended and actual importance in the hadra. To compute the “aggregate duration” of a type of LP in a hadra, one first locates all segments occurring in the hadra of that type, and then sums their durations. Such segments may be contiguous or discontiguous; the present set of variables makes no distinctions between the two.

1. Total performance time

a. Definition and explanation

This variable equals the total length of the hadra performance. Subsequent variables will often be presented as a percentage of this total value.

b. Values

Positive number, in units of seconds.

2. Absolute aggregate durations of disjoint LP categories

a. Definition and explanation

Eight mutually exclusive LP categories are defined, each consisting of one or more related LP types, together covering the entire hadra performance. These categories are defined with respect to textual, semantic, and performative features of LP, however because they are abstract categories without specific semantic content they are considered under the syntactic heading (much as concepts “noun”, “verb”, and “adjective” are used for syntactic analysis, though they have general semantic content).

For each hadra, the total performance time (in seconds) falling within each category is tallied. The eight categories are as follows (note that these definitions are not ethnographic; they are provisional generalizations for the sake of analysis):

1) Hizb: Group LP based upon any invariable, extended text having special ritual significance for the tariqa (this significance is what precludes variation), and containing limited tonal-rhythmic material, so that the textual aspect predominates. The ritual mode is usually dominant. Such texts may carry a variety of emic labels, such as “hizb”, “awrad”, “wazifa”, “salawat”; rarely they may be poetic (i.e. contain rhyme and meter).

2) Dhikr (alone): Group LP based upon a very short invariable text repeated many times, with no accompaniment. In several orders (the Bayyumiyya and Ja‘fariyya

among them) such texts form an integral part of the hizb, but here they are counted separately. Here the ritual mode is usually dominant, but due to the importance of repetition which is designed to create a state of intensive concentration, I label this mode mantric-ritual.

3) Dhikr and inshad (together): Dhikr accompanied by inshad performance, where inshad is solo or group LP based primarily on a variable poetic text containing significant tonal-rhythmic material. Solo inshad is based on a flexible text, and tends toward the affective mode.

4) Inshad (solo): Solo inshad without dhikr. Usually such inshad is non-metric and largely improvised.

5) Inshad (group): Group inshad without dhikr, in either unison-heterophonic or leader/group alternation formats. Usually such inshad is metric, precomposed, and based on a fixed text; it tends toward the affective mode, but may also function in the communicative or ritual modes.

6) Speech: LP based on a flexible prose text usually composed (spontaneously or not) by the speaker himself with the intention of communicating a meaning, and delivered primarily without tonal or rhythmic definition, including the religious genres variously known as khutba (sermon), hikma (wisdom), muhadara (lecture), dars (lesson), mudhakara (study), wa'z (sermon). The communicative function dominates the ritual or affective.

7) F/D (Fatiha/Du'a'): Two related call/response prayer forms, often combined. The leader ask for the fatiha (opening sura of the Qur'an) to be recited for some named person(s); then the group recites the Fatiha *sotto voce*. Or the leader delivers a prayer of request (du'a') to God, and the group responds "Amin" (Amen) in a loud voice. Textual units are often recombined in an improvisational style. Ritual function dominates over affective or communicative.

8) Other: This category is a catch-all for every time interval during the hadra which does not fall into one of the above categories, mostly: short opening and closing formulas, informal time (talking, greeting, sitting quietly) which occurs between LPSs, and special events not considered part of the hadra per se (the Ja'fariyya include night prayer (salat al-'isha') in the middle of their hadra), or performed only on occasion (such as the Jazuliyya initiation).

b. Values

The absolute aggregate duration for each category is a positive number, in units of seconds. These values are presented as a bar graph. The sum of these values tallies to the total performance time.

3. Relative aggregate durations of disjoint LP categories

a. Definition and explanation

The preceding variable provides absolute times for each category, but such data does not clearly indicate the relative weights placed on each genre, since some hadras are longer than others in an absolute sense. Therefore absolute durations of LP genre categories are normalized to percentage (relative) durations, by dividing each value by the total performance time.

b. Values

The relative aggregate duration for each category is a percentage value, ranging from 0 to 100, representing the fraction of total performance time spent in that category. These values are presented as a bar graph. The sum of these values tallies to 100%.

4. Relative aggregate durations of overlapping LP categories (modalities)

a. Definition and explanation

In order to examine LP modalities, the categories are reduced to only four, each corresponding to a dominant language mode. The fraction of each hadra in which a particular mode of LP is active is computed. Note that the extensions of these categories may overlap when inshad accompanies dhikr, and so values may not tally to 100%:

- 1) Hizb: as above. Ritual mode dominates.
- 2) Dhikr: all dhikr, whether accompanied by inshad or not. Ritual-mantric mode dominate.
- 3) Inshad: all inshad, whether solo, or group; accompanying dhikr or not. Affective mode dominates.
- 4) Speech: as above. Communicative mode dominates.

b. Values

The relative aggregate duration for each category is a percentage value, ranging from 0 to 100, representing the fraction of total performance time spent in that category. These values are presented as a bar graph. The sum of these values will be greater than or equal to 100%.

5. Relative aggregate durations of inshad categories

a. Definition and explanation

Three mutually exclusive inshad categories are defined, and relative durations of each as a percentage of total inshad time (*not* total performance time), are computed.

These categories are as follows:

- 1) Group inshad, without dhikr.
- 2) Solo inshad, without dhikr.
- 3) Solo inshad, with dhikr.

Note that in principle group inshad may also accompany dhikr. However this case is eliminated from consideration because it does not occur among the examples considered in this study.

b. Values

The relative aggregate duration for each category is a percentage value, ranging from 0 to 100, representing the fraction of total inshad time spent in that category. These values are presented as a bar graph. The sum of these values will be 100%.

6. Relative aggregate lengths of inshad text types

a. Definition and explanation

Inshad texts are divided into three types:

- 1) Poetry attributed to the shaykh
- 2) Poetry attributed to others
- 3) Non-poetry segments (madad, etc.)

These types indicate the relative role of poetry in inshad, and the relative role of the shaykh in providing authority to poetic inshad. Note that what bestows authority upon a poem in performance is its *attribution* to the shaykh among participants; whether or not the shaykh actually wrote the poem is of little consequence.

The number of words of each type appearing in the text transcription in canonical form⁸ is counted; these values are then divided by the total number of inshad words to obtain relative (normalized) values.

b. Values

The relative aggregate length for each type is a percentage value, ranging from 0 to 100, representing the fraction of total inshad words which are of that type. These values are presented as a bar graph. The sum of these values will be 100%.

7. Relative aggregate durations of entropy levels

a. Definition and explanation

Entropy is a measure of freedom of choice and possibility in performance. Objectively entropy is difficult (or impossible) to measure, and no attempt has been made to analyze hadra performances for entropy in any quantitative way here.

Instead, I simply observe that the different LP genres are approximately characterized by different levels of entropy; on this basis one may categorize each segment of hadra into three entropy-level classes as follows:

1) Low: all fixed text prayers (hizb, pure dhikr, obligatory prayer, fixed fawatih/ad'iyya sequences, initiation). Such LP admits of very little individual variation, since performance patterns are extremely restrictive.

2) Med: inshad with dhikr, free fawatih/ad'iyya sequences, group inshad. Such LP either admits of a medium level of freedom, or is a mixture of levels (such as fixed dhikr together with free solo inshad).

3) High: solo inshad without fixed dhikr, speech, informal time. Here there are relatively few restrictions on LP.

Such an analysis of entropy is evidently quite crude. Furthermore, boundary time (before the formal hadra starts, and after it finishes), which is informal and hence high-entropy, is not well-represented in the analysis, leading to an underestimation of entropy when ritual is considered in the broadest sense to include these informal segments. Therefore this analysis must be qualified as extremely rough. It is nevertheless suggestive of interesting patterns.

b. Values

The aggregate duration of each entropy level is a percentage value, ranging from 0 to 100, representing the fraction of total performance time spent at that level. These values are presented as a bar graph. The sum of these values tallies to 100%.

c. *Average duration of LPSs*

Whereas the previous set of variables was concerned to measure the total duration of a category (or the total length of a category in words), regardless of how many segments (LPSs) were added to reach that total, here one is interested in the average length of a segment.

1. Average LPS duration

a. Definition and explanation

This variable provides a measure of the average length of an LPS in seconds. Boundaries between consecutive LPSs are determined by disjunctures in performative

aspects, sonic and pragmatic. When there is sonic and pragmatic continuity, no LPS boundaries are noted even when the text or textual meaning is changing. The LPSs counted are non-overlapping.

The variable is computed by dividing the duration of the hadra in seconds by the number of LPSs counted.

b. Values

The average LPS duration is a positive value, in units of seconds. This value is presented as part of a bar graph.

2. Average inshad LPS duration

a. Definition and explanation

This variable provides a measure of the average length of an inshad LPS in seconds. Boundaries are noted as above. Thus the transition from one munshid to another (pragmatic disjuncture), or from non-metric to metric inshad (sonic disjuncture), is considered a transition from one LPS into another.

The variable is computed by averaging the durations of all inshad LPSs.

b. Values

The average inshad LPS duration is a positive value, in units of seconds. This value is presented as part of a bar graph.

3. Average inshad text segment duration

a. Definition and explanation

This variable is a measure of the average text segment duration, where a text segment is defined as a sequence of poetic lines which is sung by the munshid(s) without interruption, or a non-poetic text (such as madad) which intervenes between two such poetic text segments.

The solo munshid is often free to jump from one text to another (including poetry, madad, or other texts). Such jumps may make poetry difficult to understand, because they interrupt textual continuity, but they enable the munshid to adapt his text dynamically to both his own inner feeling, and the conditions and needs of the hadra and its participants, as he perceives them. In group inshad usually there are no such jumps (except for repetition of the refrain, which is not counted here).

These jumps define poetic text segments, each of which is drawn from one poem. A poetic segment is bounded by the point at which the munshid jumps into the text (or starts his singing, if this is his first text), and the point at which the munshid jumps out of the text (or completes his singing, if this is his last text). The continuity of a particular poem is determined by rhyme, meter, and thematic material. (Occasionally a munshid may cleverly join two different poems sharing these three attributes; in such cases if the analyst is fooled into thinking that the poem is one, so, probably, is the listener.) Poetic text segments are interspersed with non-poetic text segments, usually madad.

This variable measures the average length (in seconds) of all inshad text segments occurring during the hadra , by dividing the total time during which inshad is performed by the number of textual segments.

b. Values

Positive number, in units of seconds. This value is presented as part of a bar graph.

4. Average poetic inshad text segment length

a. Definition and explanation

This variable is similar to the previous one. But here, instead of measuring the average *duration* of all textual segments which occur during inshad LP, this variable measures the average *length* of poetic segments only, in lines (rather than seconds; the concept of line is meaningless for non-poetic material such as madad and so these are not measured). This can easily be done by consulting the transcription in canonical form (textual transitions are indicated on the transcriptions provided in the Appendix).

b. Values

Positive number, in units of lines. This value is presented as part of a bar graph.

d. General formal variability of hadra: openness

1. Definition and explanation

This variable is a descriptive evaluation of the general formal variability of the hadra . Three factors are considered: the ordering of LP genres in hadra, the lengths of LP genres, and the content of LP genres. The more the variability in these dimensions, the more we will say that the form is “open”; conversely a rigid form is termed “closed”.

The ordering of LP genres. Some hadras consists of a fixed sequence of LP genres (hizb, inshad, dhikr, etc.), a ritual specification which cannot be altered. Other hadras allow flexibility in sequencing; decisions about the hadra sequence to be performed may be made in advance by hadra leaders, or during performance time by participants (hadra leaders, munshidin, others). To what extent is there variability of this kind?

The lengths of LP genres. In some hadras the occurrence of each genre in the sequence occupies a fairly constant duration. In others, it is variable, its length determined by the exigencies of performance. To what extent is there variability of this kind?

The content of LP sections. When a particular LP genre is performed at a particular location in the sequence, what is the range of texts from which the performed text may be selected? Such selections may be made in advance, or in performance time. Sometimes the range is very narrow (e.g. the hizb is often restricted to one text only); in

others cases the range may be much wider (e.g. inshad may be restricted to a particular diwan, or the entire repertoire of madih and Sufi poetry).

e. Text rate in inshad LPSs

1. Definition and explanation

This variable measures the average number of words performed per unit time by the munshid during inshad LPSs (including both poetry and other material), such that each line of poetry is counted only once within the canonical form. Repetitions of any kind are not counted since the idea here is to measure the amount of new text presented during inshad, rather than the ways in which text is repeated. This value can be computed by counting words in the transcription in canonical form, and dividing by the total time during which inshad is performed.

2. Values

Positive number, in units of words per second. This value is presented as part of a bar graph.

f. Language level in inshad

1. Definition and explanation

According to local theory (“emically”), Arabic discourse is characterized by diglossia, divided into two main language levels: *fusha* (classical Arabic) and *'ammiyya*

(colloquial Arabic), each of which displays a different distribution of features at the phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic levels. Fusha is supposed to be one language, nearly unchanging, the language of high literature, formal speech, and religion; the Qur'an is its highest exemplar. 'Ammiyya varies from region to region, and changes rapidly over time. Fusha is written and oral, whereas 'ammiyya is primarily oral.

In practice ("etically") the two levels are connected by a continuum, and the position a given language specimen occupies along that continuum depends on whether one chooses to evaluate according to pronunciation (phonology, morphology), vocabulary (morphology, lexicon), or grammar (syntax). The supposed diglossia thus is revealed upon closer inspection to be a five-level glossia (Badawi 1986:viii-xii), or a complex heteroglossia (Abdel-Malek 1995:123-129).

In Badawi's scheme, fusha reveals two distinctive levels. First, there is *fusha al-turath* ("traditional Arabic"), a language grounded in Qur'anic Arabic and classical literature, used today primarily for formal Islamic discourse in the media (religious programs), in mosques (sermons), and for scholarship and instruction in religious schools and universities (the kuttab (traditional Islamic schools) and the al-Azhar system, which includes both universities and schools throughout the country). Fusha also continues to be employed as a literary language by those within the religious sphere, including Islamic and Sufi poets. Second, there is *fusha al-'asr* ("modern Arabic"; in English this level is most often called Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)), used in contemporary business, journalism, politics, law, literature, technology, and scholarship and teaching in the

secular schools and universities. In this level most inflections (the so-called *i'rab*) are dropped, and there are also differences in sentence structure and vocabulary.

According to Badawi 'ammiyya reveals three levels: *'ammiyat al-muthaqqafin* (the somewhat pretentious intellectuals' colloquial) which is a spoken equivalent of fusha al-'asr; *'ammiyat al-mutanawwirin* (colloquial of the educated people generally); and *'ammiyat al-ummiyyin* (colloquial of the illiterate).

Sufi poetry displays elements of fusha al-turath, fusha al-'asr, 'ammiyat al-mutanawwirin, and 'ammiyat al-ummiyyin, using Badawi's terms. But when analyzing poetry one must add to phonology, morphology, and syntax an additional dimension of level evaluation: poetics. Classical Arabic poetry (from pre-Islamic times) was composed within a system of sixteen meters (*buhur*, each meter admits a fixed number of variants). Each poem is governed by a single meter, which determines the metric patterns of every line (*bayt*). Lines are divided into two halves (*shatras*), and every line terminates in a fixed rhyme pattern (*qafiya*). A poem meeting these criteria could be properly labelled a qasida. But even in the classical period, there were poets who wrote "qasidas" employing more than one bahr and qafiya in a single poem (though not without ensuing controversy; Abu Nuwas was one). Later forms, such as *muwashshah*, *zajal*, and *mawwal* (dating to the 8th century), introduce new metric and rhyme schemes, and were therefore treated (at least initially) as sub-classical genres. While the *muwashshah* primarily employs fusha, *zajal* and *mawwal* are entirely colloquial genres (Kamil 1979:33-35).

Classical Sufi qasidas can be further divided into the high Arabic of Sufi poets such as Ibn al-Farid, al-Hallaj, Ibn 'Arabi, and al-Busiri; and the somewhat simpler poems attributed (for evidence of true authorship is scant) to Sufi saints and shaykhs, such as Ahmad al-Badawi, Ibrahim al-Dasuqi, Ahmad al-Rifa'i, and Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili. The latter might break the meter, or vary the rhyme (in addition to displaying phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic features inconsistent with high literary Arabic). Some Sufi shaykhs also compose colloquial poetry, in the forms mawwal or zajal (the great Andalusian poet al-Shushtari wrote many of these; see al-Shushtari 1960, and Kamil 1979:24).

Further complexifying this picture is the fact that in the present analysis one must distinguish between the poem as written and the poem as performed. Fusha may be pronounced using 'ammiyya phonology (changing letter-sounds, omitting inflections, and shortening or dropping vowels), or incorrectly (easy to do, since diacritical marks indicating short vowels, gemination, and inflections are generally not written in Arabic). Thus many munshidin perform the difficult poetry of Ibn al-Farid, but very few pronounce it correctly. In this way the language level is generally lowered in performance.

Thus the picture is considerably more complex than the oft-mentioned Arabic diglossia would lead one to suppose. Nevertheless, in this rough analysis, I attempt to classify every poetic line as primarily fusha, or primarily 'ammiyya, as a simplified representation of the multiple continuous dimensions which would have to be employed

to generate a more accurate portrait. This simplification is perhaps somewhat justified by the fact that language users in fact employ this binary classification. The intention is to indicate the intertextual relations between inshad texts and the various Arabic language traditions, each of which carries the semantic associations of its contexts of use.⁹

Every poetic line in the canonical-form transcription is evaluated for its features (phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, poetic), and on this basis is classified as either fusha or ‘ammiyya. The total counts for each class are divided by the total number of poetic lines to provide percentages, which are more useful in making comparisons between hadras.

2. Values

Two positive numbers, representing percentage of poetic lines which are ‘ammiyya, and percentage of poetic lines which are fusha. These values are presented in a bar graph.

3. Semantic variables

Semantic variables are used to describe meaning in hadra as a feature of its texts. Semantic analysis is limited to inshad texts. Other texts forming the basis of hadra LP (hizb, fawatih, ad‘iyya, dhikr) display a much narrower semantic range across turuq, being rooted to a greater degree in Sufi and Islamic traditions generally. Nearly every hizb, for instance, is a collage consisting of excerpts from Qur’an together with

traditional adhkar, ad'iyya and salawat. Dhikr is limited to a small number of formulas used by all the turuq.

Inshad, on the other hand, admits of great semantic flexibility, which may be exploited by each tariqa (or individual munshid) in designing LP to suit its own ends. Further, inshad's poetry admits of a greater range of interpretation than other material, particularly when the latter is drawn from the Qur'an. Thus the 11th-century al-Ghazali (foreshadowing the post-structuralist attitude): "...it is not incumbent on the hearer that he should consider what the poet intended in his words. For every saying has different aspects, and every man of understanding has his own fortune." (al-Ghazali 1901-2:707)

Further, inshad is emotionally more potent than invariable texts, especially insofar as the latter draw on the Qur'an, if one follows al-Ghazali who wrote: "Then know that singing is more powerful than Qur'an in arousing to ecstasy for seven reasons..." which may be summarized as follows:

- 1) Because the Qur'an must be understood as God intended and cannot be interpreted by the listener to suit his own state, as in the case of poetry.
- 2) Because the Qur'an is fixed and well-known. That which is new makes a greater impression. [and according to this logic any fixed hizb text will also have a lesser power.]
- 3) Because poetic meters create an impression on the soul; the Qur'an lacks meter.
- 4) Because poetry is sung with variable melodies, whose application depends on being able to shorten and lengthen words, which is forbidden for the Qur'an.
- 5) Because sung poetry may be accompanied with beaten drums.
- 6) Because poetry can be tailored by the singer to the audience, and its meaning can be interpreted according to the listener's whim; these things are disallowed for Qur'an.
- 7) Because poetry being created can be understood by the created, whereas the Qur'an is uncreated.

(al-Ghazali 1901-2:738-745)

Several of al-Ghazali's arguments (reasons 2,3, part of 6) would evidently apply to any invariable ritual text, such as a hizb, even if no Qur'anic language were included in it, simply by virtue of its fixity, inflexibility, and familiarity. The greater variability and interpretability of inshad, and hence its greater emotional power, indicate that it may be expected to serve to a greater degree as a strategic tool, and thus is more useful for the analytical goals of this study.

a. Assertional themes of inshad

1. Overview

Sufi poetry, like most traditional poetry, consists of a sequence of sentences, usually one per poetic line, which may be classified into thematic categories. There are many ways of performing such a classification. One may sort by local cognitive categories (emic classification), or by application of logical analytical distinctions (etic classification), or aim for a combination of the two.

While reviewing inshad dini as a genre of LP, I mentioned some of the prominent emic categories used for inshad in Egypt. These overlapping categories include:

- 1) tawhid, qasida qudsiyya, qasida ilahiyya (about God or Divine Reality (Haqiqah))
- 2) tasbih, takbir, tamjid, tahmid (praise of God)
- 3) al-hubb al-ilahi (expression of love for God)
- 4) munajah ("intimate conversations" with God, usually a kind of supplication)
- 5) ibtihalat, du'a', tawassul, istighatha (supplications to God)
- 6) manzuma (praise and supplication to God using His 99 Names)
- 7) madih, madh (praise for the Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, saints, shaykhs)
- 8) ghazal (expression of mystical love in erotic terms, usually for the Prophet)
- 9) khamriyya, takhmir (use of metaphors of wine and intoxication)

- 10) tawassul, istighatha, madad (supplication or request for intercession, to Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, saints)
- 11) qissa diniyya (religious story about the Prophet Muhammad, previous prophets, Ahl al-Bayt, saints)
- 12) sira, mawlid (religious story concerning the biography of the Prophet Muhammad)
- 13) hikma, wa‘z (exhortation)
- 14) ‘ilm (knowledge)
- 15) ma‘rifa (gnosis)

Emic genre categories are useful clues to what is important to users of inshad, and thus serves to guide the analytical frame. However they are confusing as well, because they indiscriminately mix several dimensions of distinction: intention (such as praise, request, expression of feeling, communication, advice), the object of the poem (God, Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, saint, shaykh...), the metaphors employed (love in the ghazal, wine in the khamriyya). In the present analysis I attempt to treat these dimensions separately. The object of the poem is treated under the heading “references”, and metaphors are treated—in part—under the heading “heterodox symbols”. The notion of assertional themes is used to cover aspects of the linguistic intention and topic in the broadest sense.

The classification is developed by first separating the two basic “**illocutionary forces**” (Austin 1975:150ff) of the poetic sentences themselves (already largely separated in the emic genre scheme): the assertion (which may represent Austin’s “verdictive” and “expositive” types), and the request (representing Austin’s “exercitive” type, whether pleading or advisory). This typology is refined by considering what these sentences are *about* or to whom they are *directed*. Assertions are about mystical experience, spiritual entities, or religious/mystical knowledge. Requests may be directed to metaphysical

spiritual entities (supplication) or to human beings (exhortation).¹⁰ (Recall that Jakobson made precisely this distinction when discussing poetry emphasizing the conative function (Jakobson 1987:70)). This typology seems to capture the main ways poetry is actually used by shaykhs in performance, and therefore, it is hoped, may be revealing of strategy when used as a framework for analyzing the hadra. On this basis are distinguished the following:

Assertions (classed in five categories)

Mystical experience. Expression of subjective mystical states (*hal, wajd, kashf, jadhb, tajalliyat, fana', ittihad, wahda*) which transcend ordinary consciousness, or longing for such states. Sometimes the poet merely describes his state of inner illumination (*kashf*); other times an indeterminate “other” appears (*tajalliyat*), which may be ambiguously described in esoteric terms. The mystical state (*hal*) transcends and overwhelms the intellect, and signs of Divine madness (*jadhb*) may appear upon him, as emotion reaches the level of ecstasy (*wajd*). Self and other become so close that their boundaries dissolve (*ittihad, wahda*); as the self expands to fill the entire frame of the poem, the duality of self and other may no longer appear. Or the heat of experience causes annihilation (*fana'*) of the self. If the poet is denied the desired mystical contact, he becomes disconsolate, his body withers (*suqm*). Others cannot understand his madness, and so poet must cope also with reprovers and critics (*'awadhil, luwwam*) who chastise him for his heterodox, asocial, or aberrant behavior.

In trying to express states of such an ineffable character, the poet resorts to esoteric, illogical, or paradoxical encodings, as well as sensual metaphors which would normally have no place in religious contexts: intoxication, ecstasy, erotic love, the beloved as a woman. Such metaphors and codes may also be used to hide mystical meanings from novices or outsiders. Mystical poetry culminates in shath: enigmatic ecstatic expressions of a spiritual state, which in their highest form contravene Shari'a through assertion of inner divinity (see Ernst 1985:48). This language evokes a relation to spirituality which rejects the clear distinctions between levels of man, shaykh, Prophet, God, by bringing God close to man, man close to God, revealing God as diffuse and in-everything. Such is the poetry of the mystics Ibn al-Farid, Ibn 'Arabi, and especially al-Hallaj. It is frequently condemned by the religious orthodoxy.

Love and devotion. Expression of deep and abiding love and devotion for God, the Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, and saints. Such love neither expresses nor desires true mystical unity; despite the powerful feelings between them, the boundaries between "I" and "Thou" are respected. This love is more like ordinary platonic love, and is expressed in religiously more acceptable terms; the poetry is not based on a mysticism of union, but rather one of love, asceticism, prayer, and intercession. Poetry is addressed to God, but also to the special class of people (the prophets and saints), filling that abyss separating humanity from the Infinite, who can help their followers in this world and the next. The poet does not long for self-annihilation, but rather for presence, acceptance, grace, and love. Yet the "I" - "Thou" relation is close, and much less hierarchically differentiated

than in praise poetry (considered next). The poet's identity is firmly represented, giving such poetry a personal touch. Reason is mixed with emotion, but remains lucid. The example par excellence of the loving-devoted poet is perhaps the mystic Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya (see Smith 1928).

Praise. Praise poetry elevates its object by voicing its positive qualities: power, knowledge, beauty, mercy. Most frequently the object of praise is the Prophet Muhammad, as well as the Ahl al-Bayt, the Sahaba (Muhammad's companions), the saints, and other religious figures. God Himself is less often praised than supplicated through praise (e.g. "Oh Merciful One, have mercy on us..."), since praise elevates its object on the assumption that the object's true station is both expressible and in need of expression, assumptions which are not warranted for the Creator. Positive qualities include heroic deeds (*manaqib*), miracles (*mu'jizat* for the prophets, *karamat* for others), noble character traits (*shama'il*), or physical beauty. Praise poetry does not exhibit the subjective voice so strongly as devotional love poetry, but rather glorifies the object objectively, as a matter of fact. The poet himself disappears, his own subjectivity effaced, not as in the mystical unity of self and other, but in order to further exalt the object of his praise as a stable fact of the universe, independent of his particular point of view. Rather than expressing a close bond between self and other, such poetry reinforces their essential inequality, within the larger spiritual hierarchy. This poetry is therefore closer to an orthodox sensibility in which mysticism and emotion is not allowed to destabilize the status quo, although certain kinds (e.g. recounting miracles based on

weak hadith) and objects (e.g. saints and shaykhs) of praise may be rejected by fundamentalist or reformist orthodoxy. The original model for Islamic praise poetry, and a constantly invoked certification of its validity, is the work of the Prophet's own panegyrist, Hassan ibn Thabit.

Objective assertions. Declaration of Sufi or Islamic knowledge; exposition and elucidation of doctrines or beliefs (cosmological, ethical, spiritual, metaphysical); rebuttal of critics. This category covers assertions which make assertions about the Islamic or Sufi world-view, not as a matter of expressing feeling, or praising any spiritual figures, or exhorting the listener toward any particular course of action, but simply as fact. This category is included for formal completeness, although it is not used in the analysis.

Narratives. This category is used to cover assertions arranged in a continuous story-line, as in the *qisas al-anbiya'* (stories of the prophets), *sira nabawiyya* (Prophet's biography), or *qisas al-awliya'* (stories of the saints). These are common in some forms of professional inshad, as well as in the Mawlid al-Nabi (the Prophet's birthday, and the biographical literature performed on this occasion), however they do not occur in the examples considered here.

Requests, on the other hand, come in two varieties:

Exhortation. Exhortations are command-requests: warnings, appeals, and advice from a teacher addressed to his students or followers. They may take a strong imperative form ("do x..."), or merely advise ("one should..."), or suggest norms by example ("the good Muslim does x...") or conditional structure ("if one does x, then will

be rewarded in heaven...”). Exhortation is the poetic equivalent of *wa'z* or *khutba* (sermon), and emphasizes a hierarchical relationship between subject and object in which the former is superior to the latter (the listener) (just as the preacher stands above his congregation, on the *minbar* (pulpit)).

Supplication. Supplications are entreaty-requests from Muslim to saint, Prophet, or God, asking for a favor to be granted. In the orthodox world-view, supplication should only be made to God. Sufis commonly make requests to God for the sake of one invoked who is close to Him (the conservative interpretation), or to a prophet or saint as a mediator or intercessor with God (standard Sufi interpretation), or to a saint as a quasi-independent source of favors (but this is considered shirk (“association” with God, polytheism) by more conservative Muslims). Supplication is the poetic equivalent of *du'a'*, and emphasizes a hierarchical relationship between subject and object in which the former is inferior to the latter.

2. Variable definition

Each poetic line within inshad segments of every hadra is classified as belonging to one or more of five categories: mystical experience, love, praise, supplication, and exhortation. The total number of lines falling into each category can then be computed.

A line might be classified as falling under more than one category if it contains more than one sentence, or if one sentence contains more than one theme (love and praise is a common combination; or the themes may be nested one inside of another, as in an exhortation to praise). A single line classified into *n* different categories counts as

one nth (1/n) toward each (for instance, a line classified as falling into the two categories “love” and “praise” counts as a half-line in the love category, and a half-line in the praise category).

From such a classification is computed the percentage of poetic lines in which each theme occurs, for each hadra. These values are presented in a bar graph.

b. Heterodox symbols and metaphors

1. Overview

Sufi poetry commonly employs symbols and metaphors in order to express or communicate the mystic’s experience. Lacking a language adequate for ineffable mystical states, and seeking linguistic power, the poet may resort to codes of enigma and antinomianism, ambiguous symbols drawing on the power of mystery and the forbidden.

While some symbols form a kind of Sufi code, allowing adepts to avoid censure from religious conservatives, others deliberately violate the letter of Islamic law so as to point to that which lies beyond it (Haqiqa) while provoking the listener emotionally (in this practice of using the forbidden to express an exalted spiritual condition one may detect a faint echo of the old tradition of the Malamatis (“blameworthy ones”), which aimed for inner spirituality combined with words and actions counter to Islamic norms in order to avoid the hypocrisy of sanctimony.¹¹ Frequently these symbols are drawn from domains of sensual experience which are themselves highly potent and emotional (all the more so for being heterodox), especially eros (love and desire), and intoxication.

Sometimes secular love and wine poetry from the classical tradition of *ghazal* and *khamriyya* (e.g. Abu Nuwas) is actually taken over into the Sufi domain, with a consequent reinterpretation of meaning (at least for Sufis).

Boldly moving outside the domain of strict Islamic practice and law is also a covert statement of creed so important to Sufis: that while following the Shari'a is the essential basis of Islam, the Haqiqa is the essence of Islam, and realizing this essence is the goal of participation in the Sufi tariqa. To speak of that which is forbidden by Shari'a, whether alcohol, or erotic love, can be taken as a metaphor—in the most general sense—of stepping outside the limited bounds of the Shari'a itself, and thus an assertion of Sufi identity as counterpoised to literalist Islam.

For this reason the Sufi orders use these symbols with a great deal of caution. Even conservative *turuq* may not reject them entirely, but their use may be limited, restricted to private occasions, or to inner circles of the spiritually advanced. The literal interpretation of such sensual symbols suggests violation of Islamic laws about physical existence; the metaphorical interpretation suggests violation of Islamic laws about spiritual existence, by emphasizing the ability (or desire) of man to become spiritually intimate with God before death, while de-emphasizing the performance of exoteric religious duties. Furthermore, the joining of signifier and signified in a single symbol, by blurring the boundary between the sacred and the profane (whose opposition is so often the fundamental structural unity of cosmology, according to the work of Eliade (1957)), threatens the orthodox order which is founded—in part—on a clear separation of these

categories. This is the reason why those with a vested interest in the status quo (including the religious establishment) regard such symbols and metaphors as *bid'a* (heresy), a “pollution” (to use the terminology of Mary Douglas who evolved this theory (Douglas 1966)) to be avoided at all costs.¹²

Therefore the use of heterodox symbol and metaphors is restricted within many Sufi orders, which tend as a rule to emphasize spiritual development within a graded and organized framework, rather than mystical ecstasy for its own sake. This emphasis occurs for three reasons: the desire to produce lasting spiritual results, the need to control emotion and mystical inspiration so as not to subvert the tariqa hierarchy as a social order, and the need to protect the tariqa from critics who are always ready to make the accusation of *bid'a* (heresy).

On the other hand, in Sufi ritual which takes place outside of the orders, in the *hadras* often performed during *mawlid*s and for social occasions, the free use of such symbols is the norm. When control imposed by the tariqa for the sake of its spiritual and social agenda is removed, very little restraint remains. While some of these symbols and metaphors are anathema to conservative Muslims, they are powerful representation of mystical experience, and for this reason can unleash tremendous emotional power when combined with *dhikr*. Their ambiguous quality allows such symbols to be interpreted by each listener according to his level, and this flexibility maximizes their power for the group as a whole. Even when the assertions in which such symbols are embedded are

not understood rationally, the symbols themselves act upon the dhakkira like small explosions, all the more powerful for remaining a bit mysterious.

The power of heterodox symbols, together with the evident sensitivity which surrounds their choice and use, makes them an important tool for characterizing and discriminating between different groups. For this reason they have been selected as an important target for semantic analysis.

The following are the salient classes of heterodox symbols and metaphors which were uncovered through close readings of hadra texts, and which are analyzed in this study; no claim is made for either their exhaustiveness or mutual exclusiveness:

1) Metaphors of music, dance, and attendant ecstasy or other emotions. Since much poetry was written to be performed in dhikr or sama', it was natural to include representations of such rituals in the poetry itself; the self-referentiality which occurs when such metaphors are performed during a ritual they describe is capable of tremendous intensification of listeners' states, regardless of whether they understand the poem in which such symbols are set, or not. Symbols such as instruments (especially the *duff* (frame drum), the *nay* (reed flute)), their sounds, the ecstasy of listening (*wajd*, *tarab*), dancing (*raqs*) may have esoteric interpretations, besides representing the mystical experience in general

Although music and dance are not explicitly prohibited by the Shari'a, they are controversial, particularly when they encroach on the religious sphere. Among Islamic legal scholars (*fuqaha*'), as well as Sufi writers, the status of music (more

specifically, sama‘) in Sufism has been the subject of polemical debate (for discussion of this controversy with respect to music see Nelson 1985:32-51). Under restricted conditions, music was accepted by some theorists, such as the great medieval theologian-Sufi Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (al-Ghazali 1901-2), but generally rejected by the traditionists (Ibn Abi al-Dunya 1938). Dance was more roundly condemned even by Sufi theorists such as al-Hujwiri who admitted music conditionally (al-Hujwiri 1911:402, 416).

2) Metaphors of intoxication. The mystic’s state is often described as a form of *nashwa* or *sukr* (intoxication) outwardly similar to that of the drunkard; even though no two states could be more different in their inward dimensions, both entail a detachment of the self from ordinary intersubjective reality. The power of this metaphoric class to assert, express, convey, or (perhaps) evoke such states is so frequent in Sufi poetry as to be considered a genre in itself (the *khamriyya*, or *takhmir*); one of Ibn al-Farid’s most famous poems is of this type (the “Mimiyya”, ode rhyming in the letter “mim”). Even conservative modernist orders, such as the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya (see Gilsenan 1973) and the Ja‘fariyya (discussed here), whose appeal is based in part on close conformity to Shari‘a, include them at least occasionally. Individual symbols employed within the general metaphoric system of alcohol include: the tavern (*al-han* or *al-hana*, which may represent the anchorite’s cell, or hadra itself), wine (*khamr*, *mudam*, *rah*, *shurb*, representing the transformative effect of Divine Presence (*al-hadra al-ilahiyya*)), the cupbearer (*al-saqi*, often identified with the Prophet, or with the munshid), the cup (*al-*

kas), the drinking companion (*al-nadim*, companion on the mystical path), passing the cup (*idarat al-kas*), giving to drink (*saqi*), the vine (*al-karm*, metaphor of the body), the wineman or winemerchant (*khammar*, identified with the mystic who is close to God), the state of intoxication itself (*sukr, nashwa*). The heterodox status of all such metaphors is clear-cut, for alcohol is forbidden by Islamic law (see Qur'an 2:219, 5:90-91)

3) Metaphors of eros: erotic love and longing. Love for God, the Prophet, or the Ahl al-Bayt is a common theme in Sufi poetry, but such love when stated literally does not fall into this class. Eros as defined here includes love metaphors which are too strong, too scandalous, to be taken as literal representations of religious feeling. Rather, these expressions of erotic love serve as a metaphor for mystical experience: longing for reunion with the One, or the state of reunion itself (and the consequent extinguishing of the individual ego, named *fana'* by the Sufis). Performed, they assert the existence of such an experience, express it, communicate, and sometimes, perhaps, evoke it.

Eros is a broad metaphoric class, including representation of the Divine in female form (often via the feminine name "Layla", whose mystical interpretations as an acronym for "la ilaha illa Allah", or homophonic with "layla" (night), the time of lovers' meetings, are well-known), or referring to the Divine using feminine pronouns (which are legitimized as referencing such grammatically feminine phrases as "al-Jalala" (the Majesty, meaning God) or "al-haylala" (the formula "la ilaha illa Allah", which is likewise treated as feminine). Other symbols include: unveiling of the beloved, detailed

descriptions of the lover's beauty, expressions of desire, the lover's night-call, the bride, the wedding night of consummation. Spiritual love and longing is described using strong erotic terms, such as *'ishq* (ardor), *shawq* (yearning, desire), and *wala'* (passion). Other metaphors within the class of eros are painful or negative: the reprover (*la'im* or *'adhil*, a character taken from secular love poetry), weeping, sleeplessness, physical agony of longing), withering of the body (*suqm*), madness, and finally death (as described in episodes related by al-Hujwiri 1911:410).¹³

The power of eros in Sufi poetry, making it unpalatable to the orthodoxy, has been remarked upon by Annemarie Schimmel: "Love poems, interpreted in a mystical sense, inspired [poets] to ecstasy and more than once caused the death of a lover, be he Sufi or layman. Muslim orthodoxy instinctively recognized...the danger of breaking out of the well-ordered world of the nomos, the Divinely inspired law, into the vast fields of eros in all its shades; hence the Muslim orthodoxy's fierce reactions to the introduction of music in Sufi circles." (Schimmel 1982:24). While love is certainly not forbidden by orthodox religion (indeed, Islam is more open-minded than most faiths on this point), illicit love is, and moreover conventional religious propriety demands that the details of one's love-life be kept private. The explicit mixing of sacred and profane (as when the Divine Essence is represented in an alluring female form) is particularly outrageous to the orthodoxy.

4) Metaphors of Christian symbolism. Although it is today well-accepted (in contrast to what early orientalists claimed) that Sufism developed organically and

essentially from early Islam, neither was it was entirely immune to outside influences, including Christian monasticism (for a balanced view, see Rahman 1979:131). Perhaps these early contacts contributed to the development of Christian symbolism in the Sufi literature.

Such symbols, from a monotheistic tradition outside the sphere of Islam, are used to indicate mystical practices and conditions which are likewise outside the strict confines of the orthodox, while pointing to the ultimate unity of religions on the higher plane of mystical love, as Ibn 'Arabi wrote:

My heart has become a capable of every form:
it is a pasture for gazelles and a convent for Christian monks

And a temple for idols and the pilgrim's Ka'ba
and the tables of the Tora and the book of the Qur'an

I follow the religion of love : whatever way Love's camels take, that is
my religion and my faith

(Ibn al-'Arabi 1911:19,67)

The monk in his monastery (*al-rahib fi dayrihi*) symbolizes complete ascetic devotion. Other symbols include the Gospels (*injl*), church bells (*naqus*), priest (*qissis*), and deacon (*shammas*). These symbols may symbolize specific mystical states or stations for the mystic-poets who used them, although their precise meanings are not understood by most Sufis today. For the latter, such symbols serve generally to invoke the mysteries of *Haqiqa*, projected into the earthly realm in so many forms, and to indicate that all religious traditions point to the One God. Ibn 'Arabi frequently used

such symbols in his poetry, but it is in the Sufi poet al-Shushtari (al-Shushtari 1960) that one finds them most fully developed.

Whatever their origin or ultimate significance, such symbols are regarded by conservative Muslims today as heterodox, since they appear to privilege Christianity, attributing to its religious manifestations a deeper esoteric significance, and to diminish the significance of the differences between true religion (Islam) and error. Avoidance of Christian symbols was a strategy for differentiating the Islamic Community from early on; thus the Prophet rejected the Christian bells in favor of the human voice as a call to prayer (Ibn Hisham n.d.:1:271-2), and the use of the *sibha* (rosary) is still criticized by some conservatives as having been borrowed from the Christians. Only extreme fundamentalists today consider Christians to be unbelievers (*kafirun*), but virtually all Muslims regard the Bible as a humanly corrupted (*munharif*) version of God's Word, and the Qur'an clearly states that religion with God is Islam (3:19). Furthermore, the tradition of monasticism is criticized in the Qur'an (57:27), and hence banned as an Islamic institution.

5) Symbols of strong emotion. Besides eros and intoxication, other emotion symbols may be used to express unusual spiritual states in which intellectual processes cease normal operation, due to the inner emotional flood which results from contact with Haqiqah. These feelings are more extra-ordinary than the range expressed by the more naturalistic metaphors of love and intoxication, and therefore are denoted by symbols drawn from the technical Sufi lexicon. These include: *hal* (mystical state, generally),

wajd and *tawajud* (ecstasy), *nashwa* (frenzy), *tarab* (elation, often musical), *jadhb* (sacred madness), *ghiyab* (absence). Such states are unacceptable to the orthodoxy who abide by Shari'a and do not view ecstatic emotion as properly belonging within the sphere of religion.

6) Metaphors of the journey. The mystic quest is expressed in the form of a path to be followed or journey taken, often on ships across seas, or an ascent to heaven (borrowing the archetypal heavenly journey of Muhammad, the *mi'raj*). This is an old theme in Sufi poetry; Farid ud-Din 'Attar's masterpiece "Manteq at-Tair" ("Conference of the Birds"), is wholly based on it, and indeed the very word for Sufi order (*tariqa*) is a reference to such a "path". The idea of a mystical path is distinctive to Sufism, since in the orthodox conception the only proper spiritual path is the Shari'a (significantly carrying the meaning also of "broad path"; see Schimmel 1992:62), requiring the proper performance of obligatory religious rituals, and scrupulous observance of Sunna.

7) Symbols of insight. In these metaphors the mystic attains a glimpse of Haqiqa, using the eye of the heart (*'ayn al-qalb*, or *basira*), since ordinary sight (*basar*) is useless for this purpose. Symbols focusing on light and vision include many technical terms of theoretical Sufism: *basira* (spiritual vision), *kashf* (unveiling), *firasa* (discernment), *shafafiyya* (clairvoyance), *ishraq* (spiritual radiance), *mushahada* (witnessing), *mur* (Divine Lights), *tajalliyat* (manifestations), *lama'at* (flashes). While these metaphors are not heterodox as concepts in and of themselves, their implication that the mystic may use his spiritual vision to "see" the invisible world (*'alam al-ghayb*)

or Divine Reality (Haqiqa) is anathema to the orthodoxy, for whom no such thing is possible in this life.¹⁴

Even the Prophet Moses was unable to attain such a sight, for when he requested it God told him “You will not see Me, but gaze upon the mountain!”, whereupon He revealed Himself to the mountain; then the mountain crumbled to ruins as Moses looked on (Qur’an 7:143). In one of his poems, Ibn al-Farid alludes to this verse, saying “And if I ask to see You truly, do allow me; don’t answer “You will not see!”” (Ibn al-Farid 1990:128). Shaykh Salih al-Ja’fari, eager to defend Ibn al-Farid against charges of heresy, wove a *tashtir* around this poem in which he explained that Ibn al-Farid had meant to say “...if I ask to see You in the *Hereafter*...”, thus removing the source of heterodoxy.

8) Metaphors of union. Metaphors of union express the Sufi’s ultimate mystical condition, in which all veils are lifted, all separation between lover and Beloved is removed, and individual existence is effaced. Such a situation is expressed in poetry by *shathiyat* (ecstatic utterances), in which ‘I’ and the Divine ‘You’ are identified, by intimation, or by outright assertion (as in al-Hallaj’s famous dictum, “ana al-Haqq”, “I am the Truth [God]”). In Sufi technical terms, this state is described as *fana*’ (annihilation), *wahda*, *ittihad* (union or unity), or even *hulul* (incarnation). For denying God’s transcendence, and leading Muslims astray, all such concepts are vigorously opposed by the orthodoxy.

9) Arcana: Other recondite, esoteric, or obscure metaphors and symbols. Such a metaphor can be classed as enigmatic more than heterodox. It may be ambiguous (and hence open to heterodox interpretations), or may suggest paradox, or simply be meaningless.¹⁵ Its inexplicability and strangeness generally indicate a realm of religious mysteries beyond the familiar realm of the orthodoxy, promising meaning rich and deep, and its ambiguity enables each listener to derive from it a personalized interpretation, conforming to and intensifying his inner state. For the orthodoxy, such language is at best useless, at worst heretical in its implications.

Examples of all metaphoric classes can be found in the hadra transcriptions, where they are underlined, and followed by the name of the class (see Appendix).

2. Derived variables

Several variables can be derived from the foregoing classification of heterodox metaphors in inshad texts. The prominence of a particular symbol or metaphor could be measured in various ways, each carrying particular advantages and disadvantages: some are theoretically useful but hard to measure, others present the reverse situation. Thus one can easily count the number of poetic lines containing a metaphor, but this procedure would not differentiate between a metaphor which appears in one word only, and a metaphor which underlies the entire line. At the opposite extreme, one could measure the aggregate performance duration during which the munshid sings a particular metaphor, a quantity which might be presumed to be more closely related to the

psychological impact of the metaphor, and hence to strategy. But such measurements are difficult to carry out in practice.

Taking the practically convenient theoretical view (adopted earlier) that the impact of a word of text is primary at its first occurrence, variables are based on the canonical representation of the sung text, and measure the total number of words devoted to each metaphoric class. This process provides the raw data on which the following analyses are based, and is presented in the Appendix.

It should be noted at the outset that the coding of these symbols and metaphors is far from being an exact science; it may be difficult to determine which metaphors fall into the classes, and if so which one (if more than one is suggested). Sometimes, when a line seemed to include several inextricably intertwined metaphors the total number of words was simply divided among them. Furthermore there is ambiguity regarding where precisely any particular appearance of a metaphor should be considered to begin and end. As in all the quantitative measures applied, these metrics were evaluated on one performance only, and so are not necessarily statistically sound as a representation of tariqa practice. Despite all of this imprecision, the following analytical techniques yield a useful profile to confirm or disconfirm intuitive impressions. They force one to look carefully and neutrally at a set of texts, and help avoid the drawing of off-handed impressionistic conclusions.

a. Total absolute density

For each hadra, the total number of words of the canonic poetic inshad text¹⁶ which fall within the contours of any of the metaphoric/symbolic classes mentioned above, are counted, and divided by the total number of words in the canonic poetic inshad text. This value provides a “density” which can be compared across hadras of different lengths. Thus a density of 20% indicates that one-fifth of all inshad poetry words in the given hadra performance are devoted to heterodox symbols and metaphors. Not all Sufi poetry employs heterodox metaphoric material to the same extent; this variable provides a measure of the total usage.

b. Absolute density by symbol

For each hadra, and for each symbolic or metaphoric class above, the number of words of the canonical poetic inshad text which fall within the contours of the metaphoric class are counted, and divided by the total number of words in the canonical poetic inshad text. This too provides a “density” which can be compared across hadras of different lengths. Thus a density of 5% in the “intoxication” class, for instance, means that in the given hadra performance 5% of all inshad poetry words are devoted to metaphors of intoxication, of one sort or another.

c. Relative density by symbol

For each hadra, and for each symbolic or metaphoric class above, the number of words of the canonical poetic inshad text which fall within the contours of the

metaphoric class are counted, and divided by the total number of words devoted to all heterodox symbols. This procedure provides a percentage of heterodox symbols devoted to each class, such that the percentages add to 100% for each hadra. The values thus provide a glimpse of the importance of each metaphoric class relative to the total use of heterodox symbolism. These are useful because even when the total use is relatively low one may be interested to know the relative emphases on each symbolic class.

c. References

1. Overview

a. Background

It is a main hypothesis of this thesis that LP in hadra offers a model for social-spiritual relations in the tariqa, what I have termed “personal social structure”. Such relations, as we have seen, are, together with particular ritual forms, a primary identity attribute differentiating each tariqa from other Sufi groups, since doctrinal aspects are to a great extent shared between groups. Social relations are also critical in maintaining the stability of a tariqa, especially during the initial phases of development, when (as we have seen) there is a tendency toward decentralization and loss of social cohesion. Therefore, if this hypothesis is correct, LP is can play a critical role in reinforcing a tariqa’s identity, and strengthening the social foundations of the group. It follows that turuq which are socially constituted so as to be able to formulate and disseminate group-level strategies

may employ this power of LP as a strategic device toward ensuring the continuity of identity, as well as the social cohesion and centralization which enables such strategizing to take place. It remains to see how social models can be embedded within LP in theory, and then to use analysis to determine what sort of models are in fact present in the representative hadras analyzed here.

LP can to some extent shape a tariqa through its sonic and syntactic aspects, but it is in the semantic aspects that it exerts its effect most directly. And although themes and symbols provide the raw materials for creating moods and orientations in the performance of ritual, it is in referencing social entities—including the living members participating in hadra, and spiritual-metaphysical beings—that it actually projects a map of social relations in performance. These references are most flexible and powerful in inshad, which is therefore the only component of LP which will be analyzed.

Referencing (or reference) is a fundamental capability of language: the ability of a particular textual expression (the reference) to point to an object (the referent). The full theory of reference, whether elaborated by philosophy, linguistics, or computation theory, is a complex matter far beyond the needs of the present study. All that is required is a few pragmatic definitions suitable for a discussion of reference in LP.

Names are the basic “handles” by which LP references objects (including entities), and thereby makes assertions about them. Names may not always be unambiguous, and objects may have more than one name. A reference may consist of a name, or more complex expressions, including descriptions and pronouns. References

too can be ambiguous, and any object may be the referent of many possible references.

The efficacy of referencing in performance is never completely independent of contextual factors since even the simplest name-reference depends on listeners' knowledge of what it means; often a reference is shaped or determined by linguistic or performative context. Objects include things, places, spiritual beings, concepts, people, etc.; it matters not for the present purposes whether the object exists in the subjective or objective domain, or whether there is agreement on its reality.

Wanting to understand how LP models social relations, I am concerned with objects which are social entities: objects imbued with consciousness, at least for performance participants, and with whom some sort of social relationship is therefore possible. In the analysis these social entities (henceforth simply entities, for short) include those spiritual entities which Islamic cosmology and Sufism provide, namely: God, the *mala'ika* (angels; beings of light), *jinn* (beings of fire), persons living or deceased (mostly the Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, saints, and shaykhs), and any groups or combinations of these.

The consequences of LP for social relations in the tariqa depend heavily on the reference expressions it contains, the linguistic sentences in which they are embedded, and how such sentences are performed. I will posit some naive but plausible assumptions about referencing to guide the analysis. I assume that referencing an entity automatically tends to establish and reinforce its entity-ness in the minds of listeners (which is really nothing but a kind of faith¹⁷), and to invoke its presence at the moment

of referencing, at least psychologically. Since only a limited number of entities can be referenced in performance, those which are named are marked as special (although that specialness carries a negative or positive valence depending on context; the Devil (al-Shaytan) is referenced prior to every Qur'anic recitation, for instance). The more often the entity is referenced, the stronger its entity-status, the more it is reinforced and invoked in the minds of listeners, and thus the more present it becomes in hadra. Referencing an entity also tends to establish a personal relation between listeners and the named entity; the quality of that relation will depend on many other factors, including the linguistic context, performance context, and ideological associations of the entity (some of these will be considered in the following section).

Every personal relationship is characterized by one or more emotional characteristics; it is these emotional aspects which make the relation personal, rather than positional. It follows that emotion must be an important factor in creating or reinforcing personal relationships. In hadra, emotion is injected into the relation suggested by a reference in at least three ways: by the referent itself, by the language and linguistic context of reference, and by sonic and pragmatic aspects of performance. The referent may already have strong emotional associations which are recalled or relived, and hence recharged, upon invocation. If invocation takes place within a poem, the poetic context of reference will also serve to generate or condition emotion associated with the entity. This linguistically evoked emotion is augmented by the "free emotion" generated by the sounds and movements of performance, and by the presence of other participants, which

is continually channelled into the network of entities which have recently been invoked, and which are therefore actively present in minds of participants.

The relationship is also characterized by a quality or attitude. One's attitude toward God might be supplicatory, or longing. The shaykh's attitude toward his murid might be intimate, or didactic. The attitudinal character of a relationship is shaped primarily by the textual context of referencing.

Lest this model of invocation and relationship-creation during hadra be dismissed as an analytical fancy, it should be recalled that the Arabic word "hadra" literally means "presence", and participants confirm that the ritual is indeed concerned with presence: presence of the shaykh and brethren, together with presence of angels, saints, Ahl al-Bayt, prophets, and God. It should also be recalled that at the center of hadra is a special and most potent form of referencing: dhikr. Dhikr is the remembrance (dhikr) of God, through the mention (dhikr) of God. The repeated mentioning of God through the rhythmic recitation of His Names serves, Sufis say, to create a concentrated awareness of Him. It is not the number of repetitions, but rather reaching this state of awareness which is important. One usually recites many times only because concentration is difficult; the world tends to distract one from God. If each mention of the Name is unlikely to be accompanied by full concentration, then one must compensate for one's deficiencies by mentioning that Name many times, hoping to recite it even once with full awareness of its meaning. For the more mystically inclined Sufis, the precise pronunciation of the Name with the tongue is not so important as its inner meaning in the

heart; they have therefore distinguished *dhikr al-lisan* (outward dhikr) from *dhikr al-qalb* (inward dhikr); in the latter the referent itself is present. Through repeated mentioning (referencing) one remembers God, to the point that He becomes present in one's heart; an emotional relation to Him is established. In light of this well-established local theory, it does not seem farfetched to claim that LP has the power to create presence and construct relationships with other entities as well.

When referencing occurs without strongly invoking the referent, LP may fail to create such relationships. Certainly some religious LP may be purely mechanical and perfunctory, but this is usually a limitation of the performer, and not the intended attitude for performance. But it must be admitted that in certain situations, it is precisely mechanical performance which is called for. In this case referencing may occur within LP without any relational social consequences at all. Precise specification of repeat counts (whether in obligatory prayer, Sufi devotions, or magic) frequently accompanies belief in the efficacy of LP as signifier alone (the "ritual mode"). In this case, it may be the precise performance of LP which is important in producing an objective effect, which does not depend on any subjective feeling, or personal relation. Presence (in the case of conjuring a jinn, say) is a strictly causal consequence of LP itself. One might not even understand the words one utters.

But in general, Sufis are always exhorted to concentrate on the meaning of language, even when a purely performative effect (due to the mere fact of having recited a particular text) is also held to exist. Indeed, every Muslim is supposed to perform

ritual acts such as prayer with proper inward intention; without the preliminary *niyya* (intention), no ritual act is valid. But in Sufism especially, inward meaning and intention are always stressed as more important than outward behavior; for this reason Sufis generally deem dhikr al-qalb to be higher than dhikr al-lisan. Even the execution of precise repeat counts do not preclude the importance of simultaneously concentrating on meaning (and as we have noted, such repeat counts are not always followed precisely in practice). Thus while there is no guarantee that in reciting a name a referent will be reinforced and invoked, and a relation will be constructed between reciter and name, the norms of Sufism tend toward this eventuality.¹⁸

The esoteric–Sufi–meaning of LP is strongly subjective, emotional, and personal. For the Sufi, spiritual entities are unbound, present everywhere at once. When participants use LP to bring an entity into the hadra, they are not creating an objective presence, but rather causing themselves to be aware of its existence. By invoking the Names of God in dhikr, for instance, one does not summon God to one’s presence—such a concept is absurd in Islam since God is omnipresent. Rather, through concentration on God mediated by His Name, one awakens to the fact that God is present already; one opens one’s heart to God. Saints too are present everywhere, although their presence is more concentrated in the vicinity of their maqam.¹⁹ Whereas the magical form of invocation is concerned with producing an objective external spiritual effect through LP as signifiers—the performance of text alone—the Sufi form of invocation is also concerned with producing a subjective internal spiritual effect through LP as signifieds—the

performance of meaning. Such a mode of performance inevitably entails construction of social relationships.

If referencing creates psychological presence and establishes relationships, and if those relationships are critical to the identity and stability of the tariqa, then one may expect this aspect of LP to be actively manipulated by turuq which are able to deploy strategies. Conversely, one may be able to read those strategies through a close analysis of the patterns in a tariqa's hadra references. These patterns are what I now set out to investigate.

b. Method

Analysis is based upon the counting of references to conscious entities. I do not include the naming of things or places. Reference expressions typically include names, epithets, titles, descriptions, and pronouns. Thus the Prophet is named by a multitude of expressions, such as "Muhammad", "Ahmad", "Mustafa", "Taha", "Yasin", "Tuhami", "the kohl-eyed one", "ibn Rama", "Abu al-Qasim", and so forth (see Schimmel 1985:105-122 for a discussion of the Prophet's names, which are particularly numerous)

. References which are vague are indicated as referring to the "vague" or "ambiguous" entity. But I equate two or more "vague" references only when warranted by the text.

For each hadra, the analysis is applied to inshad texts only, including poetry, madad, and other texts. This limitation is in part a matter of convenience, since inshad texts were fully transcribed, and are comparatively shorter than hizb texts. It may also receive the theoretical justification that inshad references occur in a stronger affective

context which is more likely to promote relationships, and thus deserve special attention. Inshad is also more flexible, and therefore its use of referencing is more likely to reflect the group's strategy, when there is one. References in hizb, by contrast, are generally restricted to God and His Prophet.

2. Simple reference variables

a. Reference densities

For each hadra, the total number of references to any entity are counted. These counts are not very useful in themselves, since one would expect them to grow linearly with the length of the hadra, and hadras are unequal in length. Therefore each reference count is divided by the total number of words used in the inshad text (in canonical form, as always). This ratio yields the number of references per word, a number between zero and one. Thus scaled, such values are comparable from one hadra to another. Reference densities are presented as a bar graph for comparison across cases.

b. Referent counts

For each hadra, the total number of referents is tallied. Unlike the reference count, the referent count is somewhat useful in itself, as long as the hadra is not extremely short, since the total number of referents is generally limited; certainly one would not expect it to grow linearly with hadra length (as is the case with reference counts). Referent counts are presented as a bar graph, for comparison across cases.

c. Referent densities

For each hadra, the total number of referents is divided by the total number of words used in the inshad text, yielding the average number of referents per word of text. These values are presented as a bar graph, for comparison across cases.

d. Weighted referent counts and weighted referent densities

There is a problem with simply counting the number of referents, in that every referent is counted once, regardless of the number of references which refer to it. For instance, one might collect the following statistics from two hadras:

referent	hadra 1 reference counts	hadra 2 reference counts
a	1	0
b	1	0
c	2000	2000
d	2000	2000

From this data one would conclude that hadra 1 has four referents, and hadra 2 has only two. The difference between the two cases is statistically negligible, and yet if one naively counts referents the second case appears to contain 50% fewer referents.

One solution is to use a mathematically consistent system of counting a set which allows each element of a set to be weighted, such that elements with greater weights are counted "more". (Thus in the above example referents a and b would count much less than c and d in hadra 1, and the two cases would thus appear roughly equivalent.) This procedure is too technical to describe here; the interested reader can refer to the Appendix where it is presented in detail.

Applying this procedure, one can consider each referent to be weighted by the number of times it is referenced; the set of all referents is then a weighted set to be counted, and the mathematical theory can be applied. Dividing these values by the total word count produces weighted densities. Both weighted referent counts and weighted referent densities are displayed in bar chart form.

3. Contextual reference variables

a. The text as a paradigm for social-spiritual relationships

Earlier I mentioned that the relationships modelled by LP depend not only on who is referenced, but also on the context of the reference, because that context would tend to shape the relation between listener and referent. In the preceding variables, all references referring to the same referent were treated as equivalent. In the following analysis I define variables which attempt to discriminate among references according to their semantic contexts in the performed text. Such a refinement will help in differentiating the sorts of social relationships which are generated, maintained, or conditioned by the performance of a text. I begin with more definitions.

At the center of the text is the speaking ego (conventionally attributed to the author, although its identity may only be determined in performance, and then by each listener individually), whose character and salience depends on the manner and extent of its textual representation. This textual ego references other entities, directly or

indirectly, and thus constructs or reinforces social-spiritual relationships between itself and those entities. Sometimes the ego is hardly mentioned—perhaps never mentioned—at all, but it is always at least implicitly present, because if the poem is a string of assertions and requests (as I noted earlier) then there must be an asserter, and there must be a requester, even in the most impersonal praise poetry.

Each reference has a semantic context, which can be divided into two parts: attitude, and deictic mode. The former characterizes the kind of relation between speaker and referent, and the latter specifies the manner (first person, second person, third person; singular, plural) in which the reference is made. Attitudes and deictic modes can be generally characterized as conditioning the vertical and horizontal aspects of a relationships. By “vertical” I mean the degree of hierarchical distance; by “horizontal” I mean the degree of directness or immediacy (as in face-to-face relationships). These quantities are somewhat independent: there are close relations with superiors, and distant relations with equals.

For the sake of convenience, I will reuse the list of themes (described earlier) for attitudes. Thus I consider the following possible attitudes: praise, love, mystical closeness, supplication, and exhortation (the last typically reserved for addressing the listener). These attitudes are determined in the first place by the textual context of the reference (though they may be modified according to context of performance). For example, a reference to the Prophet within a context of praise (“oh beautiful kohl-eyed one”) means that the referential attitude is praise. Referential attitudes are complex, and

certainly I do not mean to suggest that they can be reduced to a simple list; the list is merely a means of performing a rough variable analysis.

Attitude is closely connected to the vertical aspects of relations. Thus supplication, and to a lesser extent praise, by which the ego humbles himself before the referent, imply a greater hierarchical distance (ego below, referent above). In love the relation is closer to equality, while in mystical closeness the very distinction between ego and referent starts to dissolve. In exhortation, on the other hand, the ego establishes itself as wiser and hence in a superior position with respect to the referent.

The term “deictic mode” is taken here to mean the pronomial form of reference. There are three cases to consider. When the referent is a spiritual entity (God, the Prophet, the Ahl al-Bayt and saints), reference may occur via second person pronouns (direct address) or third person pronouns and names (indirect, oblique address). The former tends to establish relationships of greater directness, hence greater intimacy. (There is a world of difference between supplicating “Oh, my Lord, help us...”, and “May the Lord help us”.) Likewise, when the referent is the textual listener, reference may occur via second or third person; again the former creates greater intimacy (as well as a stronger effect, and a predisposition for the listener to adopt the role of textual listener; see below). When the referent is the textual ego (self-reference), reference may occur via first person singular, first person plural, or third person. The first of these (“I”) represents the ego strongly as a an active personality in the text; the second (“we”) tends to include the listener, and thus bind him together with the ego within the total network

of references. The third (“he”) represents the ego more weakly, as only present in the poem from a point outside himself.

In terms of this theoretical apparatus, how does LP construct or reinforce social-spiritual personal relations? In the case of simple reference, discussed earlier, I noted that a reference tends to reinforce the entity-ness of an entity, to invoke its presence, and to establish a relation with it, to the extent that it is clearly denoted. The nature of that relation was left vague. Here I consider the entire process in more detail.

The text can be interpreted as a paradigm for relationships, consisting of a network of referents, each of which defines a distinct (but not necessarily unambiguous) “role”. Textually speaking, each reference to an entity other than the ego indicates a relation between the (explicit or implicit) ego (who is, *prima facie*, the text’s putative author) and the reference’s referent, a relation whose character is suggested by the attitudinal and deictic context of the reference. Thus the fundamental topology of the network is a central hub (the ego) from which radiate links, spoke-like, which connect the ego to various named referents. Each link is defined by its two end-points, in addition to its attitude and deictic mode. It is this network of referents, I suggest, which enables the text to offer a model for social-spiritual relations.

Two other factors also must be considered before I can attempt to extract such a paradigm from a text. First, each reference carries a particular level of *specificity* (or, conversely, *ambiguity*). The most specific references employ language which clearly identifies the referent; these are the “constants” of the paradigm. Vaguer references

employ language which must be interpreted by the listener in performance; these are the “variables” of the paradigm. The distinction between “constant” and “variable” is not absolute, but rather is connected in a continuum. Thus a reference may refer unambiguously to the Prophet as “Muhammad” or “habib Allah”; or it may refer with slightly more ambiguity as “*hadi al-rakb*” (“camel-leader”) or “*al-Saqi*”, metaphoric names which traditionally refer to the Prophet, but might also refer to a spiritual leader. On the other hand, a reference such as “al-habib” (the Beloved) is completely ambiguous, unless the referent is specified by context. However in the analysis performed in this thesis, I will mainly differentiate between references which are specified, and those which are ambiguous.

Second, each referent has a particular level of *presence*, explicit representation, in the text. Presence is a concept which applies to all referents, but is particularly important to consider with respect to the ego and the listener, since these two referents are always at least implicitly present. All assertions and requests which are not quotations are attributed to the ego in any case, but the level of explicit ego-presence in the text is variable. To what extent is the ego represented in the text by references? The listener, too, has a particular level of presence in the text. As is the case of the central ego, the listener may not be explicitly mentioned in the poem, but there is always at least an implicit listener-role to whom the poem is directed; this role is developed further as a consequence of the pragmatic aspect of LP: the poem’s performance in a social context,

for and to a social group. Note that presence is an attribute of the referent (not of the reference), depending on the total effect of all references, considered together.

b. The paradigm performed

So much for the abstract text. The question is: what happens when such a text is performed, and what sorts of social relationships does its paradigm for relationships—its network of referents—suggest in performance?

Relationships are established or reinforced in the minds of listeners, first of all, between the central ego and the referents, according to attitude, deictic mode, and specificity of the reference. Thus, the interpreted identity of the poetic ego is the most important factor shaping the construction or reinforcing of social-spiritual relations. When poetry is attributed to the shaykh (and it is primarily this case which I will consider), then the central ego is naturally associated with him.

But the performance will not create relationships for the listener unless he himself takes up a textual role within the paradigm of social relationships suggested by the text, by assuming a position within its network of referents. Selecting a textual role for himself is one of the listener's interpretive activities. The other is to fill in the "variables" of the paradigm whose precise identity in the text may be ambiguous, especially for those with a higher level of presence.

I suggest that there are two main possibilities by which the listener implicates himself within the performed poem:

(1) The performance listener adopts the textual listener-role, the addressee for the text's assertions, whether this referent is explicit or not. This is the "literal" role for the listener to adopt; however I argue that this is more likely to occur when that role is frequently referenced—highly *present* in the text—(i.e. when there is explicit reference to the listener) especially when the attitude is exhortative and deictic mode is 2nd person. In this case, the ego-role is usually attributed to the shaykh, especially if he is the attributed author, but often even when he isn't.

(2) The performance listener adopts the textual ego-role. Literally, this role is taken up by the shaykh (if he is the attributed author), or by the munshid (who, as performer, temporarily assumes identity of the "I"). Therefore, this is a "metaphorical" role for the listener to adopt, representing his degree of identification with shaykh, or munshid. This case is more likely to occur when the ego-role is explicitly referenced—highly *present* in the text—and developed in such a way as to facilitate the listener's identification with it. Deictically, the use of the plural first person ("we") helps to facilitate such identification, whereas use of third person ("he", or a proper name) tends to inhibit it. Absence of the exhortative attitude or strong presence of the listener role (i.e. frequency of explicit 2nd person references) also increases the likelihood of this case. (Performatively—sonically and pragmatically—it may also occur when the munshid projects expressive emotion which causes listeners to empathize with him; however this factor cannot be considered with the analytical tools available.)

These two modes can be elaborated as follows:

1) The ego-role of the poetic text is interpreted as the voice of its (attributed) author, the shaykh. The text establishes (in the minds of listeners) relationships between that author and spiritual referents, according to prevailing contextual attitudes, and the level of presence of each referent. Thus if the author is continually supplicating God, a relation of subordination between author and God is established. If the author is continually expressing mystical love for God, a relation of closeness is established. Such relationships to some extent serve as prototypes for the murid's own relationship to his shaykh, since the shaykh's relation to, say, the Prophet is bound to condition the way the murid thinks about his shaykh. Furthermore, when the listeners insert themselves into the poetic text, in the role of textual listener, the performed text becomes a message from shaykh to murid; the murid thus establishes a relation with the shaykh and—through him—to the shaykh's own web of relationships to spiritual entities.

The context of reference—attitudinal, deictic—to the textual listener is critical in conditioning this relationship between murid and shaykh. Are they addressed directly in the second person (greater familiarity) or merely referred to in the third, perhaps only hinted at? Are they perhaps addressed, together with the shaykh, in the second person plural (a usage which tends to reinforce their brotherly status together with the shaykh, as a unified and quasi-egalitarian group)? Are they addressed with an attitude of shaykhly love and compassion, or does the language employed inspire a sense of awe and fear? The language used conditions or establishes relationships for listeners to each other, to the shaykh, and to the entire spiritual cosmos by dint of their implication in the

referential web of the poetry, combined with their *a priori* social relation to the shaykh at its center.

The listener is most likely to adopt the textual listener-role when that role is explicit—highly present—in the poetry, and when the listener-role is addressed directly (deictically, “you”) through exhortation. While the textual listener-role always (at least implicitly) must exist, these conditions tend to force the listener into adopting it, because there is no one else to do so.

2) The ego-role of the poetic text is interpreted as the voice of the munshid, and, through empathy and internal identification with his sonic voice, as the inner voice of every murid.²⁰ Because listeners are followers and spiritual sons (*abna'*) of the shaykh, having taken from him the oath (*'ahd*), and because the shaykh is their most immediate exemplar (*qudwa*), a more-or-less distant reflection of the Prophet's own supreme perfection, they must at all times attempt to emulate the shaykh. Part of this task of emulation is to try to establish the shaykh's spiritual relationships for themselves. That the shaykh's spiritual relationships are a model for those of his disciples is merely one consequence of the fact that the shaykh is a model for them in general. By establishing such relationships, the murid comes closer to identifying with the shaykh; indeed his stated goal is often to annihilate his self completely in the shaykh (*fana' fi al-shaykh*).²¹

Thus it is not at all presumptuous for the murid to adopt the textual position of poetic ego; on the contrary if his shaykh is the author, he is practically required to consider this position. In this case relationships are established for listeners to each other,

and to the entire spiritual cosmos by their common act of identification with the textual ego-role of the poetry. As a consequence of this process of identification with the ego-role, the listener's link to his shaykh is evidently strengthened as well, since the text is attributed to shaykh as author. Note that the munshid himself is most likely to make the identification since the words emanate from him physically, and may have even been chosen by him (albeit from a fixed repertoire); indeed, a professional munshid may speak of attempting to connect to the author of poetry he sings, even when that author is not his shaykh at all (on the connections between munshidin and poet-saints, see Frishkopf 1996).

Frequent self-reference in the text renders such an identification easier, by creating a stronger ego-presence, with which a listener may more easily identify. Use of pronouns (rather than proper names) make the ego less specific, hence more open to adoption. If the shaykh uses a plural first-person pronoun, the murid's substitution for his shaykh's ego in the poetry becomes even more natural, because such a usage effectively sanctions such a substitution, by grouping the shaykh-ego and murid-ego in the scope of a single pronoun.

On the other hand, if the shaykh does not strongly represent himself in his own poetic text, there will be no "placeholder" with which the listener can identify. If the shaykh mentions himself by name rather by pronouns ("I" or "we"), he will also reduce the possibility of identification (by clearly specifying the referent as himself). Another factor discouraging listeners' identification with the poetic ego is the explicit and

exhortative mention of the muridin in the text, instructing them on how to think or behave; such didacticism tends to force the listener into the textual listener-role.

- c. The pragmatics of paradigm performance:
Solo inshad, group inshad, and responsorial
singing

Thus far I have not explicitly distinguished between group and solo inshad. At least as a performative act (if not inwardly), the munshid explicitly adopts the role of poetic ego, since his voice and the poet's self become identified in the act of singing. But this performative identification is likely to result in an inner identification as well. It is the more passive listener (passive, at least, with respect to the poetry being performed), I have argued, whose choice of textual role is less certain; while that choice may be conditioned by attributes of specificity, deictus, attitude and other attributes of the text *per se*, it may also depend on individual volition.

For solo inshad, there are two main cases to consider: first, when the group is concentratedly listening to the inshad (and is therefore "passive"); second, when the solo inshad accompanies group dhikr. In the first case inshad is experientially foregrounded. Meanings are clearly projected by the munshid to the group. The analysis above suggests that the way in which a listener positions himself within the performed text depends mainly upon the text itself: the ways in which references are made (especially attitude and deictus) and the presence and specificity of referents. However, dhakkira (muridin performing dhikr in the hadra) tend to foreground dhikr, and "background"

inshad. When accompanying dhikr, inshad serves a supplemental role, boosting the general level of emotional energy. Muridin describe it as encouraging the dhikr, preventing fatigue. If someone's concentration strays from the spiritual domain, inshad will help to put him back on track. On the other hand, a murid deeply engrossed in dhikr may not listen to the inshad at all. Thus in practice the social paradigm embedded in the text performed as an accompaniment to dhikr cannot be regarded as having the same impact as that which forms the intensive object of listening.

Group inshad, in which everyone participates as a munshid, tends to increase the general level of identification with the poetic ego, since all are enabled, in this textural mode, to participate in acting out the ego-role.

Responsorial singing, in which the leader sings verses, while the group responds with a *madhhab* or refrain, is more ambiguous in its effects. Often the *madhhab* is taken from the qasida itself (usually the first line), and in this case the *madhhab* may clearly express the voice of the textual ego. In this case, upon singing it the group will tend to identify with that textual ego, as embedded in the refrain, just as the solo munshid does.

But equally commonly the refrain is a standard religious formula (usually tawhid or salawat, such as "la ilaha illa Allah, Muhammad rasul Allah", or "Salla Allah 'ala Muhammad, salla Allah 'Alayhi wa sallam") in which the textual ego is only weakly present. Furthermore, such lines often are not taken from the poem at all, but rather are added specifically for the sake of creating a refrain; the same refrain-lines being re-used for all qasidas sharing the same poetic meter.²² Such lines contain no clear ego identity,

and singing them does not necessarily create any particular identification with the textual ego; this case is common for inshad of the Ja‘fariyya.

Occasionally the refrain clearly contains a textual ego distinct from that present in the body of the qasida. This situation is most apparent when the refrain serves to praise the poet (usually the shaykh) who wrote the qasida. Since no poet would praise himself, such lines indicate a contrasting textual ego-role, representing the viewpoint of the muridin. The act of responding then constitutes a kind of dialog between the main qasida ego-role (whether exhorting the muridin, supplicating God, or praising the Prophet) and the refrain ego-role (praising, supplicating, or expressing love for the shaykh). If the main qasida ego-role is associated with the shaykh, the act of performance then neatly expresses and reinforces the relation between muridin and shaykh, both semantically, and sonically-pragmatically, the dialog between solo munshid and group chorus constituting a performative metaphor for the relation between shaykh and his disciples. In this case the responding chorus will naturally enough adopt the refrain ego-role, which is distinct from the main qasida ego-role and represents their position as muridin. Such dialogs between shaykh’s voice and muridin’s voice are very effective in expressing two points of view in one LPS. We will see an example of this phenomena later on.

d. Emotion and relationships

Above I have argued that the performance of text is capable of creating, reinforcing, or maintaining relationships of the “personal” variety (as opposed to the

positional relations characteristic of administrative structures). Such relationships were said to be latent in the text through references, in a deictic and attitudinal context, and to be realized by the performance of the text in a social context in which listeners can adopt a position within it. Thus characterized, a relationship might appear as dryly abstract as a mathematical vector.

But a critical component of the personal relationship (as opposed to the positional) is its emotional depth. Personal relations are bound up with emotion, though under ordinary circumstances that emotion is not experienced, but rather is stored in a latent or potential form. When the entity with which one has such a relationship is invoked, that emotion may be released into consciousness. Likewise, the text's ability to create relationships depends upon the fact that performance (through LP in its multiple aspects) creates emotion which courses through the logical channels of the network of referents embedded in the text, making them felt, and hence socially real, at least during performance. Whatever potential relationships may be logically entailed by the murid's taking up a position within the text (whether at the ego-center, or listener-periphery), these are developed into real personal relationships only over time, and by emotional investment.

There seems to be a complex dialectic between emotion and social relation here. A relationship between a listener and a particular entity is bound up with emotion. When that entity is invoked as a referent in performance, the relationship itself is invoked. Invoking the relationship in performance causes the release of its latent store of emotion

into subjective consciousness, in a “free” form which overflows the bounds of the original relation in which it was stored, affecting everything present in consciousness at that moment. Through the individual’s expressive words and behaviors, that emotion is released into the public social space of the hadra. The act of realizing such emotion, then experiencing it in a collective and visceral form, intensifies it, and strengthens the relation into which it is normally bound. (For instance, the Sufi’s great love for the Prophet is expressed, realized, and strengthened, by mentioning the Prophet in performance.) At the same time, free emotion generated during performance from any source—from the invocation of a relationship (as described above), affective content of poetry (especially its potent symbols), the sonic substrate of melody and vocal expressivity, bodily movements, group interactions—is channelled into the logical network of referents suggested by the text. Then the relationships suggested by that network are imbued with felt substance, invested with an affective substrate, and become socially real.

The precise process by which relations invoked in performance release emotion, or by which emotion is bound into named relations during performance, is too subtle to be understood completely through any discursive analysis, and can only be described qualitatively in its broad contours. To review the main points:

- 1) The text contains an abstract network of referents, constituting a paradigm for relationships.

2) In performance, the listener adopts a position within the performed text, thus implicating himself within that network, and fills in (for himself) the variable roles. A set of logical relationships are thereby defined.

3) In performance, LP's referencing of entities with which the listener has a prior personal relation serves to invoke that relation, thereby releasing the latent emotion with which it is bound up into the listener's consciousness, and (through the listener's expressive behavior) into the public social space of the hadra, in a "free" form unbound to any particular relationship.

4) Free emotion also derives from performance itself, especially the sonic, expressive, kinesthetic, social aspects of performance: pitch, maqam, melody; vocal expressivity; rhythm, meter, macrometer; physical movement; and interaction with other participants.

5) Free emotion is invested into relationships suggested by the text's network of referents and the position of the listener within that network, thus making them socially real.

6) Free emotion is reinvested into prior relationships invoked by textual references, making them stronger.

e. Definition of variables

Having completed this lengthy but important theoretical discourse, I return to the problem of defining variables which are useful for the purpose of analyzing references in context.

Since I would like to show how references in context are capable of effecting a group-level strategy, I will examine only poetry which is attributed to the shaykh of a tariqa, i.e. poetry for which the textual ego-role can be assumed to represent the shaykh himself. Such poetry should manifest strategic patterns of reference (if any exist) more clearly than poetry which is only selected (not composed) by tariqa leaders, or which is selected by the munshid acting individually. Therefore I will restrict application of these variables to the poetry composed by Shaykh Salih and Sidi Jabir. Both tariqa founders were concerned to write poetry and use it in their hadra, and so here one may expect some patterns to emerge. In the Bayyumiyya, sung poetry is not composed by the shaykh, nor does any tariqa-wide canon exist; rather poetic decisions are made by the munshidin. While these might reflect individual-level strategies, they are unlikely to be as interesting or rich as poetry composed by the shaykh, in which the leader of the tariqa has taken control of performed language. Since the present analysis is also rather complex, I have economized by imposing this limitation.

The systematic analysis of reference in context requires that one count occurrences of several combinations of variables. To simplify matters, I divide entities into four types: (1) God, (2) the Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, and saints (that is, the shaykh's spiritual ancestors), (3) ambiguous spiritual entities, (4) the muridin. These are combined with two possible deictic modes (second person, third person), and five possible attitudes (love, praise, supplication, mystical relation, and exhortation, henceforth abbreviated: L, P, S, M, E, respectively). Finally I count references to ego in

three variables: first person singular references (“I”), first person plural references (“we”), and third person references (“he”), resulting in a total of 43 ($=4*2*5 + 3$) distinct variables. These counts are divided by the total number of words in the inshad portion of the hadra text in canonical form which were composed by the shaykh (discounting, as usual, any repeated lines in the canonical text), to obtain densities (references per word of text).

But rather than actually graph so many variables, I present only the totals for each theme, and the totals for each deictic mode, for references to God, the Prophet/Ahl al-Bayt/saints, ambiguous entities, and muridin, in addition to the (redundant) grand total for each of these four categories, plus the three variables for references to the textual ego. These variables correspond to the positions marked ‘v’ in the following tables.

References to God:

	L	P	S	M	E	Total
2nd person						v
3rd person						v
Total	v	v	v	v	v	v

References to the Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, saints:

	L	P	S	M	E	Total
2nd person						v
3rd person						v
Total	v	v	v	v	v	v

References to ambiguous spiritual entities:

	L	P	S	M	E	Total
2nd person						v
3rd person						v
Total	v	v	v	v	v	v

References to the listener:

	L	P	S	M	E	Total
2nd person						v
3rd person						v
Total	v	v	v	v	v	v

References to the ego:

S: 1st person singular	v
P: 1st person plural	v
3: 3rd person	v
Total	v

To these I add (redundantly) the totals for all spiritual entities, combined:

References to all spiritual entities

	L	P	S	M	E	Total
2nd person						v
3rd person						v
Total	v	v	v	v	v	v

d. Intertextuality and authority

The following variables are all descriptive.

1. Sources and intertextuality

Earlier, I considered the concept of intertextuality, reformulating it as “interality” so as to be applicable to sonic performance, for which the metaphor of “text” is unsuitable. Here I apply the original concept of intertextuality itself. From what source or sources are performed texts drawn? How are they generated or influenced by those sources? More abstractly, what are the larger intertexts to which the performed texts are related, and how are they related? What are the semantic associations of those intertexts, and how does the performed text’s linkage to those larger texts inform its meaning and effectiveness in performance?

2. Authorship, Authority, Authorization

Intertextuality is a phenomenon of textual interconnections and sources. Here I examine the relation of texts performed in hadra to their creative sources, as understood by listeners in performance. Such analysis is important since it is frequently these authors and authorities, and the authorization they confer upon texts, which supplies the most potent textual meanings, rather than the specific meanings of individual assertions within the text. Such a situation is typical of ritual language.

Who wrote (or is presumed to have written) the texts, and what is the authority of the author? What is the authority of the text, and on what does it depend? By what

authorization is it performed? The answers to these questions are important if one is to understand the efficacy of the text in performance.

4. Pragmatic variables

Pragmatics is that branch of the science of signs which treats the use of signs by human beings in social situations. Variables falling under the pragmatic aspect therefore includes all dimensions which are not present in the sound signal alone, namely the social, behavioral, proxemic, kinesic, and contextual aspects of performance. All pragmatic variables treated here are descriptive.

Many possible variables could be defined, but not all of these are possible strategic variables. Thus one could define, for instance, a variable which measures the number of people in attendance, or their average level of education, but these are not “independent” variables and hence are incapable of being determined by participants. Since I am interested in examining how various aspects of performance are used by modernist groups to promote their aims, I will limit variables examined to the “independent” variety: those which can be set by tariqa authorities, given a suitable level of awareness.

a. Context: Location, time, occasion

Where is the hadra held? Is it held in a mosque, zawiya, outside? Why? What are the affective or semantic associations of place; is there a significant shrine nearby? Does it belong to the tariqa, or is it borrowed for the performance?

When is the hadra held? How long does it last? Is it a regularly recurring (periodic) ritual, or held irregularly as a response to some external conditions? What are those conditions?

Does the hadra mark any other occasion? If so, what is the significance of that occasion?

b. Openness

How public is the hadra? How visible or audible? Is the location public or private? Whom does the location enable to see or hear the performance? Can outsiders view or hear it?

c. Permeability of participatory boundaries

To what extent can one participate in hadra, without being a member? Is it possible to enter the performance space, or even to take up a role? Or is it impossible for non-members to participate?

d. Roles and statuses

What are the roles in LP? How homogeneous is the group?

Who leads? Who follows? Who performs LP, and who listens? Who does what, and for whom? What is the structure of the performing group?

To what extent are performative roles distributed among participants?

How does the allocation of roles define subgroups, and relations among them?

How do the roles of performance index or reinforce statuses and positions?

e. Control and communication

Who controls LP in hadra? What are the channels of communication and feedback which constitute the control system?

To what extent is the control system hierarchical? To what extent is control centralized?

f. Geometry

What is the human geometry of LP in hadra? Where are participants during performance, in relation to each other, and in relation to the performance space? In which directions do they face? What are their postures (standing, sitting, etc.)? Is the geometry fixed, or variable, over the course of the performance? What is the relation of geometry to LP? Does the group cluster into subgroups? If so, what is their interrelation? What is the significance of the subgroups? How do position, direction, posture, and clustering relate to the social structure of the tariqa as a whole? How do they index and reinforce statuses, positions, and relations among individuals?

g. Physical movement

What movements accompany LP?

What is the range of movement?

To what extent are these movements coordinated, unified?

h. Behavioral energy

To what extent are participants active or passive? Here, activity means generating energy in performance, through significant physical or verbal behavior. More specifically, LP is considered to be active, while listening is considered to be passive. Naturally, the level of activity will vary with the LPS and individual participant. Therefore I consider roughly the proportion of performance time spent active (in group or solo/group call-response formats) and passive (listening) for the ordinary participant.

What is the total energy output in performance, in behavioral and verbal energy? Naturally this quantity varies with the individual and LPS. Here I consider it as averaged across the performance. Which performances produce more (or less) energy per unit time, on average?

i. Freedom

To what extent are participants given freedom in performance? Clearly the degree of freedom may vary with the LPS; here I consider freedom in a general way across performance. At one extreme, all speech and action is precisely determined either by ritual form, or by authoritative control. At the other extreme, every participant is individually free, within wide limits, to behave as he likes. One should also consider who has this freedom, if freedom is not granted equally to all participants.

j. Unity

To what extent is the group behaviorally cohesive during performance? Unity tends to imply less freedom, but sometimes individuals may sacrifice their freedom for the sake of group solidarity.

Notes for Chapter 7

¹ The notion of self losing its identity in that of the group is a social parallel to the Sufi spiritual concept of *fana`* (annihilation of the ego), in which the individual self ceases to exist.

² Thus a hypothetical standard for sound recording would be to record a track for every participant by means of a microphone mounted a certain number of centimeters from his or her mouth.

³ It may be interesting to note that the irregular backwards jump is not characteristic of *inshad* only, but rather applies to nearly all forms of improvised solo vocal textual performance in Egypt, including Qur'anic recitation (in the *mujawwad* style), the religious genre of *ibtihalat*, the *mawwal*, and performance of *qasidas* (whether religious or not) in the old urban Arabic music tradition.

⁴ The concept of syllable is not recognized in traditional Arabic poetics. However vowels and consonants are distinguished, and in the traditional meters (*buhur*) the units are effectively equivalent to these three kinds of syllable.

⁵ Measuring the size of a pitch set is not as trivial as it may seem; see PS below.

⁶ A more precise definition is not possible without introducing mathematical complexity. Suffice it to say that this variable attempts to measure the range of pitches which comprise the core pitch set.

⁷ One could choose another word entirely, but the idea of a word formed only of prefixes and suffixes (by ejecting the central "text") is appealing: "inter" denoting a relation between expressive systems, "interal" describing the idea of such a relation, and "interality" denoting the abstract concept.

⁸ It would perhaps be better to compute the aggregate duration of each type. But since the *munshid* may frequently switch from one type to another, such a computation would be difficult. I base measurements instead upon the canonical form, since I have presented a theoretical justification for its significance.

⁹ Waugh (1989:126-130) has performed a similar binary classification in his analysis.

¹⁰ This brief allusion to Austin's work hardly does justice to the potential his theory of illocutionary force (and its subsequent development by Searle) might contribute to a theory of the influence of LP in ritual. Note however that the concept of the "illocution" (an act performed *in* saying something) which he made famous is far less important than the "perlocution" (an act performed *by* saying something) in considering the effects of LP in hadra: while he focusses on the former, I focus on the latter (while extending "saying" to "language performance" in its four aspects).

¹¹ See Schimmel 1975:86ff, also Trimmingham 1971:264ff, who argues that the term Qalandari is more appropriate for this tendency.

¹² The bipolar combination of the spiritual and the sensual in Sufi metaphors is reminiscent of the bipolar symbols excavated by Victor Turner during his fieldwork among the Ndembu in Africa. According to Turner, the power of such a symbol derives from its polarization of meaning, in which ideological significata at one end are consolidated with physiological significata at the other. Ideology thus becomes strengthened through saturation with visceral physiological emotion (as mediated by the symbol), while the physiological is ennobled by contact with higher social values (Turner 1967). At least the first half of this process, *mutatis mutandis*, would appear to be applicable as an explanation of the emotional power and utility of Sufi metaphors bridging the realms of the spiritual and the sensual, the main difference being that in the Sufi case the energization of the symbol is at the cost of a (deliberate) violation of religious propriety.

¹³ In his fine introduction to a translation of Ibn al-Farid's poetry, Arberry (1956:13-16) provides a detailed analysis of love imagery encountered in that poet's diwan.

¹⁴ Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami, premier Sufi munshid in Egypt, was said to have been sternly criticized in a sermon delivered by the famous fundamentalist preacher 'Abd al-Hamid Kishk, for singing a line of al-Hallaj (al-Hallaj 1955:46): "Ra'ytu rabbi bi 'ayni qalbi"(I saw my Lord with the eye of my heart).

¹⁵ Occasionally a munshid will break forth into Suriyaniyya, language of angels and jinn (see Waugh 1989:50). This phenomenon, sometimes called *lisan al-hal* (tongue of hal) is equivalent to the "speaking in tongues" of some churches in the U.S

¹⁶ I note again that when counting words, lines which repeat within the canonic text are counted once only.

¹⁷ When asked how one could strengthen one's religious faith, the Prophet is said to have replied: "Say 'la ilaha illa Allah' ("there is no deity but God") often."

¹⁸ In this vein it is interesting to compare mainstream Sufi dhikr with a more magical conception of dhikr. Thus one Sufi shaykh explained (and others have confirmed) that if one were to repeat the Name "ya Latif" a certain number of times, the servant of the Name (some say angel, others say jinn) would

descend, materializing in stages: first his bottom half, then his top half, and finally his head, which would be extremely wide, and would bellow fearfully: "What do you want?!!!". If you answered that you were merely worshipping, he would leave you; otherwise you could make a request, but you would have to be extremely strong to bear this experience. This sort of invocation is similar to the magical usage of the jinn so common in Arabic folktales, and has nothing to do with remembering God. A neat semiotic interpretation is suggested. The servant of the Name is the Name itself, as a signifier. When the servant of the Name asks whether you are worshipping God or not, he is really asking: "Do you intend the reference, or the referent?" If the latter, then he disappears, and allows you to contemplate God (the signified: true meaning of the Name) thus completing the signification process; if the former, then God is not intended, and the servant (who is nothing other than the signifier itself) remains.

¹⁹ One highly educated Sufi compared the omnipresence of a saint to the wave nature of matter as defined in quantum mechanics. The latter states that every particle is spread over the entire universe, but with a probability density which accounts for its being found with greater likelihood in a particular range of spatial positions. Similarly the saint is everywhere at once, but more present at the maqam.

²⁰ The munshid is not intrinsically an elevated spiritual position in itself. The ordinary munshid is thus a kind of step-down transformer, demonstrating, through the practice of his performance, the possibility of adopting the shaykh-voice as one's own. On the other hand, if, as sometimes occurs, the shaykh-author himself is the munshid, then the listener's identification with the poet's voice is difficult, since in this case performance serves to emphasize the poetic ego as the shaykh's own.

²¹ The concept of *fana' fi al-shaykh* in Egyptian Sufism is discussed in Hoffman 1995: 140-1, 203-4.

²² Thus in Shadhili hymnals containing *qasidas* for *inshad* performance one frequently finds all the *madhhabs* (refrains) presented together at the end. These refrains are divided into groups, based on poetic meter. For each group, there are instructions indicating which *qasidas* can be accompanied by a *qasida* of that group, the unstated principle being compatibility of *bahr* (poetic meter). When performing from such a hymnal the lead munshid will select a *qasida*, as well as one refrain from among the group of refrains with which it is compatible. The loose relation between refrains and *qasidas*, in addition to the fact that such refrains are generally composed of standard religious formulas, indicates that the refrain does not carry the same ego as the *qasida* itself.

8. The Application and Interpretation of Analysis (I)

The following two chapters will describe the practical implementation of some of the variables described in the previous chapter, present analytical results, and interpret them in terms of the existence and operation of strategies at the individual or group levels. This analysis is used in at least three ways. Sometimes I will use variable values as evidence of group-level strategies (or the absence thereof). Other times I will interpret variable values as representing such strategies through LP, and will want to suggest how such values may be useful in realizing these strategic goals. Finally, I may interpret some variable values as a more passive expression of the group and its condition, resulting from the combined effects of individual strategies (summed across the group) and hysteresis (the inertia of the past, which causes it to continue into the future). The underlying assumption is that nothing in hadra performance is entirely devoid of strategy, considered broadly as a practical response for maximizing some interests given particular conditions. But not all strategies are formulated at the group level or within recent times, and therefore not all strategies will contribute to the success of the Sufi tariqa in the modern period.

Each individual has interests (spiritual experience, status, material satisfaction, and so forth) and naturally will adjust his behaviors to maximize these quantities, according to his position within the surrounding social space. The higher an individual's levels of awareness of his own position within that social space, the more elaborate and

effective that response can be toward promoting individual interests. If the level of awareness is low, the individual may merely respond reflexively to his situation. When the level of awareness is high, the individual may be able to respond with a more elaborate and considered strategy.

When an individual strongly identifies with a group, he will naturally adjust his behaviors toward what he perceives as the interests of the group as a whole: the general survival of the group according to the principles of its founder, maintenance of central control, and expansion. The more the individual identifies with the group, and the higher the individual's levels of awareness of the group's position within the surrounding social space, the more elaborate and effective his response can be toward promoting these group interests. When a sufficiently large fraction of the group, including at least the group's central authority, identify themselves strongly with the group, and share a set of common goals, then one can speak of a group response toward those group interests. When the level of awareness is lower, such a response is merely reflexive; when the level of awareness is high, group-level strategic responses may be formulated to structure the group effectively.

Formulation of group-level strategies depends on several conditions. It requires an awareness of the group's position within the surrounding social space, at least at the center; this condition in turn entails group cohesion and centralization, without which the group cannot be conscious of itself, even at its center. Such cohesion and centralization is also necessary if strategies thus formulated are to be distributed and enacted at the

group's periphery. Therefore decentralized or loosely structured groups generally will not be able to develop effective strategic responses to their social positions, or even to be aware of what those social positions are.

Even with an infinite capacity for self-awareness, the freedom available for strategic decision-making is always limited by the social space, considered to consist of a set of fields, especially the field of Islam in modern Egypt. These limitations are logically prior, imposed upon the individual, and consequently constrain the group as a whole. Thus the possibilities are never unbounded, even if they are infinite.

But when self-awareness (by individual or group) is limited, then some of the potential freedom for strategic decision-making may go unused. How then can one maintain that, in effect, everything is strategic? The neglect of strategic possibilities at any moment in time, due to lower levels of self-awareness, results in what I term a "strategic vacuum": an area of group or individual behavior which could be actively determined, but is not. What fills such vacuums? A strategic vacuum at the group level is filled by individual strategizing, or hysteresis. A strategic vacuum at the individual level is filled by hysteresis.

Let us consider this issue in more detail with respect to the hadra. When contemporary group strategy neglects to determine a component of performance as a response to current group conditions within the social space, that component may be blindly copied from the past without change, or with some degree of erosion (by which is meant an unintended decrease in the perfection of its execution). At some point in the

past the component was determined as a result of active strategy (individual or group), but no such strategy is active in the present. This unquestioning, uncritical reception is called hysteresis: the tendency of the past to continue forward into the future due to reproduction at the level of the habitus, to return to Bourdieu's term. The strategic vacuum is filled from the past. Such hysteresis may not be a good adaptation to the present, and it represents a deficiency in the level of strategy. The other possibility is that the vacuum is not filled from the past, and hence results in individual freedom. In this case, individual-level strategy will fill the vacuum.

When a tariqa is strongly centralized and cohesive, vacuums will tend to be fewer. The central authority will be able to formulate effective strategies, and distribute and enact them throughout the tariqa. Independent variables of hadra LP performance, in particular, ought to reflect and represent those strategies, which among other things will generally serve to guarantee the continued social-spiritual centralization and cohesion of the group.

On the other hand, a tariqa which is decentralized and loosely structured will evince more strategic vacuums, since such a tariqa lacks the conditions necessary to formulate an effective strategy at its center. Nor is it able to disseminate and implement such strategies throughout the tariqa. Therefore one will find that the independent variables of LP performance during hadra, in particular, will tend to represent either unquestioning replication of the past (hysteresis), or individual level strategies, both of which serve to fill the vacuums left by the absence of group strategization.

By analyzing four hadras I attempt to demonstrate this hypothesis. I have indicated that the Ja'fariyya and the Jazuliyya are both highly successful turuq when contrasted with the Bayyumiyya. I suggested that the reason for this success is their ability to formulate, disseminate, and enact effective group-level strategies, an ability which relies on at least two factors: (1) greater centralized control and cohesion, and strong individual identification with the group, resulting in part from their still-early phase of development, and (2) formation during the modern period and consequent sensitivity to the modern social space during the critical initial phases during which a tariqa is defined.

In this chapter I want to show exactly how these strategies are represented in LP. To do this, I will apply the variables developed in the preceding theoretical chapter to the LPSs of four particular hadras. These variables are all "independent variables" which can (in principle) be "set" by the tariqa which is able to formulate group-level strategy. From this analysis I will attempt to demonstrate the existence of group-level strategies in the two newer turuq, or to show how such strategies are effectively represented in performance. For the Bayyumiyya, I will attempt to use the results of analysis to indicate their lack of group-level strategy, showing that most parameters of Bayyumiyya LP in hadra can be attributed to hysteresis, or to individual level strategy.

The analysis which follows is based upon instances of the hadras presented in the foregoing ethnography in Chapter 6. Although these are to be considered "typical" hadras for their respective turuq, no statistical rigor can be made from examining a single

case, and certain features may appear which do not appear in other laylas, or vice versa. Special caution should be applied to numerical values, which should be interpreted as merely representative values, not fixed (or even average) values. However anomalies and features particularly susceptible to variation will be indicated wherever possible.

The following abbreviations for the hadras analyzed will henceforth be used:

- **Bm** = Bayyumiyya mosque: central tariqa hadra (recorded after salat al-jum'a (Friday communal prayer) at the mosque of Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumiyya, al-Husayniyya, Cairo on Friday, April 24, 1998)
- **Bh** = Bayyumiyya house: local chapter hadra (recorded after salat al-'isha' (night prayer) in Madinat al-Nur, Zawiya al-Hamra', Cairo on Monday, June 16, 1997)
- **Jf** = Ja'fariyya: central tariqa hadra (recorded after salat al-maghrib (sunset prayer) at the mosque of Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari, Darrasa, Cairo on Thursday, February 19, 1998)
- **Jz** = Jazuliyya: central tariqa hadra (recorded after salat al-'isha' (night prayer) in Qayt Bay, Cairo on Thursday, December 12, 1996)

Partial transcriptions of the syntactic and semantic aspects of these hadras can be located in the Appendix.

A. *Sonic analysis*

In this section I review, compare, and interpret sonic analysis for five LP types: hizb, dhikr, solo inshad, solo inshad with dhikr, and group inshad. Analyses are based on focused and comparative listening, together with transcriptions and measurements. Timing and tempo analysis was facilitated by specially designed software in order to record and process real-time events. Not all variables are evaluated for every type of LP, but only those which suggest an interpretable contrast between performances. When a

particular variable is unsuitable for a particular hadra, I indicate the value 'NA' ('not applicable')

Not all LP types are analyzed for every hadra, since not all exist. In the following table, the LP types which exist in each hadra are marked with an 'x', and are analyzed below.

	Hizb	Dhikr	Inshad as dhikr prelude	Inshad with dhikr	Group inshad
Bm	x	x	x	x	
Bh	x	x	x	x	
Jf	x	x			x
Jz	x	x	x	x	x

1. Hizb

Note that Jz contained two hizbs on this occasion (as it often does): the Qur'anic sura "Ya Sin", and the poem of Sidi Jabir, "al-Da'wa al-Rabbaniyya"; when this resulted in two variable values they are presented separated by a comma (respectively for "Ya Sin" and "al-Da'wa al-Rabbaniyya").

a. Temporality

	Rhythmic type	Pulse definition	Meter	Temporal unity
Bh	heightened speech	none	none	low
Bm	heightened speech	none	none	low/med
Jz	heightened speech, metric	none, high	none, simple macro	med/high, high
Jf	heightened speech	none	none	high

1. Rhythmic type, pulse definition, meter

Hizb is text-centered ritual language, whose spiritual efficacy depends upon its correct performance. Rhythmic type is therefore generally heightened speech, so as to

remain as close as possible to the contours of the text, while providing definite rhythms which serve to synchronize the group and thus maintain some textual clarity. Pulse and meter are avoided, as a means of respecting the natural contours of the text, and maintaining a close relation to Qur'anic recitation, which is never pulsed (the hizb generally contains Qur'an, and is recited in the same style even when it does not). This style of performance is sanctioned by tradition, and while it does serve to affirm connections to the larger Sufi world, it indicates hysteresis rather than active strategy.

The noteworthy exception is the second Jazuliyya hizb, "al-Da'wa al-Rabbaniyya". While members of the group consider this poem to be a form of hizb (and it is listed with the other hizbs in their diwan), they perform it as simple group inshad with metric rhythms, regular pulse, and meter. The uniqueness of performing a hizb as inshad suggests the existence of a group-level strategy. Psychologically, metric rhythms serve to unify the group and focus emotional energy to a much higher pitch than would be possible in traditional hizb performance styles. This non-traditional style of hizb performance is also a means of signifying the tariqa's break with tradition, an affirmation of this tariqa's distinctive modernity. Yet this innovation is coupled with another one: the hizb is a poem, and does not contain Qur'an. To recite a hizb containing Qur'an in inshad style would be too sharp a break with tradition; when the group recites a hizb which does contain Qur'an (as in their first hizb recited here, the Qur'anic sura "Ya Sin") they perform in the traditional manner.

2. Temporal unity

The greater temporal disunity among the Bayyumiyya hadras indicates the absence of a group-level strategy, the consequence of a decentralized tariqa with low cohesion and relatively diffuse social boundaries. The supposition that such disunity could be a deliberate group-level strategy can be swiftly eliminated. First, it is difficult to see what practical advantages could accrue to such a strategy. More importantly, the social data suggest that disunity is a product of weak central control, resulting in a strategic vacuum concerning hizb performance. This vacuum is filled by individual strategy, by which each participant attempts to tailor his performance to his own particular preferred style of expression rather than attempting to conform with the others.

In the local Bayyumiyya hadra (Bh) the group is so open as to include members of a diverse group of turuq which changes every week, and not all of whom know the hizb well; there is no clear leader, and therefore unity is low. In the Bayyumi mosque hadra, the *shaykh al-sajjada* is the nominal leader, but he rarely attends, leaving the central prayer rug empty (itself a fine index of the lack of centralized control in the group). The general low level of corporate unity in this group, combined with the absence of a strong leader results in a rather disunified performance.

The much higher temporal unity among the two modern groups indicates group strategy, since such levels of unity cannot be achieved through the mere superposition of individual behavior. (Another factor which also indicates the presence of strategy is the

distribution of prayer books containing the hizb among the Ja'fariyya and Jazuliyya; the Bayyumiyya mainly recite from memory and so the overall precision of the recitation is left somewhat to chance.) The highest temporal unity is found among the Ja'fariyya, whose hadra is completely disciplined and controlled; precise declamation of the hizb serves to reinforce tariqa values such as maintaining an orthodox appearance, and respecting the social hierarchy. Such strong unity is emotionally limiting, but is also entirely compatible with the tariqa's emphasis on propriety and ordered relationships.

Slightly less strictly unified is the first Jazuliyya hizb, testimony to this tariqa's greater acceptance of individual difference resulting from emotional engagement. In order to create a strong social unity, rather than a mere performative unity, the Jazuliyya encourage small timing differences enabling individual expression, which in turn fosters a higher emotional level. For the Jazuliyya, the spirit of brotherhood is more important than sheer mechanical precision. Unity is judged higher in the second hizb due to the presence of musical meter; however here too one can observe slight variations among performers.

b. Tonality

	Pitch definition	Intonation	Updrift	Tonal unity
Bh	low/med	low	high	very low
Bm	med	low/med	high	low
Jz	high, high	med, med/high	low, med	high, med
Jf	high	high	low	high

All groups employ tonal recitation for hizb performance. The lower pitch definition and intonation for Bh and Bm can not result from group strategy, since there is neither obvious advantage to such a sound, nor any center which could be pinpointed as the source of such a strategy. Indeed, the levels of these two variables vary considerably from central to peripheral hadra (Bm to Bh), a further indication that they result from no group-wide strategy. Rather, these values appear to result from the superposition of individual freedom, a strategic vacuum which allows each individual to express himself tonally at a comfortable pitch range, and to express a very high level of emotionality, leading to shouting or imprecise intonations.

The Ja'fariyya and Jazuliyya, by contrast, employ well-defined pitch sets performed accurately and in unison, as a means of promoting group unity, as well as to display their firm organization and discipline to outsiders. In the Ja'fariyya case, pitch is so well-defined as to preclude any individuality; the group chants as one. As in the case of temporal unity, such strict tonal control tends to reduce the generation of emotion, but this is a practical step in maintaining the sober discipline which characterizes the tariqa.

Tonal updrift is a natural choral phenomenon resulting from lack of control, and increasing energy of expression. In Jz and Jf updrift is more restricted, a sign of greater central control, and a means of displaying that control, since unrestricted updrift inevitably leads to low tonal unity and low pitch definition. In the case of Jz updrift is simply limited, in practice by the presence of a strong leader and PA system, which tends to keep everyone together. The case of the Jf is interesting. There is updrift, but all pitch-rise occurs at discrete moments, after precisely 33 repetitions of particular dhikr formulas which are interspersed within the hizb. These pitch rises of exactly a whole step, cued by the dhikr leaders, demonstrate a level of deliberate control over tonality not present in any of the other groups.

c. Melody

	Form	Phrase temporal aspects	Freedom
Bh	unformed	unpulsed speech	med/hi
Bm	unformed	unpulsed speech	med
Jz	unformed, simple	unpulsed speech, simple macrometer	low, low
Jf	complex	unpulsed speech	very low

1. Form

The traditional hizb is unformed. Although the melodic range is limited, the hizb is a lengthy text which is essentially “through composed”; though particular phrases may be repeated several times using the same melodic setting, the majority are not.

The striking exception among these examples is in Jf. I claim that this hizb is strategically valuable in maintaining social cohesion and hierarchy. The structure of the

Ja'fariyya hizb supports a complex performance order, consisting of a series of sections each of which repeats a fixed number of times, separated by a fixed refrain. Within the hizb are embedded dhikr segments, and these too are defined by definite repeat counts. Since textual repeats recur with the same melody, the result is a highly complex melodic form (although melodically simple). This format has the effect of ensuring a high degree of order in a long hizb performance (as long as an hour), which in turn reflects and conditions the underlying social cohesion of the group. The repetitions within the hizb serve to inculcate both text and melody, while the short refrain provides a familiar point of return; if anyone has become lost, he will be able to rejoin the group at these points. Furthermore, the performance leaders exercise formal control. They count the repetitions of each section, and keep track of when it is time to make the transition from one section to the next. Therefore these points of transition serve as an affirmation of their special status and leadership role. In this way the Jf hizb also asserts the characteristic hierarchical (vertical) structure of the group more than the hizbs of other groups which contain fewer points of transition of this type.

As for Jz, the first hizb is traditional, and indeed most of their hizbs are of the traditional type, indicating passive reception from the past (hysteresis). However this "strategic vacuum" is relatively small, since hizb occupies a relatively minor role in their hadra (in comparison to the Jf hizb which occupies the entire period from sunset to night prayer; see transcription in Appendix). The second hizb exhibits a simple melodic form in its strophic repetitive structure. This repetitive melody serves to unify the group while

building emotion; it also marks the group as distinctly non-traditional. While it fails to maintain the solemnity and strict hierarchy characteristic of Jf, such qualities are not desirable in the more egalitarian Jazuliyya group, whose cohesion depends on strong personal bonds among group members (horizontal relations) which are reinforced through shared visceral experiences such as hizb performance provides.

2. Phrase temporal aspects

Phrases in hizb recitation traditionally follow the “natural” contours of the spoken text (just as in the case of rhythmic type) as a means of imposing as little extraneous sonic shape as possible on the text itself. Only the second Jazuliyya hizb is the exception, resulting from its strophic form, which appears to be strategic for the reasons discussed above.

3. Melodic freedom

Overall, freedom in performance is inversely related to central control and group solidarity. Restraint of individual freedom is a sign of group-level strategy, although the converse is not necessarily true since freedom can also be effective in achieving group-level aims. The least freedom occurs in the two modernist groups, signalling the existence of such strategies. However the Jazuliyya permit a slightly greater measure of freedom than the Ja‘fariyya. Generally, individual freedom, empowering the individual, undermines relations of hierarchy which depend on control. However such freedom also enables individual expression and thus creates a higher level of emotionality, which in

turn supports group solidarity based on horizontal relations on which this tariqa is based. In the Ja'fariyya, whose social structure is based more on vertical relations, it is important to restrict freedom more completely so as to avoid emotional expression which might subvert the hierarchy of control.

d. Texture

	LP groups	Non-LP groups	Intra-group unity
Bh	one group	none	low
Bm	one group	none	low/med
Jz	one group, one group	none, clapping	med/high, med
Jf	one group	none	high

1. LP groups, non-LP groups

Hizb is traditionally recited in one LP group, thus serving to emphasize the solidarity and equality of the group. This is the format to which all four cases adhere. There is never any accompanying non-LP part, except the handclap in the second Jazuliyya hizb which serves to maintain a constant meter. However it is interesting to note that during performance of the Jazuliyya hizb, the microphone was being tested. Even if this is not such a consistent feature of performance as to be included as part of the texture, the aleatoric effect of the superposition of hizb and microphone tester, together with the relatively short length of the hizb itself, serves as an indicator of the lesser emphasis placed on this segment of performance, as compared to the other groups. One feature common to many modernist groups is a move away from purely ritual language (of which hizb and dhikr are the prime examples) designed primarily for its spiritual effects, toward more communicative or affective language, which is more able

to effect social control. This phenomenon is most marked in Jz, where the formal ritual segments of hadra play a relatively minor role.

2. Intra-group unity

Textural unity is a means of demonstrating and reinforcing an underlying social solidarity. At the same time, the existence of such solidarity, together with centralized control, are the structural conditions which enable a group to enforce a performative unity. Therefore unity in hizb performance tends to be higher in the modernist groups, which fulfill these conditions. The traditional groups Bm and Bh are by contrast unable to do so, and the consequent lack of unity in the texture (along tonal, rhythmic, and other lines) is not group-level strategic, but merely results from the sum of individually motivated behaviors.

The lesser unity in Jz can be attributed to a deliberate group-level strategy of allowing limited individual emotional expression, as a means of supporting affective cohesion of the group: the collective or horizontal solidarity on which this group is based. Unity during the second hizb (“al-Da‘wa al-Rabbaniyya”) is less due to usage of microphone, which serves to raise the total energy level. By contrast the greater unity in Jf can be attributed to a group-level strategy of ensuring strict hierarchical control, supporting this group’s defining characteristic: hierarchical or vertical solidarity. (See discussion of previous variables—temporal unity, tonal unity, melodic freedom—all of which involve the same points.)

e. Timbre

	Vocal smoothness	Accent	Articulation	Expressivity	Unity
Bh	low	hi	low	high	low
Bm	low/med	med/hi	med	high	low/med
Jz	med, med	med, med	high, high	med, high	med, med
Jf	high	low/med	high	low	high

These timbral variables all indicate similar patterns. Greater smoothness, lower accent, and higher unity all serve as sonic demonstrations and fortifications of group discipline and cohesiveness, marking solidarity for members and outsiders alike. When combined with high articulation the text is also rendered clear, and thus its meaning is activated for participants. Jf presents the extreme case, while in Jz slightly lower levels of vocal smoothness and unity, and higher levels of accent, enable greater timbral expressivity which is yet another example of this group's tendency to favor a looser but emotional unity over the more precise performative unity of Jf. The relative lack of central control in the Bayyumiyya is manifested in lower smoothness, articulation, and unity; and higher accent and expressivity.

f. Energy

	Avg dynamic level	Avg individual output	Unity
Bh	med/high	high	med
Bm	med/high	med	low
Jz	low/med, high	low, med	high, low
Jf	low/med	low	high

Restriction of individual energy output tends to be a sign of group-level strategy, since individuals in hadra otherwise tend to express themselves forcefully. This fact becomes clear upon observation of public hadras, outside the control of the turuq.

Similarly, unity in dynamic level is a sign of such strategies, since individuals uncontrolled will tend to display a variety of dynamic levels. As we have seen previously in the case of other variables, restriction and unity serve both to display and reinforce the solidarity and discipline of the group. On the other hand, the average dynamic level depends on the number of persons present, and requires further interpretation in each case.

Both total dynamic level and individual output tend to be higher among the Bayyumiyya, since in these hadras relatively high individual freedom, and individual expectation of developing a strong emotional state, leads to a forceful recitation; in the mosque performance is somewhat more restrained at the individual level, but compensated by the greater number of participants present. At the same time, there is relatively little unity in energy output, especially in the mosque; while some participants are shouting with maximum force, others are relatively quiet.

The modernist orders are far more restrained, and unity is much higher, representing their use of these sonic parameters as a means of expressing and generating group solidarity and discipline. As before, the second Jazuliyya hizb is exceptional: because only a small number of participants are amplified, the dynamic level is much higher, and unity is much lower. However this situation does not reflect any lack of unity at the level of individual output, as is the case in the Bayyumiyya hadras. Although use of amplification contributes to a less coherent auditory presentation, it also produces a more ecstatic ethos, which supports the group's underlying emotional unity.

g. Relation to text

	Melisma	Formal support	Clarity
Bh	none	NA	low
Bm	none	NA	med
Jz	none, none	NA, yes	med/high, med
Jf	none	NA	high

Priority of the text over musical considerations precludes use of melisma in hizb performance. Since there is no regular textual form, the concept of formal support does not apply, strictly speaking. However, one may observe that the sonic substrate primarily supports the irregular textual rhythm formed by the surface of the phonemic sequence, as well as sentence structure, since the *finalis* will usually fall at the end of a sentence. This is the traditional strategy, one inherited from long usage in the past, for clarifying the text, and for avoiding the association of a sacred text with singing.

An evidently newer strategy for the performance of hizb occurs in the case of the second Jazuliyya hizb, whose *shatras* (hemistiches) are matched by a recurring strophic melody, the sonic substrate clearly supporting the textual form. By this device the group is unified more tightly than is possible in traditional forms of recitation, and the cyclic metric melody creates a high level of emotion (which serves the general Jazuliyya strategy of employing ecstasy in hadra for individual as well as social goals); however the natural rhythm of text is no longer supported, reducing clarity and reducing the pure text-centeredness of the recitation. Singing the hizb in this way is non-traditional; however the future-looking Jazuliyya group actively seeks means of making a decisive break from the past, and this is one means of doing so.

Textual clarity is a sign of group-level strategy. Clarity may be relatively unimportant to individual motivations, since the individual understands what he is reciting, even when the aggregate sound is unclear. But at the level of the group clarity serves to signify central control, propriety, discipline, and respect for the text and its message. At the same time, clarity cannot be produced without a group-level strategy for doing so, since individuals left to their own devices will not be unified enough to produce a clear recitation, even if all have correctly memorized the same text. Although patterns of clear recitation can be inherited from the past, such hysteresis does not obviate the need for the contemporary central authority to work continuously so as to guard against the natural disintegration of clarity which will tend to occur as new members join, and old members die or leave.

Data on clarity support the notion that modernist groups actively control LP through strategy. While the second Jz hizb is somewhat less clear, this is due to its performance in a radically different style, which is itself a deliberate move toward emotionality, and not due to individual variation within a “strategic vacuum”. However, in Bm mediocre clarity results from weak central control, while in Bh low clarity results from the near absence of control.

A possible explanation for the generally lower level of clarity in Jz when compared to Jf across all genres of LP is the following. I mentioned that precise enunciation serves as an expression of formal veneration for the text, which is thereby put on a pedestal, as it were. Thus Qur’anic recitation is highly regulated by a complex

system of rules, called *tajwid*. One might argue that in general extremely high regard for precise enunciation of a text indicates an attitude of detached reverence toward it. The precision of Ja‘fariyya recitations—in hizb as well as in inshad—indicate such an attitude. Because these texts were composed by their shaykhs (the hizb by Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris; inshad by Shaykh Salih), this attitude reflects and reinforces a corresponding attitude to the texts’ composers. LP thus expresses and constructs a social relation to the shaykh, and that relation is hierarchical and unequal, in conformity with what I have indicated as the central social principle of the tariqa. In the Jazuliyya one finds the reverse; texts composed by Sidi Jabir, especially inshad, need not be recited so precisely, indicating the greater familiarity of these texts. It is not that members do not respect the text, but rather that they value it as a familiar intimate, with whom a relation of formal and restrained reverence is insufficient. Rather, they desire a close and emotional relationship, reflecting and reinforcing their relationship to the text’s author, Sidi Jabir. In both cases, textual clarity can be seen as an index and supporter of the principle relation between murid and shaykh: vertical-distant in the Ja‘fariyya, horizontal-close in the Jazuliyya.

h. Other variables

	Interality	Total freedom
Bh	group tajwid	med/high
Bm	group tajwid	med
Jz	group tajwid, inshad	low/med, low/med
Jf	group tajwid	low

1. Interality

Traditionally, hizb performance demonstrates interality with group Qur'an *tartil* (the melodically restrained form of recitation), with its focus on text and use of a narrow melodic compass. This is traditional, and natural since much of hizb text is drawn from the Qur'an, yet the same style is applied to other hizb texts as well, containing for instance du'a', salawat, or madih. Interality is a device by which these associations of power, sacredness, and awe which accompany Qur'anic recitation can be invoked in the presence of other texts.

The second Jazuliyya hizb deviates from this stylistic model, adopting the model of inshad instead. I have already argued that this deviation indicates an active strategy, and that it serves to generate a more ecstatic emotional response, while marking a symbolic break with tradition.

2. Total freedom

In hizb there is a generally higher value placed on correct performance than in other genres of LP. Therefore, freedom in hizb performance is low relative to other forms of LP. I have already considered melodic freedom; here I consider all aspects of

freedom (including timbre, texture, and so on). The centrally controlled modernist groups (Jz and Jf) restrict freedom as a means of ensuring that the text be both respected and heard. The traditional groups (Bh and Bm) are unable to do so, and therefore freedom is higher.

i. Summary and interpretation of hizb analysis

Modernist groups tend to control hizb performance more sharply, leading to higher group unity, as well as a higher degree of propriety and solemnity, considered more suitable for these texts, particularly when Qur'an is included in them. The exception is the second Jazuliyya hizb, which is a poem by the shaykh; performed as inshad at a higher emotional level, it does not contain the same degree of solemnity. However, here too there is a high degree of group unity in all sonic aspects; indeed in some respects (e.g. rhythmic) use of meter and strophic melody enables a higher level of unity, and corporate emotion resulting from group singing also serves to unify the group.

Through such control, here termed group-level performance strategy, these groups not only express a higher level of group solidarity and centralization, but also reinforce them. A more hierarchical and sober performance style in Jf serves to reinforce that group's vertical basis for social solidarity, while a more collective and emotional performance style in Jz serves to reinforce that group's horizontal basis. Particular practices can also serve to assert a connection to tradition (Jf) or a break from that tradition (Jz). They also serve to formulate the group's public image, as a well-disciplined group projecting a particular ethos: emotionally charged (Jz) or solemn (Jf).

This public image is important both for attracting members, and for reassuring potential critics who might berate a jumbled and incoherent performance.

By contrast, the Bayyumiyya group exhibits little unity or control in hizb performance, particularly when performed at the local level, far from any central control. Participants exhibit widely varying degrees of participation, of knowledge of the hizb itself. The performance is stronger, but less tonally, rhythmically, or timbrally unified. These factors indicate a relative absence of control, a lack of actively applied group-level performative strategy, at least in comparison to the modernist orders. The necessity of reciting the hizb is (or was) clearly a group-level strategy. But the performative means for doing so is left relatively open, and is therefore filled by strategies of self-expression, which vary according to idiosyncrasies and abilities of participants, resulting in a highly heterogeneous performance. Performance thus reflects the diversity of the group, rather than being instrumental in constructing its unity.

We will observe similar phenomena in the other types of LP considered below.

2. Dhikr

a. Temporality

	Rhythmic Type	Pulse Definition	Speed	ation	Meter	Metric Modulation	Temporal Unity
Bh	metric	high	med/high	hi	metric	none	low/med
Bm	metric	high	low/med	med/high	metric	none	med
Jz	metric	high	high	v. high	metric	yes	med/high
Jf	speech/metric	med	med	low	quasi-irreg metric	none	high

Average speed and acceleration was compared for the LPS defined by one dhikr formula shared by all groups: “Allah”. Note that the Jazuliyya actually perform two kinds of dhikr: dhikr in the hadra shar‘iyya (the “legal” hadra, conforming to Islamic norms of propriety), and the dhikr al-hana (the “intoxicated” dhikr which results from listening to solo inshad with musical accompaniment). Because there is little consistency in the latter, and because it is not considered by them to be dhikr, properly speaking, I analyze the former only in this section.

Sufi dhikr is traditionally performed metrically with a high level of pulse definition, and substantial acceleration, together with regular physical movements. Such a technique provides a high level of emotional energy in a form which guarantees a measure of group unity. However, the Ja‘fariyya adopt a completely different strategy consistent with their more orthodox leanings. Performing the dhikr within the context of the hizb, they focus on the text itself rather than the rhythmic ostinato it produces. No

physical movements are employed. Dhikr al-qalb (the breathy style of dhikr in which precise articulation is sacrificed for expressivity and deeper feeling) is never used. Dhikr is soft, relatively slow, highly unified, employing rhythms which, following the contours of the text, are irregular and not quite metric. The recitation of “la ilaha illa Allah” for instance appears in a five beat pattern (with space for inhalation at *) which matches the text but is not suitable for concerted rhythmic movement characteristic of most dhikr because it lacks a binary structure:¹

x.. xx.x. x.x . x... ..

la ilaha illal laah *

This style of dhikr performance emphasizes the text without generating much metrical feeling, thus refraining from producing ecstasy which might disrupt the smooth operation of the ritual, strain the lines of control representing the tariqa’s social hierarchy in hadra, clash with the tariqa’s conservative values, or appear unrefined to outside observers. Even when dhikr is long, the Ja‘fariyya maintain a dignified tempo with very little acceleration, a technique which serves to maintain focus on text and reduce ecstatic reaction which would conflict with their general strategy of alignment with orthodox conceptions of Sufi performance. It must be recalled that ecstatic dhikr with wide movements and loud sounds is precisely what is criticized by orthodox and reformist Islam as “raqs” (dance) and “haysa” (commotion). The Ja‘fariyya dhikr is irreproachable due to its conformity to Shari‘a, and this conformity is a message which defines the group’s distinctive identity as a type of orthodox Sufism, both for itself and for others.

The other dhikrs are traditional to a great extent, but there are some important differences between Jz and the Bayyumiyya worthy of notice. The Jz dhikr is more energetic, and yet both more highly organized and more unified than Bh and Bm. Jz accelerates to become much faster than the others, mostly at a point of metric modulation from a two-beat *dhikr al-lisan* pattern (“Alla - ha”) to a one beat *dhikr al-qalb* pattern (“Ah”) in cut time. The sharp transition, signalled by the mustaftih when he feels the dhikr is sufficiently developed to move to this more intensive style, is indicative of their higher level of firm control; dhikr is completely unified throughout, and is performed exactly the same way in every hadra. These attributes indicate the presence of an active strategy, designed to control dhikr so as to unify the group, generate emotion, but still maintain a certain amount of decorum.

The Bayyumiyya dhikrs lack a fixed form consistent from one performance to the next; rather Bayyumiyya dhikr is shaped by whoever happens to lead as mustaftih, as well as by the general interaction of participants, with little display of rigorous discipline. This results in an inconsistent, and relatively disunified dhikr. The high acceleration of dhikr in Bh is a gradual buildup resulting from the interaction of all participants—munshid, mustaftih, and dhakkira—no single person maintains firm control. Dhikr in Bm is somewhat slower here, but is much faster in other recordings. Both dhikrs display great latitude in individual variation, unlike either Jz or Jf. Again, the lack of either consistency or unity suggests strategic vacuums at the group level, resulting from the

group's decentralization and lack of solidarity, which are filled in at performance time by individual motivations and abilities.

b. Tonality

	Pitch definition	Intonation	Modulation	Tonal unity
Bh	low	low	none	low
Bm	med/hi	low/med	none	med
Jz	med	med	none	med
Jf	high	high	low	high

Tonal levels relate strongly to the dhikr formula and style. Dhikr may be tonally constrained, tonally free, or lacking in tonal content. Thus dhikr al-qalb consists only of vowels, semivowels, aspirated consonants, and sometimes glottal stops; it is a reduction of the dhikr formula to pure breath and usually is performed without tonal content. Performance of the dhikr formula “Hayy” with a shout is common to many Sufi orders in Egypt; this too lacks tonal content. Such techniques serve to elevate the emotional level, in part by freeing the dhakkira from strict adherence to any particular tonal scheme.

As usual, the Ja'fariyya exhibit the highest degree of order, with the highest levels of pitch definition, intonation, and tonal unity. A further degree of planning is evident in controlled modulations: after exactly 33 repetitions of the dhikr formula, the leaders raise the pitch level by one whole tone. This tonal control and restraint, completely consistent from one performance to the next, represents group-level strategies. Such strategies act to ensure that the group remains unified and hierarchically disciplined, compliant with orthodox conceptions of dhikr performance, and serve also to identify the group to both insiders and outsiders as an orthodox group.

Approximately half of the Jz dhikr is performed as unpitched dhikr al-qalb, causing the average pitch definition and intonation to be less than the Bayyumiyya mosque hadra, however during pitched segments Jz intonation is higher than Bm. As we have seen before, the Jazuliyya sacrifice strict unity in order to produce a higher group emotional level, but this is a controlled emotionality, which is consistent from one performance to the next. Even their *dhikr al-qalb* is a highly defined formula (“ah” or “ha”), always performed in exactly the same way. The powerful emotion which results serves to unite the group as a collectivity.

Bm presents approximately the same level of tonal unity as Jz; intonation is less precise, while pitch definition is higher on average (since Jz more often employ the unpitched dhikr styles). But while the lack of strict conformity, and the individual tonal variations which result, allow a greater level of emotional expression than in Jf, this emotion does not contribute to a sense of group solidarity, but rather remains individualized, and thus does not appear to be strategic. In Bh tonality is even less controlled: dhikr is almost always performed unpitched in the dhikr al-qalb style, which begins as a fairly uniform deconsonantalized phrase (“ah”, “hay”, “ha”), but ends as an ecstatic polyphonic exercise in voiced breathing which can scarcely be described. Here, the small group and extreme flexibility of the dhikr enables powerful group emotion to develop, but this emotion does not create a sense of social solidarity in the tariqa as a whole, but only in the ephemeral performance group. The tonality of dhikr patterns develops during performance as a consequence of feedback loops and the individual

desire for spiritual ecstasy, rather than from fixed rules developed as strategies by a central authority; this is clear due to the great variation from one performance to the next.

c. Texture

	LP groups	Non-LP groups	Intra-group unity (dhikr)	Group differentiation (dhikr, inshad)	Inter-group coord (dhikr, inshad)
Bh	dhakkira (munshid)	clapping, stick	low	med	high
Bm	dhakkira (munshid)	clapping	low/med	low	med
Jz	leaders, dhakkira (munshid)	clapping	med	high	med
Jf	dhakkira	none	high	NA	NA

Dhikr is conventionally performed in unison by a group of dhakkira under direction of a mustaftih (leader), who starts and stops the dhikr, and (in part) sets pacing with his stronger intonation. However it is only among the Jazuliyya that dhikr leaders are sonically distinguished from the main texture as an independent group, occasionally shouting out phrases of encouragement in order to goad the others to a higher level of energy. Alongside the dhikr group is the munshid, together with percussion (clapping, or instruments). Inshad (usually madih) is a widely accepted accompaniment to dhikr, designed to raise the emotional-spiritual level and prevent participants' thoughts from wandering outside the religious sphere. Only the Ja'fariyya entirely reject inshad in this context, as distracting from the Names of God. Their uniqueness among most Sufi groups in performing dhikr without inshad indicates that this policy is a deliberate strategy. One can cite at least three reasons for such a strategy: (1) to ensure that dhikr

achieve its maximal spiritual effectiveness; (2) to ensure that emotion generated through inshad neither disrupts the ritual nor upsets the social order; (3) to define a unique group identity, which is markedly orthodox when compared to other Sufi orders, and therefore can attract a certain target group, without attracting blame from reformists.

Citing their compliance with Shari'a (an issue even for the relatively free mystics of Bh), all of these groups refuse to include conventional instruments with the standard dhikr (although the Jazuliyya use instruments in other segments of their hadra). Dhikr may nevertheless be coordinated by the metal cane ('asaya), or by handclaps. The metal cane, beaten with a striker, is a traditional instrument supposedly derived from older shaykhs who beat their walking canes with a sibha (rosary) in order to keep time in the dhikr; its users do not consider it to be a musical instrument at all. Bh employs the metal cane, while Bm and Jz employ handclapping. The more conservative Jf reject even the handclap, and perform dhikr vocally only. These limitations on the use of instrumental accompaniment do not represent particular group strategies, so much as the prevailing attitudes of Egyptian Sufism.

Intra-group unity within the dhikr group exhibits the usual pattern: Jf is highest, followed in order by Jz, Bm, and Bh. For Jf near-perfect unity ensures maintenance of vertical social order and control, limiting individual emotional variation, besides generating a more orthodox face. The lower level of unity in Jz enables the development of individual emotion, which contributes toward unifying the group horizontally. In the Bayyumiyya hadras the level of unity is still less. Here, however, there is no evidence to

suggest that the lack of unity is deliberate; rather it appears to result from the lack of any control apparatus to guarantee it, and the lack of any strong central authority to demand it.

Inshad among the Jz is completely differentiated from the dhikr by use of an amplification system, which foregrounds the inshad and prevents it from blending with the chanting voices. The blend is higher in Bh and highest in Bm, where the munshid is completely drowned out by the much larger number of dhakkira. Clapping (and stick-playing) naturally forms a clearly contrasting group in all cases where it occurs. If inshad is to be used effectively, one would expect it to be clearly audible above the dhikr. This is the case in Jz. The fact that the inshad blends into the dhikr in Bm cannot be a deliberate policy, since it limits inshad's effectiveness; rather it results from neglect of this aspect of hadra performance.

The highest level of coordination between inshad and dhakkira occurs in Bh, which often features an intimate but spontaneous interlocking relation between the two; this interlock seems to be facilitated by the intimate performance context, but also is consistent with individual efforts by dhakkira and munshid to maximize the ecstatic state in this freer hadra, without regard for the integrity of the tariqa. Interlock of inshad and dhikr is not planned by the tariqa's center, but rather represents the spontaneous outcome of local practice. In Bm and Jz the inshad moves with the dhikr, but without this level of interlock. The lack of tight interlock is a strategy applied by the munshid, enabling him to present inshad more coherently. However it is only in Jz that this

individual strategy is supported by resources (PA system), allocated by the group, which enable the munshid to be heard. Such resources represent a group-level strategy.

d. Timbre

	Vocal smoothness	Accent	Articulation	Expressivity	Unity
Bh	low	high	low	high	med
Bm	med	med	med	med	med
Jz	med	high	med	high	med/high
Jf	high	low	high	low	high

Vocal smoothness, articulation, and unity in dhikr follow the usual pattern, increasing in constraint from Bh, to Bm, to Jz, to Jf. In light of background information on the Ja'fariyya and Jazuliyya groups presented earlier, the higher level of constraint in Jf and Jz can be interpreted as indicating the presence of group performative strategy. Jf is most highly constrained, a means of ensuring the stability of the group's vertical structure. Jz allows more freedom and expressivity in vocal timbre; articulation is high during dhikr al-lisan, but low during dhikr al-qalb. The latter is a strategy enabling deeper participation in dhikr, as a means to support group unity through a shared emotional experience. Bm displays timbral levels similar to Jz, but without emotional unity; as there is no corollary evidence for any kind of strategizing in this group, I interpret these levels as merely the result of individual motivations, constrained by traditions of hadra performance. Bh evinces the least constraint, since there is no fixed ritual leader; performance is rather a kind of group improvisation, which may spontaneously create a measure of unplanned unity.

Expression follows approximately the reverse course, since it depends to a large degree on freedom within a wide timbral range; similarly accent tends to be inversely related to unity. Lower values for these two variables in Jf supports that group's vertical structure and sober identity. Higher values in Bm and Bh indicate absence of group-level strategy. Jz features high accent and expression, together with a relatively high measure of unity; such a combination suggests that this exuberant dhikr is a result of group performative strategy, not individual freedom.

e. Energy

	Avg dynamic level	Avg individual output	Crescendo	Unity
Bh	med	high	high	low/med
Bm	med	med	med	med
Jz	high	high	none	high
Jf	med	low	low	high

The average dynamic level is surprisingly consistent despite the fact that group size decreases from Jf to Jz to Bm to Bh. The higher dynamic level among the Jazuliyya, generated by a high individual output in hadra, is consistent with their general strategy of using emotional feeling and display to attract members and provide a more powerful spiritual experience, as well as to reinforce the horizontal bonds of the tariqa as a collectivity. The lower dynamic level of Jf, resulting from a restrained individual output, is geared toward expressing the more sober identity of that group, and in maintaining the careful decorum which supports the tariqa's vertical social structure. Bm evinces a medium level of output, muted in comparison with Bh due to the latter's more private location.

It may be useful to state a general principle which is also applicable to other genres of LP. In a centralized tariqa governed by group-level strategies (such as the Jazuliyya and Ja'fariyya), energy is greater at the center, whereas in a decentralized group (such as the Bayyumiyya), energy is greater at the periphery. This distribution of energy is a reflection and reinforcement of the distribution of social control. Traditional turuq may respond to modern reformist pressures, but only at the center, due to their limited control of the periphery. While central leaders may come under intense pressure from modernists, their response may be merely reflexive, since the social machinery to formulate and apply a general strategy does not exist. (I have cited 19th-century sources indicating that the Bayyumiyya hadra was formerly elaborate and raucous; somehow it changed dramatically since then.) But performance at the periphery depends on the preferences of the local shaykh, who is little affected either by reform pressures, or by the central shaykh al-sajjada.

One of the traditional dimensions of buildup in dhikr is crescendo. The Jf makes a significant break from tradition in performing dhikr with very little crescendo; the lack of sonic buildup suggests strong central control of participants, indexing the critical vertical relationships of the social structure. This dhikr also helps to define the tariqa's unique and orthodox identity. Similarly, the Jz break with tradition in employing a distinctive pattern (at least in dhikr of "Allah"), in which dhikr starts off loudly using the *dhikr al-lisan* technique, then switches to the softer (but spiritually more powerful) *dhikr al-qalb*. Thus there is actually a dynamic *reduction*, testimony to the group's strong

collective unity. The Bayyumiyya groups perform dhikr in its traditional form, and thus this component of performance does not suggest any particular strategic move.

Dynamic unity is predictably high among the groups which are centralized and controlled, thus expressing and fostering a sense of corporate unity and order among members, and creating an image of discipline in the eyes of others. Relative disunity among the Bayyumiyya appears to be the result of unconstrained individual behavior; certainly there is no evidence leading one to suppose that such disunity is beneficial for the group, or results from central planning.

f. Relation to text

	Melisma	Formal support	Clarification
Bh	no/NA	yes	low
Bm	no	yes	med
Jz	no/NA	yes	med/low
Jf	no	yes	high

While there are turuq (such as the celebrated Laythiyya, recorded in the 1932 Arabic Music Conference held in Cairo) which employ elaborate melismatic patterns in dhikr, this is not the case for any of the examples presented here. (For the dhikr al-qalb style, employed in Bh and Jz, the concept of melisma is not applicable.) The sonic aspect of performance generally supports the dhikr formula in all cases, although this is even more true in Jf, where the dhikr formula is not pressed into a conventional metrical form, but is allowed to take its “natural” temporal shape, as determined by the lengths of its constituent phonemes. This feature would appear to be a means of ensuring clarity,

while minimizing emotion and projecting an aura of religious propriety, as I have mentioned.

The clearest presentation of the *dhikr* text is in Jf, where, as we have seen over and over, a premium is placed on calm and clear textual delivery, at the expense of emotional energy or individualism: a means of reinforcing this tariqa's more sober values and maintaining its hierarchical social structure. Use of the less clear—and less orthodox—*dhikr al-qalb* generates emotion. This practice is sanctioned by tariqa authorities in the case of Jz, and thus appears as a strategy contributing to the group's horizontal cohesion. On the other hand, in Bh the absence of any such authorities suggests that *dhikr al-qalb* appears as a result of the absence of external control, and the individual's desire for a deeper level of spiritual experience.

g. Other variables

	Total individual freedom
Bh	med/high
Bm	low/med
Jz	low/med
Jf	low

Total freedom is less for *dhikr* than for other categories (e.g. *inshad*); the ranking here is a rough guide. The similar level of freedom in Jz and Bm suggest very different interpretations. In the Jazuliyya, a tariqa exercising effective central control, the existence of freedom must be a deliberate decision. As usual, I interpret this freedom as representing an opportunity for the generation of emotion which serves to define and bind the tariqa together. In Bm, where there is essentially no central control, the same

level of freedom appears as merely the result of individual motivations, roughly constrained by the context (a public mosque). In Bh the contextual constraint is absent, and so freedom is much higher. Jf, by contrast, is distinguished by a high level of control, which, as I have suggested many times, serves to define this group's more conservative identity as well as to support the vertical social relations which define its social structure. The higher freedom at the periphery of the Bayyumiyya is a feature of decentralized turuq; neither the Ja'fariyya nor the Jazuliyya are more free at the periphery than they are at the center, reflecting the centrifugal force of the center which keeps outlying districts in check.

3. Inshad as prelude to dhikr

Solo inshad without dhikr is used by many turuq as a prelude to the dhikr which follows. Through a combination of text and melody, such inshad may serve to put participants in the proper emotional frame of mind for dhikr. In Bm and Bh such preludes precede all dhikr, while in Jz inshad preludes precede only the dhikr al-hana which follows the more conservative hadra shar'iyah.

Only the Jf, who maintain dhikr and inshad as entirely separate LP strips, perform no inshad of this type; rather, dhikr is wholly encapsulated within hizb material. In addition, solo inshad is unacceptable to them, because (they say) it focusses too much attention on the individual, fueling his ego, and leading him to conceit and hypocrisy (in social terms, it subverts the social hierarchy).

a. Temporality

	Rhythm types	Pulse definition	Meter
Bh	melody, pulsed	non/low	none
Bm	melodic	none	none
Jz	melodic	none	none

Inshad as dhikr prelude is almost always performed non-metrically, although occasionally pulsed sections may be encountered. In Bh, pulsed sections seem to occur when the munshid wants to emphasize a text by aligning its syllables with a pulsed framework. Such a practice is not indicated as a special group performance strategy, since it does not occur consistently in all performances, nor is it characteristic of Bayyumiyya performance in general. Rather it seems to occur according to the munshid's whim, because in the local hadra he has the freedom and time to do as he pleases, and he seeks to maximize his emotional impact on participants. For him, maximizing emotion in performance is an individual strategy.

b. Tonality

	Pitch definition	Intonation	PS range	Modulation
Bh	high	med/high	varies with performer (P5-P8)	low
Bm	high	med/high	med (<P5)	none
Jz	high	med/high	P8 or more	low/med

Inshad is typically well-defined in pitch, and so no significant differences are to be expected in the categories of pitch definition or intonation. What is clear (and this will become more apparent with the variables below) is that the Jz prelude performances (preceding their "dhikr al-hana" section) tend to be tonally richer (as well as longer) and serve to develop a larger range (often the entire *maqam*), including intermediate *qafas*

(cadences) and modulations, accompanied by the 'ud. This is a consistent pattern from one performance to the next. Although the content of such solo performances depends on the munshid's own creativity, the existence of such solos is sanctioned by group strategy, as articulated in their discourses about the role of inshad. Such discourse suggests that these solos are designed generate mystical feeling among the listeners, a feeling identified as *wajd* (mystical ecstasy) or *tarab* (musical emotion). As in secular music, the elaborate presentation of the *maqam* is critical to generating musical emotion. While explicit discourse deems emotion in ritual to be primarily of spiritual value, it is clear that such emotion serves to unify the *tariqa* through the strong horizontal bonds it engenders among group members. These highly musical performances also express the group's identity as more mystically inclined, and serve to attract new members to the group. The Jz performance strategy, shrugging off orthodox critique, is to use music to generate a powerful response, but only in private contexts.

By contrast, the solos in Bm are more limited, not due to ideological limits imposed by the group (since none are formally articulated) but rather due to restrictions on time, and the munshids' ability. These munshidin attend in part in order to receive small *nuqt* (tips), and the paltry sums involved ensure that the best munshidin will not attend. Since inshad is not a central part of the liturgy, each is given only a couple of minutes in which to sing his solo, and there is no musical accompaniment. Thus LP is determined as a result of individual strategy.

In Bh, despite a greater level of musical freedom, melody is clearly subordinate to text during pre-dhikr solos. These solos are limited by the absence of musical accompaniment, and by the limited abilities of the munshidin, who receive only small monetary compensation (as in Bm). While the absence of instrumental music represents a traditional Islamic aversion, it cannot be said to be a strategy of the Bayyumiyya in particular.

c. Melody

	Form	Phrase temporal aspects	Complexity	Freedom in performance
Bh	unformed	pulsed, unpulsed melodic	med	high
Bm	unformed	unpulsed melodic	low/med	med
Jz	unformed	unpulsed melodic	high	high

The vocal solos are melodically similar except in the domains of complexity and freedom. These values are consistent with what we have seen before: in Bh higher values seem to result from a lack of control and increase in time allotted, while in Jz they are part of a more deliberate group policy promoting musical emotion in the hadra.

d. Texture

	LP groups	Non-LP groups	Intra-group unity	Group differentiation	Inter-group coord
Bh	solo, response	NA	NA	NA	med
Bm	solo, response	NA	NA	NA	NA
Jz	solo, response	ud	NA	NA	med

As the inshad currently under consideration is solo, the texture is essentially one vocal line. However in all three cases the dhakkira may produce vocal exclamations expressing their approval or state, especially following a qafla (melodic cadence); such

behavior is reminiscent of secular tarab music practice in older live Arabic music. In Bm such reactions are less, probably because of the inhibitions of the public mosque context and lesser emotional power of the solos themselves; by the same logic, they are more prominent in Bh, where the situation is less formal and more private, and singing is more complex and free. However in Jz, where such responses are also prominent, the situation is neither unstructured nor informal. In light of the strong central control in this tariqa, such responses must be regarded as a deliberate strategy designed to allow participants to reach a higher spiritual-emotional state through individual expression.

Among all the cases considered, only the Jz includes a melodic musical instrument (the 'ud, or fretless lute) which is used to accompany the vocal line exactly as in secular urban Arabic music (or in the freer musical inshad of the mawlid): preparing the maqam (melodic mode) with an initial long taqsim improvisation, then following the voice in a loose heterophony, and filling the space after each qafila with a short taqsim. Use of the 'ud does not result from absence of control (as is the case in the use of musical instruments in the public mawlid celebrations). Rather, Sidi Jabir deliberately decided to adopt it, in the late 1970s, drawing on performances by talented musicians in the group as a means of making the hadra more emotionally powerful. Despite tradition Islamic criticism of instruments, Sidi Jabir did not regard the 'ud as haram (forbidden), so long as it was used to accompany proper religious songs, and so long as it was not used within the conservative hadra shar'iyya, which was maintained as a model of traditional conservative dhikr. The shaykh must have been aware that the use of

instruments would draw the censure of orthodox and reformist Islam, and so did not employ it when performing in public places. These distinctions between rules applying to dhikr types and settings are further testimony to the strategic role of music in the Jazuliyya. Sidi Jabir appears to have viewed use of instruments as a means of heightening group spirit, as well as a sign of the tariqa's modernist identity, and a means of attracting and retaining members through a high musical and emotional level.

e. Timbre

	Vocal smoothness	Accent	Articulation	Expressivity	Unity
Bh	med	med	med	high	NA
Bm	med	med	med	high	NA
Jz	high	low/med	med/high	high	NA

While expressivity is uniformly high in this solo inshad, the Jz performance is more restrained in its use of accent, and evinces a higher vocal quality, at least by the standards of Arabic music. These features cause Jazuliyya inshad to resemble the singing of respected popular singers. The Jazuliyya place a premium on high-quality musical performance, and only very few of their best munshidin are permitted to perform these solos. It is perhaps significant that at least one of these munshidin actually *is* a professional secular singer, and several others in the past have been as well. By contrast, among the Bayyumiyya there is less concern with vocal quality as judged by conventional Arabic vocal aesthetics; while the munshid is interested in declaiming a text and expressing emotion, the means by which he does so is relatively unconstrained by norms of secular music performance.

f. Energy

	Avg dynamic level	Avg individual output	Crescendo	Unity
Bh	med	high	low	NA
Bm	low	high	low	NA
Jz	high	high	high	NA

The sound level in the Jz case is much higher due to their use of an amplification system, which boosts the level of inshad far above that of the group, even when the group is large. The use of an amplification system, which is sanctioned by the central group authorities, indexes the importance of inshad. In Bm, by contrast, inshad is often difficult to hear. There is also in the Jz a tendency to make the vocal solo into a single arcing buildup, corresponding to tonal development of the maqam, whereas the Bm and Bh performances rely on much shorter gestures or maintain a relatively fixed dynamic level. These factors indicate the importance of inshad preludes in Jz as a means of systematically building emotion, in order to produce the emotionally powerful spiritual experiences which are the hallmark of this group, and—concurrently—to create horizontal solidarity among members. By contrast the shorter inshad preludes in Bm and Bh, evincing little buildup, appear to represent more limited goals of the munshid and mustafih: the former wants a warm-up, while the latter seeks to provide respite for the dhakkira. Neither goal can be traced to any central policy of the tariqa, but rather are traditional and practical strategies of the individuals involved, which are common in many traditional settings.

g. Relation to text

	Melisma	Formal support	Clarification
Bh	low	low	med/high
Bm	low	low	med/high
Jz	med	low	med

The more musical characteristic of the Jz performance is also revealed in a moderate amount of melisma, something which practically never occurs in other Sufi inshad considered here. For this reason and other musical factors (such as higher complexity, lower syllabic accent, and use of an often distortion-ridden PA system), the Jz texts themselves, though certainly loud, are not always crystal-clear. Relative to the other groups, music is more highly valued. However, since texts are largely drawn from a familiar repertoire (mostly from the diwan of Sidi Jabir), participants can easily understand them.

h. Other variables

	Total freedom	Interality
Bh	high	mawwal
Bm	med/high	mawwal
Jz	high	tarab singing

The higher level of total freedom in Bh and Jz is related to the larger span of time available to performance in these two cases. In the latter case, this freedom is a calculated digression from the tight structure of the hadra, serving to generate emotion as a means of creating a communal group unity, and fostering individual spiritual experience, both key properties of this group. The strategic nature of such freedom is

indicated by its very lack in most other performance segments. But for Bh freedom is merely a natural consequence of the general lack of centralized control or formal organization.

Bh and Bm solo dhikr prelude inshad segments often resemble the colloquial mawwal (consisting of a few brief phrases followed by a qafla). The use of these and other styles depends on what the munshid knows, since neither musical style nor text is determined by the tariqa itself; many munshidin in the Bayyumiyya are unlettered and have imbibed primarily a oral and rural repertoire. But in Jz the mawwal style is not employed; melodic gestures are longer, and reminiscent of the more urban tarab style of presenting a qasida non-metrically, a style which was commonplace until the 1930s among religious and secular singers of Arabic music, and which continues to function as a norm (though rarely heard) for the Arabic vocal music tradition. The Jazuliyya use of this inshad style as a prelude to dhikr represents the tariqa's strategy of breaking with the past by including material which is more musically rich, and reaching out to educated secular society for members; the use of folk mawwals is perhaps regarded as at once too traditional, and too unsophisticated, for this purpose. At the same time the use of the tarab style, generally regarded as the most affectively potent style of Arabic music, and evoking that potency both directly and through interal reference to the music which produces it, would seem to be a deliberate attempt to generate emotion among participants, for the reasons outlined earlier.

4. Inshad with dhikr

Inshad accompanies dhikr in all performances except in the more austere Jf, who make a clear separation between inshad and dhikr so that attention will not be divided between them. This policy is also a means of avoiding censure, for while dhikr is traditionally accompanied by inshad even in mainstream Sufi orders, such practice is unacceptable to many religious conservatives. In Jz there are two different forms of such inshad: that which accompanies the hadra shar‘iyya (or hadrat al-dhikr) which opens the hadra, and that which accompanies the dhikr al-hana (hadrat al-inshad). The latter is not considered by the Jazuliyya to be dhikr, strictly speaking, since the Names are not recited aloud according to any fixed paradigm, even if many participants do chant them individually as a *response* to listening.² However they consider inshad of the dhikr al-hana to be similar to inshad performed for the public dhikr in mawalid, and so I will consider it with the dhikr examples here. The two Jz LPSs are distinguished as “Jzs” (inshad accompanying dhikr in the hadra shar‘iyya) and “Jzh” (inshad accompanying dhikr in the dhikr al-hana).

a. Temporality

	Rhythm types	Pulse definition	Speed	Acceleration	Meter	Metric modulation	Unity
Bh	metric	high	med/high	high	metric	none	NA
Bm	metric	high	low/med	med/high	metric	none	NA
Jzs	metric	high	high	med	metric	none	NA
Jzh	metric	high	high	low	metric	none	NA

The surface rhythms of this inshad are uniformly metric, and pulse definition is high, so as to support the dhikr. Speed and acceleration merely support the dhikr, which has already been analyzed,³ except for Jzh. Such support is traditional, and not noteworthy as indicative of strategy. However strategy is indicated in the case of Jzh. One notes a relatively low acceleration for Jzh, with a high average speed, forming an extended buildup. The highly musical qualities of this inshad (discussed below) and evocative poetry, combined with the sense of slow but inexorable buildup enables many of the participants to reach an intensive mystical state (hal). When considered in the context of the ordered and carefully thought-out Jazuliyya hadra, and especially in light of its daringly secular musical aspect, this plan cannot be viewed as other than strategic. Its goal, affirmed by participants, is to present a powerful emotional experience of wajd, as well as to offer an attractive experience of spirituality. Socially, it defines the tariqa's identity in these terms, and provides emotional experience which binds the group together with the shaykh. As one participant noted, the goal of inshad is to gather the group together, raising all to the level of the shaykh, so that all can ascend together.

b. Tonality

	Pitch definition	Intonation	PS range	Modulation
Bh	high	med/high	varies with performer (P5-P8)	low
Bm	high	med/high	P5	none
Jzs	high	med/high	P8	low
Jzh	high	med/high	P8 or more	med/high

As in the case of inshad as a prelude to dhikr, Jz inshad accompanying dhikr displays, on average, a much wider tonal range than in the Bayyumiyya hadras, particularly in Jzh where inshad performance exploits the full resources of the maqam system (including modulation) to affect listeners more deeply (it is for this reason in part that they term this performance the “hadrat al-hana”, for the hana is the place of sukr, intoxication). This is a deliberate and consistent strategy authorized by the shaykh, as I have noted.

In Bm inshad occupies a marginal place, socially (as we shall see under pragmatics) and sonically. Besides being barely audible when the dhikr is underway, such inshad does not always draw the most skilled munshidin, nor are those who do come given much time to present their material. Such marginality cannot be viewed as strategic; rather it results from the fact that inshad is neglected in hadra, representing a strategic “vacuum” which is filled according to chance and context rather than according to plan. Under such conditions, the munshid is not encouraged to expend any great effort in tonal development. In Bh the munshid is central, but the range of tonality is variable, depending on who comes to perform. Here, inshad is central, but there are no particular tonal expectations; the munshid is merely expected to present moving texts and follow

the *mustaftih*. *Inshad* style also depends on the performative dynamics among *dhakkira*, *mustaftih*, and *munshid* (and player of the metal stick, if there is one); *inshad* is not determined by any central authority. In *Jzh*, by contrast, the *munshid* performs, with musical accompaniment, in a fixed style which is relatively unaffected by what listeners are doing; it is incumbent upon him to generate a high ecstatic pitch, and he does so by following a consistent plan in every performance.

c. Melody

	Form	Phrase temporal aspects	Phrase tonal aspects	Complexity	Freedom in performance
Bh	unformed	metric, multimetric, phrase groups, quasi-macrometer	med/high	med	high
Bm	unformed	multimetric, simple macrometer	low	low	low
Jzs	unformed	multimetric, phrase groups	med	low/med	med/high
Jzh	unformed	multimetric, phrase groups, simple macrometer	high	high	high

Solo *inshad* is nearly always unformed; occasional regularity in structure is ephemeral.

While following the meter, melodic phrases tend to be improvised and hence rather haphazard in length; only occasionally does a regular phrase structure suggesting macrometer occur. Thus the most common pattern in all cases is multimetric: phrases which are melodically independent, each lasting an integral number of measures. Sometimes phrases join in groups (the simplest pattern being an antecedent/consequent pairing); if equal length phrases or groups repeat, they will combine to form a simple

macrometer. Another style is metric phrases which interlock with the dhikr, and hence interact with the dhakkira. But the munshid will only use these if he can be heard.

In Bh the munshid is central, not due to Bayyumiyya strategy (since there is none, especially for inshad), but due to circumstances of context. More than the other cases, the Bh munshid tends to interlock with the dhikr, employing metric phrases which strongly emphasize the meter. Such interlocking is facilitated by his centrality in an intimate setting. The munshid seeks to produce a powerful dhikr experience for participants using any means possible, because on the one hand he is unconstrained by tariqa policy, and on the other he is an outsider who can only validate his presence (and the nuqut (tips) he receives) through the emotion he produces in performance. Interlocking in this way is one means of emotionally intensifying the dhikr. This personal strategy leads to a less intelligible text, as well as a less pure dhikr, to be sure; however this situation is not problematic, since there is no poetry with authoritative status in the tariqa. He has more sonic freedom, and evinces more complexity and tonal progression, than Bm or Jzs.

The munshid in Bm would no doubt like to generate emotional energy in the same way. But his marginal and acoustically weak position in the hadra precludes such interlocking, and indeed discourages any real effort, since his singing is virtually inaudible and thus has little or no effect. Such a situation is not in any way strategic (either for individual or group), but rather reflects the fact that inshad has been officially

neglected in the hadra liturgy. This neglect allows additional freedom in Bh where the munshid is central, whereas in Bm he is unable to make much of a contribution at all.

In Jzs too inshad is somewhat marginal, though less so than in Bm; here marginality is a deliberate strategy. Participants say that inshad here is secondary to dhikr, but important in order to help the dhakkira to concentrate, provide emotional support, and link dhakkira to the shaykh by reciting his words. Inshad is not central here, however, compared to dhikr, which in any case has its own momentum and is not dependent on inshad. Thus one finds that the munshid here uses simpler melodies, and does not try to interact directly with the dhikr pattern. He hovers by using multimeter phrases and simple phrase groups, with only a moderate sense of tonal progression, and does not interrupt the flow of dhikr with more complex macrometer. In this segment, text is more important than melody.

This situation is reversed in Jzh, where inshad is central (both words and melody), providing the stimulus for dhikr, movement, exclamations, and a variety of ecstatic states. Phrases are still relatively simple in construction, mostly multimetric, with some phrase groups and an occasional (simple) macrometric pattern, which may be spontaneously taken up by a responding chorus. Inshad does not interlock with dhikr, because dhikr is not audible; dhikr is rather an inner response to inshad. Inshad does not conform to dhikr, but rather dhikr to inshad. But here there is an extended sense of melodic progression, in which phrases combine over long periods of time toward a

climactic cadence (*qafila*); melodic lines display a much higher level of complexity and improvisational freedom.

d. Texture

	LP groups	Other groups	Intra-group unity	Group differentiation	Inter-group coordination
Bh	solo munshid, occ response, (dhakkira)	stick, clapping	NA	high	med/high
Bm	solo munshid, (dhakkira)	clapping	NA	low	med
Jzs	solo munshid (dhakkira)	clapping	NA	high	med
Jzh	solo munshid, chorus, (dhakkira)	percussion, 'ud	low	high	low

Texture reflects the degree to which inshad is used as a resource, and attitudes toward use of non-vocal sound sources. In Bm inshad is nearly inaudible above the dhikr, reflecting inshad's neglect in the Bayyumiyya liturgy. In Bh inshad emerges clearly, and is coordinated, to a greater degree, with the dhikr; sometimes a second munshid serves as a responding chorus (*bitana*). But inshad's centrality in this texture is not a consequence of official Bayyumiyya policy, but rather results from what the context allows and demands, as has been discussed earlier. The Bayyumiyya do appear to oppose use of instruments, although such a stance is traditional and does not represent a particular strategy geared to the group.

The Jazuliyya take an opposite strategy in Jzh, which includes 'ud and percussion; the goal here is to generate *wajd* (ecstasy) and the model is that of the Sufi hana (tavern). Although such behavior draws the censure of religious conservatives and

reformers, the Jazuliyya feel that this technique is not blameworthy, but rather is effective in creating spiritual emotion. Besides musical instruments, other munshidin enter on cue to form a responding chorus. In Jzs inshad is less important, but still clearly audible above the dhikr by virtue of the PA system. In the context of hadra shar'iyya, musical instruments are forbidden. In both Jzs and Jzh, inshad is clearly differentiated from the surrounding texture. This enables inshad to play an important role, namely to produce a higher emotional state, enabling individuals to reach higher spiritual levels, and enabling the group to coalesce emotionally.

e. Timbre

	Vocal smoothness	Accent	Articulation	Expressivity
Bh	med	high	med	high
Bm	med	med	med	high
Jzs	high	low/med	high	med/high
Jzh	high	low/med	med/high	high

Overall, Jz features a higher degree of vocal smoothness, and higher articulation, no doubt due to the greater attention they pay to inshad generally, the importance of delivering texts clearly (particularly those written by the shaykh), and the care with which they choose munshidin. For similar reasons, perhaps, accent is lower; inshad need not be so forceful since a PA system is used, and vocal subtleties are appreciated. In all cases, however, expressivity is high, the function of inshad being essentially to raise the emotional level.

f. Energy

	Avg dynamic level	Avg individual output	Crescendo
Bh	med	high	no
Bm	low	high	no
Jzs	high	med/high	no
Jzh	high	high	high

Jz is louder in part due to use of a PA system, a strategic group decision, indicated by the group effort and expense entailed for the purchase and maintenance of a sound system. I have already emphasized the importance of inshad for the Jazuliyya, for its ability to unify the group emotionally, and provide more powerful spiritual experiences. The high dynamic level facilitated by the PA system enables a *solo* munshid to sing and be heard by everyone. Solo singing is considered more emotionally moving in Arabic culture than group singing, since the solo voice is the source of tarab. Amplification enables the soloist to be heard even over a large group of dhakkira.

While the effort output by each munshid appears to be roughly equal, such effort results from group strategy (the importance of inshad) in the Jazuliyya, whereas it is merely the desire of the munshid to assert himself in the Bayyumiyya. It is only in Jzh that a long-range energy buildup is found; this is a deliberate attempt to create an ecstatic climax, which is sanctioned by the tariqa authorities.

g. Relation to text

	Melisma	Formal support	Clarification
Bh	low	low	med
Bm	low	low	low
Jzs	low	low	med
Jzh	low	low	med

Little information is revealed by these variables; text is presented irregularly so that performance generally does not outline its formal structure, although qafla-s may emphasize the ends of phrases. Clarity is lower in Bm due to inaudibility of the inshad; in other situations inshad is audible, though text is not sharply defined. In the case of the Jazuliyya, where inshad performance is a carefully considered component of performance, there is evidently no need to ensure higher fidelity because most texts are known by participants. In the Bayyumiyya texts may not be known, but no one among tariqa authorities is concerned whether they are understood or not. The munshid would no doubt like to be understood, but it is more important for him to create a strong emotional effect; he does so in Bh and is unable to do so in Bm.

h. Other variables

	Entropy (freedom)	Interality
Bh	high	older mawlid inshad
Bm	med	---
Jzs	med	---
Jzh	high	contemporary mawlid inshad, tarab

The overall level of freedom is highest in Bh and Jzh, both of which stylistically are strongly reminiscent of professional dhikr inshad as it occurs in the mawlid (saint

festivals). Bh is closer to the older style of mawlid inshad, without instruments; it is full of stops and starts, allowing the munshid to rest. Such a style is not determined by the tariqa itself, but rather results from the absence of musical instruments (a traditional bias) together with the attendance of munshidin who sing in this way.

The Jzh style is closer to the modern style of mawlid inshad, as performed by Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami and other famous munshidin, who use instruments to provide a long arcing buildup without a break (here, for more than 15 minutes). Unlike the Bayyumiyya case, this style of inshad is a deliberate group policy designed to provide a heightened spiritual experience, draw a larger membership, and signify the tariqa's modern attitudes. Although use of instruments can be criticized by conservatives, the Jazuliyya minimize problems which may result by holding the hadra in private, and by emphasizing more orthodox attitudes in other segments of the hadra, such as the hadra shar'iyya, and mudhakara: group study of traditional religious subjects, such as hadith, Qur'an, and fiqh.

5. Group inshad

Group inshad is the form of LP requiring the highest level of central planning, preparation, and control. It entails a fixed and known poetic repertoire, and a corresponding set of simple precomposed strophic melodies, in order that all may participate. Typically a diwan is published, and thus literacy may be a requirement. In turuq which employ group inshad there may also be a special subclass of munshidin, members who meet together periodically to rehearse inshad. Thus it is not surprising that

traditional orders which exert a relatively low level of control over LP in hadra, and which make relatively few demands on members' prerequisite knowledge, usually omit group inshad. (Indeed most of the turuq do not include group inshad; the Shadhiliyya, a collection of orders known for being relatively well-educated and hence perhaps better situated to learn from printed hymnals, being the main exception.)

Group inshad is frequently exploited by the modernist orders, because it is the form of LP which presents the greatest potential for social structuring. Group inshad is flexible and fully participatory, combining texts on a variety of themes with the affective power of melody. Depending on the pragmatics of its performance—especially who performs, and who listens—inshad can emphasize unity, highlight subgroups, or establish differential hierarchical relations.

Both the modernist turuq, the Jazuliyya and the Ja'fariyya, use group inshad strategically toward group ends, but quite differently, as we shall see. The Bayyumiyya, unsurprisingly, use none.

The variable values in this section were derived from the analysis of two exemplary qasidas: one from Jf (Qasida #3), and the other from Jz ("Qamar").

a. Temporality

	Rhythm types	Pulse definition	Speed	Accel- eration	Meter	Metric modulation	Unity
Jz	metric, melodic	high, none	high	med	metric, macrometric	yes	med
Jf	metric, speech	med	low	low	macrometric	no	high

The Jazuliyya sing group inshad primarily in strict meter, with clearly defined pulse emphasized by percussion instruments. But sections of many qasidas are sung, astonishingly enough, in a non-metric heterophonic melodic-rhythm style (reminiscent of the non-metric interludes in Umm Kulthum songs, called *istirsal*). These melodies are composed. One of the principal composers for the group says that he includes such segments in order to highlight particular lines of the text. This device also serves to break the monotonous continuity of a long strophic song; Sidi Jabir disparaged such songs “train-like”, feeling that inshad should maintain the listeners’ interest. Temporally, Jazuliyya inshad is often full of interesting changes in rhythmic type, pulse, and meter. It is faster than Ja‘fariyya inshad, using temporal elements to build musical-emotional energy. Jazuliyya group inshad is generally sung by all members together, and because these songs are complex, unity is often low, making words less comprehensible. However it is in the production more than the hearing of the sound that the experience of textual meaning takes place.

By contrast, Ja‘fariyya inshad is purely strophic, consisting precisely of those “train-like” melodies disliked by Sidi Jabir. Most songs are metric; a few are based on a more speech-like rhythm. But all remain close to the text; melodic considerations are

never given priority over textual ones. Pulse is less strictly defined than in Jazuliyya group inshad; in part because there is no percussion section, Ja‘fariyya inshad tends to “breath” in a flexible rather than rigid pulse. Beats are added or subtracted when convenient, the metrical rhythm being partially overcome by the rhythm of the text itself. Tempos are generally slower, more stately, less exuberant. The songs are always macrometric, sometimes involving intricate patterns of repeating sections which feature alternation and interlocking between soloists and chorus. Soloists sing most of the song, while the congregation responds with the madhhab only. Since soloists are trained in inshad, while the refrain is simple, unity is high. But most participants listen more than they sing. The temporal structure of such songs is a vehicle, designed for the express purpose of communicating a text from munshid to listener.

Inshad of the Jazuliyya conveys a text through participation in singing it, and this participation is an act of considerable musical complexity, and one which references the principal vehicle of modern popular music, the taqtuqa (light strophic song). By contrast, inshad of the Ja‘fariyya conveys a text to most participants through listening more than singing, in an act which is musically simpler, never straying far from the text itself. We will see these characteristics emerge further throughout application of the variables.

b. Tonality

	Pitch definition	Intonation	PS range	Modulation	Unity
Jz	high	low/med	P5 to P8+	med	low
Jf	high	high	mostly P4-M6	no	high

Due to the higher musical demands of Jz inshad, presented to the entire congregation rather than to a select group of trained munshidin only, intonation and unity in Jz is considerably lower than Jf. Some of their songs are tonally complex, employing a wide tonal range, and sometimes even modulation. The relatively low values of intonation and unity are not in themselves strategic, for the Jazuliyya do strive to present their songs clearly and correctly. Rather, these values represent the consequence of their ambitious program of musical composition and group inshad, which is itself an important part of their performative strategy: to create a musically rich hadra, capable of unifying the group through the shared emotions of participatory song.

Ja'fariyya songs are tonally simpler. Usually the ambitus falls within a major 6th, and sometimes is even narrower; within such narrow ranges only a fraction of the maqam is actually utilized. There is never any modulation. This simple melody is mostly sung by two soloists, while the congregation responds with an even simpler melody on a fixed text (the madhhab). Although tariqa members do assert that the melody is important, they also admit that it serves chiefly as the vehicle for the text.

c. Melody

	Form	Phrase temporal aspects	Phrase tonal aspects	Complexity	Freedom in performance
Jz	medium, rondo, complex	complex macrometric, phrase groups	med	med/high	med
Jf	medium	complex macrometric	low	low	low

Every qasida performed in Jf is set using a single musical section which repeats for each poetic line, or for each pair of lines, plus refrain. This section usually comprises from two to five melodic phrases (each covering a full or half a poetic line), forming patterns such as [ab]abab, [aab]ccde, [aa]bbccb, [aab]aaccd (where the portion sung with the refrain is enclosed in square brackets). This is what I have defined as a medium form: AAA.... The phrases thus arranged define a complex macrometer. The sequence of phrases within the repeating A section demonstrate very limited tonal development, and since the entire performance consists of this one section repeated over and over, there is no larger scale tonal or temporal development over the course of the performance of any one qasida. The large amount of repetition, and hence predictability, implies that overall complexity is low. Occasionally melodic variations may be introduced by soloists, but freedom for the responding congregation (which constitutes the bulk of the group) is negligible.

The use of an orderly and static form creates a sense of order and stasis in the Jf hadra itself. There is no musical development over each qasida's performance; almost everything is predictable. Ambitus is narrow (as is dynamic range, as we shall see below), and performative freedom is limited. Therefore the emotional range is limited

too; attention is focussed on the content of the poetry—a message from shaykh to muridin—rather than on building emotional power through music. The group is unified, but as students of a single teacher, not through their performative bonds with each other. Time is neatly divided in a hierarchical fashion by the macrometer defined by the qasida's melodic phrase groups. Though the claim may perhaps be too speculative for some, one may find in this hierarchy a representation of the hierarchical structure of the tariqa itself, a set of predictable, regularized ways of relating to other tariqa members, not as a communal group, but in a hierarchy based on vertical relationships of inequality, in which seniority, religious knowledge, and proximity to the shaykh all play a role.

Jz sometimes employ such simple strophic structures as well, but more often their forms are melodically more complex, employing new melodic material for every phrase pair (kublay), together with a regularly or irregularly recurring refrain, thus forming a taqtuqa. Whereas Jf phrases provide only a slight degree of tension and release in their tonal aggregation within the repeating section, the performance of Jz qasidas often offers a long line of tonal development throughout the entire song. Rather than the static, controlled style characteristic of Jf, one finds in Jz a more dynamic, expressive, emotional approach. Besides changes in tempo and metricity (discussed earlier) there are frequent shifts in tonality.

In the collective vocal and emotional exercise of group inshad, one finds both an expression and a reinforcement of the group's tightly collective and communal version of solidarity. Unlike the Ja'fariyya, whose personal spiritual-social bonds are characterized

by hierarchy, the Jazuliyya exemplifies communality, familial closeness surrounding the shaykh as metaphoric father. While there is no overt call for improvisation in performance, there is a *de facto* tolerance for mistakes of all sorts. While the Ja'fariyya tend toward perfectionism in their shorter, simpler songs, mainly restricted to the ranks of qualified munshidin, the Jazuliyya are more open and tolerant in performance. As long as participants sing with spirit and energy, a few wrong notes are not considered to be a problem. A higher tolerance for mistakes is a necessary consequence of other strategies, which dictate that full participatory group inshad is important, and that inshad should be complex. Perfectionism is not the goal; emotional power and unity is.

In addition, tolerance for mistakes in performing a text implies a close relation to the text, and its author. While Sidi Jabir's texts are held to be important expressions of his mystical insights, mistakes in performance of those texts are tolerated. This tolerance evokes Sidi Jabir's personality, especially his own tolerance, and his warm emotional relationship to his muridin. His style was to see through ritual form to ritual meaning; thus singing his texts with good spirit and mistakes was not problematic. While his poems are venerated by members, they also regard them as intimate rather than distant, just as the shaykh was intimate. Therefore performing his texts in this way—with mistakes—tends to assert an intimate relationship to Sidi Jabir. When a text is venerated at a distance, then perfect execution is often the *sine qua non* of performance; intolerance for mistakes reflects a more distant, vertical relationship to the text's author, and performance affirms such a relationship. Such is the case in Ja'fariyya inshad.

What is important is that the performance of group inshad is an occasion for the group to solidify as one body, through a kind of wide-awake, sober emotionality (which contrasts with the more intoxicated version as experienced in the dhikr al-hana). The more demanding songs can not be sung perfectly by all members, but their complexity contributes to the development of emotion, which in turn helps to ensure a high degree of group spirit. This style of song, in its resemblance to the popular taqtuqa, also identifies the group as distinctively modern, setting it off from most other Sufi groups, and making it especially attractive to certain kinds of religious seekers who are not satisfied with either traditional orthodox religion, or with Sufism as inherited from the past.

d. Texture

	LP groups	Other groups	Intra-group unity	Group differentiation	Inter-group coord
Jz	lead munshid, munshidin, others	percussion, 'ud, claps	med	low	low/med
Jf	soloists, chorus leader, chorus	none	high	high	high

Textural variables provide another key measure of difference between the two stylistic strategies. Each Jf song consists of an alternation between one to three soloists (usual two) who sing the main text (using microphones), and the chorus (the congregation), led by the chorus leader, who respond with the refrain (the *madhhab*, often the first line of the poem). There is no instrumental accompaniment or clapping of

any kind. Unity is strong; soloists and chorus are clearly differentiated, and well-coordinated. The chorus leader employs a microphone; the remainder of the chorus do not.

The soloists are drawn from a restricted class of munshidin. While they have not completed any formal training, nor do they have any particular religious qualifications, they are considered to have superior skill in inshad. They sit at the front of the room, and take turns leading the performance, using microphones as a sonic index of their assumed power. Their lines are clearly differentiated from those of the chorus. The two groups—soloists and chorus—alternate in a coordinated fashion. The group is unified through its articulation into these two components.

Metaphorically the soloists represent Shaykh Salih, founder of the tariqa, and author of nearly all poetry used for inshad, for the poetry they sing is written as an expression of Shaykh Salih's voice. While they sing, everyone else must be silent; it is only when they pause that the chorus (consisting of the entire congregation) can join in, and then only with the refrain. This alternation too symbolically affirms the exalted status of Shaykh Salih, his status as far above the group. In this way, even after the passing of Shaykh Salih, his inshad continues to assert a particular model of the relationship between shaykh and muridin, in which the latter are relatively passive and subservient to the former, who towers far above them.

But the chorus does respond when called; the alternating relation between munshidin soloists and muridin chorus is a performative representation of the relationship

between Shaykh Salih and members of the tariqa. They are locked together, but unequally (the munshidin maintain control), and at a distance (they do not perform together). The metaphor “munshid : chorus :: Shaykh Salih : murid” is not farfetched, for while he lived Shaykh Salih sang his own qasidas in a manner similar to their performance today by munshidin, according to several muridin who knew him personally. Even when it is their turn to sing, the chorus does not perform without an authoritative guide to lead them: the chorus leader. Thus the bulk of the congregation is singing either in response to, or under the control of, some superior power. This is precisely their metaphorical relationship to the shaykh, and serves to reinforce the key vertical relation of personal social structure which underlies the tariqa.

At the same time, the restrained and austere singing style generates little participatory emotion which could serve to create a strong communal solidarity. Thus the horizontal aspect of the personal social structure is de-emphasized. The restrained singing style, and lack of any instrumental texture (even clapping), is actually significant in several respects. First, it is an affirmation of the group’s commitment to orthodox norms, at least in their overt behavior. It is a means of asserting their particular identity as conservative Sufis, for themselves and for others; the latter may thereby be attracted to join their ranks, or to praise rather than criticize. Finally, it ensures that expression in performance remains emotionally low-key. Certainly there is emotion—there must be emotion in Sufism—but ideally that emotion is internalized without external signs of its existence; this is precisely the model of Sufi experience upheld by Shaykh Salih himself.

This principle not only affirms distinctive values of the group, but also protects the group's social relations, which are primarily vertical, from being dissolved by an excess of feeling which would tend to melt the group into a single homogeneous mass.

By contrast, in Jz group inshad, everyone usually sings together. Here too there exists a special class of munshidin, but they act more as song leaders than as soloists in group inshad performance. Any systematic differentiation between munshidin and others is weakly defined, weakly coordinated. Performance is unified in spirit, not in sonic detail. The texture of performance, combining munshidin and congregation, thus forms a musical expression of the relationship between Sidi Jabir and the muridin; in both cases the former leads the latter, but as a center and point of focus within the group, rather than exalted above the group as in the case of Jf. Indeed performance in Jz tends to erase distinctions of status and seniority, and to construct an idealized communal group, even if this state is not always sustained outside performance. This style stresses unity, collapsing the social divisions which invariably separate members outside of performance. At the same time, the instrumental textural layers are present ('ud, percussion, clapping) to raise the emotional level and help maintain pitch through complicated tonal shifts.

The intensive emotional expression, supported by the use of instruments, is an outward expression of inward feeling, and such expression was never criticized by Sidi Jabir. To be sure, he balanced expression of emotion in hadra with other segments (study of Qur'an, fiqh, and so forth), but emotion in hadra is an expression of the

group's values, as well as a statement of their identity, and a means of affirming their collective solidarity.

e. Timbre

	Vocal smoothness	Accent	Articulation	Expressivity	Unity
Jz	low/med	high	med	high	low
Jf	high	low	high	med/low	high

The more spirited vocal aesthetic of Jz, together with broader participation among the entire group (rather than a pair of munshidin) leads to lower vocal smoothness, articulation, and unity, higher accent and expressivity. Emotion and participation is key; vocal perfection is not. The Jf restrict participation by selecting soloists only from among the best singers, leading to a higher degree of timbral refinement and restraint. This timbre is useful for presenting texts clearly; texts must be communicated clearly, as they are considered equivalent to teachings of Shaykh Salih. The timbre is also useful in establishing the group's reserved and low-key identity, and in avoiding the generation of extraneous emotion which might serve to upset the careful articulation of social hierarchies which defines the group.

f. Energy

	Avg dynamic level	Avg individual output	Crescendo	Unity
Jz	high	high	med	high
Jf	med	med	low	high

Jz generate a much higher total energy level than Jf. Not only is individual effort output higher, but Jz also employs amplification and musical instruments to boost the

level further. Women contribute with *zaghruta* (vocal trilling). In addition, their songs are characterized by a significant energy buildup (crescendo). These attributes foster an atmosphere of ecstasy, jubilation, and exultation, which may at times actually obscure the text. In Jf by contrast the atmosphere is subdued, dignified, and serious. Emotional energy is produced at a much softer level. Rather than the *farah* (joyous, wedding) atmosphere of Jz, there is solemnity in the air.

The Jazuliyya employ group inshad as a means of gathering the group together, gaining its attention, producing a kind of communal exuberance. Text is important, but it is feeling which predominates. This feeling serves to unify the group through horizontal bonds, as well as establish a particular identity for the group as a whole. For this reason it is important that inshad be a highly energetic affair. For the Ja‘fariyya, by contrast, inshad performance projects the restrained, formal, and serious mood of obligatory prayer. Such a mood creates hushed feelings of awe and reverence for Shaykh Salih, just as prayer creates the same for God the Transcendent; both tend to establish vertical relationships. Inshad for the Ja‘fariyya is also a means of imbibing the shaykh’s wisdom—not his mystical feeling (which he kept hidden inside him) but rather his outward religiosity. Therefore inshad is calm, sedate, a means of transmitting its inner meanings, and avoiding the stirring of feeling which could jeopardize the group structure.

g. Relation to text

	Melisma	Formal support	Clarification
Jz	no	med	med
Jf	no	high	high

Jf melodic structure always follows the structure of textual lines precisely, so that the text itself is completely clear, for the prime function of inshad in Jf is to clarify the text, as a communication from shaykh to muridin, or as a prayer. Emotion is secondary, and in larger quantities undesirable. By contrast, the Jz sacrifice formal precision and clarity for a higher level of emotion, produced through group performance, use of instruments, and a more complex melodic structure. These two attitudes reflect and support the very different identities, values, and social structures of the two groups, as has been noted earlier.

h. Other variables

	Total freedom	Interality
Jz	med	use of popular song forms, melodies
Jf	low	traditional Sufi group inshad, with some influence from Qur'anic recitation; mood of obligatory prayer

Freedom in group inshad is always limited by the fact that the group must stay together. However within these limits Jz is relatively freer than Jf. Muridin who are not munshidin are generally permitted to sing throughout, whereas in Jf their participation is strictly confined to the responsorial refrains. In addition, Jz is much more tolerant of individual variations and errors along all sonic dimensions: tonal, temporal, textural, and

so on. While these deviations are not explicitly encouraged, they are not forbidden either, and serve to bind the entire group into a single organic whole through the high level of emotional expression and involvement they promote; I earlier discussed the role of mistakes in expressing a particular relationship to the shaykh, as well.

If performance is much more restricted. Participation is limited, and execution of inshad aims for perfectionism. Such behavior supports the communicative and ritual, rather than the emotional, function of inshad. The attitude of respectful awe toward inshad performance, as a formal ritual act, promotes an attitude of subservience toward the shaykh, and generally supports the hierarchical social structure of the group, besides projecting an image of severe orthodox reserve to all observers.

Interality in group inshad is a fascinating topic, which unfortunately cannot be excavated completely in this brief treatment. The style–form, melody, and instrumentation–of group inshad in the Jazuliyya tariqa is close to a form of light popular Arabic music of the mid 20th century, the strophic song form called *taqtuqa*, a kind of rondo in which the text is divided into a sequence of *kublays* (couplets, verses), each of which may receive a different melodic treatment, and even a different melodic mode, alternating with a fixed-melody refrain. The group non-metric sections sometimes included in Jazuliyya songs are reminiscent of the non-metric *istirsal* sections typical of Umm Kulthum and other tarab singers.

The resemblance goes deeper than mere stylistic features. One tariqa composer says that he often begins with a melody taken from a popular song, but then varies it so

as to disguise its origin. Other tariqa composers take over the melodies of popular songs verbatim, using them to set the Shaykh's poetry. Sometimes the original words can even be employed. Thus for instance in Jz one finds use of a 1994 Muhammad Munir popular song, "Ya baba" (both text and melody) in group inshad.

There are several group-strategic benefits to using this secular material in inshad. Use of these songs confers upon the Jazuliyya a unique sonic identity. Such material also signals their commitment to develop a truly modern Sufi order, appealing to the modern educated urban classes; indeed, use of such material tends to attract these constituents of their target group. Sidi Jabir was especially concerned to draw the youth to his tariqa, viewing the ability of Sufism to attract young people as the best way of ensuring their dedication to Islam, as well as a means of ensuring the continued existence of the tariqa itself.

Transforming popular songs to a religious context also sends a message: that one need not sacrifice everything enjoyable to become religious; religion includes joy and laughter, too. Using such a repertoire, they are able to attract a broad range of people to the tariqa, for whom inshad appears to be a substitute for their former irreligious ways, a means of weaning themselves from dependency on secular forms of entertainment which can lead to depravity.

In addition songs which draw on the sonic power of the secular repertoire are capable of generating great emotional power: first because secular music fully exploits musical resources, and second because of the ecstatic-joyful associations secular music

implies: the wedding (*farah*), the party (*hafla*). All these associations can be drawn into the hadra emotionally, but stripped of their secular and spiritually harmful elements (textual references to sensual pleasures, or association with contexts in which such pleasures take place) by being placed into a salutary Islamic context (the hadra), with suitable modifications in textual content. As I have mentioned earlier, use of potent emotional material appears as a strategy for this tariqa, as a means of reinforcing the inherently communal, horizontal bonds which largely define the group.

This use of non-religious material is not without limits. Composers only adopt songs (melodies, lyrics, or both) whose original meanings and contexts of use are “respectable”. This category includes the older mainstream urban repertoire—the tarab tradition of Arabic music—treating love in a lofty or noble manner. The poetry of these secular love songs can be easily reinterpreted as songs of Sufi love, while the musical style is designed to reproduce the strong emotions of love and longing which are suitable to the Sufi context. The songs and song styles of the great Egyptian singer, Umm Kulthum, are preferred by the Jazuliyya, and by many other munshidin in Egypt. Songs containing vulgar or cheap lyrics, and the new *shababi* (youth) music which blends western styles is not used as a source. The lyrics of such songs are not appropriate, while the music—even when applied to new words—tends to evoke the original words for listeners, and fails to produce the powerful feelings of tarab which are consistent with the Sufi ecstasy, *wajd*.

Interally, the inshad of Jf contrasts sharply with Jz. Jf melodies are simple, stark, and restrained, short, uncomplicated, narrow in compass; unlike any popular music one might hear on the radio or on television. They do not draw on the flexibility of Arabic music to develop tarab through exploration of the maqam system; they contain no modulation and often do not reveal more than a single tetrachord of a single maqam. They are not lacking in emotion, but the emotion they project is severe, and disconnected from secular contexts. The Ja'fariyya reject the idea of using popular melodies in their hadra, because they do not want to bring elements of the secular world into the hadra as a means of creating an identity or drawing in members. Rather, they adopt the opposite strategy, using sound to create a distinctly religious ethos, a sonic identity which is as unlike the secular world as possible. Solemn and otherworldly, this sonic identity attracts precisely because it appears, to some at least, as the religious life as contrasted with the ordinary world.

Indeed this is a general property of all Ja'fariyya LP. The Jf hadra is not celebratory or ecstatic; rather, it is serious and sober, similar in mood to the obligatory prayer rite. By constructing a distinctive ritual environment, the Ja'fariyya—like the Jazuliyya—attract and retain members. But while Jazuliyya inshad is distinctive in functioning as a bridge between secular and sacred, Ja'fariyya inshad is distinctive in denying the existence of any such connection. The austere world of Ja'fariyya inshad appears—at least, to some—as purely sacred. To enter the hadra is to leave the ordinary behind. While the Jazuliyya attempt to attract members by a performative experience

which is, in some ways at least, similar to what is desired in the ordinary world, the Ja‘fariyya attract members by providing a performative experience which is completely different from ordinary life, and thus felt (by some) to be closer to the spiritual ideal. Obviously the two modes create different constituencies; the Ja‘fariyya mode appeals to the orthodox, while the Jazuliyya mode appeals to those predisposed to Sufi ecstasies.

The melodies used for Ja‘fariyya inshad are similar to traditional Islamic inshad; strophic melodies used in the traditional Sufi orders (especially the Shadhiliyya), and the “Mawlid al-Nabi” (Prophet’s birthday performance) or “al-Burda” of al-Busiri, performed in Upper Egypt, and in other traditional areas. The melodies used for these texts are not associated with anything other than Islam. Some of the foremost Ja‘fariyya munshidin compose new melodies as well, but their inspirations are quite different from those of the Jazuliyya. Thus one composer-munshid in the Ja‘fariyya said that he frequently based his strophic melodies on melodic phrases from the great Qur’an reciters, such as ‘Abd al-Basit ‘Abd al-Samad. According to my notion of interality, use of such sources should evoke the context and text of the original genre; in all cases these are religious. Thus, unlike the Jazuliyya, whose inshad points to meanings outside the Islamic sphere, the Ja‘fariyya inshad (interally) is self-referring, pointing only within the Islamic sphere. In this way, both groups establish their identities, and build their constituencies.

B. Syntactic analysis

Much of the timing information on which the following analysis is based may be viewed graphically in the temporal transcriptions of each hadra, presented in the Appendix. Most of the following analytical variables are presented in graphical form. These graphs, here referenced by number and title, are also located in the Appendix.

1. Ambiguity in ritual form and definition: limitations of the analysis

The variables which follow depend on being able to uniquely identify the various LPSs which comprise the hadra performance, as well as their precise starting and ending times. The assumption that such a procedure is possible may be subjected to a certain amount of useful criticism. In particular, although the variables which follow are based on careful measurements of hadra performance as recorded on tape, certain caveats must be mentioned due to the presence of ambiguous boundaries which cannot always be accounted for in the analysis.

First, it is difficult to properly account for time at the beginning and end of the performance, because it is not always easy to determine precisely when the performance begins and ends. Rituals are surrounded by periods of informality, during which non-ritual shades into ritual (as when participants begin gathering, greeting, talking, perhaps holding informal discussions), or ritual into non-ritual (as at the end of most hadras, when there is a period of greeting the shaykh, greeting one another, and general milling

about). These periods seem to be in some sense part of the ritual performance, and yet it is difficult to state when they begin and end with theoretical conviction. A more practical problem results from the fact that since their importance for the analysis had not yet been established, these transitional periods of hadras were not always recorded. (Hindsight is always more perspicacious than foresight.) Besides, ritual participants often have their own notions of ritual boundaries (which may or may not be useful to the analyst), and frequently *insist* that the tape recorder or video camera be turned off until they feel the ritual is truly underway. For these reasons, boundary segments are not always adequately represented in the analysis.

Secondly, there are sometimes periods within the main body of ritual whose status as LP is difficult to determine. How should a brief break after an inshad performance be counted? In general very brief segments (less than 30 seconds) were simply appended to the preceding section; longer segments were treated as autonomous and classified separately. There is also the problem of how to handle non-textual ritual elements: behavioral “strips” not attached to any particular LPS. Taking the position that LP is the principal effective agent of hadra, I do not analyze formal behaviors in ritual unless these are accompanied by LP. Behaviors not analyzed here include: distribution of *nafha* (tea and other drinks, food, sweets, perfume, incense) during hadra, eating and drinking these, and protocols of arriving and leaving. Certainly a more complete *ritual* analysis should include these; however the analysis remains focussed on

LP under the theoretical assumption that LP is more important, and given the practical problems of measuring that which cannot be heard.

It is perhaps best to explain these caveats more concretely with respect to the *turuq* at hand.

In the case of Bh, participants begin gathering early in the evening after maghrib prayer, but the first group ritual act appears to be night (*'isha*) prayer. Following this prayer, there is a brief period of informality, during which participants take their seats in the small room, and more participants may arrive at this time. Finally booklets containing the *hizb* are distributed and the hadra proper begins with *fawatih*. It is at this point that the present analysis commences. During the hadra there may be brief segments of informality when one *munshid* takes over for another. Some participants arrive late, greet, and join in. But it is toward the end when things get more confusing; the ritual appears to be over after the *inshad* and *dhikr* and closing prayers; there is informal chatting. Suddenly someone remembers to complete the *hizb*, and they are chanting again. These anomalous sections of informality are treated as free segments. After the final ritual close there is informality; participants greet and a light supper is served; although an integral part of the larger ritual, this segment was not taped or analyzed in what follows. Indeed it would be difficult to define its precise ending point, for it merely fades out as individuals get up and leave.

In Bm, the formal start of the hadra is shortly after Friday noon (*jum'a*) prayer, when the analysis commences, although members may have gathered informally from

mid-morning. Many members also join the hadra late, and the ranks slowly swell during recitation of the hizb. After dhikr nafahat (rolls, small sandwiches; singular: nafha) are distributed, but this activity is not analyzed as a syntactic segment of LP. After the final ritual close greetings are performed, and many of the members sit to take tea together; this period is not analyzed either.

Jz builds up gradually. Members begin to arrive after night ('isha') prayer. Some set up chairs and the PA system in the performance space; others read, pray, or practice inshad informally. After a time, a small group may sit and begin mudhakara (study) or recite Qur'an together. More arrive. At a certain point the leaders decide to start the hadra formally with performance of the hadra shar'iyya. It is at this point that the present analysis begins, resulting in perhaps a serious underestimation of the role of the "speech" mode (dars, mudhakara, khutba) in the hadra. However even given this shortcoming, the dominance of this mode in this tariqa over the others will be apparent. Nafahat are distributed during the speeches and are not separately noted. At the end of the hadra there is a long period of greeting the shaykh and informal talk which fades off as members depart; this too remains unanalyzed.

Jf begins immediately after the sunset (*maghrib*) prayer. Although the prayer itself might be analyzed as part of the hadra (since it is mainly the members who participate), it was not included so that Jf would be defined consistently with Bh and Bm, which also begin immediately after prayer. However night prayer is contained *within* Jf, although it could have been regarded as an interim break (as it might be

described by participants), this prayer is here analyzed as a section of the hadra itself, being continuous in time and personnel with what precedes and follows. Since the prayer segment was not taped, its duration was estimated from previous experiences in the hadra. Nafahat occur simultaneous with inshad performance, and are not separately analyzed here. Greeting of the shaykh takes place simultaneous with performance of the final inshad qasida (#15); here this segment has been counted as group inshad, which is a slight error since most of the group is lined up to greet the shaykh and only the munshidin are performing inshad. But greeting the shaykh has not been analyzed in the syntax of any of the hadras, although it appears in all except Bh. After the greeting is complete, the munshidin immediately stop singing and the mosque is locked for the night; the hadra ending is not ambiguous.

2. Formal syntax

To start, one should identify the basic LP genres used in each hadra, and how they are combined. The following codes are used as a shorthand for the genres:

- H = Hizb (fixed extended text having special ritual significance)
- D = Dhikr alone (short text repeated many times)
- I
- D = Dhikr accompanied by inshad
- I^S = inshad (solo)
- I^G = inshad (group)
- S = speech (dars, muhadara, khutba, mudhakara)
- F = fawatih and ad'iyya
- P = obligatory prayer (salah)
- Q = Qur'anic recitation
- N = nafahat (sing.: nafha) (food, drink, perfume, incense, money)
- Z = ziyara (visit to maqam)

X = concluding prayer, consisting primarily of the khitam, introduced earlier.
 G = salam - modes of greeting (shaykh, other members)
 NF= non-formal section, in which individuals are free to talk and sit as they please

a. LP hadra genres

In the following table, 'xx' indicates that an LP genre always plays a major role in hadra performance; 'x' indicates necessity; while 'o' indicates possibility.

	Bh	Bm	Jz	Jf
H	xx	xx	x	xx
D	x	xx	x	x
I	xx	o	xx	
D				
I ^s	x	o	x	o
I ^v			xx	xx
S			xx	x
F	xx	xx	x	x
P				x
Q	o	o	o	o
N	x	x	x	x
Z		x	o	
X	x	x	x	x
G		x	x	x
NF	o	x	x	

This synoptic table demonstrates clearly that hizb (H), dhikr (D), fawatih/ad'iyya (F), and the khitam (X) are the essential LP elements of hadra in general. (Nafha also universally occurs, although not classified as LP.)⁴ Some sort of dhikr, usually containing attributes unique to the tariqa or hadra, is nearly always performed, and dhikr is often accompanied by solo inshad. Group inshad and speech are restricted to the modernist groups; these are the genres which are generally more effective in producing social (as opposed to purely spiritual) effects: group inshad because it combines social unity, the

affective power of singing, and the communicative/affective power of poetry; speech because it is communicatively flexible. Due to their greater requirements for organization, these genres require particular social resources—centralization, and cohesion—in order to be put into effect across the tariqa, and often depend on literacy as well. Therefore, one should not be surprised to note their absence in the traditional turuq.

b. LP hadra grammar

The generic LP content of hadra as discussed above is here presented as a series of grammatical formulas which summarize possible hadra sequences performed in each group. Time sequence is represented as typographical order, reading left to right. An attempt was made to align similar sections in the different hadras, so as to better contrast them, therefore whitespace (horizontal gaps) should be ignored. Segments in parentheses can be repeated. Bracketed material is included within scope of preceding unit. These formulas indicate the main segments of language performance only, omitting non-language activities.

Bh	H [D]	I (D)	FX
Bm	H [D]	I (D)	FX
Jz	H	I DH (IS)	FX
Jf	HFH [D]	F (IS)	FX

3. Aggregate durations of LP categories

The following variables each measure the total amount of hadra time (or percentage of total time) during which particular categories and types of LP are being performed, summed across the entire performance. These values are assumed to represent the emphasis placed upon the particular category or type in the hadra.

a. Total performance time

(See Graph 1; all graphs are located at the end of the Appendix (“Analytical graphs”).)

This graph provides a useful reference, since many of the following variables are defined as percentages of total performance time. It is also important to note how much longer the modernist hadra is than the traditional hadra. Here the comparison is not quite fair, since the Jazuliyya also perform a much shorter mosque hadra, but on the other hand the Bayyumiyya Friday hadra (Bm, under consideration here) is the equivalent of Jz in the sense of being the central hadra of the order. Bh is longer, but still not nearly as long as Jz or Jf. (If informal time were included, the length of Bh would increase, but so would the length of Jz.) In addition, the informal mudhakara (speech) with which the Jz hadra begins can last nearly an hour, and has not been included here.

The modernist *turuq* provide group ritual activities which are longer (and more frequent), than those of the traditional orders; these groups ensure attendance through peer pressure and sometimes sanctions.⁵ This relatively high ritual density (by which I mean the number of ritual hours per unit of time) enables LP to produce a deeper effect on participants. The greater time spent in *hadra* also means that participation in the *tariqa* tends to dominate members' free time outside of work and basic family duties. Participation in the *tariqa* constitutes members' principal social activity. It is not merely that members are not permitted to join other social groups; rather, there is not enough time to do so. Thus exclusivity is enforced through sanctions, as well as through ritual practice itself. For the *murid* belonging to such a *tariqa*, membership becomes the most important voluntary source of identity. It is such individuals, identifying strongly with the group, whose individual desires and motivations become aligned with the interests of the group, whose allegiance and dedication is firmly directed toward the *tariqa*'s authorities. Such a high level of group identification supports the existence of group-level strategies, as I have mentioned before.

By contrast, traditional orders demand a relatively low level of active commitment from members. Although a *tariqa* such as the *Rifa'iyya* is extremely widespread, most of its members do not meet regularly, being members in name only, and many have taken the *'ahd* (oath) from other *turuq* as well. Such *turuq* lack cohesion, and are not well-positioned to prosper in the modern era, although individual chapters may do so.

b. Absolute aggregate durations of disjoint LP categories

(See Graph 2.)

This graph shows absolute durations and so is difficult to use for the purpose of making comparisons of emphasis. However it is interesting to note that the hizb for Bh, Bm, and Jz is approximately the same length; the same applies for dhikr (alone) and inshad with dhikr for Bh and Jz. The former fact results from the rough equality of hizb text length, but for the Jz this will be a much smaller fraction of the total hadra time. The latter indicates a similarity between Bh and Jz in the domain of inshad and dhikr: both emphasize the same sort of ecstatic inshad which builds up to an emotional climax over a relatively lengthy time period. But whereas in the Bh there is no sense in which such an emphasis represents strategic policy for the group (indeed the group does not exist in a permanent organizational sense, consisting merely in whatever Sufis from whichever turuq happen to attend on any given Monday evening), in the latter it appears designed to create group unity at the level of the tariqa as a whole, by generating a shared intensive state of wajd (mystical ecstasy). The Ja'fariyya hadra is longer, but this fact alone cannot explain the tremendous emphasis on group inshad; this fact will be clearer from the next graph.

c. Relative aggregate durations of disjoint LP categories

(See Graphs 3,4.)

Two graphs present the information: the first in an ordinary bar graph, and the second by dividing fixed-length bars into segments whose area is proportional to the prominence of the indicated LP category.

Many trends are indicated by this graph, but the following facts should be especially noted. The hizb is much more dominant in the Bayyumiyya hadras than in the modernist turuq. This is especially noticeable in Bm, where the hizb occupies nearly 40% of the total performance time; when combined with pure dhikr (without inshad) as another type of primarily ritual LP, the total comes to nearly 60%. Such ritual language is less able to unify and form the group than the emotional and communicative modes which predominate in inshad and speech.

In Bh the hizb is also prominent, but far less so than the dominating dhikr/inshad combination. Here, in private, far from the critical eye of tariqa authorities, individuals feel free to indulge in the mystical impulse, and the hadra provides the scene within which individual mystical states (hal, wajd) can develop. This immediate spiritual gratification may not accord with the emphasis on restrained spiritual progression promulgated by the orders, but rather serves to fulfill individual spiritual desires. By contrast, the modernist turuq attempt to regulate this individual inclination toward ecstasy, so as to provide a more lasting form of spiritual growth (via a succession of maqamat) through hadra participation, beyond mere emotional experience. Jz does offer an ecstatic experience, but only within a highly structured ritual which focusses on more conservative approaches as well, whereas for Bh generation of ecstasy is the primary

substance of hadra. Dhikr and inshad together is rejected entirely and in principle in the more conservative Jf.

Solo inshad, usually serving as a prelude to dhikr/inshad is also notably absent in Jf. While the Ja'fariyya do occasionally allow solo inshad in the style of ibtihalat (not as a prelude to dhikr), this style is rarely performed because of its inability to involve the group as a whole. Jf focusses instead on group inshad as an effective strategy which accomplishes a large number of tasks at once. The pragmatic aspect of group inshad (discussed in detail later) reinforces the hierarchical social order of the tariqa in several ways: by presenting soloists in order of seniority, through performative alternation between solo and group, and by highlighting soloists from each saha (local chapter) in turn. The sonic aspect (discussed earlier) teaches submission to authority, by requiring all to perform in strict unity. Finally, its texts are drawn almost exclusively from the repertoire of Shaykh Salih (the only exceptions are a few qasidas by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani, son of the founder and current shaykh), and thus serve to communicate his religious vision.

More than the other hadras, Jz presents a balance, with substantial percentages of the total hadra time devoted to (in descending order) speech, inshad/dhikr, group inshad, hizb, and solo inshad. Thus while Jz may be striking among modernist orders for including music and ecstatic inshad/dhikr, such "intoxicated" behavior is balanced by more sober elements such as recitation of prayers (hizb) and discussions about the principles of religion (speech). Speech is a major element in Jz, representing this group's

innovative “madrasa”, a kind of school for the teaching of Islamic law (fiqh), traditions (hadith), Qur’anic recitation, and Sufism. These teaching sessions serve to educate members, bringing their cognitive understanding of religion into line with their desire to experience it emotionally. They also serve to integrate the group socially, since each person may have a chance to stand and present his understanding of a particular point. The Ja‘fariyya hadra may also feature speech, depending on who is in attendance. But for them speech is not a means of creating horizontal bonds of solidarity, but rather of vertical bonds, by means of disseminating religious knowledge from experts, who metaphorically take over the role of Shaykh Salih. If there is no one qualified present, speech is omitted and hadra filled mainly with inshad (as was the case in Jf). Therefore the role of speech in Jf is far less than in Jz.

Note that fawatih and ad‘iyya are relatively prominent in the traditional hadra of the Bayyumiyya, far more than in the modernist hadras; modernist groups tend to restrict naming to shaykhs connected with the group so as to maintain focus on themselves, a means of generating solidarity and protecting exclusivity.

Finally, the percentage of time devoted to other forms of LP (“other”) is relatively constant, except for Jf. LP filed under this category includes unstructured time, short prayer formulas outside the hizb, opening and concluding sequences, and other special occurrences. For Jz this category includes an initiation (consisting of a fixed-text group recitation), a not-uncommon occurrence. For Jf this category covers

the entire night ('isha') prayer (including adhan, Qur'anic recitation, obligatory prayer, and individual prayer) within the context of the hadra.

d. Relative aggregate durations of overlapping LP categories (modalities)

(See Graph 5.)

The picture is presented more starkly in this graph of LP, in which categories have been reduced to four principal ones, relating to the four main LP modalities: ritual (hizb), mantric (dhikr, with or without inshad), affective (inshad (with or without dhikr)), and speech. (These categories overlap, and so the percentages no longer tally to 100%.) The patterns indicated earlier now become clearer: hizb is most salient in Bm, dhikr and inshad (combined) in Bh, and speech in Jz. Within Bh, inshad, then dhikr, then hizb dominate; in Bm the pattern is the reverse. For Jz inshad dominates followed by speech and dhikr, and lastly hizb. For Jf inshad is dominant, followed by hizb, then dhikr and speech.

One may interpret this data as follows: Bm focusses on ritual language, with some (nearly inaudible) inshad included to accompany dhikr. This situation is not strategic, but rather arises out of hysteresis: the inheritance of a ritual form which specifies hizb and dhikr only. But here the strategic vacuum is filled with little inshad, due to the public context, lack of time, and perhaps dissatisfaction with the munshidin⁶. Bh concentrates on dhikr and inshad in order to create powerful individual emotion

states (hal, wajd) which are not, however, in any way channeled toward group ends; the hizb is relegated to secondary status. This situation, too, is not strategic, but rather arises due to the filling of a strategic vacuum with individual desire for mystical rapture, together with a private and informal context which allows this to occur. Jz focusses on inshad to raise group feeling and provide a measure of ecstatic experience, but here ecstasy is tempered with speech: communicative language which binds and educates the group, grounding it firmly in Sunna as a basis. For Jf group inshad dominates, followed by hizb. The former serves to structure the tariqa socially and imbue members with the teachings of Shaykh Salih, while the hizb (composed by the shaykh's shaykh, Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris) anchors the tariqa to the past.

e. Relative aggregate durations of inshad categories

(See Graph 6.)

This graph clarifies the distribution of three categories of inshad—group, solo, and dhikr-accompanying—across the four hadras. Patterns are thereby starkly revealed. Inshad with dhikr dominates in Bh, illustrating the centrality of this combination so potent for generating ecstatic individual experience. Bm exhibits a near-equal balance between inshad with dhikr and solo inshad (within a hadra which actually emphasizes hizb, as we have seen). Neither Bh nor Bm contain any group inshad. In Jz group inshad is present to a large degree; members describe it as a means of creating group unity through participation and exuberant but sober (*sahi*) emotionalism. Such inshad is balanced with solo inshad (usually accompanying dhikr) providing feeling of the *sukr*

(intoxication) type, which is also described as creating unity, but in a more spiritual dimension. In Jf all inshad is group inshad, alternating leader and group, and employing highly orthodox texts of Shaykh Salih, in such a manner as to reinforce the essential vertical and orthodox aspects of the tariqa's identity.

f. Relative aggregate lengths of inshad text types

(See Graph 7.)

All domains of modernist group hadras tend to be strategically controlled. The contrast with traditional groups is especially evident in the domain of inshad. Only one poem (a manzuma) is attributed to Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumiyya, but as far as I observed it is not used by the munshidin in hadra. Therefore all inshad texts in Bh and Bm are either non-poetic (mostly madad), or else taken from the "public domain" of inshad sung by all munshidin, but not specifically related to the tariqa Bayyumiyya. The more free-wheeling Bh is only about 60% poetic, while most of the remainder of the text consists of invocations of saints (madad). In the central hadra (Bm) inshad time is more limited, and so the munshidin focus on poetry, mostly standard madih. In neither case is there any strategy for inshad content of hadra set by the central tariqa authorities.

In the modernist groups this "strategic vacuum" in the domain of inshad is largely eliminated. Poetry is the principal expressive form by which shaykhs assert their spiritual wisdom and experience. Use of such poetry in the hadra fills inshad with the wisdom, experience, and presence of the tariqa's founder. By singing it, munshidin declare their

allegiance to the shaykh, promulgate his Sufi views, and invoke his presence; the group is unified around this repertoire. Naturally, such texts are heavily emphasized in hadra.

Approximately the same percentage of inshad text is poetic in Bm and Jz, but with an important difference: in the latter, most poetry is attributed to the shaykh, Sidi Jabir. A significant fraction of the hadra also employs poetry by other authors, during solo inshad segments. I argue that this leniency is also strategic: by allowing the munshid to sing more freely from his own repertoire, he is better able to express himself, and suit the state of the hadra, than if he were limited to the shaykh's diwan only. By providing flexibility enabling such expression, the tariqa facilitates the development of a higher level of emotional energy in these solo inshad segments. This ecstatic emotion, in turn, is critical in attracting members, and promoting the strong communal solidarity of horizontal relationships which characterizes the group.

In Jf the hegemony of the founder's poetic repertoire is virtually total. The small fraction of poetry performed which does not come from the diwan of Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari was composed by his son, present shaykh of the order, as a praise of his father. Thus the presence of the founder dominates inshad completely. The possibility of employing other poetic texts which could undercut the total authority of Shaykh Salih is thereby eliminated. The continual invocation of Shaykh Salih through performance of his poetry serves as a constant invocation of his presence, and elevation of his status within the hadra. The essential tariqa identity is Shaykh Salih; the essential social relationship is a hierarchical one, which is metaphorically represented by the relation of

every murid to the founding shaykh, towering over all even after his physical passing away. Although such severe restriction of poetic repertoire restricts the emotional range of the hadra (particularly because much of Shaykh Salih's poetry is rather dry), emotional restriction is exactly what tariqa authorities desire. By dampening emotion, hierarchical relationships are not threatened; the calm decorum of the hadra is preserved. Inshad delivers its sober messages, thereby drawing the group together around the founder. Repetition of Shaykh Salih's poetry serves to promote his religious vision, which is based on the strict internalization of religious feeling, and presentation of a solidly orthodox exterior. The conservative reputation of the tariqa is safeguarded, and serves to attract conservative Muslims to the group.

g. Relative aggregate durations of entropy levels

(See Graph 8.)

All LPSs of each hadra have been classified into one of three entropy level categories, according to qualitative and subjective estimations of entropy level or freedom. To review, these are:

- 1) Low: all fixed text prayers (hizb, pure dhikr, obligatory prayer, fixed fawatih/ad'iyya sequences, initiation). Such LP admits of very little individual variation, since performance patterns are extremely restrictive.
- 2) Med: inshad with dhikr, free fawatih/ad'iyya sequences, group inshad. Such LP either admits of a medium level of freedom, or is a mixture of levels (such as fixed dhikr together with free solo inshad).
- 3) High: solo inshad without fixed dhikr, speech, informal time. Here there are relatively few restrictions on LP.

Such an analysis may be crude, but is nevertheless suggestive of general patterns.

The graphs indicate the relative constraint of Bm (due to relative prominence there of inflexible ritual language such as hizb, fawatih, and other types), and the relative freedom of Jz (due to prominence of speech, as well as solo inshad). Jf allows for little free LP (mostly speech; occasionally there is a solo inshad segment in Ja‘fariyya hadra, although none were performed in Jf). The fact that ritual boundaries (freer, more disordered periods during which entropy is naturally higher) are not well-represented in the analysis leads to general underestimation of entropy. Correcting this error would tend to increase the “high” entropy value for Bh, since such a large fraction of the evening in this hadra is spent in conversation, eating, and other informal activities.

Lacking strong active charismatic center, the restrictiveness of most LP in Bm results from the fact that the tariqa has inherited no more than a single ritual form (the hizb), while lacking any strong charismatic center who might use it creatively to express or form a distinctive Bayyumiyya character. In its formative period, the hadra incorporated more varied activities (we know that Sidi ‘Ali al-Bayyumiyya lectured on hadith, for instance), but with passage of time (and the concurrent decline of the shaykh’s charisma) all that was preserved was the outward ritual form of the hizb. The tariqa maintains a measure of communal existence by means of this restrictive hizb-based hadra, linking them to their founder. However, it is of little value in ensuring the overall social cohesion and continued existence of the group.

In Jf, the restricted ritual performance of hizb provides the strategic value of linking participants to their shaykh’s shaykh (Sidi Ahmad bin Idris), thus maintaining

connection to the past. But loyalty to Shaykh Salih and his distinctive values, and the particular social structure of the group are reinforced through participation in group inshad, whose greater freedom in melodic and expressive domains enables the development of some small measure of corporate feeling.

In the Bh the hizb serves as a mere marker of the Bayyumiyya identity, and is sidelined as quickly as possible in favor of higher-entropy activities: dhikr and inshad, both of which, through freer involvement of the individual, are capable of much greater emotional stimulation. Much time is also spent here in free and relaxed socialization (talking, eating, smoking). However these activities are the result of individual motivations—to experience spiritual ecstasy, to enjoy the social occasion—but do not serve the existential needs of the tariqa as a corporate unit. In particular, emotion generated in the peripheral group cannot serve to bind the tariqa as a whole; rather, it may have the opposite effect of creating divisions. Furthermore, behavior in Bh would be roundly criticized by religious conservatives, and most probably by central authorities of Sufi orders as well, for being an excess of sensual emotion, and for being a purely emotional exercise, lacking any cognitive structure which could instill Islamic values.

In Jz the use of hizb is relatively marginal, and high entropy material (solo inshad and speech) dominates. But here freedom is applied—as inshad—in the *central* hadra to generate communal emotional states which help to unify the group. Music and solo inshad also serve to attract members by providing a rich spiritual experience (not only gratifying spiritual needs, but also inspiring members with feeling for the shaykh, and for

each other). Freedom is applied—in the form of speech—as a means of sharing and distributing information or questions. Group study (mudhakara) serves to bind participants through social interaction, and with a sense of shared knowledge and identity, while grounding them in the Shari‘a. In either case, freedom serves to bind the group together, both emotionally and cognitively, and to strengthen the tariqa. Thus high entropy is strategically useful.

4. Average durations of LPSs

The preceding variables considered the total duration of various categories of LP as considered across the entire performance. In this section I examine the rate of LPSs as the performance progresses, i.e. the durations of individual LPSs.

a. Average LPS duration, average inshad LPS duration

(See Graph 9.)

Three variables are summarized in one graph (labelled “Average LPS durations”):

- 1) Average LPS duration
- 2) Average inshad LPS duration
- 3) Average inshad text duration

I consider the first two here; the third is taken up in the section which follows.

The first two variables indicate a common pattern. The modernist groups not only feature much longer hadras, they also feature much longer LPSs, on average. Considering all LPSs, the average duration for Jz and Jf exceeds that of Bh by factors of 1.8 and 1.6 (respectively), and exceeds that of Bm by factors of 2.6 and 2.4

(respectively). Considering inshad LPSs only, Jz and Jf are longer than Bh by factors of 1.6 and 1.7 (respectively), and longer than Bm by factors of 4.0 and 4.3 (respectively).⁷

The shorter the length of LP segments, the higher their rate of presentation in hadra. It seems axiomatic that the higher this presentation rate, the higher the rate of cognitive shifting by participants, and the lower their level of concentration. As the length of an LPS increases—at least to a point—participants are better able to engage its various aspects: syntactic, semantic, sonic, and pragmatic. Where might the peak of such a “concentration curve” lie, beyond which concentration would be expected to decrease again, due to boredom or sheer exhaustion? This is not an easy question to answer *a priori*, but fieldwork suggests an answer. Whereas time constraints and the need to include varied material may limit the length of LPSs among the Sufi *turuq*, virtually no limits are imposed in the public hadra performances by professional *munshidin*. A famous professional *munshid* such as Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami controls his performance completely. In order to maximize his power in performance, one might expect that he would set the length of LP segments near its “optimal” value, i.e. neither too short (preventing concentration) nor too long (risking boredom or exhaustion). But his LPSs, most of which consist of a “buildup” from slow to fast, are generally at least 15 minutes long, i.e. 900 seconds. On the other hand, the average LPS durations for the *turuq* under consideration do not exceed 600 seconds (10 minutes). Within this range, I therefore assume that the longer the segment, the higher the level of concentration of participants.

The greater length of LPSs in the modernist orders is partly explained by their longer total performance time. One might argue that a short hadra which contains the same number of LPSs, as it might for purely formal reasons, will necessarily contain shorter segments. Although this is true, one retort would be that a longer performance time itself suggests a greater concern to present participants with a completely enveloping (and hence formative) experience; conversely short performance suggests a neglect of this potential. But if LPSs were merely dependent on hadra length, one would not expect average LPS length for Jf to be considerably less than that of Jz, since the Jf hadra is much longer. Further, if one discounts group inshad in Jz, then average inshad LPS duration goes up (542 sec) to 1.62 times the Bh value (335 sec), despite the fact that the two hadras contain nearly equal amounts of time in solo and solo/dhikr inshad (3016 sec for Bh, 3253 sec for Jz).

A better explanation is the supposition that in Jf and Jz longer LPSs result from performative strategies designed to ensure that a sufficient level of concentration will develop in the individual. This concentration, in turn, means that these LPSs are useful tools for working upon the individual, and molding him socially to the group. In Bm the only long LPS is the hizb; inshad and dhikr are short bursts of energy within which there is no opportunity for participants to develop concentration, and their effectiveness is therefore limited. This situation appears to arise due to a kind of ritual neglect; potentially, an extended and intensified dhikr and inshad could serve to develop a deeper level of emotion, thereby binding the group around its leader, and increasing solidarity.

But no one in the tariqa, at least no one with power to act, seems to be motivated to renew the tariqa's central ritual in this way. Perhaps this neglect is due to weakness of the tariqa's central authority, or indifference of its hereditary leaders toward the state of the group, or their perception of the relative unimportance (in such a decentralized tariqa) of the central ritual.⁸ What is certain is that dhikr and inshad are not spelled out in any ritual prescription, and therefore must be reenergized by every generation of members. If the impetus to do so among tariqa leaders is lacking, these segments of hadra will tend to diminish in length (and importance), as is the case here. The hizb, being a written and fixed text, remains unchanged, while dhikr and inshad will wither to negligible roles. Consequently, the average length of an LPS, including both hizb and dhikr/inshad, diminishes sharply.

In Bh, at the periphery of the tariqa, one finds the opposite situation. Here dhikr/inshad segments are emphasized above the hizb. Participants are eager for an ecstatic experience, and dhikr/inshad segments are therefore much longer than in Bm. However, due to absence of firm leadership in this group, a kind of anarchy prevails. The group attending this hadra is open, and draws a mixture of participants from several turuq, several of whom rank as shaykhs in their own groups. Each such participant wants to take his turn as mustaftih, leader of the dhikr. In addition, several munshidin may attend, each wanting a turn to sing. As a result of these competing interests, and the lack of a strong leader who could reconcile them, the dhikr is constantly starting and stopping as a means of accommodating everyone who wants to participate as a leader or

munshid. Although the dhikr/inshad combination is intensive and ecstatic, the development of group solidarity is limited by these constant transitions from one inshad LPS to another, and the disorder they entail.

Thus both formal rigidity lacking creative energy (in Bm) and creative energy lacking controlling leadership (in Bh) can lead to inefficient utilization of performative resources toward building the group. In both cases the problem lies in the fact that the central tariqa authority is weak, or non-existent. The central ritual (Bm) has become overly formal and rigid, being determined by forces of hysteresis, in which the rather perfunctory performance of hizb constitutes the principal ritual act. The peripheral ritual (Bh) has become unregulated, and is divided among the competing interests of too many individuals seeking to exercise their presumed authority. In the more carefully and centrally controlled modernist groups, LPSs tend to be longer, a considered strategy of tariqa authorities as a means of ensuring the efficacy of hadra, and hence the long-term success of the group.

b. Average inshad text segment duration, average poetic inshad text segment length

(See Graphs 9,10.)

The first of these two variables appears on the graph labelled “Average LPS durations”; the second on “Average poetic inshad text segment length”.

These variables provide a finer-grain analysis by examining the rate of text-switching. A segment of LPS in which there is only one text (poetic text, madad, or

other) is continuous not only in its sonic and pragmatic aspects, but in its textual and presumably (unless the text itself is full of disparate juxtapositions) semantic aspects as well. The longer the text duration, the greater the possibility that its meaning will emerge, and be fully communicated to the listener. The munshid who stitches together many short snippets of different texts in his inshad performance may be effective in generating a strong emotional impact, but in this case it will be more difficult for listeners to make cognitive sense of what they are hearing.

The values of average inshad text duration are striking: Jf texts are more than five times as long, on average, as Jz and Bh, and more than nine times as long as Bm. This fact illustrates an important difference between Jf and Jz. Both use relatively longer inshad LPSs, however within these LPSs (specifically, in solo inshad) the Jz singer may employ many textual shifts for emotional effect. Jf contains group inshad only, in which each inshad LPS contains a single text. The same pattern is illustrated by the data for average poetic inshad text length. Here the average number of lines is computed. Again, Jf texts are far longer.

This difference indicates an important contrast in strategy. It would not be correct to conclude, for instance, that the Jazuliyya munshid, or any other munshid, is not interested in presenting texts which can be understood. It is important to remember that all munshidin depend heavily on communicating text in order to produce an effect on the listener. However there are different goals here.

For the Jf the poetic text is a transcription of their founder's knowledge and experience, and its performance in hadra is regarded as an opportunity for all to benefit from this. These poems are viewed as pedagogical tools more than expressions of intensive feeling. Generation of emotion in the Ja'fariyya hadra is generally restrained, for reasons which have been discussed earlier. Therefore communication of a text's assertional content is at a premium, not emotional arousal. This communicative priority necessitates many performative features, including textual continuity.⁹

Among the Jazuliyya too, poetry is taken mainly from the output of the tariqa founder, Sidi Jabir, and is regarded as imbued with his insights. But here, unlike the Ja'fariyya, poetry is used principally to generate emotion, not for pedagogical purposes. Group inshad serves to awaken and unify the group through an exuberance of "sobriety" ("sahwa"), while solo inshad serves to create a feeling of intoxicated ecstasy (sukr) in the individual. Pedagogy is supplied by speech, in the *madrasa* segments of performance, not in inshad. The perceived value of Sidi Jabir's poetry lies in its expression of feeling, much more than pedagogy; in performance such poetry is used to generate emotion more than to communicate. Many of the poems are well-known, and with a brief quotation the munshid may invoke a qasida's emotional connotations. In attempting to build emotion in the hadra, the solo munshid prefers not to stick to a single text, for this would overly restrict the generation of emotion. He can only maximize emotional power via a dynamic process by which he adjusts his performance according to feedback from the state of the hadra (as he observes it from the dhakkira), and from his own inner state.

Using states of emotional excitement in himself and others as a guide, he selects texts which can simultaneously express his own inner feeling and push the overall state of the hadra forward. Both states may fluctuate rapidly, and as he follows them he moves from one text to another. Inshad in Jz is not so central as in Jf for representing the founder within hadra, since *mudhakara* (speech) includes segments dedicated to the shaykh's writings. Furthermore, inshad repertoire is not strictly limited to qasidas of the shaykh during solo inshad; for qasidas from other sources, textual continuity is less critical since the words of Sidi Jabir are not involved. In group inshad poetry is limited to the output of Sidi Jabir, and the entire poem is usually sung. However, poems of Sidi Jabir are generally much shorter than those of Shaykh Salih. All these factors lead to shorter inshad text segments, which are entirely consistent with an overall strategy supporting the group through inshad performance.

Like the Jz the Bayyumiyya display relatively low values for inshad text duration and length. But this outward similarity conceals a basic difference: among the Bayyumiyya this situation arises as a result of the lack of any group-determined strategy controlling inshad performance. Here poetry is completely at the discretion of the munshid. The texts employed are not drawn from any particular canon, since no authoritative diwan exists (in particular, Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumiyya neither wrote nor authorized one). Most munshidin come from outside the tariqa, hoping for nuqut (tips), and so the munshid's status is tenuous. The munshid hopes to strengthen his position, increasing his nuqut and status, by being emotionally effective. His selection of texts is

governed by this principle, not by loyalty to the group, or the principles of its identity. In theory, it would be possible for the tariqa authorities to control inshad performance in such a way as to render it more useful for the group, but they are not positioned to do so. The resulting “strategic vacuum” is filled by the individual munshid to suit his own ends. Therefore, the Bayyumiyya munshid, like the solo Jazuliyya munshid, moves from one text to another, adjusting to performance conditions in order to boost the emotional level. But these texts have no particular association with the group, and therefore their performance does not serve to increase group solidarity.

5. General formal variability in hadra: openness

For present purposes, form consists of the LPS genre sequence, LPS genre durations, and the specific LP genre instances selected. The greater the formal variability, the greater the variation among instances (performances) of a particular hadra (by which I mean the ritual itself, rather than any given performance of it), in sequence, durations, and content. The precise values of these quantities depends on hadra participants (particularly leaders), and decisions are often made during the performance itself. Openness, the variability of form, allows the performance to respond to the exigencies of the moment. A closed form is rigid and cannot so respond.

Bm offers the least variability, consisting always of the same genre sequence, approximately the same lengths, and with nearly the same content. Only inshad texts (undetermined by any canon), fawatih, and ad'iyya can vary in theory, although in practice even those are often repeated from one week to the next. Bh presents a strong

contrast, in that the dominant central dhikr section is open: it consists of a virtually unbounded sequence of dhikr tabaqas (segments), each accompanied by inshad, and each varying widely in length and content.

In Jz the initial segment of hadra (the hadra shar‘iyya) is closed, but is followed by an open section in which solo inshad, group inshad, and mudhakara are mixed in a sequence, varying in length and content, which changes from week to week. Inshad and mudhakara are selected out of a large set of possibilities, the former including but not limited to Sidi Jabir’s diwan. However there does at least exist a core inshad repertoire which consistently biases performance, without strictly limiting it.

In Jf too the initial segment of hadra (the hizb, “Kanz al-Nafahat”) is fixed, but the portion of hadra after salat al-‘isha’ is more open. Although the repertoire from which inshad is drawn is very large (Shaykh Salih wrote twelve volumes of poetry), it is definitively limited to the poems of Shaykh Salih, plus a handful of poems by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani. Speeches are generally limited to conservative religious themes, and take place less frequently than the mudhakara of the Jz.

The more a hadra is closed, the more it is rigid, operating in the ritual mode which depends on the performative act of LP to achieve an effect. Since such a hadra is exactly the same in every performance, there can be no communication, and affect is limited by inflexibility. Open forms use formal flexibility to increase communication, affect, or both, by dynamically adjusting to suit the context, and the participants.

The rigidity of Bm means that it is less able to create affect or communicate information. Such rigidity seems to result not from any definite plan but rather from “ritual neglect” by which a ritual is reduced to its most basic and simple form due to the absence of any person(s) willing or able to take creative control. This rigidity stands in seemingly sharp contrast to the high creative openness of Bh, which also results from a kind of neglect, here allowing great freedom for participants. These two extremes are in fact different manifestations of the same condition, which is a lack of the two factors necessary for a tariqa to adapt its rituals strategically: a sufficient level of group identification from which a “group consciousness” can emerge, and a strong, centrally controlled, and cohesive social structure. Lacking strategy, the ritual falls into a state of neglect: either it is frozen into an inflexible structure within which participants are straitjacketed and unable to assert their will, or it melts into a completely liquid form, within which participants’ will is the determining factor. In neither case does the ritual serve the long-term needs of the group.

The difference between the two cases typifies the difference between center and periphery in the traditional, widely dispersed tariqa. Lacking charismatic authority, the ritual center (Bm) is dominated by conservatism: not religious conservatism, but rather an avoidance of change. Here, the shaykh al-sajjada or his deputy controls ritual; lacking independent charisma, he rests his titular authority on his commitment to that which has been received from the past. This conservatism is further emphasized by the public context, and performance at the tariqa’s center (in the shadow of Sidi ‘Ali’s maqam).

While inshad is free, it is given only a very small role. The same factors at the ritual periphery (Bh) produce the opposite effect: here the lack of strong ritual authority, combined with the private context, and diverse group, leads to a weak sense of ritual form, in which everyone feels able to make a small creative contribution to performance.

The modernist groups are different. Here one finds a balance between formal rigidity and individual flexibility. Flexible aspects of performance are mostly determined by tariqa leaders, but some individual input is allowed as well, so that the hadra remains fresh and responsive to its members, becoming neither ossified (like Bm), nor degenerating into the disorder of individual whim (like Bh).

Thus the Jazuliyya hadra program is flexible, but is largely determined by group leaders in advance. Before attending local chapter meetings, the local leader (mas'ul) prepares a list of the hadra segments to be performed. Enough freedom is provided in certain hadra segments (especially to the solo munshid) to allow emotion to build, but individual freedom is strictly limited. Group inshad is selected in advance by the munshidin in coordination with the hadra leaders' choice of topics for mudhakara, so that the entire hadra works toward a thematic unity, which is often affected by the season (thus at the time of the hajj (pilgrimage) inshad and mudhakara are concerned with issues concerning the pilgrimage ritual). The choice of inshad, and to some extent mudhakara, is influenced (if not entirely determined) by the diwan and writings of Sidi Jabir. In this way the presence of the founder is constantly reemphasized in inshad.

Mudhakara is flexible, ranging through a wide spectrum of themes in fiqh, hadith, and tafsir that are not directly connected to the output of Sidi Jabir, but which serve to ground the tariqa in Shari'a. But when mudhakara treats specifically Sufi themes, it remains close to the shaykh's writings, and the introduction of writings from other Sufi shaykhs or books is prohibited. This policy for mudhakara provides flexibility, while ensuring that the discussions do not stray from the principles on which the group is based, so that all can gather together upon the words of Sidi Jabir. During mudhakara, anyone may stand and speak, so long as he attempts to deliver an interpretation of the issue being discussed which is conformable to those principles. This formal flexibility enables feelings of egalitarianism and horizontal solidarity on which the identity of the group depends, without jeopardizing unity.

In If one observes fewer possibilities for ritual flexibility, and they are more firmly controlled by leaders. In this tariqa the emphasis is less on developing emotion in hadra, and more on ritual and teaching, within a hierarchical framework. The first part of hadra is ordinarily dominated by the hizb, although other options (e.g. Qur'anic recitation) are occasionally introduced. In the second part, groups of munshidin (usually duets) perform, in an order selected by a tariqa official devoted to this task. Usually the munshidin are free to select any qasida from the diwan of Shaykh Salih, but they are not permitted to switch from one qasida to another during performance. However the extremely large number of qasidas in the diwan, covering a wide variety of themes (albeit mostly conservative topics) suitable for any occasion, provides plenty of possibilities

from which the munshidin can select material. Whatever their choice, their performance will reinforce the presence and teachings of the founding shaykh. Sometimes, the tariqa authorities (usually Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani) will request that a particular qasida be performed. This arrangement provides some freedom for individual expression, while always remaining within limits which ensure that performance will tend to solidify the group, imbuing it with the teachings, spirit, and memory of its exalted founder, Shaykh Salih al-Ja‘fari.

Sermons which are interpolated between inshad segments provide another source of flexibility in the hadra form. But while content of such sermons is determined by the individual speakers, these are not open opportunities for group participation, but rather are restricted to religious scholars with proper credentials. Speakers are selected in advance, and often are distinguished visitors from outside the tariqa. Their sermons tend to be religiously conservative, in keeping with the famous Friday lessons of Shaykh Salih at al-Azhar. They are optional, and omitted if no qualified speakers are present. Overall Jf form is less flexible than the Jz and more controlled.

As a rule, one observes that in the newer turuq, proximity to the charismatic founder enables greater flexibility in hadra. When the founding shaykh is actively leading a hadra, the ritual form can be changed at any time. With the founder’s khalifa in charge, the ritual becomes somewhat more firmly established. But it is at the periphery of the modernist group (the local hadra), furthest from the tariqa’s center, that one finds the highest level of formal rigidity, since here avoidance of ritual deviation is a means of

asserting allegiance to the center. With the passing of the founder and his khalifa, rigid preservation of ritual form becomes to a certain extent a means of asserting allegiance to the founder's vision.

But gradually, over time, the pattern becomes reversed: proximity to the charismatic founder (now present in spiritual form only), which is equivalent to proximity to the organizational center (since the tariqa leader assumes custodianship of the founder's mantle), corresponds to greater ossification of ritual forms (as in Bm), while at the group's periphery (where authority of the tariqa leader is weak) the local shaykh takes control of the ritual, shaping it to his needs; if that local shaykh is weak, then the ritual may become relatively free and determined by individual impulses (as in Bh).

6. Text rate in inshad LPSs

(See Graph 11.)

I count the number of words sung within all inshad LPSs, minus repetitions (whether regular or not; thus refrains are counted once only). The word count is divided by the total amount of inshad LPS time (including solo inshad, inshad with dhikr, and group inshad). This ratio provides a measure of the amount of new text presented per unit time.

The results indicate that Bh and Bm are nearly identical; they are considerably higher than Jf (by 34%) and Jz (by 72%). One might interpret these statistics with the hypothesis that when the munshid is free (as in the unregulated Bayyumiyya hadra) he naturally tends to sing more text. This is not universally true, and there are munshidin

(such as Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami) who are well-known for singing a relatively small number of lines of poetry over an entire evening's performance, in an effort to communicate the poetic text in such a way that the audience can digest it more completely. However most munshidin, unregulated by higher authorities, will tend to sing many words; listeners may not be able to learn or even understand everything which is performed, but by singing much text, the munshid is able to show off his repertoire as well as influence his listeners emotionally through a bombardment of Sufi ideas and images. Lack of instrumental accompaniment in these hadras also forces the munshid to be more active, since he cannot take a break while the dhikr is in progress.

In Jf group inshad performance is designed to cover a large corpus of material in every hadra. Liberal use of repetition in these strophic songs—and more generally the goal of communication, always paramount—slows the rate as compared to the solo, free Bayyumiyya munshid. But as the text is central and there is no tarrying in musical interludes or vocal pauses, the text rate is higher than Jz. Jazuliyya inshad focusses more on the sonic (musical) and expressive dimensions of performance; solo munshidin are authorized to repeat extensively, delay (often allowing musical interludes to fill in), and insert expressive devices (such as sighs and melismas). I have already noted that the Ja'fariyya are more text-communication centered, while the Jazuliyya are more emotion-expression centered, and the text rate is another example of this contrast between the two group's strategies.

7. Language level in inshad

(See Graph 12.)

Poetic lines only were classified into two language levels, colloquial ('ammiyya) and classical (fusha), based on a rapid evaluation of factors along phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic dimensions (including diction, grammar, meter, rhyme, and pronunciation). Besides the fact that not all lines are of equal length, the evaluative methodology is admittedly rough (because in fact Arabic does not fall neatly into two distinct levels, although that is the popular, and to some extent the scholarly, concept) as well as subjective, but errors and uncertainties tend to apply equally to all cases, so that the results, while certainly not absolute, illustrate general patterns which I believe to be correct.

First it is important to recall a few basic facts. The classical Arabic (of which classical Arabic poetry is a subset) is the language of high Islamic and Arabic civilization. It is a literate tradition associated with the Qur'an, the religious sciences generally, instruction at al-Azhar and other universities, elite culture, the intelligentsia, the news and opinion media, pan-Islamism, pan-Arabism, and governmental bureaucracy. Colloquial Arabic is an almost entirely oral tradition associated with ordinary conversation among family, friends, and colleagues; popular expressive culture (films and songs are usually in colloquial); rural expressive culture, and Egyptian localism. Since colloquial Arabic varies by region, emphasis on the value of the colloquial is often criticized as anti-Arab. The Azhar-educated and elite religious community also tends to

reject colloquial Arabic as a corruption of pure Arabic, the language of Divine Revelation in the Qur'an.

Given this situation, one might expect inshad to consist of classical Arabic only, but in fact colloquial Arabic is common for several reasons:

1) Classical Arabic is more difficult to understand for many Egyptians, because it is relatively unfamiliar. Poetry written in classical Arabic is especially difficult, not only because of the language level, but also because of the tradition of elevated poetry upon which classical Arabic poetry draws. Many Egyptians who have received only a rudimentary education cannot easily understand classical Arabic poetry, thus encouraging the munshid to sing in colloquial in order to reach them.¹⁰ Such munshidin are particularly numerous in the villages.

2) Classical poetry is usually learned from books, and is more difficult to pronounce correctly. Many munshidin, particularly in the villages, are illiterate, or poorly educated at best. Such munshidin sing colloquial Arabic. They may also sing colloquial even when educated if they learned inshad from munshidin singing colloquial.

3) Colloquial Arabic, being the language of ordinary daily speech, provides a level of intimacy absent in classical Arabic. This sense of intimacy is sometimes desirable in expressing the emotional feeling of mysticism.

4) There is a natural tendency for any cultural form to draw on others for material; this is part of the phenomenon I have identified as interality. The folklore tradition (*al-turath al-sha'bi*) provides for religious inshad a natural source of

instruments, melodies, and poetic forms. The singer of popular folk music may find employment as a munshid merely by changing a few words within the tradition he already performs. Thus the religious genres easily draw upon the non-religious, especially when far from the official centers of religious culture.

The level of Arabic used in inshad is thus rich in implications. Some professional munshidin (such as Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami) make an effort to sing entirely in classical Arabic; by using the language of high Islamic civilization, they bestow upon themselves an aura of high religious legitimacy, thereby distancing themselves from folklore. Other munshidin, less educated or aware of their audience's limitations, sing only colloquial poetry. Still others prefer to mix the two levels together; when the munshid singing a difficult classical poem feels that he is not reaching his audience, he may switch to a more immediately understandable verse in colloquial. Thus language level in inshad is an important variable with meanings resonating through many domains of culture.

Once again the two Bayyumiyya cases are very close: around 50% of poetic lines are colloquial. The Bayyumiyya tariqa does not regulate inshad at all, and so there are no restrictions on language level, either explicit or implicit. Because the munshid is unregulated by tariqa authorities, what he sings in hadra merely reflects what he knows, and what he wants others to hear in a particular situation. Thus language level is determined by the munshid in context, not by the tariqa. Inshad language level is particularly variable in these performances since munshidin generally come from outside the tariqa, and on different occasions different munshidin may attend.

In the case of the Jazuliyya and the Ja'fariyya, manipulation of language level is an important tariqa-level performance strategy. The Jazuliyya use both levels, while leaning toward classical Arabic (30% colloquial). Colloquial poetry from outside the shaykh's diwan may be used in solo inshad (note in the Jz transcription a *mawwal* originally sung by Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab), but the shaykh too wrote in colloquial. Since the shaykh's diwan defines tariqa norms for inshad, one can consider his decision to write colloquial poetry to constitute a strategy for his tariqa. One may interpret this situation as follows: While a certain amount of classical Arabic, redolent of high culture and especially high religious culture, is necessary to ensure respectability, the ecstatic leanings of this tariqa also demand a more accessible and immediately affective language. The shaykh sought to forge intimate connections to his muridin; he did not establish himself as a lofty preacher, but rather as an close father-figure. Colloquial poetry thus served his purposes as a means of making inshad more intimate, more immediately understandable, a vehicle by which the shaykh (through the munshid's voice) could draw near his disciples. Through being closely and intimately bound to their shaykh, group members also draw near to each other. The use of a certain amount of colloquial poetry sets the tone for strong horizontal relationships among tariqa members, and thereby supports the communal solidarity which characterizes the group. At the same time, use of the more familiar language as a literary vehicle established the tariqa's distance from more traditional religious institutions such as al-Azhar, for whom classical Arabic is the *sine qua non* for religious legitimacy. Sidi Jabir aimed to create a different sort of tariqa,

one which would appeal to the modern Egyptian with a secular education; the use of a stilted high Arabic redolent of preachers and 'ulama' from the faded Islamic past carries far less romantic sentiment for such people. Indeed the tariqa has been very successful in developing in this direction.

Jf by contrast focuses almost entirely (93%) on classical Arabic. Even more than in the case of the Jazuliyya (where munshidin can draw on various sources besides the shaykh's diwan) this preference is determined by the founder of the tariqa, because all inshad (other than a handful several qasidas written by his son) is taken from the diwan of Shaykh Salih, and nearly all of this repertoire is composed in high Arabic (conforming perfectly to the classical system of meters, rhymes, and inflections) in an elevated style.¹¹

Most of Shaykh Salih's poetry is formal and orthodox *madih* (devotional poems for the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt) and *ibtihalat* (supplications to God), neither concerned with the ecstatic approach to God, nor with creating a relation of intimacy with the listener. Rather, his poems reaffirm distance and hierarchy: God and Prophet far above him, and listener far below him. Unity, or even closeness, is not a possibility here. In expressing the unimaginable distance between himself and God, and his loving respect for the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt, a stiff and formal language is suitable as a means of conveying humility, and respectful subservience. In expressing an attitude of authority and didacticism toward his disciples, high Arabic is suitable as the classical medium of religious pedagogy and sermonizing. His facility with such language is a touchstone of his greatness as an 'alim (religious scholar), representing his high achievements in

religious scholarship, and his firm grounding in Islamic principles (*law, hadith, tafsir*). His language evokes the al-Azhar professor, the mosque preacher, the high literary Islamic tradition. Such poetry is not a personal expression; in cleaving to time-honored elevated formulas of religiosity, praise, and exhortation, the author invokes the conservative high Islamic tradition to speak on his behalf, rather than reveal a more personal piety. Use of high Arabic also affirms the orthodox conformity and subdued emotional tone of the tariqa and serves as a paradigm for hierarchical relationships within it. Formality in language implies respectful distance, a vertical relation which stands at the core of Ja'fariyya social values.

Today, this poetry performed as inshad forms the basis for the hadra, and thus for the tariqa. In the hadra, Shaykh Salih is represented by the performance of his Diwan. Inshad thus takes the place of his famous Friday lessons, which cannot (for want of a similarly talented person in the tariqa) be replicated. Unlike a sermon, inshad can be repeated over and over again, thereby maintaining the active presence of Shaykh Salih, some twenty years after his physical departure, as the unequivocal focal point holding the tariqa together. The relationships, attitudes, and allegiances expressed in Shaykh Salih's poetry thus continue to set the tone for the tariqa today. Language level of inshad in hadra expresses the vertical relationships of respectful distance characteristic of the social-spiritual aspects of the tariqa, and upholds the tariqa's reputation as a bastion of conservative Sunni Islam, well-connected to the venerable institution of al-Azhar, and nearly beyond reproach on matters of religion.

Notes for Chapter 8

¹ This notation should be read from left to right, each X or . receiving one beat.

² Thus one senior member said that whereas in the hadra shar'iyya inshad follows dhikr, in the dhikr al-hana, dhikr arises as an expressive reaction to inshad.

³ It should be noted in Jzs that when dhikr (on "Allah" and "Hayy") switches from common to cut time (and is thus considered to have accelerated by a factor of two), inshad remains in the same meter. Therefore, inshad acceleration is much less than that of the dhikr it accompanies.

⁴ It is often only the hizb which is truly distinctive to a tariqa's hadra, although the table does not show this.

⁵ Thus the Jazuliyya punish unexcused absences. See translation of their Laws, in the Appendix.

⁶ At least one member remarked that the munshidin had formerly been good, but these are not.

⁷ For the purposes of calculating these variables, the 'isha' prayer and informal period preceding it have been eliminated from Jf, since it is difficult to determine how to divide the prayer rite into LPSs, and it is not clear that it should be counted as part of the hadra at all.

⁸ It is significant that the shaykh al-sajjada, leader of the tariqa, rarely attends this central hadra. Tariqa members say that he is busy travelling around the countryside, visiting local chapters. If this is so, it is a strong indication of the critical problems posed to the leader of such a far-flung organization.

⁹ The lead munshidin may skip lines of a poem, but only because otherwise the performance would be too long and not enough munshidin would have the chance to lead. Thus even communicative priority of text (which, taken by itself, would require that the entire text be recited intact) must be balanced with other pragmatic requirements. Inshad performance being a marker of status and tariqa structure, it is important that certain high-status individuals, and as many of the saha-s as possible, have a turn at inshad. This in turn places a limit on the length of any one inshad LPS.

¹⁰ Other munshidin, such as Shaykh Yasin, sing in classical Arabic anyway, understanding the power of mystifying poetry to raise their reputations through incomprehension.

¹¹ The only poem within Jf employing a more colloquial style (Qasida #7) is also exceptional for being an ecstatic poem, using the metaphor of intoxication to express a mystical state. While such themes are rarely expressed by Shaykh Salih, it is noteworthy that he employed the lighter and more intimate colloquial to express such feelings.

9. The Application and Interpretation of Analysis (II)

A. Semantic analysis

1. Scope

Semantic analysis is a vast domain, and so I have been extremely selective in focussing only on four types: thematic analysis, heterodox symbol analysis, simple reference analysis, and contextual reference analysis. These analytical techniques were thoroughly described in the previous chapter. One of the themes of this dissertation is that inshad (operating primarily in the affective mode) is more expressive of tariqa individuality than more ritual-mode genres of LP such as hizb, which are less flexible and more bound by convention. Therefore, in order to simplify the analysis somewhat, I have chosen to apply semantic analysis to inshad only. Thematic analysis is applied to poetic inshad texts; heterodox symbol and metaphor analysis is applied to poetic inshad texts; simple reference analysis is applied to all inshad texts (whether poetry or not); contextual reference analysis is only applied to poetic inshad texts written by the shaykh.

Heterodox symbol/metaphor analysis, thematic analysis, and simple reference analysis were thus performed in all four cases. Contextual reference analysis was applied only to Jz and Jf, since Sidi ‘Ali al-Bayyumiyya did not write poetry sung by the group. I have also modified the poetic corpus of Jz and Jf slightly for the purposes of semantic analysis. The poetry performed in Jz has been augmented with additional qasidas

selected quasi-randomly from the diwan of Sidi Jabir, in order to better represent the shaykh's output (these poems included in the Appendix, in translation). On the other hand, only a subset of the vast poetic performance of Jf was considered for some variables, so as to make the analysis more tractable. In this way, too, I have established rough parity between the subsets of the Jazuliyya and Ja'fariyya poetic corpora selected for analysis.

The analytical basis for each hadra and each variable can be summarized using the following notation as a shorthand:

- $in(h)$ = all texts (poetic or not) performed as inshad in hadra h (in canonical form)
- $p(h)$ = all poetic texts performed in hadra h
- $ps(h)$ = all poetic texts performed in hadra h and attributed to the tariqa shaykh-founder
- Jza = supplemental qasidas representative of the diwan of Sidi Jabir al-Jazuli, but not performed in Jz
- Jfs = subset of qasidas performed in Jf (numbers 1,2,3,4,6,12,13 in transcription)

Then the following table summarizes the textual basis for each type of analysis and each hadra:

	Heterodox symbols	Themes	Simple references	Contextual references
Bh	$p(Bh)$	$p(Bh)$	$in(Bh)$	(none)
Bm	$p(Bm)$	$p(Bm)$	$in(Bm)$	(none)
Jz	$p(Jz) + Jza$	$p(Jz) + Jza$	$in(Jz) + Jza$	$ps(Jz) + Jza$
Jf	$p(Jf)$	$p(Jf)$	Jfs	Jfs

Most of the analytical variables connected with these four types of analysis are presented in graphical form. These graphs, here referenced by number and title, may be located in the Appendix.

2. Semantic coding method

Coding provides the raw data for semantic analysis variables. In this section I describe the practical codes and coding methods which were applied to inshad texts. Coding is an etic activity, and it is not always possible to determine a single authoritative code. Therefore in some instances more than one code is assigned. In this case, counts are divided evenly among the codes. For instance, if a line is coded with three themes, each will receive a third of an instance for that line. If a text segment of eight words is coded for two symbolic metaphor classes, this means that each class will receive a count of four words for that segment. The coded texts can be found in the translations, presented in the Appendix.

a. Heterodox symbols and metaphors

Text which employs heterodox symbols and metaphors is underlined in the translations. Immediately following the underlined segment, the total number of words is given, as well as the symbolic class(es) deemed most suitable for classifying the underlined segment.

Restating the relevant section of the preceding theoretical chapter, these classes are as follows:

- 1) Music and dance.
- 2) Intoxication.
- 3) Eros
- 4) Christian symbolism.
- 5) Strong emotional states.
- 6) The journey.

- 7) Insight.
- 8) Union.
- 9) Arcana.

b. Assertional themes

Every poetic line is associated with one or more theme codes, and these are recorded in the right-hand column of the translated text (the presence of such a code also implies that the line is considered to be poetic). If several themes apply, and one seems dominant, that one is recorded. If several contend equally, they are all recorded (but in counting n themes attributed to one line will each contribute $1/n$ toward their respective categories).

Code	Theme
m	mystical experience
l	love, devotion
p	praise
s	supplication
e	exhortation
x	Indicates that the line is repeated in the transcription, and has been previously coded. Such lines are discounted.

c. References

References are coded in the translated text itself, using one of a set of special symbols to denote entities, possibly followed by a numeral to denote deictic mode.

References are counted according to the occurrence of the following:

- name (e.g. “Muhammad”, “Taha”)
- pronoun with clear referent (e.g. “he” in “Muhammad is the Prophet, he is our guide”)
- the subject of an adjective or descriptive phrase lacking explicit subject if it can be inferred (e.g. there are three references to Muhammad in “Muhammad is the Prophet, beautiful of form, lofty of purpose”)

- imperative (whether a demand, or a request) if implied “you” can be inferred (“give us a look” stands for “would you give us a look?”)
- missing subject in conjoined sentences (“I’d live with one and leave the other...” stands for “I’d live with one and I’d leave the other...”)
- anywhere a pronoun has been deleted or elided, but is implied
- possessive pronoun/possessed object (“his eyes”)
- vocative (“oh Zaynab”)

For contextual reference analysis, the occurrence of a referent is marked in-text; the referent and deictic mode are coded using symbols in the following two tables. Note that entities are coded in classes; specific references can be inferred by name and context (e.g. ‘#’ may refer to Muhammad, Husayn, Zaynab, etc.). Reference attitude is taken to be the dominant theme(s) for the line in which the reference occurs, as listed in the right-hand column of the transcription. For every reference, the specification of these three attributes (referent, deictic mode, attitude) constitutes a complete coding.

Symbol	Referent or reference class
#	The saints in the broadest sense of the term “wali”, denoting those who are near to God. This class includes: the Prophet Muhammad, other prophets, the Ahl al-Bayt, the Sahaba (companions of the Prophet), founders of major Sufi lines (aqtab), saint-poets, and all who are generally considered awliya’. To be classified as “#” the reference must be directed to a definite individual in this class (e.g. “Sayyid al-Badawi”), or to a definite subset of this class (e.g. “the four aqtab”), even when definiteness is only clear from the context.
*	The shaykh of the tariqa in whose hadra the reference appears. If the shaykh is the author, then this is a self-reference.
@	listener (muridin). A reference to the textual listener.
^	God.
%	Ambiguous spiritual reference.
&	Other.

An ambiguous spiritual reference does not mean that the class is unknown, but that the specific reference is unknown. Thus a reference to “the saints”, or “the Ahl al-Bayt” is labelled #, because the reference is clearly to an entire set which falls within the

class. On the other hand, an ambiguous reference is intended to refer to a specific individual or set, and yet remains unknown within some larger known class. Such a reference is ambiguous; lacking a definite referent, it must be interpreted by the listener (though some referents may be more likely than others). Note that only ambiguous references to spiritual entities are counted (those who could be saints—whether living or not), but not to ordinary Muslims or others.

Symbols indicating reference class are followed by a symbol indicating deictic mode, for references occurring within poetry for which the shaykh is the attributed author. Note carefully that the meaning of the numeral “2” depends on whether the reference is to the shaykh (*) or not. In the former case, “2” indicates plural first-person “we”; in the second case it indicates second-person “you”.

The symbols used to denote deictic modes are given in the following table:

Symbol	Deictic mode
2	When following #,@,^,%,&: second person reference (usually with “you”). Note that the pronoun need not be used if the context suggests second person.
3	When following #,@,^,%,&: Third person reference (“he”, “she”, “it”, “they”, specific name).
*1	First person singular references to shaykh (usually the self, “I”).
*2	First person plural references to shaykh (usually the group, “We”).
*3	Third person references to shaykh (typically, “he”, or when author inserts own name in poem).

Thus for instance #3 indicates a third-person reference to the Prophet, Ahi al-Bayt, or saints; *2 indicates a reference to the shaykh using “we”; %2 indicates a second-person reference to an ambiguous spiritual entity, etc.

3. Heterodox symbols

All poetry performed during Bh, Bm, and Jf was analyzed for occurrences of heterodox symbol and metaphor classes. For Jz the poetry of performance was augmented by an additional set of qasidas taken from the diwan of the founder, material which may also be sung in hadra. For the data on which the following analyses are based, refer to the transcriptions in the Appendix, where occurrences of heterodox symbol usage are indicated.

a. Total absolute density

(See Graph 13; all graphs are located at the end of the Appendix (“Analytical graphs”).)

I consider first total absolute densities, combining all heterodox symbol classes into a single measure, as a rough indicator of heterodox symbol usage. The graph (“Heterodox symbols: Total absolute density”) indicates three tiers: the highest density occurs in Bh, followed by Jz, with much lower values in Bm and Jf. Why is Bh so much more heterodox than Bm, even though both are Bayyumiyya?¹

I have indicated many times that the Bayyumiyya as a group make no strategic effort to regulate inshad texts, thus leaving inshad performance virtually open at the group level as a “strategic vacuum”, but this is not the same as saying that there are no strategies at work at all. Rather, the munshidin are self-regulating. In the mosque hadra, they tend toward conservative madih rather than what they term *tawhid* (poetry centered

on God, often using heterodox metaphors), for several reasons. For instance, one munshid said that he sings more ecstatic texts as a dhikr heats up; in the mosque the dhikr is too restrained to reach this ecstatic level.² Another factor no doubt is the general pressure toward conservatism in a public mosque context. Most groups perform their hadras more conservatively (no instruments, less music and ecstasy) in a mosque, and this contextual effect is stronger when the mosque is located in an exposed public place. Bm is held in the Bayyumiyya mosque, located in al-Husayniyya, one of the most densely populated districts of Cairo; it takes place just after Friday prayer, during which the mosque is packed with perhaps 400 people. Furthermore, in Bm the munshid not only performs in the mosque, he also performs in front of the tariqa leaders.

These tendencies toward conservatism in such a context are amplified by the munshid's marginal social status in this tariqa. He typically is not a member of the group itself, but comes in part to collect small *muqut* (tips) which contribute to his livelihood. He does not enjoy any secure position within the group, nor is there any official repertoire which he can use with confidence. Given these conditions, he may naturally incline to the conservative side in his thematic selections. Yet another factor is the fact that during dhikr the munshidin are practically inaudible—another result of their marginality within the hadra's design. Knowing that his effect on the dhakkira is marginal too, the munshid may not bother to bring out the most potent elements of his repertoire. Given such marginalization, as well as the limited financial benefits provided, it must also

be said that this hadra as a rule does not attract the best munshidin; some of them display rather limited repertoires.

All these factors are reversed in Bh. Here, at the structural periphery of the tariqa, in a private house, and in a *bayt* (local chapter) whose official leader is young and inexperienced, and hence cannot exert strong central control, there is much freedom for dhikr performance to become ecstatic. Here there are no sanctions from religious authorities, no traditional restrictions of the mosque, no fear of exposure in public spaces. The munshid is easily audible in this intimate setting, and takes a central role in the hadra. He is free to choose his own poetry, and time is expansive. In this context, participants evaluate the dhikr according to the ecstasy (*wajd*) it produces. In order to succeed—and to reap all the possible advantages of success, material or immaterial—the munshid must help to create this emotional power in the dhikr by moving people with his inshad. Emotion is his currency, his “symbolic capital” in Bourdieu’s terms. Furthermore, because the setting itself is more conducive to inshad, and provides the munshid with a more central role, this hadra attracts more talented munshidin than Bm.

The conditions therefore are all in place for him to use the most powerful poetry in his arsenal, poetry containing a high density of heterodox metaphor and symbolism, for these symbols are most suitable for expressing, and evoking, the ecstatic mystical state. Though the reductionism of this graph cannot show it (the ones following will do slightly better), Bh’s poetry is far more extreme in its metaphoric range and depth than Jz. The mixing of different *turuq* in this context renders Bh reminiscent of the public

mawlid hadra (though on a smaller scale) and symbolic usage is likewise here similar to public performances of professional munshidin, such as Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami.

In both Bh and Bm, the level of heterodoxy in performed poetry is a manifestation not of the tariqa itself, but rather of the local contextual dynamic in which the munshid is enmeshed. As an individual, the munshid does his best to adapt to the situation in which he finds himself, in an attempt to maximize his own interests. But these interests may have nothing to do with group interests, especially because he is frequently not a member of the group at all. However, there is no tariqa-wide strategy in force. Indeed, the extreme contrast in this tariqa between the central mosque hadra and the peripheral house hadra is a sign of the dependence of hadra style on proximity to the sources of authority, rather than on authority itself: a further proof, that is, of the absence of any group-level strategic planning of LP in hadra. The sensitivity of the munshid's performance to hadra context in the Bayyumiyya hadra results from the existence of group-level strategic vacuums, judiciously filled by the munshid in order to maximize his own personal goals.

It is significant to note that one of the munshidin who regularly performs in the Bayyumiyya mosque hadra—including Bm—also performed in Bh, but in a far more heterodox style. (He is the second to perform in the Bm, and the first to perform in Bh; see Appendix.) This overlap of personnel provides strong evidence for the influence of context over tariqa in determining inshad in the Bayyumiyya.

In the modernist Jazuliyya and Ja'fariyya, local hadras merely mirror some portion (or all) of the central hadras (and for this reason have not been considered separately in this analysis); both central and local hadra are coordinated in a single strategic plan.

But between Jz and Jf lies a different sort of contrast. For here the differences in performance result from group-level strategies, which as I have argued are dedicated toward ensuring spiritual development of members, but also toward social goals: ensuring the prosperity of the tariqa in the modern period. In this, both turuq are quite successful, but they have taken different routes. Most of the Jazuliyya membership do not come from a conservative religious background; rather they have been drawn back to religion by the spiritual power of Sidi Jabir, or by his memory as preserved in books and by those who knew him, or by tariqa ritual. Ecstatic spirituality is an important factor appealing to this demographic target, and provides what members feel to be an important part (though certainly not the only part) of spiritual training. Though solo munshidin may draw on any poetry so long as it does not contradict the doctrinal limits of the tariqa, most of the heterodox symbols employed in performance are drawn from the founder's diwan. Thus, the use of heterodox and ecstatic symbols is not untrammelled, but rather is shaped by the particular charisma of Sidi Jabir, whose memory they serve to re-enliven.

Although use of such symbols (together with their other heterodox performance practices, such as use of instruments) can and does draw the ire of critics, potential

problems for the tariqa are ameliorated by strategies including: performing the main hadra (of which Jz is an example) in a quasi-private setting far from the public eye; performing more conservative hadras in the public mosques; and balancing ecstatic performances with segments of *mudhakara* (group study) concentrating on traditional religious topics such as fiqh and hadith. Furthermore, there *are* limits; heterodox metaphors implying union or incarnation, as well as the more extreme metaphors of eros, are rejected completely.

There is also balance in performance: not all LP is equally heterodox. Thus the hadra shar'iyya (the tariqa's concession to a more regulated, orthodox conception of dhikr) employs a less ecstatic variety of inshad (although the differences have not been systematically analyzed here), and most group inshad is also rather conservative (focussing on madih). It is mainly within the well-bounded context of dhikr al-hana (dhikr of the tavern) that the most ecstatic poetry is deployed. Such powerful group emotional experiences also contribute toward the social basis of this tariqa, which despite a highly articulated positional social structure is at root based on a strongly egalitarian, communal form of horizontal in-group solidarity. The performance of ecstasy, by softening the boundaries between individuals and catching everyone up in a shared powerful experience, tends to reinforce these horizontal bonds of group belonging. I noted this phenomenon previously when discussing the sonic aspect; the same notion extends to performance of ecstatic symbols.

If is founded on a very different principle. The main demographic basis for the tariqa is conservative religious families (most coming originally from Upper Egypt), and graduates of the al-Azhar system of schools and universities. The tariqa is distinguished for its religious propriety, its viability as a model of Sufism in conformity (outwardly at least) with strict Sunni Islam. This attitude provides a natural broad base of support, and silences potential critics. Socially the group is based upon strong vertical relationships of solidarity, modelled on the teacher-student relation between Shaykh Salih and his early disciples, which is manifested today in the emphasis placed on respect for hierarchy, and the importance of Islamic pedagogy, not ecstatic experience, as the main function of Sufism. Shaykh Salih believed that the Sufi should always appear firm and sober, never ecstatic; regardless of what he may feel inside, his exterior should conform to orthodox religion. He should never be prone to expressing inner states through wild ecstatic outbursts, either in poetry or in performance. To do so is a sign of weakness, and would furthermore invite the condemnation of critics.

The inshad composed by Shaykh Salih naturally supports and encourages these values and attitudes, and therefore it was rare for him to employ heterodox symbols. Symbolism which points to truly heterodox meanings (such as union) upsets the order and claimed legitimacy of any tariqa by undercutting the claim—universal among Sufi orders in Egypt—to be based in Shari'a. Such symbols are generally proscribed even from a more open-minded tariqa such as the Jazuliyya, whose hadra is designed so as to

allow a healthy measure of ecstatic release and experience. In the Ja‘fariyya, they are all the more closely circumscribed.

For Shaykh Salih qasidas were a pedagogical vehicle by which he could transcribe and disseminate his religious knowledge and experience; today his poems are repeated in hadra as a means for all to benefit from his legacy. In the Ja‘fariyya hadra, inshad is not used to goad participants toward spiritual illumination or emotion, but rather as an opportunity for sober reflection and teaching: poetry is communicative more than evocative, and even when expressive these poems nearly always conform to orthodox Islam. Participants praise Shaykh Salih’s inshad for being semantically clear, unencumbered with obscure symbols of doubtful orthodoxy. Heterodox symbols are not a tool of assertional communication, but rather serve to transmit spiritual emotion from author (and munshid) to listener, to move the participant in the moment. Whether or not *meanings* violate norms of conservative religion, it is this tendency to evoke emotion, and break the assertional flow of information in performance, which renders them inappropriate for a tariqa so focussed on spiritual-religious education (*tarbiyya*), as is the Ja‘fariyya.

By limiting the expression and production of ecstatic emotion in inshad, Shaykh Salih not only helped to establish the tariqa’s reputation for firm orthodoxy and reinforced the pedagogical, communicative function of his hadra; he also supported the establishment and maintenance of the hierarchical relations from teacher to student which forms the group’s social basis. For obscure and emotional symbolism is subversive of

hierarchical order, levelling difference in the unity of mystic desire and communion. By intensifying the ecstasy of the moment, and legitimizing its meaning as a touchstone for spiritual status, such symbolism tends to upset the vertical spiritual-social ordering of a tariqa. The legitimization of ecstatic emotion as a measure of religious achievement, by privileging the capricious occurrence of hal and religious inspiration *as* poetry or *by means of* poetry, threatens the stability of a vertical social order based on stable superior/inferior relationships grounded in differential knowledge, lineage, and experience. Symbolization of spiritual ecstasy authorizes individuals to claim a high spiritual station, without any objective basis for doing so, and thereby undermines the ordered system of ascribed and achieved statuses which is fundamental in the Ja'fariyya. Further, by arousing the dhakkira, such symbolism upsets the performance of social hierarchy, which depends upon restrained decorum. The sober inshad of the Ja'fariyya therefore tends to support the social structure as well.

b. Absolute density by symbol

(See Graphs 14,15.)

The preceding discussion can be elaborated slightly through additional analysis, via the breakdown of heterodox symbol usage into nine classes, as indicated on the two graphs "Heterodox symbols: absolute density by symbol" and "Heterodox symbols: absolute density by symbol (normalized by category)" (whose format facilitates comparison of values in each category). Given the relatively small sample size, minor contrasts in the data from different hadras should not be given too much significance.

Here I will point only to salient features which have been confirmed by additional informal observations of these hadras as performed on other occasions.

Bm tends not to employ heterodox symbols; here most of the poetry employed is traditional madih. Heterodox symbols include only two lines of a famous Shadhili qasida referring to mystical vision and enigmatic reference to “spiritual flying” which is hardly the stuff of controversy; being statistically limited besides, these occurrences should not be given much weight.

The more controversial heterodox categories (music/dance, intoxication, eros, union) are represented primarily in Bh.³ Intoxication is also quite prominent in Jz, and even makes a brief appearance in Jf (but here only in one highly anomalous qasida). The prominence of journey metaphor in Jz is sensibly explained as a representation of the tariqa itself in its inshad, something which the Bayyumiyya cannot do since they do not provide their own inshad at all. Occasional expressions of various “altered states”, general expressions of mystical insight, and arcana—all standard Sufi fare—seems to be a relatively consistent feature of all the groups. It is difficult to suggest an interpretation governing the use of Christian symbolism which here occurs almost entirely in Bh, but only in one qasida; this category also receives a light allusion in Jf.

c. Relative density by symbol

(See Graphs 16,17.)

The final two graphs for this section (“Heterodox symbols: relative density by symbol”, and “Heterodox symbols: relative density by symbol (normalized by category)”) indicate the densities of each symbolic class relative to the total absolute density of all heterodox symbols. In these graphs the absolute densities (measuring words falling within each symbolic class as a fraction of total words used) have been transformed into relative densities (measuring words falling within each symbolic class as a fraction of the total in all such classes), and thus indicate which symbolic modes are “preferred” in each tariqa when heterodox symbols are employed (subject to the usual caveats about insufficiency of the data, particularly for Bm). The important points which may be gleaned from these graphs are the preference in Bh for the contentious symbols of eros, in Jz for the slightly less unacceptable symbols of intoxication and the spiritual journey, and in Jf for the more sober symbols of insight, as well as (in one unusual poem only) intoxication. The data for Bm are too limited to support much generalization, but informal observation of other hadras in the same context indicate a preference here for the “safer” heterodox symbols, such as insight and arcana.

4. Assertional themes of inshad

(See Graphs 18,19.)

In the previous section I examined usage of a special class of symbols and metaphors, considered to be the specific literary tropes by which inshad works its most powerful effects upon the listener. Here I turn to examine the assertional themes of

inshad more generally, including the themes in which heterodox symbols are embedded, as a means of profiling the total semantic content of each hadra's inshad.

The two graphs labelled "Usage of assertional themes" (I and II) indicate that over half of Jf lines carry the assertional value of some sort of praise (*madih*), mostly for the Prophet, and sometimes for the Ahl al-Bayt. Indeed, the Ja'fariyya usually refer to their inshad simply as "madih" and to their munshid as a "maddah" (one who praises). Praise also dominates in Bm. In the Jz, however, the dominant theme is love. While praise is certainly not absent, most poetry expresses the possibility and longing for a close relationship to God and His Prophet, as well as to the Ahl al-Bayt, saints, and even the shaykh himself. Finally, in Bh expressions of mystical experience predominate, mingled with love and praise.

The Ja'fariyya stress the importance of *madih* both as *ta'lim* (instruction), and as a form of prayer in itself. *Madih* is *ta'lim* because it teaches the listener about the life (*sira*), sayings (*hadith*), and miracles (*mu'jizat*) of the Prophet. But praising the Prophet is also considered to be equivalent to *salawat* (ritual formulas supplicating God to bestow blessings on the Prophet), and hence to perform *madih* is to perform a prayer bringing spiritual reward. That *madih* is beneficial in both the communicative and ritual modes is widely accepted among the Sufi-oriented Muslim population of Egypt, and hence use of *madih* is uncontroversial. Such poetry is not a personal expression of Shaykh Salih's mystical or religious devotion, nor a statement of esoteric theosophy; rather it is a statement of traditionally accepted objective truths about the religious

world. Within limits, madih is acceptable even to the most conservative Muslims, since the Prophet during his own lifetime allowed himself to be praised in poetry by Hassan ibn Thabit.

Even when Shaykh Salih expresses other themes, such as supplicating God, exhorting his followers, or expressing love, he does so in a distinctly orthodox and traditional manner. His followers frequently emphasize that all of his poetry, whether praising God, the Prophet, the Qur'an, or exhorting the murid to walk the straight path, is firmly based in the Qur'an and Sunna. Much of his diwan does not evoke specifically Sufi themes, and would probably be accepted as a legitimate basis for Islamic LP by a majority of Muslims.

His poetry tends to remain sober, and maintain sharp boundaries between entities. References to spiritual entities or listeners are clear. True mystical expression, ecstatic and ambiguous language which confuses or erases the boundaries between self and other, is rare. He does not confuse the listener with strange pronouncements; rather everything is simple, clear, and acceptable. Although Shaykh Salih admired the diwan of the great Sufi poet 'Umar ibn al-Farid, he believed that mystical poetry of this kind is not suitable for the present age. This attitude is starkly evident in his *tashtir* of one of Ibn al-Farid's poems, in which he uses the latter's daring ode "Zidni bifart al-hubb..." ("increase in me a superfluity of love...", commonly sung by the munshidin in Egypt) as a framework. Between the lines of this poem, which requests that God grant the poet a vision of Himself, Shaykh Salih weaves his own poetry, which constitutes an exegesis of

Ibn al-Farid in orthodox terms. The theme of conservative religious exhortation is also prominent in his poetry. This didactic aspect also affirms the continued presence of Shaykh Salih in the group, and the primacy of the hierarchical teacher/student relationship within the tariqa. By restricting the poetry performed in hadra to the diwan of Shaykh Salih, whose thematic content largely conforms to orthodox and traditional Islamic norms, the group is able to defend itself before even the most staunch critics, and to open its doors to the public without any fear of persecution.

The centrality of more personal expressions of love in the Jazuliyya conforms with a very different strategic orientation. For the Jazuliyya, the shaykh was not a distant and towering figure, but rather close, fatherly. He taught that love is the essence of religion, and that such love includes the desire for a truly mystical experience. His poetry frequently evokes that experience for his followers. In it, the Beloved is not always specified precisely, is it God, the Prophet, one's shaykh? The focus is on love itself, as a form of self-expansion, a means of merging self and other. The strong themes of ambiguous love are interpreted differently by each murid, and the resulting feelings tend to bind the tariqa together in a dense web of relationships. Although Sidi Jabir is central in that web, he does not tower over the muridin like Shaykh Salih. Rather, in his expressions of mystical love and closeness he teaches a form of communal solidarity. The themes contained in such poetry are sometimes obscure, for their intent is less to teach than to affect.

The prominence of more overtly mystical themes in Bh has nothing to do with any mystical orientation of the Bayyumiyya tariqa as a whole. The munshidin singing these themes choose their own poetry, and usually are not even members of the group. Such performance is not strategic, but rather results from context, in a manner similar to their use of heterodox symbols as discussed earlier. The contrasting content of Bm is further proof of the absence of any strategic order to selection of inshad themes. Here, the munshidin sing primarily traditional madih due to various aspects of performance context, which have been discussed earlier. The participation of one of these munshidin in both contexts, singing mystical themes in Bh and conservative themes in Bm, provides further support for this point.

5. References

In the theoretical chapter, I argued that references in LP mark important points and establish relationships within the spiritual constellation of listeners, forming a model for social-spiritual relationships in the tariqa. In the corporate ritual of hadra, LP efficiently influences large numbers of muridin all at once, in the context of an emotionally charged ritual. Therefore, strategic use of references in hadra appears as one of the most important means of controlling the ritual's effect on participants. However the types of referencing strategies employed may vary greatly from one tariqa to another.

a. Simple references

(See Graphs 20,21.)

Examining the graph labelled “Reference and referent densities”, one is struck by the low variation in reference density (i.e. the average number of references per word of inshad; here the value is presented at one-tenth true value so as to fit on the same scale with referent densities) across the four hadras. But the difference between the hadras emerges more clearly when one considers the referent density: the total number of different entities referenced, divided by the number of words of inshad.⁴

In the modernist groups, the Ja‘fariyya and the Jazuliyya, relatively few entities are named. These turuq attempt to maintain strong central control through ritual performance, and one way in which they do so is to restrict the model of social-spiritual relationships as presented in inshad. Specifically, such a tariqa tends to restrict spiritual references to the following entities: God, the Prophet Muhammad, the Ahl al-Bayt, the founder of the tariqa line (qutb) of which the given tariqa is a branch, the founder of the tariqa, and subsequent tariqa leaders. In addition exhortative inshad may refer to the muridin. References to God, the Prophet, and the Ahl al-Bayt are universal, and do not in any way compromise the tariqa’s integrity. However, modernist groups in general seek to limit invocation of other “competing” saints, focussing instead on their own spiritual lineages.

Such a limitation is not intended in any way as a disparagement of other saints. Here, exclusivity is not necessarily an assertion of value, but rather a practical means of

fostering spiritual progress, by promoting one's shaykh, and his particular spiritual constellation. While modernist groups acknowledge that other great saints exist outside the tariqa, and may even honor them at mawlid, spiritual progress in the hadra depends on following one shaykh's spiritual way. (You can't follow more than one shaykh, they explain. Can a man have more than one father?)

At the same time, restrictions in referencing help to maintain the modernist group socially, by reinforcing the centrality of those saints mentioned within the personal social structure of the order. An attitude of exclusivity helps to maintain the group's identity and to shield it from undue contact with other groups whose spiritual reputation cannot be controlled. Being new, and lacking deep roots—historically or socially—in Egyptian society, modernist groups can ill-afford to risk blurring their identity with others; strict boundaries must be maintained in the realm of performance. While the Ahl al-Bayt are the common legacy of all orders (not being affiliated with particular turuq), a saint is more partisan (having founded an order, or representing one eponymously), even when his or her spiritual reputation is beyond reproach. The modernist groups thus avoid invoking saints from other turuq in all genres of LP, especially madad, qasidas, ad'iyya, and fawatih; instead they focus on their own.⁵

It would seem also to be the case (though this point would require further investigation) that the modernist groups attract a more socially elite membership (more educated, more wealthy, with higher positions) who are not so predisposed to untrammelled saint-veneration in Sufism. The legitimate position of the Ahl al-Bayt is

widely recognized, and the founder of the order must take a central role. However, mention of other saints during the hadra could only serve to draw criticism from inside or outside, and to lessen the centralization and cohesiveness of the tariqa, which is completely focussed on the charismatic founder.

Organizationally, traditional groups such as the Bayyumiyya might also stand to benefit from greater linguistic focus upon their founders and central shaykhs. However these groups are too decentralized and loosely structured for strict control of referencing to be enforced throughout the tariqa. Indeed, as I have argued, this decentralization effectively prevents the central leadership from even formulating effective strategies, much less disseminating and enforcing them throughout the far-flung organization. In addition, among the Bayyumiyya the prevalence of multiple tariqa membership, or at least spiritual connections to multiple saints, implies that participants perhaps *do* have more than one spiritual father, and these affiliations are unsurprisingly expressed in hadra. The munshidin especially, even if they are Bayyumiyya, are very likely to have taken the Sufi 'ahd (oath) in more than one tariqa. The professional or semi-professional munshid (and most of the Bayyumiyya munshidin—as well as the munshidin of other traditional turuq—are of this type) tend to affiliate to multiple turuq partly as a result of his experiences with many different turuq, and partly as a means of increasing his knowledge of tariqa traditions, and social connections to tariqa shaykhs; in this way his professional career can grow. In practice, there is very little control over inshad in traditional turuq, and so munshidin perform freely, invoking saints as they please.

Mentioning saints from outside the group is thus not a result of group policy so much as the absence of one. Popular piety reveres all of these saints, and when munshidin are given freedom in performance, they naturally recall them.

At the same time, such invocation is not perceived as a threat to the traditional tariqa's identity, and so the munshid's invocation of a variety of saints draws no critical response from members. "Know your uncle [your shaykh], but love all [the saints]" (i'raf 'ammak, hubb al-kull) is the motto frequently cited by participants in such groups. These traditional turuq are well-established by time. They were also formulated in an era when Sufism was the norm, and so exclusivity was less critical to survival, especially in the case of turuq such as the Bayyumiyya, who were known for being more heterodox, since a newer more heterodox tariqa could hardly lessen its reputation by mentioning saints from older, more conservative, groups.

At the periphery of the tariqa, group meetings may attract crowds representing a diversity of turuq. Thus although Bh is nominally Bayyumiyya, the mustaftih is Rifa'i, and he naturally enough tends to emphasize his own shaykh when reciting the fawatih (see transcription). Similar considerations apply to the inshad analyzed here. As the traditional groups become more far-flung, as non-exclusivity through multiple memberships increases, the collections of saints beloved to each participant expand and run together, merging with (and to a large extent constituting) the world of informal Sufism discussed earlier. Members of each tariqa still place their own shaykhs in a

special position, but non-exclusivity is both reflected in and reinforced by the performance of hadra.

It is not clear, however, that the concept of density is the best way to think about referents. While one might expect the number of referents to increase slightly in a longer hadra, the upper bound is clearly limited. Perhaps by dividing by the total number of words one overly diminishes values for the longer hadras (Jz and Jf), and artificially boosts the value for Bm. For this reason, I also consider the raw values, the total number of entities referenced in the hadra, in the graph labelled "Referent counts" (Graph 21). Here the three hadras Bm, Jz, and Jf, appear relatively equal, while Bh is higher by a factor of nearly five.

I suggest that while neither Bh nor Bm exhibit any strategy governing referencing, they are differently affected by context. Referencing in Bm is somewhat limited by the context of the mosque, the presence of tariqa officials, and by the munshid's marginal role. Bh, taking place far from the tariqa center, in a private location, under the nominal control of a shaykh who does not assert his authority, allows the munshid nearly complete freedom to generate an emotional response in listeners, and he does so in part by mentioning names of saints who inspire him, or to which he thinks his audience, who represent a wide variety of turuq, will respond. But in both Bh and Bm there is a profusion of referents to saints outside the tariqa, whereas this situation does not occur in Jz and Jf.

There are also important differences between the referents of Jz and Jf. These facts become clearer when one considers exactly who is being referenced and how frequently, information presented in the following four graphs: “Bh reference frequencies”, “Bm reference frequencies”, “Jz reference frequencies”, “Jf reference frequencies”. These graphs (22-25) present the relative frequency of occurrence for every referent, listed in descending order from left to right.

Jz and Jf may refer to approximately the same total number of referents, but the contrasts in those referents is illustrative of their very different strategies for making Sufism work in the modern age. Consistent with his emphasis on *madih*, Shaykh Salih, mentions the Prophet Muhammad more than any other entity by a large margin. Next in order of frequency of occurrence: himself, the *muridin* generally, God, and the Ahl al-Bayt as a group, all in roughly equal numbers. These five referents together account for over 90% of all references. The remaining ten percent are mainly devoted to religious figures venerated by most Muslims (members of the Ahl al-Bayt, Companions, and the angel Jibril). References to vague spiritual entities are relatively rare, and there are no mentions of other Sufi saints among the poetic lines analyzed.⁶ Together with the additional fact that references to spiritual entities are made in a conventional way, respectful of distance between self and other, the overall picture is extremely orthodox and conservative, readily acceptable to all Sufis as well as a broad spectrum of the general Muslim population. The model for social-spiritual relations contained in *inshad* clearly sets forth the conventional constellation of spiritual entities, setting them clearly

above Shaykh Salih, who in turn is placed above the muridin to whom he addresses his exhortations. Thus the hierarchical world-view—the vertical social relation—is reinforced.

In inshad of Jz, by contrast, the greatest emphasis is placed upon the vague spiritual entity, who may be interpreted differently by each listener. Thus in a line such as the following (see Jz translation in Appendix):

21 As long as I % remain between your My state % is expansive, and joy is 1
 % hands, good health is my % help between my % hands

the referent “you” could be God, the Prophet Muhammad, the prophets, the Ahl al-Bayt, the saints, Sidi Jabir, or Sidi Salim. Such ambiguity is not acceptable to the Jf in part because ambiguous references imply ambiguous statements, which could suggest heterodox interpretations (the apotheosis of the shaykh, for instance). More importantly perhaps, by allowing each listener to make his own interpretation, ambiguity threatens the strict vertical social structure characteristic of this group, for which a definite hierarchy of spiritual referents serves as a model for relations within the social group itself. Although the hierarchy of spiritual referents exists within the Jazuliyya as well, in the more horizontal form of communal solidarity typical of the Jz it is closeness rather than hierarchy which is key. When love draws everyone together, hierarchies are unimportant. This form of personal social structure requires only a generalized sense of love extending from each member to every other, and beyond the group to the shaykhs, the saints, the Ahl al-Bayt and Prophet, and God, so that all are bound together in a universal web of love.

For the Jazuliyya the ambiguous referent is also a useful device for encoding mystical sentiment so as to be appropriate to individuals at a variety of mystical ranks. It is commonly understood in Sufi groups that each seeker has his level, and the meaning one murid requires, or finds, is unlike that of another. But the Ja'fariyya, in an effort to appear orthodox, have rejected this notion, at least superficially. Standard orthodox Islam views all Muslims as relatively equal, all equally susceptible to the provisions of Islamic law. To make distinctions opens the door to antinomian currents, by which individuals claim to be above the law, and such currents could destroy a tariqa whose source of legitimacy is its strong connection to orthodox religious institutions.

In Jz too one finds a strong emphasis on the ego (over 25% if "we" and "I" are combined). Together with the emphasis on the ambiguous referent, these two emphases suggest the strength of the mystical relation between the self and the other, whose intimacy increases through spiritual training (including the hadra itself) until "I" and "you" become one. These ideas are too heterodox for the Ja'fariyya, at least in their public aspect.

Another noteworthy point is that poetry written by Sidi Jabir, and performed in the hadra, mentions his son, the current shaykh of the tariqa, both by name (Sidi Salim) and as "son". Such references help to legitimize Sidi Salim as his father's spiritual heir, and class Sidi Salim within the special domain of spiritual entities which also includes the Prophet, and the Ahl al-Bayt. His appearance in inshad provides him with the patina of charisma, which assists him in leading the group after his father's death, and has no

doubt helped to create a strong group identity. As important as Sidi Jabir may be in the tariqa's identity, the transition from Sidi Jabir to Sidi Salim demonstrated that the tariqa also exists as a reified entity independent of any shaykh. The fact that Sidi Salim is regarded as lesser than his father, and takes a low-profile role in the hadra, only helps to promote such an identity, since the tariqa is thereby rendered more homogeneous and horizontally structured than before. The way is thereby paved for a series of shaykh-leaders to take over in the future, nuclei of a continuous group bound together by strong horizontal personal bonds of communal solidarity.

By comparison, the Ja'fariyya are almost totally centered on their founder, Shaykh Salih, as on-going teacher and source of inspiration. Any shaykh is unique, but Shaykh Salih's charismatic talents formed the very basis for the tariqa, resulting in his irreplaceability. Shaykh Salih is socially, if not spiritually, more central in the Ja'fariyya than Sidi Jabir is in the Jazuliyya. The role of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani, present shaykh of the Ja'fariyya, seems principally to be that of custodian of his father's tradition. He has not attempted to take over his father's status, but rather to help tariqa members benefit from his father's legacy. The focus on Shaykh Salih as a public figure has also led to a more public position for the Ja'fariyya, whose influence radiates into the community, and a correspondingly less-reified sense of corporate group. Because the group is perpetually rooted in a founder-figure, who is constantly receding into the past and becoming idealized into a saint, a very different social structure is created, one in which vertical relationships connecting group members to Shaykh Salih are more important than

horizontal ones connecting them to each other. The Ja‘fariyya is preeminently the school of Shaykh Salih, whose towering status forms a paradigm for vertical relations in the tariqa generally. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani is less spiritually exalted by members of the Ja‘fariyya than Sidi Salim is in the Jazuliyya. Although the former appears far more central and active as a spiritual leader, and occupies a more vertically distant social position, he is not venerated to the same degree as the latter.

The difference is expressed and reinforced in performance, such as the way muridin interact with the two shaykhs (all stand, for instance, when Sidi Salim enters). Here, I would like to call attention to the role of inshad. In Jf, all inshad centers on Shaykh Salih (as poetic ego, and sometimes as object of praise or supplication⁷) and his relationships to both muridin and spiritual entities, and never on Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani.

By contrast, consider the following lines from Jz:

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|----|
| 1 | Oh his &3 beauty, oh his &3 beauty | Sidi Salim, &3 oh his &3 beauty | p |
| 2 | <u>Oh hadi %2 of the lovers, %3 (oh his &3 beauty) sing %2 and make %2 us *2 sing</u> | <u>sing %2 to the one *3 who yearns, (oh his &3 beauty) sing %2 our *2 songs (9, music)</u> | ls |

Here the members of the group have inserted Sidi Salim’s name into a traditional wedding song praising the groom; this song is then combined with a qasida of Sidi Jabir which makes a request to the ambiguous spiritual entity (here referred to as the “hadi”, or caravan leader). Taken in isolation, one might guess that the intended referent is the Prophet, but juxtaposed with the line in praise of Sidi Salim, the performance seems to be invoking the current shaykh himself. It is impossible to specify precisely what is being

expressed here, because ambiguity is in its nature, but the numerous possibilities certainly include praise and supplication of the active shaykh.

Although the Jazuliyya are strongly centered by the legacy of Sidi Jabir, one senses that in the future this tariqa may continue to feature an active shaykh who is praised and endowed with miraculous qualities, whereas the Ja'fariyya is more likely to become a kind of Islamic school focussed on the legacy of Shaykh Salih, and led by a faithful conservator of his tradition.

Turning now to Bm, the contrast with the two modernist groups is immediate. The principal referents are the Prophet Muhammad, the muridin, and God; this much is similar to Jz and Jf. But following these comes a string of references to other saints, including the four "aqtab", founders of the primary Sufi lines in Egypt: Sidi Ahmad al-Badawi (founder of the Ahmadiyya), Sidi Ibrahim al-Dasuqi (founder of the Burhamiyya), Sidi Ahmad al-Rifa'i (founder of the Rifa'iyya), Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (founder of the Qadiriyya). Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumiyya is also mentioned, though without the prominence which one might expect, given that the hadra itself is performed as a Bayyumiyya ritual, next to the shrine of the founder.

This phenomenon is even more marked in Bh, where the munshidin are more central, and have much more freedom and time to perform. This hadra is also attended by a mixture of members from various turuq, a result of the relatively weak control exerted by the central Bayyumiyya authorities on their outlying *bayts*, and the lower level of active participation in the traditional groups generally (hardly anyone would attend if

the hadra were restricted to Bayyumiyya only). Another factor which has been mentioned is the fact that the munshidin themselves are not necessarily affiliated with the Bayyumiyya. The munshid seeks to perform in such a way as to bring spiritual satisfaction to his constituents, and this context provides the freedom for him to do so in two ways: first by mentioning saints who may be significant for his audience (as a means of increasing their spiritual energy), and secondly by mentioning saints who are important to him (as a means of increasing his own emotion in performance).

Thus one finds nearly 50 different entities mentioned in the course of Bh, most of them only once or twice. A careful analysis is profitable. Most frequently mentioned is the ego, although here it cannot be attributed to any particular poet (semantically it represents the archetypal mystic; performatively it represents the munshid). The salience of the ego here is a natural consequent of the prevalence of mystical poetry, which tends to refer to the self in its spiritual journey and relation to the Divine. References to the Prophet come next, representing the large body of conventional madih which is presented even in the most ecstatic mystical contexts (such madih tends to be used particularly at the beginning and end of a hadra). There are several kinds of “vague” spiritual references, which if added together would tally to over 20% of the total; these too stem from the prevalence of mystical love poetry. God, the muridin, and the Ahl al-Bayt (collectively and individually) are also mentioned. But thus far the picture is not so different from Jz.

What strikingly differentiates this hadra from Jz is the long list of saints *outside* the Ahl al-Bayt, including some relatively obscure local saints, most of whom are mentioned by the first munshid either in his long madad introduction or the conclusion of his segment. While modernist turuq tend to sharply restrict the number of saints mentioned, traditional turuq mention mainly the most famous ones, such as the *aqtab*, founders of the tariqa lines. In more public contexts (at a mawlid, say), when the munshid is singing to a diverse crowd representing different turuq, mentioning of saints is more extensive and freer. In this last case, the munshid may mention a particular saint for any of the following reasons:

- 1) Fame. The saint belongs to the Ahl al-Bayt, or is the founder of one of the main tariqa lines. These can always be mentioned.
- 2) Temporal proximity. The munshid is performing on or near the mawlid for the saint.
- 3) Spatial proximity. The munshid is performing in the vicinity (*rihab*, or *saha*) of the saint, i.e. in the district of the saint's shrine.
- 4) Connections via the audience. Persons (and especially important persons) in attendance are connected with the saint (being members of his tariqa, or living in his vicinity).
- 5) Personal connections. The saint is well-known or beloved to the munshid himself.

The saints mentioned thus draws on informal Sufism, being shaped by occasion, location, audience, and personal preference and biography.

Bh, being the hadra of a traditional tariqa (the Bayyumiyya) performed at the periphery of that tariqa's control (in the local bayt), and including participants representing a variety of different turuq, strongly resembles the "public context" case, and thus saint referencing here includes examples of all five types, particularly #5; indeed, taken together the majority represent a kind of topography of the munshid's

personal relationship to saints of Alexandria, where this particular munshid lived for many years.

The saint references in Bh can be divided into the following four categories:

1) Ahl al-Bayt: The Prophet Muhammad, Sayyida Zaynab, Sayyidna al-Husayn, Sittina 'A'isha, Sidi 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin, Sittina Fatima Nabawiyya, Sayyida Nafisa, Sayyidna al-Hasan, Sittina 'Atika, Sayyida Ruqayya, Sayyida Sakina. These saints and others from the family of the Prophet are part of the common currency of informal Egyptian Sufism, and might be mentioned by any tariqa without endangering its social-spiritual boundaries. However, lest the hadra be perceived as unduly concerned with saint veneration, the modernist tariqa usually mentions only the most prominent of these: mostly the Prophet, Hasan and Husayn, Sayyida Zaynab, and sometimes 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin.

2) Saints who founded the major tariqa lines in Egypt: Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumiyya, Sidi Ahmad al-Badawi, Sidi Ibrahim al-Dasuqi, Sidi Ahmad al-Rifa'i, Sidi Dandarawi, "the four aqtab", Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili. The munshid may mention these in as a courtesy to members of these turuq in attendance, or simply to obtain madad from the saints. Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi's role is greater than the others, since it is officially his tariqa which is sponsoring the hadra. The saints are typically mentioned by professional munshidin singing at mawlid, or other public contexts. While the cultural milieu and traditions of traditional turuq encourages the cross-listing of saints from other lines, this practice is frowned upon in the modernist groups, for the reasons given above. Inshad of

a modern Shadhili group (such as the Jazuliyya, or the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya) rarely mentions even the Shadhili saints other than Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili himself. Shaykh Salih did compose qasidas for some of the most famous saints (such as Sidi Ahmad al-Badawi), but these tend to be sung only on the occasion of the mawlid.

3) Great saints closely associated with places: ‘Abd al-Rahim al-Qinawi (Qina, Upper Egypt), Sultan al-Farghal (Abu Tij, near Assiut, Upper Egypt), Abu al-’Ala (Bulaq, Cairo). Only minor turuq exist in the names of these saints, but the saints themselves are very famous and celebrated with large mawlid. Thus they are more closely associated with the tradition of saint veneration than with Sufism as a whole. These saints too would typically be recalled by a professional munshid singing in a public context in order to obtain madad, particularly if occasion or place suggested this. Modernist groups are unlikely to mention them in hadra.

4) Slightly lesser known saints drawn from the munshid’s personal experience, forming a kind of map of his inner spiritual topography. While still considered great saints, these are considerably less famous except in the neighborhood of their shrines; they would not ordinarily be mentioned in a tariqa hadra, or even in a public hadra, unless it took place in their vicinity. Most of these saints are buried in Alexandria and Cairo, the two places where the munshid (originally from Aswan) has lived for many years. Thus, taking the Egyptian provinces and cities from north to south, one has:

i) Alexandria: Sidi al-Busiri (famous as author of the madih “al-Burda”), Sidi Makan al-Din, Sidi Jabir al-Ansari, Sidi Mitwalli, Sidi ‘Abd al-

Razzaq, Sidi al-Dardar, Sidi Yaqut al-'Arsh. These saints are famous in the Shadhiliyya tradition.

ii) Tanta, Gharbiyya: Sidi 'Abd al-'Al (first disciple (khalifa) of Sidi Ahmad al-Badawi, founder of the Ahmadiyya)

iii) Cairo: Sidi 'Ali Mawafi, Sidi Abu al-'Abbas al-Dandarawi (founder of the Dandarawiyya, which is an Idrisiyya branch, like the Ja'fariyya)

iv) Assiut: Sidi Jalal al-Din. The hadra Bh took place during his mawlid, and so he is recalled as "sahib al-farah" (master of the party). But the fact that the munshid recalls him is nevertheless an expression of his personal knowledge, since this mawlid is not so large as to be an Egypt-wide occasion.

v) Aswan: *Jabanat Aswan* (a reference to all the saints of the famous cemetery in Aswan, many of whom are represented by cenotaphs rather than true tombs). The jabana as a whole is not ordinarily mentioned by even professional munshidin, but this munshid may recall it due to his origins in Aswan.

The resemblance of referencing in Bh to what happens in public hadras, as well as the great contrast between Bh and Bm in this regard, are indicators that referencing in the Bayyumiyya results from the improvisational dynamics of place, time, and personnel. Besides mentioning the Prophet, the Ahl al-Bayt, and Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumiyya himself, there is nothing incumbent upon the munshid, but almost any reference is possible. In selecting which entities he will reference, as in his selection of poetry, the munshid

attempts to maximize his spiritual-emotional impact, which constitutes a kind of currency, a “symbolic capital”, to be exchanged for nuqut (tips), status, and general popularity. His freedom to do so, at least within wide limits, results from the fact that the tariqa as a social group has relinquished control of his performative resources. He fills the resulting strategic vacuum himself, in order to meet his own needs.

In Jz and Jf, on the other hand, much less is left to the munshid’s discretion. References tend to be used to reinforce the tariqa’s connection to God, the Prophet (with references to the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt), and to the shaykh. Rarely there is mention of the qutb-founder of the tariqa line (Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili and Sidi Ahmad bin Idris, respectively). References to other saints, which might weaken the sanctity of the tariqa’s boundaries and firm centeredness on its own shaykh, tend to be avoided.

b. Contextual references

I turn finally to the complex—but most interesting—issue of contextual references. Earlier I argued that personal social-spiritual structure is the most characteristic feature of a tariqa, since the doctrinal dimension is largely shared, at least at the level of practical belief. Furthermore it is the maintenance of some form of centralized and cohesive social structure which enables the group to function as a unit. Therefore the formation and maintenance of a centralized network of personal social-spiritual relations is of utmost importance if the tariqa is to succeed in maintaining its identity. Foremost in this network is the founding shaykh—the charismatic center—as well as a whole hierarchy of

relations radiating from that center: below him is the silsila culminating in the active shaykh, and the muridin; above him is the host of spiritual entities, from saints to Ahl al-Bayt to Prophet, and finally to God.

I believe that the network of references, including their deictic and attitudinal contexts, manifested in LP serves as an active paradigm for this network of social-spiritual relationships so basic to the tariqa. During performance the listener internalizes this network, and situates himself within it by adopting a role. Furthermore, I believe that since inshad is the most flexible and affective aspect of LP in hadra, this network can be most clearly articulated and practically effective in inshad.

Therefore, when a Sufi shaykh prepares a diwan to be used in his tariqa's hadra, he is afforded an opportunity to control this network, and thus to shape and maintain the social structure of his tariqa. If my theory is correct, the structure of such networks and the means by which they are deployed in hadra performance should be closely related to underlying social structures defining the groups, which in turn is influenced by the strategic position of the tariqa in its struggle for successful existence in the modern period.

Since the arguments about inshad as a model for social relations are contingent upon the shaykh as attributed author, analysis is limited to subsets of the diwans of Sidi Jabir and Shaykh Salih. At any rate, it is only in these two cases that one expects to find a strategy at work. The network of references in Bm and Bh may also influence the listeners' social relations to some extent (even if the effect is changed, and weaker, since

participants know that the text does not represent the voice of Sidi ‘Ali al-Bayyumiyya), but such inshad is determined by the munshid and context, and thus cannot represent any centrally planned tariqa strategy.

The underlying data here consist of triplets: referent, attitude, and deictic mode. Each of these may assume a range of variables, resulting in a large number of combinations. The presentation of data will therefore be selective, while highlighting its major contours.

I begin by considering references to spiritual entities.

God. The graph titled “References to God (densities)” (Graph 26) presents the total number of references to God of each type, divided by the total number of words, for each hadra (Jz, Jf). The left segment of the graph divides all references to God into the five attitudinal themes: L (love), P (praise), S (supplication), M (mystical experience), E (exhortation, i.e. to muridin about God). Each value represents the sum of the given theme combining the two deictic modes 2 (second person reference) and 3 (third person reference). The right segment of the graph divides all references to God into the two deictic modes, 2 and 3; here all themes are combined together. At the far right, the total number of references is plotted. Thus, for each tariqa the sums of all rows and columns of the full variable table are plotted:

	L	P	S	M	E
2nd person					
3rd person					

The data indicate that Jz greatly exceeds Jf in mentioning God in an attitude of love, while the reverse is the case for supplication. The rate of praise is somewhat higher in Jf. The mystical attitude occurs only in Jz, and rates for exhortation are roughly equal. Turning to the right segment of the graph, one notes that direct reference (2nd person) is much higher in Jf, while indirect reference (3rd person) is much higher in Jz. The total reference rate is somewhat higher in Jf. The graph “References to God (%)” (Graph 27) provides much the same picture (Here values have all been normalized with respect to the total reference rate for each tariqa, so that values for the attitudes (L,P,S,M,E) add to 100%, and values for the modes (2,3) also add to 100%. This normalization is useful when comparing two cases whose total reference rates are very different.)

The Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt. The graph titled “References to Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt (densities)” (Graph 28) presents the total number of references to the Prophet or members of the Ahl al-Bayt of each type, divided by the total number of words, for each hadra. Jz references to this group of entities is dominated by love and praise, while Jf is dominated by praise, with rates in the supplication and love categories nearly equalling those of Jz in love and praise. Both turuq favor 3rd person over 2nd, though Jf by a greater margin, and the total reference rate is much higher—almost double—for Jf. For this reason it is useful to glance at the normalized rates, “References to Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt (%)” (Graph 29). This data shows that relative to the total reference rate for

each case, Jz greatly exceeds Jf in the attitude of love, while Jf exceeds Jz slightly in praise; Jf greatly exceeds Jz in supplication.

Ambiguous spiritual entity. The graph titled “References to ambiguous entity (densities)” (Graph 30) presents information about the ambiguous spiritual entity in the same format. Here a significant contrast emerges. While Jz refers to this entity frequently, Jf virtually never does. Indeed the total Jz rate is much higher than that for either God or Prophet/Ahl al-Bayt. This entity is addressed most often with the attitude of love, but also the mystical or supplicatory mode may be used, and it is addressed more often in the 2nd person than in the 3rd. These facts signify a key difference between the two turuq. Whereas virtually all the references in Jf poetry are clear cut, Jz is more likely to address an ambiguous spiritual entity (which could be interpreted as God, the Prophet, a saint, or the shaykh) than any other. It is a variable term, which allows the poetry to be flexibly interpreted depending on the listener’s level and context.

Totals for spiritual entities. In “Total references to all spiritual entities” (Graphs 31,32), which combines God, Prophet/Ahl al-Bayt, and ambiguous spiritual entities, one can clearly see that Jz favors love and praise, whereas Jf favors praise and supplication. Both favor 3rd over 2nd person, but more so in Jf.

Listeners. Next I examine the ways in which the authors address their listeners in the text. “References to listeners (densities)” and “References to listeners (%)” (Graphs 33,34) break down such references in the same ways we have seen earlier. In the Jf, the dominant attitude is exhortative, followed by praise; whereas in Jz it is love,

followed by exhortation. In both cases direct (2nd person) references are preferred, but by a slightly greater margin in Jz.

Ego. It is important to consider as well how the shaykh represents himself in the text. In “References to listeners and ego (densities)” (Graph 35) it becomes clear that in absolute terms Sidi Jabir is far more “present” in his poetry than Shaykh Salih is in his – more than twice as much so. “References to listeners and ego (%)” (Graph 36) shows the same data in a normalized form. We see that in both hadras most of the references are in the singular first person. In the remainder, Sidi Jabir favors the second person, while Shaykh Salih favors the third.

This data on referencing is summarized in the final two graphs, “Total references to all entities (densities)” (Graph 37) and “Total references to all entities (%)” (Graph 38). Here we see again that while the poetry of Shaykh Salih is overwhelmingly focusses on the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt, Sidi Jabir divides his references more evenly, mostly referring to the “ambiguous” mystical entity, secondarily to himself and the Prophet/Ahl al-Bayt.

In the theoretical section, I argued that the network of references in inshad texts provides a model for the social-spiritual relations in the tariqa, which more than any other factor constitutes the core of its identity, as well as representing an important aspect of the tariqa’s strategy for adaptation to modern conditions of existence. The foregoing analysis of referencing in these texts enables a tentative sketch of the topology of these networks. We then see that there is indeed a homology between the network of

references in the text, the actual (and normative) social-spiritual structure of the group, and the doctrinal values embodied in them. I will now compare Jf and Jz.

The textual model in Jf is primarily orthodox and hierarchical. God tends to be referenced directly (2nd more than 3rd person), but is distant (supplication/praise) and invoked infrequently (density 0.047). The Prophet and the Ahl al-Bayt are referenced less directly, are only slightly less distant (praise dominates), and are invoked far more frequently (density 0.172). The listener tends to be addressed directly, using a distancing attitude of exhortation, but is less present (density 0.048). The ego is also less present (density 0.054), and tends to be referenced impersonally using 3rd person, as well as singular 1st person; much rarer is plural 1st person. Nearly all referents are clearly identified; there is no ambiguity in their boundaries; the ambiguous entity is negligible.

The textual model presented in Jz presents a very different appearance. Compared to Jf, God is referenced much less directly and slightly less frequently (density 0.038), but is much closer than in Jf, references occurring primarily in the contexts of love and praise. The Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt follow this pattern as well, being referenced with a lower density (0.09), less directness, but greater closeness (love and praise). But what is especially significant here is the fact that both God and the Prophet/Ahl al-Bayt are here approximately equidistant from the ego. Instead of God being a remote figure referenced through supplication, and the Ahl al-Bayt—somewhat closer—referenced via praise (as in Jf), here one finds both God and the Ahl al-Bayt being referenced through approximately the same attitudes, focussing on love. But their lower

density, as well as their greater tendency to be referenced via the 3rd person mode, reduces their prominence in the spiritual sphere as compared to Jf. Much more prominent is the highly present “ambiguous” entity (density 0.128), which is practically non-existent in Jf. But here patterns of referencing suggest it to be the dominant spiritual force: closer than God or the Ahl al-Bayt, and addressed more directly. The ego is far more present (density 0.116) than in Jf, and is invoked almost three times as often using the plural first person mode. Finally, the listener entity exhibits a presence (density .043) slightly less than that in Jf, but rather than continually being exhorted the referential attitude is also frequently in the context of themes of love and mysticism. Therefore the textual listener entity draws closer to the ego.

These reference networks are modulated by the pragmatics of their performance in hadra, which I consider briefly here (pragmatics is taken up more generally in the following section). The Jazuliyya perform mostly group inshad and solo inshad; occasionally there is responsorial inshad as well. The Ja‘fariyya perform only responsorial inshad. Jazuliyya group inshad promotes listener identification with the textual ego, due to the fact that usually everyone performs together; in Jazuliyya solo inshad, listener interpretation varies depending on the network of references provided by the text, and the listener himself. However, the pragmatics of Ja‘fariyya responsorial inshad clearly biases listener identification toward the textual listener role, since the bulk of the congregation is required to sing a response part (madhhab), which usually contains very little textual ego (often consisting merely of a standard religious formula, such as

the *tahli*), while listening to solo munshidin performing Shaykh Salih's text. Since these munshidin—sitting at the front of the group—metaphorically occupy the teacher-role of Shaykh Salih himself, it is natural for the remainder of the congregation to adopt the textual listener role.

There is an additional complexity in responsorial inshad when the refrain and main poem are two different texts. This occurs in both Jf and Jz. There is then the possibility of two distinct textual ego roles. In Jf two qasidas are performed with refrains requesting madad from Shaykh Salih: see #7⁸, and #15 (both of which supplicate Shaykh Salih as mediator to the Prophet). For instance, in the latter the following lines occur (see Appendix):

m	Madad, oh Ja'fari, madad	from the Prophet of God give us	s
		help	
1	Oh great of stature, oh you whose	is high above all ranks:	p
	ability		
2	I came asking my God for a glance	of beauty from you, oh best Prophet	ps

While the madhhab (labelled 'm') addresses Shaykh Salih, the poem itself addresses the Prophet in the voice of Shaykh Salih. Thus there are two distinctive ego roles. The refrain contains a distinctive ego role representing the murid, not the shaykh. Since the chorus will naturally adopt the textual ego role of the response, they will also adopt the textual listener role of the main poem, for the latter's ego role is Shaykh Salih, and the chorus cannot assume two different egos.

In Jz, the song which begins "Oh his beauty" ("Ya Jamaluh") consists of one of Sidi Jabir's qasidas, to which has been added a refrain (madhhab) expressing love for the

shaykh. The following song, beginning “The high is always high, oh father” (“al-‘Ali ‘Ali Yaba”) achieves the same effect by intertwining praise of the shaykh with another of Sidi Jabir’s qasidas. Note that in both cases the interpolated material comes from popular songs: in the first case a traditional Sa‘idi wedding song; in the second a popular Muhammad Munir song. But despite the contrast (in both style and attribution) between sacred material written by the shaykh and a popular song, the two textual egos flow together, due to the presence of an ambiguous “other” in the main poem, which may be associated with Sidi Jabir himself. Thus consider the lines from Jz:

1	Oh his &3 beauty, oh his &3 beauty	Sidi Salim, &3 oh his &3 beauty	p
2	<u>Oh hadi⁹ %2 of the lovers, %3 (oh his &3 beauty) sing %2 and make %2 us *2 sing</u>	<u>sing %2 to the one *3 who yearns, (oh his &3 beauty) sing %2 our *2 songs (9, music)</u>	ls

The first is a refrain line (borrowed from an Upper Egyptian wedding song), while the second is a line from Sidi Jabir (except for the inserted “oh his beauty”). But here the referent “hadi of the lovers”, being ambiguous, could easily be interpreted as referring to Sidi Salim himself. Thus the listener may identify with the main poem’s textual ego even when there is a responsorial refrain taken from a different text entirely.

Furthermore, even when added refrains would tend to cause the listener to identify with the listener role, there is a clear contrast between the two turuq in that whereas the added Jazuli refrain expresses love for the shaykh, the added Ja‘fari refrain expresses an attitude of supplication, praise, and respect. Thus performance supports

the underlying personal social structure of the tariqa, which is typified by horizontal bonds in the former case, vertical bonds in the latter.

How can one interpret these findings?

The Jf model well-represents the standard “Sunni” or orthodox scheme for Sufi spiritual-social relations. God is petitioned directly, but He is distant compared to the intercessors (the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt), who occupy the chasm lying between the ego and God in the hierarchy. However these tend to be praised indirectly more than petitioned directly, since the latter attitude is regarded as heretical by the orthodoxy. Praise (like blessings, salawat) implies petition, but without stating this fact overtly. This poetry is didactic; accordingly, the listener is invoked in order to exhort him, and thus the listener is placed in a clearly inferior position with respect to the ego. The listener is further distanced from the ego by the fact that the ego rarely refers to himself using the deictic mode of first person plural.

In performance, the listener is far more likely to adopt the “literal” listener role rather than the “metaphoric” ego role, for several reasons: (1) the ego-role is only weakly present in the text, (2) the ego-role is often explicitly connected to Shaykh Salih by name, particularly at the end of each poem, (3) the ego-role is rarely referenced using an inclusive “we” which would encourage listener identification, (4) the listener-role is usually explicitly present as the recipient of exhortation, (5) pragmatically the munshid soloists adopt the ego role, but the bulk of the congregation is discouraged from doing so by being required to sing the refrain, which ordinarily does not feature Shaykh Salih’s

ego role. If the refrain is in fact a distinct text supplicating or praising Shaykh Salih, the congregation is certain to adopt the listener role. This choice is also reinforced by their pragmatic status as listeners passively responding to the munshid soloists, whose metaphorical position is parallel to that of Shaykh Salih while he was alive.

Because all referents are unambiguous and hierarchical, the text tends to reinforce the same hierarchical, vertical set of social-spiritual relations for every listener. This social world-view can be summarized as follows: the listener (adopting the role of textual listener) is clearly subservient to the shaykh, who in turn is clearly subservient to the Ahl al-Bayt and the Prophet. These in turn are subservient to God. Although one may petition God directly, the path of greatest efficacy (and this is echoed in Shaykh Salih's writings, as we have seen) is via intermediaries: the shaykh, and the Ahl al-Bayt. This is the vertical social-spiritual hierarchy which is enacted in hadra.

Therefore, if one can accept the hypothesis that communal performance of the textual paradigm for social-spiritual relations tends to reinforce such relations for participants, performance of such texts appear as a strategy which does several important things:

- Evokes Shaykh Salih himself, not only by presenting his ideas assertively, but also evoking him through the set of spiritual-social relations which defined him: as preacher to his followers, as servant of God and follower of the Prophet. His particular charisma is thereby reinforced. Such an evocation is important since Shaykh Salih is most important to tariqa identity.

- Asserts and affirms the orthodox character of Ja‘fariyya Sufism as manifested in its spiritual-social relations, which are hierarchical and unambiguous; there is no blurring of boundaries between the human and the metaphysical realms, and spiritual entities too are clearly delimited. Working together with the tariqa’s close association with al-Azhar, and the public nature of its hadras, this feature is important to reaffirms the group’s identity, as well as attracting members who share this world-view, guarding against reproachful Sufi critics.
- Experientially binds the murid into those hierarchical social-spiritual relations which constitute the group. Specifically, the text places him in a clearly subordinate role with regard to the shaykh, through whom he establishes relations with the spiritual universe modelled on those of the shaykh. The shaykh is established as the critical intermediary, the linchpin binding the tariqa together.
- By a metaphorical extension from the spiritual to the social, LP establishes the general centrality of distant vertical relationships in the tariqa. These relationships are presented in the texts as a vertical ascending hierarchy of murid, Shaykh Salih, Ahl al-Bayt, Prophet, God. These relationships can be applied and replicated metaphorically to reinforce the vertical relationships of status inequality throughout the tariqa. Thus the vertical relationship between Shaykh Salih and a murid established by LP is replicated as a relation between Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani and the murid, or between any preacher and the murid.

- Thus reinforces the core personal social structure of the group—in which the vertical relation is primary—and so reinforces the group’s essential basis for existence. Not only is the identity of the group, as expressed in its social structure, emphasized in performance; it is also put into practice.
- Maintains a public aspect whose influence can radiate influence beyond the strict bounds of membership. The fact that listeners take the listener role, distant from Shaykh Salih, means that the performance does not bind members into a closely knit solidarity. The group is not highly reified, or differentiated from the out-group. Anyone Muslim from outside the tariqa admiring Shaykh Salih might just as well identify with the listener role, and thus be incorporated in the network of relationships, because adopting that role does not imply belonging to the social solidarity, but merely accepting a relation of respect toward Shaykh Salih. This property helps the tariqa to maintain its position as a central social institution, rather than a closed fraternity.
- But performance does create group centralization and solidarity, based on the principle of hierarchy and vertical relations centered on a shaykh, which is necessary not only for its identity, but also in order to continue to control itself strategically.

On the other hand, the Jz model represents a far more heterodox scheme for Sufi spiritual-social relations. Spiritual entities are not arrayed hierarchically, but rather are clustered together, nearer the ego, bound by the attitudinal theme of love. Both the Prophet/Ahl al-Bayt and God are approximately equidistant from the ego along the

attitudinal hierarchy. But God and the Prophet/Ahl al-Bayt are overshadowed by the strong presence of an “ambiguous entity”, lacking specificity. It is the relation between the strongly present ego and this “ambiguous” entity which is frequently foregrounded in the text. The poetry is not didactic so much as expressive; the textual listener is far less frequently invoked for the sake of exhortation than to catch him up in this expressive feeling, and the ego frequently employs the deictic mode of first person plural to do so. Therefore the textual listener draws near to the ego, which appears as representing the group, rather than towering over it. All these aspects of textual referencing tend to reduce distances between entities, negating the notion of hierarchy.

What happens to this model when performed in hadra? If the listener adopts the textual listener role, he will generally be positioned near the ego, due to their close relation in the model. But the listener may also identify with the ego role (representing Sidi Jabir) more frequently than in Jf, for several reasons: (1) the listener role is less distanced from the ego by the theme of exhortation and didacticism; (2) the ego is highly present, yet seems to represent “every Sufi”, since Sidi Jabir tends not to name himself; (3) the ego is frequently referenced in the first person plural, thus naturally tending to include the listener in its scope; (4) the presence of a strong ambiguous entity which may represent Sidi Jabir (this point is explained below); (5) generally listeners either sing the entire text (and hence have the opportunity to make a pragmatic identification with the ego role), or listen; it is less common for listeners to participate by performing a refrain which separates them from the textual ego, as is the case in Jf; (6) texts written by Sidi

Jabir may be intertwined with others which address him, so as to explicitly shift the ambiguous entity to Sidi Jabir himself (as in the above example, “Oh his beauty”).

Unlike Jf, the Jz textual model includes a dominant “ambiguous” entity of low specificity, which must be interpreted by real listeners in performance. This entity is most likely to be interpreted by listeners as representing one or more of God, the Prophet, the Ahl al-Bayt, Sidi Jabir, or Sidi Salim. The ambiguous entity exists in a spiritually close relation to the ego. Therefore, whatever entity it is interpreted to be will also be regarded as close to the ego, close to a “horizontal” relation. If it is interpreted to represent God, the Prophet, or the Ahl al-Bayt, then those entities draw closer than they would otherwise be. If it is interpreted as Sidi Jabir, then the role of ego cannot be occupied by him as well, and the listener will step in to fill this role, identifying with the “T” of the text to address Sidi Jabir. In this case, a close bond is suggested between the listener and Sidi Jabir.

While the clear-cut textual model of Jf appears to allow almost no divergence in interpretation, the Jz model may be interpreted differently by different listeners. Not all listeners will adopt the same role (i.e. some may adopt the ego role, while others may adopt the listener role), and not all listeners will interpret the ambiguous entity in the same way. In performance, then, the Jz textual paradigm suggests a set of criss-crossing, tangled relationships, as different participants establish different relationships with different entities. Rather than the neatly ordered hierarchy in Jf with its commonly agreed-upon vertical relationships which define the group, here we have a confusion of

horizontal relationships. One listener may identify with the ego role, and assign the ambiguous entity to Sidi Jabir. Another may assign it to the Ahl al-Bayt, or to God. All of these entities may be addressed in the same way, at the same level of distance from the ego. Some listeners may assume the listener role. Indeed the same listener may make multiple assignments during the hadra, suggesting a kind of equivalence of terms at some deeper level. Divisions between these terms are blurred, or become unimportant.

This listener-dependence means that it is impossible to state a single specific spiritual-social order suggested by the textual model. But in general one may summarize this situation as cohesive and non-hierarchical. Adopting the ego role suggests a close relation with Sidi Jabir (as the nominal possessor of this role), but adopting the listener role also places one close to him, by virtue of the close relation between ego and listener in the text. When the listener places himself in the ego role, there is a sense of extreme closeness with the ambiguous entity which may even lead to a sense of the boundaries dissolving between them. The spiritual entities—God, Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt—are all relatively close to the ego, and may also substitute for the ambiguous entity, which is even closer, and by means of which they draw near each other. The closeness of all listeners to Sidi Jabir in performance means that they also draw near to each other, forming communal bonds of solidarity. In the most esoteric interpretation, the human-spiritual entities (the Ahl al-Bayt, Sidi Jabir) are actually substitutable for each other, since all reflect the light of the Prophet, which comes from God; all are from one

essential substance and—finally—that even the listener himself may dissolve his individuality in the ocean of their being.¹⁰

To summarize, if communal performance of the textual paradigm for social-spiritual relations reinforces such relations for participants, then the performance of such texts is strategic in the following ways:

- Evokes Sidi Jabir, presenting him not only via the assertion of his ideas, but as he defined himself as a nexus within a set of spiritual-social relations. These relations to some extent comprise the unique qualities of his charisma, and in stating them, his charismatic qualities are reinforced. The affirmation of shaykh and his charisma is critical to maintenance of tariqa identity.
- Affirms group identity, as represented in its core spiritual-social relations, which are horizontal and often ambiguous. Such relations suggest a mystical attitude: that the strict hierarchy indicated by Shari‘a can be suffused with love which brings everything close, even to the point of a mystical unity at the level of haqiqa, at which all boundaries begin to fade. Underneath the separateness of God, the Prophet, the Ahl al-Bayt, the saints is a higher unity, an esoteric truth. This is an important feature of performance which draws members who are predisposed to such a world-view. While this world-view may also draw criticism of the orthodoxy, the tariqa’s niche lies far from the conservative parts of the Islamic field; it does not aim to attract scholars of al-Azhar and other more traditional Muslims. Presentation of such a “heterodox” social structure is balanced by the tariqa’s emphasis on Shari‘a in its

mudhakara sessions. The fact that performance takes place in a relatively private setting also protects the group from outside criticism.

- **Experientially binds the murid into the social-spiritual relations which constitute the group, allowing him to construct his own personal relationships within the web of social relations suggested by the text. Through performance of texts, the individual murid is molded into the group's cohesive non-hierarchical solidarity. The listeners are brought close to the shaykh (whether they adopt the textual ego role, or textual listener role), and therefore close to each other. Outsiders cannot simply enter into these relationships, since they involve an intimate relation with the shaykh. A strong in-group solidarity is therefore created, and the group is reified as a social unit.**
- **Gives listeners the possibility of a more immediate mystical relation to spiritual entities. Here there is a contrast with the Ja'fariyya, in which everyone is forced into the same vertically organized roles as a means of asserting the orthodox view. The Jazuliyya approach encourages exercise of individual spiritual capacities, each according to his ability; not everyone is on the same level. The relationships presented by Sidi Jabir's texts are interpretable and flexible, according to the spiritual level of the murid. Yet, however listeners choose to interpret, the group is reinforced, since relationships between all entities are close.**
- **By a metaphorical extension from the spiritual to the social, LP establishes the general centrality of intimate horizontal social relationships within the tariqa. Horizontal relations of LP can be applied metaphorically to social relations in the**

tariqa. Thus if the murid is close to the shaykh in LP, he will feel close to his fellow muridin in the tariqa.

- Thus performance establishes a centralized and cohesive social structure, based on essentially horizontal relationships, which provides the possibility of the group's strategic control of itself. Whereas in Jf a distance between listeners and shaykh is maintained, serving metaphorically to create a hierarchical social structure, here the group is tightly bound through primarily horizontal relationships into a communal solidarity with sharp boundaries.

6. Sources: intertextuality and authority

I argued earlier that intertextual connections are an important source of power in LP, because such connections evoke another text or set of texts, with its own range of associated meanings (including those derived from its contexts of performance or presentation), any of which may come to bear in performance. In the section on sonic variables I discussed the related phenomenon of interality, the connections between performative styles, such that a performance may create meaning by invoking the styles (and their associated meanings) to which it is connected. Here I examine the texts themselves, their sources and intertextual relations, and the consequences of such relations on the effects and efficacy of LP in hadra. Such connections may serve to generate meaning in performance which is not apparently contained in the assertions which comprise it.

A related topic is the authority of a text, by which I mean the creative forces which are perceived to lie behind the text itself, and the sense of power they confer on textual performance. By the term “authority” I include the attributed author of the text, the author’s perceived authority, the consequent authority perceived to be inherent in the text itself, and the sense of its authorization in performance. Like intertextual relations, connections to creative forces and the significance they bestow upon texts serves to generate meaning in performance which cannot necessarily be predicted from a detailed consideration of what the text actually says.

a. Bayyumiyya

The principal texts in Bayyumiyya hadra LP are fawatih, ad‘iyya, hizb, dhikr, and inshad. Texts used in fawatih and ad‘iyya are standard, tailored slightly to the Bayyumiyya hadra in their mention of Bayyumiyya saints. But there is no particular source or authorization other than the standard Islamic and Sufi tradition. The dhikr formulas used were explicitly authorized by Sidi ‘Ali al-Bayyumiyya, and thus their performance carries the weight of the tariqa founder. However such formulas are not particular to Sidi ‘Ali, and can be found in many other turuq as well. More interesting is an analysis of intertextuality and authority with respect to hizb and inshad.

The Bayyumiyya hizb used in hadra (*al-hizb al-saghir*, the small hizb) is one of two hizbs (the other is *al-hizb al-kabir*, the large hizb) composed by Sidi ‘Ali al-Bayyumiyya, and preserved in liturgical booklets. These hizbs are authorized by Sidi ‘Ali (at least, according to tradition and popular understanding) for use in personal and

corporate worship. The hizb carries with it the authority of Sidi ‘Ali, and thus serves to reinforce the founder’s presence in the hadra and to unequivocally identify the hadra as Bayyumiyya. Indeed, performance of this hizb is often the only truly distinctive feature in a Bayyumiyya hadra, distinguishing it from any of the other traditional turuq. On the other hand, the hizb does not carry the personal voice of the founder; Sidi ‘Ali is really the compiler and authorizer more than the writer of this text, which consists almost entirely of Qur’anic passages. It is said that he composed the hizb by gathering together all Qur’anic verses mentioning the concept of *tawhid* (the unity of God); only the ordering and selection of these verses is the work of Sidi ‘Ali. Thus performance of hizb carries the weight of the Qur’an and the most central concept of Islam within it. From this perspective, the hizb could be said to be carrying the authority of God Himself.

The existence and use of a distinctive hizb, composed by the tariqa founder, but ultimately sanctioned by the Qur’an, is a common strategy in nearly all Sufi orders. By reciting such a hizb in hadra, participants are reaffirming their commitment to a particular Sufi tradition, and indirectly their commitment to each other as well, as bound by a common affiliation. This was apparently a decision by Sidi ‘Ali himself, according to present-day members who say that the original hadra followed the same format. Striking is the omission of hizbs from the Ahmadi tradition from which Sidi ‘Ali came; in composing his own hizb he reveals his intent to establish an independent tariqa (though he acknowledged his own predecessors, and they appear in his official biographies today). However this strategy dates from the time of the founder, over two hundred

years ago, and does not represent a particular adaptation to the modern period.

Furthermore, the hizb is unquestioningly inherited from the past more easily than any other aspect of performance, because it is recorded in prayer books as well as performed in hadra. Therefore it seems reasonable to assume that the use of hizb in the Bayyumiyya hadra, whatever function it may provide for asserting group identity, emphasizing Sidi ‘Ali as center, and maintaining cohesiveness, does not represent an active group-level strategy, but rather hysteresis.

The absence of strategy is much more manifest, of course, in inshad. Inshad performed during hadra depends almost entirely upon the munshidin—their repertoire, and their particular inspiration in performance—together with whatever contextual effects place and participants exert upon them, since there is no official tariqa repertoire at all. These munshidin are frequently not Bayyumiyya members, and since there is in any case no requirement for them to be so, the inshad they perform is further de-authorized as coming from outside the tariqa. This lack of authority by no means implies that inshad is less effective, only that it does not carry the particular stamp of the Bayyumiyya tariqa. By the same token, of course, the freedom and lack of authorization of inshad performed in hadra means that it does not carry out any group-level tariqa strategy.

Where do the inshad texts come from? Whether they are Bayyumiyya or not, munshidin are frequently semi-professional, performing inshad at popular religious or social occasions such as mawlid and weddings. Therefore inshad texts used in the tariqa are drawn from the common stock of inshad performed at such occasions, which tends

toward folk poetry forms (especially the mawwal) as well as Sufi poetry in the common domain of informal Sufism. These poems tend to be well-known, and are not associated with any particular tariqa, though they may carry regional or class distinctions. Use of these forms gives the Bayyumiyya hadra an open feeling; it shares so much with the hadras performed by other groups or in public occasions that nearly anyone with Sufi experience would find it familiar, and thus participation can easily become ecumenical (as we observed in Bh). But the lack of textual authority which enables such openness is most definitively not strategic; on the contrary, by not supporting the tariqa's boundaries, it indirectly tends to decrease the tariqa's distinctive identity.

b. Jazuliyya

The central Jazuliyya hadra, of which Jz is an example, contains hizb, solo inshad, group inshad, speeches, dhikr, ad'iyya, and fawatih. As in the case of the Bayyumiyya, there is nothing particularly distinctive about the latter three types. Dhikr texts, adapted from the Qur'anic, Throne Verse (Ayat al-Kursi), are taken from the standard Shadhili tradition. Their use thus affirms the tariqa's basis in the Qur'an, as well as its connection to the Shadhiliyya generally. However these dhikr formulae are also used in many other turuq. While Sidi Jabir may have selected them in order to assert his Shadhili identity, their use may also reflect an unchallenged inheritance from the past (hysteresis). Ad'iyya and fawatih, which in any case have a relatively low profile in the hadra as a whole, resemble the standard Sufi tradition, and there are no particular intertextual or authorial associations which lend them special significance in hadra.

Several hizbs are authorized by prayer books and employed in hadra, including four composed by Sidi Jabir (*al-Da'wa al-Rabbaniyya*¹¹, *Hizb al-Nur*, *Hizb al-Mu'min*, *Hizb al-Fath*), and one by Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili (*Hizb al-Nasr*) (a chapter from the Qur'an, "Ya Sin", may also be used). The authority of the tariqa founder is present in all of these, since it was he who authorized their use in the tariqa. More important is the fact that he composed four of them. These indicate a deliberate attempt, as in the case of Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumiyya and many other tariqa founders, to create a new tariqa via a ritual break from the past. What is distinctively modern is Sidi Jabir's development of a new style of hizb.

While *Hizb al-Nur*, *Hizb al-Mu'min*, and *Hizb al-Fath* are compositions of Sidi Jabir, they are also traditional, in the sense that they employ mostly conventional formulations of *salawat* (requests for God to bless the Prophet), *adhkar* (conventional religious formulas sanctioned by hadith), *tasabih* (glorifications of God), *ad'iyya* (supplications), and excerpts from the Qur'an. Only the ordering of these traditional elements can be attributed to Sidi Jabir. Through such intertextual links, these texts thus find an authorization beyond him, in the Islamic tradition as a whole, and in the Revelation of God. This is a conventional strategy employed by nearly all Sufi shaykhs in their hizbs and other prayers, as a means of resolving the conflict between the new (required to establish identity) and the old (required for legitimization).

More unique is his poem, *al-Da'wa al-Rabbaniyya*, which is probably recited by the tariqa more often than any other hizb. Other turuq founders have written similar

poems, but usually do not employ them as *hizb* in the *hadra*. I have already called attention to the fact that the poetic form of this *hizb* enables a much higher level of emotion to develop through sonic performance resembling *inshad*. But the resemblance to *inshad*—and contrast with traditional *hizb* material—is semantic as well. Like the *hizbs*, the poem is generally directed to God, filled with supplications (*ad'iyya*) and glorifications. But rather than the standard requests for blessings on the Prophet, forgiveness, success, and guidance, this *hizb* resonates with the mystical Sufi poetic tradition, including the following supplications (not consecutive):

- I begin with the Name of God, I appeal to my Lord to reveal the hidden secrets of the high places
- By Your Name, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the King, unite the hearts of the worlds with my heart.
- Immerse me in the sea of the [Divine] Attributes, with grace, so that I may regard, in the light of your light, my light
(al-Jazuli 1993b: 10-13)

Such overtly mystical themes in a poetic form contrast completely with the traditional *hizb* materials. This *hizb* is not authorized by use of Qur'anic or other traditional language, but rather expresses the voice of Sidi Jabir in poetic form, resonating intertextually with other lines of his mystical poetry, and with mystical poetry in general. Its use may be regarded as an innovative strategy serving to center the *tariqa* on Sidi Jabir. Breaking Sufi traditions so as to cut links to the past, this *hizb* also helps to create a new Sufism for the modern period, with strong appeal to the more mystically inclined. The flexibility of poetry, freed from traditional language employed by most *hizbs*, enables a greater degree of flexibility in forming the group through performance.

It is only one instance of more general patterns in this tariqa, to displace traditional ritual language with more potent communicative and affective forms.

Intertextual relations and authority in hadra speech is more overtly strategic. Speech in the hadra focusses on a number of traditional topics, including Qur'an, Hadith, and fiqh (Islamic law). The texts recited or discussed in connection with such topics suggest intertextual relations with the Islamic pedagogical tradition as a whole. The centrality of this tradition is evidently strategic at the group level, for both social and spiritual goals. It serves to ground the tariqa firmly in the fundamentals of Shari'a, thus providing a balance to the group's more mystical and emotional practices, such as the use of music and ecstasy. In this way, the tariqa reinforces its claims to be combine Shari'a and Haqiqa. It thus defends itself against critics, both outside the group, and (potentially) inside¹², as well as helping to draw in new members.

Sufism is also included in mudhakara, but all overtly Sufi topics evoke Sidi Jabir through intertextuality. Sometimes someone in the group may recite one of Sidi Jabir's essays from the book *Rasa'il Sufiyya* (Sufi treatises), followed by commentaries, questions, and discussions concerning the passage recited. Or one of Sidi Jabir's poems (often that which has just been sung as inshad) may be discussed. In any Sufi discussion members are likely to invoke the writings of Sidi Jabir. The result of such practices is to invoke Sidi Jabir's presence in the hadra, and thus to authorize the proceedings with the stamp of his personality, whether or not the content of his poems and essays is complete original to him.

But it is in inshad that the founder's authority and literary voice is most prominent. Most inshad performed in hadra—nearly all group inshad—is taken from Sidi Jabir's diwan, although the solo munshid may also draw on other material as he sees fit. Use of these poems is authorized by the founder, and thus carries a special weight in performance, unlike the Bayyumiyya for whom all inshad is taken from a wide-open general repertoire. Stylistically such inshad resembles the light but ecstatic poetry of a Sufi poet such as al-Shushtari. While not all poems contain overtly mystical elements (many poems develop themes of conventional Islamic madih), the poetry of Sidi Jabir steers clear of the lofty and conservative madih odes characteristic of mainstream Islamic inshad (as in the Ja'fariyya). Using a lighter style, Sidi Jabir is better able to communicate to a generation who received their education in secular schools and universities, rather than through the traditional Islamic system of al-Azhar. He thereby sacrifices the authority provided by the traditional high Arabic language preferred by Islam, but this separation also frees him from the constraints which such an authority would impose, as well as enabling him to make his tariqa appeal to a broader range of people.

While the themes expressed in Sidi Jabir's essays and poems may not be unique, his textual voice *is* unique, and well-known to the muridin. By repeating these texts, the founder's unique charisma is kept alive, and that charisma helps to reaffirm the centralization and cohesion of the group. While more conservative Sufi forces may criticize some of the themes employed, this separation also has its advantages, because it

supports members' conceptions of their tariqa as something unique, stemming from the genius of Sidi Jabir himself.

c. *Ja'fariyya*

The pattern of intertextuality and authority in Ja'fariyya hadra texts represents a very different strategy from that of the Jazuliyya.

The initial hizb recitation in the Thursday evening hadra (of which Jf is an example) comprises two different texts. The first is the initial segment of a work of Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari, *Kanz al-Nafahat*, comprising mainly *salawat*. This *Kanz*, which is recited in its entirety during the smaller Sunday evening hadra, is a traditional Sufi devotion, composed primarily of *salawat* for the Prophet, and *ad'iyya* to God. Nearly all of its contents conforms to mainstream orthodox Islamic tradition, if not to the more radical fundamentalism of modern Islamic reformers. The name itself appears as an intertextual reference to the primary source of hizb on Thursday evenings, the *Kanz al-Sa'ada* of Sidi Ahmad bin Idris, Shaykh Salih's spiritual source. This hizb is an elaborate composition combining Qur'an, *ad'iyya*, dhikr (using altogether six different formulas), and *salawat*. Mostly it employs traditional Sufi formulas, and on the whole is highly orthodox as well; the two hizbs share a common language.

As in most other *turuq* (such as the Jazuliyya and Bayyumiyya), Shaykh Salih wrote a hizb which is used in hadra, and which serves in part to reaffirm the tariqa's identity as grounded in his personality and teachings. What is more unusual is his inclusion of his shaykh's *Kanz al-Sa'ada*, as well as the resemblance between the names

and textual styles of the two hizbs. I noted earlier that even in the traditional Bayyumiyya tariqa, the founder did not insert the Ahmadiyya hizb in his hadra, even though his own silsila derives from the Ahmadi line. Rather Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumiyya devised a new hizb of his own, as a distinctive emblem of his tariqa. This indeed is the general pattern, for the performance of a hizb is often the only aspect of a hadra in which the tariqa's distinctive identity is displayed. The Jazuliyya include one hizb of Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili, but it is rarely recited. The *Kanz al-Sa'ada*, by contrast, occupies an essential and prominent location in the central Thursday night hadra.

This conservative strategy of Shaykh Salih—retention of his shaykh's hizb in a new tariqa—is thus by no means a traditional one. By using his master's hizb (and in other ways as well, such as publishing many of Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris's written works), Shaykh Salih affirms the importance of Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris for the Ja'fariyya, and the absence of any sharp break between the two groups. The Ja'fariyya hadra is thus authorized in part through the presence of the Idrisi hizb, as the Ja'fariyya tariqa is legitimized by its connection to the Idrisiyya tradition generally. By using the Idrisi hizb, Shaykh Salih emphasized the tariqa's connection to the past, and—in particular—to a highly influential reformist shaykh whose derivative orders are today widespread over much of the Islamic world. In doing so, he anchored his tariqa in a forward-looking tradition which could not be easily dismissed, while at the same time allowing the group to assume a new identity under his name, and hence ultimately under his control.

This tactic for assuring the legitimacy of a new tariqa without sacrificing flexibility is consistent with a more general tariqa strategy of legitimization through assertion of connections to the past, including publicizing Shaykh Salih's *silsila* (spiritual pedigree), his sharif *nisab* (lineal connection to the Prophet), and his association with the thousand-year-old Islamic university, al-Azhar, first as student, and later as professor and preacher. Such an attitude contrasts with the strategy of the Jazuliyya, which seeks rather to make a break from the past in order to appeal to a new kind of potential member, a modern Egyptian who is either uninterested in, or actively suspicious of, legitimization from the past. The Ja'fariyya benefit from a more traditional appeal, one which plays better to individuals from traditional families, with traditional religious educations, or from more conservative parts of Egypt (especially Upper Egypt).

Yet such traditionalism is also modernism, for it represents a deliberate strategy for attaining and maintaining a niche in the modern field of Islam in Egypt, in which space for Sufi orders is limited. The measured cultivation of connections to the past is not an accident of history, but rather a deliberate policy, evident in nearly every aspect of this order. It seems clear that the founder and his khalifa must have had several choices when they founded the order. Rather than create a new tariqa linked to Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris, Shaykh Salih could have created a local chapter within the Idrisiyya order. Or he could have created a completely independent tariqa, filling the hadra entirely with texts of his own devising, more along the lines of the Jazuliyya. The fact that present and past are so well balanced is especially indicative of a strategy. An additional factor supporting

this interpretation is the presence of a closing du‘a’ written by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani, son of Shaykh Salih and current shaykh of the tariqa. Thus the authorities of all three shaykhs—but no others—are represented in hadra.

The rest of the hadra is mainly inshad, and here too authority and intertextuality play an important role in constructing a meaning which is consistent with tariqa strategy. The Jazuliyya and several other turuq, particularly modern ones (such as the ‘Azmiyya and the Burhaniyya), publish their own diwans of poetry for use in inshad, but as far as I know it is only the Ja‘fariyya whose inshad is so completely limited to the diwan of the founder. The Jazuliyya, as we have noted, may employ qasidas from outside the diwan during solo inshad segments, and even include some popular song lyrics during group inshad. The Ja‘fariyya, by contrast, treat the diwan of the founder as an exclusive canon of tremendous didactic value. Only rarely a qasida is selected from the few composed by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani; thus even in this case, inshad is always authorized by the shaykh. But the vast corpus of poetry by Shaykh Salih, imposing in its physical aspect within hadra—a large wooden box containing the twelve volumes in twelve separate compartments—represents the shaykh himself because it is considered an encapsulation of his knowledge. The high profile of Shaykh Salih’s authoritatively didactic inshad in hadra is not merely an affirmation of his continued importance and presence in the tariqa; it is literally a means of recreating his voice. Many of his followers consider his inshad to be a representation of his teachings, and hence the basis of the tariqa; through its performance his authority and presence lives on in hadra.

Performance of inshad not only evokes Shaykh Salih; it also establishes a firm connection with Islamic tradition. While his language is not difficult to understand, yet it presents the listener with a formal and elevated style, perfect in its use of poetics and grammar, which draws upon the language of high Islamic culture, and thus evokes that tradition. In both themes and language style, Ja‘fariyya inshad is closely related to the orthodox tradition of conservative *madih* and other religious poetry in high classical Arabic, reminiscent of the early examples in this genre by Hassan ibn Thabit, Ka‘b ibn Zuhayr, and later al-Busiri, and others (furthermore such connections are explicitly affirmed in articles published in the tariqa’s yearly magazine, and in the introductions to the Diwan, as was mentioned in the tariqa ethnography).

A close stylistic and thematic relation to this earlier material occasionally becomes even more explicit, as in Shaykh Salih’s “*Burdāt al-Hasaniyya al-Husayniyya*” whose title and rhyme scheme (the letter *mim*) recalls the famous “*Burda*” of al-Busiri. Praise of the Ahl al-Bayt is also a standard theme, as is supplication to God, extolling virtues of the Qur’an, the Pilgrimage (*al-hajj*), the Fast in Ramadan (*al-sawm*). Very little of his poetry references the overtly mystical poetic tradition, and there is almost nothing which would not be acceptable to the vast majority of Muslims in Egypt. His *tashtir* (“splitting”, a procedure by which a poet alternates his own lines with those of an original poem) of ‘Umar ibn al-Farid’s famous mystical ode “*Zidni bifart al-hubb...*” establishes a relation with the master of Arabic Sufi poetry, while “rescuing” him from his critics by suggesting an orthodox interpretation in the interpolated lines; it is the

exception which proves the rule. The conservative themes of this poetry, relying primarily on Hadith and Sira (Prophetic biography), together with its intertextual connections to the high Arabic of the Islamic learned tradition and the culture of al-Azhar, all serve to strengthen the conservative reputation of the group, and affirm its rootedness in Shaykh Salih and a long, continuous Islamic legacy, even though the tariqa itself is quite new, and its spiritual qutb, Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris, was himself a reformer.

B. Pragmatic analysis

In this section I will take up some of the descriptive pragmatic variables described in the previous chapter. These will be addressed in four groups.

1. Context: Location, time, occasion. Openness. Boundaries.

a. Jazuliyya

The Jazuliyya hold hadra in several different locations; each exhibits characteristic features serving a particular strategic purpose. Weekly public mosque hadras (held in the mosques of Sayyidna al-Husayn, Sayyida Zaynab, Shaykh al-Sha‘rani, and elsewhere) are more conservative and relatively short, consisting mainly of their trademark “hadra shar‘iyya” (orthodox hadra) with group inshad. These public spaces do not belong to the tariqa, and are generally associated with a major public saint, an object of veneration among a majority of the Sufi-oriented Muslim public, who is the object of a ziyara at the end of the hadra. Here there is little ecstasy, and no music. Because the hadra follows a public prayer (usually night (‘isha’) prayer or Friday communal prayer),

it is often observed by a large and curious group of non-members, who have just finished their own prayers but delay leaving the mosque in order to watch. Afterwards some may ask about what they have seen; those who display sincere interest will be invited to attend the tariqa's main meeting on Thursdays. Hadra in these public locations is thus a good means of attracting new members; many of the current members joined in precisely this way. However due to the hadra's public location in a mosque, the tariqa needs to maintain a more conservative image, and thus use of instruments and ecstasy is forbidden here.

Weekly local hadras in each district take place in members' homes; these are devoted mainly to *mudhakara* (study session) together with some group inshad. Here there is no particular sanctity attached to the space, and the meeting place is completely private. The goal is to provide a more relaxed and intimate setting than either the main hadra, or the public mosque hadra, can provide. Since only approximately 10-20 individuals attend, there is a greater opportunity for each member to participate in various roles, including speaking, asking questions, or performing inshad. Members thereby learn the meaning of membership, through controlled practice under the experienced guidance of the leader. This setting also provides a chance for members to develop a more personal sense of loyalty to the group, and friendships with other members living in the vicinity.

The two weekly hadras in the main center and mosque are open to the entire tariqa. These are held next to the shrine of Sidi Jabir himself, and are thus sanctified by

his presence. This shrine is located in the quiet, dark cemetery district of Qayt Bay, just outside a major Cairo ring road (Salah Salim), which separates this low population area from the dense and bustling neighborhoods of Darrasa and Jamaliyya on the other side. The location is not hard to reach (particularly for those with automobiles), but few outsiders would be likely to stumble upon it accidentally, even though most of the men can only be accommodated in the small space by sitting in the adjoining alley (which is spread with carpeting for this purpose) and no effort is made to conceal the hadra. Although the center contains a mosque, regular prayers are not conducted here, and it is not a *jami'* (i.e. a location for group Friday prayers). All things considered, outsiders would be unlikely to find or use this site.

Here the entire group is invited to gather (though in practice it is only members living in Greater Cairo who are able to attend regularly) twice weekly, on Mondays for mudhakara and inshad, and on Thursdays for mudhakara, inshad, and dhikr. In this private setting, next to the founder's shrine, and with a much larger group (including the shaykh) present, it is possible indulge in more emotional and musical practices, under central control. The private location helps avoid problems of outsider criticism. Spiritually, such emotion is held to be spiritually beneficial; socially, it serves to both retain and attract members. In addition, group emotion serves to unify the performing group, creating a strong sense of corporate identity. Because of the presence of a large number of members at these hadras, including the central leadership, this solidarity is effective in forming a centrally controlled horizontal and communal solidarity, which is

central to the identity and effective functioning of this tariqa, as has been discussed earlier. High emotion is not permitted in the local hadra; outside the control of central leadership and the full presence of the main group, strong emotionalism might lead to local charismatic leaders and local cohesive subgroups, resulting in tensions with the center, or even schism and fission. Lacking the sure control provided by the center, ecstasy at the periphery might also exceed proper limits, leading to a breakdown of ritual order, or criticism of the tariqa as a whole. For these reasons, perhaps, the local hadra is limited to mudhakara; music and ecstasy is only permitted at the central hadra.

Like many other Shadhiliyya orders, the Jazuliyya are particularly sensitive to charges that the ritual demands of Sufism render it incompatible with modern life, and attempt to design tariqa rituals so as to fit around the needs of the working family oriented individual. Mosque hadras are held immediately after 'isha' or Friday noon prayer, so that members can pray together and then perform the hadra without delay; the hadra lasts only an hour, and then all disperse. These hadras are optional and mainly attended by those living nearby, or who are especially motivated. The longer, and mandatory, local hadras often begin earlier, just after sunset (maghrib) prayer, so that the hadra does not continue too late. Hadras in the central meeting place are held approximately one hour after the night ('isha') prayer, in order to provide time to arrive to what is for many a rather distant location. This hadra may continue beyond midnight only on Thursdays, since Friday is a holiday for most Egyptians.

These strategies for making the hadra more amenable to the modern lifestyle are to some extent universal among all the turuq. Whereas many of the turuq used to hold a *ratib* (short hadra consisting of hizb and dhikr) every evening, such a schedule is impossible today. However, whereas in the traditional groups such as Bayyumiyya attendance has dwindled and hadras have become shorter as a reflexive response to modern life, the Jazuliyya have made active and strategic decisions about when and where hadra should be held. In this way, they have kept attendance and enthusiasm high.

While mosque hadras and local hadras may be held on various days, the central hadra celebrates the two special days of the week preferred by the Prophet Muhammad: Monday (his birthday), and Friday (the day of congregational prayer, which is celebrated from Thursday evening); both days are considered spiritual auspicious by all Sufi turuq.

b. Ja'fariyya

The Ja'fariyya have a slightly different scheme. The group performs its main Thursday hadra in the Ja'fariyya mosque in Darrasa. Darrasa is one of Cairo's highest-density neighborhoods, and it adjoins other similarly crowded popular districts, such as al-Jamaliyya, al-Husayniyya, al-Ghuriyya, and al-Batiniyya. The Ja'fariyya mosque is located across the street from the Darrasa bus terminus, next to the high-speed roadway, Salah Salim. From here it is only a short walk to al-Azhar (with which the Ja'fariyya maintain such important religious and social connections), and the mosque of al-Husayn: the spiritual center of Islamic Cairo, and an important social center as well. Unlike the Jazuliyya mosque, the Ja'fariyya mosque is a regular, functioning mosque, serving the

wider Islamic community whether or not they are members of the tariqa. Regular prayers are conducted in the Ja‘fariyya mosque five times daily, and for Friday communal prayer the mosque is full. Most of those who come to pray at the Ja‘fariyya mosque know of Shaykh Salih and respect him, however the vast majority are not members of the tariqa. Through its public mosque, as well as the attached hospital, the tariqa provides high-profile religious and social services to the public. The tariqa is thus formulated on an institutional basis, radiating influence throughout the community from its spiritual heart, the life and works of Shaykh Salih. By contrast, the Jazuliyya is a tightly knit brotherhood, open to new members, but not seeking a high public profile.

Hadras held in the Ja‘fariyya mosque are public, and publicness provides publicity. With a public mosque as a base, the Ja‘fariyya have no need to conduct hadras in public mosques for recruitment, as the Jazuliyya do. At the same time, there can be no such thing as a private Ja‘fariyya hadra in the central mosque. The mosque is open during hadra, which extends from sunset prayer until midnight on Thursdays, and the public cannot be prevented from entering; on the contrary, visitors are encouraged to enter and observe, being seated on special green cushions arrayed at the perimeter of the capacious interior. Large numbers of people, both members and guests, attend the hadra, and so the sense of the Ja‘fariyya community extends beyond the formal membership (as represented by those seated in the center of the performance space) to the community at large (as represented by those seated on the green cushions along the perimeter).

Rituals here are always public, and so they must be broadly acceptable. Although members of the group always assert that Shaykh Salih was a master in both exoteric and esoteric Sufism (*zahir* and *batin*, or *Shari'a* and *Haqiqa*), it is only the exoteric which is visible in hadra. This is a necessity because of the openness of the hadra and the need to preserve appearances. But it is also a virtue, because such conservatism attracts a certain type of member, and preserves the tariqa's close ties to al-Azhar and acceptability to conservative Islamic groups. The central hadra is further sanctified by the presence of the tariqa leaders, and the shrine of Shaykh Salih himself. Unlike the Jazuliyya the emotional level is kept well-damped, and sober. Another sign of orthodoxy is the lack of official attention given to Shaykh Salih's shrine, and the fact that there is no internal passage between shrine and mosque.

Local hadras are less conspicuous mainly because they occur in outlying districts of Cairo and beyond, but they are by no means private. Unlike the Jazuliyya, each local group constructs its own *saha*, consisting of a mosque plus facilities for preparing and serving food. This mosque is a functioning community mosque, open to all members of the public. Except for its size, it therefore serves as a community institution exactly like the central mosque. Regular daily prayers, and Friday communal prayers, are conducted in it. As in the central mosque, hadra conducted here cannot be private. The local mosque provides points of community focus, enmeshing itself in the life of the district in which it is located. The tariqa is supported by this base social base extending beyond its

official membership, but for the same reason does not form a tightly bonded brotherhood.

Like the Jazuliyya, hadras are conducted at the traditional times: Thursday evening (central hadra) and Sunday evening (local hadra). What is perhaps significant when compared to the Jazuliyya is a lower level of corporate activity. The active Jazuliyya member may attend four or more group activities per week, whereas the Ja'fariyya attends only two. For the Ja'fariyya, especially those living near the local saha, participation in the tariqa is socially and ritually a continuous extension to being a Muslim. While it no doubt possesses many independent attributes, the Ja'fariyya generally appears as a religious organization which blends seamlessly with the surrounding Islamic community. Joining the group is not supposed to constitute such an extreme transformation of social identity, as it does for the Jazuliyya, and the rate of corporate rituals (which serve to construct that identity) is correspondingly less, while required individual supererogatory prayer (which has less of a social function) is much more. The Jazuliyya, by contrast, appears as a distinctive and highly coherent religious subgroup within that community. The Ja'fariyya attitude is of course far more acceptable to the religious orthodoxy.

c. Bayyumiyya

The central Bayyumiyya hadras take place in the Bayyumiyya mosque (Friday and Wednesday), and at the mosque of Sayyidna al-Husayn (Sunday). The former is the spiritual center of the tariqa, housing the shrines of the founder as well as those of

several disciples. As in the case of other turuq, performing hadra in this location tends to emphasize the identity of the group. The Bayyumiyya mosque serves the densely populated district of al-Husayniyya, in which it is located, as a full-function mosque offering all daily prayers, and the mosque is packed for Friday noon prayer. However despite the fact that the main weekly hadra (e.g. Bm) takes place immediately following this prayer, the opportunity to induct members into the group is not actively exploited. On-lookers are not given a special area in which to sit (as in the Ja'fariyya), or invited to participate (as in the Jazuliyya), and the shaykh al-sajjada is usually absent. This central location does not appear to serve any particular strategic interests of the group, other than its proximity to the founder's shrine, and availability for use.

Although the mosque was built for Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumiyya, it does not belong to the tariqa but is rather falls under the jurisdiction of the governmental Ministry of Religious Foundations (Wizarat al-Awqaf), who appoint preachers and other mosque officials. The actual headquarters of the tariqa is a slightly dilapidated old house about a mile away, which contains administrative offices, but is the site of no rituals. Therefore the Bayyumiyya do not control their own mosque, the way the Ja'fariyya and Jazuliyya do, and their position within it is considerably less central.

The Sunday evening hadra performed at the shrine of Sayyidna al-Husayn, a short distance away, parallels the public hadras performed by the Jazuliyya in this mosque and elsewhere. But this hadra here draws few participants; members say that it is performed as a recollection of the weekly hadra Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumiyya himself used

to perform here, but there is no explicit acknowledgement of the use of a public location to attract members.

Local hadras are performed in homes, or local mosques. As in the case of all the turuq, these are located so as to be accessible to tariqa members in the local community. Unlike the Ja'fariyya and Jazuliyya, there is no particular uniformity of location or openness. The local Bayyumiyya hadra in Madinat al-Nur is held in a private home, but is more or less open to all Sufis from any order who care to join in. However this policy is determined by the family sponsoring the hadra, and not by the central tariqa authorities.

The Bayyumiyya are far more likely than the Ja'fariyya or Jazuliyya to attend mawlids, establishing khidmas and performing hadras in them. Such hadras are public and open. They are not controlled or sponsored by the central tariqa authority, but rather by the local Bayyumiyya shaykh, who must provide food and location, and they are attended principally by his local group. Hadra in the suwan (tent) of such a group may well go on all night, and draw many visitors from other turuq. This behavior leads to considerable mixing of the Bayyumiyya and other traditional groups who follow similar decentralized policies. The Ja'fariyya and Jazuliyya limit their participation in these mawlids so as to maintain central control and group cohesion, and avoid the tendency toward decentralization and non-exclusive boundaries endemic among the traditional groups. They can thereby also safeguard their reputations from the oft-criticized aspects of the mawlids, such as secular entertainments, smoking, mixed-gender socializing, ecstatic or musical dhikr, and neglecting work and family.

2. Roles, status, control and communication

In the modernist groups, articulation and performance of roles in hadra reflects and supports the personal social structure which defines the group. In the traditional groups, one finds evidence of this having been the case in the past, but the system of performative roles has declined and is no longer able to exert an effect.

a. Jazuliyya

The relative homogeneity of roles in hadra tends to support the horizontal, communal bonds which characterize the group. The central Jazuliyya hadra is distinguished by a relatively low level of hierarchy in performative roles, and a consequently higher homogeneity than the Ja'fariyya. The most visible differentiation of roles is by the color of each member's shi'ar (a kind of cap). Those with blue caps perform khidma (service), cooking and serving food, seating latecomers, taking care of members' shoes. Those with green caps serve as munshidin and musicians. Everyone else wears a white cap. Despite this conspicuous division of labor, the tariqa is highly egalitarian. The color coded caps do not mark status or rank, but rather merely serve as a convenience for the smooth functioning of the hadra.

Although his spiritual presence is central, the shaykh does not take an authoritarian role in hadra performance, and indeed his active role is quite limited, consisting mostly of a simple and low-key speech presented toward the end. Thus although he is considered to be the living source of spiritual power in the group, he does

not dominate the performance, and in his gentle, understated way sets the tone for the tariqa's more egalitarian social relations. In fact there are leadership roles, but these form a kind of continuous gradient, sloping gently toward the position of the shaykh, rather than a sharply stepped hierarchy with clear status distinctions. More importantly, none of these roles can exceed the shaykh in authority, and yet the shaykh himself chooses to assume a low profile, so that there is very little room for status differentiation in performance. A group of tariqa elders leads most activities, such as Qur'anic recitation, hizb, dhikr, mudhakara, and dhikr. But there is no single dominant figure among this group.

The munshid occupies a special performative role, but this role has no bearing on his overall status within the tariqa. Leaders of the munshidin are those with the most skill and experience, not status or seniority; indeed, the best vocal soloists tend to be young. During group inshad, the official munshidin serve as leaders, but this position confers limited distinction, since everyone sings together, whether munshid or not. In solo inshad, the munshid is more prominent, but then listeners are busied with dhikr. The munshid, in short, is never the star focus of attention, is usually young, and is rarely a tariqa elder. Thus inshad does not serve pragmatically to differentiate statuses in the group. Precisely the opposite occurs, since the emotion generated in inshad tends to create a sense of corporate unity. Occasionally a local chapter performs a qasida they have prepared for the shaykh. In this case performance may temporarily have the effect of emphasizing a subgroup, but usually everyone else joins in soon enough.

Speech segments (*mudhakara*) are led by the elders, some of whom may be able to increase or solidify their status through eloquent speeches. However, others may also seize the opportunity to make impressive speeches, for participation in *mudhakara* is completely open. Everyone (even young boys) is encouraged to speak, for clear public speaking is considered an important skill, both for one's own spiritual development, and for further disseminating the *tariqa*. Speaking on a topic is a means of testing one's own understanding of it, as much as a means of conveying that understanding to others. Unlike the *Ja'fariyya*, speech for the *Jazuliyya* is not primarily communicative and didactic; it is rather a means of unity through social participation and reinforcement of *Sidi Jabir's* words. Therefore, the speaker is not required to be one of elevated rank or superior qualification; indeed there is no such thing as rank.¹³ Those with more experience or knowledge usually speak last, and for longer periods of time, but the pattern of speaking does not serve as a clear index of status.

b. Ja'fariyya

The *Ja'fariyya* exhibit many of the same formal roles as the *Jazuliyya*: *khidma*, *munshid*, elder, speaker, *shaykh*. But in this *hadra* the performance of these roles exhibits and reinforces a more hierarchical personal social structure, which constantly exhibits relations of inequality.

The *shaykh* takes a far more prominent role in *hadra* than in the *Jazuliyya*, which practically elevates him above the other group members. While the latter sit in *hadra*, he

is always active, pacing up and down, scrutinizing them; he frequently and unexpectedly takes the microphone to make programmatic changes, or to deliver his thoughts to the group, thereby asserting his power and influence. Others in his family also take prominent roles in hadra, corresponding to their high ranks within the tariqa bureaucracy.

Status is indicated most directly by who takes the microphone, and the kind of message which is delivered into it. Of these, the most direct expressions of personal status occur in the speeches which often interpose between inshad segments. These contrast sharply with the performance style of the Jazuliyya. While in the Jazuliyya public speaking is a communal activity, Ja'fariyya speakers are generally restricted to those with credentials: usually professors at religious universities, or experienced preachers. Not just anyone takes the microphone. These speeches are consequently eloquent, florid, and rhetorically accomplished, serving to reinforce the status of the speaker (personally) and the office of the speaker (positionally). To speak is acquire status and power, symbolized by the amplification system, for not everyone can gain access to it. Conversely, to be spoken to is to assume a subservient position. The speaker speaks, and the rest listen silently, in contrast to the Jazuliyya pattern, in which speaking is a communal activity, and verbal interaction between speaker and spoken to is common. The Ja'fariyya style not only establishes a vertical hierarchical relation between the particular people speaking or listening; it also reinforces the abstract importance of vertical hierarchy in the tariqa.

The Ja‘fariyya model, in which sharp contrast is drawn between those with religious knowledge and others who seek to benefit from it—between teacher and student—seems to reflect and reinforce the patterns established by Shaykh Salih himself, who achieved renown for the brilliant oratory of his religious lessons on Friday afternoons at the al-Azhar mosque. The tone of these speeches is didactic, pedagogic, and sermonic; words from on high,¹⁴ very unlike those of Sidi Jabir, which featured a more intimate, gentle style, bringing people close. The Ja‘fariyya style creates distance. It does not create communal bonds among members, but rather reinforces a hierarchical model in which relationships are characterized by inequality, between the teacher and the student.

The creation of status differentials through speech does more than serve to differentiate particular tariqa members by status and power. Viewed metaphorically, the distinction between “speaker” and “spoken to”, a distinction which was sharpest when Shaykh Salih occupied the role of “speaker” and which others aspire to, and which (interally) evokes similar contrasts in the Azhar (between professor and student) or in the mosque (between preacher and listener), serves to legitimate the very notion of vertical status differentials in the tariqa. We will now see how inshad performance does the same.

As in the Jazuliyya, the position of munshid is open to anyone possessing the requisite vocal, musical, and literary abilities, and being a munshid in itself does not index any particular social-spiritual status within the group. However, unlike the Jazuliyya, the

pragmatics of inshad performance here serves to index status differentials and social structure in the tariqa. This happens in several ways.

First, the order in which munshidin perform is an index of seniority in the tariqa, more specifically of (perceived) spiritual proximity to Shaykh Salih. For the first few qasidas at least, it is well-known to all tariqa members who will perform inshad, because there is a clear-cut traditional status order. If for some reason these high-status munshidin are absent, then the right to perform will pass to the following munshidin in order. Performance of inshad is thus an index and reinforcement of status.

Second, each *saha* (local chapter) must be represented at least once in the munshidin line-up. Each *saha* practices inshad in their local Sunday hadra, and then selects its finest munshidin to perform at the central hadra on Thursdays. Performance of their munshidin in the central hadra indexes their identity, especially when one of the tariqa officials announces on the PA system that the munshidin from such-and-such a district will now perform. This is the *saha*'s chance to proudly assert its status as an active, prosperous, hard-working, pious chapter; all of these values can be projected through inshad performance. Thus these performances serve as an aural representation of tariqa social structure, reinforcing its division into subchapters. I noted earlier that the Jazuliyya also occasionally feature performances by chapters, but that these usually devolve into group inshad in which all participate. In the Ja'fariyya, however, distinctions are carefully preserved.

Thus the arrangement of munshidin appears as an important means by which inshad achieves its effects in hadra. Indeed, it is important enough that there is a tariqa official fully devoted to the task. He sits at the front of the lines of munshidin, jotting down the names of each group of performers, and the qasidas they sang. This information is useful later, he says, in case someone complains about not having had a turn. The fact that such complaints may occur at all is testimony to the indexical power of inshad to assert and reaffirm status claims.

Third, it should be recalled that Ja'fariyya inshad is nearly always of the call and response type. The lead munshidin (usually a duo) perform a qasida from Shaykh Salih's diwan, while the congregation responds with the *madhhab* or refrain. The contrast between lead munshidin and congregation is another instance of the contrast between leader and group we have already noted in speeches, which is more generally the distinction between the holder of spiritual power and knowledge, and those who wish to receive it. As was mentioned earlier, this contrast was most salient in the relation between Shaykh Salih and his followers, and in a sense all tariqa activities reflect this archetypal model of vertical relations. Inshad is a perfect example, since the munshidin are singing poetry by Shaykh Salih, and thus during the performance—in a dramaturgical sense, at least—assume his identity. Moreover, this practice resonates with the Shaykh Salih archetype in a pragmatic “interal” sense, since Shaykh Salih himself, while alive, used to perform his own qasidas as inshad for his followers. Now that he has passed away, this role has fallen to his disciples who imitate his former practice, and thus evoke

him. The close relation between munshid and Shaykh Salih accounts both for the sensitive manner in which performance is adjudicated among districts and seniority, and for the power of inshad in performance. This situation is quite different from the more egalitarian Jazuliyya, where the munshid is either joined by the group, or is backgrounded by dhikr performance. In the Ja'fariyya hadra, however, the lead munshidin are unequivocally the performative leaders and center of attention for a group of "passive" listeners.

In taking on the role of lead munshid, a murid does not, of course, actually assume the spiritual power of Shaykh Salih. Nor does performance of inshad significantly index one's spiritual or social status at all. I have already noted that being a munshid necessitates only vocal, musical, and literary talents, and it is only those who perform at the beginning of the hadra whose status is asserted through performance. Rather, in the constant contrast between the munshid, empowered to lead the group through a qasida, and the group's predictable, repetitive responses, one finds a metaphorical model for the vertical relations in the tariqa: there are leaders who have something to say, and followers who do their best to learn from it but say nothing new themselves. We have observed above this same principle of contrast between "speaker" and "spoken to"; the contrast between "singer" and "sung-to" does much the same thing, except without significantly reflecting or affecting the status of the performer (since he is merely the vehicle, not the author, of the performed text). Thus the call/response style of

inshad serves to reinforce the abstract notion of hierarchy itself as an operative principle in the tariqa.

By contrast, in their group inshad the Jazuliyya evince almost no group differentiation; everyone sings the poem together in a single block, except one or two munshidin who function as leaders by singing through the PA system. This style stresses group unity and collectivity, collapsing social divisions.

The result of these hierarchical and didactic relationships established in the hadra, whether in inshad or in speeches, is to activate interal connections to similar and frequently occurring relationships in orthodox religious institutions—the teaching in al-Azhar or the preacher in Friday prayer—in order to legitimize and empower the Ja‘fariyya tariqa by invoking in it the meanings of traditional orthodox Islam. The limited emotional response imposed on both inshad and speech serves to limit the degree of horizontal communion, and emphasizes instead vertical relationships of inequality.

Comparing again the use and significance of roles in the performance of Ja‘fariyya and Jazuliyya inshad and speech, one finds that:

1) In Ja‘fariyya, inshad and speech suggest interal relations both to the Friday prayer khutba (sermon) and to the al-Azhar university lecture, and through these to orthodox, mainstream religion, all of which is invoked in the hadra.

2) In the Ja‘fariyya inshad and speech establish a connection to the archetypes established by Shaykh Salih himself in inshad and speech, during his lifetime. Therefore Shaykh Salih is invoked in the hadra.

3) In the Ja'fariyya, inshad performance indexes vertical relationships of seniority, as well as the hierarchical division of the tariqa into sahas.

4) In the Jazuliyya, by contrast, speech is participatory and interactive; solo inshad provides an emotional background to dhikr, group inshad is participatory. Therefore the sharp distinction between active speaker and passive spoken-to, or between active singer and passive sung-to is never clear-cut, and tends not to establish internal divisions in the group. Thus horizontal relationships are reinforced.

c. *Bayyumiyya*

It is clear that roles in the central Bayyumiyya hadra also at one time served to actively promote the tariqa's structure and centralization; however such schemes have fallen into disrepair. This pattern can be classed as a form of strategic decay through hysteresis: strategic adaptation took place in the past and has been carried through into the present, but in a reduced or decayed form which may no longer be effective, and admit of strategic vacuums which are filled in haphazardly according to circumstances.

Specialized roles in hadra performance include the mustaftih (leader of hizb and dhikr), and the munshidin. The first properly belongs to the shaykh; however he rarely attends the hadra. There is a head naqib (ra'is al-nuqaba') who officially ought to lead; however he apparently (at least, according to some) lacks substantive qualifications, and therefore does not exercise any authority in the hadra. There is no clear system for delegating the responsibilities of the shaykh among the naqibs, and as a consequence the hadra appears to have multiple leaders in different segments (hizb, dhikr, fawatih) or

even in a single segment. Control of the mustaftih over the group is limited, and there is little feedback or communication during performance. All this leads to a dishevelled performance which serves to emphasize the tariqa's lack of cohesion and centralization.

Munshidin are marginalized in the central hadra. The munshid's low profile parallels a subordinate spatial position (discussed below), as well as a frequently outsider status. Many of the munshidin who attend are members of other turuq, and perform at the Bayyumiyya hadra for enjoyment, baraka, and to collect the small tips (nuqut) which may be received. Some members say that in the past there were excellent munshidin from within the tariqa who produced powerful inshad performances and took an active role in hadra. However these have grown old or died; there is now no one of equal aptitude to fill their positions, and many of those who do come are not well-qualified to perform. The role of munshid has thus fallen into decline, and in the central hadra it has become relatively unimportant and easily dispensed-with. Inshad is almost impossible to hear during dhikr, and no one notices when the munshid makes mistakes.

In the local Monday evening hadra (of which Bh is an example) the main roles are also that of mustaftih and munshid; sometimes a performer on the metal stick ('asaya) attends as well. Here the role of munshid is central, and although the mustaftih is his leader, they share power, leading to a degree of tension between the two of them which can create energy, or, conversely, confusion. They may actively critique or encourage each other during the hadra. The level of interaction and feedback in this hadra is extremely high among all participants, unlike the more routine performance of

the central hadra, leading to a much greater amplification of emotional energy despite the lower number of participants. But the filling of these roles displays great variability, leading to an anarchical group. In this particular case, the nominal leader of the hadra (shaykh of the bayt) takes a negligible role due to his youth. The position of mustaftih rotates among the senior participants in attendance, each of which wants to take his turn, and is often a shaykh from another tariqa altogether. There is likewise no condition that the munshid should be Bayyumiyya; usually he is not. The munshid has his own agenda too, since he collects nuqut and may be seeking to enhance his status. Thus the allocation of roles and control is unconnected to the central authorities or social interests of the Bayyumiyya tariqa, but rather may be understood as the natural playing-out of individual motivations in the local context due to an absence of group strategies.

3. Geometry

The geometry of performance is another pragmatic factor tending to shape the effects of LP in hadra. Each of the roles discussed earlier has its position and orientation within the physical space where hadra is presented, and these positions and orientations may serve to index and reinforce social relationships.

a. Jazuliyya

The geometry of Jazuliyya performance in their central hadra (of which Jz is an example) serves to reinforce the strong corporate unity of the group, the shaykh as spiritual center, and the close ties between them. In the small space available—the front

of the meeting hall, and the alley—over 150 men may sit packed together.¹⁵ Though they sit in orderly rows, it is a dense order, admitting of no gaps between members, not even for the elders. Only the shaykh himself occupies a larger personal space, but only because he sits in a large chair; tariqa members sit at his sides, and at his feet. The significance of the shaykh's presence is such that upon his arrival all must immediately stand; when they sit again (after he does) the rows of men on the floor sitting in front of this chair immediately swivel ninety degrees in order to face him. Some lines are then sitting side by side, while others are sitting one behind the other. This creates a highly unusual pattern for any Sufi order, but it is consistent with the notion of the shaykh's central force. Closely pressed together around their highly venerated and beloved shaykh, the group moves and sings as one corporate body.

The shaykh in turn sits facing the shrine of his father, Sidi Jabir. Members speak overtly of mystical concepts of illumination in the Jazuliyya. Sidi Salim receives spiritual light from his father and reradiates it to the group; his father's light reflects that of the Prophet. In the hadra, this system of reflections and reradiations, together with use of musical sound and movement, combine to create an ecstatic mystical atmosphere, as opposed to the more closed and conservative surface of the Ja'fariyya hadra. Such ecstasy serves to draw and retain members (of particular spiritual dispositions) and give them the spiritual nourishment they require.

Munshidin take their places opposite the shaykh to facilitate communications; their performance is critical to the generation of feeling in hadra, and he needs to be able

to control them if necessary. While Shaykh Salih may also control the munshidin, Sidi Salim does so with much more precision and detail.¹⁶

There is a continuous gradient of spirituality starting at the shaykh and quickly diminishing in importance, but no discrete hierarchy or statuses are indexed by seating position. Thus the elder members, those who knew Sidi Jabir and imbibed more of his teachings, sit nearest the shaykh. But these positions are not qualitatively different from any others, they are only nearer. Those who fill them too do not enjoy any specially distinguished position by virtue of birth or rank. In the Jazuliyya only the shaykh occupies a unique role as the spiritual center; everyone else clusters around him and is treated relatively equally. The group evinces a strong communal solidarity, with the shaykh as leader, and this social structure is reinforced by LP within a hadra geometry which represents it spatially.

Those who can sit on the ground do so; chairs are provided for those for whom this is physically difficult, whether young or old, novice or adept. None of the “elders” receive special treatment, for instance, unlike the Ja‘fariyya where leaders of local sahas may sit upon the blue cushions. Only the shaykh occupies a qualitatively distinguished position, sitting in a large stuffed green¹⁷ upholstered chair.

Like other Sufi orders, the Jazuliyya are divided into local chapters. However these chapters are unmarked by position or orientation during performance. No social substructures are marked off by seating arrangement, except for the women who sit all together inside the building. The overt inclusion of women in hadra is an extremely

progressive aspect of this tariqa, and controversial among the Sufi orders. But the Jazuliyya believe that women ought to be able to participate, albeit in a separate space. Men should not gaze at them during the performance, and they do not make much sound. Still, this is another aspect of performance by which the Jazuliyya assert their modernity, and it is appealing to a segment of the population who are perhaps disenchanted with the severe traditional Islamic arrangements. Including women also allows hadra to be a family affair, thus lending it the support of nuclear family structures, which have become more important in modern Egypt.

The position of the microphones in hadra is another factor symbolizing structure. The shaykh has his own private microphone, enabling him to address the group at any time. The munshidin necessarily have theirs as well. But other microphones are circulated around the group, depending on who wants to speak. As mentioned earlier, anyone is encouraged to stand and give a short speech during discussion sections. The microphone and standing position indexes the temporary status of speaker, as well as enabling others to see and hear. The right to do so belongs to the entire male group and is not restricted to a special subgroup.

At the end of the hadra there is a relaxed and informal period, during which members greet each other using the handshake (*musafaha*) particular to the Shadhili *turuq*. There is also a line for those who wish to greet the shaykh, who sits in his green chair; as each murid approaches he bends down to kiss the shaykh's hand. Thus both horizontal and vertical aspects of the tariqa are represented at the close. While greeting

the shaykh is important to establish the vertical relation, it is actually the informal “horizontal” greetings and conversations which dominate the hadra for the last half hour, before people disperse by cars and public transport.

b. Ja‘fariyya

The Ja‘fariyya display a very different geometry during LP of hadra, one corresponding to their more hierarchical social order. Most of the congregation sits side by side in six parallel lines, three lines facing the other three across a wide-open central space. At one end, a little distance from the ends of the six lines, is a perpendicular row of thick blue cushions, and in the center a green cushion. This is the shaykh’s position, allowing him to survey and control the group, and allowing the group to see him. However, while his position in the group is thus clearly marked off from that of anyone else, he is not the focus of group energy, a fact signified by his sitting on the floor like everyone else. Sidi Salim, by contrast, does constitute such a focus; speeches and inshad are all performed facing him, and inshad occasionally even praises him directly.

Rather, the center and top of the Ja‘fariyya hierarchy is Shaykh Salih, founder and teacher par excellence. The current shaykh, ‘Abd al-Ghani, is considered to be the custodian of his father’s heritage, the person, life, memory, and works of Shaykh Salih al-Ja‘fari, as well as group leader, but the level of veneration accorded him is different in kind. Unlike Sidi Salim of the Jazuliyya, he does not represent the fixed spiritual center within the tariqa, but rather serves as its prime source of organization and leadership. He is at once more active than Sidi Salim, and less sanctified. This status is signified by his

position and behavior in hadra. He is not permanently seated in a throne-like chair, but rather frequently arises from his place, constantly moving about in order to supervise various aspects of the hadra, to ensure that everything is operating smoothly. Members do not always stand when he approaches, unlike the Jazuliyya. The Ja‘fariyya is essentially not oriented toward Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani, but rather toward the invisible leader, Shaykh Salih, made present in the hadra through the performance of his inshad. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani is the leader of this group orientation, but he does not take the same position as spiritual intermediary as does Sidi Salim.

The centrality and remoteness of Shaykh Salih, who even in life was a towering rather than intimate figure for his disciples, sets a paradigm for the dominance of vertical social relations in the tariqa which is manifest and reinforced in the geometry and symbols of performance. While Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani may not enjoy the spiritual centrality of Sidi Salim in the Jazuliyya, he is clearly marked off from everyone else by his spatial position, and the distinctive green color of his cushions. His orientation is different, displaced ninety degrees from the directions of the muridin, with his back to the qibla wall; the traditional orientation of the mosque khatib (Friday preacher). During much of the hadra he moves about the room, rather than sitting amongst the group. The muridin do not cluster around him as they do in the Jazuliyya, and a sizable gap divides his seated position from the muridin extending in lines before him. Rarely does anyone sit on the blue cushions next to him, so that he is ordinarily surrounded by empty space. He is thereby separated from the group as a superior figure.

The structural division of the tariqa into *sahas* (local chapters) is also spatially evident in performance. While members of all the *sahas* mingle together in the main lines of muridin, the leaders of these subgroups usually sit on the blue cushions which flank the shaykh on either side, facing the rest of the group at right angles. The right to sit on the blue cushions is extended to others as well, such as high-ranking tariqa members (many from the family of the shaykh), and VIP guests, and likewise symbolizes and reinforces their status. Thus a hierarchical system is evident, and reemphasized, in performance.

The active munshidin represent the voice of Shaykh Salih in performance. For this reason they occupy a position of great prominence. During the hadra, they sit at the heads of the six lines of muridin. Those munshidin who are actively performing a qasida sit at the heads of one of the two inner hadra lines, nearest the shaykh's green seat, and visible to at least the opposite half of the congregation. The positions for the active munshidin are marked with a special blue carpet strip. When the active munshidin complete a qasida, they call for the fatiha for Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani, and then retreat, allowing others to take their places. By contrast in the Jazuliyya the munshidin blend with the group, most of them seated amidst the other members. They are disembodied voices, heard but rarely seen, because their positions are designed to allow practical communication with the shaykh, not visibility for the congregation. While the vertical relationship of the Ja'fariyya member to Shaykh Salih is reinforced by the position of munshidin (singing his poetry) in their hadra, the more horizontal relationship of

Jazuliyya members to Sidi Jabir is reinforced by the position of munshidin (singing his poetry) in *their* hadra.

Microphones are placed at the front of the room. They are always available for the shaykh to use, and for the munshidin, as in the case of the Jazuliyya. But unlike the Jazuliyya, the role of speaker is limited to high status individuals. Those who do speak publicly come to the front of the assembly, near the shaykh's position, to address the group while standing at a lectern, itself symbolic of elevated status. The vertical distance between speaker and spoken-to is thereby reinforced, and more abstractly the vertical relationship is reinforced as a general principle of social organization.

The positions occupied by outsiders is also noteworthy. Unlike the central Jazuliyya hadra, the Ja'fariyya hadra occurs in a public mosque, and therefore is a public event which draws many visitors. This publicness is part of the Ja'fariyya strategy, and is welcomed. Except for the most prestigious (who sit on blue cushions near the shaykh), visitors are seated on green cushions (but markedly different from the shaykh's cushions) which line the periphery of one mosque wall. From here the visitors may observe the hadra, but they are well-removed from the space which defines the tariqa proper. I have stated that this tariqa avoids the insular solidarity of the Jazuliyya, as a means of establishing itself more broadly as an institution extending beyond the formal bounds of the tariqa into Islamic community life. This principle is emphasized through hadra performance, since visitors are encouraged and welcomed with a special seating area, yet also distinguished from the formal membership who sit in the hadra lines themselves.

In this way the social hierarchy of the tariqa—Shaykh Salih, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani and his family, leaders of the sahas, ordinary muridin, and outsiders—is made evident, indexed by seating position and color. As LP serves to generate affective responses, these are channelled into the existing hierarchy as displayed in roles (discussed earlier) and geometry. The social geometry of LP serves to reinforce the distinctions it encodes, thereby bolstering the group’s identity, centralization, and social cohesion.

The end of the hadra provides a strong contrast with the Jazuliyya. There is no opportunity for informal conversation among members. After the final prayers have been performed, there is a last qasida performed by the munshidin, during which all rise and form a line in order to greet the shaykh, who is seated on a chair. Each murid in turn takes the shaykh’s hand, and kisses it, then leaves the mosque and goes home. In these greetings vertical relations are emphasized, and horizontal ones are not—unlike the Jazuliyya.

c. Bayyumiyya

The Bayyumiyya also use geometry to index their hierarchy in their central mosque hadra. The hadra formation consists of a rectangle, open at one end. Sitting (for hizb) or standing (for dhikr) in the long sides of that rectangle are the muridin and khalifas. On the short side are the khalifas khulafa’, as well as the na’ibs. These all face the inside of the rectangle. Cutting across the center of the rectangle, facing the short side, is a line of naqibs. Facing them, in the center of the smaller rectangle thus formed, is the prayer rug upon which the shaykh al-sajjada sits or stands, when present. This

prayer rug (*sajjada*), representing Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi's original prayer rug, is a metonym for power in the *tariqa* (like the king's scepter). Behind the *khalifas khulafa'* and *na'ibs*, virtually outside the rectangle, are the *munshidin*.

When it was originally formulated this performance geometry may have been effective in publicly recognizing the different statuses within the *tariqa*, and thus bolstering social structure. But as in the case of roles, the symbolic system has decayed over time and is therefore no longer effective in supporting the group. This decay has happened in two ways.

First, because the social hierarchy which is indexed is almost totally a positional rather than a personal social structure, having little or no real spiritual significance for participants. Many of the nominal leaders are not capable of personally inspiring participants in performance, and the *shaykh*, even when he does attend, actually does very little. Members attain high positions through inheritance or seniority, not spiritual merit. By contrast the modernist groups tend to reward merit: experience and education; when they reward birth or seniority those so rewarded also carry spiritual weight due to their past proximity to the founder. But the *Bayyumiyya* founder died generations ago, and though present leaders may claim a hereditary link to him, or to early disciples, the *silsila* is tenuous as a touchstone of spiritual charisma. Thus it is not surprising that many of the leaders appear to ordinary *muridin* as lacking in exemplary spiritual attributes. The most spiritually charismatic members of the *Bayyumiyya* today may well be those

who are officially nearer the bottom of the positional hierarchy (the leaders of the local chapters), due to the decentralization of the tariqa.

Second, because the system by which statuses are related to position cannot always be applied because of low attendance. This fact leads to even greater decentralization of the group, particularly when it is the spiritually charismatic local leaders who do not attend. In particular, the shaykh al-sajjada, leader of the group, is absent more often than not, and his empty sajjada (prayer rug) in the center of the performance area symbolizes the weak and empty central power of the tariqa.

The influence of the munshidin is greatly reduced due to their position. Not only are they difficult to hear, particularly during dhikr, but by being forced to stand outside the rectangle, their outsider status and marginal importance is emphasized. With this de-emphasis, the status of their inshad is de-emphasized as well. One might wish to regard this situation as strategic; since inshad is chosen at the discretion of the munshid, rather than being appropriate to the tariqa, its position is diminished by situating munshidin outside the main group. However in this case the tariqa might have acted more effectively by banning inshad altogether, or by selecting munshidin from within the tariqa, or by compiling a hymnal to be employed. It therefore seems more likely that the spatial position of the munshidin, like the munshidin themselves and the inshad they perform—all being “outside” the tariqa—was never planned, but resulted from the lack of any group-level strategies regulating these features of performance.

The geometry of the local hadra (of which Bh is an example) consists of lines of dhakkira, with the mustaftih in the center, and the munshid at one end. However, because roles are continually shifting (as mentioned earlier), these positions only serve to index status temporarily. Still, one can observe that those with higher spiritual status tend more often to lead as mustaftih, and thus to occupy a central position; and those without such status will not. But the nominal shaykh and leader of the hadra is not accorded any sort of privileged position, due to his youth and inexperience. Thus the geometry does serve to reinforce statuses, albeit not as forcefully as in other groups. But in doing so it is only serving as a natural expression and emphasis of preexisting statuses as asserted by their bearers (many of whom are not even in the tariqa itself), and does not represent a group strategy for reinforcing the statuses recognized within the tariqa itself. Nothing about the geometry, or roles, in this particular local Bayyumiyya hadra could be judged as helping to maintain the tariqa. In any case, the emotional intensity of the hadra combined with lack of control means that the geometry is usually blurred or erased over the course of a tabaqa.

4. Physical movement, energy, freedom, unity

The patterns of energy (physical movement and expression) accompanying LP provides another potential source of power and coded distinctions, which may be strategically exploited by the tariqa.

a. Jazuliyya

In the Jazuliyya, strenuous movements accompany dhikr, as in most turuq. These are limited by the seated position of the muridin, but serve to generate a strong group spirit nevertheless. Movements are coordinated and controlled in the hadra shar‘iyya (including turning right and left, bowing, and nodding), creating a sense of corporate unity corresponding to the sonic unity of this segment, considered earlier.

In the more ecstatic dhikr al-hana, featuring solo inshad, individuals are free to express themselves as they wish, and the range of behaviors in these segments is consequently very wide; unity is lower. Even here, it frequently happens that members voluntarily and join together in movement, so that small clusters of similarly moving groups appear. Free emotional expression in these LP segments is spiritually moving for participants, as well as socially beneficial in drawing and retaining group members; tariqa discourse expresses both attitudes. The potential for such individualistic ecstasy to cause social disruption is limited by clearly demarcating these segments of the hadra, and by performing them only in the group’s central and semi-private meeting place. During group inshad there is a moderate level of free individual movement, which helps to raise the overall level of emotional energy to a high pitch. In all these cases everyone participates actively.

It is only during speech that behavior and energy is more constrained, since only one person speaks at a time, while the remainder are largely silent. Even then, there is often some room for group activity, since the congregation may respond with

exclamations of enthusiasm to the speaker's words, and many different speakers often speak within a relatively short period. Almost all group activity, even much of the individuality in the dhikr al-hana, contributes to a strong sense of communal solidarity, due to the great corporate vigor and exuberance with which everything is performed. The high level of group feeling is facilitated by allowing individuals a measure of individual expressive freedom, particularly during dhikr and inshad, which enables them to give themselves over to the performance emotionally. All these factors mirror and support a strategy which aims to reinforce the underlying social structure of the group—a cohesive, horizontally bonded collective—as well as to attract new members who desire such a close corporate, and emotional, experience. As I have indicated in other sections, the possible risks incurred through such behaviors—such as drawing critics' ire—are minimized by the relatively private location, the balancing force of *mudhakara* on topics of the Shari'a, and the performance of more orthodox hadras in public places.

The local Jazuliyya hadra is similar to the central hadra, but more constrained, due to fewer members present, and the absence of dhikr or music in it. For the Jazuliyya this contrast between center and periphery is indicative of the power of the central authority, and also reveals a strategy. Ecstatic dhikr in the local groups appears to be prohibited as a means of avoiding the possibility that the local group may develop excessive social cohesion, or charismatic leaders, independent of the central group, and to avoid the possibility of the tariqa's reputation being tarnished by improper behavior at

its margins. Thus local behavior includes only the more restrained behaviors of prayers, speech, and group inshad, as discussed above for the central group.

b. Ja'fariyya

The Ja'fariyya by contrast are much more constrained, formal, and solemn, as one would expect of a group which seeks to evoke a more orthodox image. Shaykh Salih said that the murid should be like a mountain, immobile; while mystical feelings are commendable as an index of spiritual level and blessing, he must always present a firm and solid exterior. Overt emotional expression is discouraged. Members say that during recitation of hizb (including its dhikr segments) or inshad the body should only sway slightly and gently, like the movement of a Qur'an reciter. This "interality" with orthodox religion (here, as embodied in the Qur'an reciter) is of course consistent with many other features of Ja'fariyya performance—semantic and sonic—as we have seen. Group members remain seated, as in the Jazuliyya, but expend considerably less energy in this "gentle swaying". There are no open segments—like the dhikr al-hana—in which individual emotion can be expressed. Group unity is high, but it is a unity which emphasizes restraint, as well as divisions in the group; such unity is not an effervescent expression of the group as a tightly bonded team, but rather a confirmation of conformity to the spiritual protocols of Shaykh Salih.

Those who express themselves with energy are limited to those who have status, whether temporary or permanent. Everyone else is relatively passive. Thus the shaykh, and other senior members, actively walk about during hadra, while the ordinary muridin

must remain seated, arising only to take a brief meal. Inshad requires that most of the group remain silent, singing fixed phrases at response points only, while most energy is expended by the munshidin. The contrast between the active role of the munshidin, and the passive role of the congregation, who must nevertheless respond on cue, serves to stress the importance of hierarchy and central control in the group. During speeches the contrast between different status levels is maximal; those with status speak, while the rest must listen silently. Overall there is little freedom in performance; even speeches tend to be crafted in advance (unlike the Jazuliyya's spontaneity), and emotional expressiveness is low throughout. These factors all serve to evoke the conservative appearance required to maintain the tariqa's close connection to Islamic tradition, to appeal to its constituency, and to secure themselves within it in the face of potential critics. As we have seen, patterns of movement also serve to reinforce divisions in the social structure, and to create a climate recalling the attitude of Shaykh Salih, in which clear didactic comprehension and communication take precedence over emotionalism.

As in the case of the Jazuliyya, the local Ja'fariyya hadra is no more energetic or unrestrained than the central hadra; it is nearly identical, except for its smaller size. Constraint at the periphery (which one might suppose at first glance to be less subject to control) is testimony to the strong power of the center and overall group cohesion. It is also strategic: a means of precluding deviation at the periphery, which could lead to fission from within, or censure from without; and a means of reinforcing a sense of the tariqa's centralization and cohesion for all participants.

c. *Bayyumiyya*

In the Bayyumiyya one is led to the opposite conclusion—the absence of centralization and group cohesion—by the fact that the periphery exhibits considerably greater behavioral energy than the center. As we have seen in the foregoing examination of roles and geometry, the center appears as a decayed order; formerly perhaps it was well-regulated, but now the order is frayed. Ecstatic energy seems to fill in the gaps in this frayed texture, rather than being an object of central control. While the hadra is somewhat energetic, the disunity of its energy never suggests a communal, corporate group, but rather a collection of individuals, each motivated toward expressing mystical feeling; that energy is not actively harnessed toward social ends. The fact that the hadra is less energetic than the Jazuliyya is not due to an imposition by central leadership, so much as a lack of group enthusiasm.

Chanting of the hizb is accompanied by expressive gestures, some of them conventionalized; thus recitation of one supplication to God contained within the hizb, “*wa najina min al-hamm wa al-ghamm wa al-karb al-‘azim*” (“save us from grief, affliction, and distress”), is accompanied by extending both hands, palms face down, then moving them up and down slightly (as if pushing the worries away). However, not all members perform these movements, or they perform them with greatly differing levels of vigor; perhaps not all know them. Again, such disunity could only have resulted from a gradual ritual erosion, as younger members joined without being fully inculcated with the traditions of the Bayyumiyya tariqa. Similarly dhikr employs conventional movements

(mostly bowing forward and back), but participants vary greatly in their performance of them. This lack of unity is not (as in some parts of the Jazuliyya hadra) a means toward greater individual expressiveness and hence greater group unity, but rather serves as an indication of the disunified state of the group itself. Individual freedom is not group policy, but rather the lack of one.

At the periphery (the local hadra, of which Bh is an instance) one finds patterns of movement and energy which strongly resemble the dhikr performed in the mawlid, and no doubt at the khidma of this particular bayt which participates in so many of them. Movements are vigorous, nominally set by the mustaftih, but individualistic. Unity occurs, if it occurs at all, through a spontaneous process of feedback and cybernetic adaptation: the mustaftih may suggest a move and others may follow him, and soon the entire room is moving together. Other times everyone moves more independently. Group enthusiasm is always high, but can be pumped higher by a good munshid and mustaftih combination, who have almost unlimited freedom to try to achieve a highly energetic state. This goal is not, needless to say, related to any tariqa-wide strategy, but is merely the natural expression of the mystic impulse among like-minded individuals, meeting in a private location.

Notes for Chapter 9

¹ Values for the Bayyumiyya mosque hadra are statistically weaker than the others, since inshad here is relatively brief, and because the inshad performed depends primarily on which munshidin show up for hadra. Despite these caveats, it can be asserted as a matter of informal ethnographic observation that

usually the same munshidin do perform, and that they sing the same kinds of inshad, or even the very same poems.

² This is a general fact of dhikr inshad: conservative texts generally appear at the beginning, as well as at the very end when the hadra is winding down; the most heterodox texts are reserved for the central segments.

³ Note that the Bh value for “eros” is 32.41, off the scale.

⁴ The contrast between the four cases is a bit less marked using the $\text{plog}(1/p)$ method of counting (see Appendix. “Theory of Counting Weighted Sets” for an explanation). This method tends to de-emphasize referents which are named rarely. The great difference between referent density and $\text{plog}(1/p)$ referent density for the Bayyumiyya groups (especially Bh) indicates that many referents are named only rarely; the total number may be high, but there is little focus on any one referent. However the general pattern is the same.

⁵ Here I analyze the naming of saints in madad and inshad. I could also have profitably analyzed the fawatih/ad’iyya sequences which often open and close the hadra. In the Jf and Jz these are extremely frugal, mentioning only the Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, and saints and shaykhs of the tariqa itself. In the Bayyumiyya fawatih and ad’iyya tend to be relatively longer, and to bring in many different names. A qualitative sense of the contrast may be obtained by simply examining the transcriptions.

⁶ Shaykh Salih did compose some poetry in honor of other Sufi saints, including his own shaykh, Sidi Ahmad bin Idris, and Sidi Ahmad al-Badawi. However such poems are exceptional within the diwan, and poetry about shaykhs of other Sufi orders tend to be sung for their mawlid only, or perhaps upon visiting the shrine.

⁷ Many qasidas contain a madhhab (refrain) asking for madad (help) from Shaykh Salih. At least one qasida by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani praises his father; this is included in Jf.

⁸ In part, this qasida praises Shaykh Salih’s own shaykh, Sidi Ahmad bin Idris (author of the hizb used in the first part of the hadra); the text thus creates a juxtaposition of the two authors of the hadra, allowing the chorus to participate as supplicants to the former, and thereby enmesh themselves with the latter as well.

⁹ The *hadi* led the camel caravan and sang to them. It is a common Sufi metaphor to conceive of the spiritual leader as a *hadi* for his followers, and the Prophet himself is often thus described as well.

¹⁰ The interpretive multiplicity of the “ambiguous” entity in performance is but one manifestation of the fact that interpretation is an important aspect of listening for much of the Jazuliyya inshad, a point reinforced by the fact that the group often pauses after performance of a qasida to discuss it. In the Ja’fariyya, qasidas tend to be clear and straightforward; interpretation is hardly required, divergent

interpretations almost never exist, and discussion of the qasidas is not conducted, because (as members say) it simply isn't required.

¹¹ In light of the forthcoming discussion, some may object that al-Da'wa al-Rabbaniyya isn't a hizb, but rather a poem. I classify it as a hizb because a senior member asserted it to be a hizb, "in the form of inshad", and because it is employed in the syntactic position of hizb during the hadra. Therefore, even if it is not a hizb in itself, it becomes a hizb through its use.

¹² It should be recalled that no tariqa has an exclusive hold on members' religious lives. All Sufis are bombarded with various forms of fundamentalist and reformist propaganda, as well as simple conservative Islam, which are so prevalent in the larger Islamic field. The tariqa must prepare them with a way to justify their own Sufi participation when confronted with other Islamic ideas (whether that confrontation is an actual social meeting, or an inner rumination); otherwise, some might lose their faith in Sufism as a path.

¹³ The only exception is during technical discussions of fiqh. Then the leader of the discussion is required to have studied Islamic law at al-Azhar.

¹⁴ Many of his lessons have been published in collections issued by the tariqa; cassette tapes are also available.

¹⁵ The inner part of the meeting hall is reserved for the women.

¹⁶ Once in the middle of hadra he carefully instructed the player of the riqq (frame drum with jingles) to play the jingles with fewer fingers, so as to produce a softer sound.

¹⁷ It should be recalled that green is the color associated with the Prophet's tribe, the Quraysh, and hence with Islam as a whole. Several turuq distinguish the position of their shaykh with a green seat; the ashraf (descendants of the Prophet) often wear a green taqiya (cap); a shaykh's maqam is often covered with green cloth.

10. Conclusions

A. The general argument

This dissertation began with a question: how to account for the success of new Sufi orders in the 20th century, a period during which the long-established orders—which had generally enjoyed a central social position under Mamluk and Ottoman rule—sharply declined? Why were the older orders unable to adapt to changes in the social space which had once supported them: the rise of powerful Islamic and secularist discourses critical of Sufi practices, together with widespread social transformations in politics, economy, education, and other areas? Conversely, how were the newer groups able to do so?

My hypothesis is that the new *turuq* have adapted to modern social conditions by formulating, disseminating, and applying general group-level strategies, whose practical realization occurs principally through LP in the group ritual called *hadra*. These strategies help to ensure the continued viability of the *tariqa*, by maintaining identity and social structure, protecting against criticism, and recruiting new members.

At the same time, there are particular social conditions—centralization, cohesion, and strong group identification among members—which are both prerequisite to the development of such strategies, and one of their intended objectives. These conditions are more likely to be fulfilled by a *tariqa* during the first two developmental phases, when the founder or his *khalifa* controls the group. Furthermore, strategies, and their ritual realizations, are formulated in response to the current social space. Once established, the

rituals corresponding to such strategies tend to persevere (regardless of their subsequent suitability when that space has changed) due to the momentum of tradition (hysteresis)—especially when group members perceive that they serve to constitute group identity—all the while subject to erosion when they are not actively supported by the group's central authority. Later, new group-level strategies may be superimposed. But it is during the earlier formative period that a Sufi order is relatively molten, being unencumbered by tradition; at this time, group-level strategies are more effective in shaping the group. So strategies bear the marks of the historical period of their formulation; the group is most strongly shaped by those strategies developed during the earliest period of group formation; and the practical realization of strategies (in ritual, or otherwise) tends to erode over time, particularly when the group no longer meets the conditions for group-level strategizing.

All these factors favor the modernist groups, formed in response to the social space of modern Egypt, and especially its Islamic field. These groups fall into one of two categories. (1) Those which currently fulfill the social conditions prerequisite to group-level strategies. For *turuq* which fulfill these conditions, LP supports group-level strategies designed to fulfill both spiritual and social purposes, including the maintenance of the conditions enabling such strategizing to take place. The effectiveness of such strategies is enhanced if the *tariqa* is furthermore at or near the point of formation. This is the case for the two modernist *turuq* discussed in this thesis. (2) Those which fulfilled such conditions within the modern period, especially at the period of group formation. Such

groups may not longer be actively strategizing, but the ritual representations of strategies they formulated in the past continue in force (due to hysteresis), and furthermore continue to provide adaptive value (due to similarities in the modern social space between the moment of formulation and the present). This is the case for the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya described by Gilsenan (1973), which was formed in response to modern conditions. Although it is no longer able to strategize (having suffered a total schism over leadership and divided into two parts, one following the hereditary silsila, and the other following a “meritocratic” silsila), the order continues to thrive in part because its rituals are fundamentally suitable to modern life. In both cases we observe that LP appears “strategic” in the sense of being suitable to the present social climate.

However, for those turuq which were formed under very different historical conditions, and which no longer maintain the social conditions necessary to formulate and implement group-level strategies, ritual LP will tend not to support the tariqa’s position in the contemporary Islamic field, and may even serve to undermine it. While it may be spiritually valuable for participants, the open and ecstatic hadra we examined at the periphery of the Bayyumiyya (Bh) does not in any way assist the social position of the Bayyumiyya tariqa as a whole.

The entire thesis has been an elaboration of this argument, in which social and performative factors interact in a most complex fashion. I have tried to show more exactly why certain groups (the modernist) are capable of formulating socially strategic LP, while others (the traditional) are not. I have also attempted to show precisely how LP—in its

syntactic, semantic, sonic, and pragmatic aspects—works for or against the tariqa's social position in the modern period. Throughout, I have argued that the primary goals of any group-level strategy in defining and strengthening that social position must include four principal ones: to defend against critics, attract and retain membership, uphold a distinctive group identity, and maintain social centralization and cohesion. But how can LP in hadra contribute to these goals? In Chapters 2-4 I explored the social-historical context of Sufism, the orders themselves, and the nature of ritual performance in order to emphasize the centrality of LP in formulating a group's adaptive response to the structure or transformation of the enclosing social space.

In Chapter 2, I sketched the rise and decline of the Sufi orders in Egypt. Examining this history, and the polemics of defenders and critics of Sufism, I argued that the principal effective critiques of Sufism were ritual critiques, i.e. critiques of Sufi practice. Most of the critics were not opposed to Sufism *in toto* but only to particular aspects which they found incompatible with orthodox religion; further, critiques of doctrine could not be effective except as applied to the specific practices to which they gave rise. Due to the general dominance of Sufism, this ritual critique had little practical effect during Mamluk and Ottoman periods, but later in the 19th century such critique garnered much broader support. At the same time, Sufism was being brought under central governmental control (under the office of the Shaykh al-Bakri), while the power of individual shaykhs and orders was reduced, and boundaries between *turuq* were

weakened. These trends, in conjunction with more general, sweeping social changes, helped erase Sufism from the social map.

This argument suggested that all along Sufism could be defended—at least in part—through ritual control, including ritual limits or other manipulations of LP in hadra, in order to avoid charges of bid‘a (heretical “innovation”), as well as in order to support the centralization and cohesion of the group. During the period of Sufism’s ascendancy such a line of defense was not absolutely required for survival (although it could be useful in order for a tariqa to position itself within the social space; in this way some of the Shadhili and Khalwati groups recruited many elites, the latter particularly from al-Azhar), but in the 20th century ritual control became more urgent, though it could only be successfully applied by groups socially poised to do so.

During the first part of the 20th century, powerful social forces of both secularization and political-Islamization drew membership away from the Sufi orders. But since the late 1970s there has been a general renewal of interest in non-politicized Islamic spirituality, providing a potential source of new members for the Sufi orders which can appear attractive—initially via shaykhly charisma, but later mainly through ritual practices—to this segment of the population. Those turuq which nevertheless declined appear to be those lacking the social conditions necessary to formulate group-level strategies for ritual reform; these were the traditional groups.

In Chapter 3 (following a general ethnography of Sufism in Egypt), I explored the notion of tariqa identity, whose maintenance is critical if the tariqa is to be sustained as a

distinctive unit of social organization, and whose uniqueness constitutes a means of solidarity, by which individuals identify with the group and with each other. I argued that the doctrinal aspects of Sufi orders are largely shared, and therefore cannot form the primary basis for group identity or solidarity. This basis, I claimed, is rather provided by social dimensions of the order, as well as the ritual form itself (mainly, LP). Indeed, many features which might be construed as doctrinal differences turn out, upon closer inspection, to constitute social and ritual differences. Therefore, LP can maintain tariqa identity by supporting social structure (the same social structure which enables—or disables—group-level strategies in the first place), or simply by presenting unique performative features. I furthermore distinguished positional and personal social structures, arguing that while the former is shared across orders (in part because it is established by governmental regulations governing the *turuq*), it is the latter—broadly construed, to include the founder’s charismatic personality, and the entire web of personal and positional social relations centered on the founder—which is central to the tariqa’s unique identity.

But the relation between LP and tariqa identity (as social structure) is two-way, since LP can only be formulated strategically when particular social conditions obtain. Exploring the conditions for the presence or absence of such conditions, I was led to trace the endogenous development of the Sufi order as a charismatically based organization. Initially centralized and cohesive under the leadership of the founder, and later his *khalifa*, orders tend toward a developmental phase (“phase 3”) in which decentralization and lack

of cohesion prevail; at this point the order is no longer able to formulate, disseminate, and apply group-level strategies. This decentralization can also be understood as a progressive tension between positional and personal structures, as effective charismatic power moves from the center of the positional structure to its periphery. Once the tariqa has become decentralized, the strategic value of LP may decline, or even become negative. LP may become formally fixed, or erode as a tariqa-wide practice (through ritual neglect, or independent ritual control in each peripheral tariqa chapter); thereafter it will continue to play a strategic role in supporting the group only due to the accidental confluence of the historically determined social context with performative style. When that context changes, LP may no longer be adapted to supporting the group.

I also briefly discussed the effects of exogenous historical factors on the nascent tariqa organization, arguing that in its formative stages, lacking the inertia of a historical tradition, the tariqa is more malleable, while later the social and ritual aspects of tariqa identity become more rigid and resistant to change, even when motivated by group-level strategies. But the formative period is also included within the initial phases of tariqa development, during which it is best able to formulate group-level strategies. Therefore, the tariqa will tend to bear the influence of the historical period in which it was formed, and will tend to display its highest level of adaptation to that period.

On the basis of all these considerations, I differentiated traditional and modernist orders. The preceding factors help to explain why the traditional orders have been less successful in contemporary Egypt: having reached the third developmental phase, they are

decentralized and lacking in social cohesion. They are furthermore mired by the inertia of traditions which may—on the whole—lack social utility, and may even be socially harmful. Lacking the requisite social conditions, they are unable to control their LP in a strategic manner.

In Chapter 4, I presented a detailed ethnography of the hadra, and its LP resources. I claimed that besides its overt spiritual role, the hadra has social consequences, and that its “active ingredients” consist primarily of LP. This statement constitutes the basis for my methodological decision to focus on LP as the key link between practice and social structure. After reviewing some general features (tonality, repetition, naming, and sources) shared by most or all LP, I set forth the variety of LP genres in the context of a general ethnography of the hadra itself, indicating the variable parameters of each LP genre, and the sensitivity of those parameters in determining both ritual effects, and critical reaction.

The ethnography indicated that while *hizb*, *fawatih*, *ad‘iyya*, and *dhikr* are primarily based in traditional and inflexible Islamic material (especially Qur’an and *adhkar*), and hence are less crucial for supporting group-level strategies or establishing group identity, the LP genres of *inshad* and speech are much more important for these purposes, since they can be flexibly manipulated for social objectives, as objects of group-level strategy. *Inshad* and speech are ordinarily the only LP genres which can clearly carry the voice and authority of the *shaykh*. Genres rigidly based in traditional material operate primarily in the ritual mode, and are less well-suited to manipulating participants subjectively, leading

to a weak social effect. On the other hand, inshad and speech operate primarily in the affective and communicative modes, respectively, and thus are ideally suited to such subjective manipulation. The wide range of melodic parameters characteristic of inshad are critical, in view of the polemics surrounding the use of music (both melodic content, and instrumentation), as well as in determining the emotional power which music provides in performance. Both inshad and speech carry the widest range of affective and communicative textual meanings, ranging from passionate mystical love to distant devotion; these meanings are significant both in view of polemics over Sufi ideas, as well as for the influence exerted by such texts in performance.

Several parameters of LP are particularly sensitive in determining the response of Sufi critics, as well as the impact of LP on the group itself. These include the extent to which texts are supported by the Islamic tradition, the use of poetic themes and symbols, and putative performative efficacy in the ritual mode. In particular, repetition is a sensitive aspect of ritual with regard to conservative critiques, particularly when repeat counts are very large, or depend on the esoteric numerological system, 'ilm al-huruf. Even more important are performative aspects, such as the elaboration of melody, the presence of musical instruments, emotional display, and other forms of spectacle. Naming is a critical aspect of LP, due to its ability to construct relationships.

I then proceeded to take up three examples: two modernist, and one traditional. The former maintain the social conditions prerequisite to formulation of group-level strategies for social aims, although leading to very different strategies. For as I claimed at

the outset, the simultaneous strategizing of two groups within the same field at the same time in no way implies that they should arrive at the same strategy. On the contrary, the field comprises forces of repulsion as well as attraction, and the former may effectively prevent two social groups from coming too close together, as each seeks to establish itself in a particular bounded domain. Therefore it should not be surprising to find the Ja‘fariyya and Jazuliyya equally strategic, equally successful, and yet nearly opposed in the actual strategies they employ, strategies realized in part via LP in hadra. On the other hand, the Bayyumiyya lack the social preconditions for group-level strategizing, and so one finds that the nature of LP in this case results from a combination of hysteresis, and the superposition of individual (not group-level) strategies, interests, and abilities within the particular context in which performance takes place; the determining role of individual interests and abilities in a context is particularly evident in the form of inshad performance.

What are these strategies, and what are their goals? Unlike most religious organizations, Sufi orders are not defined by a system of belief. Rather, the identity of a Sufi order is preeminently social. It is impossible for any Sufi order in Egypt to define itself by means of a unique creed or set of tenets, because all Sufi orders strongly depend on Islam for authorization and basic religious content; any deviations from strict orthodox Islam are shared across all the turuq and therefore do not provide a basis for individual group identity. For this reason, group-level strategies must aim primarily at maintaining the group’s social position, ensuring the group’s success by providing it with a secure

“niche” in the Islamic field, while maintaining inner social strength. To a great extent, these strategies work through LP in hadra. Strategic goals include the following:

To defend against critics. This goal has become much more crucial in the 20th century than previously. But since Sufi critiques are effectively ritual critiques (as we have seen), the most effective line of defense is through ritual control, which in turn implies control of LP. Such control—often requiring some measure of conformity to orthodox norms—may entail absolute ritual limits, or limits may be imposed depending on context; thus private and public rituals may be differentiated. Since critics may be of either the secular type (blaming Sufism for social ills) or religious type (blaming Sufism for degrading the “true” Islam), LP ideally must be manipulated so as to counter both charges: to prove the social utility as well as the religious conformity of Sufism through particular practices (or the exclusion of particular practices). It is important to realize that critics need not come from outside the group; group members themselves are willy-nilly exposed to both reformist and secularist discourses (via media and informal communication), and therefore the tariqa must always take care to appear legitimate in eyes of members, lest dissent come from within the ranks. Therefore, secrecy alone is not a viable solution, at least not if the tariqa hopes to expand.

To attract, recruit, and retain members. This goal, universally important in any religious organization (particularly one as weakly defined by belief as a Sufi order), has become even more critical with competition from other kinds of social organizations, both religious and non-religious. The solution is the presentation of an attractive and

distinctive group identity, and the fulfillment of members' individual spiritual and social needs. The relevance of LP to the former is discussed below; that the latter occurs primarily via LP is evident due to the fact that ritual LP constitutes the main mode of members' participation in the tariqa. Since it is impossible for the tariqa to appeal to the entire Muslim population, whose religious values, preferences, and predispositions vary widely, it is important for the group to target a particular audience to which it will appear attractive. Evidently, each target audience may require different strategies. The tariqa can establish itself more securely by attracting an affluent, educated, and well-connected membership; such a priority both demands and facilitates more literate techniques of LP, including use of published manuals and books of poetry.

To maintain a distinctive group identity, one which also meets the constraints of other goals (viz. be formulated so as both to attract and retain members, and defend against critics). I have argued that different Sufi orders contrast primarily in personal social structure (including the founder's charisma), as well as in ritual forms themselves; thus one finds unique ritual and social identity, but not unique doctrinal identity. As for ritual identity, it is clear that LP is critical, because to a great extent LP is constitutive of ritual; it is required only that ritual be unique—an arbitrary sign—in order to distinguish the group from others. Thus one group exhibits a highly musical and emotional liturgy, while another is sober and restrained. As for social identity, I have argued (throughout Chapters 7-9) for the ability of LP to support personal social structure and the charisma of the founder. LP reinforces the founder's charisma when he is the author of its textual basis,

not only in the semantic content of the works performed (which may not always be unique), but in their authorization by him (as testimony to his high spiritual level, and mystical or religious inspiration). Thus a preference for (or even restriction to) the founder's literary output is a universal sign of strategy, though traditional groups make use of such preferences and restrictions far less than modernist ones do. Authorship is more effective in the communicative and affective domains of speech and *inshad*, because these genres are more capable of bearing an authorial stamp than the more ritual-oriented genres compiled from traditional sources (thus the *hizb* is assembled—like a collage—more than it is written); again, the traditional groups tend not to exploit the former genres consistently. LP also reinforces the characteristic social relations of the *tariqa*, both vertical (whether distant, or immediate), and horizontal (whether person-person, or person-group), and helps define group boundaries (whether sharp or diffused), via the syntactic, semantic, sonic, and pragmatic aspects of performance, particularly via referencing (see Chapter 9).

To maintain centralization, cohesion, and group commitment. Regardless of its specific social identity, the group must maintain these general properties if it is to persevere as a whole. At the same time, these are the particular conditions necessary for group-level strategizing to take place. This is the level at which interaction between performance and social structure appears most complex: LP supports aspects of social structure, which are simultaneously the conditions for its own use as a tool of group-level strategies. Group commitment is supported by the quantity and attractiveness of LP

performed in individual and group rituals, the extent to which it binds members through mutual participation and evokes the founder as a magnetic center of belief, and the extent to which rituals at the periphery (the local bayt) are firmly controlled so as to avoid the formation of local centers of charisma and solidarity which would tend to fracture the whole. The ability of LP to generate emotion in ritual is critical here, for it is this emotion which serves to reinforce the personal bonds among group members—both horizontally to each other, and vertically to the shaykh and founder—which are suggested by textual content. However such emotionalism must also be controlled, so as to avoid anti-social frenzy or idiosyncratic behavior, to ensure that emotion contributes to the solidarity of the group as a whole (rather than to a subgroup), to support group identity (so that a tariqa whose reputation is based on orthodoxy must be more restrained), and to avoid criticism from without (since emotional ritual has historically attracted the greatest criticism).

Group-level strategy supporting these social goals works through LP in ritual; indeed this is necessarily the case, because such LP is the principal (often the only) practical means of participation in the Sufi group. Most explicit Sufi discourse prefers to assign LP a purely spiritual value, because a social value would apparently conflict with the ideal of purely spiritual goals. However, the social value of LP can be revealed through a more careful reading of this discourse (particularly among the modernist groups), as well as through a close analysis of the ritual data. Such a reading was the goal of Chapters 5-9.

B. Three case studies: a review

Each of the two modernist groups considered displays a characteristic strategic logic in coping with the problems Sufism faces in late 20th-century Egypt; to a great extent LP can be understood as a realization of this logic in ritual practice. In the previous chapters I have made myriad references to the unique logic of each tariqa's approach; in the following summary I will only touch on some of the more salient points. The Bayyumiyya, by contrast, lack the social conditions necessary for the development of tariqa-wide group-level strategies, and therefore LP plays a limited (and sometimes negative) role in supporting the group as a whole. In this case, I have tried to explain the characteristics of LP as a non-adaptive consequence of social conditions.

1. Jazuliyya

The Jazuliyya is a phase 2 (khalifa-controlled) tariqa formed in the modern period, in response to the modern social space and field of Islam. It meets all the theoretical social conditions required for formulating, disseminating, and applying group-level strategies. One therefore finds a relatively high level of control over ritual performance, and few strategic vacuums, although occasionally control is strategically relinquished in order to allow for the development of emotion. In brief, these strategies include the following:

a. To defend against critics.

The Jazuliyya adopt several basic strategies for defending their form of Sufism (which includes ecstatic and “intoxicated” elements) against possible charges of bid‘a by religious conservatives, Islamic reformists, and secularists. One strategy is by ritual differentiation into private and public, center and periphery. Three different kinds of hadra are performed: private-periphery, private-center, and public-center. The public face of the tariqa corresponds to the mosque hadra (public-center), which is relatively conservative. The local hadra (private-periphery) is also conservative. Ecstatic and musical dhikr is permitted only under the control and authority of the center, in a relatively secluded location. A second strategy is to ground all practices in Qur’an and Sunna, emphasizing these especially in the mudhakara sessions. A third is to remain relatively independent of other religious institutions and events, participating in mawlid only tangentially (thereby avoiding their unseemly aspects), and maintaining social distance from al-Azhar, and governmental religious organizations. Even when ecstatic, hadras are never out of control, and emotionalism is strictly limited within a fixed time interval.

b. To attract, recruit, and retain members.

The primary target audience consists of those with no former experience in Sufism; nearly all have been well-educated (secondary school or college) in the secular school system, working as professionals with a modern orientation. Over the last 25 years especially, large numbers of Egyptians in this category have felt the pull of religion as a

means of spiritual fulfillment, or source of social identity. These are drawn to the tariqa due to its modernity, especially as manifested in performance. The Jazuliyya implicitly reject most of the Sufi tradition from the immediate past, associated among members of the target audience with social and religious backwardness. Modernity is represented by the highly organized and disciplined hadra format, the efficient and effective madrasa, and the use of inshad styles interally and intertextually related to modern culture (popular music). Individuals in search of spiritual renewal are also attracted by an ecstatic, participatory, somewhat individualistic emotional style, and a leaning toward Sufi gnosis (ma'rifa, Haqiqa) which provides meanings which appear to transcend those of ordinary exoteric religion, while remaining grounded within it, and anchored by explicit performances of Sunna and Qur'an. Yet another strategy is the inclusion of entire families, and emphasis on children's participation.

c. To maintain a distinctive group identity

The group's ritual identity comprises a modern, enthusiastic, unified, and occasionally ecstatic performative style; it is automatically reinforced by performance of such rituals. The group's social identity includes the following: the absence of a silsila (lineage) which would connect the group to a definite historical past and a focus instead on the founder and his son; a charismatic founder known for his esoteric knowledge; close vertical relations (between shaykh or other spiritual entity, and muridin) verging on union; strong horizontal bonds among members and between each member and the reified group as a communality; and sharp group boundaries separating in-group from out-group.

All of these are supported by LP in the hadra, in its sonic, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic dimensions, as outlined in Chapters 8 and 9. The breaking of the silsila to the past is reinforced by refraining from the mention of prior saints and shaykhs in performance. Much of the LP in hadra serves as a means for the performance of the founder's charisma, which is in turn a means of reinforcing the social basis for the tariqa's existence. This charisma is embedded and affirmed in the founder's texts, which (as karamat) constitute the main empirical evidence for his charisma, and which also form the basis for much hadra LP. Recitation and discussion of Sidi Jabir's *Rasa'il* and poetry is an important means of reaffirming his charismatic status. The use of colloquial poetry serves to create a mood of intimacy. Open and rough equality of participation for group members, and the tight social geometry of performance serve to create a sense of close corporate unity. Thus ritual pragmatics helps to assure the corporate solidarity which is a hallmark of the group's identity. Outsiders have no official place, and the hadra is relatively private (except for the mosque hadra), thus serving to reinforce the sharp group boundaries.

Most critical is the semantic aspect of inshad: its authorization by the shaykh, use of esoteric themes and symbols, overt praise of the shaykh (both Sidi Salim and Sidi Jabir), and the paradigm for social relations which it presents through referencing, serving to draw the group tightly together around its shaykh. Social relations are reinforced by a high level of emotion in performance, created by employing rich musical resources (instrumentally, and stylistically), combined with textual flexibility (in solo inshad),

vigorous and full participation (in group inshad), and tolerance of some individual performative freedom (even when this leads to tonal-temporal imprecision). However, this emotion is always controlled, restrained within definite bounds, and limited to the central hadra, so that it cannot disturb group unity, or draw criticism.

d. To maintain centralization, cohesion, and group commitment

LP also serves to maintain the social conditions of its own possibility. The role of LP in maintaining group cohesion and centralization follows in part from the role of LP in maintaining the tight vertical and horizontal bonds which define the group socially. Besides the ubiquitous references to God, the Prophet, and the Ahl al-Bayt, referencing to Sufi figures is limited to the founder and his son, with an occasional mention of Sidi Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili. By avoiding the mention of a constellation of other saints and qutbs, group integrity is maintained; connections to the wider world of informal Sufism are diminished.

Ecstasy in ritual is limited to central meetings; in this way it serves to reinforce the shaykh's position and the cohesion of the group as a whole. Were such ecstasy permitted in the local chapter meetings, it would tend to emphasize the local leader's charismatic status and integrity of the local group as an independent social entity, thus leading to fissioning; this phenomenon is exactly what we observed in the case of the Bayyumiyya. Thus, local chapter meetings are limited to more ritual and communicative forms of LP: mostly prayer and madrasa. Inshad plays a lesser role, and is restricted to sober group

inshad employing percussion instruments only; ecstatic solo inshad and dhikr are forbidden here.

Commitment results from the relatively high level of ritual participation required; the hadra is long, and members are required to attend at least three events per week. Ritual commitment creates group commitment and identification. The necessity of members to travel to the main center (those in Greater Cairo do so semiweekly; those further away at least for the Mawlid al-Nabi, and the mawlid of Sidi Jabir) helps to support centralization and commitment. At these mawlid, new inshad is distributed to the entire tariqa, so that the group can remain ritually synchronized. In addition, the tariqa maintains a rigorously organized schedule of inter-group visiting so as to ensure that the social relations produced in performance span the group, and do not serve to create solidarity in any one subgroup at the expense of relations to other subgroups.

2. Ja'fariyya

Like the Jazuliyya, the Ja'fariyya is a phase 2 tariqa, formed in the modern period in response to modern conditions. It too presents the social conditions required for formulating, disseminating, and applying group-level strategies; there is in addition little interest in generating overtly powerful emotional experience, as in the Jazuliyya. One therefore finds here an extremely high level of control over ritual performance, with practically no strategic vacuums.

a. To defend against critics.

The Jazuliyya strategy depends in part on communal brotherhood, isolation from other religious groups, and ritual privacy. The Ja‘fariyya have taken the opposite course. Within the field of Islam, they affirm in their rituals as well as in writings two kinds of connections: to the Islamic institution of al-Azhar, and to the Idrisiyya tradition of reformed Sufism. In addition, the group maintains strong connections to official religion of the Egyptian government and elsewhere (Sudan, Bahrain); such connections are displayed through attendance and speech-making of such religious officials at the hadra, especially at major festival occasions such as the mawlid of the founder, or the Mawlid al-Nabi. These connections at once increase the visibility (and hence targetability) of the group, and provide it with a more defensible position, legitimacy being assured by connections to powerful or irreproachable Islamic institutions. Concomitantly, of course, the tariqa must espouse a more conservative version of Sufism, one which is acceptable to official and Azhari Islam. That this strategy was in part a natural consequence of Shaykh Salih’s own biography should not detract from the fact that the group has actively developed and expanded in this direction through the great efforts of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani since the founder’s passing.

The conservative Sufism practiced in the Ja‘fariyya, a main line of defense against possible critics, constitutes another contrast with the Jazuliyya. Inshad and dhikr are kept strictly separate. As we have seen, musical materials are extremely limited; there are no instruments, inshad melodies are restricted and repetitive; interal references to popular

songs are rejected. Texts are largely in classical Arabic (thus referencing the Azhari tradition), and mention of esoteric or ecstatic Sufi themes is rare; rather the focus is on relatively uncontroversial madih and other mainstream religious themes. Performance is required to be uniform; almost no individuality or emotionalism is tolerated; the primary goals appear to be ritual and communicative. The mood of performance is serious, hushed, still, and dignified, as opposed to the jubilant and even ecstatic Jazuliyya hadra. Performance is also more tightly controlled, since the munshidin must perform from the diwan of Shaykh Salih; most participants have no opportunity to sing as soloists, and the role of speech is extremely limited (compared to the open Jazuliyya mudhakara). Women are excluded from the hadra.

But though this form of Sufism may be labelled conservative, it would be wrong to consider the Ja'fariyya as merely a traditional Sufi group. While the Ja'fariyya appear traditional, it is in fact their reliance on a tradition of reform (the Idrisiyya), and the active expression of that tradition through centrally controlled ritual, which gives them such an aura of legitimacy in the current religious climate. They are modernist, in traditional guise.

b. To attract, recruit, and retain members.

The same strategies which serve to defend the group from its critics also can serve to attract new members, because the open and social positioning of the tariqa as a mainstream Islamic organization is designed to compete directly with reformist and other Islamist groups for members. Their form of conservative Sufism, strongly rooted in Sunna and Qur'an, contains almost nothing which could be criticized as bid'a. Performance

legitimizes the group by appeal to traditional Islam (especially in inshad), and the Idrisiyya tradition. But while the group is tied to the past, through assertions of silsila and traditional modes of Islamic performance, it is also something new. Less blatantly than the Jazuliyya, the Ja'fariyya simultaneously defines itself as a modern form of Sufism, by adopting a highly public profile and presenting itself as a central Islamic institution, in the service of Islamic society. The tariqa thereby draws in members who might not feel comfortable in an esoteric, communal Sufi tariqa led by a mystic lacking official religious credentials. Because Shaykh Salih had such credentials, the Ja'fariyya are able to portray themselves as a mainstream Islamic school (madrasa) or an Islamic social movement like the Muslim Brothers. To follow Shaykh Salih is like following any other Azhar professor, a path entailing no possible deviation from mainstream religion because of the certainty that al-Azhar itself defines the mainstream.

Ritual performance helps to define the tariqa as a central and public Islamic institution, possessing a social function transcending the service of the muridin themselves. Such an attitude is revealed and reinforced in performance by the presence of non-members, who may also participate in the ritual (although spatially separated from the official membership). By adopting this position, in conjunction with a conservative form of Sufi practice, the tariqa presents itself as an attractive alternative to the more politicized Islamic groups which have proliferated and expanded in the 20th century. This institutional basis is reinforced by the place of performance, which is always a public mosque belonging to the tariqa; the main center in Darrasa is a large public mosque, also

connected to a bookshop, a library, and a hospital, all run by the tariqa. Such an arrangement is reminiscent of traditional Sufi institutions (the *khanqah*), but also competes with the social-service role presented by many of the modern non-Sufi Islamic groups in Egypt today. Those who participate in tariqa activities as non-members may eventually take the *'ahd*.

That performative features of Ja'fariyya and Jazuliyya contrast in so many ways does not indicate the deficiency of either's hadra; rather such contrasts reflect in part different target audiences for recruitment. While the Jazuliyya tend to recruit members with secular backgrounds who feel a pull toward a more spiritual life, the Ja'fariyya is more appealing to those with conservative religious upbringing. Shaykh Salih's status (constantly reaffirmed in hadra performance, as well as in his books) as a great Azhari scholar, as well as the performative emphasis on the written Islamic tradition, classical Arabic, and scholarly learning, play an important role here. Many members attended Azhari schools, or the Azhar university itself, where they studied traditional subjects such as Arabic language and the foundations of religion (*Usul al-Din*). The majority come originally from the more religiously and socially conservative society of the Sa'id (Upper Egypt), especially Qina and Aswan. These are accustomed to a central role for conservative Islam in their lives; for them the tariqa is embraced as a mainstream religious institution, not as an esoteric path. In this way the Ja'fariyya gathers support from a strong conservative, educated group, who are also socially well-positioned so as to help the tariqa to a strong position in the Islamic field.

LP in ritual serves to mark off the sacred as something totally different from ordinary experience. Unlike the Jazuliyya, performative references (interal, and intertextual) remain entirely within the religious sphere. While the Jazuliyya strategy of creating performative links to secular culture is attractive for some, the Ja'fariyya attracts a different membership for whom the presence of the sacred depends on the creation of a performative space which is wholly "other".

A strong effort is made to recruit children of members, in order to build a stronger organization and ensure future support. Young people are given prominent roles in tariqa rituals, and execute them proudly. This strategy is followed in the Jazuliyya as well.

c. To maintain a distinctive group identity.

As in the Jazuliyya, the Ja'fariyya hadra reinforces the group's unique ritual identity, manifest especially in the sound, text, and behavior of LP. The Ja'fariyya social identity, contrasting with the Jazuliyya, is founded on Shaykh Salih's distinctive charisma, rooted in his broad learning in the religious sciences ('ilm), inspiration as poet, and status as a great Azhari scholar and preacher. The personal social structure features a strong silsila to Shaykh Salih's own shaykhs, especially Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris; distant vertical relations of hierarchy (between shaykh or spiritual entity, and muridin); weaker horizontal bonds among brethren; and diffuse group boundaries, by which the group extends its influence outwards into the general Islamic community.

Hadra performance focuses almost entirely on the textual output of Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari, and Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris, with a small contribution from the current shaykh,

‘Abd al-Ghani, as well. Thus the centrality of these figures is affirmed, and in particular the tariqa’s continuity with the Idrisiyya tradition is established. Besides these figures, performance also reinforces the entire constellation of spiritual entities upon which the tariqa is based: God, and the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt. As in the Jazuliyya, references to other saints are limited. Such a strategy is particularly apt for the modernist groups; being relatively new, they must take care to ensure their independent identity.

Shaykh Salih’s charisma is performed primarily through inshad. For the outward signs of his charisma are contained in his great religious knowledge and insight (‘ilm and ma’rifa), and the inspirational “flooding” (fayadan) by which he spoke or composed poetry containing such knowledge and insight. Through recitation of this poetry in the hadra, these karamat—the founder’s knowledge, insight, and inspiration—are reinforced; speeches and the pragmatic position of the munshidin (spotlighted as soloists before the passive group) further help to invoke him personally. Shaykh Salih’s unique spiritual personality emerges clearly through inshad texts, as well as the solemn and dignified style of performance used to perform them. Additionally, authoritative invited speakers praise him directly, evoke him pragmatically (by occupying a similar communicative position vis-à-vis the group), and serve as a reminder of his greatness.

Modernist groups, as I have stated many times, tend toward full control of ritual resources. But the Ja‘fariyya take this position to an extreme, leaving almost nothing to the discretion of participants; even leaders make few ritual decisions. Munshidin are entirely constrained to the diwan of Shaykh Salih, and once a qasida is selected it must be

completed without text-switching. These restrictions limit the emotional level which is facilitated by ritual flexibility (by responding to the exigencies of performance conditions), but at the same time serve to ensure that the hadra will focus primarily upon Shaykh Salih; the more subdued emotional level is also evocative of the founder's spiritual personality, which was firmly grounded in the Islamic textual tradition, and not prone to outward mystical ecstasies.

The semantic content of texts serves to reinforce vertical relations of distance and hierarchy, via poetic themes, didactic tone, elevated language style, and especially in the paradigm for social relations which as we have seen is embedded in inshad texts. The shaykh is portrayed as a lofty figure (sometimes overtly, in the choral refrain of a qasida), towering above the muridin, while the spiritual entities addressed tower above him; this arrangement is also more conformable to orthodoxy than the more mystically unified scheme in the Jazuliyya. This verticality is further reinforced by the pragmatics of performance: the sequence of soloists, alternation between soloists and group, and seating arrangements. At the same time, the fact that the hadra is open to outsiders, together with the emotional restraint imposed by tariqa decorum, reduces the level of horizontal bonding which takes place. Emotion, as we have seen, tends toward a levelling of hierarchical distinctions (as in the Jazuliyya), and so the Ja'fariyya tend to avoid it, both to preserve their more hierarchical and open-institutional identity, and to promote a conservative appearance.

d To maintain centralization, cohesion, and group commitment.

The performative construction of centralization, cohesion, and group commitment is partly assured by the reinforcement of the group's characteristic social identity, which binds all muridin to Shaykh Salih and thereby to each other. Diffuse group boundaries might be expected to weaken overall cohesion, but this effect is compensated by the central social and institutional position occupied by the tariqa's administration within the field of Islam in Egypt. Although there is always a fringe beyond the official membership, who attend hadras and other mosque-events without taking the 'ahd, a strong and closed communal form of solidarity as is found in the Jazuliyya is less necessary for the Ja'fariyya, due to the firm social position occupied by the group's center.

As in the Jazuliyya, group commitment is assured through a heavy enforced commitment to ritual performance, twice weekly. Although emotion in performance plays a much smaller role than in the Jazuliyya, the membership which is attracted to a tariqa of the Ja'fariyya type does not desire a powerful emotional experience, but rather expects a more didactic ritual experience, akin to that of the *dars* which made Shaykh Salih so famous in the first place. The emotional feelings underlying social relations in this tariqa are not overtly expressed in ritual, but they are nevertheless deeply felt as a response to Shaykh Salih's charisma, which is evoked in performance. Furthermore this mode of mystical experience, in which one's inner spiritual world is firmly controlled, was itself the

model favored by Shaykh Salih; its ritual performance therefore reaffirms every member's commitment to the group he founded.

Local chapters are strongly connected to the main group by required attendance at a weekly central hadra, in which each local chapter performs, and its subordinate relation to the tariqa as a whole is thereby clarified. At the same time, the local hadra is restricted to be an identical copy of the central hadra, thereby helping to avoid the possibility of fission or schism. Like the Jazuliyya (and other modernist groups), the tariqa also employs a rigorously organized schedule of visiting between central group and local chapters, thus ensuring that bonds are forged between different subgroups, so that the tariqa cannot fragment into separable subunits.

3. Bayyumiyya

Unlike the modernist groups, but typical of other traditional ones, the Bayyumiyya lack the social conditions for actively formulating, disseminating, and applying group-level strategies. Neither books, nor discourse, nor analysis of LP suggests the active presence of any such strategies. The absence of active strategies has produced strategic vacuums. Some of these vacuums are filled by traditional ritual practices inherited from the past (hysteresis), while the remainder are filled by individual strategies geared to individual—not group—interests. For instance, the Bayyumiyya hizb continues to be performed, but not in a manner (sonically, or pragmatically) which would help to maintain group solidarity. Inshad, in particular, is left entirely undetermined, at the margins of the central hadra, and at the center of at least one local one (as in Bh).

This situation has arisen in part as a natural consequence of the traditional order's relatively late phase of development. The discord between a centralized positional structure, headed by a hereditary shaykh whose charismatic stature is limited, and a distributed personal structure, in which charismatic loci have appeared at the local level, precludes group-level strategizing, because positional relationships are not supported by personal ones, and commitments exist to many different local shaykhs.

Historical factors also make group-level strategies problematic for traditional groups like the Bayyumiyya. Even if it were more centralized and cohesive, the tariqa would still be freighted with a heavy load of tradition, resulting from its advanced age, spread over a large social base. Such tradition has its own inertia, which can only be changed in small increments, especially since the bulk of the membership are rural, steeped in tradition; a comparatively large fraction are no doubt illiterate, making central control even more difficult.

Low strategic control of ritual resources may also be a historical remnant of the tariqa's social context during the period of founding, when Sufism enjoyed much greater prominence and widespread acceptability in Egyptian society than it does today. During this period, strategies may not have been required as a defensive mechanism, although they might have been used for other purposes, such as to gather members or solidify the social structure. Yet, with Sufism in a position of dominance, even these functions would not have been so necessary as today. Furthermore, whatever strategies existed at the outset, over time they would have eroded, as the social conditions for their maintenance declined.

At the same time, they would have become less appropriate, due to the fact that the social context—and especially the Islamic context—has shifted dramatically throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

An important contextual change was the general attitude toward charisma as the legitimizing basis for a tariqa. I have argued that such charisma always forms the nucleus for any new Sufi organization, around which forms the initial circle of disciples. This fact has not changed. What *has* changed is the forms of charisma which are widely acceptable, and the forms of charisma which can be performed in hadra. Sidi ‘Ali’s charismatic status was based on miraculous deeds, incomprehensible to the modern world-view. For generations after his passing, belief in the miraculous karamat by which he was defined would have continued to draw in new members, because for hundreds of years such stories have formed an integral part of the dominant religious reality; even intellectuals such as Sha‘rani devoted their full scholarly energies to recounting such karamat. But today the fanciful karamat by which Sidi ‘Ali continues to be remembered among his followers are relegated to the realm of mere folklore by most modernists, and it is the latter, whether Islamist or secularist, who are shaping Egyptian society today.

Furthermore, the miraculous karamat which support Sidi ‘Ali’s charisma, and other founders of traditional orders (including Sidi Ahmad al-Rifa‘i, Sayyid al-Badawi, and Sidi Ibrahim al-Dasuqi) cannot be supported by LP in the hadra, because they do not exist in a textual form compatible with ritual. Here we note a sharp contrast with the charisma of modernist founders, which is very often based on “miracles” of textual inspiration and

production, such as writing poetry, or making speeches. The only ritually compatible texts associated with Sidi 'Ali are his hizbs. But while the small hizb (al-hizb al-saghir) which is performed in hadra does serve to invoke Sidi 'Ali for tariqa members, being based on Qur'an and other traditional texts it does not constitute a personal expression of his spiritual personality, nor can it provide a model for social relations.

In addition, the tariqa suffered the initial impact of social transformations, challenges from reformists, and governmental control of Sufism in the 19th century. The experience of the 19th century seems likely to have reduced the cohesion of extant Sufi groups, by drawing them all under the influence of a central authority (the Shaykh al-Bakri), and reducing their individual identities due to pressures toward ritual conformity. Thus Lane's accounts of distinctive Bayyumiyya hadras in the early 1800s, featuring complex dance-like movements, do not correspond to the hadra which one finds among the Bayyumiyya today, which is hardly differentiable from the hadra of any other traditional Sufi order.

Either pressure from the Shaykh al-Bakri for ritual reform or a reformist atmosphere increasingly hostile to Sufi ritual displays must have convinced some highly conspicuous (and hence accountable) Bayyumi shaykh al-sajjada to eliminate the more dance-like and ecstatic elements formerly employed in hadra, at least in the central hadra which was most visible to outsiders, and which took place under his immediate supervision. But this response evidently did not—or could not—constitute a group-level strategy, since the local hadra exhibits no such signs of ritual reform. Besides, such a

response hardly constitutes a real strategy, since it was merely a reflexive reaction to criticism, causing a retreat in the direction of greater Shari‘a conformity. This reflex was not accompanied by a more thorough-going attempt to guarantee the tariqa’s survival in the 20th century. Furthermore, the relatively low level of performative unity today suggests that any ritual changes which were introduced no longer represent an active strategy supported by tariqa leadership.

Due to increasing tensions between positional and personal social structures, the tariqa effectively divided into subgroups connected primarily by administrative positional links, each relatively independent of the tariqa center in its activities. Each subgroup could develop a quasi-independent ritual form, which might serve to express the independent identity of a local bayt (as controlled by a strong local shaykh), or might simply serve as an outlet for the spiritual inclinations of participants. Central tariqa rituals are poorly attended (considering the great scope of the tariqa), for there are no sanctions applied to enforce attendance; the shaykh al-sajjada himself is only occasionally present. There is no system of inter-group visiting, as is common in the modernist groups, and the only event which attracts the entire tariqa is the mawlid of Sidi ‘Ali. Being one of the major mawlid of Cairo, replete with rides, amusements, food sellers, sightseers, and non-Bayyumiyya visitors to the shrine and khidmas, crowded and chaotic, lacking in any systematic ritual plan, it is hardly the kind of regulated occasion which could instill some centralized order into the group. In this it contrasts completely with the more limited mawlid of the modernist orders, which do serve this function.

Thus I account for the features of LP observed in the Bayyumiyya hadra as a product and reflection of the group's social conditions and history, not as an adaptive means by which the group actively attempts to control itself. Indeed, most of the patterns characteristic of Bayyumiyya LP likely have negative adaptive value for the group as a whole. For instance, the extreme contrast between mosque and local hadra may be understood as a consequence of the private context of the latter, and the disjunction between positional authority and personal power. The modernist *turuq* conduct private hadras which are near-copies (or subrituals) of the central hadra. However, in the local chapter of the traditional *tariqa*, relative independence from the center in conjunction with weak local control may lead to an ecstatic hadra, whose strong emotion serves the individual interests of participants (both *munshidin* and *dhakkira*), although it is detrimental to the social unity of the *tariqa* as a whole.

It may be useful to state this situation as a general principle which can be observed in practice. In a centralized *tariqa* governed primarily by group-level strategies (such as the *Jazuliyya* and *Ja'fariyya*), ritual energy is greater at the center, whereas in a decentralized group (such as the *Bayyumiyya*), ritual energy is greater at the periphery. This distribution of ritual energy is a reflection and reinforcement of the distribution of social control and charisma. Traditional *turuq* may respond to modern reformist pressures to "dampen" ritual, but only at the center, due to the centers' limited control of the periphery, the latter remains relatively free. At the same time, I have noted that charisma tends to be relatively lacking at the center of the traditional groups; this factor also leads

to a hadra of diminished energy there. But performance at the periphery depends on the charisma and preferences of the local shaykh, who is little affected by the central shaykh al-sajjada, and less affected by reformist pressures.

C. Final remarks

Thus we see how LP is used to support group-level strategies among modernist groups, whose social structure fulfills the preconditions for developing such strategies. Older orders, decentralized and lacking social cohesion after many generations of successive leadership (which, as we have seen, tends toward such a state), are unable to do so. Traditional orders, established in a period in which Sufism was dominant and relatively unthreatened, were originally under less pressure to develop strategies of regulation and control at the start, when they could have been implemented more easily. Strategies of LP could be more heterodox, and less complete. But whatever strategies were developed would not necessarily have been appropriate in the contemporary period. Subsequently these groups suffered historical shocks which probably caused irremediable damage to their formerly centralized structures; strategies of performance which were formerly active (such as those which provided identity) may have been eroded, leading to strategic vacuums to be filled by hysteresis or individual interests. But in the modern period, new Sufi orders, still malleable and unencumbered by history, tended to develop strategies of full ritual control, in order to better contend with the dual threats of secular and Islamist critiques.

It is possible that as these new orders expand, and enter the third developmental phase (following the khalifa) they too will begin to decentralize, as tensions develop between the shaykh al-sajjada and the local leaders. However it is also likely that the strong controls represented by performative strategies which have been developed as a necessary response to the crisis of Sufism in the 20th century will delay, if not prevent, this transformation. The Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya, despite receiving Gilsenan's praise as an exemplary modernist tariqa, suffered a total schism in the 1970s due to conflict over succession. However, the difference between schism and fission should be carefully noted; each remaining half of the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya appears as centralized as ever. Therefore it is possible that modernist groups may maintain centralization, despite rapid growth.

We have observed that two different modernist groups operating within the same Islamic field need not arrive at the same strategies. On the contrary, among modernist groups, different strategies are possible and necessary. This situation is *possible*, because the problem of adaptation resembles that of determining values for a set of variables more numerous than the equations which constrain them. To put the matter simply: survival may be difficult, but there is no one way to go about it. This situation is also *necessary*, because different groups sharing the same field cannot all occupy the same strategic space. Thus the Ja'fariyya have occupied a particular strategic position (e.g. ritually conservative, emphasizing close ties to Azhar, vertically oriented, institutional, etc.); another group will

not succeed by competing for members on the same basis, but rather on a different basis (e.g. ecstatic, musical, communal, etc.).

Several other important points have emerged along the way. We have seen that effective strategies center on ritual control more than doctrine. The adaptation and survival of the modernist Sufi group in the 20th century has not depended on dropping Sufi doctrine, even for conservative groups. While extreme doctrines of *Wahdat al-Wujud* (Unity of Being) and *ittihad* (union) are often publicly denounced (though not always in private), a single doctrinal system is largely shared among nearly all groups, differing mainly in emphases and in the degree to which its various aspects are made explicit. Thus even the conservative Ja'fariyya cleave to notions such as the Muhammadan Light, intercession, and Prophetic visions. It is rather in the domain of ritual that the groups differentiate themselves, the modernist ones (who control their ritual more surely) in an attempt to situate themselves in a secure niche within the modern Islamic field. Whereas doctrine remains largely undisputed by shaykhs, LP in ritual is a crucial domain for control: first, because criticism of the orders was always effectively ritual criticism; second, because LP is a powerful tool for social purposes. The main difference between traditional and modernist groups is simply that the former—lacking the requisite consciousness and social structure—were unable to implement such reforms.

Although the social function of LP is critical (especially for modernist groups), it tends to be discursively invisible, because admitting a social function for LP might introduce an impure motive for ritual. Rather, when asked about the purpose of LP,

participants prefer to cite the spiritual advantages which accrue to such behavior.

However, in the modernist groups the social function attains some discursive presence as well, due to the heightened importance of such a function and more intensive reflection about the group's social requirements generally.

I began with a theoretical review of Jakobson's language functions, followed by my own classification of 'communicative', 'affective', and 'ritual' language modes. It is useful now to return to this typology in order to gain a deeper insight into the role of LP in hadra. Of all the genres of LP, we have seen that inshad and speech are the most flexible, and therefore the most potent as social tools. Hizb, fawatih, and ad'iyya rely heavily on Qur'anic language, and are constrained by traditional ritual formulations. Speech and inshad are generally free of these restrictions. Inshad is particularly powerful, because it combines a musical and poetic language, the latter containing an arsenal of themes, symbols, and references. Furthermore, inshad is pragmatically flexible, including solo, group, and call-and-response formats. Inshad operates most powerfully in the affective mode (although it can also operate ritually and communicatively), while speech is generally strongest in the communicative mode (while operating also in the affective and ritual ones).

It is therefore noteworthy that modernist groups control and exploit resources of inshad and speech far more than traditional groups. As I argued in Chapter 1, affective and communicative language creates subjective effects, and therefore can be used in group ritual to create social effects very directly. Ritual LP is used to create objective effects in

a spiritual reality, as certified by a system of belief. As we observed in the syntactic analysis of Chapter 8, modernist groups strive to control affective and communicative modes, while traditional groups control mainly the ritual modes, often leaving inshad outside the realm of control, and dispensing with speech entirely. Strategies control communicative language in order to address explicitly what was previously left in the realm of what Bourdieu calls “doxa”, that which “goes without saying”; control of affective language allows the modernist group to control the hadra’s emotional “charge”. These tasks are critical if Sufism is to be defended and supported in the modern period.

It appears that the social utility of LP is only recognized at the level of the group, under the same conditions required for group-level strategies to be formulated. When individuals think about ritual purpose, they tend to conceive of spiritual effects as the principal aim. Therefore, when the ability to strategize is lacking, LP tends toward the ritual mode only; such is the case in the traditional orders. When the conditions for group-level strategies arise, LP starts to adopt a more social function, which is realized in the affective and communicative modes.

In the two modernist cases, we have witnessed the dominance of each. For these as well as other modernist groups, hadra is a means of controlling meaning and affect, which helps to form and maintain the social group. But each tariqa presents its unique strategies for doing so, which are suited to the structure to be formed or maintained. The Jazuliyya focus on affect (especially in inshad), which forms horizontal bonds of communality; the Ja‘fariyya focus on communication (in inshad and speech), which serves

to create vertical relations of respect and distance. The Ja'fariyya also perform a significant amount of LP in the ritual mode (*hizb*, and a lengthy *wird* to be performed at home; both employing *'ilm al-huruf* for the determination of some repeat counts); this material (largely adopted from the traditions of Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris) serves socially as a means of linking the group to its Idrisiyya past. In the Jazuliyya, on the other hand, the role of purely ritual-mode LP is relatively small.

In the traditional *turuq*, we find a contrast between center and periphery. The center is focussed on ritual language (as in Bm), because group-level strategies provide nothing else, while the presence of group leadership precludes a free indulgence in ecstatic *dhikr*. At the periphery which is controlled by a strong leader, one may find affective and communicative language which is strategically useful for the local group (though *not* for the *tariqa* as a whole); here one discerns the nascent new order, about to break from its parent. But if the periphery is weakly controlled, then affective LP may emerge, providing ecstatic experience which fulfills no particular social role with respect to the local group, but rather serves the individual interests of participants according to context; this is what we observed in Bh.

* * *

This dissertation has attempted to examine the role of LP in strategically supporting the social position of particular Sufi orders, as a means of understanding why particular orders have succeed in adapting to the social space of late 20th-century Egypt. I have concluded that while LP may support the order socially, it is the order's social

structure which allows or precludes the development of strategies for control of LP in ritual. Therefore, modernist orders are able to employ LP to support themselves, while traditional orders are unable to do so. Why, then, are the traditional orders still so much more widespread?

Because of hysteresis, adaptation is not related to the total population of a Sufi order, but rather to its rate of growth (or perhaps rate of change in the rate of growth). Unfortunately, precise statistics are not available for comparison. But it becomes evident upon inspection of mawlids and mawkibs (using criteria such as dress, as well as banners giving the name and city of each tariqa bayt participating) that the traditional orders remain dominant throughout the Egyptian countryside, particularly in Upper Egypt, and among the less educated. Modernist orders such as the Jazuliyya and Ja‘fariyya, on the other hand, maintain their strongest presence in cities, especially in Cairo, and their membership is largely educated. Throughout the 20th century, Egypt has become increasingly urbanized and educated. These are signs which point to the potential dominance of the modernist groups, which have adopted strategies for recruitment among urban educated people.

The traditional turuq, formerly widespread throughout Egypt, have now declined except in more traditional village areas. Having been unable to adapt themselves to modern conditions, especially the double threat of secularists and Islamists, as well as the drastic changes in lifestyle which have taken place in Egyptian cities, their numbers have waned in urban areas, especially with the reduced influx of hereditary members. Due to

their decentralized social structures, they cannot be mobilized or controlled from the center, even when the central leader sees the need to do so. Thus during the mawlid of Sidi Ahmad al-Rifa'i, an important Rifa'i shaykh was forced to confess his lack of control, saying: "the chaos which you will observe outside the mosque is not the proper mawlid!". In recent years Rifa'iyya leaders have attempted to curtail ritual practices (such as use of the dabbus, a metal skewer used to pierce the body) considered bid'a by reformists and backwards by secularists, but they have not been successful in implementing such bans.

However traditional Sufi groups are so entrenched in the life of many Upper Egyptian villages that while they may wane, they will not soon disappear. Hysteresis is a most important factor in these areas, which are less subject to the effects of social change and Sufi criticism, phenomena which have tended to dominate in urban areas, and mainly in northern Egypt. Membership in traditional Sufi orders, tremendously widespread in rural Upper Egypt, is usually passed along family lines along with other social and religious traditions; no urban-based political or social movements can wipe them out quickly. On the contrary, rural traditionalism has acquired symbolic value (both for rural residents and the government) as a bulwark against undesirable cultural aspects of modernity, whether "Islamic fundamentalism" or "western depravity", and undoubtedly such traditionalism has done much to dampen the revolutionary force of political Islam in Egypt, as compared with more explosive areas such as Algeria.

Furthermore, it is always possible that new modernist movements may emerge out of the peripheries of older established groups. The significant fact that Sufi orders are

constituted socially and ritually, not doctrinally, leads to this conclusion. Neither the Rifa'iyya nor the Bayyumiyya nor any other traditional order comprises particular "beliefs" or "doctrines" which are inherently incompatible with modernity; rather all the Sufi orders share—more or less—the same ideas. It is only the social structures and rituals which differ, and which vary in their viability within modern urban life. When they are not viable, the tariqa as a whole may decline, but not in all of its parts. If a charismatic local Bayyumiyya or Rifa'iyya shaykh can seize full control of his local bayt, rework its rituals, and create a new centralized, cohesive, and committed group centered on himself, then he may be able to found a new modernist tariqa.

While the decline of the traditional order as a unified whole—as long as the old traditional society continues to erode—seems inevitable, this fact does not preclude the possibility of particular subgroups becoming reenergized and strategically moving in new directions. The decline of the whole does not preclude new dynamism emerging out of the parts; indeed this has already happened in the case of the Shadhiliyya and other "parent" orders which have spawned modernist groups. But there is no reason to suppose that Sufism—as a purely spiritual, doctrinal interpretation of Islam—should decline during an era in which the general interest in Islam as a metaphysical system is increasing much more rapidly than interest in its specifically political or revolutionary applications.

Appendix (I)

A. Hadra event lists, time-lines, transcriptions, and translations

For each of the four hadras analyzed in detail (Bm, Bh, Jz, Jf), an event list, time-line, Arabic transcription, and English translation, are provided below (that for Jf is deferred to the second part of the Appendix).

Major hadra events (beginnings and endings of sections) are indicated as fine vertical lines on each time-line plot; the meaning of each line can be determined by consulting the accompanying event list. In this list, the column labelled “seconds” designates the absolute time at which each event occurs. When the event names an entire section (e.g. “Fawatih”), the event is the start of the section. In addition, tempo (computed over 15 second time windows, spaced every 5 seconds) is plotted for all metric sections (dhikr and inshad¹), using darker lines. Note that a certain amount of “noise” in the tempo plots inevitably results from both measurement error (since beat timings are measured by ear) and quantization errors.²

Transcribed (Arabic) and translated (English) texts are presented within the context of an outline which serves to indicate the overall sequence of each hadra, and which can be correlated with the time-line via the event list. These are the texts on which variables defined in Chapter 7 were evaluated in Chapters 8 and 9. All inshad has been transcribed and translated in canonical form (see Chapter 7 for an explanation of this

concept); thus contiguous repeats are not indicated. Variants tend to be given in the Arabic transcription only, while the translation usually gives only the predominant variant (which is underlined in the Arabic transcription). Other LPSs (fawatih, ad'iyya, hizb, and speech) are not always transcribed, though they may be summarized in English. Each translated segment is preceded by an annotation [in square brackets] which serves to identify the textual source (whenever possible), describe its meaning and use in the hadra, and provide additional commentary. Note that the right-hand column of inshad translations, as well as other symbols in-text, are codes used for semantic analysis (see Chapter 9 for explanations of these codes). For each section, lines are numbered (on the right for Arabic transcriptions; on the left for English translations) using consecutive integers (i.e., 1,2,3...); when it occurs, the letter 'm' denotes a recurring *madhhab* (refrain) for group or call-response inshad. In the Arabic transcriptions, no annotations are given. However, transcribed and translated lines are numbered consistently, allowing the reader to correlate the original Arabic with its English translation and accompanying comments.

Supplemental qasidas from the diwan of Sidi Jabir al-Jazuli are provided following the Jazuli hadra in English translation only; these were included in the analytical corpus for certain categories of semantic analysis, as explained in Chapter 9 (where they were denoted 'Jza').

Transcriptions of hadra inshad are presented using Arabic letters only. No transliterations are provided, since there does not appear to be much advantage to doing so. In the past, accurate letter-substitutable transliterations served in place of Arabic

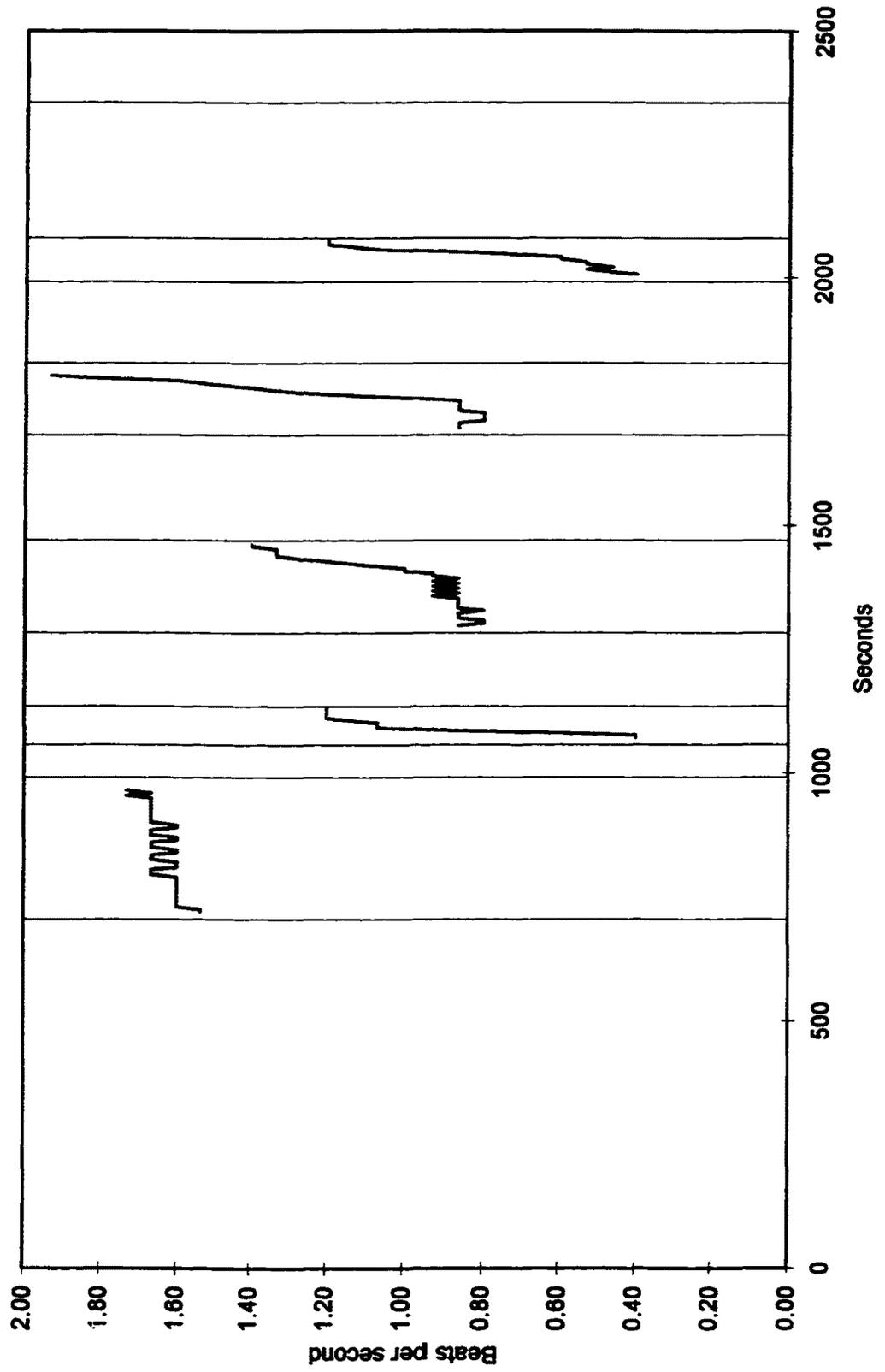
script because of the difficulty in typesetting Arabic; today it is relatively simple to include the Arabic script itself. Transliteration is helpful when readers unfamiliar with the original language should nevertheless be able to pronounce it, and for the transcriptions this did not seem necessary. Those who do know Arabic will find the original texts present, and those who do not will turn to the translations, which are provided in full.

1. Central Bayyumiyya hadra: Bm

a. Bm event list and time-line

Event	Seconds
al-Hizb al-Bayyumi al-Saghir (first part)	0
Dhikr "Ya Latif" start	705
Dhikr "Ya Latif" end	991
Dhikr "Ya Allah" without inshad	1057
Solo inshad without dhikr	1135
Dhikr "Allah" with solo inshad (1st munshid)	1283
Solo inshad without dhikr	1470
2nd munshid	1470
Fawatih	1470
Inshad	1486
3rd munshid	1576
Dhikr "Hayy" with solo inshad (3rd munshid)	1682
Dhikr "Hayy" ends	1806
al-Hizb al-Bayyumi al-Saghir (remainder)	1827
Conclusion	1992
Dhikr "Ya Allah" without inshad (procession to maqam)	1992
Fatiha, khitam, salawat	2080
Fawatih	2158
Ad'iyya (end with Fatiha)	2282
Du'a' to God	2312
Khitam	2332
Greetings	2354

**Bm events and tempos
(Diagram 6)**



b. *Bm hadra sequence and translation*

The following is a translation of the full transcription of Bm, on which variables defined in Chapter 7 were evaluated in Chapters 8 and 9. Comments between text segments are enclosed in square brackets. Note that the right-hand column of inshad transcriptions, as well as other symbols in-text, are codes used for analysis. Texts are presented in canonical form; therefore contiguous repeats are not indicated. (Turn to the Chapter 7 for an explanation of coding and canonical form.) Line numbers allow cross-referencing to the Arabic transcription.

1. al-Hizb al-Bayyumi al-Saghir (first part)

[The leader begins reciting the “small Bayyumi hizb”. He begins to recite the Fatiha (which begins the Bayyumi hizb) aloud, and is quickly joined by the rest. Together they recite the hizb until the “Ya Latif” section. Source: the Bayyumi small hizb is contained in several widely available Bayyumiyya prayer books, differences are minor; the official version is Mashyakha ‘Umum al-Sada al-Bayyumiyya n.d.:16-21.]

a. Dhikr “Ya Latif”

[This dhikr is embedded within the hizb (preceded and followed by hizb text). It is accompanied by clapping 4x per formula. Normatively it is repeated 129 times; on this occasion, 108 repeats occurred; this number does not appear to be significant. This dhikr is followed by a continuation of the hizb until dhikr “Ya Allah”.]

Oh Kind One!

b. Dhikr “Ya Allah” without inshad

[The formula is also included in the Hizb. It is repeated 4x non-metrically, then continues metrically together with clapping twice per repetition, then more rapidly 4x per formula. Normatively it should be repeated 66 times (66 being the numerical sum of its letters). On this occasion, it is repeated 37 times only. All stand during this section, and begin to perform dhikr movements.]

Oh God Oh God Oh God Oh God Oh God

2. Solo inshad without dhikr (first munshid)

[Source: oral tradition. The first munshid prefaces his dhikr performance with a non-metric segment in the style of a mawwal.]

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | The Controller ³ says: awaken, oh Bayyumi, oh My servant! | e |
| 2 | Request My satisfaction, and I will provide for you from My hand | e |
| 3 | Get up, fast, pray, and always pray on time | e |
| 4 | He who sleeps in the forenoon has no fortune with me | e |

[Another mawwal.]

- | | | |
|----|---|----|
| 5 | [The <i>qutb</i> - Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi] made a celebration and sent us an invitation | m |
| 6 | He whom passion invites comes quickly | l |
| 7 | Oh Shaykh al-'Arab ⁴ , care for a lover of God | s |
| 8 | If you are moved by longing, call out, saying "oh [Rifa'i - Badawi - Dasuqi - Jilani]!" | es |
| 9 | Then the shaykh of the tariqa will come quickly | s |
| 10 | And if fire breaks out in the <i>Umma</i> ⁵ , without cause ⁶ | p |
| 11 | The fire won't be extinguished unless the Prophet is watching | p |

3. Dhikr "Allah" with solo inshad (first munshid)

[Dhikr begins, accompanied by inshad and by clapping, two claps per repetition of the Name. This text is performed simultaneously with the following inshad.]

God God God God God...

[Inshad enters, performed by the same munshid. He leaves gaps in the inshad so as to create sense of dialog with the dhikr. Source: oral tradition of invocation and madad.]

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|---|
| 12 | Oh Prophet of God, a glance and help | Oh Abu al-'Aynayn ⁷ , oh Abu al- |
| | | Rabi'ayn ⁸ , a glance and help |

[Source: Sufi tradition, unknown authorship. Probably written.]

- | | | | |
|----|--|--|---|
| 13 | Rely on the Merciful in everything | No one failed who truly relied on Him | e |
| 14 | Trust in God, and be satisfied with His rule | and you'll receive that which you hope for from Him with grace | e |

[Source: Sufi tradition, found in many collections of Sufi inshad; unknown authorship. Only a fragment is performed, due to lack of time.]

- 15 The hearts of the lovers have eyes which see that which the sighted do not (9, insight) m
- 16 And they have wings which fly m
without feathers (4, arcana)

[The dhikr ends, and the munshid interrupts his qasida to conclude with ubiquitous final petition used by all munshidin as a conclusion.]

- 17 Oh Prophet of God, help⁹

4. Solo inshad without dhikr

a. Second munshid

i. Fawatih

[The second munshid now takes his turn. The following prefatory sequence of fawatih is spoken, before he begins inshad. Note that the munshid has freedom to create his own performative space. Opening with fawatih is usually the prerogative of the hadra leader. But this tariqa lacks strong central control, and (reflecting this fact) the hadra is not firmly controlled either. The munshidin, who may come from outside (this munshid belongs to the Dayfiyya order) are free to perform as they like, within a wide latitude. A munshid normally can use the fawatih, recited to selected persons present, as means of establishing his social position, and this is what the munshid now does.]

- 18 The Fatiha! May God cure the ill.
- 19 The Fatiha for my uncle¹⁰, Shaykh Muhammad al-Bay
- 20 and my uncle Shaykh Ibrahim
- 21 and my uncle Shaykh Ramzi, and our brethren¹¹
- 22 Help oh Sidi ‘Ali¹²

ii. Inshad

[The munshid sings solo non-metric inshad, without dhikr. It is a typical madih, praising the Prophet objectively without involving the subject emotionally. The poetic form is a mawwal (in six lines), although the munshid calls it simply “madih”, rejecting the word “mawwal”, apparently for its secular connotations. He says he is illiterate, and has learned such poems by listening to others. Each poem exists for him in a fluid state, exhibiting slight differences with every performance. The first line is merely

introductory and expressive of the general madih mood. The melody is improvised in its details, but is standard for the mawwal genre, starting low, and moving higher; finally, cadencing with a qafla which signals to all that he has finished.]

23 My beloved, our master the Prophet

[The mawwal proper begins here. The rhyme scheme of the six lines is: aaabba]

24 The day the Prophet emigrated, China and the Levant were joyful¹³ p

25 They said: today's a holiday, worry and sorrow have disappeared p

26 He walked upon thorns, our master the Prophet, and they became roses and
flowers¹⁴ p

27 My Lord gave him complete beauty and excellence p

28 The Lord of worshippers, who has all beauty and excellence, selected him p

29 The branch bowed to him¹⁵, and he was a rose and flower p

b. Third munshid

[The third munshid now takes his turn. He starts with an improvisational madih in the form of a call to the Prophet, similar to madad. Such a sequence of vocative madih formulas is typical of the way many professional munshidin begin their performances. This segment is a non-metric solo; there is no dhikr.]

30 Oh Imam of the messengers¹⁶

31 Oh security for the frightened

32 Oh salvation of the spiritually lost

33 Oh leader of the free and courageous¹⁷

34 Oh honorable of both lineages¹⁸

35 Oh kohl-colored of eyes

36 Oh red of cheeks

37 Oh possessor of a beauty mark, and a sign¹⁹

38 Oh grandfather of Sayyidna al-Hasan, and our Lord Sayyidna al-Husayn

39 Oh light of my eye

5. Dhikr "Hayy" with solo inshad (third munshid)

[Dhikr, accompanied by inshad, below.]

Living Living Living Living Living

[The same (third) munshid accompanies the dhikr with the following inshad, sung metrically and timed so that the last word of each line (“Hayy”) matches the dhikr. Source: Unknown. (Classical Arabic)]

- | | | | |
|----|---|--|----|
| 40 | It vanishes, and its happiness
vanishes; | what remains is the Living One ²⁰ | pe |
| 41 | It vanishes, and its happiness
vanishes; | nothing remains but the Living One | pe |
| 42 | In you is the origin | your beauty, oh masters | ? |

[Next he turns to what is perhaps the most famous madih, sung for the Prophet by the inhabitants of Madina upon his entrance to the city after completing the Hijra (emigration), in the year 1 AH. This munshid always uses it to close the hadra.]

- | | | | |
|----|--|--|---|
| 43 | The full moon ²¹ rose over us | coming from the paths to the
farewell ²² | p |
| 44 | Thanks are incumbent upon us | as long as people pray to God | p |
| 45 | Oh you sent among us | you brought the order to be
obeyed ²³ | p |
| 46 | You came and honored Madina | welcome oh best of missionaries | p |

[The following lines are to be found in many a traditional madih; it is hard to say what source might have been used. (Light classical Arabic.)]

- | | | | |
|----|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| 47 | My beloved, oh Muhammad | Oh Imam of both Qiblas ²⁴ | l |
| 48 | You are the sun, you are the moon ²⁵ | | p |

[Source: Unknown. The munshid sings these lines as the dhikr speeds up.]

- | | | | |
|----|--|------------------------------|---|
| 49 | By the parents I am merciful ²⁶ | by the parents I am merciful | ? |
| 50 | By the white of face | | ? |

[The dhikr ends by signal of the hadra leaders; the munshid jumps to the standard close]

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|--|--|
| 51 | Oh Messenger of God, help! | | |
|----|----------------------------|--|--|

6. al-Hizb al-Bayyumi al-Saghir (second part)

[The entire group now sits and together recites the remainder of the Hizb. Food is distributed.]

7. Conclusion

- a. Dhikr “Ya Allah” without inshad (procession to maqam)

[All stand and process to the maqam of Sidi ‘Ali, while chanting this phrase in a quasi-metric style. When all have arrived the tempo quickens.]

Oh God oh God oh God oh God oh God

- b. Fatiha, Khitam, salawat

[Recited loudly by the group. For text, see chapter discussing genres of LP.]

- c. Fawatih

[Led by solo; all respond with the fatiha, quietly]

- d. Ad‘iyya

[Led by solo; all respond with “Amin”. They end with the Fatiha.]

- e. Khitam

[Final recitation of the khitam.]

- f. Greetings

c. Bm hadra sequence and transcription

1. al-Hizb al-Bayyumi al-Saghir (first part)

a. Dhikr “Ya Latif”

يا لطيف يا لطيف يا لطيف يا لطيف يا لطيف

b. Dhikr “Ya Allah” without inshad

يا الله يا الله يا الله يا الله يا الله

2. Solo inshad without dhikr (first munshid)

- 1 يقول المهيمن تنبه يا يوم يا عبدي
- 2 واطلب رضايا وأنا أعطيك من يدي
- 3 قم صوم وصلّى وحافظ على الصلاة بدري
- 4 واللي ينام الضحى مالوش نصيب عندي
- 5 [القطب - سيدي علي البيومي] عامل فرح شيع لنا الداعي
- 6 واللي دعاه الغرام يجي على القدم ساعي
- 7 محب لله يا شيخ العرب راعي
- 8 وإن هفك الشوق إنده وقول يا [رفاعي - بدوي - دسوقي - جيلاني]
- 9 شيخ الطريقة يجيلك على القدم ساعي
- 10 وإن هبت النار على الأمة بلا داعي
- 11 ما تنظفي النار إلا إن كان النبي مراعي

3. Dhikr "Allah" with solo inshad (first munshid)

يا أبا العينين يا أبا الربييعين نظرة ومدد	يا رسول الله نظرة ومدد	12
فما خاب حقا من عليه توكل	توكل على الرحمن في الأمر كله	13
تنال الذي ترجوه منه تفضلا	وكن واثقا بالله وارضى بحكمه	14
ترى ما لا يرى للناظرين	قلوب العاشقين لها عيون	15
	وأجنحة تطير بغير ريش	16
	يا رسول الله مدد	17

4. Solo inshad without dhikr

a. Second munshid

i. Fawatih

الفاحة ربنا يشفي كل مريض	18
الفاحة لعمي الشيخ محمد البيه	19
وعمي الشيخ إبراهيم	20
وعمي الشيخ رمزي وإخوانا	21
مدد يا سيدي علي	22

ii. Inshad

حبيبي سيدنا النبي	23
يوم ما هاجر النبي فرح الصيين والشام	24

- 25 قالوا نهار عيد زال الهمّ والشامة
 26 خَطَرٌ عَلَى الشُّوكِ سِيدِنَا النَّبِيِّ أَصْبَحَ وَرَدٌ وَشَامَةٌ
 27 رَبِّي عَطَاهُ كُلَّ الْجَمَالِ وَالْحُسْنِ
 28 اصْطَفَاهُ رَبُّ الْعِبَادِ عِنْدَهُ كُلُّ الْجَمَالِ وَالْحُسْنِ
 29 طَاطَأَ لَهُ الْغُصْنُ أَصْبَحَ وَرَدٌ وَشَامَةٌ

b. Third munshid

- 30 يَا إِمَامَ الْمُرْسَلِينَ
 31 يَا أَمَانَ الْخَائِفِينَ
 32 يَا نَجَاةَ الْهَالِكِينَ
 33 يَا قَائِدَ الْحَرِّ الْمُحَايِدِينَ
 34 يَا شَرِيفَ النَّسَبِينَ
 35 يَا أَكْحَلَ الْعَيْنِينَ
 36 يَا أَحْمَرَ الْخَدَّيْنِ
 37 يَا أَبْرَ شَامَةٍ وَعِلَامَةٍ
 38 يَا جَدَّ سَيِّدِنَا الْحَسَنِ وَمَوْلَانَا سَيِّدِنَا الْحُسَيْنِ
 39 يَا ضِيَاءَ عَيْنِي

5. Dhikr "Hayy" with solo inshad (third munshid)

- حَيِّ حَيِّ حَيِّ حَيِّ حَيِّ ...
 40 تَفَنَّى وَيَفَنَّى نَعِيمَهَا
 41 تَفَنَّى وَيَفَنَّى نَعِيمُهَا
 وَيَتَّقَى الْوَاحِدَ الْحَيَّ
 وَمَا يَتَّقَى إِلَّا الْوَاحِدَ الْحَيَّ

حسنك يا سياد	تبقى فيك اصل	42
من ثنيات الوداع	طلع البدر علينا	43
ما دعا لله داع	وجب الشكر علينا	44
جئت بالأمر المطاع	أيها المبعوث فينا	45
مرحبًا يا خير داع	جئت شرفت المدينة	46
يا إمام القبلتين	حييي يا محمد	47
	أنت شمس أنت قمر	48
وبالوالدين أكون راحمًا	وبالوالدين أكون راحمًا	49
	وأبيض الوجه	50
	يا رسول الله المدد	51

6. al-Hizb al-Bayyumi al-Saghir (second part)

7. Conclusion

- a. Dhikr “Ya Allah” without inshad (procession to maqam)

يا الله يا الله يا الله يا الله يا الله

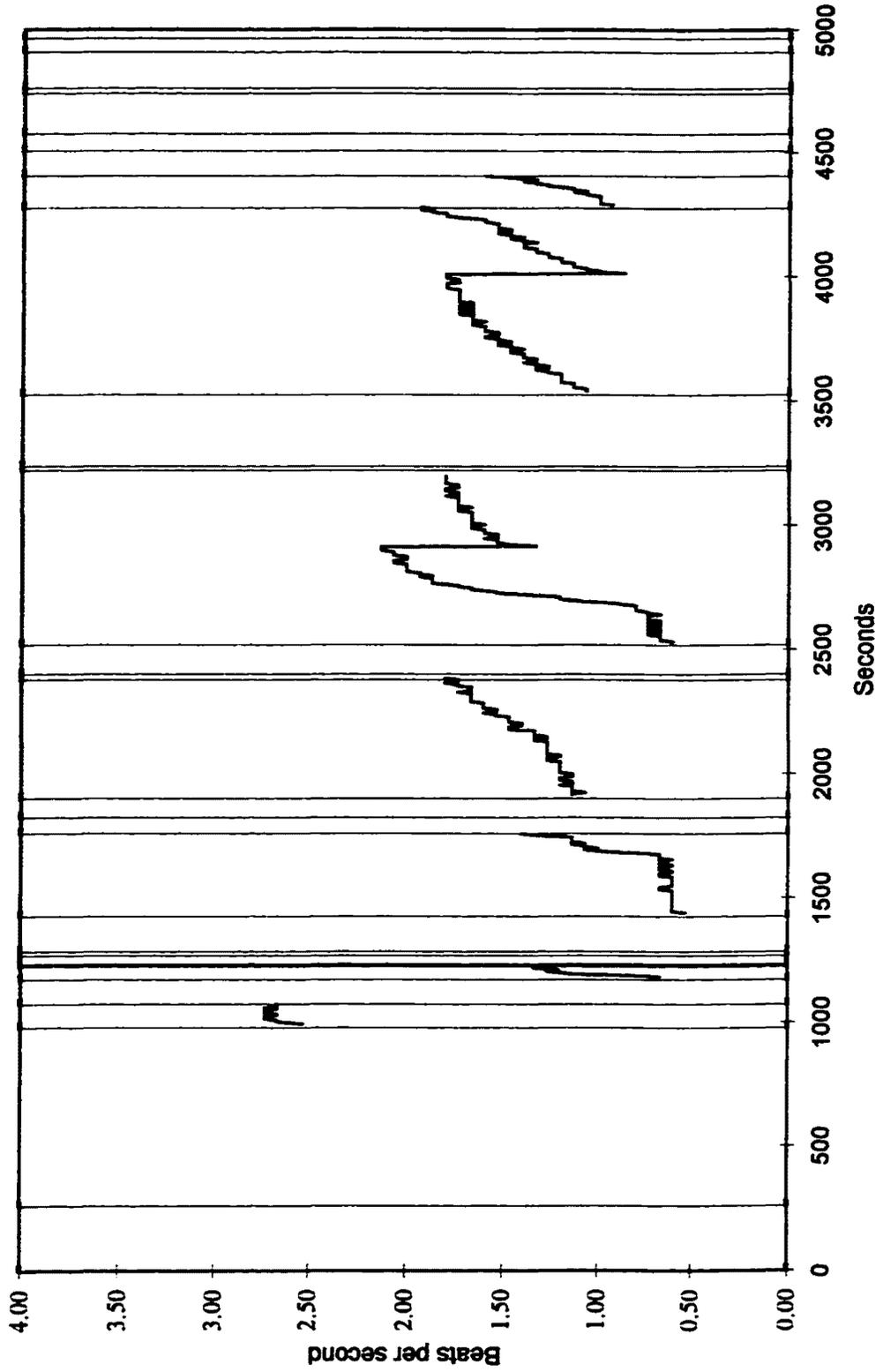
- b. Fatiha, Khitam, Salawat**
- c. Fawatih**
- d. Ad'iyya**
- e. Khitam**
- f. Greetings**

2. Local Bayyumiyya hadra: Bh

a. Bh event list and time-line

Event	Seconds
Fawatih	0
al-Hizb al-Bayyumi al-Saghir (first part)	259
Dhikr "Ya Latif" start	977
Dhikr "Ya Latif" end	1071
Dhikr "Ya Allah" without inshad	1169
Dhikr "Ya Allah" end	1224
Dhikr "La ilaha illa Allah" (non-metric)	1231
Dhikr "La ilaha illa Allah" ends	1266
First munshid	1284
Non-metric inshad	1284
Dhikr "Allah" with inshad	1424
Fawatih	1759
Non-metric inshad	1823
Dhikr "Allah" with inshad	1899
Dhikr "Allah" with inshad ends	2377
Second munshid	2400
Non-metric inshad	2400
Dhikr "Allah" with inshad	2517
Dhikr "Allah" ends	3220
Non-metric inshad	3238
Dhikr "Allah" with inshad	3524
Dhikr "Hayyun Hayy" with inshad	4275
Conclusion	4405
Conclusion ends; informal conversation starts	4506
Hizb conclusion	4575
Informal conversation	4739
Fawatih	4761
Conclusion	4908
Ends	4963

**Bh events and tempos
(Diagram 7)**



b. Bh hadra sequence and translation

The following is a translation of the full transcription of Bh, on which variables defined in Chapter 7 were evaluated in Chapters 8 and 9. Comments between text segments are enclosed in square brackets. Note that the right-hand column of inshad transcriptions, as well as other symbols in-text, are codes used for analysis. Texts are presented in canonical form; therefore contiguous repeats are not indicated. (Turn to the Chapter 7 for an explanation of coding and canonical form.) Line numbers allow cross-referencing to the Arabic transcription.

1. al-Fawatih

[The hadra begins with calls for the Fatiha to be recited for many individuals. The hadra leader (mustaftih) recites each dedication solo in a rapid chant roughly centered on one main recitation pitch, followed by group response (given below) aloud, and then silent recitation of the Fatiha by each participant. The mustaftih may differ at each performance, but the sequence of fawatih is more or less fixed for each one, depending on his habit, although small variations are often introduced. (The first call for Fatiha of this hadra was not recorded, however the missing material is filled in from another hadra of the same type with the same mustaftih leading.)]

[The leader recites each of the following numbered phrases in turn. Each is followed by a group response (in which everyone sings on a different pitch level; the result is therefore non-tonal) presented below, and then a period of silence during which everyone recites the fatiha under his breath. Then the leader goes on to the next phrase. On this occasion, the leader's eight phrases are given below. Note that he begins with the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt, then various "fours", and then Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi and his followers. Next come the four qutbs, addressed individually. The reader will note the emphasis placed on Sidi Ahmad al-Rifa'i in particular, because the reciter is himself Rifa'i, not Bayyumi.]

- 1 The respected intercessor Mustafa, may God bless him and give him peace, and the noble people of his house, from East to West: our lord and master Hasan, our lord and master Husayn, our lady Sayyida Zaynab, the leader of the councils,²⁷ my master 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin, to them from all of us the Fatiha!
- 2 The four qutb-s, the four anjab, the four khalifa-s, the four rightly guided, the four carriers of the Throne and Book, to them from all of us the Fatiha!
- 3 The master of the hadra, my master 'Ali Nur al-Din al-Bayyumi, his khalifa-s,

- naqib-s, their disciples and students, those following their way, to them from all of us the Fatiha!
- 4 My master, teacher, and exemplar, my master Ahmad al-Rifa'i, his khalifa-s, naqib-s, their disciples and students, those following their way, to them from all of us the Fatiha!
- 5 My master 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, his khalifa-s, naqib-s, their disciples and students, those following their way, to them from all of us the Fatiha!
- 6 My master Ahmad al-Badawi, his khalifa-s, naqib-s, their disciples and students, those following their way... my master Ibrahim al-Dasuqi, his khalifa-s, naqib-s, their disciples and students, those following their way...my master Sa'd al-Din al-Jibawi, his khalifa-s, naqib-s. their disciples and students, those following their way, to them from all of us the Fatiha!
- 7 The inhabitants of Makka, the inhabitants of Jadda, people of Badr, nomads and town-dwellers, the prophets and virtuous men of God among them; Egypt and its scholars, virtuous men of God; Jadda and its prophets and scholars and virtuous men of God, to them from all of us the Fatiha!
- 8 Every angel in heaven, every saint on earth, the inhabitants of this place, whether angel, human, or jinni, and those who preceded us in their faith, to them from all of us the Fatiha!

[The group responds to each of the above with the following text recited aloud; it is followed in turn by a silent recitation of the Fatiha:]

Oh God, bless our master Muhammad, may God bless him, his family, and companions, and give them peace.

2. al-Hizb al-Bayyumi al-Saghir (first part)

[The leader continues with the following introduction to the hizb:]

People of good tidings, warning...

[Then the leader begins reciting the "small Bayyumi hizb". He begins to recite the Fatiha (which begins the Bayyumi hizb) aloud, and is quickly joined by the rest. Together they recite the hizb until the "Ya Latif" section. The Bayyumi small hizb is contained in several widely available Bayyumiyya prayer books. differences are minor; the official version is Mashyakha 'Umum al-Sada al-Bayyumiyya n.d.:16-21.]

a. Dhikr "Ya Latif"

[This dhikr is embedded within the hizb (preceded and followed by hizb text). It is accompanied by clapping 4x per formula. Normatively it is repeated 129 times; on this occasion, 66 repeats occurred (this number is also significant, being the numerological sum for "Ya Allah"). This dhikr is followed by a continuation of the hizb until dhikr "Ya Allah".]

Oh Kind One!

b. Dhikr “Ya Allah”

[The formula is also included in the Hizb. It is repeated 3x non-metrically, then continues metrically together with clapping twice per repetition, then more rapidly 4x per formula. Normatively it should be repeated 66 times (66 being the numerical sum of its letters). On this occasion, it is repeated 31 times only.]

Oh God Oh God Oh God Oh God Oh God

3. Dhikr “La ilaha illa Allah” without inshad

[The group now leaves the hizb text; they will return to complete it at the end of the hadra. Dhikr is prefaced by solo recitation of the first portion of a hadith of the Prophet, praising the merits of the *tahlil*, or formula of tawhid, which is completed by the first repetition of the dhikr formula which follows.]

The best of what I and the prophets before me said was:

[The dhikr follows. This is the statement of *tawhid* (God’s unity), the first part of the Islamic *shahada* (confession of faith). The recitation of “la ilaha illa Allah” is the most common way to begin performing dhikr among all the *turuq*; it is considered a most beneficial form of mental and spiritual preparation. Here it is repeated three times, non-metrically.]

There is no deity but Allah there is no deity but Allah there is no deity but Allah

4. First munshid: Shaykh ‘Abd al-Sattar

a. Non-metric inshad with dhakkira responses

[First there is a brief (and largely academic) dispute of courtesy about who will sing first, an important sign of the hadra’s improvisational structure. Such an exchange would never happen in the more formal hadras at this *tariqa*’s center, or in any modernist *tariqa*, whether at the center or periphery. Although Egyptian social norms favor the older munshid, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Sattar, the hadra is too informal and variable from one week to the next for there to be any established order. One of the participants invites ‘Abd al-Sattar to start (spoken):]

1 Oh you who are²⁸...oh shaykh²⁹

[‘Abd al-Sattar with a few words resembling *Siriyaniyya*³⁰, as is his habit when startled, and then asks the other to bless the Prophet, meaning in this case: listen to me, feigning protest:]

2 Bless the Prophet!

[He quickly agrees to begin, and starts much as he would in the mosque hadra:]

3 The Fatiha! May God cure the ill.

[followed by silent recitations of the fatiha by all present]

[Source: oral tradition inshad. This section sung non-metric, without continuous dhikr. The sequence is similar to what professional munshidin use in mawlid or private layla contexts; it is not poetry but displays a rough rhyme sense, a kind of *saja*. Every few lines the congregation chimes in with another slow non-metric repetition of the dhikr “la ilaha illa Allah”. The following lines are all petitions to the Prophet Muhammad, at the same time praising him with various titles:]

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 4 | Help, oh beloved of the Lord of the Worlds | Help, oh intercessor for the sinners |
| 5 | Help, oh livelihood of the <i>maddahin</i> | Help, oh master of the believers |
| 6 | Help, oh master of those who prostrate; ³¹ | Help, oh master of those who bow ³² |
| 7 | Help, oh <i>Ibn Rama</i> ³³ | oh you who are shaded by a cloud ³⁴ |
| 8 | Treasure of he who hopes from you, | oh Prophet, on Resurrection Day |
| 9 | Oh grandfather of Hasan and Husayn, | heal for me my illness ³⁵ |

[Here the munshid completes a *qafila* (melodic cadence) and pauses; the dhakkira recite: “la ilaha illa Allah” once non-metrically. Then the munshid continues in the same solo and non-metric style. The following petitions are directed to the saints generally.]

- 10 Oh you who save the ill,
 11 help, oh saints of God
 12 all of you, for people say about you that you save the ill
 13 By the truth of the beautiful Prophet’s tomb³⁶ I am ill; do treat me!

[The munshid here completes another *qafila*; the dhakkira recite: “la ilaha illa Allah” as before. Then he sings a colloquial text arranged improvisationally out of traditional poetic fragments.]

- | | | | |
|----|---|--------------------------------|---|
| 14 | Help, oh masters ³⁷ | release my bonds ³⁸ | s |
| 15 | I have no hands ³⁹ | I’ve no power, and so call you | s |
| 16 | I’m tied by oath to you, | from youth till old age | s |
| 17 | Forgive me, cure me, accept me, | even if I may transgress | s |
| 18 | For every sin, for the Prophet’s sake, forgive me | | s |

b. Dhikr “Allah” with inshad

[Here the dhikr proper begins with “Allah”. The inshad text presented below is not poetry, but rather consists of praises to God, followed by a series of invocations of and supplications to the Ahl al-Bayt and

saints. Such an introduction is quite standard in popular dhikr inshad of the mawliids. The initial praise of God is designed to fit with the dhikr: the munshid asks a question, and allows the dhakkira to supply the answer with their dhikr recitation. The large range of names reflects a personal spiritual topography of the munshid: he names those saints whom he knows; such individuality is possible because of the loose structure of the dhikr, and it helps in allowing the munshid to express himself and thus raise the emotional level. It is also a kind of net by which to catch his audience, without knowing precisely whom they may respond to: this technique is necessary due to his loose connection to the group (which is itself only loosely bound): he is not Bayyumi himself, and only attends as a quasi-outsider. Neither condition obtains under the more controlled conditions in a modernist tariqa, or even in the central hadra of the Bayyumiyya. Inshad is metric, filling in the spaces in such a way as to boost the dhikr; note that this technique is almost never applied in the modernist turuq, where the dhikr maintains a more distanced relation from the inshad. In this way the munshid is able to boost emotional energy. He interlocks with the dhakkira, repeating "Allahalla" after them as indicated in the right column.]

1	The 'Arsh is for whom?	Allah Allah
2	The Kursi is for whom?	Allah Allah
3	The Lawh is for whom?	Allah Allah
4	The Heavens are for whom?	Allah Allah
5	Help, help	Allah Allah
6	Al al-Bayt	Allah Allah
7	Sayyidna al-Husayn	Allah Allah
8	Oh Abu 'Ali ⁴⁰	Allah Allah
9	Leader of the Diwan ⁴¹	Allah Allah
10	High of station ⁴²	Allah Allah
11	Zayn al-'Abidin ⁴³	Allah Allah
12	Nafisat al-'Ulum ⁴⁴	Allah Allah
13	Mother of the Oppressed	Allah Allah
14	Sidi 'Ali ⁴⁵	Allah Allah
15	Help, help	Allah Allah
16	Sitti Sakina	Allah Allah
17	Sitti Ruqayya ⁴⁶	Allah Allah
18	Sayyida 'Atika ⁴⁷	Allah Allah
19	Wife of the Prophet ⁴⁸	Allah Allah
20	Mother of the faithful	Allah Allah
21	Sayyida 'A'isha	Allah Allah

22	Arba‘ Aqtab ⁴⁹	Allah Allah
23	Abu al-‘Alamayn ⁵⁰	Allah Allah
24	Sidi Ibrahim ⁵¹	Allah Allah
25	Help, help	Allah Allah
26	Shaykh al-‘Arab ⁵²	Allah Allah
27	Sidi ‘Ali ⁵³	Allah Allah
28	Bashta al-Amara ⁵⁴	Allah Allah
29	Sidi ‘Abd al-‘Al ⁵⁵	Allah Allah
30	Help, help	Allah Allah
31	Qutb al-Sa‘id ⁵⁶	Allah Allah
32	Qamar Abu Tij	Allah Allah
33	Sahib al-farah ⁵⁷	Allah Allah
34	Sidi Jalal	Allah Allah
35	Sidi ‘Abd al-Rahim ⁵⁸	Allah Allah
36	Ya Qinawi	Allah Allah
37	Ya Jabanat Aswan ⁵⁹	God, help, help
38	Sidi...‘Ali...Bayyu...madad ⁶⁰	

[Source: Traditional mawwal material, but reconstituted improvisationally so as to reinforce the dhikr rhythm. Each word, detached from its poetic context, is used and repeated percussively; sometimes even words are broken into constituent phonemes so as to match the dhikr rhythm, so that it is nearly impossible to hear any poetic continuity, or even words, in the text, which has already been drastically reorganized from its source material, a four-line mawwal (ruba‘i) plus three coda lines which the munshid provided in an interview as follows:

I asked about the way of the masters; they said: etiquette is required
Safeguard your integrity, and the eyes and hearts will watch over you
Goodness comes to the wretched
And the everlasting Paradise preponderates [for them]
Oh my uncle, by the Prophet, watch over me with your eyes, glance at me
For my nafs fools me, causing me to be proud
Oh my uncle, watch over me, with the blessings of the Prophet’s family

This text as actually performed—excerpted, rearranged, interspersed with other material—is roughly as follows. Note that this transcription cannot do justice to the pauses, repetitions, and rhythmic plays which

fragment the text presented here into small units suitable for interlocking with the dhikr, and thereby rendering it nearly incomprehensible: textual clarity is sacrificed to the rhythmic flow. The text is directed to an ambiguous referent (whether referred to as a “master” or “uncle”): Prophet, Ahi al-Bayt, saint, shaykh—all those who are close to God. The munshid seeks their assistance in controlling the ill effects of his *nafs*, or base self.]

- | | | | |
|----|--|--|---|
| 39 | I asked about the way of the masters; | they said etiquette is required | s |
| 40 | I asked...integrity...my uncle ⁶¹ | come to me...a glance from your eyes ⁶² | s |
| 41 | Watch over me; my self is fooling | me; I have become proud | s |
| 42 | Don't fool me | and tell me that my station is high ⁶³ | e |
| 43 | Oh you who stay up at night, awaken | me; I have become proud | s |

[As the dhikr *tabaqa* is brought to a close by the *mustafih* in charge, the munshid is forced to curtail his *inshad*; as usual he ends with the standard supplicatory phrase:]

- 44 Oh Prophet of God, help!

c. Fawatih

[The first *tabaqa* (segment) of dhikr now stops. Following is a *fawatih* section which is mainly spoken. Note that these *fawatih* are initiated by the munshid, as a gesture of respect establishing his relation to those present, and, more specifically, in response to (or anticipation of) *nuqut* (tips). Thus the *fawatih* recited here (in contrast to the more formal *fawatih* which open the *hadra*) are mainly for participants actually in the room, or their family and friends. Such exchanges form an important part of the construction of relationships between munshidin and audience when the munshid's identity is primarily as munshid rather than as member of the group. They are generally emphasized when the performer is a professional (or semi-professional, as here), and similar exchanges are to be found in all forms of live popular music (though at a wedding, say, the *mutrib* would be more likely to call out greetings (*tahiyat*) than call for the *fatiha* in response to *nuqut*). Here, the *fawatih* are recited without leaving a break for silent recitation, thus further reinforcing their significance as part of a human exchange which establishes his position in performance by acknowledging his relationships to others, rather than as a purely spiritual act. In the midst of these *fawatih*, the munshid begins his *inshad* performance.]

- 1 The *Fatiha* for the deceased Fahim⁶⁴, may God's mercy for him be wide
- 2 The *Fatiha* for Shaykh Ibrahim⁶⁵
- 3 The *Fatiha* for my uncle, Shaykh Hasan⁶⁶, may our Lord⁶⁷ grant him good fortune
- 4 The *Fatiha* for 'Umar⁶⁸, may our Lord bless him
- 5 My beloved, Sayyidna al-Husayn!

[Sung]

6 Oh Lord! Oh Generous One!

[Spoken]

7 The Fatiha for the provider of *nafha*⁶⁹; may our Lord grant him good fortune, oh Lord!

8 Help, oh our master the Prophet.

[Sung]

9 Oh Almighty!

[Spoken]

10 The Fatiha for 'Umar, may our Lord grant him good fortune.

11 The Fatiha for my uncle, Shaykh Husayn al-Mashadli, to his followers and disciples, the Fatiha!

12 The Fatiha also for the Hajja⁷⁰, my our Lord bless her

13 The Fatiha to the provider of *nafha*, my uncle, Shaykh Bakri and his followers, the Fatiha!

d. Non-metric inshad without dhikr

[Sung non-metrically, without dhikr:]

1 Our Prophet, spirit of existence⁷¹

[The munshid sings a madih in the form of a seven line mawwal (mawwal suba'i) in the rhyme scheme aaabbba; the last line is a *qasfa* signalling the dhikr to begin. Note how the first three and last lines end in the same word; the fourth and fifth nearly do. But each repetition carries a different meaning, wordplay typical of the mawwal form. The use of mawwals in dhikr is common among professional munshidin performing in mawlid or laylas outside the turuq, whereas the turuq tend to prefer qasidas. However in a decentralized tariqa such as the Bayyumiyya, which does not attempt to control inshad, use of the mawwal form is frequent.]

2 I praise the beautiful Prophet, his friend⁷² was ecstatic with his Book⁷³ P

3 The heart of our master the Prophet was gentle when he saw the orphan p
with his book⁷⁴

4 And every sinner will hear, oh Prophet, his book⁷⁵ P

5 Among the miracles of the Prophet was that many Jews were as one⁷⁶ P

that he feels inspired to sing such poetry. It also creates an ecstatic mood in which rational understanding is minimal, and so in which heterodox themes are more acceptable than they would be if recited soberly. This material is reminiscent of the public hadra of mawliids and laylas.]

- | | | | |
|---|--|--|---|
| 6 | Layla's wineman ⁸³ doesn't concern
me; ⁸⁴ | he's in his <i>hal</i> and I'm in mine | m |
| 7 | <u>Layla's wineman stays up all night,</u> | <u>serving the lovers a pure and clear
drink</u> | m |
| 8 | <u>Layla's wineman-we came to the
barrel</u> | <u>[from which] he fills the cups with
an aged liquor (26, intoxication)</u> | m |

[Madad section. There is some response following each madad ("ya madad ya madad") from the other munshid, creating an extremely loose and informal quasi-strophic call/response format. The melody used is typical of the most famous munshid, Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami. Again, note the extremely broad repertoire of saint-names selected by the munshid which together form a spiritual topography of those areas of Egypt with which he is familiar, enabled by the munshid's freedom in performance, and demanded by the desire to create a high ecstatic state. He spent a number of years living in Alexandria, as will be evident from the number of Alexandrian saints recalled. Although many of these saints are widely known in Egypt, they represent his personal experience freely expressed in this free hadra, and would not generally be mentioned in a hadra with more central control, particularly in the modernist groups which limit the mentioning of saints.]

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 9 | Help, oh help ... oh Sidi 'Ali...oh Mawafi ⁸⁵ , help | |
| 10 | Help oh help...Aba al-Hasan ⁸⁶ ...help, oh help | |
| 11 | Oh help oh help oh help | Sayyidna al-Husayn, help oh help |
| 12 | Ghawth al-Zaman ⁸⁷ oh help oh help | Pride of men ⁸⁸ oh help oh help |
| 13 | Mother of kindness ⁸⁹ oh help oh help | High of station, oh mama, oh help ⁹⁰ |
| 14 | Help, help, oh help | Mother of the shrine, oh help, oh help |
| 15 | Help oh help oh help | Mother of coyness ⁹¹ , oh mama, help |
| 16 | Aba'l-'Abbas ⁹² , oh help, oh help | Oh Dandarawi, help, oh help |
| 17 | Our lord Busiri ⁹³ , oh help, oh help | help, help, oh help, oh help |
| 18 | Oh Aba'l-'Ula ⁹⁴ , oh help oh help | Spirit of spirits ⁹⁵ , oh help oh help |
| 19 | Yaqut al-'Arshi ⁹⁶ | Makan al-Din ⁹⁷ oh help oh help |
| 20 | Sayyidna al-Dardar ⁹⁸ , oh help | Sayyidna Muhammad, oh help oh help |

- 21 Carrier of burdens⁹⁹ oh help oh help, Sayyidna al-Mitwalli¹⁰⁰, oh help oh help
- 22 Sidi Muhammad al-‘Attar¹⁰¹ oh help ‘Abd al-Razzaq¹⁰², oh help, oh help
- 23 Sidi Jabir oh help, oh help Jabir Ansari¹⁰³, oh help, oh help
- 24 Oh Sidi Bishr oh help oh help bashir of the Prophet¹⁰⁴, oh help, oh help
- 25 oh help, oh help help, oh help oh help

[Here the madad melody ends. The following is sung with short pauses between phrases. timed to fit closely with the dhikr. divided into short repeated units. Only the second line, which itself is embellished with additional text, seems to be directly taken from a line of poetry, the rest is improvised using fragments of poetry and madad formulae:]

- 26 Oh my beloved, oh Muhammad, be my bondsman¹⁰⁵ sl
- 27 Ibn Rama¹⁰⁶, oh you who are shaded by the cloud¹⁰⁷; a treasure: we hope for you (oh my beloved, oh Muhammad) on Resurrection Day psl
- 28 Oh Ibn Rama
- 29 We came, and Layla intoxicated me; Oh my beloved, our master the Prophet, do look after us! ms
the Bride¹⁰⁸ (4, intoxication, eros)

[spoken. Having completed his segment, ‘Abd al-Sattar hands the hadra over to Abu Salih]

- 30 Please continue, uncle¹⁰⁹ Abu Salih

5. Second munshid: Abu Salih

a. Inshad without dhikr

[Another Sa‘idi munshid—Abu Salih—takes over. As is customary, he begins with a non-metric solo section containing madih and supplication, employing a simple melodic line for delivery. He also sings melismatic segments on the syllable “ah” as a means of musical-emotional expression.]

- i Save us, rescue us¹¹⁰, ask about us, don’t forget us, for you are our hope, oh my eye’s desire, ah, ah!

[He continues with a five-line mawwal (khumasi); there are ecstatic responses from the dhakkira, who are still seated.]

2 My beloved, by the rights of your eyes, and by the night watch, and my troubles,
ah, ah, ah

[Spoken interjection: he calls for the Fatiha to be recited.]

3 The Fatiha for Shaykh Ibrahim!

[He continues the mawwal, repeating from the beginning, and ending with a qafla on the last phrase, which signals the mustaftih to begin the dhikr.]

4 By the right of your eyes, oh our master the Prophet, and the nightwatch 1
and my trouble

5 You left me wounded all my life, oh my heart!¹¹¹ 1

6 I vow¹¹², if I reach the house of my beloved¹¹³ 1

7 To put my right¹¹⁴ on the window¹¹⁵ and pray, 1

8 And say to myself, this is the sanctuary of the Prophet, my sweetness¹¹⁶ 1

[Spoken: Fawatih, without pausing for group silent recitation. It is not enough that Shaykh ‘Abd al-Sattar has already performed fawatih for the same people (not to mention the fawatih before the hizb began); each munshid must recite fawatih for himself, thereby constructing his own ritual position with respect to other participants.]

9 For all present, the Fatiha

10 The Fatiha for the hadra, and the hadra’s hosts, and the Fatiha for Shaykh Ibrahim

b. Dhikr “Allah” with inshad

[Dhikr al-qalb begins. The munshid sings:]

1 Ah, ah, oh lover bless the Prophet!

[Then he turns to the following traditional madih, in colloquial Arabic. Although he will shortly turn to mystically more charged material, it is typical for munshidin to begin and end conventionally. The munshid responds to the intensive dhikr with intensive material; he also knows that dhakkira will not accept heterodox mystical poetry until they themselves are in a spiritually charged state. It is in this state—feeling more than rationally understanding—that they can best understand and appreciate it, and are least likely to react against it for whatever heterodox content it may contain. The poetry thus expresses a match between the hal of the munshid and the dhakkira. In the tariqa, by contrast, the poetry tends to be planned or restricted and so is more a stimulus to the hadra than a stimulus and response; there is less feedback.]

2 I praise the one whose feet diffuse and he who doesn’t bless him in his p
musk,

		heart, how regretful is he ¹¹⁷ ! (our lord the Prophet)	
3	The canal reed curved and bent (toward the beloved Prophet it bent ¹¹⁸),	until it was under the Prophet's control ^{119 120}	p
4	The sun worships his beauty, ¹²¹	and the moon is from his light	p
5	That is the master of the messengers ¹²² , there's never been his like before or since		p

[Here the 'asaya (metal stick) enters. The following qasida, sung frequently by the professional munshidin, is exceedingly difficult. He sings the text in permuted and freely varied form; sometimes an even shatra gets reused as odd, or vice versa. Not that it matters; it is the images and ideas, not their linear flow, which is important here. The melody is typical of those used by the professional munshidin to sing long qasidas. It is improvisational, but drawing on well-known simple melodic fragments, which repeat over and over. Unlike the teleological mawwal melody, which is always pushing toward its conclusion, the qasida melody is more static. Yet it does not repeat strophically, as do the group inshad melodies of the turuq. The intimate environment facilitates exchange with the dhakkira throughout, building emotion; the ecstatic atmosphere is further intensified by the munshid's use of vocables (such as "ha ha ha"). There is a gradual acceleration throughout.]

[Source: The qasida, widely used by munshidin, is almost always attributed to Sidi Ahmad al-Rifa'i, founder of the Rifa'iyya tariqa. However, the historical record indicates that he wrote nothing (Trimingham 1971:37). This qasida was most probably composed by his 19th follower, Abu'l-Huda al-Sayyadi, of Syria. A more heterodox qasida, combining such a profusion of heterodox metaphors of music, dance, intoxication, Christianity, esotericism, eroticism, orthodox Islam, together with strong intimations of mystical union and even self-apotheosis, could hardly be devised. Yet it is commonly performed by professional munshidin, and in Rifa'i circles. After hearing it sung, to great appreciation, by the famous munshid Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami, I resolved to find out what listeners thought of it. To my surprise no one had really stopped to consider what it meant, although a few were able to invent ingenious interpretations on the spot. This qasida, and others like it, appears to use language at the level of image and phrase as a means of evoking emotion within dhikr; it is not taken as an object of rational reflection, and indeed could not be without foregrounding dangerous collisions with orthodox Sunni Islam.]

6	I circumambulate ¹²³ around my essence, with cups of my wine,	and listen to the melodies in the tavern of my presence (10, union, intoxication, music)	m
7		<u>And beat my <i>duff</i> while my earthly body¹²⁴ dances¹²⁵ (5, music)</u>	m
8	<u>By my fire and my light I warm myself with love (4, union)</u>	<u>By the monastery and monks, by the priest, by my presence (4, Christian)</u>	m

9	<u>In my vine¹²⁶ I planted the heart in the blindness of the blindness (6, arcana)</u>	<u>then I became the caller, and from me is the answer (5, union)</u>	m
10	<u>She addresses me by night: I know her signs</u>	<u>and understand her meanings, though by intimations (8, eros)</u>	m
11	<u>I extolled my essence, for myself beside her [with her very dust]¹²⁷</u>	<u>if the spirits responded, they responded at my Ka'ba¹²⁸ (10, union)</u>	m
12	<u>She gathered the entire cosmos under her banner¹²⁹ (she gathered - the Majesty¹³⁰ gathered - the spirit gathered - my beloved gathered - the night gathered¹³¹): (5, eros)</u>	<u>Through her was my spirit revealed, and insight illuminated (5, insight)</u>	m

[He completes the previous line with a qafila, then inserts the following madad section:]

13	Oh help, oh help, oh help	Help, oh help, oh help, oh help
14	Spirit of existence, oh help	Our master Prophet, oh help, oh nourisher of the spirit
15	Oh help oh help, God, God	
16	Oh Aba al-'Alamayn oh Rifa'i help, oh help, oh help	
17	Possessor of miracles, oh help, Uncle Bayyumi ¹³² , oh help, oh help, oh help	
18	Sidi Ibrahim ¹³³ , oh help	
19	Our shaykh al-'Arab oh Badawi ¹³⁴ ; God, God	

[He then returns to the qasida.]

20	I called upon her, after I'd been desirous;	Then the deacon played for me the <i>mizmar</i> the night of consummation ¹³⁵ (10, eros, Christianity, music)	m
21	She gathered (she is the Majesty) the entire cosmos under her banner;	By it was my spirit revealed, and insight illuminated ¹³⁶	x
22	<u>My mountain crumbled when I</u>	<u>by her I established my states at the</u>	m

heard her through her,

time of my ornament¹³⁷ (11, altered
states)

[Brief madad section.]

23 Help, oh help help oh help help oh help Help oh dear name, oh Muhammad
24 Oh wide of honor, help

c. Non-metric inshad without dhikr

[The dhikr stops. The following is sung without dhikr, non-metrically, in a lower register. The munshid begins with a statement of Sufi doctrine: the date of the Resurrection is determined by God, while Muhammad will provide intercession.]

1 Ah, ah, ah, ah; the appointed time is God,¹³⁸ and the intermediary is Muhammad

[Source: Unknown. This poem is in the classical style of khamriyya (wine ode), of Abu Nuwas and others. Here, of course, the metaphoric resources receive an esoteric mystical interpretation. The qasida is adapted by context to refer to love of the Prophet while retaining its original emotional freight. The language is classical Arabic.]

2 Oh night, I awoke happy, without grief, I spent it in bliss, the sweetest of life ml
3 A cup of wine with other wines was mixed, mellowed in the hand of a gazelle, ml
4 And he smiled (my beloved so the light from the teeth of his ml
Prophet¹³⁹) when he saw my fragrant mouth appeared
passionate love
5 I embraced him with the embrace of the wine had played with him; don't ml
one who longs, and ask about this news (ah ah) (44,
intoxication and eros)

[The munshid leaves this qasida and moves to another on the same theme, probably also from the secular tradition of love poetry; only the first line marks it as clearly religious, but it could have been modified for this purpose. Ref: Unknown.]

6 I am in the way of God because of love I was tested by a wound for which I ml
7 A beautiful and fine gazelle killed the killing-sword came from within ml
me with his beauty; my passion
8 So I went to the judge of love [al- to judge justly between my beloved ml
haqiqa, al-hubb, al-shari'a, the and I
Prophet, passion¹⁴⁰], complaining to

11 Nothing captivated me...nothing seared me...inflammé my mind, and let the blamers increase in my dreams...but your beauty, our beloved Muhammad.

[Leaving these heavier mystical themes behind, the munshid turns now to a more orthodox madih - a faster, lighter colloquial poem well-suited to the speeding dhikr. Such is a typical pattern of the public hadra: to place the heavy qasida in the middle, begin and end with lighter (easier, more orthodox) material. It is less typical of the tariqa hadra; turuq do not attend so much to the large-scale buildup potential of hadra, because they are more interested in ritual and communication than in emotion. There are multiple rhymes, representing probably the different sources from which this material is taken, all strung together and recombined, because they share a short poetic meter, and a theme: traditional madih and supplication of the Prophet.]

12	Oh our Prophet, oh beautiful	oh possessor of two roses	p
13	Oh kohl-eyed one		p
14	Oh possessor of two roses	on the two cheeks	p
15	Oh Prophet oh beloved	I am granted to you	pl
16	Hoping, oh Prophet, to repent	and erase what is written	s
17	Oh our Prophet, oh beautiful,	oh kohl-eyed one	p
18	Oh possessor of two roses	on the two cheeks	x
19	Oh talented Prophet	I am counted for you	pl
20	Hoping, oh Prophet, to repent	and erase what is written	x
21	And go to visit,	to see the light	s
22	And return delighted	with the radiance of the light	sp
23	My beloved Muhammad,	my desire and aim	l
24	My greetings upon a full moon, most complete...	My greetings upon you, oh Tuhami	pl
25	Quiet sweetness of Muhammad,	two thousand greetings upon him	pl

[Here the dhikr, having reached a very high speed, suddenly slows down. In the following classical qasida, poetic lines are correspondingly longer. The theme is the suffering of the mystical lover. Accompanied by the metal stick:]

26	<u>Passion acquired my heart and ears</u>	<u>and wounded eyes, overflowing</u> <u>with tears</u>	ml
27	<u>So they cried tears of longing, like</u> <u>me, out of mercy,</u>	<u>the dove cooed, and I told her:</u> <u>listen</u>	ml
28	<u>You distracted me oh Ahl al-Bayt,</u> <u>oh dearest lovers,</u>	<u>love of the Prophet made the heart</u> <u>melt</u>	ml
29	<u>You distracted me oh Ahl al-Bayt,</u> <u>in the wonder of your beauty,</u>	<u>so I didn't know, in the sea of love,</u> <u>where I was</u>	ml
30	<u>And when my patience disappeared,</u> <u>and my endurance dwindled,</u>	<u>when sleep left me, and I left my</u> <u>bed,</u>	ml
31	<u>I complained to the judge of love,</u> <u>saying: My lovers</u>	<u>shun me, and said: "you are a</u> <u>pretender in love"</u>	ml
32	<u>But I have four witnesses to testify</u> <u>for me:</u>	<u>my passion, my longing, my</u> <u>emaciation, and my tears (73, eros)</u>	ml

- | | | | |
|----|--|---|----|
| 33 | If they request of me the rights of
their beauty, | I'd say: a poor man owes nothing,
has nothing | ml |
| 34 | And if they imprison me in the
prison of their custody, | I'll enter upon them with the
Prophet as intercessor | ml |

e. Dhikr "Hayyun Hayy" with inshad

[This dhikr, on the formula "Hayyun Hayy", is very slow, a kind of wind-down to end the dhikr portion of the hadra. Usage of this formula for the final *tabaqa* of dhikr is typical of the Rifa'i hadra, not the Bayyumi, perhaps because the most senior shaykh (the one who recited the opening *fawatih*) is Rifa'i. The munshid's voice becomes correspondingly slow, alternately using a very low, raspy register, and a higher register. Aside from pauses, this final segment is strophic (cyclic melody with definite relation to poetic phrase structure) unlike all the preceding inshad, with repeating melody and phrase patterns, as if to bring time back into regularity; use of strophic melodies to close is typical of professional munshidin (such as Shaykh Yasin al-Tuhami). In the formal *tariqa* hadra there is no opportunity to create such a buildup and wind-down at the end. The following three lines are part of a *muwashshah* (and not continuous, constituting lines 1,8,9, and modifying the second *shatra* of 9) by the Andalusian-born Sufi poet Abu al-Hasan al-Shushtari; he moved to Egypt and died there near Dumyat in 1268 or 69 (Abdel-Malek 1995:13); see Shushtari 1960:364) for the original poem. The *qasida* talks about the high price of mystical love: madness, or death.]

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Layla stole the intellect from me | so I said: Oh Layla, have mercy
upon the casualties ¹⁴¹ | m |
| 2 | <u>Someone said, oh friend,</u> | <u>her price is the spirit</u> ¹⁴² | m |
| 3 | <u>many were those, enthralled, who</u>
<u>went</u> ¹⁴³ | <u>with desire for Layla</u> (21, eros) | m |

[Source: Unknown. Approaches the same subject, here using the metaphor of intoxication. Although this is a different poem, the meters are compatible, and the whole flows seamlessly in performance.]

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|--|---|
| 4 | Oh you who sleep much, | where were you today? | m |
| 5 | <u>Oh drink of the people,</u> | <u>inflame the intellect</u> (5, intoxication) | m |

[Source: Traditional. This style of *madih* praises the Prophet by relating his miracles. here the *Isra' wa Mi'raj*.]

- | | | | |
|---|---|--|---|
| 6 | From Mecca and the Glorious
House ¹⁴⁴ | to Quds, speeded Ahmad ¹⁴⁵ at
night ¹⁴⁶ | p |
| 7 | Jabril and two angels came | with the great Buraq to Ahmad | p |

[Final supplication.]

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|--|
| 8 | Oh Prophet of God, help! | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|--|

6. Standard hadra conclusion

[The standard khitam is recited.]

7. Informality

[Participants chat amiably, and the formal mood is broken.]

8. End of Bayyumi Hizb

[The ritual mood is reestablished, as they recite the last part of the hizb.]

9. Fawatih

[These are recited rapidly, and are difficult to hear. The mustaftih begins with the Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, and shaykhs, but then moves on to more ordinary people: those who are present, all Muslims, Shaykh Ibrahim (the hadra leader), for the students to pass their exams, and so on.]

10. Standard hadra conclusion (repeated)

[The standard khitam is repeated.]

11. Food and informality

c. Bh hadra sequence and transcription

[Note that pronunciation throughout tends to be colloquial; sometimes ʔ is pronounced /g/, other times /ʔ/ (glottal stop); ح may be /j/ or /g/. Spelling will follow classical standards.]

1. al-Fawatih

1 حضرة الشفيح مصطفى صلى الله عليه وسلم وآل بيته الكرام من مشارق الأرض
إلى مغاربها مولانا سيدنا الحسن مولانا سيدنا الحسين ستنا سيدة زينب رئيسة

- الدواوين سيدي علي زين العابدين لهم منا جميعا الفاتحة
- 2 الأربع أقطاب الأربع أنجاف الأربع خلفاء الأربع رشداء الأربع حملاء العرش والكتاب لهم منا جميعا الفاتحة
- 3 صاحب الحضرة سيدي علي نور الدين البيومي وخلفائه ونقبائه والآخذين منهم والآخذين عليهم والسالكين على طريقهم لهم منا جميعا الفاتحة
- 4 سيدي وأستاذي وقدوتي سيدي أحمد الرفاعي وخلفائه ونقبائه والآخذين منهم والآخذين عليهم والسالكين على طريقهم لهم منا جميعا الفاتحة
- 5 سيدي عبد القادر الجيلاني وخلفائه ونقبائه والآخذين منهم والآخذين عليهم والسالكين على طريقهم لهم منا جميعا الفاتحة
- 6 سيدي أحمد البدوي وخلفائه ونقبائه والآخذين منهم والآخذين عليهم والسالكين على طريقهم ... سيدي إبراهيم الدسوقي وخلفائه ونقبائه والآخذين منهم والآخذين عليهم والسالكين على طريقهم ... سيدي سعد الدين الجبائي وخلفائه ونقبائه والآخذين منهم والآخذين عليهم والسالكين على طريقهم لهم منا جميعا الفاتحة
- 7 سكان مكة سكان جدة آل بدر وبدو وحضر وما حوت من أنبياء ورجال الله الصالحين. مصر وما حوت من علماء ورجال الله الصالحين. جدة وما حوت من أنبياء وعلماء ورجال الله الصالحين لهم منا جميعا الفاتحة
- 8 كل ملك في السماء كل ولي في الأرض سكان هذا المكان من ملك وإنس وجان والذين سبقونا بالإيمان لهم منا جميعا الفاتحة

اللهم صل على سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم

2. al-Hizb al-Bayyumi al-Saghir (first part)

أهل البشير النذير...

a. Dhikr “Ya Latif”

يا لطيف يا لطيف يا لطيف يا لطيف يا لطيف ...

b. Dhikr “Ya Allah”

يا الله يا الله يا الله يا الله يا الله ...

3. Dhikr “La ilaha illa Allah” without inshad

1 "افضل ما قلته أنا والنبين من قبلي"

2 لا إله إلا الله لا إله إلا الله لا إله إلا الله لا إله إلا الله لا إله إلا الله

4. First munshid: Shaykh ‘Abd al-Sattar

a. Non-metric inshad with dhakkira responses

1 يا اللى...يا عمّ الشيخ

2 صلّ على النبي

3 الفاتحة ربنا يشفي كلّ مريض

4 مدد يا حبيب رب العالمين

5 مدد يا تاجرة للمادحين

6 مدد يا سيد الساجدين

مدد يا شفيع فى المذنبين

مدد يا سيد المؤمنين

مدد يا سيد الراكعين

يا مُظَلَّل في الغمامة	7	مدد يا بن رame
يا نبي يوم القيامة	8	كنز ما نرتجوك
داوي لي سِقامي	9	يا جد الحسن والحسين
	10	يا للى تَنجِدوا العيان
	11	مدد يا أولياء الله
	12	على العموم دنتم يقولوا عليكم تنجدوا العيان
	13	بحق تُربة نبي زين أنا العيان طيبوني
جَلّوا قيادي	14	مدد يا سيادي
فاق القواتان بناديكم	15	ما ليش أيادي
من مصغري للشيب	16	رابط على عهدكم
حتى إن بان مني عيب	17	ساحوني طيبوني اقبلوني
	18	على كل عيب لأجل النبي ساحوني

b. Dhikr "Allah" with inshad

الله الله	1	العرش لمن؟
الله الله	2	الكرسي لمن؟
الله الله	3	اللوح لمن؟
الله الله	4	السماء لمن؟
الله الله	5	مدد يا مدد
الله الله	6	آل البيت
الله الله	7	سيدنا الحسين
الله الله	8	يا أبو علي

الله الله	9
الله الله	10
الله الله	11
الله الله	12
الله الله	13
الله الله	14
الله الله	15
الله الله	16
الله الله	17
الله الله	18
الله الله	19
الله الله	20
الله الله	21
الله الله	22
الله الله	23
الله الله	24
الله الله	25
الله الله	26
الله الله	27
الله الله	28
الله الله	29
الله الله	30

الله الله	31	قطب الصعيد
الله الله	32	قمر أبو تيج
الله الله	33	صاحب الفرح
الله الله	34	سيدي جلال
الله الله	35	سيدي عبد الرحيم
الله الله	36	يا قناوي
الله مدد مدد	37	يا جبانة اسوان
	38	سيدي ... علي ... ييو ... مدد

[The following text was provided by the munshid in an interview:

سألت عن سير الموالي قالوا الأدب مطلوب
صون الأمانة يراعولك عيون وقلوب
الخير كله لحعمال الأسي مجلوب
وجنة الخلد في الرفاد مغلوب
يا عمي والنبي تراعييني بالعين وتنظرني
دانا نفسي رضية علي ركبتي العالي
يا عم بالعين وإوعالي ببركة آل البيت

This text was performed as follows:]

قالوا الأدب مطلوب	39	سألت عن سير الموالي
متحيني النظر بالعين	40	سألته ... أمانة ... عمي
علي أنا ركيي العالي	41	إوعالي أنا نفسي رضية
وتقولي مانا عالي	42	ما تضحك بو علي
علي دانا ركيي ساداتي	43	يا صاحي الليل ماتصحي

c. Fawatih

- 1 الفاتحة للمرحوم فهيم الله يرحمه رحمة واسعة
- 2 الفاتحة للشيخ إبراهيم
- 3 الفاتحة لعمي الشيخ حسن - ربنا يكرمه ويوسع عليه
- 4 الفاتحة للأستاذ عمر ربنا يبارك فيه
- 5 حبيبي يا سيدنا الحسين
- 6 يا رب يا كريم
- 7 الفاتحة لصاحب النفحة ربنا يكرمه ويوسع عليه يا رب
- 8 مدد يا سيدنا النبي
- 9 يا عظيم
- 10 الفاتحة للأستاذ عمر ربنا يكرمه
- 11 الفاتحة لعمي الشيخ حسين المشادلي لأحبابه وأولاده الفاتحة
- 12 الفاتحة كمان للحاجة ربنا يبارك فيها
- 13 الفاتحة لصاحب النفحة عمي الشيخ بكري وأولاده الفاتحة

d. Non-metric inshad without dhikr

- 1 سيدنا النبي روح الوجود
- 2 أمدح نبي زين صديقه هام بكتابه
- 3 كان رقيق قلب سيدنا النبي لما شاف اليتيم بكتابه
- 4 وكل عاصي يسمع يا نبي كتابه

- 5 من معجزات النبي كثير إن اليهود واحد
6 وادي السراط أرق من السيوف وأحد
7 بكره تقوم القيامة ويُحكّم الواحد
8 وكل واحد يكون ملزوم بكتابه

e. Dhikr "Allah" with inshad

- 1 يا ابو صالح مدد آه آه
2 أم الحنان يا نبوية أم العواجز يا زينب
3 خطرت كبد الليل في الحلال الخضر
4 سألتها ما الاسم؟ قالت: أنا التي
5 (بيبي) أنا عاشق في حب النبي
6 خمّار ليلى ماله ومالي
7 خمّار ليلى بايت يلافي
8 خمّار ليلى ع الدّن جينا
9 مدد يا مدد ... يا سيدي علي ... يا موافي مدد
10 مدد يا مدد ... أبا الحسن ... مدد يا مدد
11 يا مدد يا مدد يا مدد
12 غوث الزمان يا مدد يا مدد
13 أم الحنان يا مدد يا مدد
14 مدد مدد يا مدد
15 مدد يا مدد يا مدد
16 أبا العباس يا مدد يا مدد
- مفككة الأزرار محلولة الشعّر
كوتيت قلوب العاشقين على الجمر
أنا مغرم (بيب) في حب النبي
هو في حاله وأنا في حالي
يسقي الرغابا رايق وصافي
يملى القناني حمرة قديمة
سيدنا الحسين يا مدد يا مدد
فخر الرجال يا مدد يا مدد
عالية المقام يا ماما يا مدد
أم المقام يا مدد يا مدد
أم الدلال يا ماما يا مدد
يا دندراوي مدد يا مدد

مدد مدد مدد يا مدد	17	سيدنا البصري يا مدد يا مدد
روح الأرواح يا مدد يا مدد	18	أبا العلاء يا مدد يا مدد
مكان الدين يا مدد يا مدد	19	ياقوت العرش يا مدد يا مدد
سيدنا محمد يا مدد يا مدد	20	سيدنا اليرددار يا مدد
سيدنا المتولي يا مدد يا مدد	21	شاييل الحمول يا مدد يا مدد
عبد الرزاق يا مدد يا مدد	22	سيدي محمد يا عطار يا مدد
جابر يانصاري يا مدد يا مدد	23	سيدي جابر يا مدد يا مدد
بشير النبي يا مدد يا مدد	24	يا سيدي بشر يا مدد يا مدد
	25	يا مدد يا مدد مدد يا مدد يا مدد
	26	يا حبيبي يا محمد كُن ضميمي
كنز ما نرتجوك (يا حبيبي يا محمد)	27	ابن رامة يا مُظَلَّل بالغمامة
يوم القيامة		
	28	يا ابن رامة
يا حبيبي سيدنا النبي لنا راعي	29	جينا ليلي أسكرتنى العروسة
	30	اتفضل يا عم ابو صلاح

5. Second munshid: Abu Salih

a. Inshad without dhikr

- 1 أغثنا أدركنا سَلُّ عَنَا لَا تَنْسَانَا أَنْتَ رَجَانَا يَا مُنَى عَيْنِي آه آه
- 2 حبيبي بحق عينك وسهر الليل وتغليبي آه آه آه
- 3 الفاتحة للشيخ إبراهيم

- 4 بحق عينيك يا سيدنا النبي وسهر الليل وتغليبي
 5 خلفت لي جرح طول العمر يا قلبي
 6 نذر عليّ إن وصلت الدار الحبيبي
 7 لضع يميني على الشباك واتمنى
 8 وأقول لعيني حدا حرم النبي طيبي
 9 للحاضرين جميعا الفاتحة
 10 الفاتحة للحضرة وأصحاب الحضرة والفاتحة للشيخ إبراهيم

b. Dhikr "Allah" with inshad

- 1 آه آه يا عاشق صلّ على محمد
 2 أنا أمدح اللي يفوح المسك من قدمه
 3 عود القنا اغننى ومال (للحبيب النبي
 (مال)
 4 والشمس تُعبد جماله
 5 دا سيد الرسل
 6 أطوف على ذاتي بكاسات خمرتي
 7 وأضرب دُقي حين ترقص طينتي¹⁴⁷
 8 بنارى بنورى أصطلى بمحبيتي
 9 بكرمي غرست اللبّ في عمى العمى
 10 تُخاطبني بالليل أعرفُ رمزها
 11 ثنيتُ على ذاتي [لا ذاتي سواءها - بعين
 واللي ما يصلي عليه في القلب يا ندمه
 (سيدنا النبي سيدنا النبي)
 لما بقى للنبي قدّه
 والقمر من نوره
 لا قبله ولا بعده
 واستمع الألحان فى حان حضرتي
 وأضرب دُقي حين ترقص طينتي¹⁴⁷
 بدير برهبان بقسيس بحضرتي
 فصرتُ أنا الداعي ومني الإجابة
 وأدرى معانيها ولو بالإشارة
 إذا لبّت الأرواح لبّت بكعبيتي

هبائها]

- 12 جمعتُ جميع الكون تحت لوائها (هي
جمعت - الجلالة جمعت - الروح جمعت
- حيي جمعت - الليلة جمعت)
- 13 يا مدد يا مدد يا مدد
مدد يا مدد يا مدد
- 14 روح الوجود يا مدد
سيدنا النبي يا مدد يا مُغذّي الروح
- 15 يا مدد يا مدد الله الله
يا أبا العلمين يا رفاعي مدد يا مدد يا مدد
- 17 صاحب القدم يا مدد عمّ يا يومي يا مدد يا مدد يا مدد
سيدي ابراهيم يا مدد
- 18 شيخ عربنا يا بدوي الله الله
دخلتُ عليها بعدما كنتُ راغبًا
- 20 فزمر لي الشمس ليلة دخلتني
جمعت (هي الجلالة) جميع الكون تحت
لوائها
- 21 جبالي دُكتُ عند سمعي بها لها
أسستُ أطواري بها عند جلّيتي
- 22 مدد يا مدد مدد يا مدد مدد يا مدد
مدد يا اسم غالي يا محمد
- 24 يا عريض الجاه مدد

c. Non-metric inshad without dhikr

- 1 آه آه آه والميعاد الله والواسطة محمد
- 2 يا ليلة بتُ مسروراً بلا كدر
قضيتها بالهنا من أطيب العمر
- 3 وكأس راح بالراحات قد مزجتُ
تُبلى بكفّ رشا أبهى من القمر

- 4 وقد تَبَسَّم (حبيبي حضرة النبي) لما أن
رأى ولهي
- 5 فضممته ضمَّ مشتاقٍ وقد لَعِبَتْ
6 أنا في سبيل الله ما صنع الهوى
- 7 قتلني غزالٌ أهيفٌ بجماله
- 8 فَرُحْتُ لقاضي الغرام [الحقيقة - الحب
- الشريعة - حضرة النبي - العشق]
أشكي له قصتي
- 9 فأجابني قاضي الغرام وقال لي
كم من قتيل مات مثلك في الهوى

d. Dhikr "Allah" with inshad

- 1 أه أه أه
2 فأجابني
- 3 فرحتُ لقاضي [الحب - العشق]
[أشكي - أحكي] له قصتي
- 4 فأجابني قاضي الغرام وقال لي
- 5 أن قاضي المجاذيب
- 6 أن قاضي الدراويش
- 7 وقاضي قضاة العشق قاتله الهوى
- 8 أنتَ المُنْع [يا روعي] في وصالك
- 9 تبعث تقول لي مع رسولك
- الله الله الله
- ليحكم بيني وبين حبيبي بالسوى
- كم من قتيل مات مثلك في الهوى
- أن قاضي العشاق
- أن قاضي العشاق والعشق قاتلي
- وأنا [المُتَمِّم عاشق - المشوق على]
جمالك
- وكيف أنتَ وكيف حالك

- 10 حالي كما تشتهي العوازل أنا ما سباني إلا جمالك
- 11 أنا ما سباني ... أنا ما كواني ... هيج عقلي وخلي العوازل زادوا في منامي إلا
جمالك حيينا محمد
- 12 يا نيينا يا زين يابو وردتين
- 13 يا كحيل العين
- 14 يابو وردتين
- 15 يا نبي يا محبوب
- 16 عثمان والنبي أتوب
- 17 يا نيينا يا زين
- 18 يابو وردتين
- 19 يا نبي يا محبوب
- 20 [عَشْمَان - والنبي] أنا أتوب
- 21 وأروح وأزور
- 22 وارجع مسرور
- 23 حبيبي محمد
- 24 سلامي على بدرٍ أتمّ فسلاً
- 25 ساكن طيب محمد
- 26 حَظِيّ الغرام مُهَجِّي وبِمَسْمَعِي
- 27 فيكتُ بواكي الوجد مثلي رحمة
- 28 وتيهتموني يا آل البيت يا أعزّ الحبايب
- 29 تيهتموني يا آل البيت في بديع جمالكم
- 30 ولما فنى صبري وقلّ تجلّدي
- أنا ما سباني إلا جمالك
- أنا لك موهوب
- وأحمي المكتوب
- يا كحيل العين
- على الخدين
- أنا لك محسوب
- وأحمي المكتوب
- وأشاهد النور
- بيهيّ النور
- مرادي وقصدي
- سلامي عليك يا تهامي
- عليه ألفين سلام
- وعقليّ القرحاء فاضتْ مدامعي
- فتباكتُ الورقاء فقلتُ لها اسمعي
- حبّ النبي خلىّ القلب دايب
- ولم أدِرْ في بحر الهوى أين موضعي
- وفارقتني نومي وهاجرتُ مضجعي

جَفُونِي وَقَالُوا أَنْتَ لِلْحَبِّ مُدَّعِي	شَكُونْتُ لِقَاضِي الْحَبِّ قُلْتُ أَحَبِّي	31
غَرَامِي وَوَجَدِي وَالسَّقَامِ وَأَدْمَعِي	وَعِنْدِي شَهْوَةٌ أَرْبَعٌ يَشْهَدُونَ لِي	32
لَقُلْتُ فَقِيرٌ لَا عَلَيَّ وَلَا مَعِي	وَإِنْ طَلَبُوا مِنِّي حَقُوقَ جَمَاهِمِ	33
دَخَلْتُ عَلَيْهِمُ بِالنَّبِيِّ الْمُشْفَعِ	وَإِنْ سَجَنُونِي فِي سَجُونِ حُبُوسِهِمْ	34

e. Dhikr "Hayyun hayy" with inshad

فَقُلْتُ يَا لَيْلِي أَرْحَمِي الْقَتْلَى	سَلَبْتُ لَيْلِي مِنْهُ الْعَقْلَ	1
مَهْرُهَا الْأَرْوَاحِ	قَالَ يَا صَاحِبَ	2
فِي هَوَى لَيْلِي	كَمْ مَتِّيمِ رَاحِ	3
أَيْنَ كُنْتَ الْيَوْمَ	يَا كَثِيرَ النَّوْمِ	4
هَيَّجَ الْعَقْلَا	يَا شَرَابَ الْقَوْمِ	5
لِلْقَلَسِ سَرَى لَيْلًا أَحْمَدَ	مِنْ مَكَّةَ وَالْبَيْتِ الْأَمْجَدِ	6
بِإِرَاقِ الْعَزِّ إِلَى أَحْمَدِ	جَبْرِيلَ مَعَ الْمَلَكِينَ أَتِي	7
	يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ مَدَدَ	8

6. Standard hadra conclusion

7. Informality

8. End of Bayyumi Hizb

9. Fawatih

10. Standard hadra conclusion (repeated)

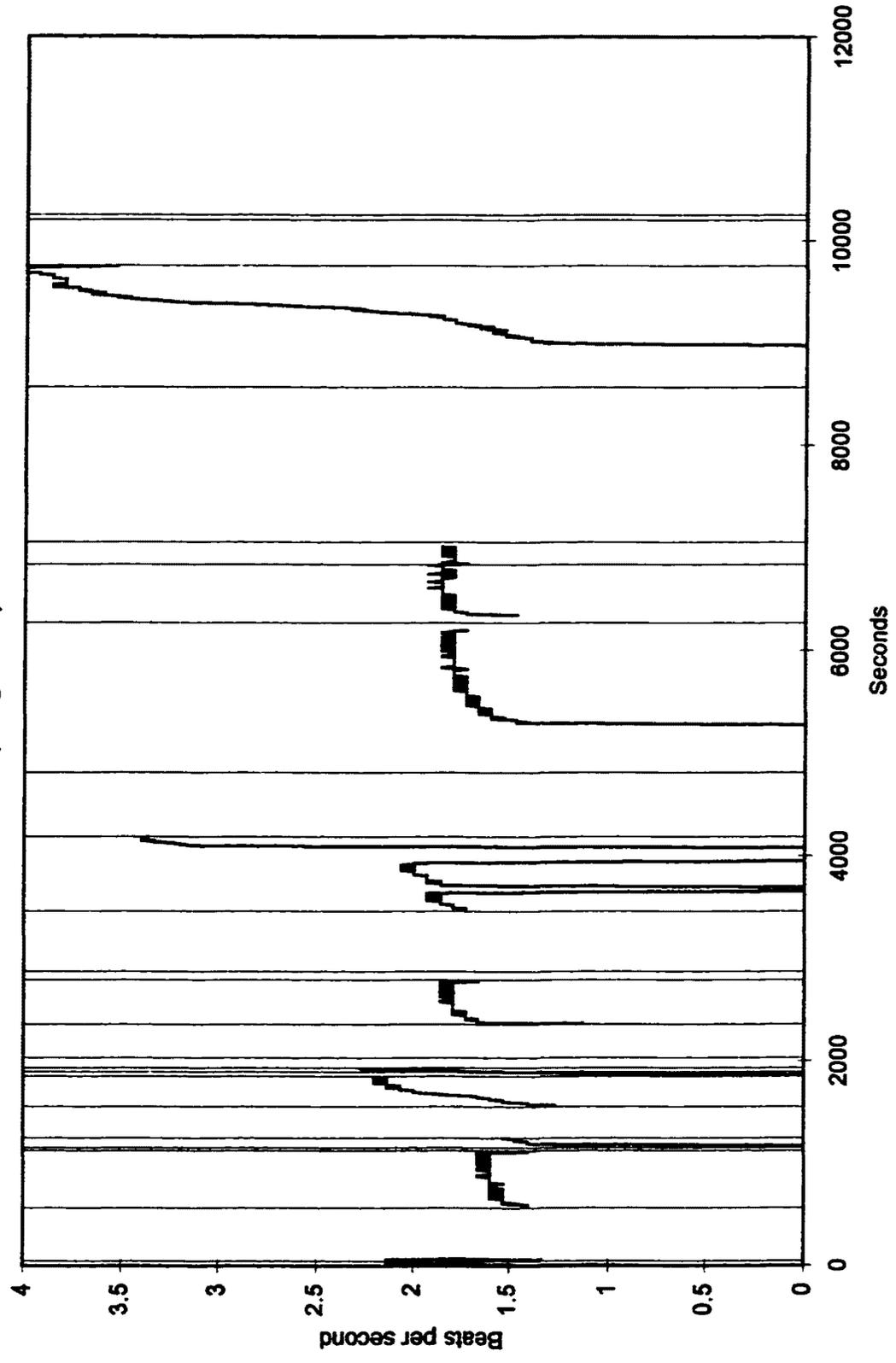
11. Food and informality

3. Central Jazuliyya hadra: Jz

a. Jz event list and time-line

Event	Seconds
al-Hadra al-Shar'iyya	0
al-Shahada	0
Qur'an: Surat Yasin	44
Hizb: "al-Da'wa al-Rabbaniyya"	563
Speech	1120
Dhikr "La ilaha illa Allah"	1147
Dhikr "Allah" with solo inshad	1245
Dhikr "Hayy" with solo inshad	1553
Dhikr "Qayyum" without inshad	1849
Dhikr "Allah" without inshad	1891
Closing	1930
Speech	2028
Group inshad: "Ya Nur al-Rida"	2351
Speech	2788
Recitation: "al-Wujud al-Muhammadi"	2868
Group inshad: "Qamar"	3457
Speech	4180
Solo inshad (hadrat al-hana)	4812
Solo/Group inshad: "Ya Jamaluh"	6271
Group inshad: "al-'Ali 'Ali"	6836
Speeches	7057
Solo inshad (hadrat al-hana)	8567
Initiation ('ahd)	9757
Standard conclusion (khitam) of hadra	10201
Ad'iyya	10201
Fawatih	10248
al-Shahada	10327
Greetings (end of hadra)	10359

Jz events and tempos
(Diagram 8)



b. Jz hadra sequence and translation

The following is a translation of the full transcription of Jz, on which variables defined in Chapter 7 were evaluated in Chapters 8 and 9. Comments between text segments are enclosed in square brackets. Note that the right-hand column of inshad transcriptions, as well as other symbols in-text, are codes used for analysis. Texts are presented in canonical form; therefore contiguous repeats are not indicated. (Turn to the Chapter 7 for an explanation of coding and canonical form.) Line numbers allow cross-referencing to the Arabic transcription.

1. al-Hadra al-Shar‘iyya

[Note: the opening mudhakara and fawatih was unfortunately not recorded and hence cannot be transcribed here; see descriptions in Chapter 6 for a general presentation of this segment of the hadra. The transcription therefore begins with the hadra shar‘iyya.]

a. al-Shahada

[Source: Fundamental Islamic proclamation of faith, one of the “five pillars” of Islam, considered in itself sufficient for conversion if recited before witnesses. Group recitation, with rough tonal-rhythmic unity:]

There is no deity but God (3x), Muhammad is the Prophet of God

b. Qur’an: Surat Yasin

[Source: Qur’an 36. Group recitation, roughly unified in rhythm, contour, lesser unity in tone results in non-melodic sound though individually most are reciting tonally.]

c. Hizb: al-Da‘wa al-Rabbaniyya

[Source: “al-Da‘wa al-Rabbaniyya” (al-Jazuli 1993b:10-13). Group recitation, unified in time and tone. Simple strophic melody repeats for each line.]

d. Dhikr “La ilaha illa Allah”

[Source: This dhikr formula is the fundamental expression of *tawhid* (unity of God) in Islam, here taken from the Throne Verse (Ayat al-Kursi; Qur’an 2:255) whose first few words (“Allah! La ilaha illa hurwa al-Hayy al-Qayyum”) is the basis for all dhikr in the hadra shar’iyya. The leader, or *mustafih* (naqib al-hadra), begins and all join in with two non-metric repetitions. Then the *mustafih* recites the formula twice alone, more rapidly and metrically, following which all join in repeating it together. During the dhikr, the *mustafih* claps the pulse, two claps per formula.]

There is no deity but God

e. Dhikr “Allah” with solo inshad

[Source: The principal Name of God, the “ism al-jalala” (Name of Majesty), sometimes said to be the greatest Name (“al-ism al-a’zam”); here taken from Ayat al-Kursi which is the basis for the hadra shar’iyya. The “Allah” is recited once non-metrically by the leader, extending the last syllable and emphasizing the “h” sound, followed by a single group recitation in the same style. Then it is repeated metrically by group. The *mustafih* (*naqib al-hadra*) claps a pulse, two claps per repetition. Leaders also shout encouragement between repeats. Individuals are somewhat free to express themselves between repetitions. The dhikr begins in the dhikr al-lisan style; after the inshad has been going for several minutes, the *mustafih* claps twice, signaling that dhikr is to switch to the dhikr al-qalb or dhikr al-ruh style of pronunciation.]

God God God God God

[A short time after the start of dhikr al-lisan, the following inshad text is performed as an accompaniment, beginning with *madad* from the oral tradition. The point of transition from dhikr al-lisan to dhikr al-ruh is not marked in the sequence which follows:]

- 1 Help, help, oh Prophet of God, # ^ help, help, help, help
- 2 oh Prophet of God, # ^ oh Beloved of God, # ^ help, help
- 3 Oh Ahl al-Bayt, # oh Prophet of God, ^ # oh dear one # of the dear one # of the Prophet of God¹⁴⁸ # ^

[Source: Excerpts from Sidi Jabir’s qasida, “Hubb al-Husayn wa al-Sayyida” (al-Jazuli 1993b:40-41).]

- 4 May God ^ give you¹⁴⁹ # life, as He The light is upon him # from God ^ ps
^ wills

[Source: Oral tradition (*madad*)]

- 5 Help, help, oh Jazuli, * help, help
- 6 Oh Sidi Salim, & help, help, oh father of Salim, * help, help
- 7 Our master al-Hasan, # help, help
- 8 Our master al-Husayn, # help, help
- 9 Give us a glance, oh Zaynab, # help, help

10 Oh those who grant help, % oh noble ones, % help, help, help

[Source: Excerpts from Sidi Jabir's qasida, "Hubb al-Husayn wa al-Sayyida" (al-Jazuli 1993b:41). performed here with some variations and word substitutions. (See also translation in Hoffman 1995:84.)]

11 At the door oh Pure One¹⁵⁰ #2 I *1 oh you #2 whom care watches over ps
call you #2
12 The noble ones %3 look over you %3 blessing you #2 with light all p
#2 around you #2

[Source: Oral tradition (madad).]

13 Help, help, oh people of help, % oh noble ones, %
14 Oh Prophet of God, # help, oh beloved of God, # help, help, help, oh noble ones,
% help

[Source: Further excerpts from "Hubb al-Husayn wa al-Sayyida" (al-Jazuli 1993b:41).]

15 I *1 swear to you, #2 oh light #2 of by the truth of our *2 lord al- l
my *1 eye Husayn #3
16 Wave #2 the *hilal*, oh sister #2 of oh Pure One, #2 you #2 are the p
Hasan #3 and Husayn #3 guide

[Source: Oral tradition (madad).]

17 Help, help, help, help, oh noble ones, % help, oh people of madad %
18 Oh Prophet of God, # help, oh beloved of God, # help, help, help
19 Oh people of help, % oh noble ones, % help, oh Prophet of God, # oh beloved
#...¹⁵¹

f. Dhikr "Hayy" with solo inshad

[Source: Hayy (Living) is one of the 99 Names of God. Here it is adopted from the Ayat al-Kursi. The dhakkira recite, guided by leader's handclaps. Note that there is a change in dhikr leadership with each *tabaqa*, similar to Bh. But whereas in Bh such changes reflect the absence of central control, here they are a deliberate strategy by which no member becomes too important next to the shaykh himself. The dhikr begins in the dhikr al-lisan style; after several minutes the mustafih claps twice in order to switch to the dhikr al-qalb or dhikr al-ruh style.]

Living, Living, Living, Living, Living

[The following inshad accompanies the dhikr. Source: oral tradition (madad).]

20 Oh Prophet # of God, ^ for God's ^ sake help, oh father Jazuli, * help, for God's
^ sake help

[Source: Traditional anonymous qasida from the Shadhili tradition, used in many Sufi orders and context. This qasida can be found in many printed poetry collections of the Shadhili orders. Because the qasida was not written by Sidi Jabir, references to the ego cannot be taken as referring to him. The addressed is

ambiguous (perhaps the saints and Ahl al-Bayt in general, perhaps the shaykh). Thus the poem is capable of many interpretations.]

- 21 As long as I % remain between your My state % is expansive, and joy is I
% hands, good health is my % help between my % hands
- 22 May God ^ never cause me % to be so that life with you % is sweet Is
absent from your % [faces - forever
pleasure - love]
- 23 You % are my life; when I % see if you % are veiled, my % spirit is I
you % my % spirit is present; absent from my % body

[Source: Traditional phrase of madad]

24 Oh Prophet # of God ^

[Source: The third-to-last line of Sidi Jabir's qasida. "Bi asma'ika al-husna" (al-Jazuli 1993b:103).]

- 25 Your #2 servants, *3 oh Prophet of perhaps you'll #2 accept him *3 Is
God, #2 ^3 hope for acceptance and from all the lovers %3
satisfaction;

[Source: Traditional phrase of madad.]

26 Oh Prophet # of God ^

g. Dhikr "Qayyum" without inshad

[Source: Qayyum (the Everlasting) is one of the 99 Names of God, here taken from the Ayat al-Kursi. The formula is recited non-metrically by the leader once, then group twice; next the group recites the Name metrically while the leader claps twice per repetition.]

Everlasting, everlasting, everlasting, everlasting, everlasting...

h. Dhikr "Allah" without inshad

[Cued by leader without break from previous section. Pitch rises dramatically during this section.]

God God God God God...

i. Closing

[Source: Qur'an 94:1-8, 2:286. Recited by group in approximate unity.]

Surat al-Sharah, assuring the Prophet that God is with him, that he should strive to please his Lord.

Last verse of surat al-Baqara. Most of this verse is a du‘a’ (one of several included in the Qur’an): a plea for mercy and forgiveness from God.

[Shahada, recited by group as at start.]

There is no deity but God (3x), Muhammad is the Prophet of God

2. Speech

[Speech about the hadra shar‘iyya by one of the elder members. Rough paraphrase follows.]

A hadith says that the Prophet used to laugh and jest, but when the time for prayer came he was serious. The hadra shar‘iyya is like this: it must be serious, honest, strong. For here you meet God. To do this you must be purified of worldly concerns. This is the role of the hadra [shar‘iyya]. Sleep and laziness are for outside [the ritual], but the hadra [shar‘iyya] is serious, for God has no peer, and He is serious in everything. We must fight the *nafs*, the devils. The hadra is not only for us; other [spiritual] essences are here present with us also. It is for our shaykhs who expended great effort to reach this station. This hadra presents great benefits for you. The Prophet is mercy.¹⁵² He who comes to hadra busy with the world may injure others in the hadra. You should be *mitwaddi* (having performed the ablution) and ready for the hadra, asking God for guidance, and for the shaykh to be present. Here is like a battlefield where you don’t know anyone [outside the hadra] and thus reach heaven, with our shaykhs. We must strive to please them. Our shaykh used to sit in hadra or in the mosque strong, beautiful, overpowering those in front of him. He was like a thousand. The hadra is like nothing else in the world, for “what doesn’t start with flame can’t end in with radiance”. All we do is for *nafha*. Our shaykh

went to a great effort to found a tariqa; it is incumbent upon us at least to preserve it. To the end of his life, despite advanced age, and children, he devoted himself to the tariqa as its leader. We promised God to be open, honest, and struggle with the nafs, for “your greatest enemy is the nafs between your two sides”. So thanks to God that our Lord honored us, and that the hadra was full of nafha, and God raised us to a state of His satisfaction, and may we find our shaykhs. And now for the inshad, God willing.

3. Group inshad

[Source: Qasida of Sidi Jabir, “Ya Nur al-Rida” (al-Jazuli 1993b:90-91) (complete). All sing together, but the munshidin are more prominent due to amplification, and their leader starts each line. Initially there is percussion accompaniment only; subsequently the ‘ud enters. With its high energy and speed, the performance generates an enthusiastic rather than solemn atmosphere. Note how the poem begins by addressing the Prophet (1), praising him (2), and exhorting the listener (3,4); the remainder of the poem treats the author’s relation to the Prophet, often addressing him directly. There are corresponding frequent pronomial shifts.]

1	Oh light of contentment, #2 oh best, best Prophet #2	Oh dawn #2 which appeared in veiled darkness	p
2	A morning #2 which came after a dark night	A light #2 which illumined the world and planets	p
3	Stop @2 at the shrine, completely refined	and shed @2 your @2 worldly desires, if you @2 want closeness	el
4	Seek @2 refuge in the sanctuary of Taha, #3 the Arab Prophet, #3	pure #3 of descent, noble #3 of extraction	ep
5	When I *1 saw him, #3 my *1 heart’s eye praised God	above the highest, above the clouds	p
6	I *1 said to my *1 eye: look, *1 and be *1 happy	This is the Prophet of God, #3 ^3 most highly esteemed	l
7	My *1 heart and *1 spirit for Ahmad #3 did yearn.	His #3 is the command; the heart *3 to him #3 is connected	l
8	I *1 was happy when he #3 was near me *1	I *1 humbled myself *1 to the ground, and so *1 was honored	l
9	Oh he #3 whose contentment cures all sickness	If he #3 glances, he #3 gives every hope	p
10	If my *1 request meets with your #2 favor,	it is because you #2 are the best of the prophets	p

11	Perhaps another loved you #2 for some purpose	But my *1 love for you #2 is above everything	l
12	Accomplish what you #2 promised, oh my *1 love, #2 tomorrow	and allow #2 eternal communion in love, always	ls
13	If my *1 love is not appropriate for you #2	pardon #2 me *1 if you #2 are pleased with us *2	ls
14	Bless #2 me *1 with your closeness, gladdening me*	and take #2 me *1 to you, #2 my *1 love, #2 I *1	ls
15	When your #2 love settled in the hearts	I *1 raised the flag of love for you #2 as a sign	l
16	My *1 love is for you, #2 oh best, best Prophet #2	I *1 sacrifice for you #2 my *1 spirit, my *1 mother and father	l

4. Speech: Mudhakara

[Within this speech (not transcribed) there are some call and response exchanges between speaker and group.]

5. Speech recitation: “al-Wujud al-Muhammadi” (“The Muhammadan Existence”)

[Source: One of Sidi Jabir’s discourses, as published in the collection *Rasa’il Sufiyya* (al-Jazuli 1993a:99-101). One member stands and recites the discourse from the book, while the group responds with salawat for the Prophet whenever he is mentioned. This recitation is interrupted by Sidi Salim’s arrival to the hadra; the reader stops and all rise. When the shaykh has been seated, they all sit again. Then the reader begins again, repeating the last paragraph, and completing the recitation. The recitation is verbatim, except for an occasional inserted blessing for the Prophet. The main theme of the discourse is the living existence of the Prophet Muhammad. The reciter concludes with blessings for Sidi Jabir al-Jazuli.]

6. Group inshad

[Source: Sidi Jabir’s qasida “Qamar” (“Moon”) (al-Jazuli 1993b:76-77) (complete). The lead munshid (using the microphone) begins and is followed with tremendous vigor and enthusiasm by the entire congregation, as in other group inshad. Textually, the song is in a verse-refrain form, the first two lines serving as madhhab (refrain). Melodically, it is relatively complex, presenting a new melody every two lines, and containing many changes in tempo and maqam. Consequently, many members are unable to sing it accurately, leading to what is at times a rather cacophonous sonority. However, the sound itself appears to be of little consequence; what is important is the full and energetic participation of every member. The song is upbeat, with clear and non-heterodox poetry of love and praise for the Prophet, creating a lively and wakeful mood full of warm group feeling. The style of reference, mostly to the

Prophet in the third person, is typical of most traditional madih. The song is followed by enthusiastic shouts of approval.]

1	The moon of his #3 light spread over all mankind;	his #3 light reached nomads and townspeople alike	p
2	It #3 attracts the spirit, if you @2 confide in it, #3	gladdening #3 the heart and the sight	l
3	A mercy #3 bestowed by God, ^3	he #3 is an abundant rain come by Divine ^3 decree	p
4	Eloquent #3 in speech, flawless #3 in intonation,	tremendous #3 of nature ¹⁵³ , pure #3 of thought	ep
5	He #3 binds the heart and the spirit together	as a star following the moon	p
6	The earth folded so he #3 needn't walk ¹⁵⁴	the fragrance surrounding him #3 diffused	p
7	Beautiful #3 in appearance and form	throughout mankind there is none like him #3	p
8	The rose took from him #3 its scent	and strutted among the other flowers	p
9	The moon borrowed from him #3 its light	as did the planets, and the blossoming stars	p
10	There is a place for him #3 in my heart; *1	if only my heart *1 could hold the moon! #3	l
11	Physician #3 of the hearts, and their cure #3	his #3 mouth's water sweeter than sugar	p
12	He @3 who comes to him #3 diseased is cured;	a glance from him #3 and life is sweet	lp
13	If he #3 calls me, *1 I *1 follow the call	for him #3 is the spirit, heart, and vision	l
14	The prophets #3 took their comeliness from him; #3	he #3 was taught by the One ^3 who taught the father of man#3	p
15	When God ^3 wished to conduct him #3 in joyful procession	He ^3 stopped the world in homage to the master #3 of humanity	p
16	From his #3 house to His ^3 is but one night	upon the great Buraq, in early dawn ¹⁵⁵	p
17	The spirit *3 longs to meet him #3	and the heart *3 rejoices when he's recalled	l
18	Those %3 he #3 led in prayer obtained satisfaction,	and %3 were protected from the Fire	p

7. Speech (mudhakara)

[Several tariqa members take the microphone in turn, to deliver their commentary on the qasida just sung, and its relationship to the preceding discourse “The Muhammadan Existence”. Speakers begin by repeating a particular line suggested by the opening speaker (“When God wished to conduct him in joyful procession...”), each giving his commentary on this line, and then moving off to other topics. The group responds to the speaker with “amin” (to any du‘a’) or “‘alayhi al-salat wa al-salam” (to any mention of the Prophet), and with other general expressions of enthusiasm. This section, together with the previous two, give some idea of the unity of a Jazuliyya hadra: the same ideas (here, about the presence of the Prophet) are delivered over and over again, through multiple performance modalities: fixed speech recitation, group inshad, and mudhakara.]

8. Solo inshad

[This section begins with an ‘ud taqsim (solo improvisation on the fretless lute), followed by a non-metric improvisation by the vocalist with ‘ud accompaniment, using the text below. This text is a performative amalgamation from many sources, including the poetry of Sidi Jabir, and madad material. At line 10 percussion instruments (tabla, riqq, duff) enter, as indicated below. Note how the singer draws in bits of poetry from various sources (sacred and secular), including material which has been previously performed in the same hadra; this technique also serves to unify the performance. During this non-metric section, the congregation listens intently, swaying idiosyncratically, and sometimes shouting emotional expressions (especially after the vocalist completes a melodic cadence, or qafla) in a manner reminiscent of listening patterns in older secular tarab music.]

[Source: Oral tradition (madad)]

1 Oh our master, # oh Prophet of God, # ^ help

[Source: Excerpt (lines 3 and 4) from Sidi Jabir’s qasida “Ya Nur al-Rida” (al-Jazuli 1993b:90), sung previously by the entire congregation as group inshad. Here the munshid presents lines 3 and 4 only. These seem to function as a juncture with the group inshad, a continuous transition from the group to solo style of performance, and a sober, orthodox preface to the more ecstatic heterodox poetry which is to follow.]

2 Stop @2 at the shrine, completely and shed @2 your @2 worldly el
refined desires if you @2 want closeness

3 Seek @2 refuge in the sanctuary of pure #3 of descent, noble #3 of ep
Taha, #3 the Arab Prophet, #3 extraction

[Source: A qasida uttered spontaneously by Sidi Jabir, although it was not included in his published diwan, according to a group member. Clearly Sidi Jabir was drawing on the Shadhili tradition; a similar qasida (unattributed) appears in the diwan of the Hamidiyya Shadhiliyya tariqa.]

4 The drink was good, and the and the beloved %3 revealed m
cupbearer’s %3 face appeared everlasting beauty

5 I *1 said: increase %2 me, *1 oh then the source %3 of beauty m
beloved, %2 to approach; appeared, flaming and beautiful (21,

intoxication)

[Source: A mawwal whose text is based closely on the mawwal “Wa Nabi Habibak” sung by the popular Egyptian singer and composer, Muhammad ‘Abd al-Wahhab; here the melody is improvised by the munshid. This usage indicates two important features of Jazuliyya inshad: (1) use of simpler colloquial language (the mawwal is a colloquial poetic form); (2) use of popular commercial music material from the urban secular tarab tradition. But in performance the meaning of the poem is transformed by context and a few word alterations from a love song into a mystical-religious supplication and expression, although the object of mystical love remains ambiguous (God? The Prophet? Sidi Jabir? Sidi Salim?). At the end of this poem, the munshid closes with a *qafila* (cadence).]

6 By the Prophet, # your % lover, don't % deprive my heart of you % ls
 7 And cure % my % sick heart, for the medicine is from you % ls
 8 The time for closeness still hasn't come, oh my % spirit % l
 9 But no matter how far I % may be from you, % I % have nothing richer l
 than you %

[Source: Traditional standard Sufi phrases, sung spontaneously by the munshid. At this point, the percussion section enters, and performance becomes metric. Upon cue, the other munshidin may respond by repeating the words of the soloist. The entire congregation begins to sway and move more rhythmically to the music; some members may perform movements and sounds of dhikr from a standing or seated position.]

10 Oh my master, a glance; % my beloved, a glance, % a glance, oh satisfaction from
 you %
 11 Oh people of satisfaction, % a glance, satisfaction!

[Source: Excerpts from Sidi Jabir's qasida, “Ya Sayyid al-Sadat” (al-Jazuli 1993b:114). Note how the preceding textual improvisation anticipates this qasida. The munshid freely varies the original text here, completing the first *shatra* (hemistich) of one line with the second of another. In the original poem, considered textually as an expression of Sidi Jabir, the addressee—beloved and supplicated—is ambiguous; perhaps God, the Prophet, or one of the Ahl al-Bayt. This ambiguity is intensified when lines are taken out of textual context, and given a new voice and performative context in the hadra. When these words are performed by the munshid, who is a murid following Sidi Jabir and Sidi Salim, the addressee may be interpreted by listeners as Sidi Jabir or Sidi Salim; such interpretations are impossible when the qasida is considered textually as an expression of Sidi Jabir. All these spiritual figures are bound together by the ambiguity of the pronoun references. Note that line 17 is reminiscent of the Umm Kulthum song “Aruh li min?”, and is typical of Sidi Jabir's intertextual invocations of the secular song tradition, through both text and music.]

12 Oh my master, %2 a glance A glance, satisfaction, reassure %2 s
 me *1
 13 Oh you %2 who always has Be %2 pleased with me *1 and ps
 satisfaction accept %2 me *1
 14 A mendicant¹⁵⁶ *3 is standing at and you're %2 the one who can help s
 your %2 door me *1
 15 I'm *1 eager for your %2 your %2 generosity is not strange to s
 generosity; me *1

- 16 I'm *1 hopeful, my *1 hope in you and your %2 generosity is not ls
%2 is great, oh my lover %2 strange to me¹⁵⁷ *1
- 17 To whom will I *2 go, complain, to whom will I *1 go, other than ls
and tell; you? %2
- 18 Satisfied with your %2 command, I even if you %2 torture me¹⁵⁸ *1 l
*1 acquiesce,

[Source: Excerpt from Sid Jabir's qasida "Kull Shay' Minka Jamil" (al-Jazuli 1993b:178). Note how here, as in other solo inshad, the munshid uses the original poem freely as a source, even making substitutions or modifications to the original lines, according to his mood and evaluation of the hadra's progress. Here, he selects only one line from the original poem, which the chorus then repeats after him. In the original textual context "you" is somewhat ambiguous but seems most likely to refer to God. In the present performative context, in which the line is furthermore taken out of context, the sense of ambiguity is increased.]

- 19 You %2 know that I *1 am your and I *1 know that I'm *1 your %2 l
slave, property

[Source: Excerpt from an "old" qasida by Sidi Jabir, "Qalbi habbak min zaman", which for unknown reasons was rejected for inclusion in the printed diwan, according to a tariqa member. Simple colloquial language is employed.]

- 20 If you %2 were satisfied with me it would be such a great joy l
one day
- 21 You %2 know, I'm *1 no one without you, %2 what would I *1 l
without you, %2 be?

[Source: More excerpts from Sidi Jabir's qasida "Ya Nur al-Rida" (al-Jazuli 1993b:90); here the munshid continues with lines 5, 9, and 7 (in that order). Once again, the munshid is relatively free to select, reorder, and repeat material, even while drawing primarily on his shaykh's diwan; he uses this freedom to boost the overall emotional level by choosing words to match his own state, and that of the hadra. Although these lines are taken out of context, they clearly refer to the Prophet because in the original well-known qasida this referent is clear (even in these lines there is reference to "Ahmad", one of the Prophet's names), and the entire qasida was earlier recited by the entire group.]

- 22 When I *1 saw him, #3 my *1 above the highest, above the clouds p
heart's eye praised God ^3
- 23 Oh he #3 whose contentment cures if he #3 glances, he #3 gives every lp
all sickness; hope
- 24 My *1 heart and spirit for Ahmad¹⁵⁹ His #3 is the command; the heart *3 l
#3 did yearn. to him #3 is connected

[Source: Oral tradition (madad, other).]

- 25 Help, help, help, oh Jazuli, * oh my master Salim, & help, help, oh people of help %
%
- 26 Oh people of help, % help, a look, satisfaction, our master al-Husayn #

- 27 A look oh Zaynab, # oh people of the way, % help, help, oh people of help, % oh
Ahl al-Bayt, # help, help
- 28 When the light of Muhammad # appeared, oh people of satisfaction, % a look, a
look
- 29 Oh Prophet of God, # ^ oh, oh

9. Solo/Group inshad

[Source: The initial refrain line is from the tradition of folk *ahazij* (strophic songs) in Sa`idi (Upper Egyptian) folk music. According to tariqa members familiar with this tradition, this particular one would be ordinarily sung to the groom at a wedding by inserting the groom's name. But here the same song is used as a refrain, to praise and express love for the shaykh, interwoven with two qasidas from Sidi Jabir's diwan used sequentially as a source of verses: "Ya Hadi al-'Ushshaq" (al-Jazuli 1993b:124), and "Ya Saqi al-Arwah" (al-Jazuli 1993b:125). The interweaving occurs on two levels: the refrain proper, and the interpolation of an "internal" refrain ("oh his beauty") taken from the main refrain, within each line.

Overall the form (*taqtuqa*) and language is similar to wedding songs, and invokes the joyous exuberance of a wedding occasion. The interweaving of different qasidas together with folk material within the same melodic structure indicates the flexibility, informality, emotionality of Jazuliyya inshad. It is also an instance of the group's tendency to draw on local folk and popular material wherever the group has active members; this particular song was undoubtedly contributed by muridin from Upper Egypt.

Deictically, it creates a tangle of relationships. The original poems by Sidi Jabir addressed an ambiguous spiritual entity as leader/singer/cupbearer (*hadi/saqi*), most likely the Prophet, but not specified precisely. In performance the added refrain line redirects these meanings toward the shaykh's son, Sidi Salim, while the role of author-ego is taken over by the muridin. Thus relations are constructed from muridin to Sidi Jabir (by role-adoption), to Sidi Salim (by address), to the Prophet (by the original suggested meaning), and with each other (by repeated use of plural first person). The poems from the diwan are ecstatic, describing mystical experience in terms of metaphors of singing and intoxication. The result is a supercharged network of social relations.

Behaviorally (pragmatically), the refrains (both proper and internal) appear to be performed primarily by two local chapters (of al-Husayn, and Manshiat Nasr, both Cairo districts), for members of these groups stand together and face the shaykh while performing, thus intensifying the notion that the object of praise is in fact Sidi Salim. The soloist is apparently their leader. However, typical of the Jazuliyya, the remainder of the congregation joins strongly in the singing as well. Thus performance does not reinforce divisions into subgroups (as it does among the Ja`fariyya), but rather emphasizes the tariqa as a single corporate whole, bound by their common devotion to the shaykh.

Note that the refrain proper is sung once initially, and then twice after every poetic line thereafter. (Since refrains are not multiply counted in the analysis, the internal refrain is also counted once only.) The refrain line proper follows:]

1 Oh his &3 beauty, oh his &3 beauty Sidi Salim, &3 oh his &3 beauty

[This refrain alternates first with lines from "Ya Hadi al-'Ushshaq" (al-Jazuli 1993b:124), within which is interpolated an internal refrain, presented in parentheses ("oh his beauty"):]

2	Oh hadi ¹⁶⁰ %2 of the lovers, %3 (oh his &3 beauty) sing %2 and make %2 us *2 sing	sing %2 to the one *3 who yearns, (oh his &3 beauty) sing %2 our *2 songs (9, music)	ls
3	<u>Set up %2 for us *2 the cups (oh his beauty) from the cask, and give %2 us *2 to drink</u> (6, intoxication)	Call %2 the saints #3 (oh his beauty) who look after us *2 in the hadra	ms
4	In the hadra of the Chosen One #3 (oh his beauty) light of the beloved %3 comes to us, ¹⁶¹ *2	lights with lights; (oh his beauty) with God ^3 make %2 us *2 happy	m
5	[I'm] *1 obedient and <u>my *1 heart melted</u> ; (oh his beauty) with love, cure us! %2 (2, altered state)	oh comfort of the lovers, %2 (oh his beauty) glance %2 and revive %2 us *2	ls

[The same solo/group inshad format continues with the following text: "Ya Saqi al-Arwah" (al-Jazuli 1993b:125). Most references are ambiguous.]

6	Oh cupbearer %2 of spirits (oh his beauty),	fill %2 the wine cup	ms
7	<u>and let %2 me *1 drink from it, oh friend, %2 (oh his beauty)</u>	<u>from your %2 refreshing wine</u> (13, intoxication)	ms
8	Pass %2 among the spirits *3 (oh his beauty)	with your %2 fragrant perfume (oh his beauty)	ms
9	Cure %2 the hearts *3 and wounds (oh his beauty)	seeking satisfaction with forgiveness (oh his beauty)	s
10	Love of the sweet %3 is sweet (oh his beauty)	filling the hearts *3 with joy (oh his beauty)	l
11	and gathering the spirits *3 (oh his beauty)	upon the guidance of the Opener ¹⁶² ^3 (oh his beauty)	l

10. Group inshad

[The following group song is different in words and maqam (melodic mode), but follows continuously in time, rhythm, and personnel after the previous. It is based upon the melody and some of words taken from a popular wedding song, adapted by the famous Nubian singer Muhammad Munir in his commercial release "al-'Ali 'Ali Yaba". Here the song is woven together with lines 3,5 and 6 from Sidi Jabir's qasida "Ya Abu Ibrahim", (al-Jazuli 1993b:37) together with a few modifications. Although the title of this qasida makes it clear that it is directed to the Prophet, this *laqab* of Muhammad (derived from his son Ibrahim, who died as a child) is deleted from line 3, and the phrase "Prophet of God" is deleted from line 6. In combination with the insertion of the Muhammad Munir material, and the usual association of "father" with "shaykh" (by application of the standard Sufi metaphor), the referents to spiritual entities therefore become ambiguous. As usual, repetitions of the refrain (sometimes line 2, sometimes lines 1 and

2) are not counted separately. Although the subgroups from al-Husayn and Manshiat Nasr continue to stand and sing this song as their contribution, in practice the entire tariqa sings together.]

1	The high is always high ¹⁶³ , oh father, %2 oh father, %2 oh father %2	I *1 am madly in love with you, %2 oh father, %2 oh father %2	l
2	The longing, the longing, takes us *2 above, above	you %2 are above, you %2 are above	lp
3	Give %2 the mendicant *3 a glance oh %2 father, oh father %2	we'll *2 attend the hadra with you, %2 oh father, %2 oh father %2	s
4	The longing, the longing, takes us above, above	you are above, you are above	x
5	<u>Oh possessor %2 of high station, oh father, %2 oh father %2</u>	<u>fill %2 for me *1 and fill %2 me, *1 oh father, %2 oh father %2</u>	mps
6	<u>from your %2 precious cup oh father, %2 oh father %2 (9, intoxication)</u>	give %2 the mendicant *3 a look, oh father, %2 oh father %2	ms
7	The longing, the longing, takes us above, above	you are above, you are above	x
8	The high is always high oh father, oh father, oh father	I am madly in love with you, oh father, oh father	x
9	The longing, the longing, takes us above, above	you are above, you are above	x

11. Speech: Mudhakara

[Not transcribed.]

12. Solo inshad

[As usual, the performance of solo inshad begins with a non-metric section, the singer accompanied by 'ud only. The following poems are not contained in the published diwan of Sidi Jabir. Therefore, references to the self are considered an ambiguity which is freely interpretable by the listener (although in line 11 the munshid suggests Sidi Jabir as the referent). The first poem contains a doctrinal statement common among the Sufis: that the Prophet is alive, his body preserved, even praying in his tomb, and always ready to receive and bless visitors. Source: Unknown.]

1	The signs and traditions recurred	—so much that the sage % cannot classify them—	p
2	That the Hashimite ¹⁶⁴ # is living and tender,	like a full moon that doesn't set	p
3	That the body # lies in the depths of	like a sweet rose that doesn't wilt	p

- a tomb
- 4 My % beloved # prays in the shrine five prayers¹⁶⁵, without tiring or lp
turning
- 5 The angels & come to my beloved # enlivening & him # in prayer, lp
at every obligatory prayer, understanding & what he # says

[Source: Oral tradition (madad).]

- 6 Oh father oh Jazuli, * oh father of Salim, * help!

[Source: Unknown. This poem describes a mystical state, using metaphors of love and intoxication. The identity of referents is ambiguous here.]

- 7 Upon seeing them, % ecstasy shook me % with longing ; and the heart % was filled with m
passion for all the friends % (9, altered states)
- 8 The breeze of arrival wafted upon the wine; it intoxicated them % and changed them % from the world (9, intoxication) m
- 9 The bringer % of joy came, and generous good fortune, he % said: let's %go to the lovers m
% in the Sanctuary¹⁶⁶

[Source: Unknown. Probably a different qasida, since the rhyme letter (qafiya) changes; however the theme is closely related to the previous poem. Part of the art of the improvising munshid is the ability to create continuity in the performed text while moving from one poem to another, by linking poems formally (by rhyme, meter) or thematically, so that the mood can be sustained.]

- 10 In the cradle, I % drank love of the beloved, % and the best of that (6, intoxication) and I % didn't comprehend the veils m
I'd % been in (8, insight)
- 11 (oh my master Jazuli * says¹⁶⁷) I % request their¹⁶⁸ % satisfaction, m
Slowly I % walked, while my % heart feared; even if it contains the cup of death (2, intoxication)
- 12 I % followed all the paths of love by my % gnosis until I % met the lovers % and noble ones % (10, journey) m

[Source: Oral tradition (madad).]

- 13 Oh help, help, oh help, help
- 14 Oh Prophet of God, # ^ oh help, help

[Source: Unknown. The poem contains the same rhyme (qafiya) as the previous one, but very different content.]

- 15 The full moon, rising at night, oh sun of guidance; # You are Ahmad, # you are p

Muhammad¹⁶⁹, # our master the
Prophet #

[At this point, percussion instruments and meter enter: people begin moving more regularly to the beat and some perform dhikr. Source: Oral tradition (madad).]

- 16 Comfort of the spirits, # oh help, help
 17 Oh our master the Prophet, # oh help, help
 18 Oh Taha¹⁷⁰, # oh help, help
 19 Joy of the spirits, # help, oh help
 20 Oh Taha, # oh men of God, # help, help
 21 Oh son of the wali, oh ibn al-khattab¹⁷¹ #
 22 Oh father, * oh Jazuli, * help

[The qasida continues; these lines are repeated from above and so not analyzed again here.]

- | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|
| 23 | In the cradle, I drank love of the beloved, and the best of that | and I didn't comprehend the veils I'd been in | x |
| 24 | Slowly I walked, while my heart feared; | I request their satisfaction, even if it contains the cup of death. | x |

[Source: Oral tradition (madad).]

- 25 Oh family of the Prophet #

[The qasida continues.]

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|
| 26 | Besides them # what have I, % ever? | And there's nothing for me % after them... ¹⁷² # | l |
| 27 | <u>Our % ships sailed on the way of light,</u> | <u>with flags flying...</u> ¹⁷³ (journey) | m |
| 28 | I % am Shadhili ¹⁷⁴ # in love, in time | I % am Ahmadi ¹⁷⁵ # in essence, by moral grace | l |

[Final madad appeal.]

- 29 Oh Prophet of God, # ^ help

13. Initiation

[This section is only performed when there are persons present wishing to take the 'ahd (oath). Shaykh Salim introduces this section with a short speech; note how he stresses that the oath is with God:]

God willing, friends, those who want the 'ahd... 'ahd with God, with

listening and obedience, commanding the good, and prohibiting the forbidden...please go ahead

[He thereby signals that those who wish to take the 'ahd should step forward. There are sundry spontaneous cries from the congregation, such as:]

Help, help, oh our master the Prophet, help...Allah Allah! oh people of generosity¹⁷⁶

[One of the senior members stands a short distance in front of the shaykh, and the persons wishing to take the 'ahd stand in front of him. All members join together by each placing his right hand on the right shoulder of the person to his right. Then the senior member leads the entire group (including those taking the 'ahd for the first time) in a recitation of the 'ahd sequence (al-Jazuli 1993b:48-50), which is partly solo, and partly responsorial (solo/group). There is a gradual rise in pitch. The sequence ends with a call for the fatiha, followed by group quiet recitation.]

14. Standard conclusion of the hadra

a. Ad'iyya

[Recited by leader, with congregational response "amin". End with a call for the Fatiha, followed by group quiet recitation.]

b. Fawatih

[Called by the leader, for a variety of people; the congregation responds with a quiet recitation of the Fatiha]

c. al-Shahada

[Performed by the congregation, as it was at the start of the hadra.]

There is no deity but God (3x) Muhammad is the Prophet of God

d. Greetings

[Members greet each other, and greet the shaykh. Each member first greets his neighbors (as in Friday congregational prayer), then stands and greets other tariqa members in his vicinity. These handshakes are in the traditional Shadhili form: while clasping hands, each person kisses the other's hand (the horizontal relation). Next, each member gets into a line in order to greet the shaykh. (There are two lines, one for men, and the other for women.) While the shaykh sits in his chair, the first person in each line (alternately) steps forward, kneels before him, takes his hand, and kisses it (the vertical relation).]

c. Jz hadra sequence and transcription

1. al-Hadra al-Shar'iyya

a. al-Shahada

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ * لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ * لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ * مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

b. Qur'an: Surat Yasin

c. Hizb: al-Da'wa al-Rabbaniyya

d. Dhikr "La ilaha illa Allah"

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

e. Dhikr "Allah" with solo inshad

الله الله الله الله ...

1 مدد مدد يا رسول الله مدد مدد مدد مدد

2 يا رسول الله يا حبيب الله مدد مدد

3 يا آل البيت يا رسول الله يا حبيب رسول الله

4 حَيْكَم يا ما شاء الله

5 مدد مدد يا جازولي مدد مدد

6 يا سيدي سالم مدد مدد يا أبا سالم مدد مدد

7 سيدنا الحسن مدد مدد

النور عليه من عند الله

g. Dhikr "Qayyum" without inshad

قيوم قيوم قيوم قيوم...

h. Dhikr "Allah" without inshad

الله الله الله الله الله...

i. Closing

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ * لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ * لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ * مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

2. Speech

3. Group inshad

يا فجرًا ظهر من ثنايا الحجب	1 يا نور الرضا يا خير خير نبي
ونورًا أضاء الكون والكوكب	2 يا صبحًا طلع بعد ليل ظلم
واخلع هواك إن أردت القرب	3 قف بالمقام في تمام الأدب
أصيل الجدين وشريف النسب	4 ولذ بحمى طه النبي العربي
فوق العلا وفوق كل السحب	5 لما رأته عين قلبي سبحت
هذا رسول الله عالي الحساب	6 وقلت لعيني أنظري وابتهجي
والأمر له والقلب فيه وثقا	7 قلبي وروحي لأحمد قد عشقا
فقرشت له خدي فنلت الشرفا	8 وقد سعدت لما مني اقتربا

وإذا نظر أعطى كل الأمل
لأنك أنت خير كل الرسل
فحيي لكم فوق كل السبب
واسمح بوصول سرمدي أبدا
فالعفو منكم إن رضيتم بنا
وخذني إليك يا حبيبي أنا
رفعت لواء الحب فيك علنا
أفديك بروحي وبأمي وأبي

9 يا من برضاه تُشَفَى كل العلل
10 إن كنتُ أنا في رضاكم طليبي
11 إن كان لغيري في هواكم سبب
12 أنجز ما وعدت يا حبيبي غدا
13 إن كان حيي لا يليق بكمُ
14 أنعم بقرب منك يسعدني
15 لما هواكم في القلوب سكنا
16 حيي لكم يا خير خير نبي

4. Speech: Mudhakara

5. Speech recitation: “al-Wujud al-Muhammadi” (“The Muhammadan Existence”)

6. Group inshad

نوره عم البوادي والحضر
يُسعد القلب والنظر
هو الغيث جاء على قدر
عظيم الخلق شافي الفكر
كنجم تابع للقمر
والعطر من حوله قد انتشر
ليس له مثيل في البشر
فاختال الورد على كل الزهر

1 قَمَرٌ نوره عمّ البشر
2 يَجذب الروح إذا ناجيتهُ
3 رحمة مهدها من بارئ
4 فصيح اللسان سالم النيرات
5 يأسر القلب والروح معاً
6 تُطوى له الأرض إذا ما مشى
7 جميل الطلعة والصورة
8 أخذ الورد منه عطره

كذا الكواكب والأنجُم الزهر	9 واستعار البدر منه نوره
ليتَ قلبي يسع القمر	10 له مسكن في القلب مني
وريقه أحلى من السكر	11 طيب القلوب وشفافها
وبنظرة منه يحلو العمر	12 من أتاه ذا علة طاب منها
له الروح والقلب والبصر	13 إن ناداني لبيت النداء
ومن علمه علّم أبا البشر	14 أخذ النيون منه رواءهم
وقف الكون إجلالا لسيد البشر	15 لما أراد الله أن يزف نبيه
وعلى بُراق العز في السحر	16 من بيته إلى بيته ليلا
ويطرب القلب إذا خطر	17 الروح تهوي لقاءه (الله)
وحُرِّمَ الجسد على سقر	18 مَنْ أمّه نال الرضا

7. Speech (mudhakara)

8. Solo inshad

يا سيدي يا رسول الله مدد ... يا سيدنا يا رسول الله مدد	1
واخلعُ هَوَاكَ إن أردتَ القُربِ	2 قِفْ بالمقامِ في تمامِ الأدبِ
أصيل الجدِّ وشريفُ النسبِ	3 ولذُ بِجَمَى طه النبيّ العربيّ
وكشف الحبيبُ عن الجمال الباقي	4 طابَ الشرابُ ولاح وَجْهُ السّاقِي
فَلأَح لي عين الجمال وهو مشمول	5 فقلتُ زدني يا حبيبي تقرباً
	6 والنبي حبيك ما تحرمشِ القواد منك (يا حبيبي)
	7 وتشفي قلبي العليل دا الدوا [منك - عندك] (يا حبيبي)
	8 لستَ مأنشى الأوان للقرب يا روجي

- 9 دا البعد مهما يطول (يا عين) ما ليش غني عنك
- 10 يا سيدي نظرة حبيبي نظرة نظرة يا رضا منك
- 11 يا اهل الرضا نظرة رضا
- 12 يا سيدي نظرة نظرة رضا وطميني
- 13 ياللي الرضا دائما [عندك - منك]
- 14 [سائل و - فقير - أنا الفقير - دا أنا
- اللي - هظل] واقف [علي بابك - مع
- أحبابك]
- 15 طمعان في كرمك [وفي فضلك - يا
- حبيبي]
- 16 عشمي كبير فيك يا جنين
- 17 [أروح لمن وأشكي وأقول له - أروح
- لمن وأقول وابكي]
- 18 راضي بأمرك ومطارعك
- 19 إنت عارف إنني عبدك
- 20 لو رضيتم يوم عليّ
- 21 إنت عارف أنا مين غيرك
- 22 لما رأتمكم [عيني - عين قلبي] سبحت
- 23 يا من برضاه تُشفي كل العليل
- 24 قلبي وروحي لأحمد قد عشقا
- 25 مدد مدد مدد يا جازولي يا سيدي سالم مدد مدد يا أهل المدد
- 26 يا اهل المدد مدد نظرة رضا سيدنا الحسين
- وَأنت اللّي تقدر تكرميني
- ومش غريب كرمك عني
- ومش غريب كرمك عني
- [وليّ مين غيرك يا عظيم - أروح لمن
- غيرك] [أقول له - يا عليم]
- إن شا الله حتى تعذبني
- وأنا عارف إنني مُلكك
- تبقى الفرحة أد إيه
- أنا من غيرك أبقى إيه
- فوق العُلا وفوق كُلّ السُّحبِ
- وإذا نظر حبيبي أعطى كل الأمل
- والأمر له والقلب فيه وثقا

- 27 نظرة يا زينب يا أهل الطريق مدد مدد يا أهل المدد يا آل البيت مدد مدد
 28 لما بدا نور محمد يا أهل الرضا نظرة نظرة
 29 يا رسول الله آه آه

9. Solo/Group inshad

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | آه يا جماله يا جماله | سيدي سالم يا جماله |
| 2 | يا حادي العُشّاق (يا جماله) | وغني للمشتاق (يا جماله) |
| 3 | إخدي وحاديّنا (يا جماله) | غني أغانيّنا |
| 4 | روّق لنا الكاسات (يا جماله) | ونادي على السادات (يا جماله) |
| 5 | من الدن واسقينا (يا جماله) | في الحضرة تراعيّنا |
| 6 | في حضرة المختار (يا جماله) | أنوار مع أنوار (يا جماله) |
| 7 | نور الحبيب فينا (يا جماله) | بالله هنيّنا |
| 8 | محسوب وقلبي داب (يا جماله) | يا راحة الأحياب (يا جماله) |
| 9 | بالحُبّ دأوينّا (يا جماله) | انظر وحيّنا |
| 10 | يا ساقبي الأرواح (يا جماله) | إملالي كاس الراح (يا جماله) |
| 11 | واسقني منه يا صاح (يا جماله) | من خمركَ الروّاح |
| 12 | ودور على الأرواح (يا جماله) | بعطرك الفوّاح (يا جماله) |
| 13 | تشفي قلوب وجراح (يا جماله) | طالبة الرضا بسمّاح |
| 14 | حُبّ المِلاح مِلاح (يا جماله) | تملا القلوب أفراح (يا جماله) |
| 15 | ويجمّع الأرواح (يا جماله) | على هدى الفتحّاح |

10. Group inshad

أنا مغرم فيك صباحه يا بابا يا بابا	العالى عالى يا بابا يا بابا	1
إنت فوق إنت فوق	آه الشوق الشوق واخذنا لفوق لفوق	2
نحضر معاك حضرة يا بابا يا بابا	اعطى الفقير نظرة يا بابا يا بابا	3
إنت فوق إنت فوق	آه الشوق الشوق واخذنا لفوق لفوق	4
املاي واملاني يا بابا يا بابا	يا ابر المقام عالى يا بابا يا بابا	5
اعطى الفقير نظرة يا بابا يا بابا	من كاسك الغالى يا بابا يا بابا	6
إنت فوق إنت فوق	آه الشوق الشوق واخذنا لفوق لفوق	7
أنا مغرم فيك صباحه يا بابا يا بابا	العالى عالى يا بابا يا بابا	8
إنت فوق إنت فوق	آه الشوق الشوق واخذنا لفوق لفوق	9

11. Speech: Mudhakara

12. Solo inshad

فلا يُحصي المصنّف ما يقولُ	تواترت الأدلة والنقول	1
كبير لا يعتريه الأقولُ	بأن [الهاشمي حيّ - النبي حيّ] طريّ	2
كورد طيب لا يعتريه ذبولُ	وأن الجسم منه بقاع لحدٍ	3
صلاة خمس لا يكيل ولا يميل	حيبي يصلّي في المقام	4
تحية بالصلاة وتُدرّك ما يقول	حيبي تأتبه الملائك كل فرضٍ	5
	يا بابا يا جازولي يا ابر سالم المدد	6
وأشوق القلب إلى الخِلاّن كلّهم	هزّني الوجد شوقاً لرؤيتهم	7
فأسكرهم وغيرهم عن المدام	نسيم الوصل هبّ على المدام	8

- 9 جاء [البشير - النبي] وجاء السعد بالكرم
- 10 شربت في المهد حُبَّ الحِبِّ وأحمده
- 11 (سيدنا الجازولي يقول) سرتُ الهويّتي
وكان القلب في وجلٍ
- 12 سلكت كل دروب الحب بمعرفتي
- 13 يا مدد مدد يا مدد مدد
- 14 يا رسول الله يا مدد مدد
- 15 طلعة البدر ليلة البدر يا شمس الهدى
- 16 راحة الأرواح يا مدد مدد
- 17 يا سيدنا النبي يا مدد مدد
- 18 يا طه يا طه يا مدد مدد
- 19 بهجة الأرواح مدد يا مدد
- 20 يا طه يا رجال الله مدد مدد
- 21 يا ابن الولي يا ابن الخطاب
- 22 يا بابا يا جازولي المدد
- 23 شربت في المهد حُبَّ الحِبِّ وأحمده
- 24 سرتُ الهويّتي وكان القلب في وجلٍ
- 25 يا آل البيت يا آل البيت
- 26 مالي سواهم (آل البيت) [وليس لي -
ومالي] غيرهم أبدًا
- 27 على طريق النور سارت مراكبنا
- 28 أنا شاذليُّ الحب في الوقت والزمن
- وقال هيّا إلى الأحباب في الحرم
ولم أكن أدري ما أنا فيه من حُجْبٍ
أطلب رضاهم ولو فيها كاس العطب
- حتى التقيت مع العشاق والنُجْبِ
- أنت أحمدٌ وأنت محمدٌ سيدنا النبيّ
- ولم أكن أدري ما أنا فيه من حُجْبٍ
أطلب رضاهم ولو فيها كاس العطب
- وليس لي بعدهم أحد...
منشورة الأعلام على ...
أنا أحمدِيّ الذات من فضل أدبي

13. Initiation

إن شاء الله يا أحباب اللي عايز العهد ... عهد مع الله ... عهد مع السمع والطاعة

والأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر... يتفضل

مدد مدد ... يا سيدنا النبي مدد ... الله الله على أهل الكرم والجود

14. Standard conclusion of the hadra

- a. Ad'iyya
- b. Fawatih
- c. al-Shahada

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ * لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ * لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ * مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

- d. Greetings

d. Translations of supplemental qasidas from the diwan of

Sidi Shaykh Jabir al-Jazuli

In the semantic analysis of Chapter 9, the poetry performed in Jz was supplemented with additional qasidas selected quasi-randomly from the diwan of Sidi

Jabir, in order to better represent the shaykh's output (this supplement was labelled 'Jza' in the analysis). In this section, translations of these qasidas are presented, together with the analytical marks used in semantic analysis.

1. "The Lover's Heart"

(al-Jazuli 1993b:248)

[A poem containing typical themes of Sufi love. Note especially the passage describing mystical realization, which employs metaphors of sensory pleasure, secrets, arriving at a kind of paradoxical union (lines 7-8); the overall classification is "insight".]

1	The lover's heart %3 is distracted by its love	his %3 intellect through love connects with the light %3	l
2	How glad my heart *1 when he %3 busies me *1 with love	how glad my heart *1 when he %3 accepts me *1	l
3	The people of passion %3 sold themselves %3 cheaply;	humbled themselves %3 'til annihilated, longing for his %3 kindness	l
4	If you @2 hope for love, straighten @2 out	awaken @2 from heedlessness and weakness	el
5	Don't @2 think of love as something negligible	rather, it demands that you @2 produce eyewitnesses %3	el
6	If they %3 inspected your @2 love, describing its quality	they %3 would be ravished, and go %3 mad (6, altered states)	l
7	I *1 said: increase %2 me, *1 oh beautiful one, %2 in purity	then the essence of beauty %3 revealed everything in pleasure	ms
8	And it %3 revealed to me *1 the secret of passion, its essence	until I *1 became both guide and guided (16, union)	m
9	Oh blamer in love, %2 do you %2 understand its conditions?	If you %2 did, I *1 wouldn't be isolated now.	l

2. "The Group of Faith"

(al-Jazuli 1993b:257)

[The last three lines describe a mystical journey, modelled using metaphors of pilgrimage (hajj) and the Prophet's ascent to Heaven (Isra' wa mi'raj). This is a heterodox metaphor, for it (1) reinterprets recurrent ritual journeys (hajj) and sacred historical journey (isra' wa mi'raj), exploiting them for

symbolic content to describe mystical experience: (2) attributes to the mystic what was granted to the Prophet only (the mystical ascent into Heaven). One may classify it, overall, as a metaphor of "mystical journey".]

1	We *2 are worshippers of God, ^3 the group of faith,	travelling *2 on noble mounts of love and delight	l
2	We *2 inherited from the Hashimite Prophet, #3 Mustafa #3	his #3 love for the God, ^3 the Bestower, ^3 the Merciful ^3	l
3	<u>We *2 sped to Him ^3 above Safa to Marwa,</u>	<u>the running of the bewildered lover</u> *3	lm
4	<u>Mounting *2 the Buraq of longing from Mina</u>	<u>we *2 arrived at the center %3 of</u> <u>light and proof</u>	m
5	<u>There our souls *2 were purified, and rose to the highest</u>	<u>and we *2 performed rites of</u> <u>nearness at the Lote tree of</u> <u>beneficence (30, journey)</u>	m

3. "News of Layla"

(al-Jazuli 1993b:112)

[The entire qasida plays on the heterodox metaphor of erotic love, representing the mystic's desire for spiritual union with the Godhead, symbolized by "Layla".]

1	Have you @2 any news of Layla %3 to tell?	Or did she %3 come to you, @2 as the Prophets #3 of love foretold?	l
2	<u>My *1 wont: when she %3 wants her servant, *3</u>	<u>she %3 informs me *1 from behind</u> <u>a screen of beauty.</u>	m
3	<u>I *1 turned my heart *1 from worldly desire in all its forms</u>	<u>and so my heart *1 went to her; %3</u> <u>might she %3 be charitable!</u>	l
4	<u>The vision of the past %3 used to visit me *1</u>	<u>but today %3 doesn't visit; %3 is</u> <u>seldom seen</u>	l
5	<u>I *1 am ecstatic in the vastness of her %3 dominion;</u>	<u>perhaps I *1 will see her, %3 or *1</u> <u>see one %3 who has</u>	l
6	<u>How strange! Do I *1 see her %3 in every form, veiled?</u>	<u>But how can these appearances be</u> <u>concealed? (33, eros)</u>	m

4. "Come to dhikr"

(al-Jazuli 1993b:233)

[The poem begins with an exhortation to dhikr, turning to the levels of dhikr (3), relation of shaykh to murid (4), relation of murid to God (5). In line 6 there is a shift of pronoun referents; "you" now refers to ambiguous spiritual entities, instead of addressing the muridin. Finally, line 7 employs a heterodox

metaphor (intoxication) to express the experience of dhikr. no doubt derived from descriptions of Paradise in which rivers of these liquids flow.]

1	Oh you @2 who are passionately in love, @2 come to dhikr	@2 Rise up with the lovers %3 and @2 follow me *1	el
2	With dhikr of Allah ^3 the hearts @3 are enlivened ¹⁷⁷	and life is sweetened, on land or sea	el
3	The dhikr of one %3 He ^3 loves is not like ours *2	except by reciting the ayat and suwar	el
4	Know that my *1 heart is a container for you @2	I *1 became the place by fathom or hand-span	l
5	When God ^3 opens one's @3 heart, his @3 love becomes strong	upon two states, as long as he @3 is in dhikr	el
6	The lovers' @3 hearts opened to manifestations of your light %2	and my *1 spirit accommodated all that befalls you %2	lm
7	<u>Dhikr is states and qualities, rivers flowing</u>	<u>of milk, water, honey, and wine (10, intoxication)</u>	lm

5. "The Straight Path"

(al-Jazuli 1993b:93)

1	The men %3 of God ^3 fell in love with the beloved ^3	upon the straight path they %3 walk	l
2	<u>You @2 see them %3 always crazy with love (5, altered states)</u>	%3 continuously mentioning the name of the Beloved ^3	l
3	You @2 see them %3 in the gloom, standing ecstatically	without Him ^3 they would not do this	l
4	They %3 responded to the call with dhikr "Hayy!" ¹⁷⁸ ^3	and remembrance of God ^3 renews their %3 certain conviction	l
5	<u>They %3 lost themselves %3 in their %3 love of Him ^3</u>	<u>as they %3 drank from the lovers' %3 cups (8, intoxication)</u>	lm
6	<u>They %3 have light and secrets, and their %3 essence</u>	<u>in love is a matter for the gnostics %3 (9, insight)</u>	m
7	They %3 busied themselves %3 in remembering Him, ^3 none other	and so %3 obtained gnosis and certain knowledge	m
8	Worshippers %3 loyal to God ^3 until	<u>approaching Him, ^3 they %3 arrived (4, journey)</u>	m

6. "In the Tavern"

(al-Jazuli 1993b:81)

[A poem about intoxication with God, using the ambiguous referent of the cupbearer (usually the Prophet). Some of the poem (line 1, 3b) is descriptive; the rest is exhortative. Note the sudden pronomial shifts (especially in the second half of line 3); these are typical of Sidi Jabir's poetry.]

1	In the tavern the cupbearer %3 appeared	and %3 poured for the lovers, %3 who lost themselves %3 (7, intoxication)	m
2	Arise, @2 oh desirer, @2 and adorn @2 yourself @2	Don't @2 remember anything but God! ^3	el
3	<u>With the light of light be suspended</u> <u>@2</u>	<u>and the secret of secrets they %3</u> <u>didn't divulge (6, insight)</u>	em
4	Relinquish @2 all else	and say: @2 "Allah, Allah" ^3 ^3	e
5	With good love fill @2 yourself @2	for the love is the Prophet of God #3 ^3	el

7. "Oh traveller!"

[Note line 4 - a common thought in Sufism. In line 1 the identity of the beloved is clearly Muhammad, because this line resonates with so much Islamic poetry which speaks of visiting the Prophet. However with the shift in emphasis to "you" in line 4, the referent suddenly becomes ambiguous. Is the poet still addressing the traveller? It seems unlikely. The Prophet? His shaykh?]

(al-Jazuli 1993b:241)

1	Oh you @2 who are travelling to the beloved, #3 if you @2 arrive	greet @2 him, #3 saying "God ^3 give you #2 life!"	l
2	And say: @2 "Peace be upon you, #2 oh light of guidance #2	from servants @3 everywhere who love you" #2	l
3	A servant of slavery, who never softened toward emancipation	if you @2 abandon him, #2 he won't release you	l
4	If I *1 had two hearts, I'd *1 live with one	and *1 leave the other to be sweet in your %2 love	l
5	Yours %2 is the command—order me as you %2 please	All of me *1 is obedient in your %2 hands	l
6	Test me, %2 my love, %2 if you %2 wish to	There's nothing for me *1 in love but you %2	l

8. "The Power is God's"

(al-Jazuli 1993b:106)

[The referent to the "servant" could be considered self-reference, but is better treated as applying to the listener, since it is perfectly general in its applicability to all Muslims.]

1	Oh mighty in His ^3 power	oh unique in His ^3 glory	p
2	Oh He ^3 who is exalted (Praised be He! ^3)	above everything in His ^3 domain	p
3	Oh Hearer ^3 of His ^3 servant's prayer @3	who @3 comes to You ^2 with his @3 sins	p
4	Poor @3 in every way, while	You ^2 are the holder of his fate @3	p
5	He @3 requests Your ^2 satisfaction, oh Generous One! ^2	in Your ^2 gift to your servant @3	s
6	You ^2 gave him @3 everything	and You ^2 don't require his thanks @3	ps

9. "They said: From where?"

(al-Jazuli 1993b:106)

[A highly metaphoric and enigmatic poem, full of ambiguities, referring generally to mystical experience and station, and couched in the form of a dialog. (On this rare occasion the author addresses himself as "you" in the words of his interlocutors. It is coded nevertheless as *1.)]

1	They %3 said: From where do you *1 come?	I *1 said: From the open sea of a dear Beloved %3 (5, arcana)	l
2	They %3 said: And who is he? %3	I *1 said: He %3 is all of me *1 and all my *1 wealth (4, arcana)	m
3	They %3 said: Did you *1 drink of the cup?	I *1 said: What could be sweeter, oh my uncle %2 ? (7, intoxication)	m
4	They %3 said: Did you *1 know love?	I *1 said: That love is my condition. *1	l
5	They %3 said: From where are the seas?	I *1 said: The sea is all around me. *1 (6, arcana)	m
6	They %3 said: And where is the conclusion?	I *1 said: Mercy is my *1 capital.	m
7	They %3 said: With what did you *1 arrive?	I *1 said: With my *1 weakness and my *1 trousers	m
8	They %3 said: And how is your *1 condition?	I *1 said: Oh Lord, ^2 may it be the same for me! *1	m

Notes for Appendix (I)

- ¹ Ja'fariyya inshad is only quasi-metric; hence tempo can only be determined approximately. Furthermore, all Ja'fariyya inshad is fairly uniform in speed. Approximate tempo was only plotted for Qasida #3 in Jf; tempos for the other qasidas do not differ substantially.
- ² The computation method for tempo implies a quantization effect in both time (since tempo is only computed every 5 seconds) and tempo (since the number of beats in each 15 second window is integral). There is also a delay, since tempo is not computed during the first 15 seconds of any LPS (while the averaging window is not yet full). These artifacts of the computation algorithm, together with measurement error, are clearly visible in the tempo plots.
- ³ al-Muhayman, one of the 99 Names of God.
- ⁴ The famous saint Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi of Tanta, founder of the Ahmadiyya tariqa line.
- ⁵ The Islamic community.
- ⁶ In this line "fire" evidently refers to dissension or civil strife.
- ⁷ Sidi Ibrahim al-Dasuqi, the famous saint from Disuq in the Egyptian Delta. Founder of the Burhamiyya tariqa line.
- ⁸ Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, famous saint buried in Baghdad; founder of the Qadiriyya tariqa line.
- ⁹ The munshid was cut off by the end of the dhikr tabaqa, and so ended with this standard closing line.
- ¹⁰ 'Uncle' here is a term of respect only.
- ¹¹ These are persons present at the hadra. The word for brethren, "ikhwan", is commonly used to designate the members of a tariqa.
- ¹² Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi, shaykh and founder of the tariqa Bayyumiyya.
- ¹³ In the year 1 AH the Prophet emigrated from Mecca to Madina.
- ¹⁴ Refers to a miracle of the Prophet.

¹⁵ Allusion to another Prophetic miracle.

¹⁶ I.e. leader of all the previous prophets. This is a specific reference to Muhammad's Nocturnal Journey and Ascension (Isra' wa Mi'raj), during which he led all the previous prophets in prayer, as their Imam (prayer leader).

¹⁷ In the holy war.

¹⁸ I.e. on his father's and mother's sides.

¹⁹ The sign of prophecy.

²⁰ I.e. God. The munshid uses a formula (al-wahid al-hayy) to reinforce the dhikr.

²¹ The Prophet. The full moon (*al-badr*) is a symbol of beauty in Arabic poetry.

²² Probable meaning: from the paths to Mecca, whence the Prophet's journey began.

²³ I.e. Islam.

²⁴ The qibla (direction of prayer) was originally Jerusalem; later it was changed to Mecca. Therefore the Prophet is the Imam (prayer leader) of both.

²⁵ He cuts off here because the dhikr has become faster, to sing another two phrases.

²⁶ When the tempo gets fast at the very end, the munshid leaves the madih and inserts these two lines. His pronunciation of Arabic may be in error; these should almost certainly be "وبالدين كن رحيمًا" echoing the oft-repeated Qur'anic injunction "وبالدين إحسانًا" (e.g. 6:151).

²⁷ The saints participate in an esoteric government, the *hukuma batiniyya*, over which Sayyida Zaynab presides as leader.

²⁸ Going to start.

²⁹ Indicating 'Abd al-Sattar.

³⁰ The secret language of jinn and angels; sometimes spoken by people when in *hal* (mystical condition).

³¹ One of the postures of obligatory prayer is prostration.

³² Another posture in obligatory prayer is bowing (*rak'a*). Note that the *munshid* is referring throughout this section to the Prophet Muhammad, not to God, which to some Egyptian Muslims is at least an error and at most heresy.

³³ This epithet of the Prophet apparently refers to a place in Saudi Arabia with which the Prophet was associated; see Abdel-Malek 1995:91-2.

³⁴ Allusion to a miracle of the Prophet: he was shaded from the heat by a cloud that travelled with him.

³⁵ The Arabic is *siqam*, a colloquial variant of the classical *suqm*.

³⁶ Embellished form of oath-taking.

³⁷ The saints, especially *Ahl al-Bayt*.

³⁸ Sorrow, or the bonds of the *nafs*.

³⁹ I have no ability in this regard.

⁴⁰ Literally "father of 'Ali"; here referring to al-Husayn, either as father of 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin, or as son of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (in the folk tradition, a man may be referred to as the father of his father).

⁴¹ Sayyida Zaynab, who presides over the esoteric government of saints.

⁴² Sayyida Zaynab.

⁴³ 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin.

⁴⁴ Sayyida Nafisa.

⁴⁵ Here most likely 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin, though could also refer to Sidi 'Ali al-Bayyumi.

⁴⁶ 'Ali's sister, or the Prophet's daughter. Here, most likely the former since all the individuals mentioned are buried in Egypt.

⁴⁷ The Prophet's father's sister, who is buried next to Sitti Ruqaya in Cairo.

⁴⁸ This line and the next two refer to Sayyida `A`isha. There is likely some confusion, as the munshid appears to be mentioning members of the Ahl al-Bayt buried in Egypt, whereas this `A`isha is not buried in Egypt nor strictly a member of the Ahl al-Bayt. There is also a member of the Ahl al-Bayt named Sayyida `A`isha, who is buried near Sayyida Nafisa; the munshid may be confused here.

⁴⁹ Four qutbs.

⁵⁰ Ahmad al-Rifa`i.

⁵¹ Ibrahim al-Dasuqi

⁵² Ahmad al-Badawi.

⁵³ `Ali al-Bayyumi. Chronologically, he comes after the four qutbs, but his followers consider him to be greater than they. The hadra is for his tariqa.

⁵⁴ `Ali al-Bayyumi.

⁵⁵ The first khalifa (deputy) of Sidi Ahmad al-Badawi; buried next to him in Tanta.

⁵⁶ This line and the following refer to Sultan al-Farghal, a great saint buried in Abu Tij, near Assiut.

⁵⁷ This line and the next refer to Sidi Jalal al-Din al-Asyuti, in Assiut, here called *sahib al-farah* ("master of the wedding") because his mawlid (which usually marks the death-day, but is often is considered as a birth (hence *mawlid*) when the shaykh was reborn into a higher spiritual state. Jalal al-Din was a 15th-century intellectual active in literature as well as religion, and a major figure in the Shadhiliyya tariqa tradition.

⁵⁸ This line and the following refer to the great saint of Qina, Sidi `Abd al-Rahim al-Qinawi.

⁵⁹ This jabana (cemetery) of Aswan is one of three places in Egypt where all the saints are said to have shrines; most of these, of course, are mere cenotaphs.

⁶⁰ Note how the munshid elides the two previous words, in order to better fit with the dhikr. This is typical of the section which follows, in which textual clarity is sacrificed to the forward movement of the dhikr.

⁶¹ The term “uncle” (‘amm) is used as an informal title of respect. Here it refers to the Prophet, or possibly to the saints, or a shaykh.

⁶² Requests for a “glance” (nazra) are another expression of supplication.

⁶³ In this line, he addresses his *nafs* (self).

⁶⁴ Shaykh Fahim, father of the presiding hadra shaykh, passed away the previous year.

⁶⁵ Shaykh Ibrahim Fahim, despite his young age, officially presides over this hadra, being the Bayyumiyya khalifat al-khulafa’ for the area. He inherited his position from his father, Shaykh Fahim.

⁶⁶ Another shaykh present.

⁶⁷ Arabic *rabbina* = God, Allah.

⁶⁸ One of the participants in hadra.

⁶⁹ Most probably the man who provided food for this hadra. Nafha (literally, “gift”) is any distribution (usually food or drink, perfume, incense, occasionally small coins) distributed to participants during or following a hadra; it is considered an important spiritual act of generosity, conferring spiritual benefits upon the giver, and carrying to recipients baraka of the saint in whose name the hadra is performed. In this hadra, the nafha consists of a light meal consumed after the hadra, followed by tea.

⁷⁰ Mother of Shaykh Ibrahim, wife of the deceased shaykh Fahim, who prepares the food for the hadra.

⁷¹ A reference to Sufi theosophy of Ibn ‘Arabi, al-Jili, Tustari, and others, in which the Prophet Muhammad in archetypal form (al-haqiqa al-muhammadiyya, or al-nur al-muhammadi) is regarded as the essence of creation, and the first principle of the entire universe. See Schimmel 1975:223-4, Schimmel 1985 :123 ff.) The munshid, who is illiterate, means mainly to praise the Prophet here, but the connections to lofty theosophy are undeniable.

⁷² Sadiq; here meaning Abu Bakr, companion of the Prophet and the first Caliph. The word is also close to siddiq (true believer), an epithet of this Caliph.

⁷³ The Qur’an.

⁷⁴ Apparently, an allusion to a story about the Prophet.

⁷⁵ God writes book of deeds for every person, good and bad, which he will confront on Judgement Day.

⁷⁶ I.e., he could defeat them easily. The reference is to the conflicts between the Muslims and Jews in Madina, after the Prophet's immigration there.

⁷⁷ I.e., this was not easy. The word "sirat" refers primarily to the "straight path" of the Prophet, the "sirat al-mustaqim" mentioned in the Fatiha. But it also alludes to the sirat of Judgement Day, a bridge which will be laid over the fires of Hell. All will be required to walk this bridge, and the sinners will fall from it to their doom. It is described as being narrow as a sword for the unbeliever, wide for the virtuous faithful.

⁷⁸ The words "wahadd" (and sharper) closely resemble "wahid" (one) in Arabic, thus preserving the end rhyme.

⁷⁹ Abu Salih is the other munshid present. This shows that madad may be requested from anyone. Whereas requests for madad to other than God are condemned by strict orthodoxy, requests to other than the Prophet, Ahl al-Bayt, and established saints are avoided by the modernist turuq. In the freer contexts of mulid, laila, or at the periphery of a weakly defined tariqa such as the Bayyumiyya, madad may be requested from anyone at all. This is not such a heterodox notion as it seems, however; the idea is that anyone can give "help" according to his own capabilities.

⁸⁰ Fatima al-Nabawiyya.

⁸¹ Green is the color of Islam.

⁸² Ecstatic utterance from the munshid.

⁸³ "Layla" signifies "la ilaha illa Allah", "there is no deity but God". The wine seller (khammar) is the mystical lover, who stays up at night (layla) worshipping God.

⁸⁴ Everyone has his own state (hal), worshipping in his own way.

⁸⁵ Sidi 'Ali Muwafi is a saint buried in Shubra, Cairo.

⁸⁶ Abu'l-Hasan al-Shadhili.

⁸⁷ The ghawth al-zaman could refer to any major saint, probably one of the arba' aqtab (four principal qutbs).

⁸⁸ Ahmad al-Badawi.

- ⁸⁹ Probably Sayyida Zaynab; could also refer to Fatima Nabawiyya.
- ⁹⁰ Sayyida Zaynab.
- ⁹¹ Apparently a reference to Sayyida Zaynab.
- ⁹² Abu 'l-'Abbas al-Dandarawi, in Basatin, Cairo.
- ⁹³ Author of the most famous poem in praise of the Prophet, "al-Burda"; buried in Alexandria.
- ⁹⁴ Sultan Abu 'l-'Ala, in Bulaq, Cairo.
- ⁹⁵ The Prophet.
- ⁹⁶ Was the khaddam of Sidi Abu 'l-'Abbas al-Mursi; buried near him in Alexandria.
- ⁹⁷ Another saint of Alexandria.
- ⁹⁸ Saint buried in Alexandria. The munshid, who is from Aswan, says he mentions so many Alexandrian saints because he lived there 13 years, and knows their names.
- ⁹⁹ Humul. The word appears to be connected to childbirth, but may also refer to burdens, worries, anxieties of any kind; the phrase "shayil al-humul" ("carrier of burdens") may refer to any saint; one Sufi said this is Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi.
- ¹⁰⁰ Another saint of Alexandria, buried next to Sidi Dardar.
- ¹⁰¹ Another saint of Alexandria.
- ¹⁰² Another Alexandrian saint, buried in Kum al-Dikka.
- ¹⁰³ Saint buried at Kliyubatra, in Alexandria.
- ¹⁰⁴ A *bashir* is one who brings good tidings. One member of the tariqa said that this phrase refers to Bishr al-Hafi, an early Sufi ascetic. See Schimmel 1975:37.
- ¹⁰⁵ I.e. be responsible for me on Resurrection Day.

¹⁰⁶ Muhammad.

¹⁰⁷ A Prophetic miracle.

¹⁰⁸ There are two interpretations, since “layla” also means night. Either the line is as above, or else it says: “we came this night, and the bride intoxicated us”. In this case “the bride” could be Muhammad, who is often referred to as “the bride of Resurrection Day” (“*arusat yawm al-qiyama*”) because of his great beauty and centrality on that fateful day. This interpretation also has the advantage of maintaining a consistent theme (love and praise for Muhammad). The *munshid* himself favored the former interpretation.

¹⁰⁹ The Arabic “*amm*” (uncle) is here used as a term of respect only.

¹¹⁰ The Arabic “*aghithna adrikna*” (save us, notice us) is a standard formula in traditional *inshad*.

¹¹¹ Due to his longing for the Prophet.

¹¹² The vow (*nadhr*) is a ritual associated with saint veneration, and thus important in Sufism.

¹¹³ The house of Muhammad, i.e. the Rawda in Madina.

¹¹⁴ I.e. right hand.

¹¹⁵ One views the maqam of the Prophet through a grillwork window, also called a maqsura.

¹¹⁶ The Arabic “*tibi*” has several meanings here: perfume, sweetness, blessing. Thus this line is effectively in praise of the Prophet, and the fulfillment of his imagined vow.

¹¹⁷ I.e. on Resurrection Day.

¹¹⁸ Note that the previous two lines are sung by Shaykh Ahmad al-Tuni, the famous Sa’idi shaykh (Abdel-Malik 1995:129).

¹¹⁹ Reference to a miracle of the Prophet.

¹²⁰ Sudden speedup here.

¹²¹ Heterodox notion: the sun worships the beauty of Muhammad.

¹²² I.e. the prophets who were given messages for all mankind. The messengers (rusul) are properly a subset of the prophets (anbiya'), who received revelation but not necessarily a risala (message).

¹²³ The Arabic, "atufu", is ordinarily associated with the seven-fold circumambulation of the Ka'ba at Mecca, an integral part of the *hajj* pilgrimage.

¹²⁴ Literally, "my clay" ("tin"). The body (*gasad*) is made of water and earth.

¹²⁵ He either forgets or does not know the first shatra to this line and so omits it, passing to this, the second.

¹²⁶ Body.

¹²⁷ In this shatra he has combined two similar-sounding lines of the original with quite different meanings. Note that he also skips lines. However the effect is the same: a profusion of mystical and esoteric symbolism which no one quite understands, and therefore sounds all the more ponderous.

¹²⁸ Here I have rendered "labbat" as "responded". The word is linguistically close to "labbayka", part of the formula "labbayka Allah labbayk" uttered upon approach to the Ka'ba at Mecca, during the *hajj*.

¹²⁹ The banner, "liwa'", is a potent symbol in Islam and Sufism, signifying for the former the battles and conquests performed in the name of God, and for the latter allegiance to a shaykh, whose *tariqa* is also distinguished by a particular banner.

¹³⁰ al-Jalala, God in His aspect of *Mysterium Tremendum*, exalted terrifying splendor; the word is feminine in Arabic.

¹³¹ The last shatra is so arcane that the *munshid* attempts to explicate the third person femine pronoun with this list of possible antecedents, thus helping his audience (and, no doubt, himself) to understand it.

¹³² 'Ali al-Bayyumi.

¹³³ Ibrahim al-*Dasuqi*.

¹³⁴ Sidi Ahmad al-Badawi.

¹³⁵ The metaphor of union with the Godhead is completed by the image of a priest playing the *mizmar*, commonly used at wedding celebrations. Note that the *mizmar* is particularly heterodox, as the Prophet was known to have disliked its sound.

¹³⁶ This line is repeated from above.

¹³⁷ A richly symbolic line replete with Qur'anic reference. The mountain is the exoteric self, which crumbles upon contact with the Divine Essence. This is also an allusion to the story of Musa (Moses) in the Qur'an: he asks to see God, who tells him he will not be able to bear the experience. Instead, God reveals Himself to a mountain (Tawr), which crumbles as Musa looks on. For Sufis, Musa represents the exoteric path, as opposed to the mysterious Khidr whose mystically inspired acts, apparently contravening Divine Law (shari'a) Musa cannot understand.

¹³⁸ I.e. God determines the future.

¹³⁹ This phrase is clearly added by the munshid, a means of fixing the otherwise vague references of the poem, and avoiding its heretical meaning of sensual love.

¹⁴⁰ Again, the munshid suggests various interpretations in his repetition of this line.

¹⁴¹ Those who lost their minds for love of Layla.

¹⁴² Meaning that the lover of Layla must die to this world.

¹⁴³ Went mad, or died; the precise meaning is not clear.

¹⁴⁴ The Ka'ba in Mecca.

¹⁴⁵ The Prophet.

¹⁴⁶ Reference to the Prophet's "Nocturnal journey and ascension" ("isra' wa mi'raj").

¹⁴⁷ This is the second shatra of the original poem; the munshid has omitted the first.

¹⁴⁸ This expression undoubtedly refers to the Prophet's grandchildren, who are the central figures of the Ahl al-Bayt, especially in Egypt: Sayyidna al-Husayn, Sayyidna Hasan, Sayyida Zaynab.

¹⁴⁹ Plural "you" refers to Sayyidna al-Husayn and Sayyida Zaynab. The referent would be understood by listeners, since it is clear from context in the full poem, which is well-known to them.

¹⁵⁰ Epithet of Sayyida Zaynab.

¹⁵¹ Interrupted by change in dhikr formula.

¹⁵² Intimation of the Prophet's presence at hadra.

¹⁵³ The Qur'an describes the Prophet as being of a "tremendous nature" ("khuluqin 'azimin") (Qur'an 68:4).

¹⁵⁴ A Prophetic miracle.

¹⁵⁵ Reference to the "Isra' wa Mi'raj" ("Night journey and ascension"), in which the Prophet was transported atop a miraculous creature (the Buraq) from Mecca to Madina, then upwards through the seven heavens to God.

¹⁵⁶ Several variants are sung.

¹⁵⁷ This is not the original second shatra for this line, but rather belongs with the previous.

¹⁵⁸ This line precedes the previous in the original. Here the other munshidin enter and support the singer with choral responses.

¹⁵⁹ "Ahmad" is one of the Prophet's many names.

¹⁶⁰ The *hadi* led the camel caravan and sang to them. It is a common Sufi metaphor to conceive of the spiritual leader as a *hadi* for his followers, and the Prophet himself is often thus described as well.

¹⁶¹ Note that the "Chosen One" is a clear reference to the Prophet; however the "beloved" is ambiguous.

¹⁶² The Opener (al-Fattah): one of the 99 Most Beautiful Names of God.

¹⁶³ "al-'Ali 'Ali yaba" is a phrase uttered by the lover to his beloved which recurs in popular Egyptian folklore; roughly, the meaning is: "You are great, and will always be so, by my father". Here, however, the meaning of "father" is extended to the object of love, whether shaykh, Prophet, etc.

¹⁶⁴ The Prophet Muhammad (of the Hashimite clan, Bani Hashim).

¹⁶⁵ These are the "obligatory prayers" (*farḍ*) mentioned below.

¹⁶⁶ The area surrounding the Ka'ba in Mecca, known as the Haram.

¹⁶⁷ This is certainly added by the munshid, so as to give the poem the shaykh's authority. Note that it is distinguished also by being in the colloquial, whereas the poem is in classical Arabic.

¹⁶⁸ Ahl al-Bayt.

¹⁶⁹ Note that these names also carry their literal meanings here, respectively "most praised", "illustrious".

¹⁷⁰ The Prophet Muhammad.

¹⁷¹ This is probably a reference to the second of the four Rightly Guided Caliphs, and a companion of the Prophet: 'Umar ibn al-Khattab.

¹⁷² Tape unclear; several words are missing here.

¹⁷³ Tape unclear; several words are missing here.

¹⁷⁴ Adjective referring to the qutb, Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili.

¹⁷⁵ Adjective referring to the Prophet.

¹⁷⁶ The Ahl al-Bayt.

¹⁷⁷ Quotation of well-known hadith about dhikr.

¹⁷⁸ "Hayy" ("Living") is one of the 99 Names of God, and a common formula chanted in the Sufi dhikr.

Appendix (II)

A. Hadra event lists, time-lines, transcriptions, and translations

(continued)

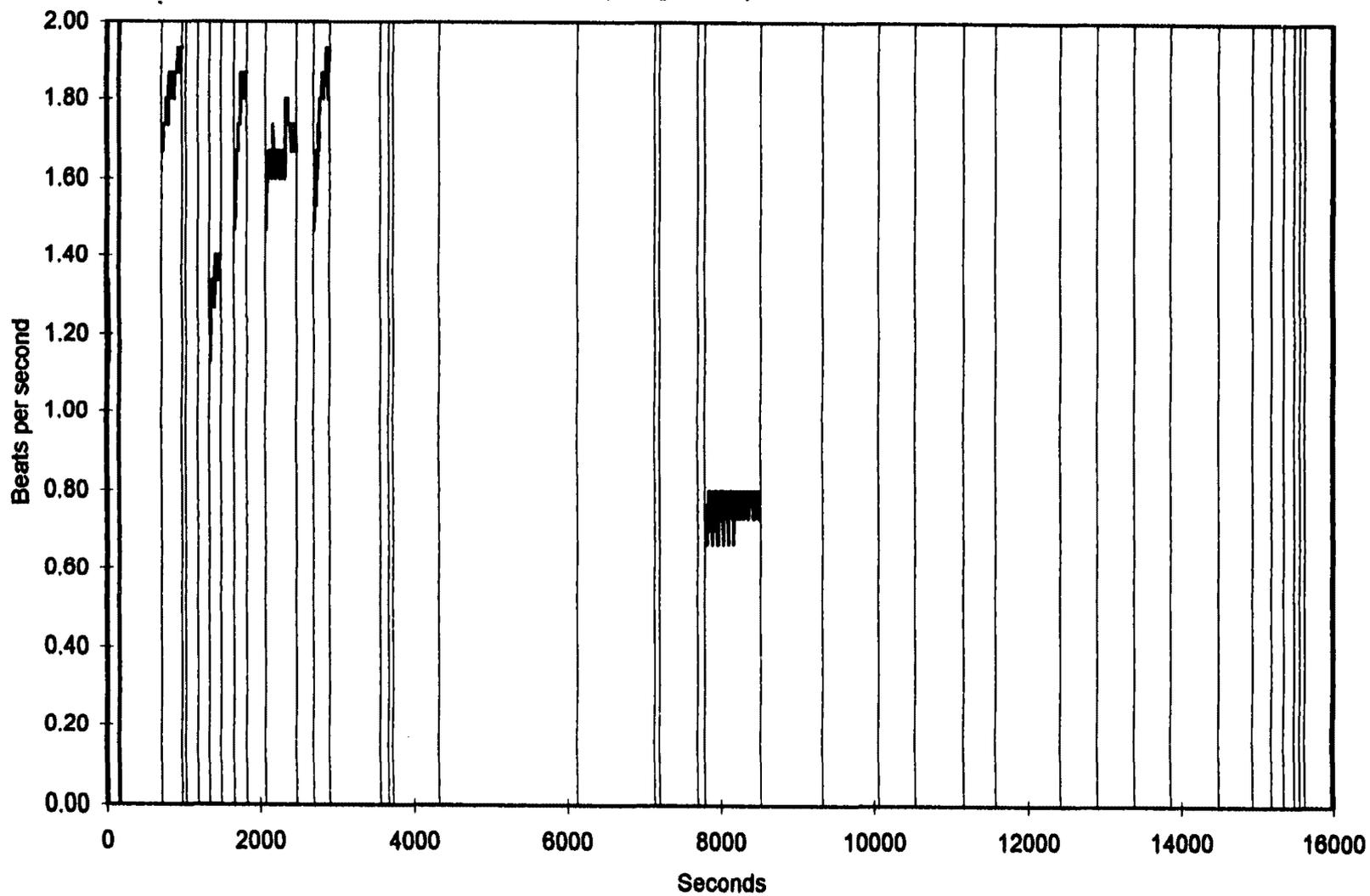
1. Central Ja'fariyya hadra: Jf

a. Jf event list and time-line

Event	Seconds
Opening	0
al-Fatiha	0
"Opening of the Ja'fari Hadra"	29
Fawatih	151
Kanz al-Sa'ada	182
"La ilaha illa Allah" starts	713
"La ilaha illa Allah" ends	980
"Allah" starts	1028
"Allah" ends	1184
"Hu" starts"	1338
"Hu" ends	1487
"Ya 'Azim" starts	1661
"Ya 'Azim" ends	1825
"Ya Hayy" starts	2068
"Ya Hayy" ends	2474
"Ya Latif" starts	2693
"Ya Latif" ends	2901
Closing	3568
Supplicatory prayer ("Du'a' wa raja'")	3568
Fawatih	3670
Greetings and break	3730
Night prayer (al-'isha')	4330
Qasida #1.	6130
Short speech by Shaykh	7139
Qasida #2	7204
Short speech by Shaykh	7699
Qasida #3.	7788
Short speeches by Shaykh and another	8521

Qasida #4	9320
Qasida #5	10053
Qasida #6	10527
Qasida #7	11159
Qasida #8	11570
Qasida #9: "Raqa'iq al-Haqa'iq"	12422
Qasida #10	12903
Qasida #11	13382
Qasida #12	13855
Qasida #13	14484
Qasida #14	14930
Supplicatory prayer	15180
Supplicatory prayer "Du'a' wa raja'"	15336
Fawatih	15486
Hadra close (Fatiha and khitam)	15556
Qasida #15	15618
End of hadra	15965

**Jf events and tempos
(Diagram 9)**



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b. *Jf hadra sequence and translation*

The following is a translation of the full transcription of Jf, on which variables defined in Chapter 7 were evaluated in Chapters 8 and 9. Comments between text segments are enclosed in square brackets. Note that the right-hand column of inshad transcriptions, as well as other symbols in-text, are codes used for analysis. Texts are presented in canonical form; therefore contiguous repeats are not indicated. (Turn to the Chapter 7 for an explanation of coding and canonical form.) Line numbers allow cross-referencing to the Arabic transcription.

1. First part: hizb and other recitations

a. Opening

i. Recitation of al-Fatiha

[Recited aloud, ensemble]

ii. Recitation of “Opening of the Ja’fari Hadra” (“Iftitahiyya al-Hadra al-Ja’fariyya”)

[Source: “Kanz al-Nafahat”. (al-Ja’fari n.d.b.:12), assembled by Shaykh Salih al-Ja’fari. This “opening” begins with the Qur’anic injunction to bless the Prophet, followed by salawat for various spiritual entities: the Prophet, other prophets, angels, virtuous ones (*salihin*, usually meaning saints), the four “rightly guided” caliphs, the Companions (ashab) and followers (tab’in) of the Prophet. Concludes with a du’a’ for God’s mercy and praise of His greatness.]

iii. Fawatih

[Called in a quiet voice by one of the senior members, and therefore difficult to hear. The names appear to include the Prophet and Shaykh Salih. The calls are followed by quiet ensemble recitation.]

b. Kanz al-Sa'ada

[Source: "Kanz al-Sa'ada", assembled by Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris (Ibn Idris n.d.:31-49). Recited in unison by the entire congregation, in solemn tones. The thirty primary sections of "Kanz al-Sa'ada" were described in Chapter 6. The following dhikr segments—performed with tremendous restraint and control—are embedded within it. The number of repeats is observed precisely, cued by the leader who counts on a sibha. The number is either 100 (a standard value) or by application of 'ilm al-huruf (for the last two formulas only). Often there is a one degree pitch rise after exactly 34 repetitions, cued by the leader.]

- La ilaha illa Allah (100x)
- Allah (100x)
- Hu (100x)
- Ya 'Azim (100x)
- Ya Hayy Ya Qayyum (174x)
- Ya Latif (129x)

c. Closing

i. Supplicatory prayer ("du'a' wa raja'")

[Source: "Du'a' wa Raja'" (al-Ja'fari n.d.b.:74-76), assembled by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani Salih al-Ja'fari. The first part of this du'a' is recited by the leader with group response "Amin" after each line; the second part is a group recitation. Unlike traditional ad'iyya, this du'a' is completely fixed.]

ii. Fawatih

[More fawatih, called in a quiet voice, for Sidi Ahmad ibn Idris, Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari, and Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani al-Ja'fari.]

iii. Greetings and break

[The first part of the hadra is over. Members rise and greet each other. Formality is temporarily suspended.]

2. Night prayer (al-'isha')

[First is the call to prayer (adhan), including a lengthy extension of salawat for the Prophet. Next is Qur'anic recitation, followed by a call for the Fatiha for Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari. Then the second call to prayer (iqamat al-salah), the prayer itself, and concluding supererogatory prayers (Sunna).]

3. Second part: inshad

a. Qasida #1

[Source: From a qasida by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari (al-Ja'fari 1979:1: 61). Principally a madih for the Ahl al-Bayt and Prophet, and an exhortation to visit them. Note its elevated and formulaic style, didactic tone, and conventional content based squarely on Sunna and conservative Sufi ideas; this is typical of nearly all the qasidas performed in Jf. Note also the formulaic ending: Shaykh Salih nearly always turns to blessing the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt toward the end of every poem, including his name and quoting the first line in the last (the munshidin may substitute "our shaykh" for his name; see #3 below). It is performed in a predictable and simple musical style, the standard format for all Ja'fariyya inshad performance: one to three soloists sing the poem, using a fixed melody for each line (or two), alternating with the refrain (line marked 'm' for "madhhab") performed by the congregation. Tariqa members consider this kind of refrain dhikr. Like nearly all of Shaykh Salih's output, this poem is in classical Arabic (fusha). The lines sung are excerpted from the original, but preserve the original ordering, as well as presenting the original beginning and ending; the same procedure is applied to every other qasida performed.]

m	God, ^2 oh God, ^2 oh God ^2	oh Lord ^2 oh Merciful One, ^2	s
		Your ^2 help is nearest	
1	Oh, those ¹ #3 who though far #3	and #3 don't veil themselves from	l
	are close to me *1	my *1 heart	
2	God's ^3 affection for them #3 is a	so by their #3 love for Mustafa #3 I	p
	means,	*1 draw near	
3	If I *1 didn't strive toward visiting	then whom would I *1 visit?	l
	them #3		
4	Gold, #3 while others are brass, so	to the excellent ones, #3 who are	ep
	go @2	best in the world	
5	Their #3 love lives in the heart, as if	are the lamp of the hearts, never	lp
	they #3	setting	
6	My *1 distance is not due to	pours forth your #2 praise	p
	aversion, for I *1 am he who	throughout the world	
7	The taste is sweet for he @3 who	with your #2 love; then tears of	l
	connects his @3 heart	longing pour forth,	
8	as the martyr's blood is a sign of his	and through it is the approach,	l

9	love, I *1 see the light of love on their #3 faces	whenever he approaches and their #3 words are wondrous	lp
10	Listen @2 to words of lovers #3 who knew passion,	and leave words of the false denier %3	el
11	There is no love except for the lovers, #3 oh youth; @2	when you @2 come to them, %3 compassion is poured forth	elp
12	Go down @2 to their #3 <i>saha</i> and you'll find what you seek;	there, as in heaven, you @2 can request anything	ep
13	If you @2 reach their #3 abode honor @2 it, for	the abode of the lovers #3 is dear to the hearts	elp
14	An abode to which <i>Jabril</i> comes with guidance	and <i>Mustafa</i> #3 is there, the best prophet	p
15	The light of Prophecy, and the Book and its light:	two lights which illuminated Yathrib ² with joy	p
16	Oh those #3 who are the people #3 of the 'aba' ³ ,	the people #3 of generosity, whose #3 land is never barren	p
17	In the gardens of Paradise, they #3 prevail,	their #3 brows often turned in prayer	p
18	If you @2 come to their #3 abode in need	supplicating @2 God, ^3 your @2 desire will be fulfilled:	eps
19	the Prophet's door, should you @2 desire it,	and their #3 love in his #3 love for you @2 is written	el
20	Visit @2 them #3 with your @2 heart, if you @2 want your @2 desires;	when you @2 arrive, say: @2 "a lover @3 desires"	e
21	<u>Your @2 spirit is shaken, when you</u> <u>@2 enter their #3 station.</u>	<u>by love and longing, for it @3 is</u> <u>unveiled</u> (10, altered states)	lm
22	If you @2 see, you see radiant light, #3	and if you @2 hear, that is more wondrous	p
23	Were you @2 in beautiful Egypt, oh youth, @2	and forbidden from them, #3 that would stir to anger @2	l
24	Their #3 spirits always call the lovers;	there is intimacy and virtues are poured forth	p
25	They #3 nourished their captive, their mendicant,	and the orphan, whose presence is a desert ⁴	p
26	God ^2 praised them #3 in the Book ⁵	so what can I *1 say or write for praise?	p

27	Submit your @2 spirit, not your @2 body, oh youth @2	the spirit of the lovers #3 always causes love	el
28	When you @2 arrive in spirit, refreshed, travel @2 with us; *2	this meeting in secret is difficult	e
29	Hurry @2 to them, #3 then stop politely	for the humble lover @3 becomes well-mannered	e
30	It suffices for your @2 soul to witness them; #3	refreshment and sweet basil there is sweetest	ep
31	If your @2 heart constricts, al-Husayn #3 is the cure;	in his #3 love is serenity not withheld	ep
32	Hasan #3 and Husayn #3 are the two masters, and he @3 who comes	to extend greetings to them, #3 @3 draws near	p
33	to Mustafa, #3 best of mankind; indeed he @3	always finds joy, is not made unhappy	ep
34	Hasan #3 loves Husayn, #3 his twin,	and Husayn #3 doesn't prefer anything to his twin ⁶ #3	p
35	They are two moons #3 in their #3 light	and their father ⁷ #3 is nearest to the Prophet #3	P
36	Never did a heart @3 come to them, #3 turbid with worldly desires	but was illumined @3 by their #3 light, as a planet	ep
37	Rejoice if you @2 enter their #3 abode;	the house of the Prophet's family #3 will not fall	ep
38	Ever good #3 among mankind due to their #3 virtues;	their #3 spirits welcome visitors @3	ep
39	Then, blessings on the Prophet Muhammad #3	and peace until Judgement Day is written ⁸	s
40	And the family, #3 the family #3 of the house, who renounced the world,	and also the companions #3 who befriended <i>Taha</i> #3	s
41	As long as Ja'fari *3 says to the family of Ahmad: #3	"those #3 who though far are close to me" ⁹ *1	ls

b. Qasida #2

[Source: From a qasida by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari (al-Ja'fari 1979:6:945). Madih for the Prophet and the Qur'an. References to the listener though oblique may be exhortatory. Again the refrain is dhikr.]

m God, ^2 God, ^2 God, ^2 God ^2 s

1	Prophet #2 of God, ^3 I *1 lowered my saddlebags ¹⁰	at your door, peace be upon you #2 from me *1	p
2	For you #2 are the mercy of the Merciful, ^3 which covers	all the world, both man and jinn	p
3	To me *1 you #2 are the elevated citadel;	how wonderful that the Prophet #3 is my *1 citadel!	p
4	God ^2 crowned you #2 with a crown of glory	and honor, so my lord #2 do take me *1	ps
5	to light which purifies my *1 heart	and fills it *3 with your #2 gladdening knowledge	ps
6	For you #2 are the city filled with knowledge	and 'Ali #3 is its gate, in every field ¹¹	p
7	I *1 asked for knowledge of your #2 <i>Shari'a</i> , oh my beloved, #2	so by <i>Hasanayn</i> #3 and <i>Zahra</i> #3 answer me *1	ls
8	And bestow #2 upon me *1 with sublime secrets	so that my *1 acts will help the Muslims	s
9	By your #2 glory I *1 asked God, ^3 my Lord ^3	to answer my *1 request and be pleased with me *1	ps
10	Your #2 standing with Him ^3 is great;	at the Gathering ¹² you #2 are close to the Merciful ^3	p
11	You #2 intercede on the Day of Sorrow ¹³	for he @3 who comes to you #2 with good intention	p
12	You #2 remove from them @3 a great sorrow;	none else can remove it, and be thanked	p
13	For you #2 are the most distinguished of the outstanding in ability:	beloved #2 of God, ^3 #2 cause me *1 to benefit from your #2 knowledge	ps
14 ¹⁴	God ^3 supports you #2 with every goodness,	and with a Qur'an which enriches like the sun	p
15	Its virtues fill the world with light,	and guidance to the gardens of Eden	p
16	It gladdens the heart, and he @3 who recites it	lives life protected and in peace	p
17	Ever recited, lofty light;	it builds your #2 high religion:	p
18	Protection #3 of the Muslims, great #3 of stature,	intercessor #3 to the sinner	p
19	The messenger #3 of God, savior #3 or rather succor, #3	purges from the world all disgrace	p
20	The gazelle called him #3 in the	'Father of <i>Zahra</i> ', #3 save #3 me	p

	desert,	from sorrow” ¹⁵	
21	So the Prophet #3 set her free and forgave;	he #3 realized the hopes of everyone	p
22	And the <i>Rawda</i> ¹⁶ , oh my brother, @2	gladdens the heart @3 from worry and sorrow	p
23	There is refreshment, sweet basil, and light ¹⁷ ;	there is my *1 happiness, my *1 guidance, my *1 good fortune	p
24	There is the chosen one, #3 smiling; you @2 see him #3	greeting his #3 visitors with peace	p
25	Spreading #3 the good news of what they @3 asked from him #3	and interceding #3 for all without hesitation	p
26	May God ^3 bless him #3 all the time	with greetings as long as the camel driver sings	s
27	And the family #3 and noble companions, #3	dear family #3 of God who live in Eden	ps
28	To you #2 Ja‘fari *3 comes with praise,	messenger of God, #2 ^3 my *1 intention is good	p

c. Qasida #3

[Source: From a qasida by Shaykh Salih al-Ja‘fari (al-Ja‘fari 1979:4:551). Note the complex levels of supplication here: the author beseeches God to have Muhammad intercede with Him on Resurrection Day. More than this, he asks God to grant this favor for Muhammad’s sake. This poem indicates the complex spiritual relation between Sufi, God, and Prophet. Note also how the mode of direct address turns from God, to the Prophet (line 11), and finally back to God. Note also that the listener is never really addressed, except perhaps if one counts very oblique terms (perhaps as one of the “worshippers” in line 5, for instance). The poem describes spiritual relationships between the author, God, and Prophet, and serves as a constructive model for similar relationships between listener or munshid, God, and Prophet in performance. The munshidin substitute “our shaykh” for the original “al-Ja‘fari” in the last line; this is a common practice in other qasidas as well, and a means of enabling identification with the textual ego.]

m	Oh Lord ^2 bless the Prophet #3 Muhammad	and bestow peace upon the perfect Ahl al-Bayt #3	s
1	Oh Wide ^2 of sovereignty and kingdom,	unto Whom ^2 there is no like; I *1 trust in You ^2	p
2	Indeed I *1 hope from You ^2 (and hope is supplication)	oh You ^2 who dispels all darkness	ps
3	I *1 asked You ^2 by the Prophet Muhammad #3	best of mankind, #3 our *2 honored Prophet #3	ps
4	Indeed, with Muhammad’s #3 help I *1 face You, ^2 supplicating;	oh my God, ^2 accept my *1 prayer!	s

5	Make ^2 him #3 intercede for me ¹⁸ , *1 an intercession making You ^2 pleased with me, *1	as You ^2 are satisfied with the perfect worshipers	s
6	Oh Lord! ^2 Then accept my *1 petition for the sake of Muhammad, #3	wondrous intercessor, #3 when he comes to the Assembly ¹⁹	ps
7	on the Day of Judgement, as intercessor and savior;	he #3 has Your ^2 acceptance for the supplicant	ps
8	For his #3 sake comes a cloud to shade the community	who asked You, ^2 my Lord, ^2 the request of the pious	ps
9	Make ^2 him #3 intercede, my *1 Lord, ^2 oh Generous One, ^2 for I *1	request of You, ^2 One Lord, ^2 that I *1 not be disappointed	s
10	He *3 who asks the Controller ²⁰ , ^3 supplicating, doesn't fail	hoping *3 for success via the stature of one #3 not disappointed	ps
11	Intercede #2 oh honored one, ²¹ #2 for I *1	am in the Green Rawda, near the house ²²	ps
12	Intercede #2 oh father of Zahra ²³ , #2 for you #2 are blessed with intercession;	you #2 are the intercessor and #2 most excellent of Prophets	ps
13	Oh white of face, #2 who by his #3 light	illuminated the hearts of the best gnostics %3	p
14	Oh best of those #2 who worshipped God ^3 drawing near	among all the perfect prostrating worshippers ²⁴	p
15	For I *1 am a lover, and the lover *1 hopes for satisfaction	oh best #2 of those who were always satisfied	ls
16	I *1 request your #2 pleasure, for I *1 am supplicating	by your high station, #2 by your radiant face #2	ps
17	Grandfather #2 of al-Husayn, #3 from you #2 compassion always;	you #2 are merciful, and the best supplicant	ps
18	Oh Lord, ^2 bless the Prophet Muhammad #3	and also peace ^2 to the perfect <i>Ahl</i> <i>al-Bayt</i> #3	ps
19	As long as [al-Ja'fari *3 - our shaykh ²⁵] says in his *3 spiritual solitude:	"oh you #2 who dispel all darkness"	ps

d. Qasida #4

[Source: From a qasida by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari (al-Ja'fari 1979:3:372). A madih for the Prophet.]

m	Blessings and peace be upon Mustafa, #3	and family #3 and Companions, #3 dear noble people #3	ps
1	We *2 crossed the deserts to the best of creation #3	with love and longing and tears flowing ²⁶	l
2	And he *3 who yearns for the Prophet of Guidance #3	travels to him #3 with quick pace	l
3	Oh how happy he *3 who visited him #3 sincerely,	came to him #3 and obtained blessing	l
4	A noble Prophet, #3 inspiring awe	shining with light which exceeds the full moon	p
5	Eminent #3 and notable, his #3 <i>Rawda</i>	honors the entire earth	p
6	Would that my *1 heart could see his #3 light	and my *1 eye see the everlasting <i>Rawda</i>	l
7	For me *1 your #2 face is the most beloved of faces	and your #2 stature is enough for the entire world ²⁷	lp
8	<i>Jabril</i> &3 came to you #2 from his &3 Lord, ^3	and &3 delivered to you #2 highest inspiration, at <i>Hira</i> ²⁸	p
9	You #2 came to summon a nation	and a people soiled with destructive disbelief	p
10	They answered and obeyed and obtained satisfaction ²⁹	while you #2 were the prophet of guidance, warning	p
11	You #2 indicated the full moon in its orbit,	and it was truly split before witnesses ³⁰	p
12	#2 Qatada's vision was restored to him,	so he could see again	p
13	Your #2 ability in the world is high for	all creatures, even desert lions	p
14	Your #2 rank is elevated, it has high standing	and you #2 are the beloved to the creator Lord ^3	p
15	I *1 mean to visit you #2 oh my master	and every year see your #2 place	l
16	Blessings and peace upon Mustafa	and his #3 family #3 and	ps

	#3	companions, #3 the dear noble people #3	
17	As long as al-Ja'fari *3 says, in his longing:	"We *2 crossed the deserts to the best of creation" ³¹ #3	l

e. Qasida #5

[Source: From a qasida by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari (al-Ja'fari 1979:7:237). This qasida is not simply praise, but exhortation to praise, a kind of praise of praise. But in doing so the author also effectively praises the Prophet, a fact which is stated explicitly in the final line.]

m	With praise of Muhammad the hearts are enlivened	and sins and errors are forgiven	ep
1	With praise of Muhammad the hearts are enlivened	and misfortunes and sorrows are removed	ep
2	Gifts are poured forth from a generous one ³²	and sins and errors are forgiven ³³	ep
3	Praise of Mustafa is spirit for the heart;	my heart is joyful at his praises	elp
4	Say to the pretender, if he forgets:	"his praise is a wondrous way"	ep
5	Can you adore the Prophet and not take up	his praises? For in that is reward ³⁴	elp
6	In praise of Mustafa is a great recompense	and favor from the Lord anon	ep
7	He ³⁵ announced the <i>Hajj</i> and <i>Sa'y</i> ;	in 'Arafa the beloved ³⁶ comes	p
8	He announced the visit, ³⁷	that they have the fortune to experience Ahmad ³⁸	p
9	If they call the Prophet of God with love	then will Mustafa ³⁹ truly answer	elp
10	He returns their greeting and he has a prayer	for he who comes calling "Oh my beloved!"	elp
11	They said: remove our sins,	then their resting place became sweet with his goodness	ep
12	He is a prophet loved in the hearts;	when they are ill, his glance is the physician	elp
13	And he does not neglect the visitors, until	bidding them earnestly farewell, oh stranger	p
14	He was a prophet before Adam, in ancient times;	then the beloved came as the seal of	p

		the Prophets ⁴⁰	
15	The gazelle called him in the desert,	fettered, hers was a heavy heart ⁴¹	p
16	So Mustafa untied her bonds	and returned her to the antelopes	p
17	How excellent is Mustafa, so full of mercy;	for him the Merciful answers the petitioner ⁴²	p
18	Whenever Ja'fari says in praise:	"with praise of Muhammad the hearts are enlivened"	p

f. Qasida #6

[Source: From a qasida by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari (al-Ja'fari 1979:11:126). Madih for the Prophet.]

m	Oh Lord ^2 bless the beloved #3 in the <i>Rawda</i> ;	there is the Prophet Muhammad, #3 the teacher #3	ls
1	Don't blame me *1 in love, for perhaps I *1	will meet the beloved ⁴³ , #3 in my *1 longing and love	l
2	Even if I *1 am far, my *1 spirit is with him; #3	it *3 finds happiness even if in sleep ⁴⁴	l
3	Life is sweet with him, #3 and so is our *2 sojourn	in the <i>Rawda</i> of beneficence and kindness	l
4	Oh most honored of honorable Prophets, #2 greetings	from me *1 to you; #2 do #2 answer me! *1	ps
5	Oh mercy ⁴⁵ #2 of the Merciful ⁴⁶ , ^3 which spread over creation	you #2 are the merciful for the Islamic <i>Umma</i>	p
6	Were it not for you, #2 there would have been no clear Book ⁴⁷ ,	recited throughout the days and years	p
7	Were it not for you, #2 the pilgrims would not visit the <i>Ka'ba</i> ,	devoted exclusively to the sanctity of the <i>ihram</i> ⁴⁸	p
8	Were it not for you, #2 they wouldn't have gone to the house of happiness,	the abode of the beloved, the <i>Rawda</i> and shrine	p
9	An abode where the Prophet Muhammad #3 stays;	they came to it, visiting and bringing greetings	p
10	saying: "Peace be upon you, oh best of creation" #2	He #3 returned the greetings with joy of hospitality	p

11	You #2 are the beloved, and their intended goal	They came to you #2 with ardor and desire	l
12	<u>When they saw you, #2 their longing increased:</u>	<u>the veil was lifted for the gnostic %3</u>	lm
13	<u>Musk diffused, and tears flowed</u>	<u>from an excess of ecstasy for the high shrine</u> (18, insight, altered states)	l
14	He sent his soul in greeting	and today was the best of days	p
15	They greeted you #2 with love, the greatest greeting,	and you #2 replied with greetings and peace	l

g. Qasida #7

[Source: From a qasida by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari (al-Ja'fari 1979:12:66). An unusually symbolic and esoteric qasida about mystical experience, treating states of spiritual insight using metaphors of intoxication, and seeming to describe the author's *sukr*. The qasida is also unusual for being in a less formal language than usual, containing some 'ammiyya (colloquial) vocabulary, in a quicker and lighter meter. The qasida praises Sidi Ahmad bin Idris, founder of Shaykh Salih's own tariqa, and source of much of the latter's mystical practice. Although Sidi Ahmad bin Idris's prominence in the Ja'fariyya is far less than that of Shaykh Salih's (and this is typical of the modernist group, which must stress the founder lest the coherence of the tariqa be undercut), neither is he ignored (as are Sidi Jabir's sources). Rather he towers in the background, certifying the tariqa Ja'fariyya's firm and traditional Sufi roots. Such a strategy is quite unlike that of the Jazuliyya, who are truly modern, with very little connection to the historical Sufi past. The refrain line (m) requests madad from Shaykh Salih, and thus must have been taken from elsewhere after Shaykh Salih's death. There are thus two textual egos: one for the refrain (adopted by the responding group), and the other for the main poem (adopted by the solo munshidin).]

m	Oh Ja'fari, madad!	From the Prophet of God, bring madad!	s
1	<u>What did the masters of the <i>khilwa</i> say</u>	<u>when they saw from it the manifestations⁴⁹?</u> (8, insight)	m
2	<u>They drank from the liquor of closeness;</u> (4, intoxication)	<u>there was no bread of the bodies</u> (4, Christian)	m
3	<u>The liquor is delicious since it appeared</u>	<u>and their <i>hal</i> is variegated</u> (6, intoxication)	m
4	<u>The drink is fragrant with perfume;</u>	<u>tell me the secret of the matter!</u> (7, intoxication)	m
5	<u>Tell me, my dear friend, of your condition.</u>	<u>when the moment of <i>hal</i> purified you</u> (10, altered states)	m
6	There is no difficulty or evil;	all arrived smoothly	m
7	The shaykh visited them	and the rain upon them showered ⁵⁰	m
8	Knowledge overflowed them	and ignorance receded	m

9	They understood the heavenly secrets	from the one possessing Prophetic lights	m
10	They walked by good intentions	and entered into those hadras	m
11	The found lions of the forest	roaring with dhikr and ayat ⁵¹	m
12	They shined when they saw the moon,	the shaykh of <i>aqtab</i> at the hadra	m
13	He is Ahmad ⁵² , shaykh of <i>awrad</i>	he calls from near and far	p
14	Let's go with yearning;	understand by tasting!	em
15	<u>Don't be concerned with the color.</u>	<u>drink a pure drink</u> (8, intoxication)	em
16	The honey of the ahzab for those who recite	polishes the spirits and sweetens them	e
17	With spirit, sing and understand it	and the secret will be revealed	em
18	<u>I have five hizb.</u>	<u>five moons in my wird</u>	m
19	<u>Islam is built on five.</u>	<u>and so the secrets are five</u> (16, arcana)	m
20	What is your <i>hal</i> , oh you who left my wird?	your news came to me	e
21	<u>By God, we see you, we are not veiled⁵³ (4, insight)</u>	we pray to God and are not defeated	es
22	God willing, we'll have victory	God, Praised be He! His is the Order	ps

h. Qasida #8

[Source: From a qasida by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari (al-Ja'fari 1979:5:857). A madih for the Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt.]

m	Oh family of Ahmad, your light continues	to illuminate the hearts of those who come to you	p
1	All the Muslims blessed	the best of mankind, Muhammad, and you ⁵⁴	p
2	They travelled to the best of mankind, visiting,	and to you they came, and blessed, and greeted	p
3	The believers consider you all as his children ⁵⁵ ,	a sun which illuminates them from the sky	p
4	Who is like you, oh family of Ahmad, in the world?	You prevailed by virtue of your beauty, and your patience	p
5	And martyrdom, by the grace of the	oh my masters, you obtained in your	p

	High,	lives	
6	Even if your body's abode is the Rawda	we see you, for you dwell in the hearts	l
7	Never can I be wronged while your love is in my heart;	your lover, oh my masters, you have honored	l
8	Who is like you, under the cloak ⁵⁶ , honored	How generous you are, my masters, you are ennobled	p
9	So by your grandfather, this Prophet, and his glory	in your love, my masters, we are not treated unjustly	l
10	By your stature with God and your virtue	our enemies to the north will be ruined ⁵⁷	p
11	Oh forest lions, your guest does not get lost	your jungle protects, for you are thus:	p
12	Family of the Prophet, and family of the best Prophet	great are your noble qualities to the Muslim people	p
13	If the night's moon is absent, you are its moon;	or if the illuminating sun is absent, you are	p
14	a sun which illuminates the hearts, and its secret	cures the hearts which come requesting mercy	p
15	Lion for the fight if a sword looms	and your swords are a star, shining and killing	p
16	Your roaring among the lines, as if	thunder at night, and 'Ali is a lion	p
17	Your knowledge is a sea, in which sweet pearls are scattered;	scriptures of knowledge are understood through them	p
18	Blessedness to the servant who may visit your tomb;	his heart rejoiced at your meeting	elp
19	The spirit knows who visits because it	understands, and does not forget you ⁵⁸	lp
20	<u>The veil was lifted for those whose rank was raised</u>	<u>and there is one who tells us and saw you</u> (10, insight)	m
21	Oh deniers! Snub and be displeased	All know your denial and hurtfulness	e
22	Blessings upon the Prophet Muhammad,	best of mankind, and his family, we greet	ps
23	And the companions, reverent ones, Imams,	who undertook religion's victory, and in it advanced	ps
24	As long as Ja'fari sings praise of lovers	who knew gnosis and science and taught	ps
25	Protect, oh God, my brethren and	and my relations, oh Lord, may all	ls

my lovers

be safe

i. Qasida #9: "Raqa'iq al-Haqa'iq"

[Source: From a qasida by Shaykh `Abd al-Ghani al-Ja'fari (al-Ja'fari n.d:5). This qasida is exceptional, being the only one in this hadra not written by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari, but rather by his khalifa and son. Most of this poem is a madih for his father. In this one observes an example of a common pattern: the founder of a tariqa composes poetry and prayers either out of inspiration or deliberately, for the use of his followers; these are used in ritual and so can be viewed as a communication from the founder to the followers. Later the followers may add to this collection, including qasidas praising the founder, thus reversing the direction. The bond between past and present, founder and khalifa, is here reinforced. Note the wish for the tariqa to expand.]

m	Oh Lord, may you be pleased with the Imam al-Ja'fari	the sincere shaykh of the tariqa	s
1	At the Azhar your light shone	with knowledge and morals you were the <u>cupbearer</u> (1, intoxication ⁵⁹)	p
2	We were in darkness; you were our lamp,	like the star which guides	p
3	You taught us with love to gather together,	companions and to be generous with the brethren	p
4	Oh hadra which gathered the hearts of the lovers,	all testify that in it there are degrees	lp
5	In it are young people of sobriety ⁶⁰ ; if you see them	you'll see their faces illumine the rising sun	p
6	<u>They praised the Prophet and recited poetry.</u>	<u>and swayed with tarab, alongside the lovers</u> ⁶¹ (8, music)	lp
7	They won the shade of their King's ' <i>arsh</i> ⁶² ,	how noble they are as friends and companions	p
8	They were granted, by their glimpse of the Prophet, a rank	which no one was granted without a meeting	p
9	And a great miracle: God granted	your students a high rank	p
10	They kept their oaths, and spread the tariqa	and all testify that in it is a meeting ⁶³	p
11	The mother of villages ⁶⁴ witnessed the ritual of my agreement ⁶⁵ ;	take it my son and protect it	p
12	I have preserved my oath with	with love, morality, and expenditure	p

	fulfillment of my agreement,		
13	'Abd al-Ghani is <i>madad</i> extended from your overflowing;	he requests satisfaction always, until the day of meeting	p
14	By your pleasure may God improve his condition	and protect him from those of envy and hypocrisy	s
15	Oh God, may you be pleased with al-Imam al-Ja'fari	and spread his tariqa around the world	s
16	Oh Lord, may you be pleased with the Imam al-Ja'fari	the sincere shaykh of the tariqa	ps

j. Qasida #10

[Source: From a qasida by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari (al-Ja'fari 1979:2:328). Madih, including a number of Prophetic miracles.]

m	Allah, Allah, there is no deity but God, our Lord	Allah, Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, our Prophet	p
1	There is benefit in praise of the Prophet of God, anticipated,	on Judgement Day, when people are gathered ⁶⁶	ep
2	The clouds shaded him in the heat, miraculously	and the lizard testifies, and the wolf, and stone ⁶⁷	p
3	The full moon split for him, while the people watched;	then afterwards the moon returned, whole	p
4	The army was watered by water from his fingers	and those drinkers were noble; among them was 'Umar ⁶⁸	p
5	The tree root yearned for him, for his wisdom,	so he embraced it saying "vegetation comes to you" ⁶⁹	p
6	The most perfect gardens will be seen in a fine house	so choose the rest, oh people, and consider	e
7	He walked in the heaven of glory, honored it	and the earth, from his walking upon it, is raised and proud	p
8	This is the Prophet, there is none like him	among the messengers; he led all in prayer and they attended ⁷⁰	p
9	Oh joyous of his nation who attain a visit with him	in it is salvation for those who felled worldly desire	p
10	Blessings upon the chosen, our	and the family and companions,	ps

	master	poured down like rain	
11	Peace be upon he who guided peace to us	when visiting, when the fragrance diffused	ps
12	As long as al-Ja'fari sang the poetry with joy:	"There is benefit in praise of the Prophet of God, anticipated"	eps

k. Qasida #11

[Source: From a qasida by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari (al-Ja'fari 1979:4:661). The qasida stresses the intercessory powers of the Prophet; request for intercession becomes itself a form of prayer. Note that at the end of the qasida Shaykh Salih strongly affirms his own blood connection to the Prophet, praising his own Arabic origins among the Ja'afara (descendants of the Imam al-Ja'far).]

m	Upon him my Lord's blessings, every instant	with peace, with which the Prophet was given success	s
1	I hope from you, and hope has acceptance	for you are our Prophet, best of the messengers	ps
2	Oh gate of God, the Savior,	through you is entry to the Lord of humanity	p
3	Your standing with God is the best standing;	through it is solace, and difficulties disappear	p
4	The clouds are asked for drink, with land barren ⁷¹	by your face, oh radiant one, protector	p
5	He who knows the Prophet doesn't fear	the Devil's whisperings	ep
6	The light of Mustafa is a great light;	polishing the hearts, it passes through them	ep
7	As the sun in the sky, whose light	is seen in all the lands	p
8	He who sees the Prophet with the heart's eye	sees him as the sun which never sets	p
9	Oh my happiness and glad tidings that I	stood by him praising him and reciting	p
10	And he hears me, I have a great hope	for the best of creation, our intercessor, the Prophet	ps
11	At his gate the men crowded ⁷²	they receive recompense of the visit, and arrive ⁷³	ep
12	They come toward him, with greetings	of longing and tears may flow	l
13	And the Prophet of God truly hears them	and sees them; he has a place for them	ep
14	They looked upon him with the	and he shook the soul; he is enough	elp

	heart's eye	for them, the glorious	
15	The scent of musk emanated from the best of creation	and light emerged, without abating	p
16	You see the visitors, happy with Taha	upon them is beauty, signifying light	elp
17	They embrace each other in thanks:	By the Grace of God we came, oh dear friend!	lp
18	Upon him the Lord's blessings, all the time	with peace, as long as the Prophet is praised	s
19	And family and companions honorable,	whose horses neigh in battle ⁷⁴	ps
20	Whenever al-Ja'fari visits Taha	he teaches there, and says:	s
21	"And favor for my family, for they are noble;	the <i>Ja'fara</i> , their glory is lasting ⁷⁵	ps
22	And <i>Ja'far Sadiq</i> ⁷⁶ , my grandfather, upon him	satisfaction unchanging, unceasing	s
23	I thanked God that my grandfather was <i>sharif</i> ⁷⁷	by God's grace, praised be He, the glorious	p

1. Qasida #12

[Source: From a qasida by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari (al-Ja'fari 1979:2:206). The following lines are from one of Shaykh Salih's most famous long poems, "al-Maqbala" ("The Accepted"); published separately in booklet form as well as occurring in the Diwan, the entire poem contains 170 lines. Note the simplicity of this madih, the use of stereotypical images, with little personal expression. The style of the poetry is light; lines are short, in a simple meter. By repeating the Prophet's name every four shatras, a *ruba'iyat* (four-line strophe) structure is created. The Prophet is praised via conventional description of his physical beauty, his spiritual power and grace, and the events and miracles of his life-story.]

m	Bless, oh Lord, ^2 and grant ^2 peace	to the Prophet, #3 best of creation	ps
1	The <i>Rawda</i> of the guide our Prophet #3	was prepared for the virtuous	p
2	All those who said: we accept	the beloved, #3 my lord Muhammad #3	el
3	His #3 love is the source of perfection	his #3 glory is high and dear	lp
4	His #3 companions #3 are the best of men	they #3 pledged themselves to the guide, Muhammad #3	p
5	His #3 face surpassed the full moons	the Lord ^3 increased him #3 in happiness	p

6	He #3 appeared in the world as light	before God's ^3 creation: Muhammad ⁷⁸ #3	p
7	Best of God's ^3 creation, Taha, #3	like the sun at forenoon	p
8	We *2 see this world	by the light from Muhammad #3	p
9	His #3 face, oh people, illumines;	my *1 master, #3 lord #3 of humankind	p
10	Our *2 treasure, #3 light of insight	His #3 name is the guide, Muhammad #3	p
11	The camel complains of famine	to the Prophet #3 among the community ⁷⁹	p
12	He said: my lord, #2 intercession,	be my intercessor, #2 oh Muhammad! #2	ps
13	This world disappears	and existence does not last	e
14	Where is he who walks, saying	be my intercessor, #2 oh Muhammad #2	es
15	Lord, ^2 restrain the enviers	from harm, make them frail	s
16	Be ^2 for us a help, helping	through the beloved, #3 my lord Muhammad ⁸⁰ #3	ls
17	Poet of written pearls,	Salih *3 from the family of Ja'far	s
18	Wants the greatest grace from you #2	oh beloved, #2 my master Muhammad #2	ls
19	And in goodness at the end ⁸¹	we *2 want a favor, the desired	s
20	Next to the shrine	in the <i>baqi</i> ⁸² oh Muhammad #2	s

m. Qasida #13

[Source: From a qasida by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari (al-Ja'fari 1979:1:78). This qasida extols the virtues of *dhikr*. Unlike the standard *madih* which is Prophet-centered, this qasida focusses on direct instruction to the listener.]

m	Blessings of God, ^3 may God's ^3 Prophet #3 receive them with love		
1	Awaken @2 from heedlessness of the heart,	and witness @2 the Lord's ^3 presence	e
2	with remembrance for nearness	you'll @2 obtain what the companions #3 had	e
3	The heart's @3 cure is <i>adhkar</i> ;	how excellent is <i>dhikr</i> for the heart! @3	e

4	Polishing clear destructive desires	results from perseverance @3 in dhikr with love	e
5	Dhikr of God ^2 is a key	to what is unseen	e
6	for he @3 who was ecstatic in it for a night	with remembrance of the nearness	e
7	Whisperer ⁸³ , devil,	heart's delusions:	e
8	The sword of dhikr eliminates them,	a powerful and sharp sword	e
9	Otherwise you @2 will do	evil and bad deeds,	e
10	and in this state be ransomed @2	to those of the Whisperer and veil.	e
11	In adhkar you'll @2 find it, ⁸⁴	like the one mad with love, enamored	el
12	for dhikr Allah, ^3 you @2 must	advance in protection of the troops	e
13	You'll @2 see the people standing	men of the night like the qutb %3	e
14	The people of dhikr @3 obtained	the Lord's ^3 total satisfaction	e
15	They @3 are the moons at night,	without mist or clouds	e
16	In delight did they @3 live	without discontent or sorrow	e
17	Blessings of God, ^3 may he #3 receive them—	God's ^3 messenger #3—with love	ls
18	Peace as well following, ⁸⁵	the family of Mustafa #3 is my cure	ps
19	Whenever Ja'fari *3 recites	“awaken @2 from heedlessness of the heart”	es

n. Qasida #14

[Source: From a qasida by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari (al-Ja'fari 1979:9:168). This poem is a madih, but in a more esoteric style than usual, incorporating metaphors of insight and intoxication. The inshad is cut short because the Shaykh has signalled the end of the hadra; the final qasida (#15) forms part of the closing ceremonies.]

m	Allah, Allah	there is no deity but Allah	p
1	Prophet of God, your light flashed	and the lover's hearts toward you inclined	lp
2	For this the lover renounced wealth,	and came to visit the shrine ⁸⁶	l
3	<u>Then there appeared upon him lightning flashes</u>	<u>of perfume, and floral scents</u> (10, insight)	m
4	<u>And the cups went round with pleasure;</u>	<u>drink of the madly-in-love, joyful with it</u> (8, intoxication)	m
5	Your witnessing the beloved ⁸⁷ there is honey;	with time, a promise was fulfilled	m

6	at the Chosen One good fortune comes to you;	traffic in happiness is never unprofitable	ep
7	To this beloved ⁸⁸ , my dear brother, look	<u>you'll see him looking behind the curtains</u> ⁸⁹ (5, insight)	p
8	For that thank the Lord of the 'Arsh,	and say: oh Lord, forgive me, oh Forgiving One	es

o. Close

i. Supplicatory prayer

[Source: Consists of four ad'iyya based on Qur'an; two of them are literal quotations (2:127). (2:128), repeated thrice. Nearly the same sequence of is used in other turuq (they appear toward the end of the Bayyumiyya small hizb (*al-hizb al-saghir*)). For this reason they are treated as hizb in the analysis. They comprise a request for acceptance of prayer, forgiveness, and salvation from affliction. A senior member recites each line solo, followed by group recitation of the same line.]

ii. Supplicatory prayer ("Du'a' wa raja'")

[Source: "Du'a' wa Raja'" (al-Ja'fari n.d.b.:74-76), assembled by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani Salih al-Ja'fari. Note how each of the three shaykhs makes a textual appearance in the hadra. It is performed almost exactly as in the first half, but here Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani himself recites the solo part, in a Sudanese-influenced pentatonic style.]

iii. Fawatih and ad'iyya

[Called by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghani, and recited quietly by all; toward the end he includes an ad'iyya sequence, to which all respond "amin"; this ends with another call for the Fatiha. These fawatih are for individual members of the tariqa (such as those who are ill, or have other problems), ending with fawatih for the Prophet and Shaykh Salih.]

iv. Hadra close: khitam

[The usual sequence employed by nearly all turuq. Recited aloud by all; led by one of the senior members using the microphone.]

v. Qasida #15

[Source: From a qasida by Shaykh Salih al-Ja'fari (al-Ja'fari 1979:7:223). This qasida is performed by the munshidin only: while they are singing, all others rise and queue in order to greet Shaykh `Abd al-Ghani with a kiss on the hand. After greeting, each person leaves the mosque; there is no lingering (as per rules to this effect; see translations of Ja'fariyya rules in this Appendix). The original refrain is here modified, so as to praise Shaykh Salih instead of the Prophet, while also emphasizing the link between them. This is another one of the strategic moves determined by the khalifa to the founder, which serves to solder the tariqa together by emphasizing the relation between murid and founder, by praising the founder in a refrain line sung by the muridin. The refrain combines themes of supplication to shaykh, Prophet, and God, as the Shaykh is intercessor with the Prophet, and the Prophet with God. On the other hand the qasida itself is about the Prophet, in the voice of Shaykh Salih. The net effect is thus to merge the personalities of Shaykh and Prophet.]

m	Madad, oh Ja'fari, madad	from the Prophet of God give us help	s
1	Oh great of stature, oh you whose ability	is high above all ranks:	p
2	I came asking my God for a glance	of beauty from you, oh best Prophet ⁹⁰	ps
3	You are the gate of God, you are the hoped-for	distributor of good among the virtuous	ps
4	Everyone you meet in the Rawda	with good greetings is not frustrated	p
5	They present their lineages on the day of meeting, ⁹¹	I am among them; my lineage is enough for me ⁹²	p
6	Listen, oh self, and be warned:	as that which revealed the mineral of wood ⁹³	ep
7	Under Muhammad is the stump which moaned	longing for him; how wondrous!	lp
8	Spilling of tears for this is allowed,	so be happy oh self, once, and then cry.	l
9	Oh happy one who breathed Mustafa's perfume,	best of perfume, coming from the good ⁹⁴	lp
10	A visit to the Chosen ⁹⁵ for me is nearness to God	in my life, the best sort of nearness	lp
11	If only my eyes could see his Rawda	for he who enters it does not fail	lp

vi. Oath-taking ceremony (‘ahd)

[When all have greeted, the inshad stops. Then those who wish to receive the ‘ahd may take it from Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ghani in a small ceremony lasting only a couple of minutes. Besides those with responsibilities in cleaning up, all other tariqa members have already left the mosque: the ‘ahd ceremony is relatively private. When it is complete, the mosque is closed for the night.]

c. *Jf hadra sequence and transcription*

1. First part: hizb and other recitations

a. Opening

i. Recitation of al-Fatiha

ii. Recitation of “Opening of the Ja‘fari Hadra” (“Ifitahiyya al-Hadra al-Ja‘fariyya”)

iii. Fawatih

b. Kanz al-Sa‘ada

• لا إله إلا الله (100x)

• الله (100x)

• هُ (100x)

• يا عظيم (100x)

• يا حي يا قيوم (174x)

• يا لطيف (129x)

c. Closing

i. Supplicatory prayer (“du‘a’ wa raja’”)

ii. Fawatih

iii. Greetings and break

2. Night prayer (al-‘isha’)

3. Second part: inshad

a. Qasida #1

يا رب يا رحمن غوثك أقربُ	الله يا الله يا الله m
وكما لهم عن مهجتي لا يُحجبُ	يا من هم في البعد عندي أقرب 1
ومحبهم للمصطفى أتقربُ	ورودهم عند الإله وسيلة 2
فَمَنْ الذي أسعى إليه وأذهبُ	إن كنت لا أسعى إليهم زائرا 3
لأفاضل فضّلوا الورى وتقربوا	ذَهَبٌ وغيرهم نحاسٌ فاذهبوا 4
نحو القلوب سراجها لا يَغْرِبُ	سكن الفؤاد ودادهم فكانهم 5
بمدىحك بين الورى أتصَبُّ	ما كان بُعدي عن قَلِي وأنا الذي 6
بودادكم والدمع شوقا يَسْكَبُ	حُلُو المذاق لمن تعلق قلبه 7
وبه التقرب إن أتى يتقربُ	كَدَمِ الشهيد يكون آية حُبِّه 8
وكلامهم عند التحدّث أغربُ	وأرى ضياء الحب فوق وجوههم 9

واترك حديث مُكذَّب هو أَكْذَبُ	10	إسمع كلامَ أَحِبَّةِ عرفوا الهوى
فإذا أتوهم فالمراحم تُسَكَّبُ	11	ما الحب إلا للأحبة يا فتى
كالخلد فيها كل شيء يُطَلَّبُ	12	إنزل بساحتهم تجدد ما تبتغي
دارُ الأحبة للقلوب تُحَبَّبُ	13	فإذا وصلت ديارهم أَكْرَمَ بها
والمصطفى فيها نبي أَطْيَبُ	14	دارُ بها جبريل ينزل بالهدى
نورَان قد ضاءا هنيئا يثربُ	15	نور النبوة والكتاب ونوره
أهلُ السخاء وأرضهم لا تجددُ	16	يا من هُم أهل العباء ومن هُم
في الساجدين جباههم تتقلَّبُ	17	في جنة الفردوس سادوا من بها
متوسلاً لله جاء المأربُ	18	فإذا أتيت ديارهم في حاجة
وودادهم في ودّه لك يُكْتَبُ	19	باب النبي إذا أردت لقاؤه
فإذا وصلت فقل محبٌ يرغَبُ	20	بالقلب زُرهم إن أردت رغائباً
حباً وشوقاً إنها لا تُحَجَبُ	21	تهتز روحك إن دخلت مقامهم
وإذا سمعتَ فذاك أمر أعجبُ	22	فإذا رأيتَ رأيتَ نوراً ساطعاً
ومنعت عنهم ذلك أمر يُغْضِبُ	23	إن كُنْتَ في مصر السعيدة يا فتى
والأنس يحصل والفضائل تُسَكَّبُ	24	أرواحهم تدعو الأحبة دائماً
وكذا اليتيم وجودهم هو سببُ	25	قد أطعموا لأسيرهم وفقيرهم
ماذا أقول من المديح وأكثبُ	26	الله أثنى في الكتاب عليهم
روح الأحبة دائماً تتحَبَّبُ	27	سَلِّم بروحك لا بجسمك يا فتى
هذا لقاء في خفاء يصعبُ	28	روحٌ وروحٌ إن وصلت فسير بنا
كم من مُحِبٍّ خاشعٍ يتأدَّبُ	29	أسرع إليهم ثم قف متأدّباً
روحٌ وريحانٌ هنالك أَطْيَبُ	30	وكفى بروحك شاهداً في أمرهم
ولك الأمان بجه لا تُسَلَّبُ	31	إن ضاق صدرك فالحسين هو الشفا

يلقي السّلام عليهما يتقرَّبُ
يلقى المسرة دائماً لا يُكَبُّ
وحُسَيْنَا عن صنوه لا يرغَبُ
وأبوهما عند النبي الأقربُ
إلا أضاء بنورهم ويُكَوِّبُ
آل النبي ديارهم لا تُخْرَبُ
أرواحهم بالزائرين تُرْحَبُ
وكذا السلام إلى القيامة يُكْتَبُ
وكذا الصحابة من لطفه تصحب
يا من هُمُ في البعد عندي أقربُ

32 حَسَنٌ حُسَيْنٌ السَّيِّدَانُ وَمَنْ أَتَى
33 لمصطفى خير الأنام فإنه
34 حَسَنٌ مَحَبٌ لِلْحُسَيْنِ وَصَنُوهُ
35 وَكِلَاهُمَا الْقَمْرَانُ فِي نُورِيهِمَا
36 مَا جَاءَهُمْ قَلْبٌ تَكَدَّرَ بِالهُوَى
37 أَبْشِيرْ بِخَيْرٍ إِنْ دَخَلْتَ دِيَارَهُمْ
38 دَامُوا بِخَيْرٍ فِي الْأَنَامِ بِفَضْلِهِمْ
39 ثُمَّ الصَّلَاةُ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ مُحَمَّدٍ
40 وَالْآلِ آلِ الْبَيْتِ مِنْ زَهَدُوا الدُّنَا
41 مَا الْجَعْفَرِيُّ لآلِ أَحْمَدٍ قَائِلًا

b. Qasida #2

بيابك والسلام عليك مني
جميع الكون من إنسٍ وجنٍّ
فنيعم الحال والمختار حصني
واكرامٍ فيا مولاي خذني
وتملؤه علوماً منك تهني
عليّ بابها في كل فنٍّ
فبالحسنين والزهرا أجبي
ونفع المسلمين يكون شأنني
إجابة دعوتي ورضاه عني

m الله الله الله الله
1 رسول الله قد أنزلت رَحْلِي
2 لأنك رحمة الرحمن عمّت
3 لعلمي أنك الحصن المعلّى
4 وَتَوَجَّكَ الْإِلَهِ بِتَاجِ عِزِّ
5 إِلَى نُورٍ يَطْهَرُ رَانَ قَلْبِي
6 فَأَنْتَ مَدِينَةٌ مَلَكْتَ عُلُومًا
7 سَأَلْتُكَ عِلْمَ شَرْعِكَ يَا حَيِّبِي
8 وَأَمَدَدَنِي بِأَسْرَارِ عِظَامِي
9 بِجَاهِكَ قَدْ سَأَلْتُ اللَّهَ رَبِّي

به في الحشر للرحمن تُذني	فجاهك عنده جاه عظيم	10
لمن وفدوا إليك بحسن ظن	وتشفع للقضاء يوم كرب	11
وليس سواك يكشفه ويثني	وتكشف عنهم كرباً عظيماً	12
حبيب الله من علم أفدني	لأنك أكرم الأحيار قدرا	13
وقرآن كمثل الشمس يُغني	وأيديك الإله بكل خير	14
وإرشادا إلى جنات عدن	فضائله تعم الكون نورا	15
يعش في العمر محفوظاً بأمن	ويشرح للصدور ومن تلاه	16
يُشيد دينك العالي ويبي	يدوم مرتلاً نورا علياً	17
شفيع للذي قد كان يبجي	أمان المسلمين عظيمُ جاه	18
أزال عن البرية كل شين	رسول الله غوث بل غياث	19
أبا الزهراء من كربني أجرنني	ونادته الغزاة في فلاة	20
يحقق للرجاء لكل مُذني	فأطلقها النبي وكان سمحاً	21
تسرُّ القلب من هم وحزن	وروضته الشريفة يا أخانا	22
بها سعدي وإرشادي ويُمني	بها روحٌ وريحانٌ ونورٌ	23
يُحيي الزائرين بكل أمن	بها المختار بسأماً تراه	24
ويشفع للجميع بلا تأنني	ييشرهم بما جاعوا إليه	25
مع التسليم ما حادٍ يغني	عليه الله صلّي كل حين	26
أهيل الله من حلوا بعدن	وآل ثم أصحاب كرام	27
رسول الله قد أحسنت ظني	إليك الجعفري أتى بمدح	28

c. Qasida #3

وكذا السلام لأهل بيت كمل

m يا رب صلّ على النبي محمد

ما مثله مُلكٌ عليك توكلني
 يا من به كل الغياهب تنجلي
 خير الأنام نبينا المتفضل
 لك يا إلهي فاقبلنَّ توسُّلي
 عني رضاك عن العباد الكُمَّل
 نَعَمْ الشفيع إذا أتى في المحفل
 وله القَبول لديك للمتوسِّل
 سألوك ربي دعوة المتبتِّل
 أدعوك ربًّا واحدًا لم أخذل
 يرجو النجاة بجاهٍ من لم يُخذل
 بالروضة الخضراء عند المنزل
 أنت الشفيعُ وأنت أكرمُ مُرسَل
 ضاءت قلوب العارفين الفضل
 في العابدين الساجدين الكُمَّل
 يا خير من يرضى ولم يتحوَّل
 بالجاه منك بوجهك المتهلِّل
 أنت الرحيم وأنت أفضلُ سائل
 وكذا السلامُ لأهل بيتِ كُمَّل
 يا من به كل الغياهب تنجلي

1 يا واسع الملكوت والملك الذي
 2 إني رجوتك والرجاء تضرَّعُ
 3 إني سألتك بالنبي محمد
 4 إني به متوجِّهٌ متوسِّل
 5 شَفَعُهُ فِي شَفَاعَةٍ تَرْضَى بِهَا
 6 يا رب فاقبل دعوتي بمحمد
 7 يوم القيامة شافعًا ومشفعًا
 8 وبوجهه يأتي الغمام لمعشر
 9 شَفَعُهُ رَبِّي يَا كَرِيمَ فَإِنِّي
 10 ما خاب من سأل المهيمن داعيًا
 11 إشفع تشفع يا مُكْرَمَ إِنِّي
 12 إشفع أبا الزهراء أنت مُشَفِّعُ
 13 يا أبيض الوجه الذي بضيائه
 14 يا خير من عبد الإله تقرُّبا
 15 إني مُجِبُّ والمحبُّ له الرضا
 16 أرجو رضاك فإنني متوسِّل
 17 جَدُّ الحُسَيْنِ بِكَ المَرَّاجِمُ دَائِمًا
 18 يا رب صلِّ على النبي محمد
 19 ما [الجعفري - شيخنا] يقول في خلواته

d. Qasida #4

وآل وصحبِ أهْلِ القِرَى

m صلاةٌ سلامٌ على المصطفى

محبٌ وشوقٌ ودمعٌ جرى	1	قطعنا الفيافي لخير الورى	1
يسير إليه يحث السرى	2	ومن كان يهوى نبي الهدى	2
وجاء إليه ونال القرى	3	فيا سعد من زاره مخلصاً	3
ونورٌ يفوق لبدر سرى	4	نبي شريف له هيبه	4
تشرف منه جميع الثرى	5	وجيه كريم له روضة	5
وعيني لروضة خلد ترى	6	فيا ليت قلبي يرى نوره	6
وجاهك يكفي جميع الورى	7	فوجهك عندي أحب الوجوه	7
فوافقك وحي العُلا في حيراً	8	وجبريل جاءك من ربه	8
وشعب بكفر الردى كذراً	9	فحمت تنادي على أمة	9
وكنت نبي الهدى منذراً	10	أجابوا أطاعوا فنالوا الرضا	10
فشقَّ بحق لدى من درى	11	أشرت إلى البدر في برجه	11
فعاد بشيرا بنور يرى	12	فتادة ردت له عينه	12
جميع البرايا وأسد الشرى	13	وتدرك في الكون عال لدى	13
وأنت الحبيب لرب برى	14	وجاهك عال له رفعة	14
وفي كل عام أرى المنبرا	15	وقصدي أزورك يا سيدي	15
وآلٍ وصحب أهيل القرى	16	صلاة سلام على المصطفى	16
قطعنا الفيافي لخير الورى	17	وما الجعفري قال من وجدته	17

e. Qasida #5

وتغفر الخطايا والذنوب	m	بمدح محمد تحيا القلوب	m
وتندفع المصائب والكروب	1	بمدح محمد تحيا القلوب	1
وتغفر الخطايا والذنوب	2	وتنهل العطايا من كريم	2

وَقَلْبِي مِنْ مَدَائِحِهِ طُرُوبُ	3 وَمَدْحُ الْمُصْطَفَى لِلْقَلْبِ رُوحُ
مَدَائِحُهُ سُلُوكٌ ذَا عَجِيبُ	4 وَقُلُّ لِلْمَدْعَى إِنْ كَانَ يَسْلُو
مَدَائِحِهِ وَفِيهَا مَا يُثِيبُ	5 أَتَعْشَقُ لِلنَّبِيِّ وَلَسْتَ تَهْوَى
وَإِنْعَامٌ مِنَ الْمَوْلَى قَرِيبُ	6 لِمَدْحِ الْمُصْطَفَى أَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ
وَفِي عَرَافَتِهِمْ يَأْتِي الْحَيِيبُ	7 وَبَشَّرَهُمْ بِحَجِّ نَمِ سَعْيِي
لَهُمْ فِي شِرْبِ أَحْمَدِهِمْ نَصِيبُ	8 وَبَشَّرَهُمْ بِزَوْرَتِهِمْ يَوْمِ
فَإِنَّ الْمُصْطَفَى حَقًّا يَجِيبُ	9 إِذَا نَادَوْا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ حُبًّا
لِمَنْ جَاءُوا وَنَادَوْا يَا حَيِيبُ	10 يَرُدُّ سَلَامُهُمْ وَلَهُ دَعَاءُ
مَقِيلُهُمْ بِطَبِيبَتِهِ يَطِيبُ	11 وَقَدْ قَالُوا أَقْلُنَا مِنْ ذُنُوبِ
إِذَا مَرَضَتْ فَنَظَرَتْهُ الطَّيِّبُ	12 رَسُولٌ فِي الْقُلُوبِ لَهُ وَدَادُ
يُودِعُهُمْ بِمَجْدَةٍ يَا غَرِيبُ	13 وَلَمْ يَغْفُلْ عَنِ الزَّوَارِ حَتَّى
وَجَاءَ لِيَخْتَمَ الرَّسُلَ الْحَيِيبُ	14 تَنْبَأَ قَبْلَ آدَمَ مِنْ قَدِيمِ
مُكَبَّلَةٌ لَهَا قَلْبٌ كَتِيبُ	15 وَنَادَتْهُ الْغَزَالَةُ فِي فَلَاحِ
وَأَرْسَلَهَا لِأَرَامِ تَثُوبُ	16 فَحَلَّ الْمُصْطَفَى عَنْهَا قَيُودًا
بِهِ الرَّحْمَنُ لِلدَّاعِي يَجِيبُ	17 فَنِعْمَ الْمُصْطَفَى ذَاكَ الرَّحِيمِ
عَمْدُ مُحَمَّدٍ تَحِيَّا الْقُلُوبُ	18 مَتَى مَا الْجَعْفَرِيُّ يَقُولُ مَدْحًا

f. Qasida #6

فِيهَا النَّبِيُّ الْمُصْطَفَى الْعَلَامُ	m يَا رَبِّ صَلِّ عَلَى الْحَيِّبِ بِرُوضَةٍ
أَلْقَى الْحَيِّبَ بَلُوعَتِي وَغَرَامِي	1 لَا تَعَزُّونِي فِي الْهَوَى فَلَاعَلِّي
تَلْقَى الْمَسْرَةَ إِنْ سَرَتْ بِمَنَامِ	2 إِنْ كُنْتُ فِي بَعْدِ فَرُوحِي عِنْدَهُ
فِي رُوضَةِ الْإِحْسَانِ وَالْإِنْعَامِ	3 الْعَيْشُ طَابَ بِهِ وَطَابَ مَقِيلُنَا

مني إليك ورُدُّها بمرامي	4 يا أكرم الرُّسل الكرام تحيةً
أنت الرحيم بأمة الإسلام	5 يا رحمة الرحمن عمّت خلقه
يُتلى مدى الأيام والأعوام	6 لولاك ما نزل الكتابُ مُفصَّلاً
متجرِّدين حرمة الإحرام	7 لولاك ما حجَّ الحجاجُ لكعبةً
دار الحبيب بروضةٍ ومقامٍ	8 لولاك ما ساروا إلى دار الهنا
جاءوا إليه لزورةٍ وسلامٍ	9 دارٌ بها سكن النبي محمدٌ
ردُّ السلام بفرحة الإكرام	10 قالوا السلامُ عليك يا خير الورى
جاءوا إليك بلوعةٍ وغرامٍ	11 أنت الحبيبُ وأنت غاية قصدهم
كُشِفَ الحجابُ لعارفٍ قوامٍ	12 لما رأوك تزايدت أشواقهم
من فرطٍ وجدٍ للمقام السامي	13 والمسكُ فاح وقد تقاطر دمعُهم
واليوم جاء بأفضل الأيام	14 قد كان يُرسِلُ روحه بتحيةٍ
وردتها بتحيةٍ وسلامٍ	15 حيّوك من حُبٍّ أجَلَّ تحيةً

g. Qasida #7

برسول الله هات المدد	m يا جعفريّ المدد
لما نظروا منها جَلوةً	1 إيش قالوا سادات الخَلوة
ما كاين خبز الأبدانِ	2 شربوا من خمر الأَدنان
والحالُ لديهم ألوانُ	3 الخمر لذيذ مُذبانوا
أخبرني عن سيرِّ الأمرِ	4 والشرب مُعَطَّرٌ بالعطرِ
لما وقت الحال صَفَالِكُ	5 قل لي يا خَلِّي عن حالِك
الكلُّ برفقٍ قد مرُّوا	6 ما كاين بَاسٌ ولا شرُّ
والغيثُ عليهم مِدْرار	7 والشيخُ لديهم زارُ

والجهلُ لديهم قد غاضَ	8	والعلمُ لديهم قد فاضَ	8
من ذي الأنوار النبوية	9	فهموا الأسرارَ العُلويَّةَ	9
دخلوا في تلك الحضراتِ	10	ومشوا ساروا بالنياتِ	10
تزار بالذِّكرُ وآياتِ	11	وجدوا آسادَ الغاباتِ	11
شيخ الأقطابِ لدى الحضرا	12	ضاعوا لما نظروا البدرا	12
وينادي بقربٍ وبعادِ	13	هو أحمد شيخُ الأورادِ	13
أذركُ أذركُ بالأذواقِ	14	هيا هيا بالأشواقِ	14
واشرب شرباً من صافيتها	15	خلّي الألوان وما فيها	15
يجلو الأرواح يُحلّيها	16	شَهْدُ الأحزاب لتاليها	16
والسرُّ يُنَوِّهُ تنويهاً	17	بالروح ترنمُ تدريها	17
أقمارٌ خمسة في وِردِي	18	هُم خَمْسَةُ أحزابٍ عندي	18
وكذا الأسرارُ على خمسِ	19	نُبِيّ الإسلامِ على خمسِ	19
أخباركُ جاءتنِي عندي	20	إيش حالك ياتاركُ وِردِي	20
ندعو الله ولا نُغَلِبُ	21	با لله نراكم لا نُحَجِّبُ	21
سيحان الله له الأمرُ	22	إن شاء الله لنا النصرُ	22

h. Qasida #8

يَضُوى قلوبَ الوافدين إليكمُ	m	يا آل أحمد لا يزال ضياؤكم	m
خير الأنامِ محمدٍ وعليكمُ	1	المسلمون جميعهم صلّوا على	1
وإليكمُ جاءوا وصلّوا وسلّموا	2	ساروا إلى خير الأنامِ بزورِةِ	2
شمساً تضيء من السماء إليهمُ	3	والمؤمنون يرونكم أبناءه	3
سُدْتُم بفعلِ جميلكمُ وصيرتُمُ	4	من مثلكم يا آل أحمد في الورى	4

يا سادتي لحياتكم قد نلتُم	5 وشهادة الشهداء من فضلِ العلي
فتراكمُ كلَّ القلوبِ سكتُمُ	6 إن كان مسكنُ جسمِكُم في روضةٍ
ومُحبِّتكم يا سادتي أكرمتُمُ	7 حاشا أضامُ وفي الفؤادِ ودادكمُ
أكرمُ بكم يا سادتي شرفتمُ	8 من مثلكُم تحت العباءِ مُشرفًا
في حبِّكم يا سادتي لا نهضمُ	9 فبجدكمُ هذا النبي وجاهه
أعداؤنا ذات الشمال تحطموا	10 وبجاهكم عند الإله وفضلِكُم
أجامكمُ تحمي وأنتم أنتمُ	11 يا أسدَ غابٍ لا يضيع نزيلكمُ
عزُّ مكارمكم لقوم أسلموا	12 آل النبي وآل أفضل مرسلٍ
أو غابت الشمسُ المضيئة كُنتمُ	13 إن غاب بدرُ الليلِ أنتم بدره
يشفي قلوبًا قد أتت ترحمُ	14 شمسًا تضيء لدى القلوبِ وسرها
وسيوفكمُ نجمٌ يضيء ويرجمُ	15 أسدٌ لدى الهيجاءِ إن نفعَ علا
رعدٌ بليلٍ بل عليٍّ ضيغَمُ	16 وزئيركمُ بين الصفوفِ كأنما
حلَّو به أسفارُ علم يُفهمُ	17 وعلومكم بجرِّ تناثرِ ذرَّة
فرِحَ الفؤادُ لأنه يلقاكمُ	18 طويبي لعبدٍ قد يزورُ ضريحكمُ
تدري وأن الروح لا تفلاكمُ	19 والروح تعرفُ من يزورُ لأنها
وهناك من يحكي لنا وراكمُ	20 رُفِعَ الحجابُ لمن ترفعَ قدرهمُ
الكلُّ يعرف نُكركمُ وأذاكمُ	21 يا منكرين تنكروا وتكذِّروا
خير الأنامِ وآله ونسلمُ	22 ثم الصلاةُ على النبي محمدٍ
قاموا بنصر الدين فيه تقدّموا	23 والصَّحْبِ والأبرارِ ثم أئمة
علموا المعارفَ والعلومَ وعلموا	24 ما الجعفري يشدو بمدحِ أحبة
وترابتي يا ربَّ كلِّ يسلمُ	25 سلّمٌ إلهي إخوتي وأحبتي

i. Qasida #9: "Raqa'iq al-Haqa'iq"

شيخ الطريق الصادق المصدق	يا ربَّ إرضَ عن الإمام الجعفري	m
بالعلم والأخلاق كُنْتَ الساقِي	بالأزهر المعمور شَعَّ ضياؤكم	1
كالنجم يهدي لصحبةٍ ورفاقِ	كُنَّا الظلام وكُنْتَ أنتَ سراجنا	2
ونجود للإخوان بالإنفاقِ	علَّمتنا بالحب نجّمع بعضنا	3
الكلُّ يشهدُ أن فيها مرَاقِي	يا حضرةً جمعت قلوبَ أحبِّةٍ	4
نور الوجوه يضيئُ في إشراقِ	فيها شبابُ الصَّحو إن وافيتهم	5
وتمايلوا طربًا مع العشاقِ	مدحوا الرسول وبالقصيد ترنموا	6
أكرمَ بهم من صحبةٍ ورفاقِ	فازوا بظلِّ العرش عند مليكهم	7
ما نالها أحدٌ بغير تلاقِ	نالوا بنظرتهم إليه حَظوةً	8
أعطاهم الله العليّ مرَاقِي	وكرامةً كُبرى تلاميذَ لكم	9
والكلُّ يشهد أن فيها تلاقِي	حفظوا العهود وبالطريقة بشروا	10
خُذها بُنيَّ وضعها في الأحداقِ	أمُّ القِرى شَهَدَتْ مراسمَ بيعتي	11
بالحبِّ والإخلاصِ والإنفاقِ	قد صُنْتُ عهدي بالوفاء لبيعتي	12
يرجو الرضا دومًا ليومِ تلاقِي	عبد الغني المدد المديد لفيضِكُم	13
يكفيه ذا حسدٍ وأهل نفاقِ	برضاكم أ اللهُ يصلح حاله	14
وانشر طريقته مدى الآفاقِ	يا رب إرضَ عن الإمام الجعفري	15
شيخ الطريق الصادق المصدق	يا رب إرضَ عن الإمام الجعفري	16

j. Qasida #10

الله الله محمد رسول الله نبينا	الله الله لا إله إلا الله مولانا	m
يوم القيامة حيث الناس قد حُشِرُوا	الغنم مدحُ رسولِ الله يُنتظرُ	1

والضَّبُّ يشهدُ والسَّرْحَانُ والحَجَرُ	2
وعادَ بَعْدُ سَليماً ذَليكَ القَمَرُ	3
والشارِبُونَ كرامَ مِنْهُمُ عُمَرُ	4
فَضَمَّهُ قائِلاً تأتي لكَ الحُضْرُ	5
فاختارَ باقيةً يا ناسُ فاعتَبِرُوا	6
والأَرْضُ من مَشْيِهِ تَعَلو وتفتخِرُ	7
في المُرسَلينَ وَأُمَّ الكُلِّ إذَ حضروا	8
فيها الخِلاصَ لمن أَرَدْتَهُمُ البَغيْرُ	9
والآلِ والصَّحْبِ مِثْلَ البَغيْثِ تنهَمِرُ	10
عندَ الزِيارَةِ والبَغيْثِ تَزدهمِرُ	11
البَغيْثُ مدحُ رَسولِ اللَّهِ يَنتظِرُ	12
العَغيْمُ ظَلَلَهُ في الحَرِّ مَعجزةً	
والبَدْرُ شَقَّ لهُ والناسُ تُبصِرُهُ	
والجَيشُ يُرَوِي بَماءٍ من أَصابِعِهِ	
والجَذعُ حَنَّ لهُ شوقاً لِحِكمَتِهِ	
أوفى جَنانٍ تُرى في دارِ ناعِمَةٍ	
وقد مَشى في سَماءِ المجدِ شَرَفَها	
هذا النَبِيُّ الَّذي ما مِثْلُهُ أَحَدٌ	
يا سَعَدُ أُمَّتِهِ تَحظى بِزورَتِهِ	
ثمَّ الصَلاةُ على المِختارِ سَيدنا	
كذا السَلامُ لِمَن أَهدى السَلامَ لنا	
ما أَنشدَ الجَعفَريُّ النَظْمَ مُبتَهَجاً	

k. Qasida #11

مع التَسلِيمِ ما فَتحَ الرَسولُ	m
فَأنتَ نَبِيُّنا نِعمَ الرَسولُ	1
على رَبِّ الأَنامِ بَكَ الدَخولُ	2
بِهِ التَفرِيجُ والبَغيْرُ تَزولُ	3
بِوَجْهِكَ يا مَنيْرُ آيا كَفيلُ	4
مِنَ الشَيطانِ وبِوسَةٍ تَحولُ	5
جِلاءً لِلقَلوبِ بِها يَجولُ	6
ويُضِرُّ في البَلاَدِ لهُ حُصُولُ	7
يراهُ الشَمسُ لَيسَ لَها أَقولُ	8
عليه صَلاةُ رَبِّي كُلَّ حينٍ	
رجوتُكَ والرِجاءُ لهُ قَبولُ	
ويا بابَ الإِلهِ آيا مُجِبرُ	
وجاهُكَ عَندَ رَبِّي خَيرُ جَاهٍ	
ويُستَسقَى البَغيْمُ بِأَرْضِ جَدْبٍ	
ومَن عَرفَ النَبِيَّ فليسَ يَخشى	
ونورُ المِصطَفى نورٌ عَظيمُ	
كشَمسٍ في السَماءِ لَها ضِياءُ	
ومَن نَظَرَ النَبِيَّ بِعَينِ قَلبٍ	

وقفتُ لديه أمدحُه أقولُ
 بخير الخلقِ شافعنا الرسولُ
 لهم أجرُ الزيارةِ والوصولُ
 بأشواقٍ ودمعٍ قد يسيلُ
 ويُنصِرهم لديه لهم مقيلُ
 وهَزَّ الروحَ حَسْبَهُمُ الجليلُ
 ولاح النور نورًا لا يزولُ
 عليهم نضرةٌ نورٌ دليلُ
 بفضلِ اللهِ جئنا يا خليلُ
 مع التسليمِ ما مُدِحَ الرسولُ
 لخليلِهِمُ لدى الهيجا صهيلُ
 يُدرِّسُ عنده عِلْمًا يقولُ
 جعافرةٌ لهم مجدٌ يطولُ
 رضاءٌ لا يحولُ ولا يزولُ
 بفضلِ اللهِ سبحانَ الجليلُ

9 فيا سعدي ويا بشرى اِنِّي
 10 ويسمعني ولي أملٌ عظيمٌ
 11 على أبوابه ازدحمت رجالٌ
 12 وجاعوا نحوه ولهم سلامٌ
 13 ويسمعهم رسولُ اللهِ حقًا
 14 وقد نظروا إليه بعينِ قلبٍ
 15 وفاح المسكُ من خيرِ البرايا
 16 ترى الزوارَ قد فرحوا بطة
 17 يعانق بعضهم بعضًا بشكرٍ
 18 عليه صلاة ربي كلَّ حينٍ
 19 وآلٍ ثم أصحابِ كرامٍ
 20 متى ما الجعفريُّ يزورُ طه
 21 ورضوانَ لأهلي هم كرامٌ
 22 وجعفر صادقٌ جدِّي عليه
 23 شكرتُ اللهَ أنْ جدِّي شريفٌ

I. Qasida #12

عن النبي خير البرية
 هَيَّبَتْ للمتقينَا
 بالحبيبِ مولاي مُحَمَّدُ
 جَاهُهُ عالٍ وغالي
 بايعوا الهادي مُحَمَّدُ

m أُصَلِّي يا ربي وسلم
 1 روضةُ الهادي نبينا
 2 كل من قالوا رضينا
 3 حبه عينُ الكمالِ
 4 صحبه خيرُ الرجالِ

زاده المولى سُورِرا
 قبل خَلقِ الله مُحَمَّدُ
 مثلُ شمسٍ في ضحاها
 في ضياءٍ من مُحَمَّدُ
 سيدي مَوْلَى البشائرُ
 اسمه الهادي مُحَمَّدُ
 للنبي بين الجماعه
 كُنْ شفيعي يا مُحَمَّدُ
 والبقا ليسَ يطولُ
 كُنْ شفيعي يا مُحَمَّدُ
 عن أذانا خائبينا
 بالحبيب مَوْلَاي مُحَمَّدُ
 صالحٍ من آل جَعْفَرُ
 بالحبيب مَوْلَاي مُحَمَّدُ
 نبتغي نَيْلَ المَرَامِ
 في بقيعِ يا مُحَمَّدُ

5 وجهه فاقَ البدورا
 6 قد بدا في الكون نورا
 7 خيرُ خلقِ الله طَه
 8 هذه الدنيا نراها
 9 وجهه يا ناسُ نائرُ
 10 ذخرنا نور البصائرُ
 11 البعير يشكو الجماعه
 12 قال يا مولى الشفاعه
 13 هذه الدنيا تزولُ
 14 أين من عَمشي يَقولُ
 15 ربُّ رَدِّ الحاسدينا
 16 كُنْ لنا عوناً مُعِيناً
 17 ناطمُ الدرِّ المَحْرَرُ
 18 يرجو فضلاً منك أَكْبَرُ
 19 وبخيرٍ في الختامِ
 20 بجوارٍ للمقامِ

m. Qasida #13

رسولُ الله بالحُبِّ
 وشاهدُ حضرة الرّبِّ
 تنلُ ما كان للصَّحْبِ
 فَنِعْمَ الذِّكْرُ للقلبِ

m صلاةُ الله يَلْقَاهَا
 1 أَفَقُ من غفلةِ القلبِ
 2 فبالتذكارِ للقربِ
 3 شفاءُ القلبِ أَذْكارُ

دَوَامُ الذِّكْرِ بِالْحُبِّ	4
لما قد كان في الغيب	5
مع التذكارِ للقرب	6
وأوهامَ لدى القلبِ	7
بسيفِ مُسَلِّطِ عَضْبِ	8
لِفِعْلِ السُّوءِ وَالْعَيْبِ	9
لذي الوسواسِ والحجبِ	10
كَمَثَلِ الهائمِ الصَّبِّ	11
تقدَّم في جِمَى الرِّكْبِ	12
رِجَالُ اللَّيْلِ كَالْقُطْبِ	13
رِضَا الْمَوْلَى بِلا سَلْبِ	14
بِلا غَيْمِ بِلا سُحْبِ	15
بِلا سَخَطِ بِلا كَرَبِ	16
رَسُولُ اللَّهِ بِالْحُبِّ	17
وآلِ المصطفى طيِّبِ	18
أَفِقْ من غَفَلَةِ الْقَلْبِ	19
جلاءً من هوى يُرْدِي	4
فَذِكْرُ اللَّهِ مِفْتَاحُ	5
لَمَنْ هَامُوا بِهِ لَيْلًا	6
ووسواسٍ وشيطانٍ	7
بسيفِ الذِّكْرِ تَمَحُّوْهَا	8
وَإِلَّا كُنْتَ فَعَالًا	9
وهذا حالُ مرهونٍ	10
ففي الأذكارِ تلقاها	11
لِذِكْرِ اللَّهِ يَا هَذَا	12
تري الأَقْوَامَ قَائِمَةً	13
فأهلُ الذِّكْرِ قد نالوا	14
هُمُ الأَقْمَارُ فِي لَيْلِ	15
وفي الرضوانِ قد عاشوا	16
صلاةَ اللَّهِ يَلْقَانَا	17
كذا التَّسْلِيمُ يَتْلُوْهَا	18
متى ما الجعفري يتلو	19

n. Qasida #14

وَقَلْبُ العاشقين إِلَيْكَ مالا	m
وجاء إلى المقام هنا يزورُ	1
من الفيحاء مع عطرِ الزهور	2
	3
	م
	1
	2
	3

شرابُ الهائمِينَ به الحبورُ	وقد دارتُ ككوسٍ بالسُرورِ	4
وقد دار الزمانُ وجاء وعدُ	شهودك للحبيبِ هناك شَهْدُ	5
تجارتك السعادةُ لا تبورُ	لدى المختارِ قد وافاك سَعْدُ	6
إلى خلفِ السُّتورِ تراه ينظرُ	إلى هذا الحبيبِ أُخِيَّ فانظرُ	7
وقل يا رب عفوًا يا غفورُ	على هذا لرب العرشِ فاشكرُ	8

o. Close

- i. Supplicatory prayer
- ii. Supplicatory prayer (“Du‘a’ wa raja”)
- iii. Fawatih and ad‘iyya
- iv. Hadra close: khitam
- v. Qasida #15

من رسول الله اعطنا المدد	المدد يا جعفريّ المدد	m
قد علا فوق جميع الرُّتبِ	يا عظيم الجاه يا مَنْ قَدْرُهُ	1
في جمال منكَ يا خيرَ نبي	جئتُ أرجو من إلهي نظرةً	2
قاسِمٌ للخيرِ بين النُّجُبِ	أنتَ بابُ الله أنتَ المرْتَجَى	3
بسلامٍ طيبٍ لم يَحِبِ	كل من لاقِيتهُ في روضةٍ	4
وأنا مِنْهُمْ وحسني نسي	قَدَمُوا أنسابهم يوم اللِّقا	5

مثل ما أْبْدَى جَمَادُ الحَطَبِ	6 فاسمعي يا نفسُ أْبدي عِبْرَةً
باشتياقِ بالذا مِنْ عَجَبِ	7 تحته الجذعُ الذي أنَّ له
فافرحي يا نفسُ طوراً واسْكُبي	8 حَلَّ سَكْبُ الدَّمْعِ في أرجائه
خيرِ طيبِ جاءنا من طيبِ	9 سَعَدَ من شَمِّ لِطيبِ المصطفى
في حياتي من أَجَلِّ القُرْبِ	10 زورةُ المختارِ عندي قُرْبَةً
إن من يدخلها لن يَحِبِ	11 ليت عيني أن ترى رَوْضَتَهُ

vi. Oath-taking ceremony ('ahd)

B. Jazuliyya texts regulating hadra

1. The First Letter (al-Risala al-'Ula)

Praise be to God, who said (Glorious is His rank): "Therefore remember Me, I will remember you. Give thanks to Me, and reject not Me." (2:152). And blessings and peace on the last of the prophets, master of the messengers, and Apostle of God, Lord of the Worlds.

My lovers for the sake of God:

I wanted to be among you this evening, and look forward to this, for there is no objection to the grace of God (praised be He). The most beautiful of moments for me is a session [*jalsa*⁹⁶] for God together with my lovers [*ahbab*], because this is a session with God, and with the Prophet of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) who said: "If you pass the gardens of Paradise, indulge in them". And it was said: What are the gardens of Paradise, oh Prophet of God?" Then he said: "The circle of *dhikr*."

It is necessary for all of us that we free our sessions from the world and its pleasures and distractions and that which is in it, and in the session to be servants of God, honest, well-behaved, anticipating His gifts and manifestations and pleasure; and that we start the hadra at a time known to all, however many attend; and that we start the hadra with the Fatiha for the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), our masters, and our shaykh, in expressions clear and audible to all; and that we begin with sincere repentance and surrender to God (exalted be He) to prepare the hearts for Dhikr of Allah, until we lift from among us all preoccupation with the world and the ruses of the Devil; and that the gathering knows that they are in the presence [hadra] of God, and that they remember God, and that their gathered presence (the hadra) for His sake (exalted be He) is not a favor from them, but rather a gift from God who selected them for this, and so they must preserve it.

We begin the hadra with a bit of good study [mudhakara], indicating the aim of the gathering, for what is the hadra but the presence of the heart with God. He whose heart is present tastes the meaning of the dhikr, the meaning of the gathering, and the meaning of love for God. Dhikr clarifies to the dhakir the state of his heart, and the extent of faith and love which is in it. He whose heart contains faith works to increase it, and he who doesn't find it performs virtuous work and then finds faith. "Faith is that which remains in the heart, and is authenticated by deeds" [said the Prophet]; the Prophet of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) spoke truly. Then after reading the '*ushr*⁹⁷', the study session [mudhakara] is opened to the brethren by the leader, or any brother from among

the brethren. The study session continues for a specific period of time according to what the leader sees as suitable for the hadra or gathering.

After this we begin practice in inshad, and there is no objection if after each qasida we practice we explain some of the words and clarify their meaning for the brethren, within the bounds of the hadra (which we never leave). The brethren learn how to study, how to select material to study, and how to direct a hadra, especially those who demonstrate responsibility, loyalty, strong high-mindedness, and firm will, who are determined to spread the way of God as mutual love and good will for the sake of God.

The study session must be in accordance with the spiritual condition [hal], that is the hal of the hadra and of those present in it. The leader of the hadra is completely responsible for his brethren before Allah (praised be He) and His Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), and before the shaykh of the tariqa.

The responsibility of the hadra leader, and his true understanding of it, as well as his virtuous behavior, dominates the speech of the brethren, their movements, and their calm moments, so that the disciple does not leave the hadra feeling troubled, tense, or hopeless. The leader must hold himself accountable, and rid himself of his faults, in order to train his brethren on the path of guidance. The deeds of a person are counted for him, or against him. This responsibility is not merely honorific, but rather consists in rectifying any crookedness in his circle of brethren. The leader guides and is guided; he instructs and is instructed.

This is our path, the path we have taken. Upon it travels the ship of love, upon the sea of purity, without impedance. Through it, we benefited ourselves and others; we both learned and taught.

Oh God, make us successful in this, and make our brethren successful also; give us victory over our enemies, enemies of religion. Influence us in favor of sensible reason, and make us among those listen to speech, and follow it. Oh God, don't forsake us in either religion or worldly affairs, and preserve our children; prefer us, and don't prefer others to us. And may God bless our master Muhammad, the illiterate Prophet, and his family and companions, and grant them peace. And may God be pleased with our shaykh, Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili, and with our spiritual masters. Amin. And may God make us useful for you.

[Written by Sidi Jabir al-Jazuli (al-Jazuli 1993a:16-17).]

2. Laws of the Tariqa's Madrasa (Qanun Madrasat al-Tariqa)

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Beneficent

The Tariqa Jazuliyya Husayniyya Shadhiliyya

Its Founder our Lord al-Jazuli

May God be pleased with him, and help him

The madrasa of the tariqa Jazuliyya Husayniyya Shadhiliyya, whose principles were anchored and seeds planted by our lord the Imam al-Jazuli (may God be pleased with him) is the first madrasa of its kind in the history of Sufism.⁹⁸ It combines the Shari'a and the

Haqiqa for the tariqa, with love and sincerity, following and not innovating [*muttaba'a ghayr mu'tadi'a*].⁹⁹ It causes love among the members [*ahbab*], and gathers them together, toward God, upon the Book of God and the Sunna of the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace), and the ways of the virtuous ones. It educates and teaches, in order to make the Muslim into a person who is useful for his religion and nation,¹⁰⁰ The madrasa must not be biased or crooked, but rather is based on the following:

First, the program:

(1) Hizbs of the tariqa: it begins with one of the hizbs which are: al-Da'wa al-Rabbaniyya, Hizb al-Nur, Hizb al-Mu'min, Hizb al-Fath, Hizb al-Nasr, al-Latifa¹⁰¹, Surat Yasin.

(2) The Glorious Qur'an. Group recitation of two hizbs¹⁰² from the Glorious Qur'an in proper sequence.

(3) Noble Hadith. An authentic hadith [selected by] the one responsible for this section. Then the members [*ahbab*] in turn take it up in *mudhakara* in order to assess it with respect to the meanings of the Glorious Qur'an, and study its connection to the words of the tariqa's founder [Sidi Jabir, as presented] in his Rasa'il, qasidas, and aphorisms [*hikam*].

(4) Law [*fiqh al-Shari'a*]. The person responsible for this section discusses a portion of *fiqh* according to the *madhhab* of Imam al-Shafi'i, according to the summary

which our lord Imam al-Jazuli prepared, presenting it to the members [ahbab] as a subject for mudhakara.

(5) *Rasa'il*. One letter from the Letters [i.e. al-Jazuli 1993a] of our lord the Imam al-Jazuli is read, and presented for mudhakara to the members.

(6) Etiquette [adab] of the murid, or wisdom [hikam] of the shaykh. In this section is studied some portion of the murid's proper etiquette, according to the book *Rasa'il* or inshad [i.e. Jazuli 1993a or 1993b], or an aphorism from the shaykh (may God be pleased with him).

(7) Inshad. Melody, practice, and meaning.

Second: principles of the program

(1) The essential aim of the madrasa is: "the preparation of mas'uls for the tariqa who are grounded in religious knowledge ['ilm], founded on Shari'a and Haqiqa", and the production of a new line of mas'uls (from the memoirs of the shaykh (may God be pleased with him, October 26 1979).¹⁰³

(2) The specification of the time of the madrasa, [which] should be after the night prayer by half an hour, for a duration of three hours.

(3) The specification of a specific time for each section among the sections in the program so that one section doesn't outweigh another; at end of the madrasa it is preferable to announce the coming program.

(4) Between sections of the madrasa there should be a group qasida for the munshidin.

(5) In the inshad sections, it is important that there be group practice of new melodies, as well as solo inshad; there should also be opportunities for new munshidin to practice among the *ahbab*.

(6) The mas'uls must prepare what is taught in the madrasa so that each brother at the end of the year is completely familiar with what has been taught all year long.

(7) It is not sufficient for the mas'ul to read his subject; rather he must provide discussion for the *ahbab* according to *tasawwuf* and love [*mahabba*] without force or intimidation.¹⁰⁴

(8) The program should be tied together, so that the choice of *qasida* or words of the Shaykh (may God be pleased with him) take up the same subjects as the *hadith* or the [Qur'anic] verses which were recited at the start.

(9) Inasmuch as the object of the madrasa is Sufi education in morals and behavior, it is necessary for those leading the madrasa to make certain of that¹⁰⁵ in each aspect among the aspects which are taught.

(10) There is no *dhikr* in the madrasa; it is sufficient to have it in the *hadra* on Thursdays.

(11) The most deserving to lead discussion in the sections of the madrasa and its *mudhakarà* are the mas'uls and secretaries of the districts.

(12) [There should be opportunity for] munshidin to practice the group *qasidas* which are sung during the *dhikr* in the *hadras* of the mosques.¹⁰⁶

(13) The madrasa, its program, and administration are under the supervision of the shaykh and his instructions.

The shaykh of the tariqa,

Jabir Husayn Ahmad al-Jazuli¹⁰⁷

March 28, 1979¹⁰⁸

[al-Jazuli 1993a:126-7]

3. Laws of the Munshidin (Qanun al-Munshidin)

In the Name of God the Merciful, the Beneficent

The Tariqa Jazuliyya Husayniyya Shadhiliyya

Rules of the Munshidin

Inshad is one of the basic pillars for the tariqa. The hadra is based upon dhikr, inshad, and study.

The munshidin, as our master the Imam al-Jazuli (may God be pleased with him) says, are “the guides toward God, for inshad strengthens a person in dhikr; through inshad we know, learn, follow [the way], and are educated; it is a matter which comes to us from Allah” (From the lessons of the Shaykh (may God be pleased with him) March 10, 1988¹⁰⁹)

The spirit of the heart is my intimate companion
and most oft' recalled of my lovers

Raise your singing with love
and repeat it upon my ears

**When you sing with remembrance of my Beloved
my heart sings with my happiness¹¹⁰**

And the foundations of inshad, and the characteristics of the munshidin in our tariqa, must be based on the following:

1) That as the munshid is the *saqi al-dhakin* [cupbearer for those who perform dhikr] in the hadra, he must preserve his purity, and avoid vexation as much as possible.

2) That he memorize by heart all the poetry and words of the Shaykh, and have gathered also some of the poetry of the Sufis.

3) That he be skillful and intelligent in selecting, during his inshad, the words or poems which suit the *hal* [condition] of the hadra, and the hal of those performing dhikr.

4) That the melodies should not be vulgar, or quoted from non-Sufi melodies.

5) That he supervise the members who play percussion instruments. For the hearts of the dhakin and the munshid depend on regulation of the beat, and when they are different, the hearts are different.

6) That the solo munshid control the vocal register which he chooses, when he wants the brethren to respond behind him to one of the lines.

7) The munshidin of the tariqa must record new melodies, and distribute them to all the areas of the tariqa, in order that there be agreement among the brethren in all regions.

8) The munshidin should undertake to review the melodies for the districts of the tariqa which intend to present them in the celebrations of our master the Imam al-Jazuli

(may God be pleased with him), so that they can be reviewed and adjusted in order to be presented in the best form.

9) That the gaze of the solo munshid should be on the shaykh of the hadra, in order that he be able to receive signals from the shaykh with ease and facility.

10) That the munshid adorn himself with morality, and Muhammadan, Sufi, Jazuli characteristics, as is appropriate for a man bearing the words of the Shaykh and singing them.

11) That the munshidin alone must wear the white dress and decorations which distinguish them, so that the leaders can gather them during public occasions.

12) That group qasidas which are appropriate to hadras of the mosques be selected, and that they begin with a section appropriate to the mosque.

13) That the head of the munshidin should give attention to presenting the second tier of munshidin, both solo and group.

Shaykh al-tariqa

Salim Jabir Husayn Ahmad al-Jazuli

March 28, 1993

[al-Jazuli 1993a: 128-9]

C. *Ja'fariyya text regulating hadra*

1. On the Virtues of the Ja'fariyya Hadra and its Protocols

[That which is included between double quotation marks is quoted, while the remainder is paraphrased from al-Muhami 1994.]

By reference to Qur'an, Hadith, and poems of Shaykh Salih, the word "hadra" is shown to refer to the presence of God, angels, spirits of the prophets, pious ones, Ahl al-Bayt. Hadra contains goodness. The hadra draws together a large number of muridin [tariqa members] and muhibbin [devotees]. In the hadra the hearts meet and selves are pure with one another, and love and brotherhood spreads among them. One of the most important advantages of the hadra is that it gathers people for collective dhikr in which people influence and enthuse each other; the lazy or negligent get energized by the others...

"[Hadra] is the first pillar and spinal column of the way [tariqa]. Our shaykh said: "my tariq is Qur'an, religious knowledge [ilm], piety, and praise for the Prophet, the eraser of error", and all of these things are present in the hadra Ja'fariyya..."

"The way of the tariq is through perseverance in hadra; the people of the tariq are those who persevere in hadra." If one takes the 'ahd he must be present at hadra. The importance of the 'ahd is asserted by citing Qur'an, and poetry of Shaykh Salih. It is not enough to perform the solitary wurd, which some may consider as a substitute for the

hadra. To use Shaykh Salih's metaphor, to be absent from hadra is to have one's electric supply cut off.

The following rules of adab apply:

- 1) That the murid intend God in attending hadra, as He is the intended in everything.
- 2) That the murid wear clean clothes, groom his hair, brush his teeth, wear a head covering (*'imma* or *taqiya*), and come serene, in state of solemnity, due to the greatness of dhikr Allah.
- 3) That the murid observe the order of the hadra...
- 4) Once the murid sits in hadra he shouldn't get up before the end except for a good reason (e.g. to eat, or to renew his ablutions).
- 5) One he sits he shouldn't ask for anything, or refuse anything presented to him; rather he must comply precisely with the order of the hadra, for the dhikr is based on this.
- 6) He should not turn frequently, or look around at those around him...nor should he interfere with the order [of the hadra] without being advised to do so. For Islam calls for him to leave that which does not concern him.
- 7) The murid must listen to the instructions of his Shaykh, which the Shaykh always gives in the hadras, and give them his attention.
- 8) He must also accept the advice of the advisors, and the counsel of the speakers, regardless of the speaker. For wisdom is the goal of the believer, wherever he may find it, and with it he is the most worthy of people.

9) The murid must listen to the madih in the hadra, in order that he not be deprived of understanding and blessing.

10) He must also respond after the maddahin. It does not behoove one to perform along with the maddahin in their inshad, and so the way of the Shaykh is to have two or three maddahin perform, while the rest of the individuals in the hadra respond.

11) The brethren must not look to any of their number as if he is the shaykh, or the next in line after the shaykh in order. It is not seemly for them to be dazzled by one of the brethren or guests, whether for his knowledge or the melody of his madih, or the length of his association. Rather, all the brethren are equal. The Shaykh alone is responsible for education, and deserving of one's appreciation and attention and self-abnegation, as the Shaykh indicated in the introduction to "Kanz al-Sa'ada".

12) If he is going to attend a dhikr session, the murid must esteem its worth, and not play with his rosary, or be seen holding a book or Qur'an or anything else, for God did not make for man two hearts.¹¹¹

13) The murid must depart the dhikr promptly after the session ends, and after greeting the shaykh and brethren. Tarrying is not proper. One must not linger in the mosque after the hadra except in case of urgent necessity.

14) The murid must thank God most High that He made him successful in attending the dhikr session, and consider it a blessing from God most High. Dhikr is the sign of the Sufi path; he to whom it is given is given that path, and he who is deprived of it

is deprived. He who is deprived of attendance at the hadra halts on the way, and much good passes him by.

15) The murid must try to get from the hadra a charge of faith [*shahma imaniyya*], in order to live in its joy and blessing until the next hadra. That is what strengthens his faith, and arouses his certainty, and makes him devote himself to the hadra always.

D. Hisab 'Ilm al-Huruf

The practice of 'ilm al-huruf (the science of letters) invariably involves a calculation (*hisab*) in which words are converted to numbers.

For the purposes of preparing this calculation the 28 letters are listed in their traditional order, often memorized in the following sequence of "words":

أَبْجَدُ هُوَزْ حُطَى كَلَمُنْ سَعْفَصْ قَرَشَتْ نُحَدُّ صَظَفْ

The letters are then assigned numbers of the following decimal sequence:

1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9

10,20,30,40,50,60,70,80,90

100,200,300,400,500,600,700,800,900,1000

This assignment results in the following equivalences:

أ	ب	ج	د	هـ	و	ز	ح	ط	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
ى	ك	ل	م	ن	س	ع	ف	ص	
10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	
ق	ر	ش	ت	ث	خ	ذ	ض	ظ	غ
100	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	900	1000

The numerical value of a word is generally computed by adding the values of its letters, possibly followed by further arithmetic operations (such as squaring).

E. Theory of counting weighted sets: entropy cardinality

The following is the derivation of a mathematically reasonable and consistent technique by which any set of objects can be counted according to weights associated with each object, such that elements with greater weight are counted “more”.

In set theory, the usual measure of set size is called *cardinality*. For finite sets, the cardinality of a set is simply the number of elements it contains. In order to count a weighted set, I define a different kind of measure called “entropy cardinality”, due to its dependence on the concept of entropy as employed in information theory. Entropy cardinality may also be termed “the $\text{plog}(1/p)$ method”, a name which describes the computations performed.

In practical applications of this technique, the weighted set will typically be interpreted in statistical or probabilistic terms, derived from actual usage or hypothetical probability associated with each set element. It is as useful for counting references to Sufi saints, as it is for computing the size of a pitch set.

Let the set under consideration be denoted S , and the weighting function be W , such that each element e of the set S receives a weight $W(e)$. Without loss of generality, one can assume that W is normalized, so that the sum of $W(e)$ over all e in S equals one. The average entropy in an information-theoretical sense implied by the probabilistic interpretation of S with W is the following expression, denoted E :

$$E = \sum_{e \in S} (W(e) * \log_{\text{base } 2} (1/W(e)))$$

This expression represents the average information (in bits) one receives each time one samples S by selecting an element within it according to W .

Since n bits is equivalent to 2^n set elements (where n denotes exponentiation), I define the entropy-cardinality of S to be the antilog (base 2) of the average entropy, as given in the above expression E . Applying simple algebra, one obtains:

$$\text{product over all } e \text{ in } S \text{ of } (1/W(e))^{W(e)}$$

When the weights are all equal, entropy cardinality and ordinary cardinality should be the same. This property can easily be verified. If S contains N elements, all equiprobable, then $W(e) = 1/N$. In this case the entropy-cardinality becomes:

$$\text{product over all } e \text{ in } S \text{ of } (N)^{(1/N)} = ((N)^{(1/N)})^N = N.$$

That is, entropy-cardinality is equivalent to ordinary cardinality in this case, as expected.

F. Analytical graphs

The following 38 graphs are referenced and explained in the analysis of Chapters 8 and 9.

Note: The UMI scan of this dissertation was very low resolution, rendering the graphs nearly illegible. I have inserted high-resolution color versions of these pages below, followed by the original scans. - M. Frishkopf, 5 Dec 2016

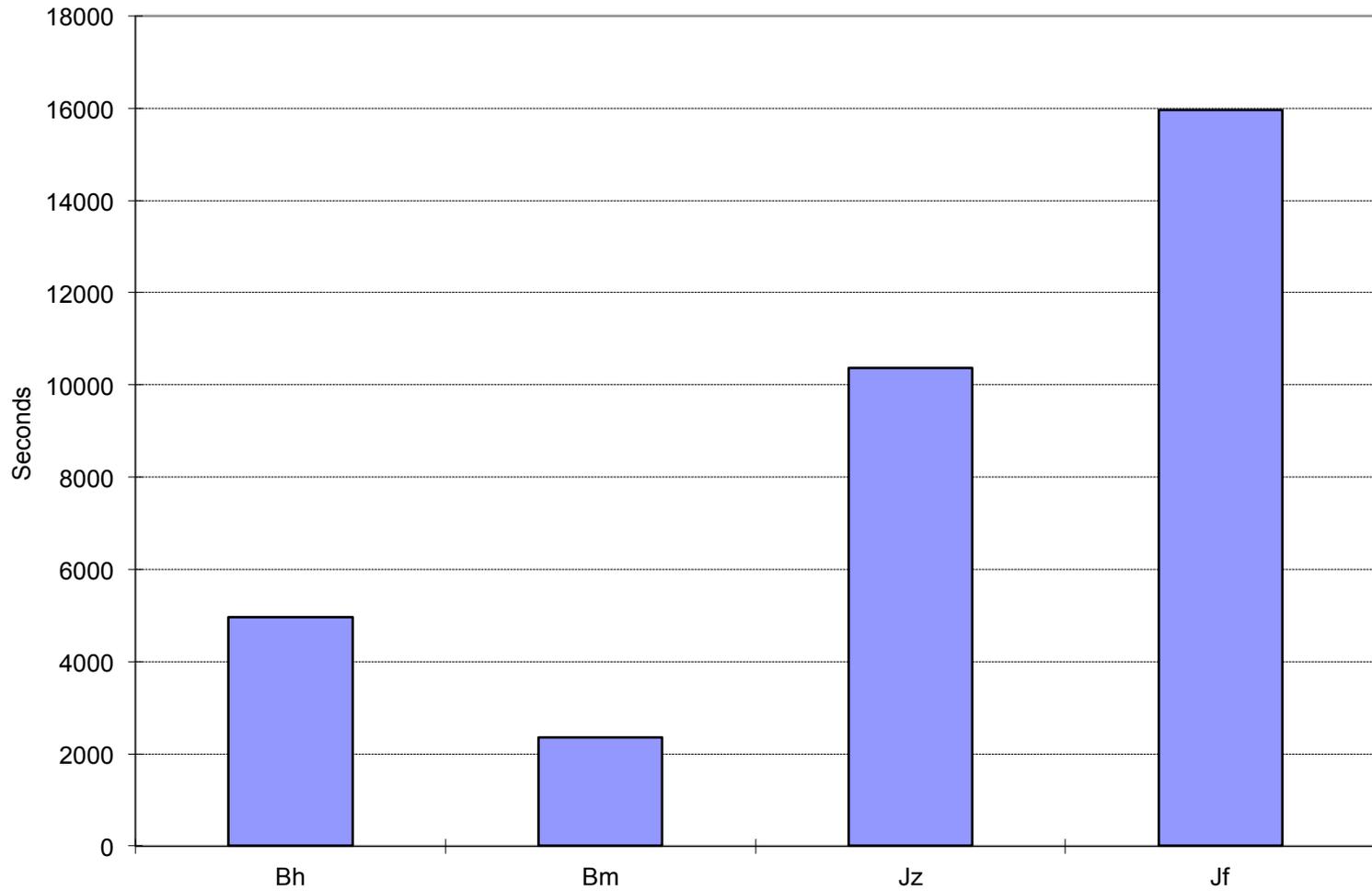
Appendix F: Analytical graphs

pp. 1230ff

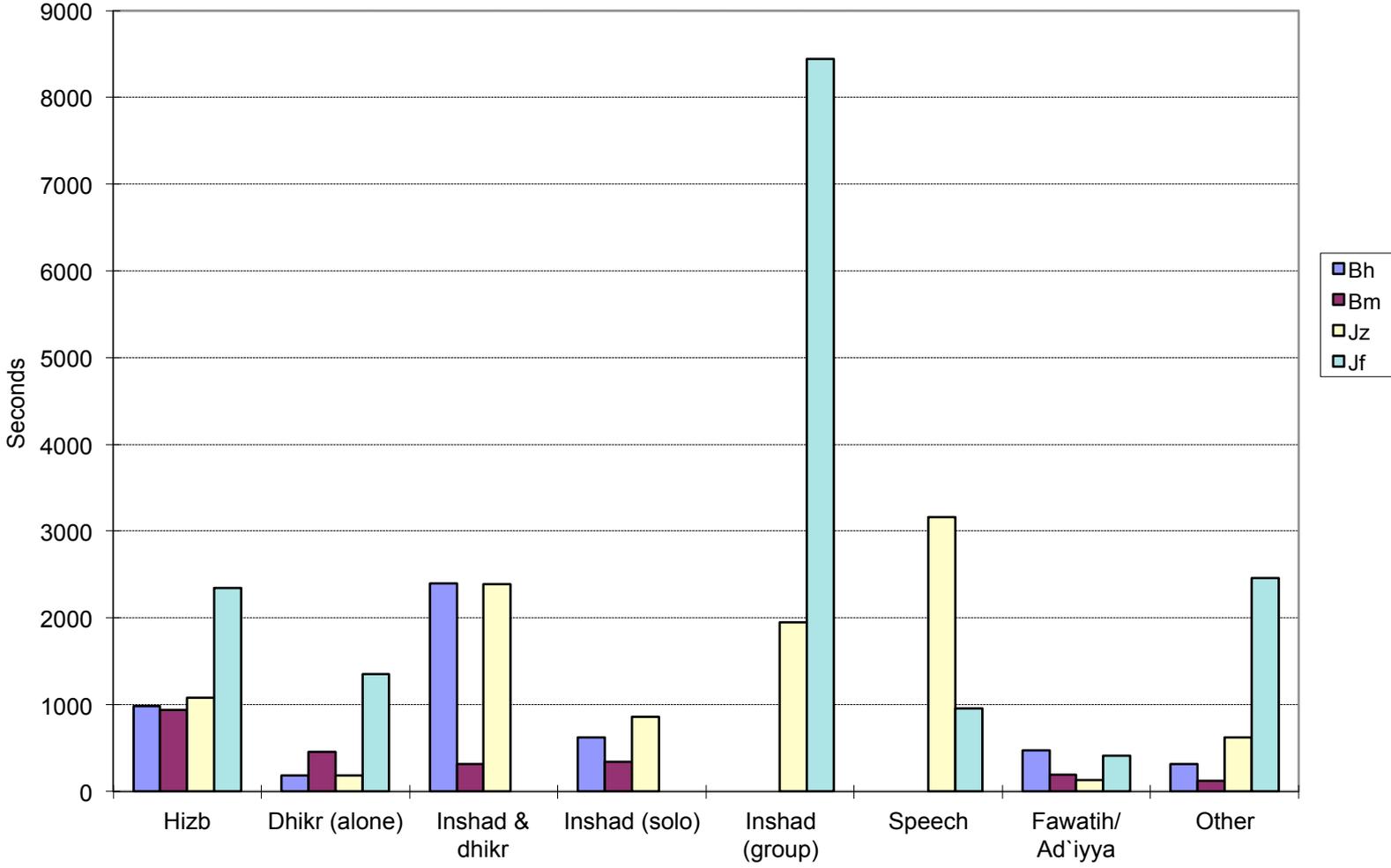
Key to Hadra Types

- Bh: local Bayyumiyya hadra
- Bm: central Bayyumiyya hadra
- Jz: Jazuliyya hadra
- Jf: Ja`fariyya hadra

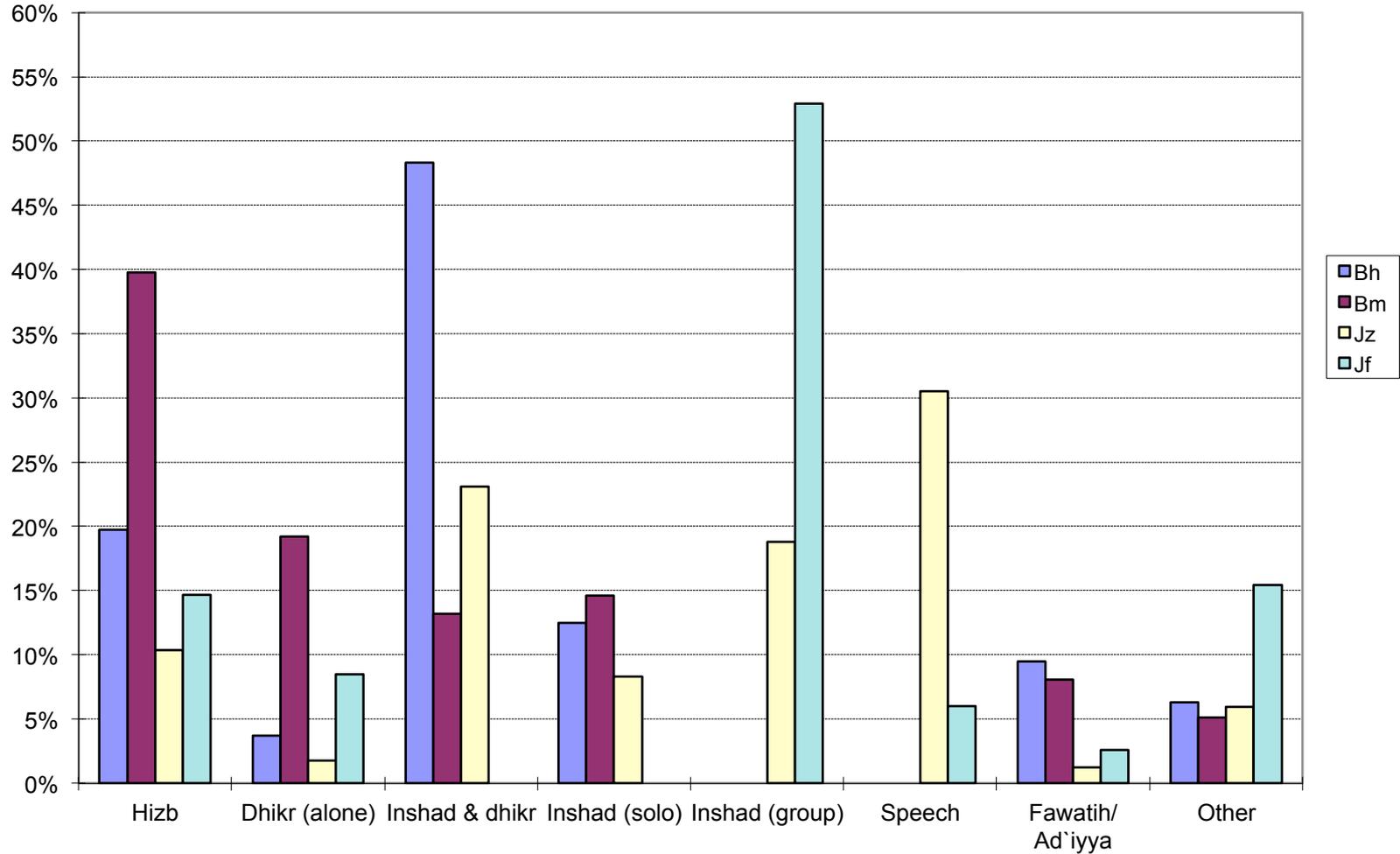
**Total performance time
(Graph 1)**



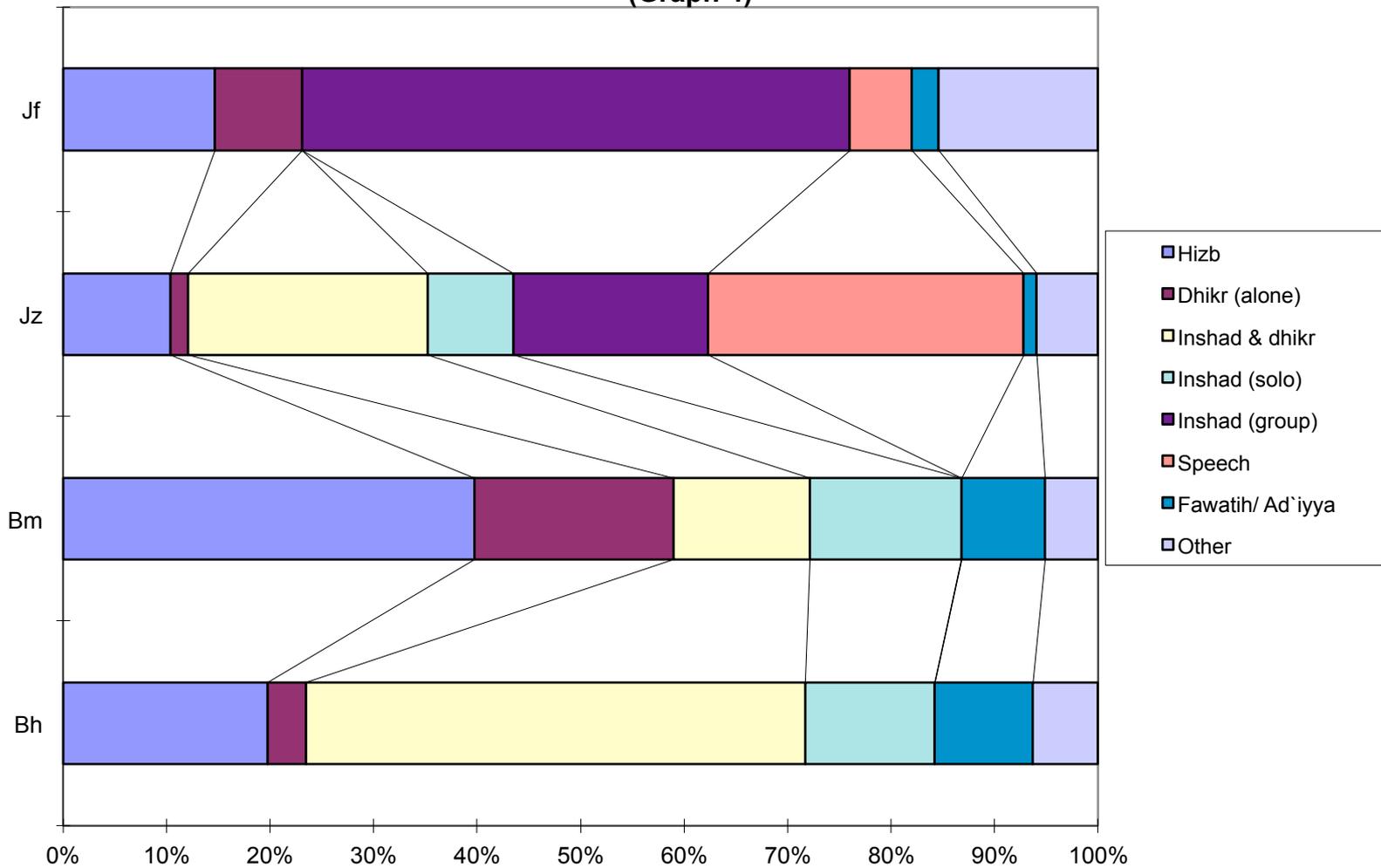
**Absolute aggregate durations of disjoint LP categories
(Graph 2)**



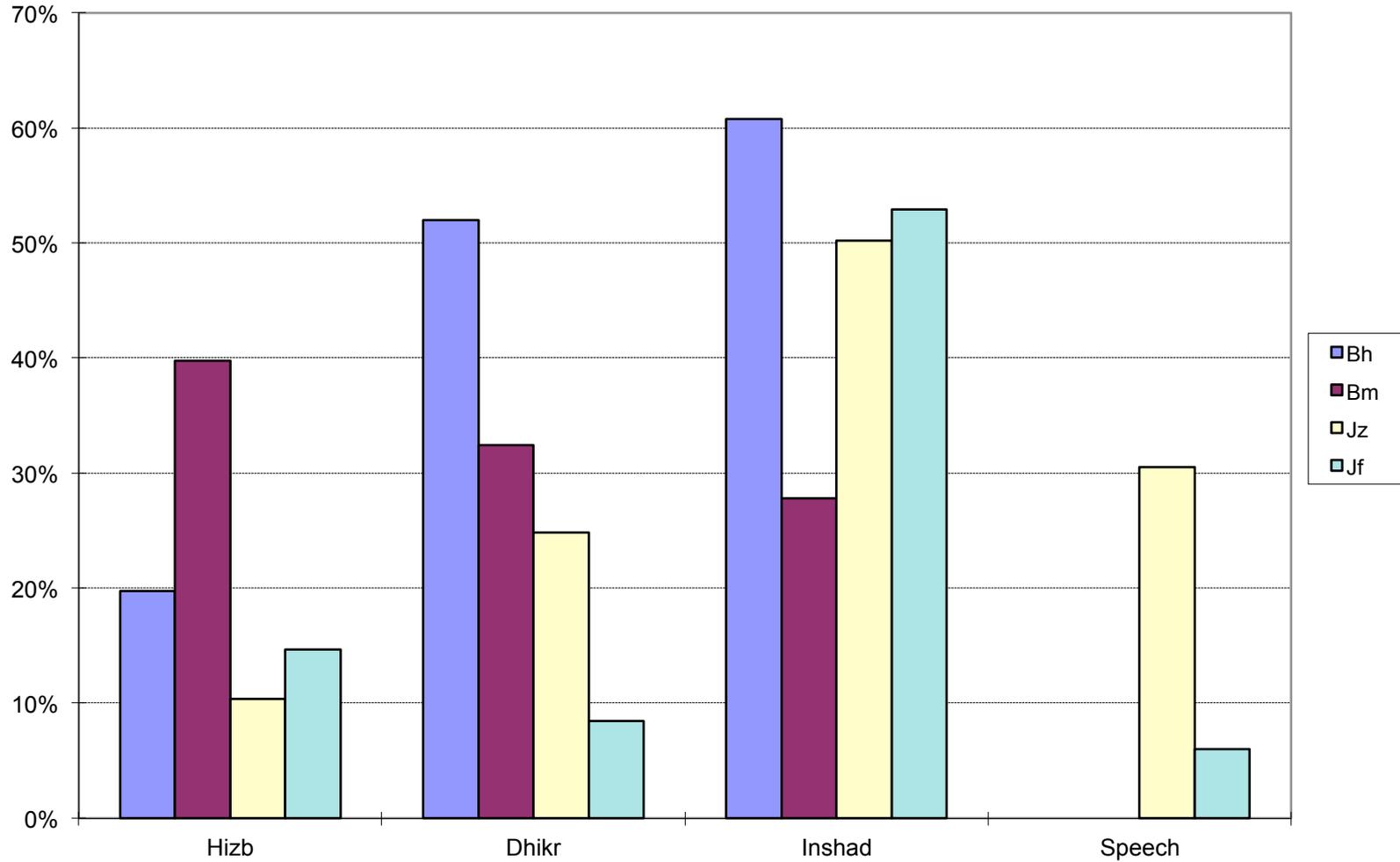
Relative aggregate durations of disjoint LP categories (I)
(Graph 3)



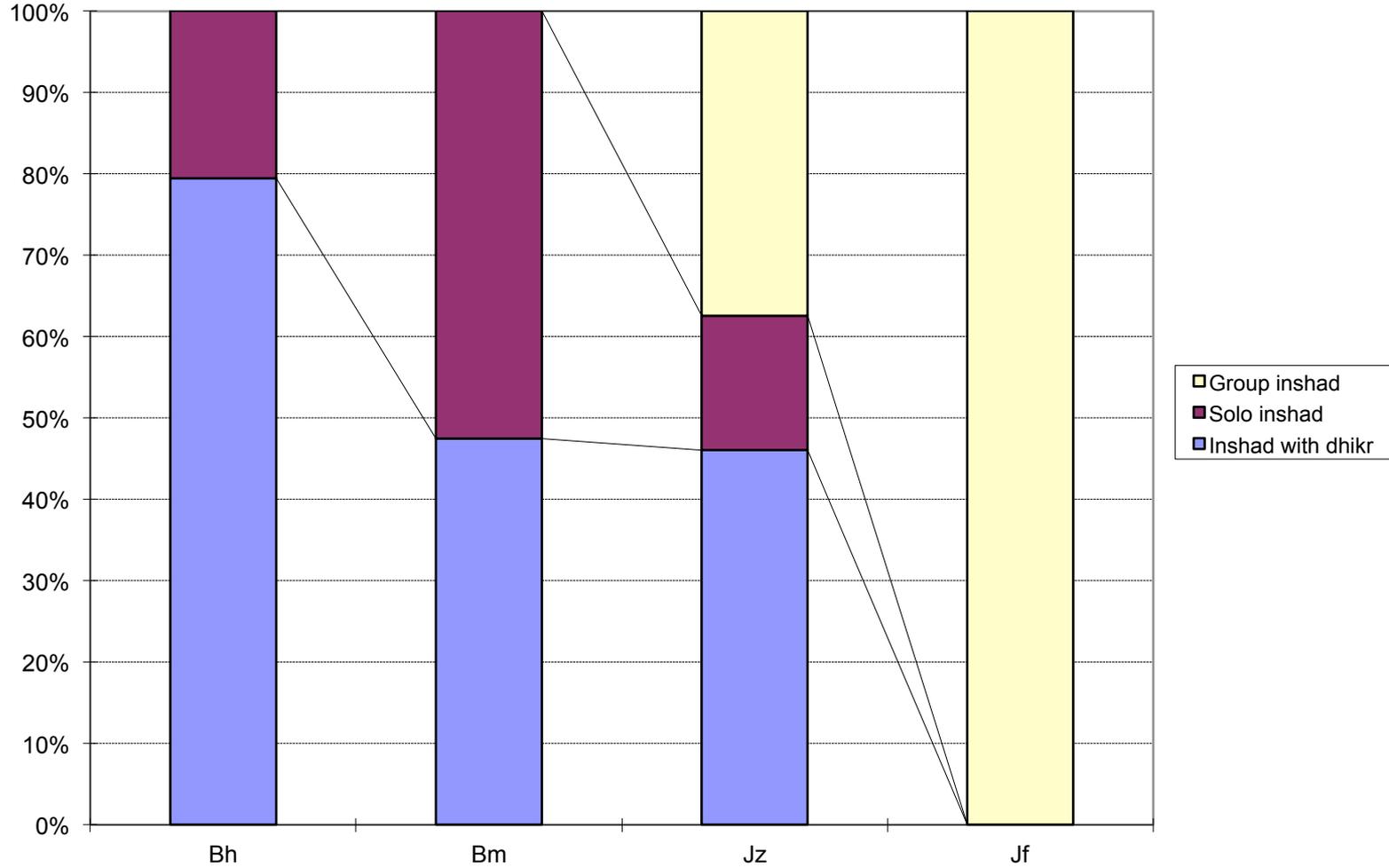
Relative aggregate durations of disjoint LP categories (II)
(Graph 4)



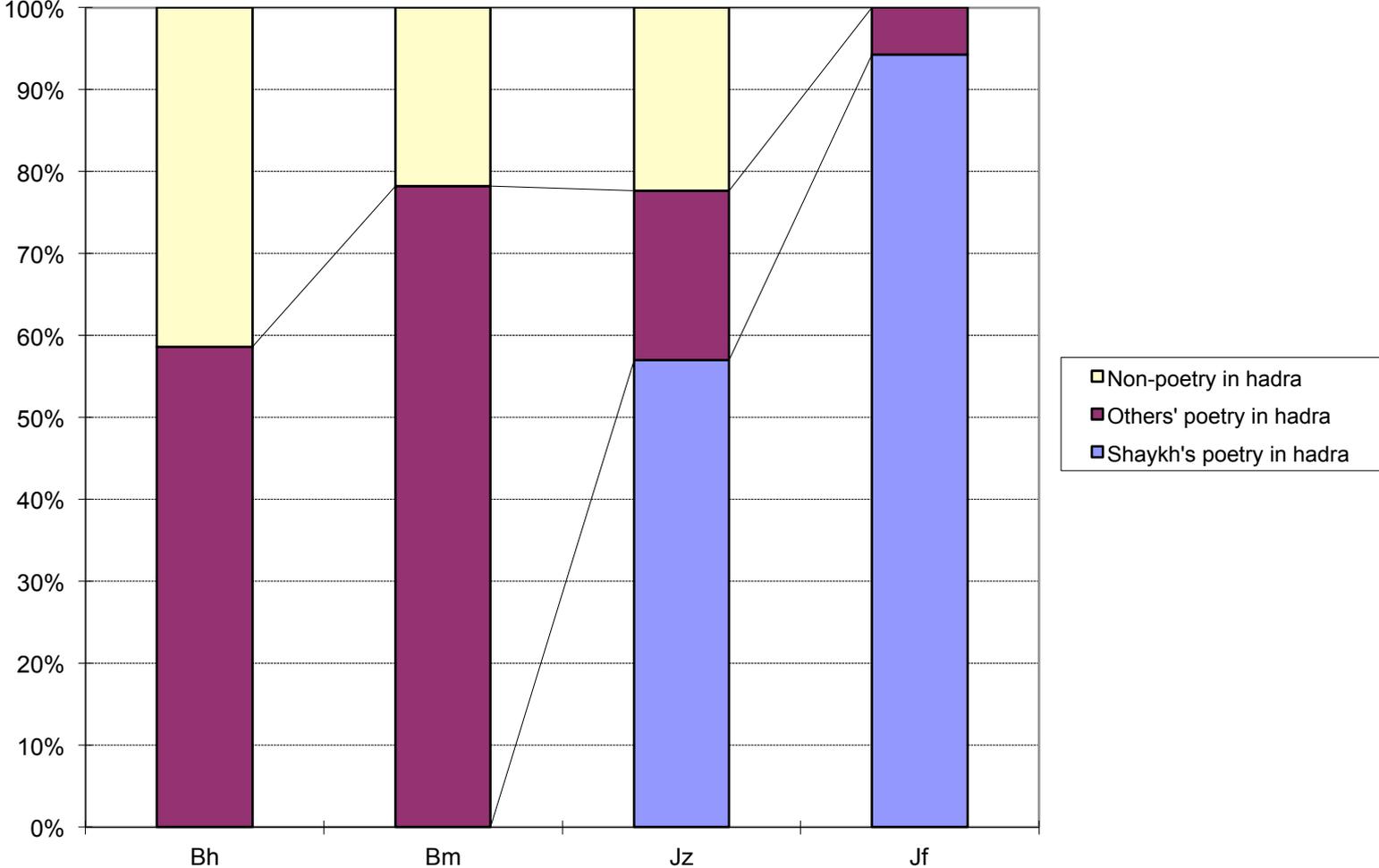
Relative aggregate durations of overlapping LP categories
(Graph 5)



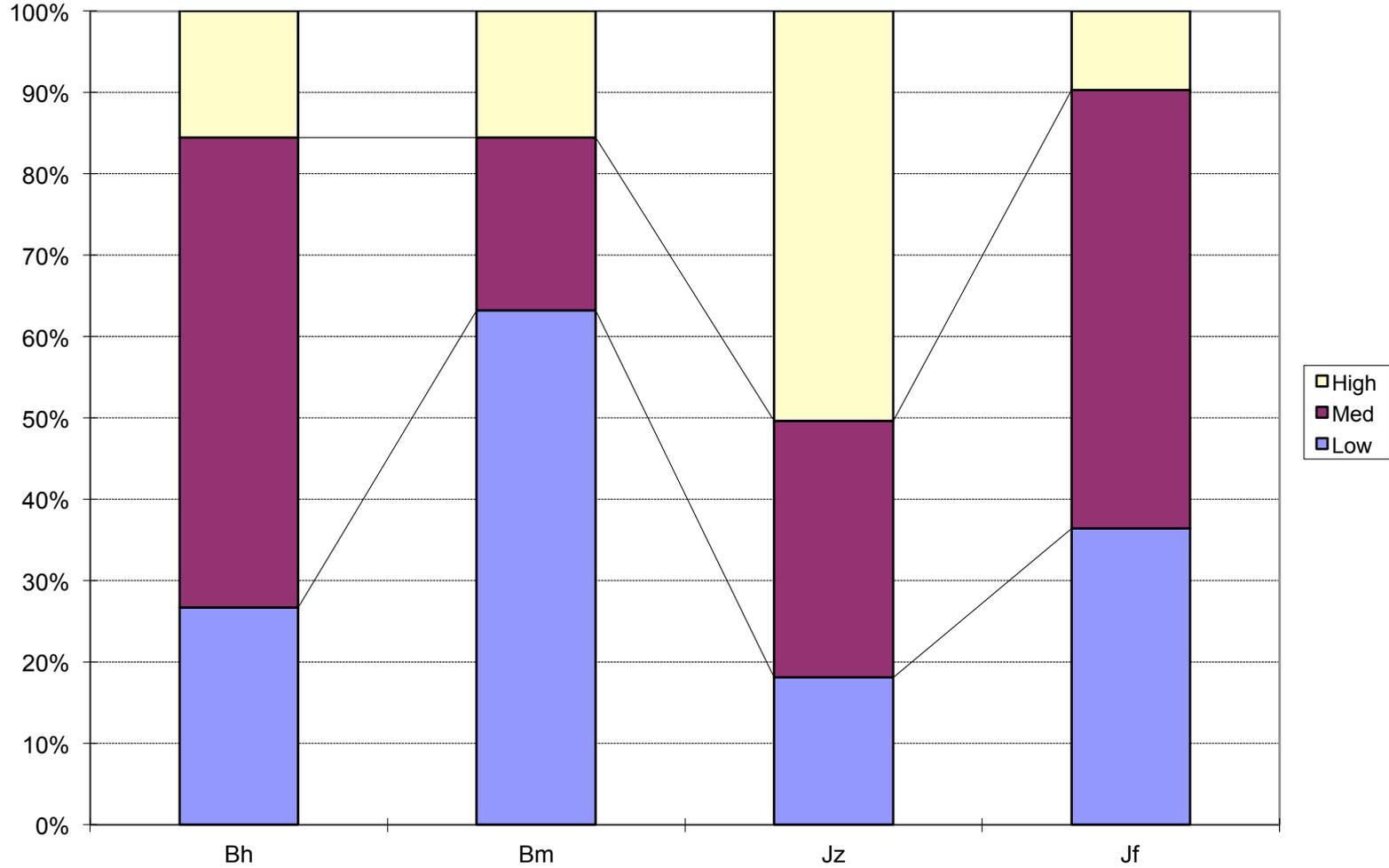
Relative aggregate durations of inshad categories
(Graph 6)



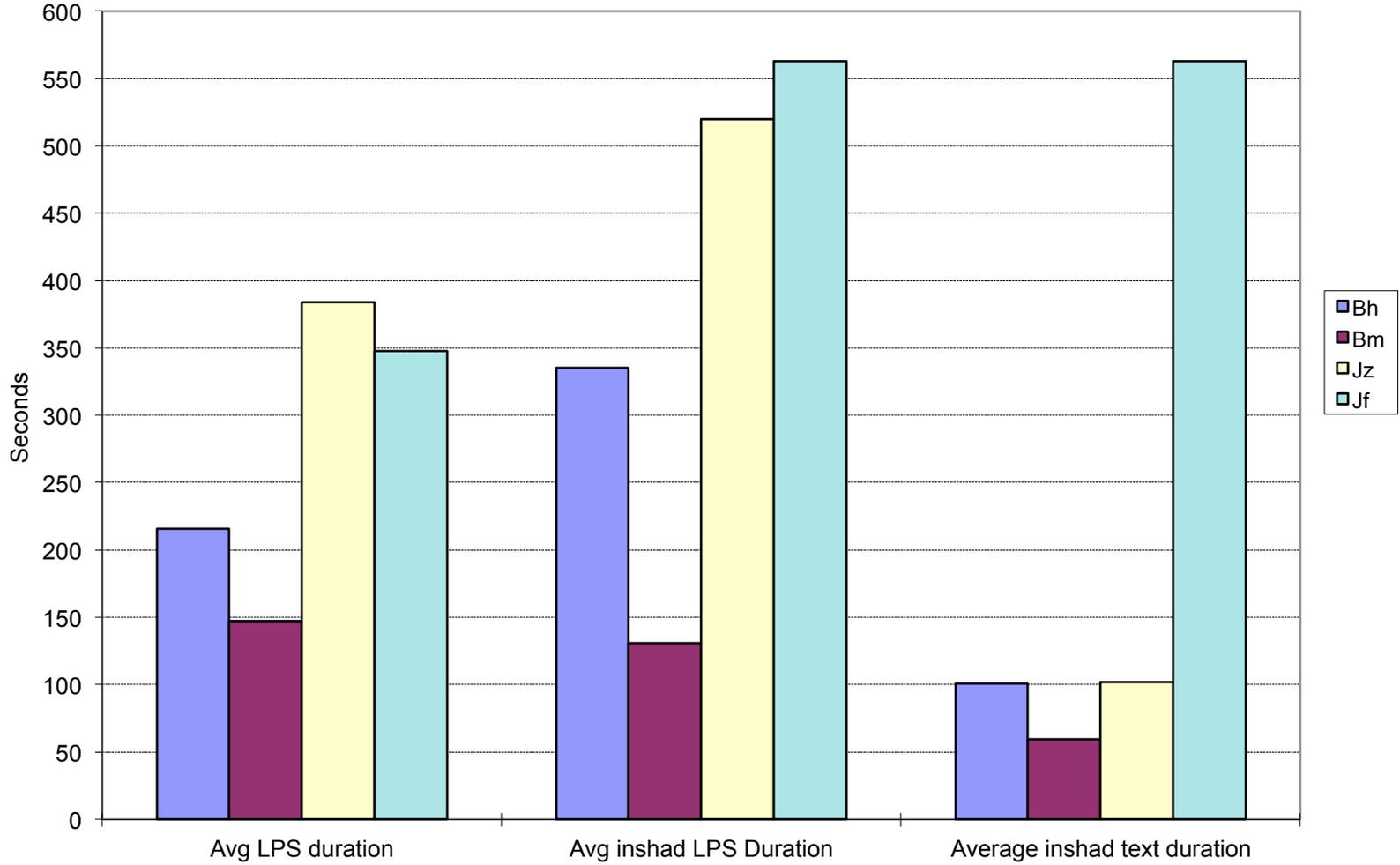
Relative aggregate lengths of inshad text types
(Graph 7)



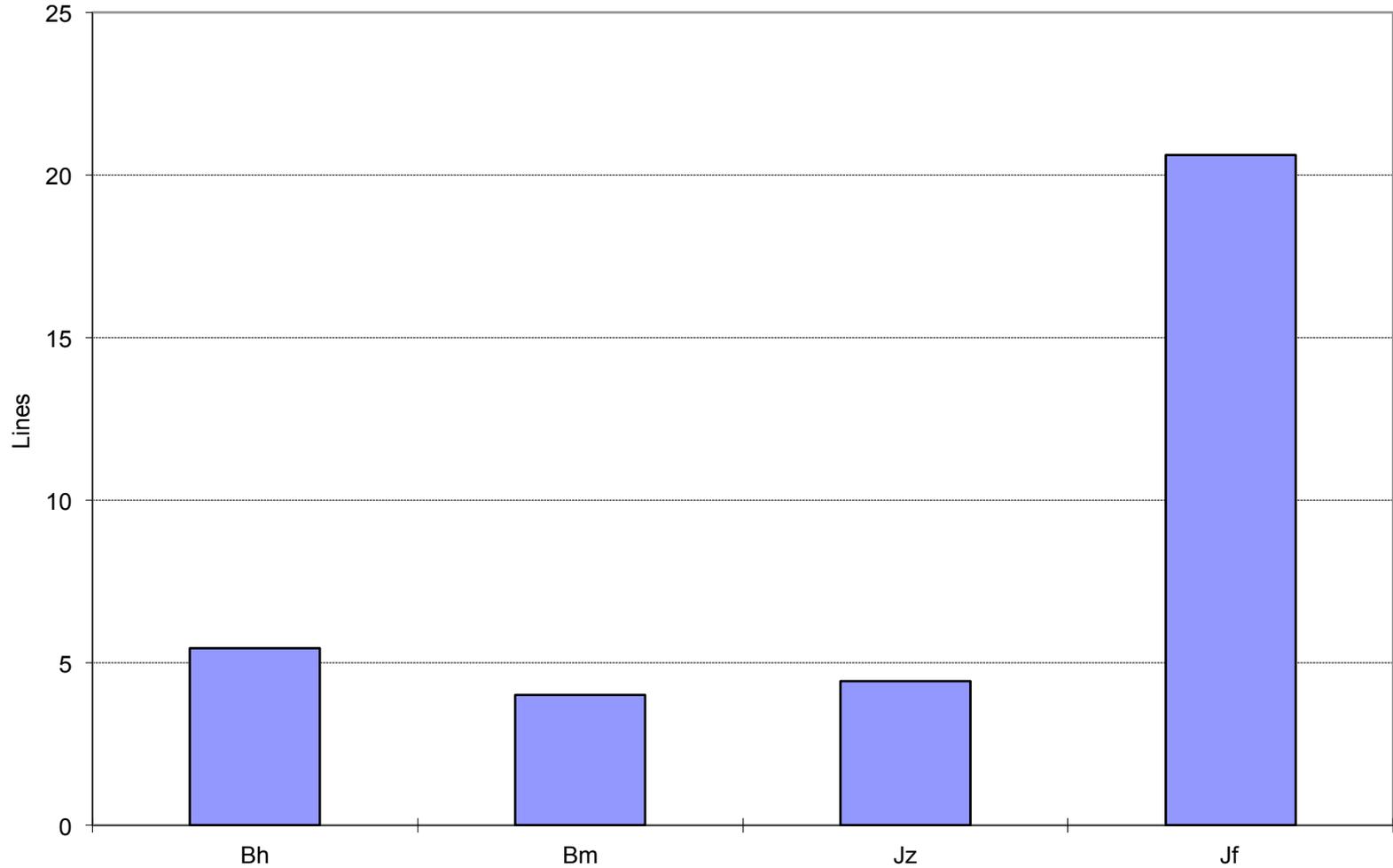
Relative aggregate durations of entropy levels
(Graph 8)



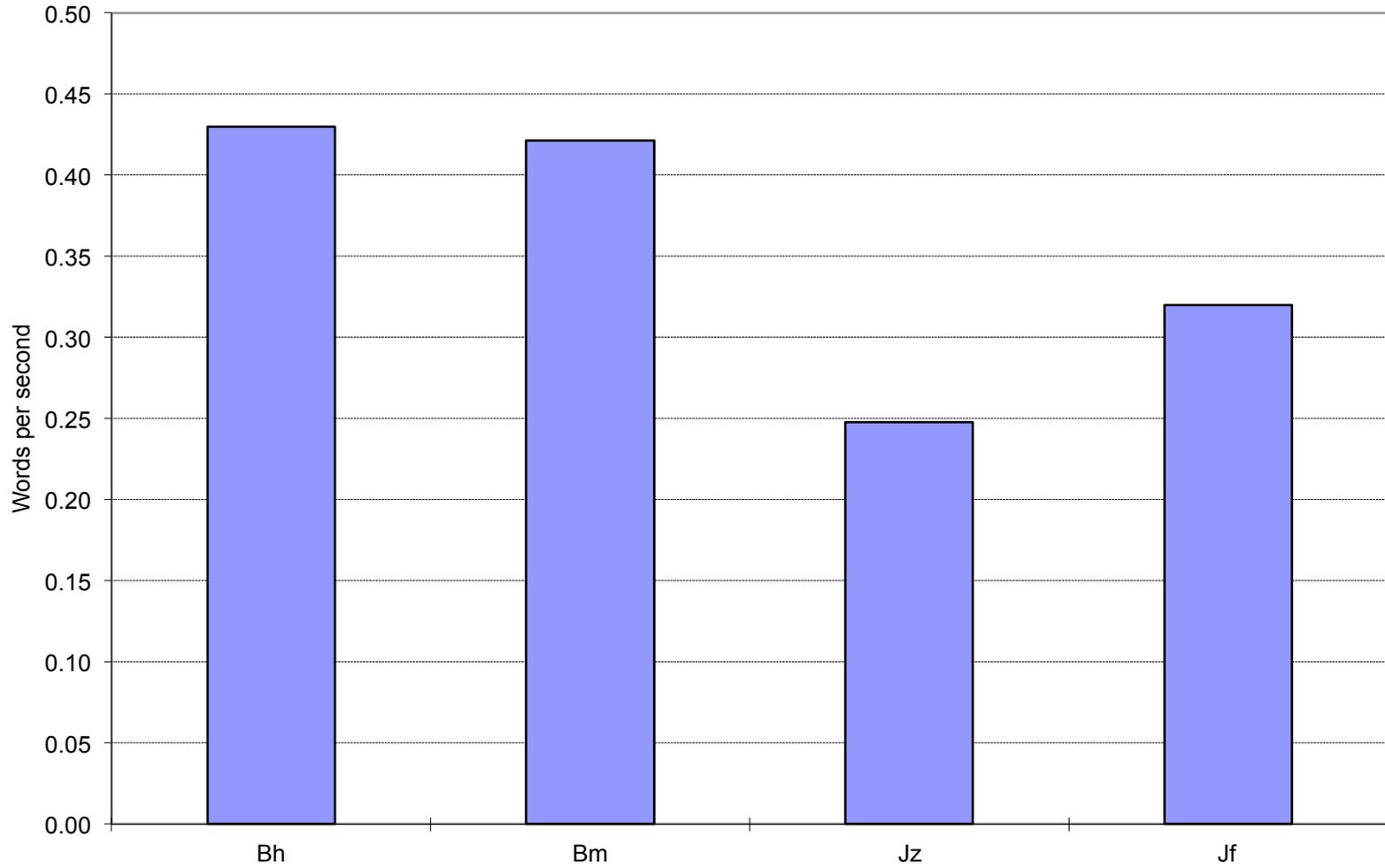
Average LPS durations
(Graph 9)



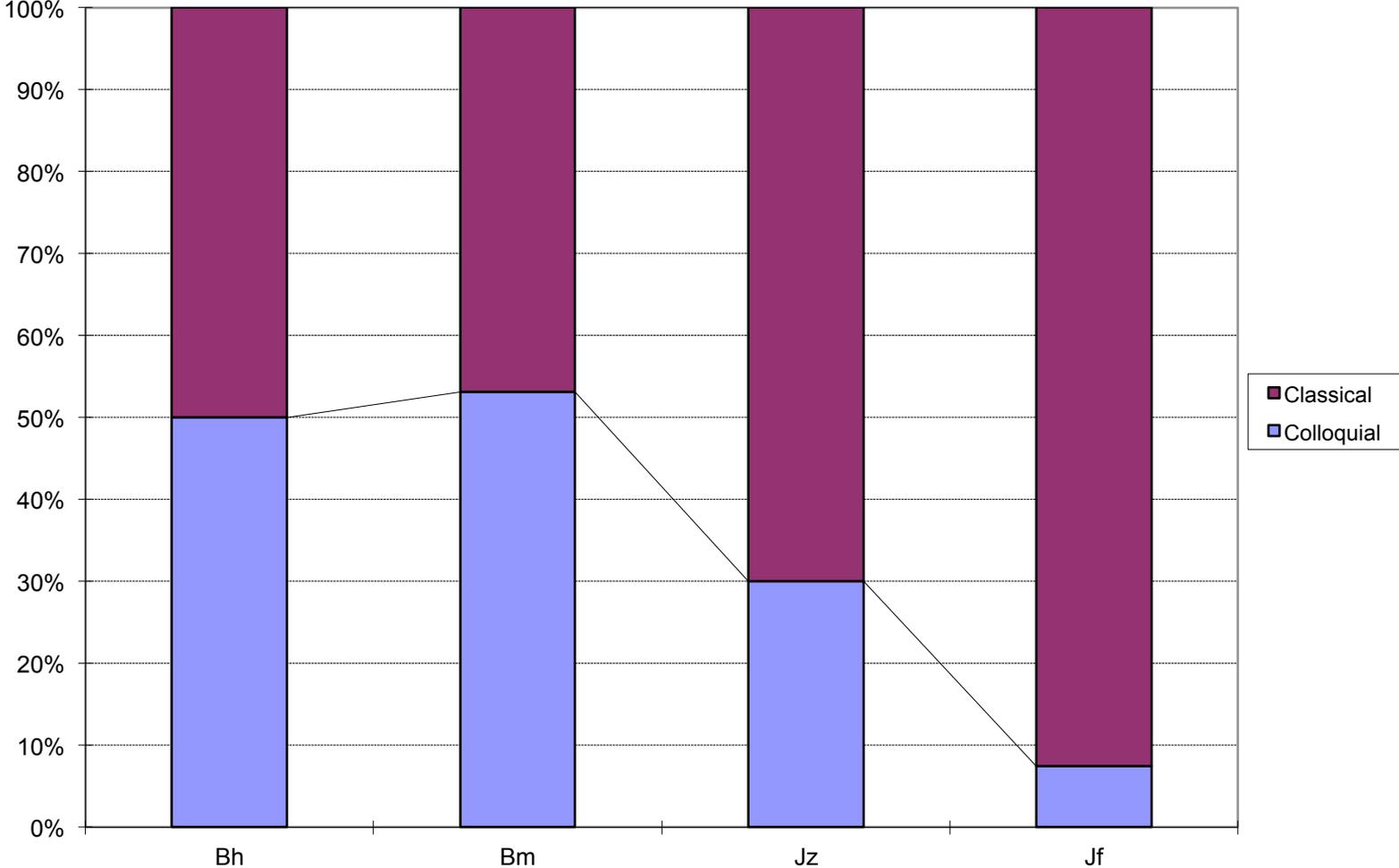
**Average poetic inshad text segment length
(Graph 10)**



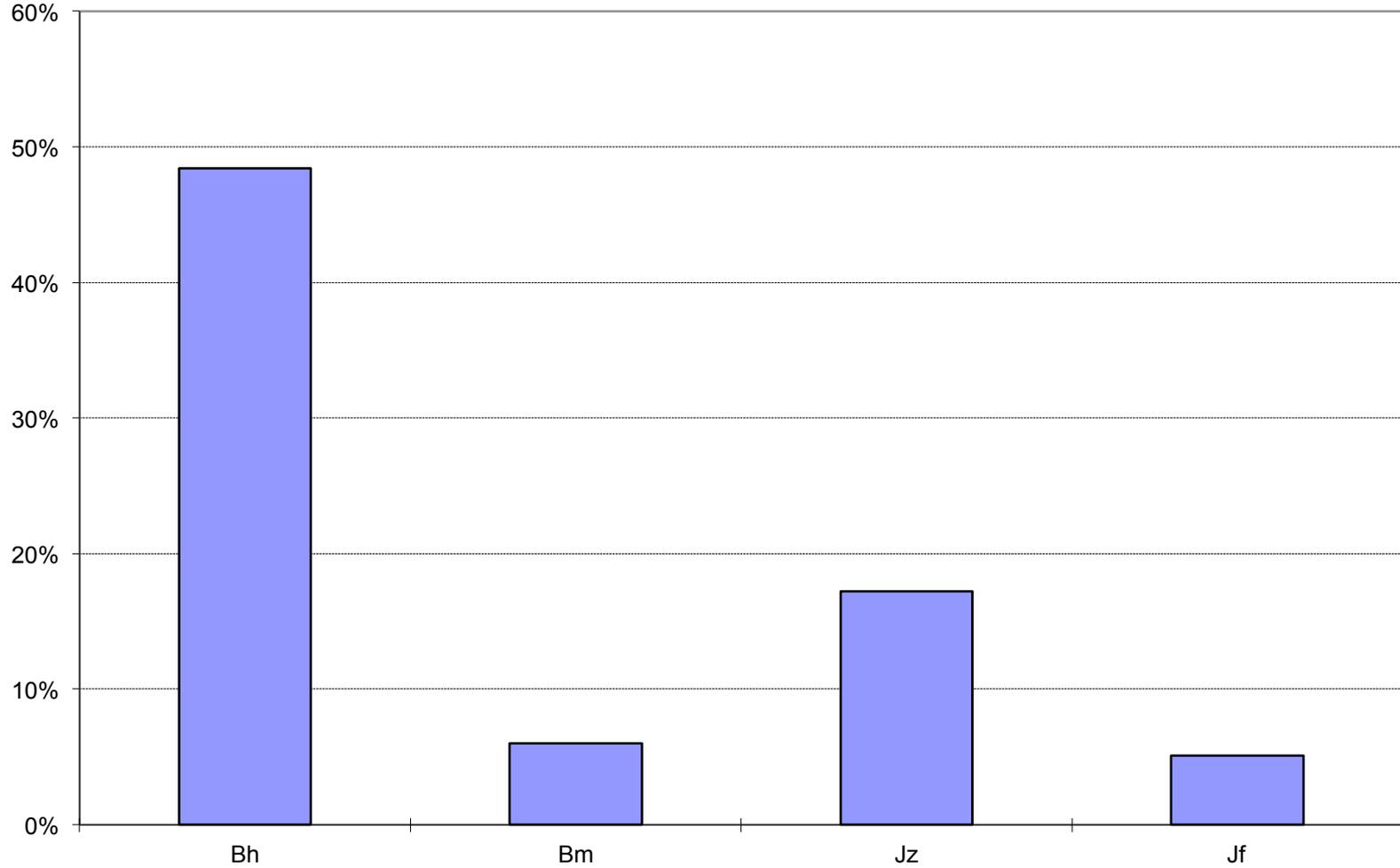
**Text rate in inshad LPSs
(Graph 11)**



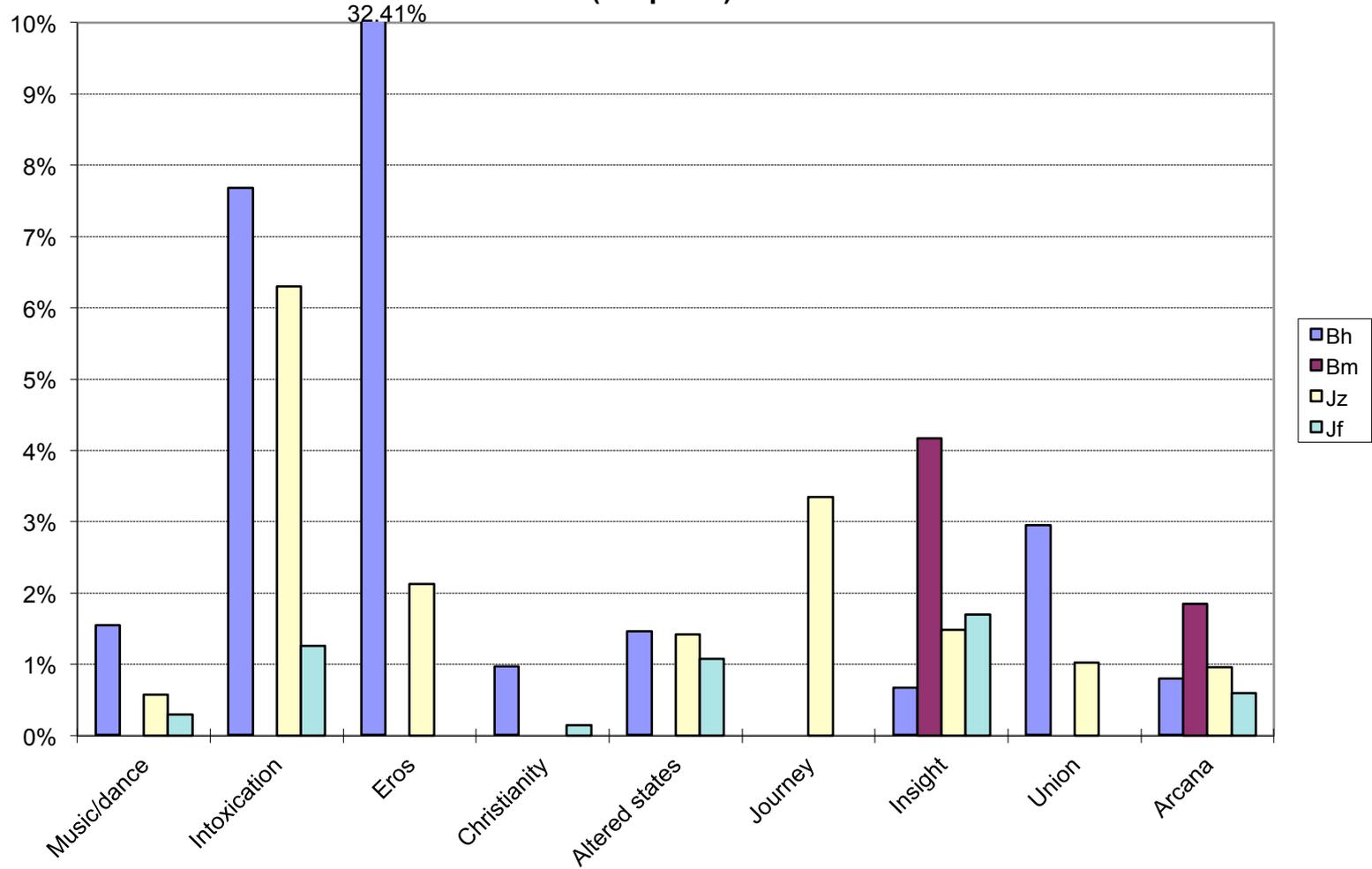
Inshad language level
(Graph 12)



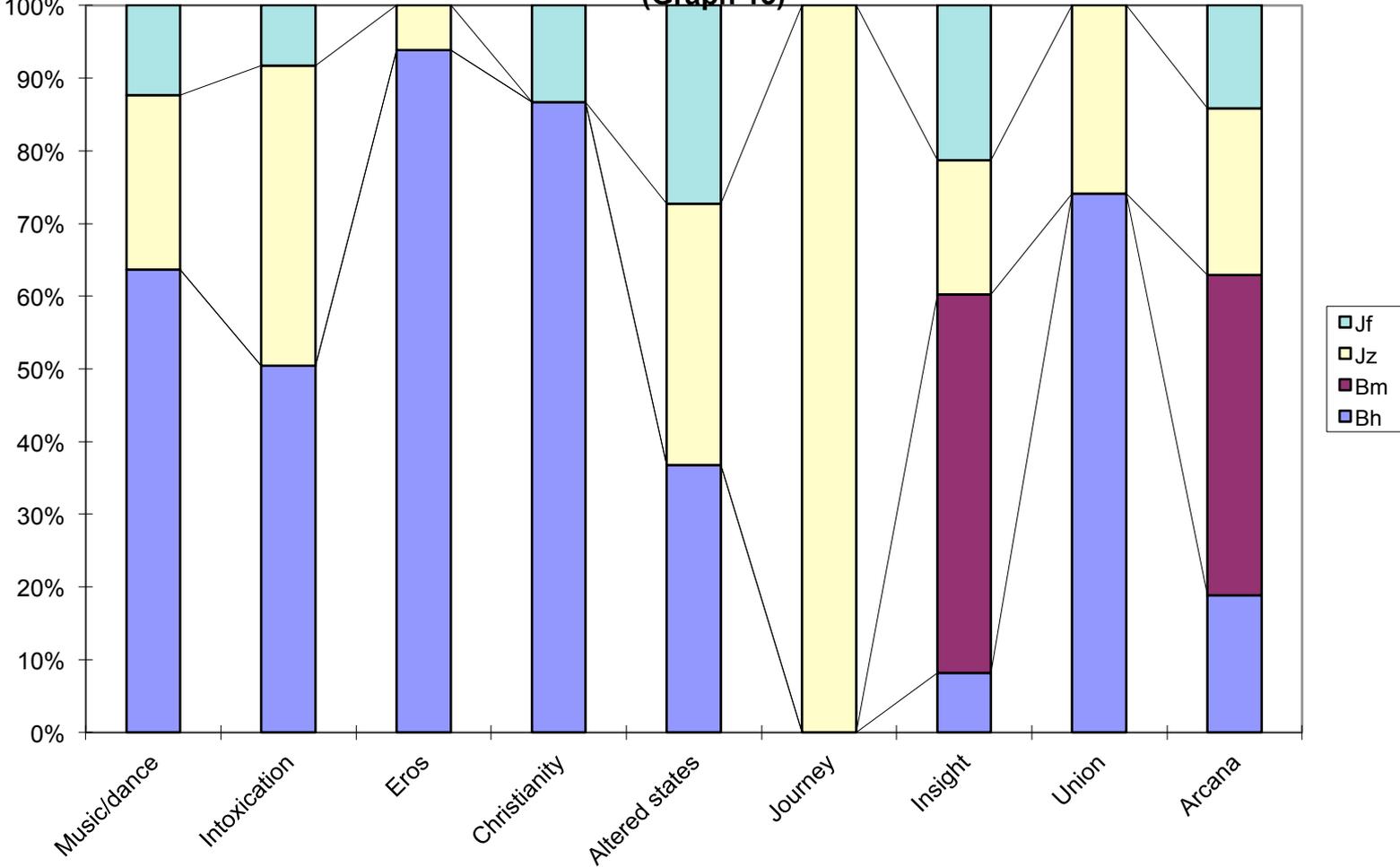
**Heterodox symbols: total absolute density
(Graph 13)**



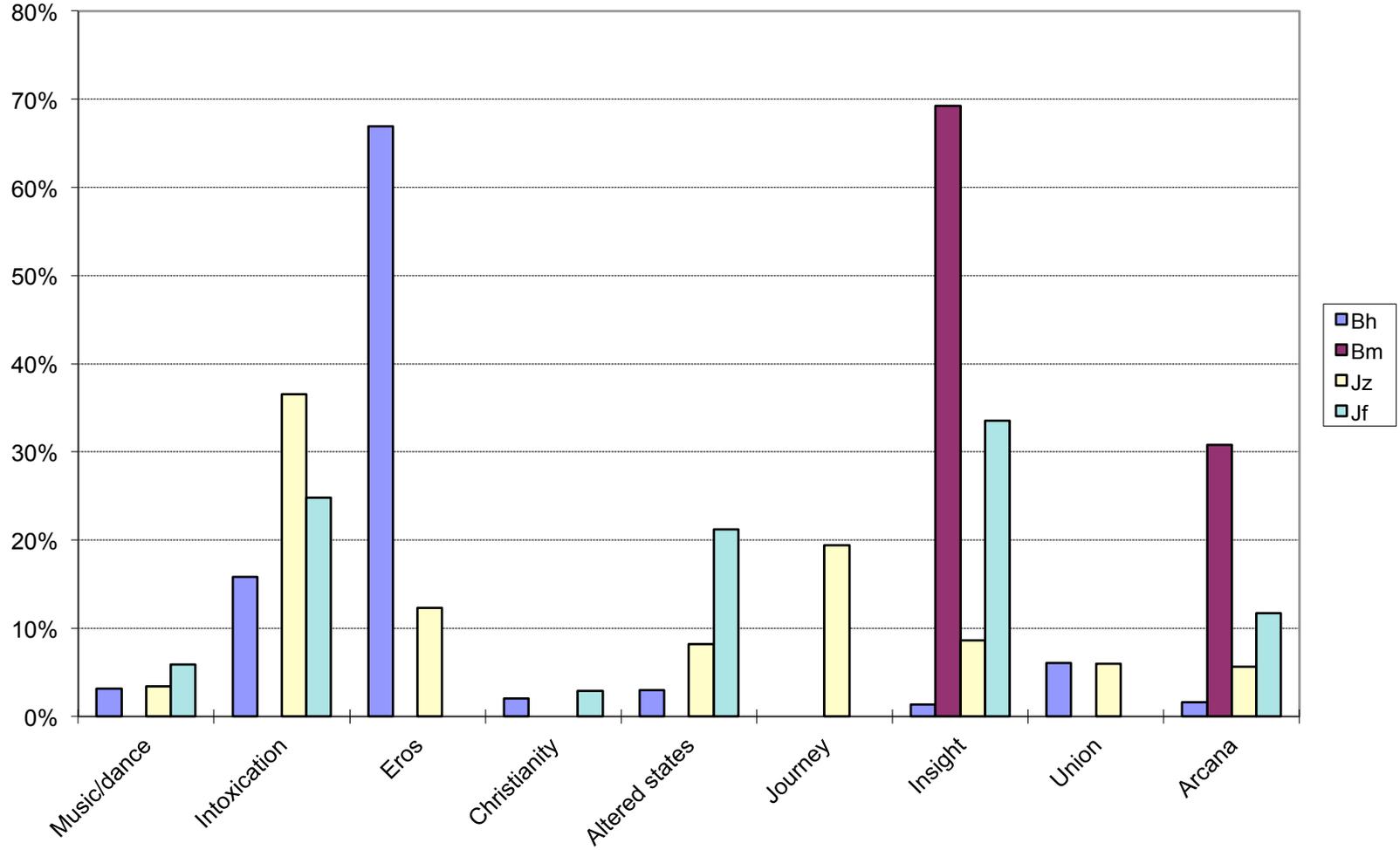
Heterodox symbols: absolute density by symbol
(Graph 14)



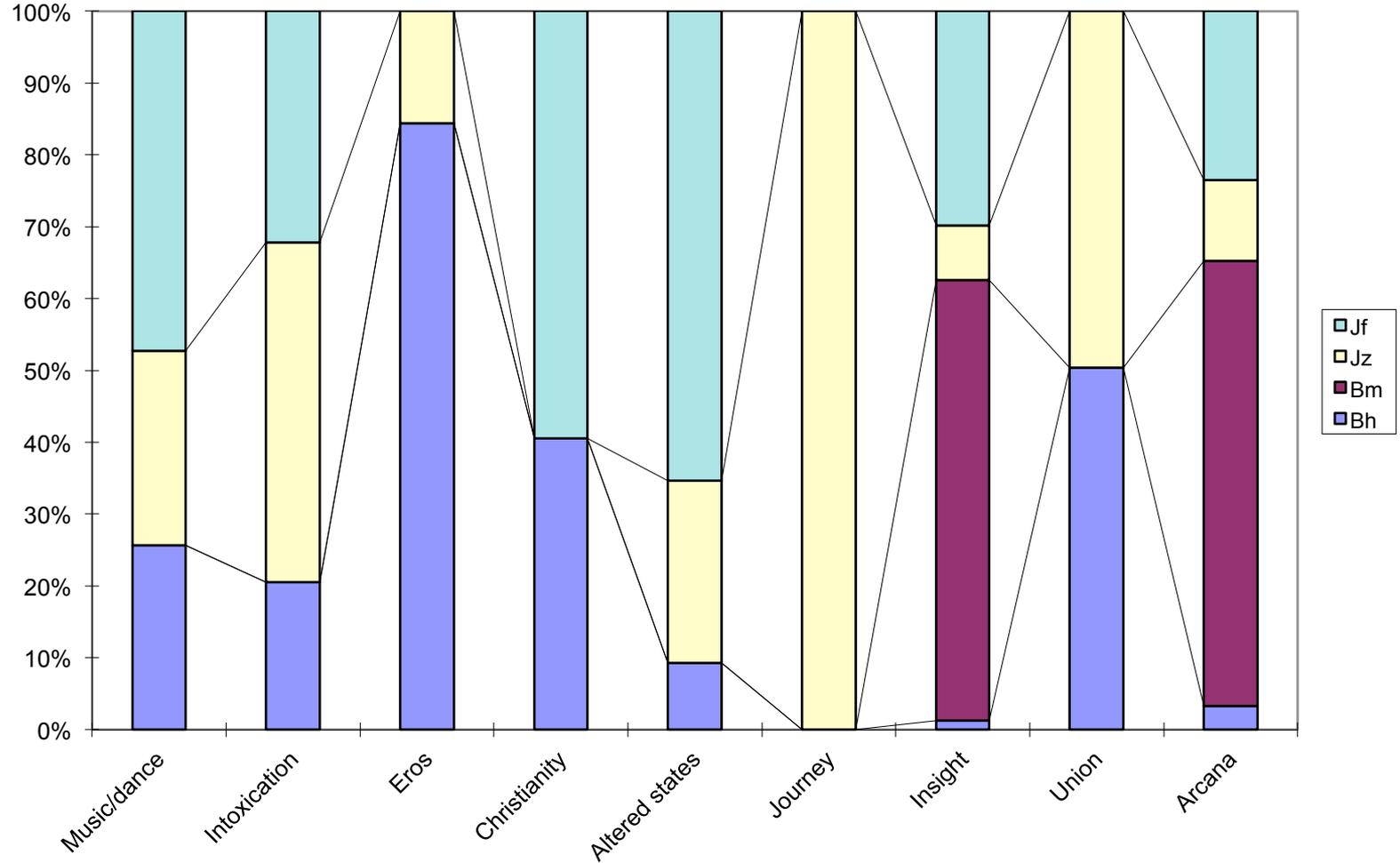
Heterodox symbols: absolute density by symbol
 (normalized by category)
 (Graph 15)



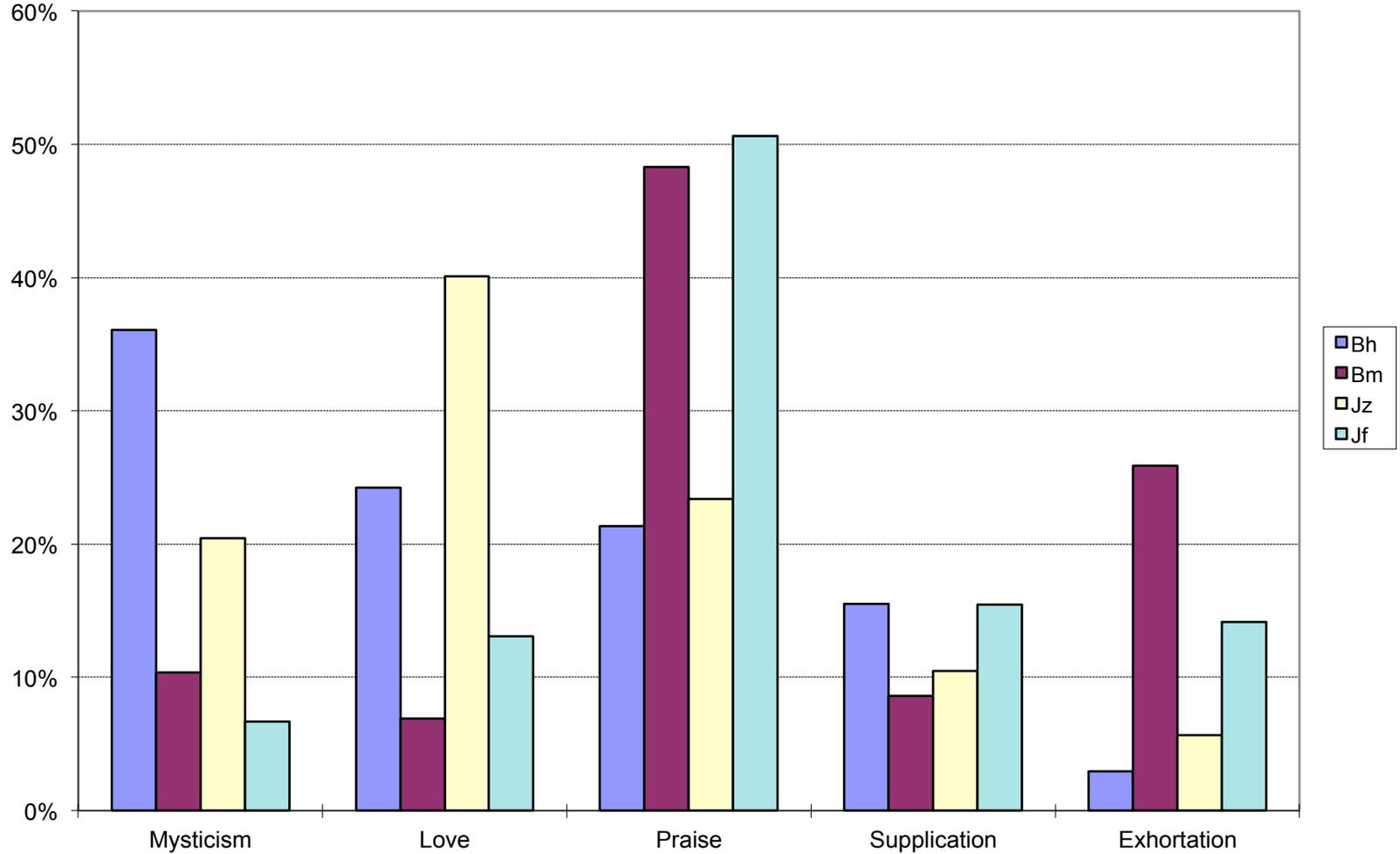
Heterodox symbols: relative density by symbol
(Graph 16)



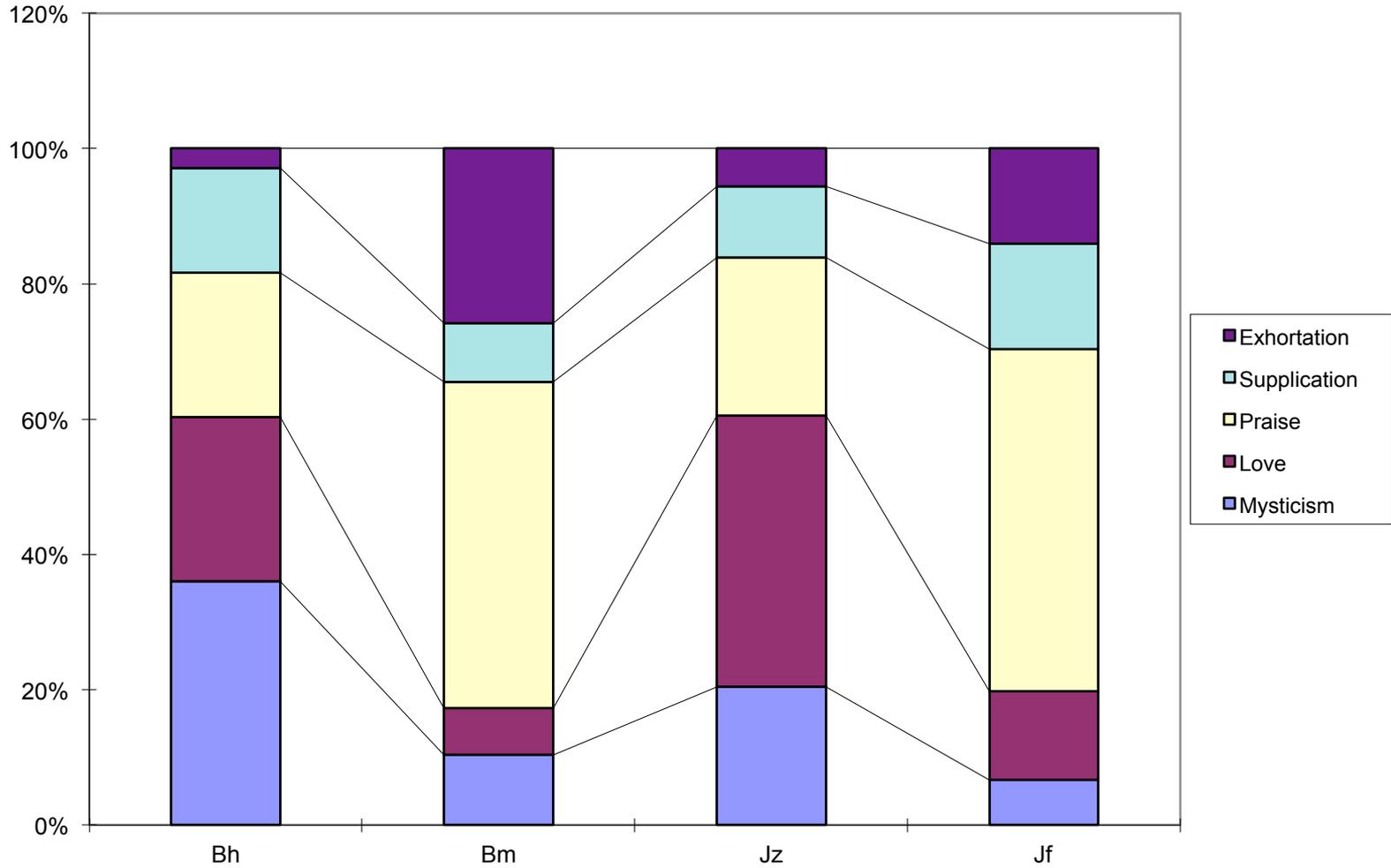
Heterodox symbols: relative density by symbol (normalized by category)
(Graph 17)



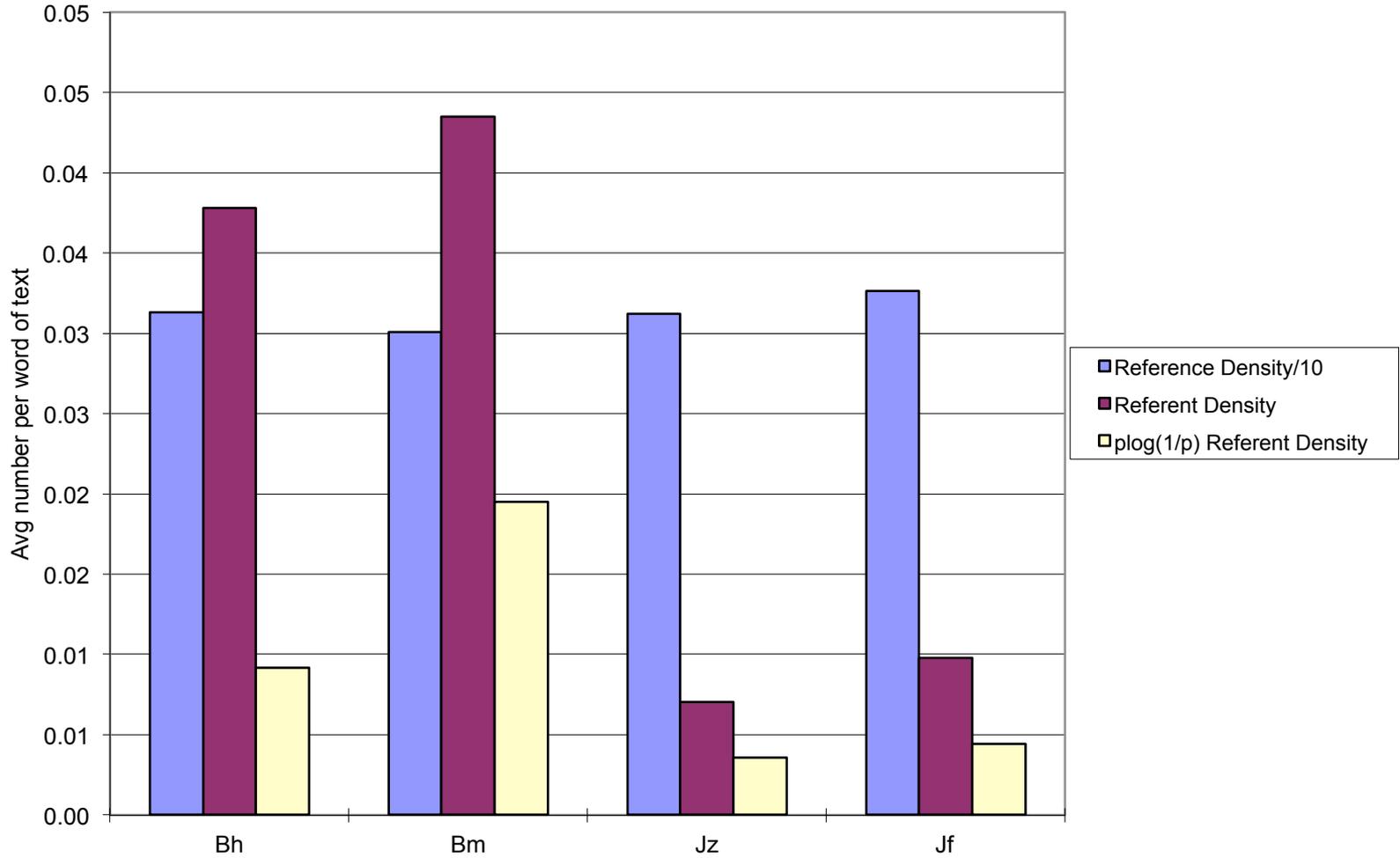
Usage of assertional themes, percentage of total lines (I)
(Graph 18)



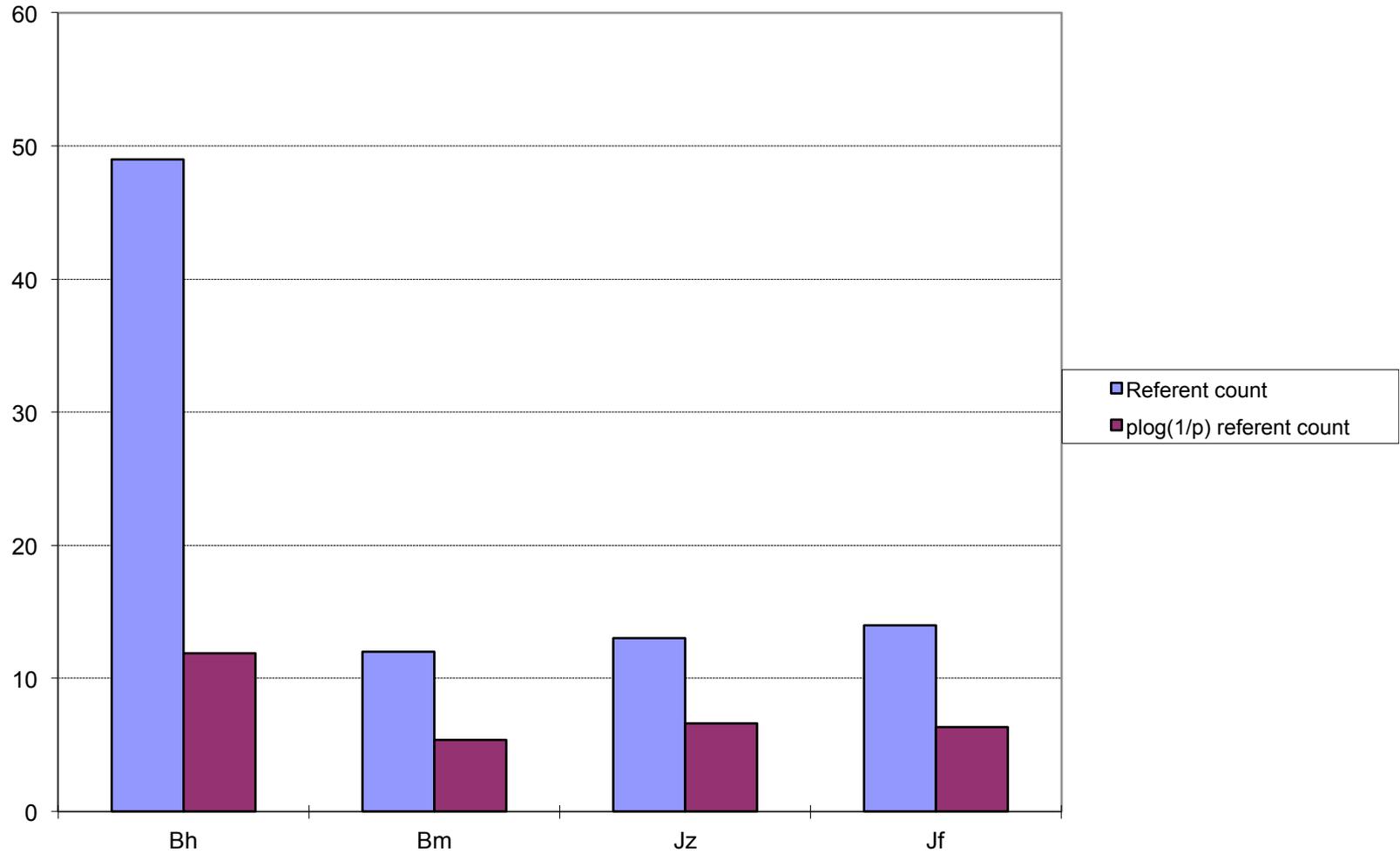
Usage of assertional themes, percentage of total lines (II)
(Graph 19)



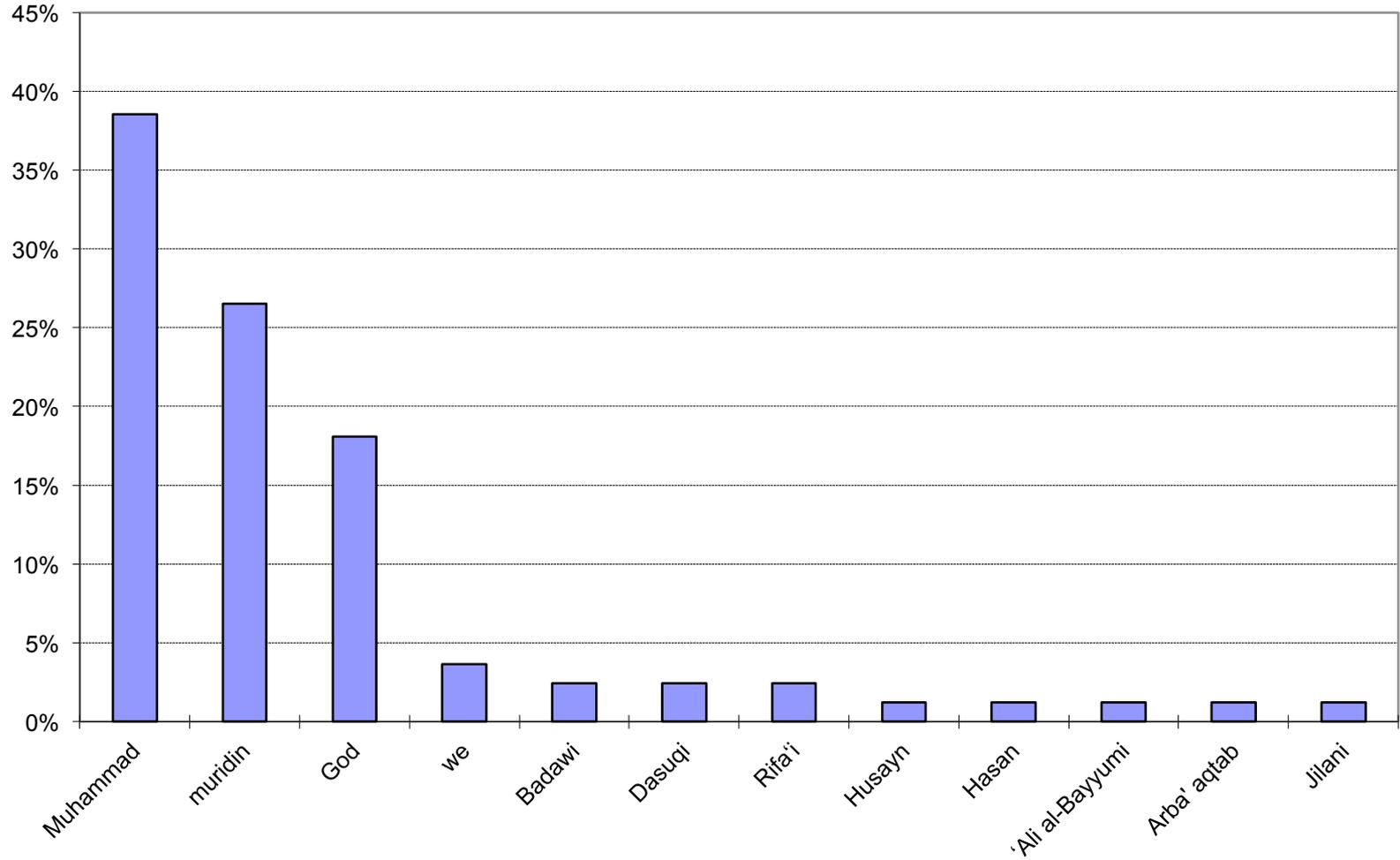
Reference and referent densities
(Graph 20)



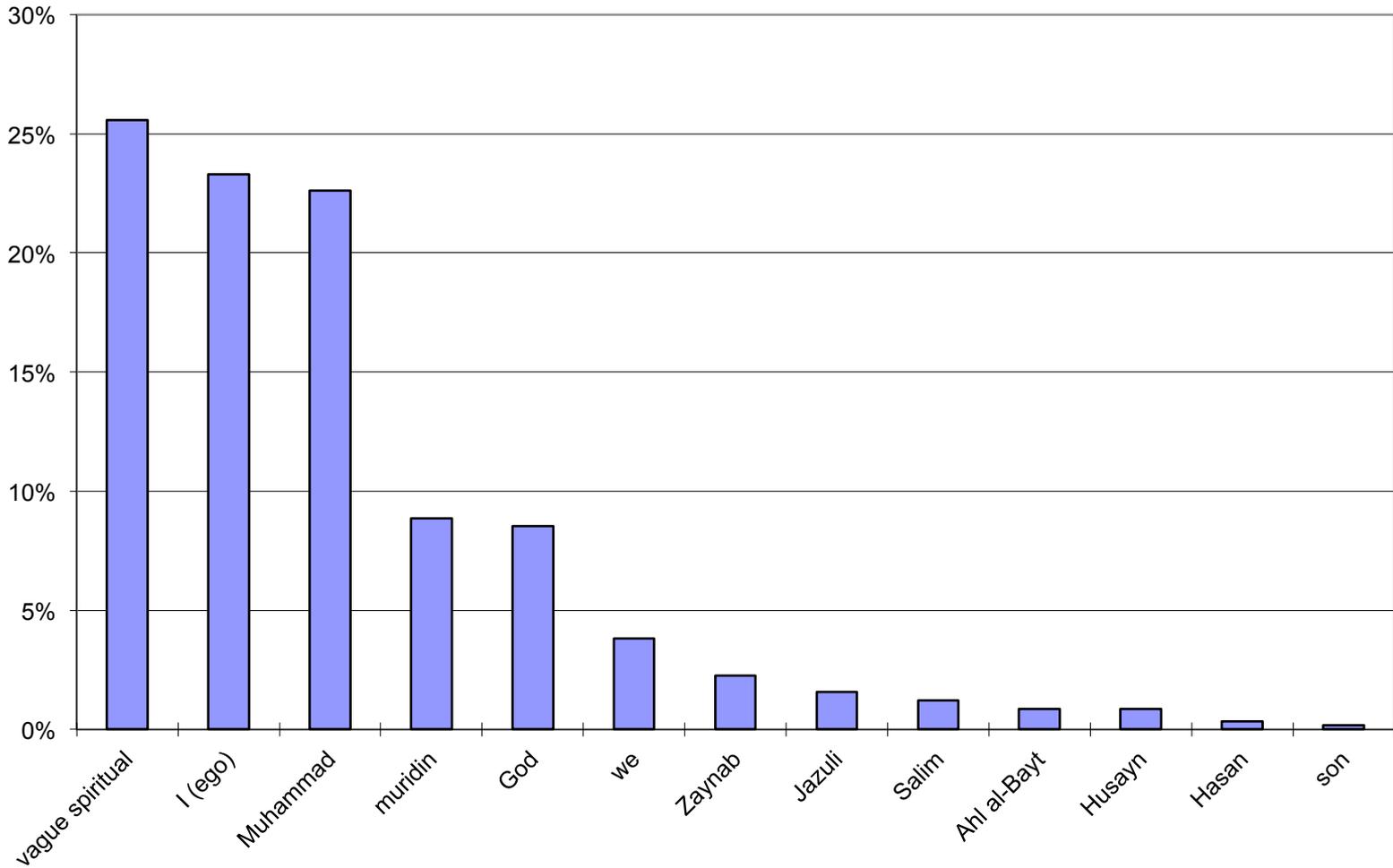
Referent counts
(Graph 21)



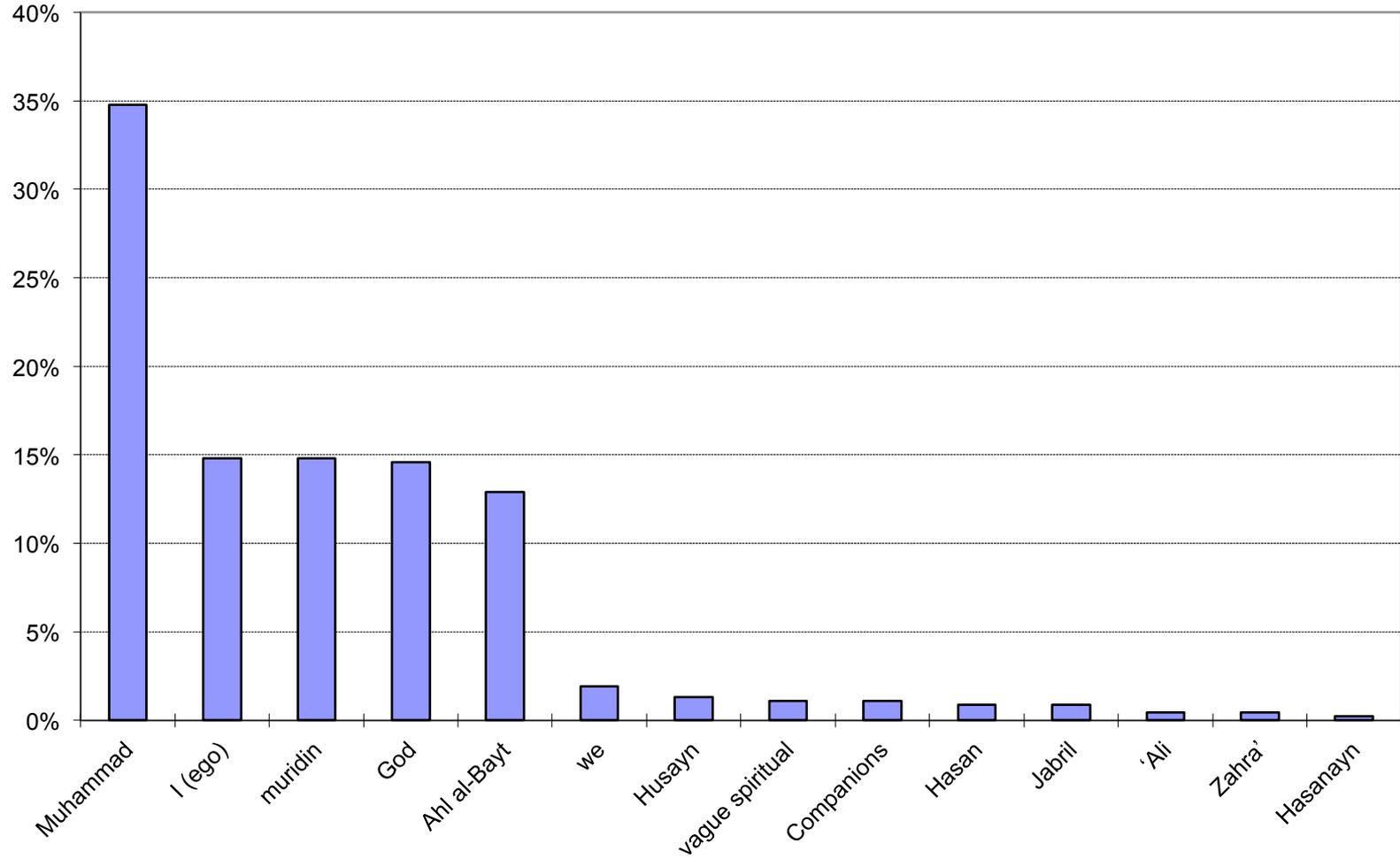
**Bm reference frequencies
(Graph 23)**



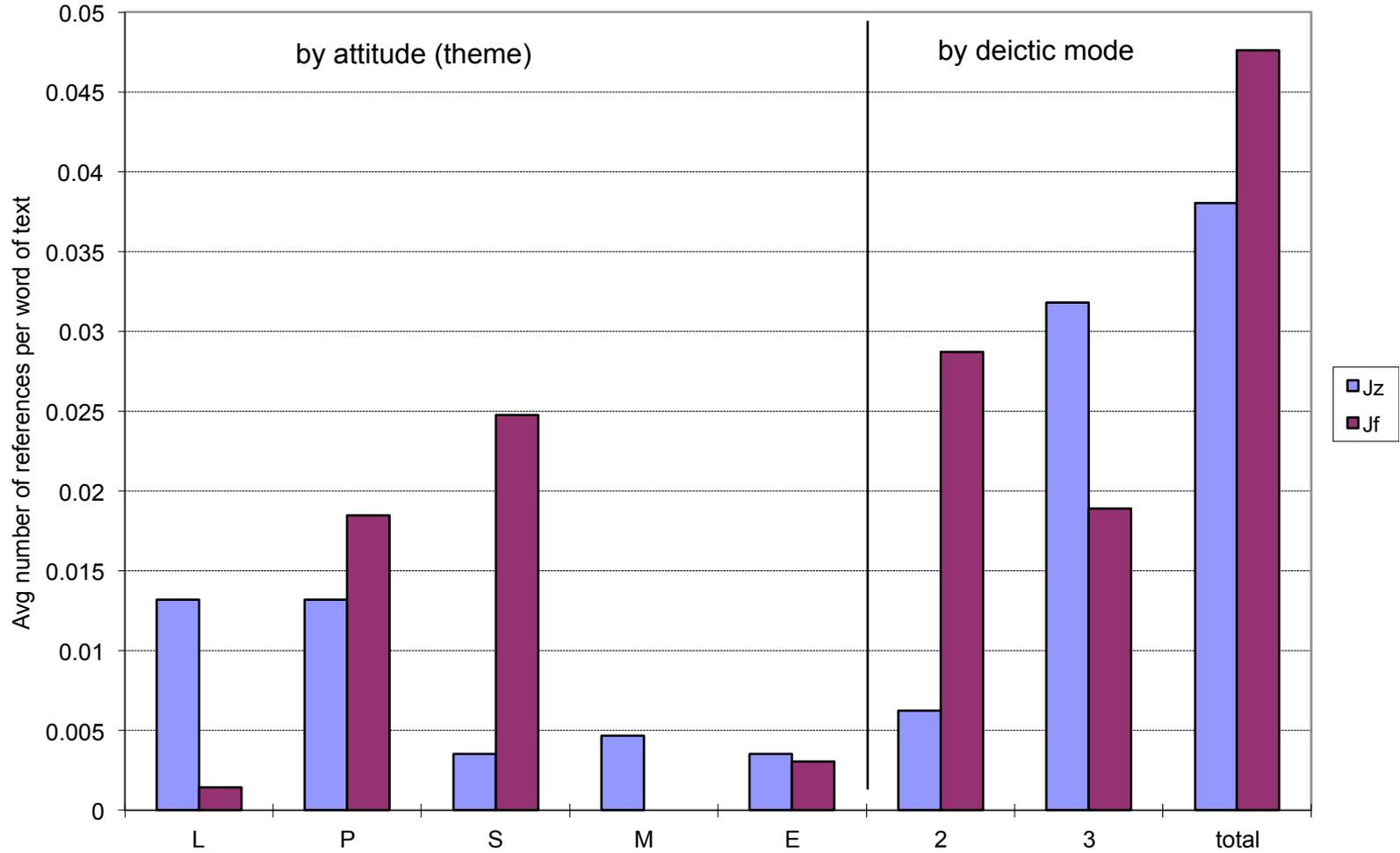
**Jz reference frequencies
(Graph 24)**



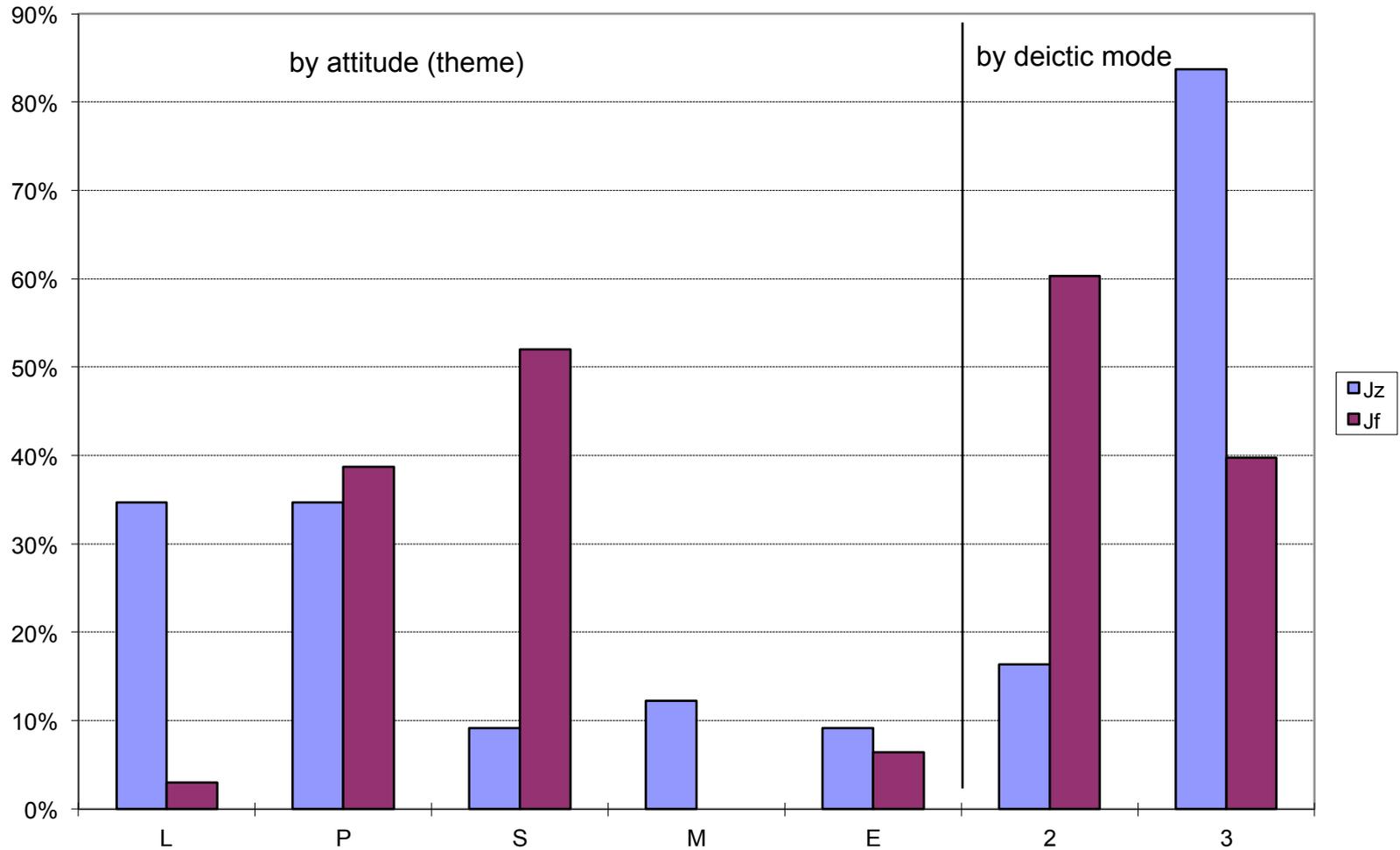
**Jf reference frequencies
(Graph 25)**



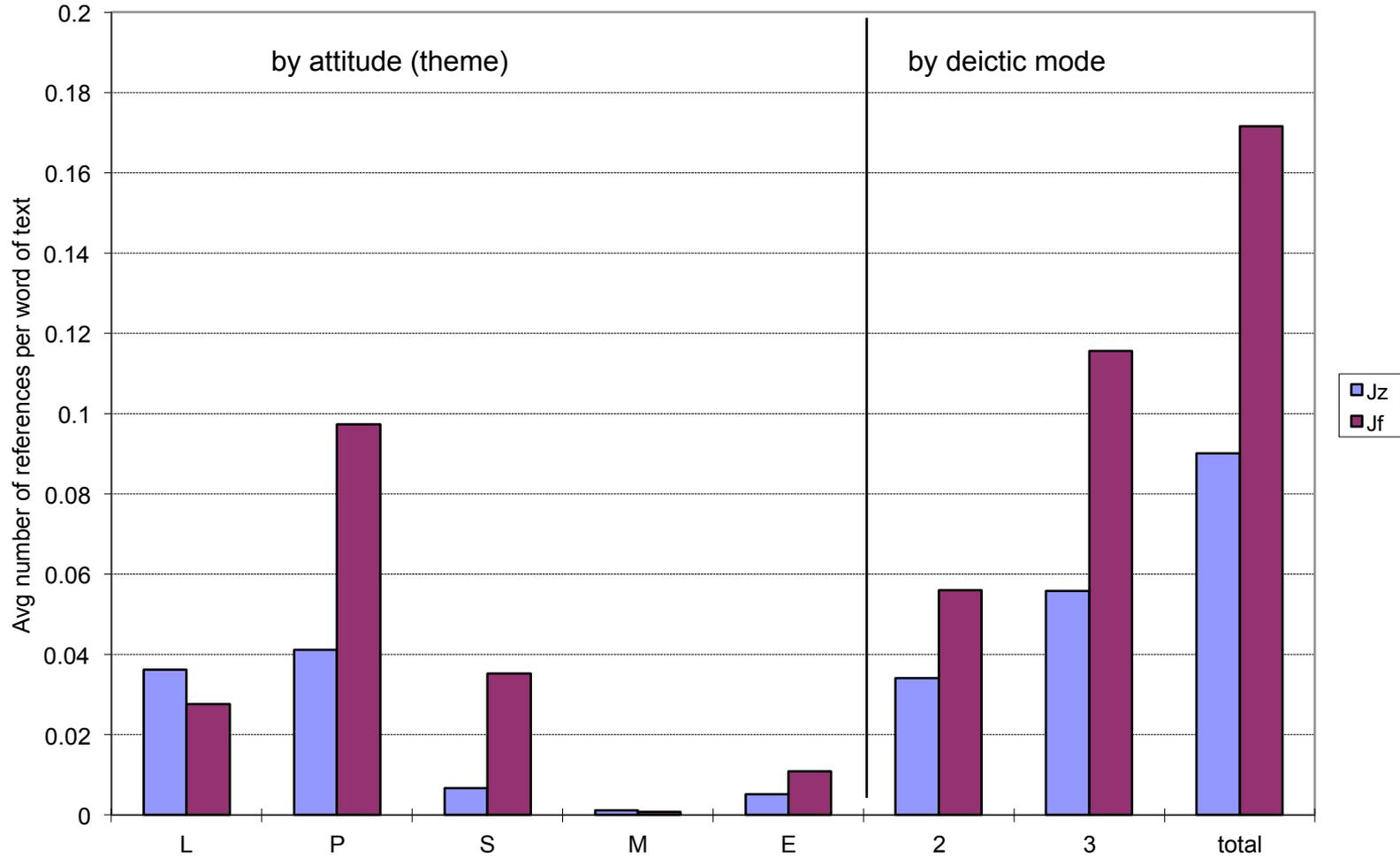
References to God (densities)
(Graph 26)



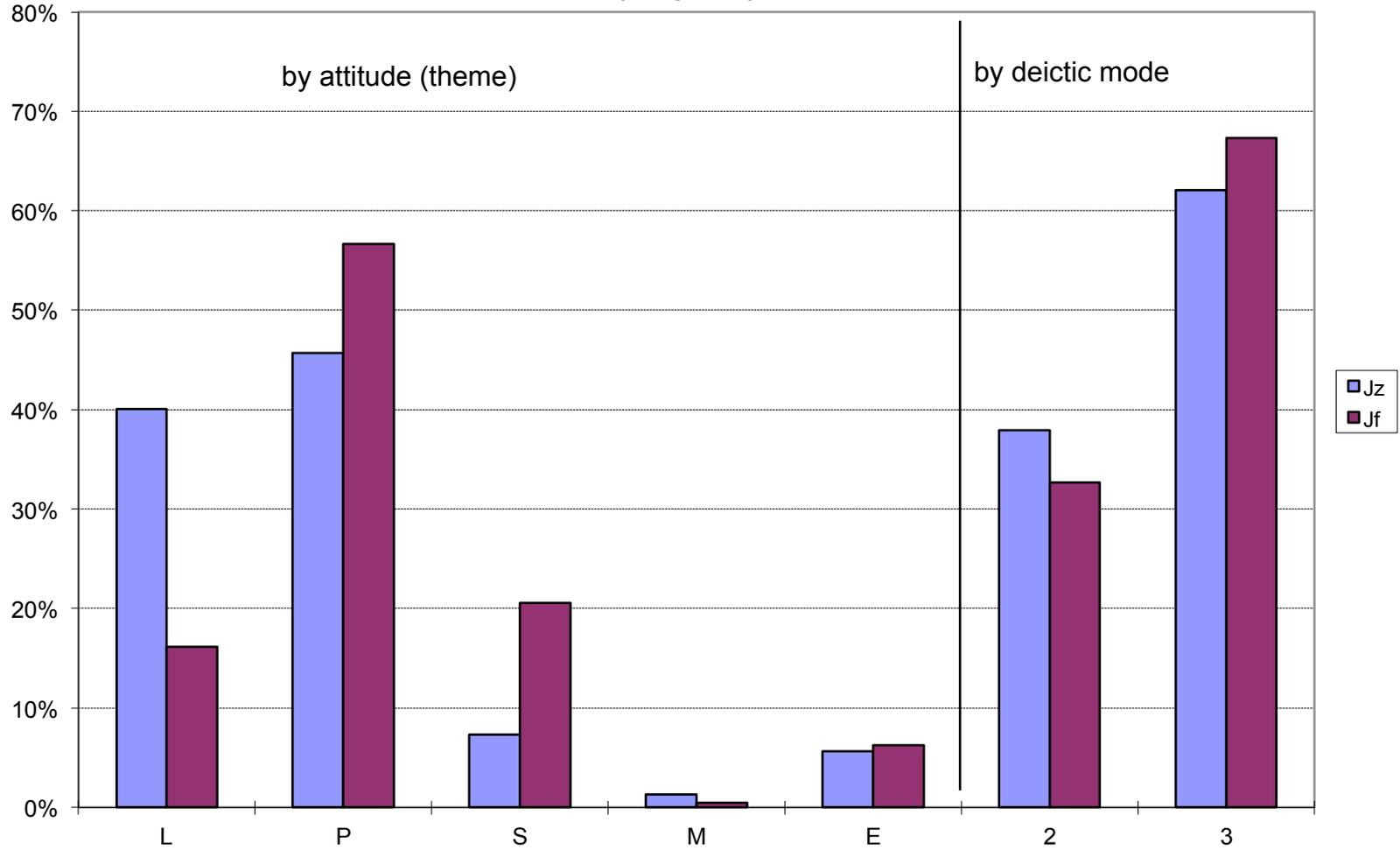
References to God (%)
(Graph 27)



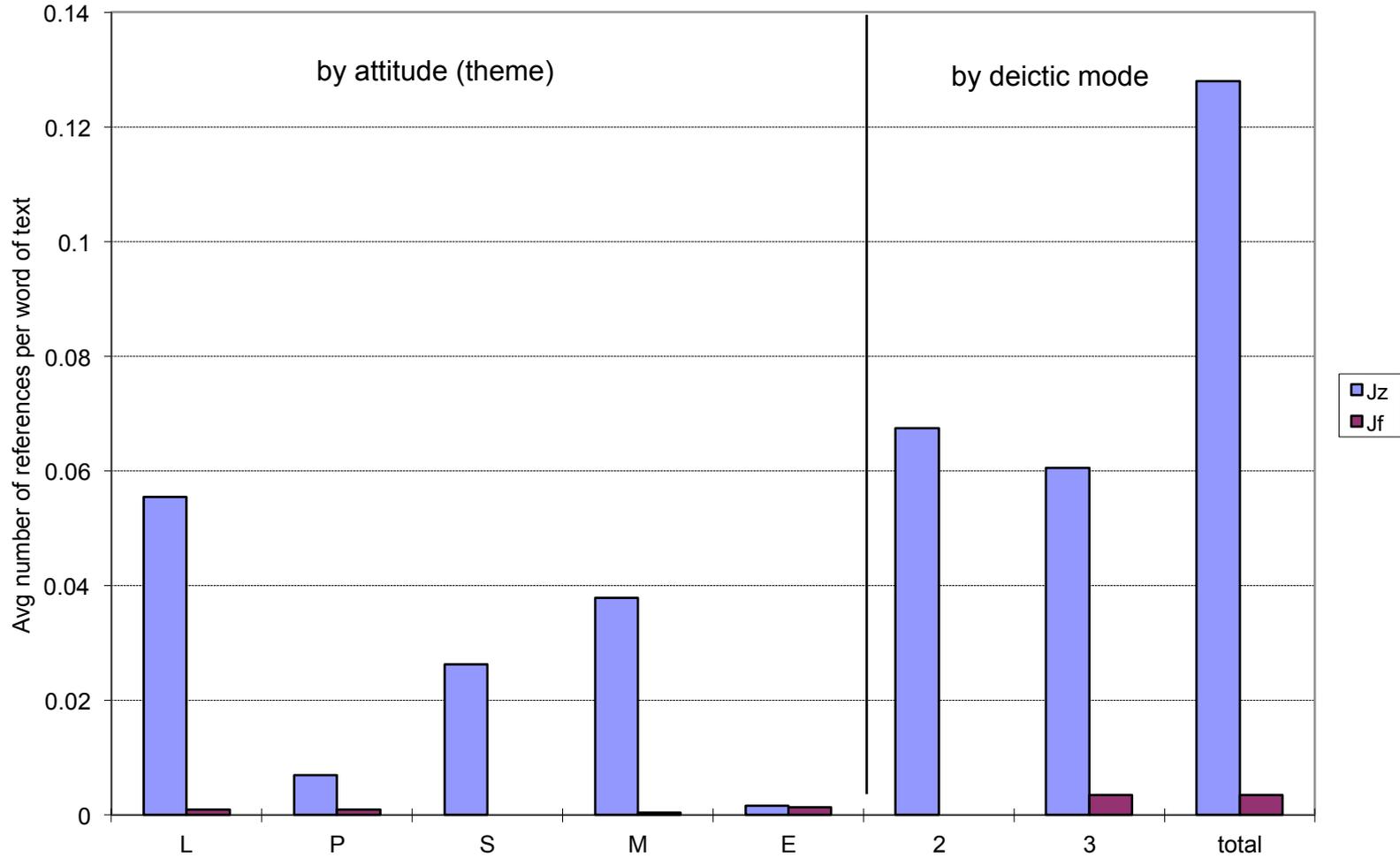
References to Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt (densities)
(Graph 28)



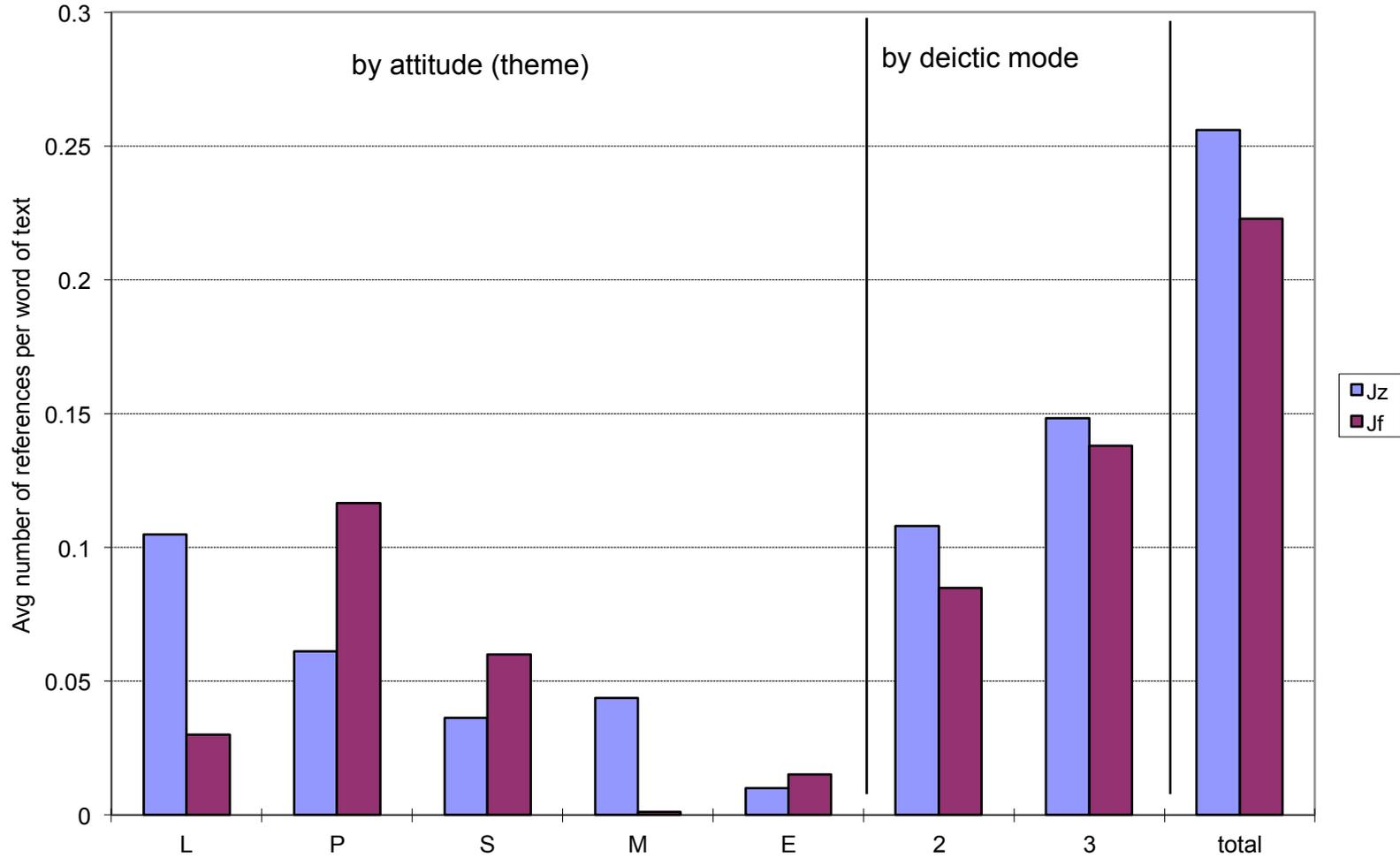
References to Prophet and Ahl al-Bayt (%)
(Graph 29)



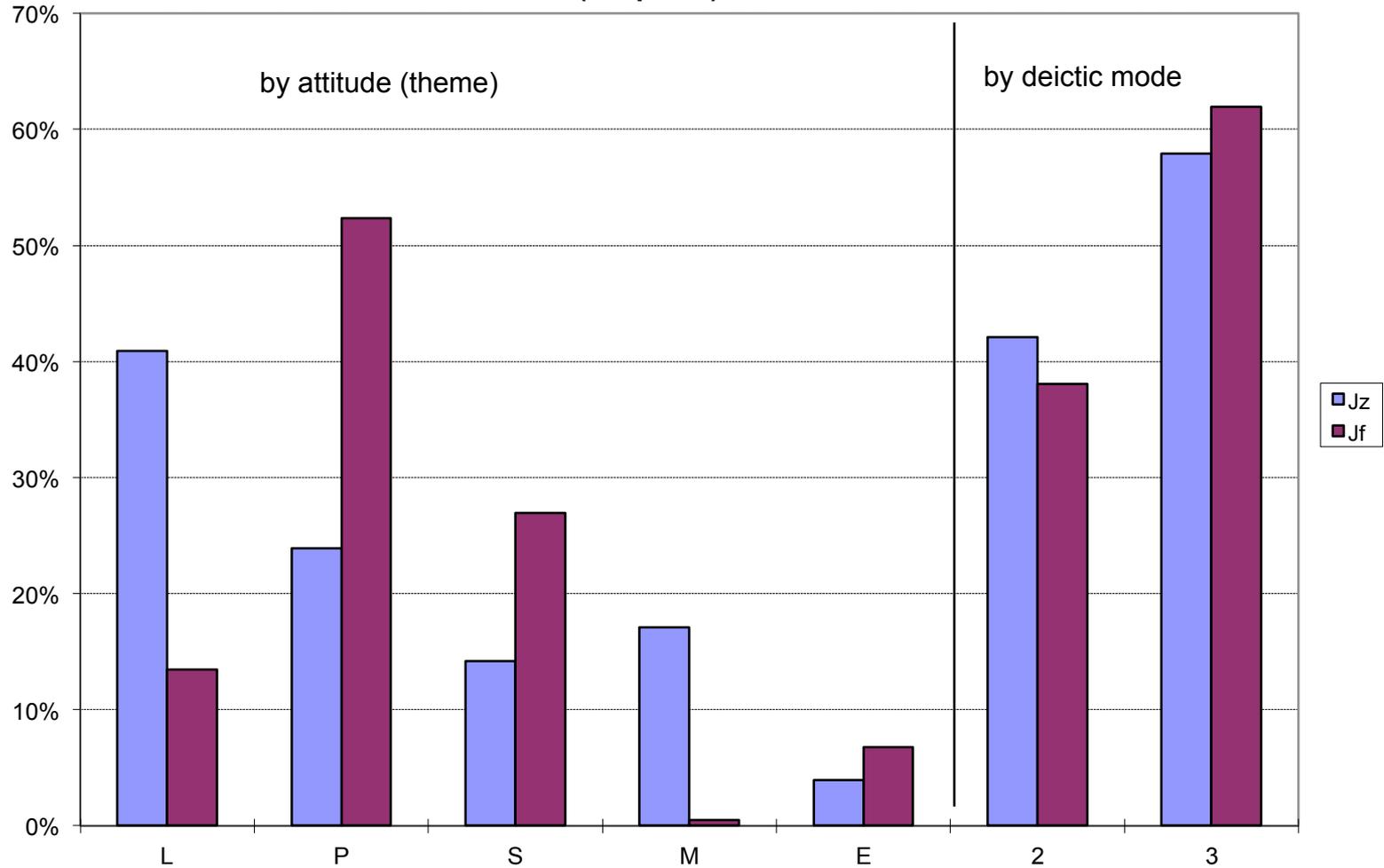
References to ambiguous entity (densities)
(Graph 30)



Total references to all spiritual entities (densities)
(Graph 31)

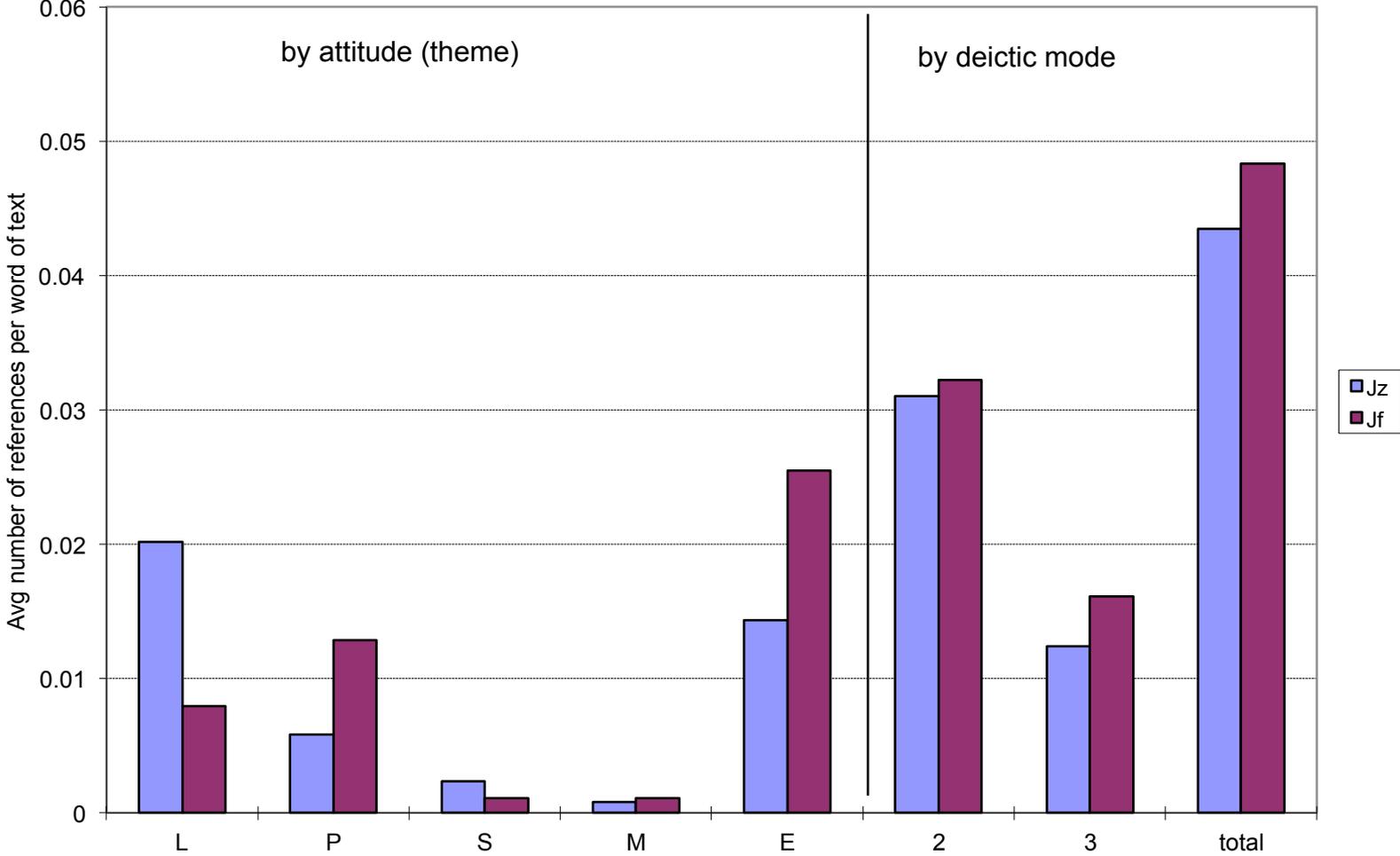


Total references to all spiritual entities (%)
(Graph 32)

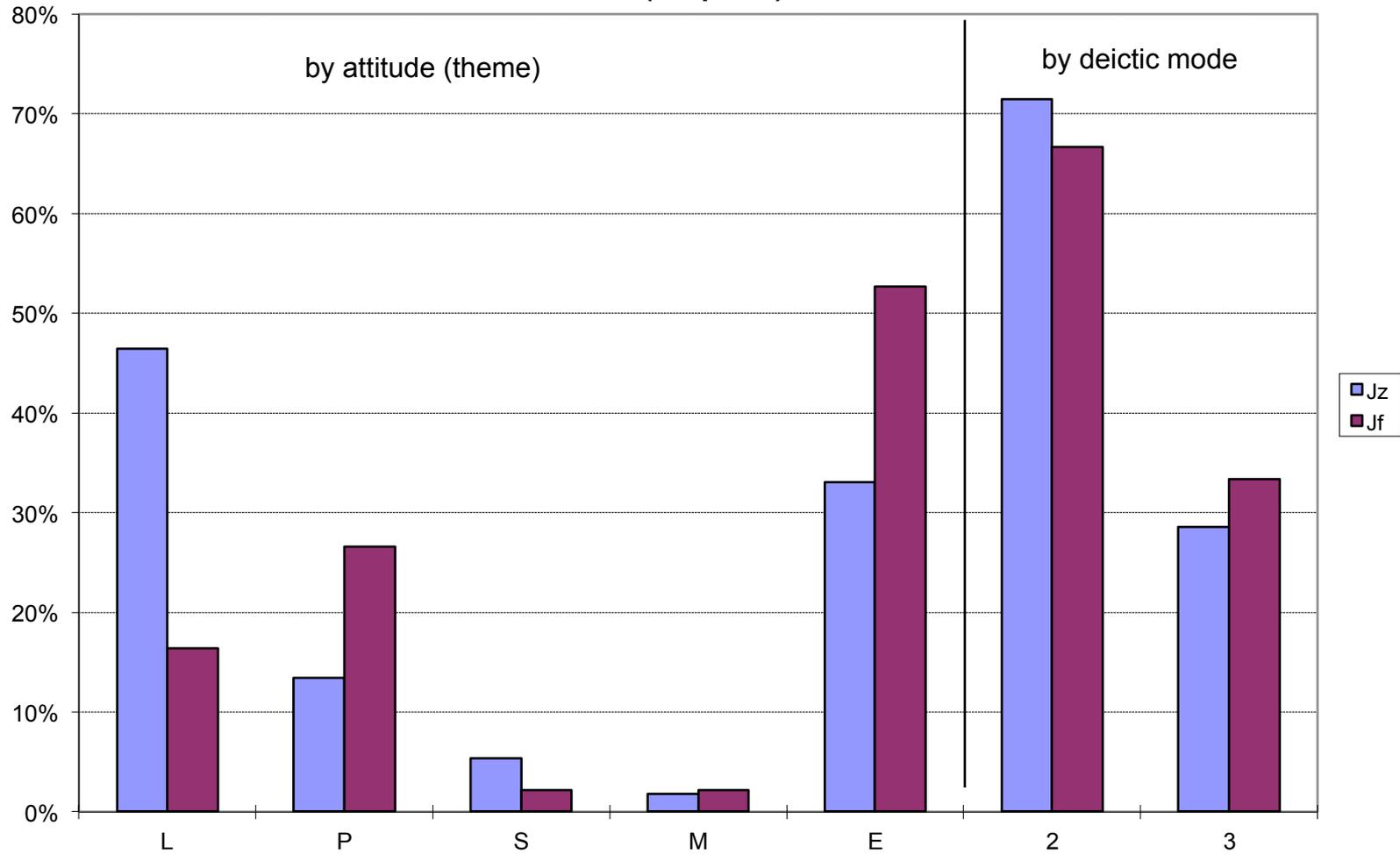


References to listeners (densities)

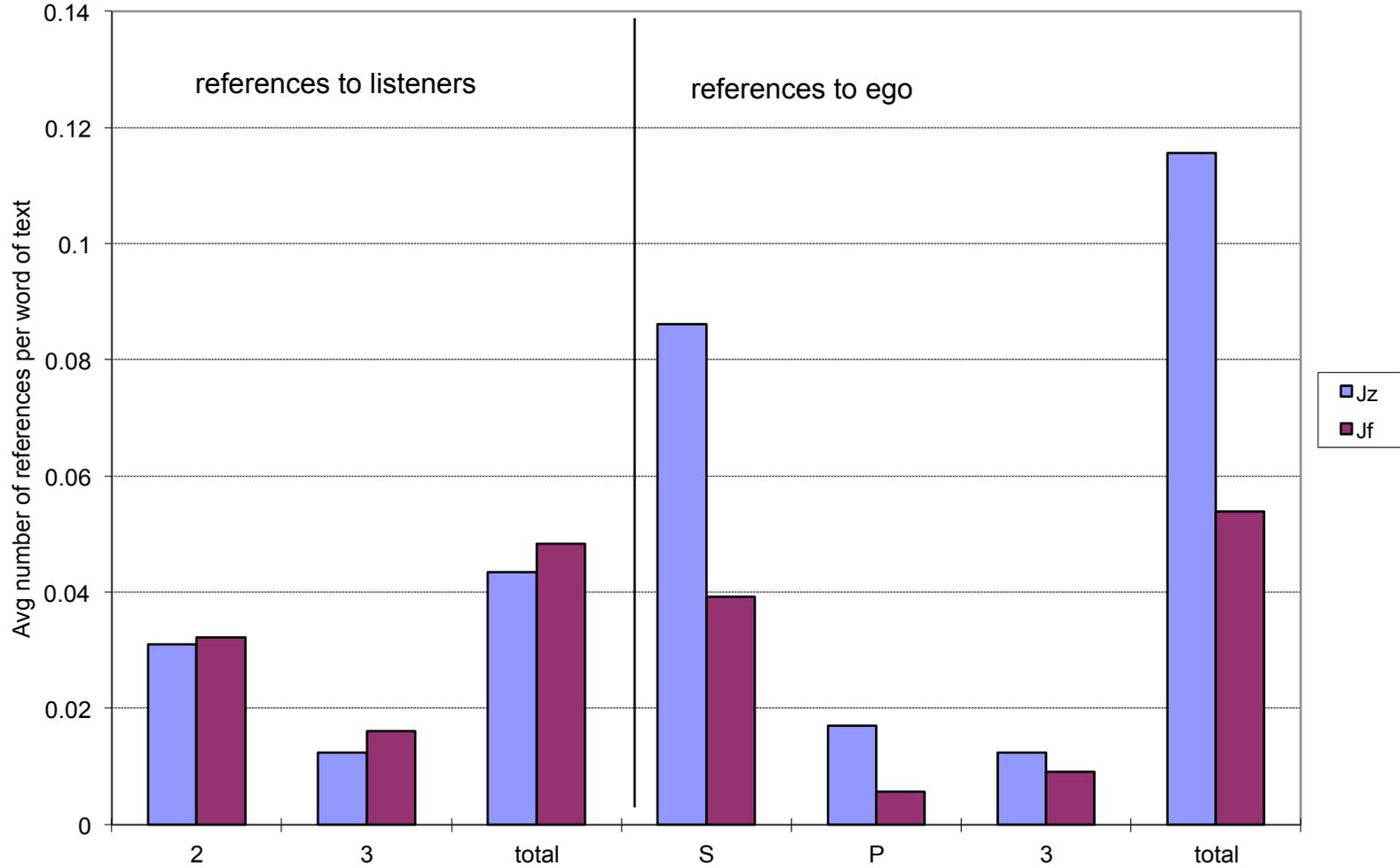
(Graph 33)



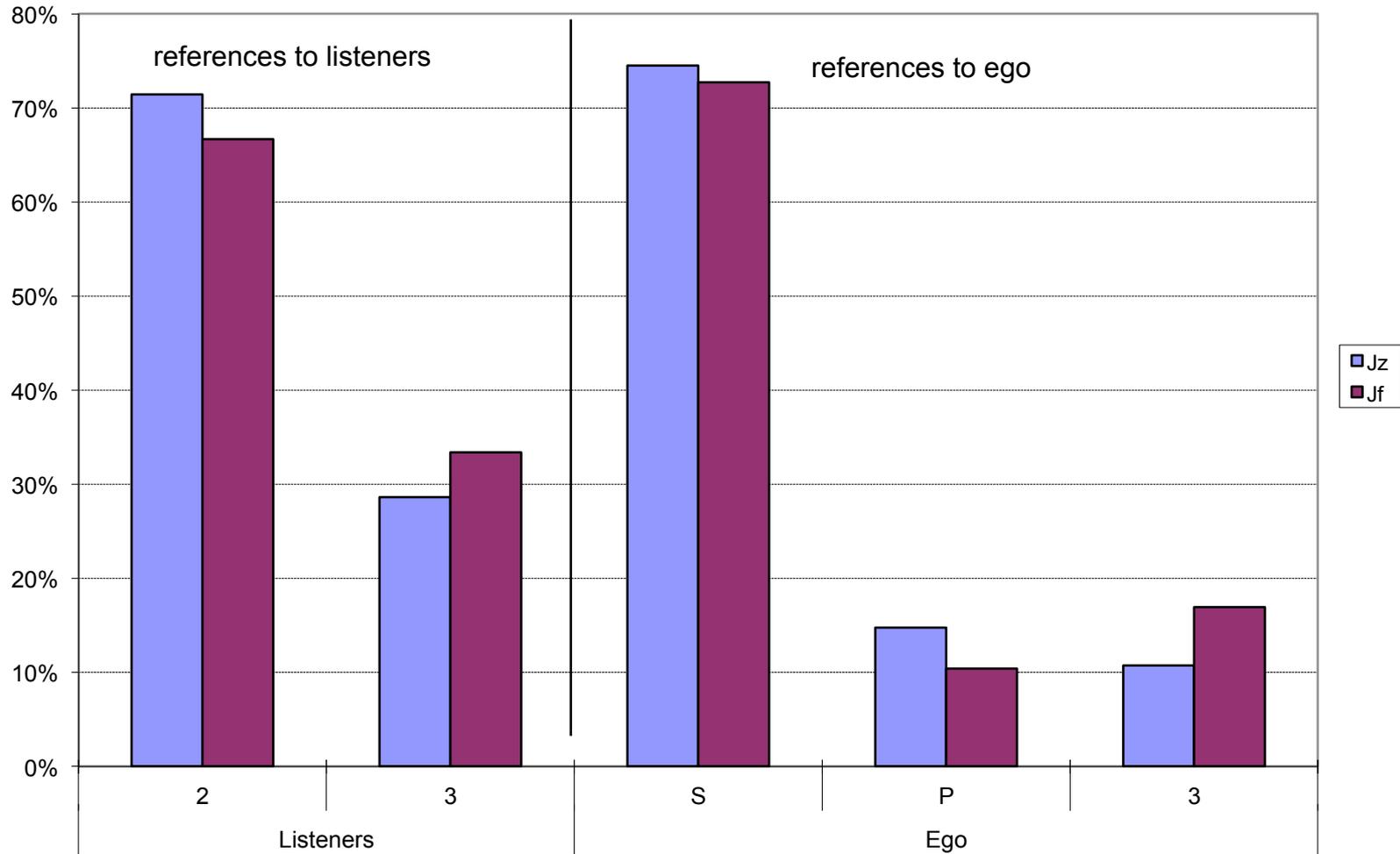
References to listeners (%)
(Graph 34)



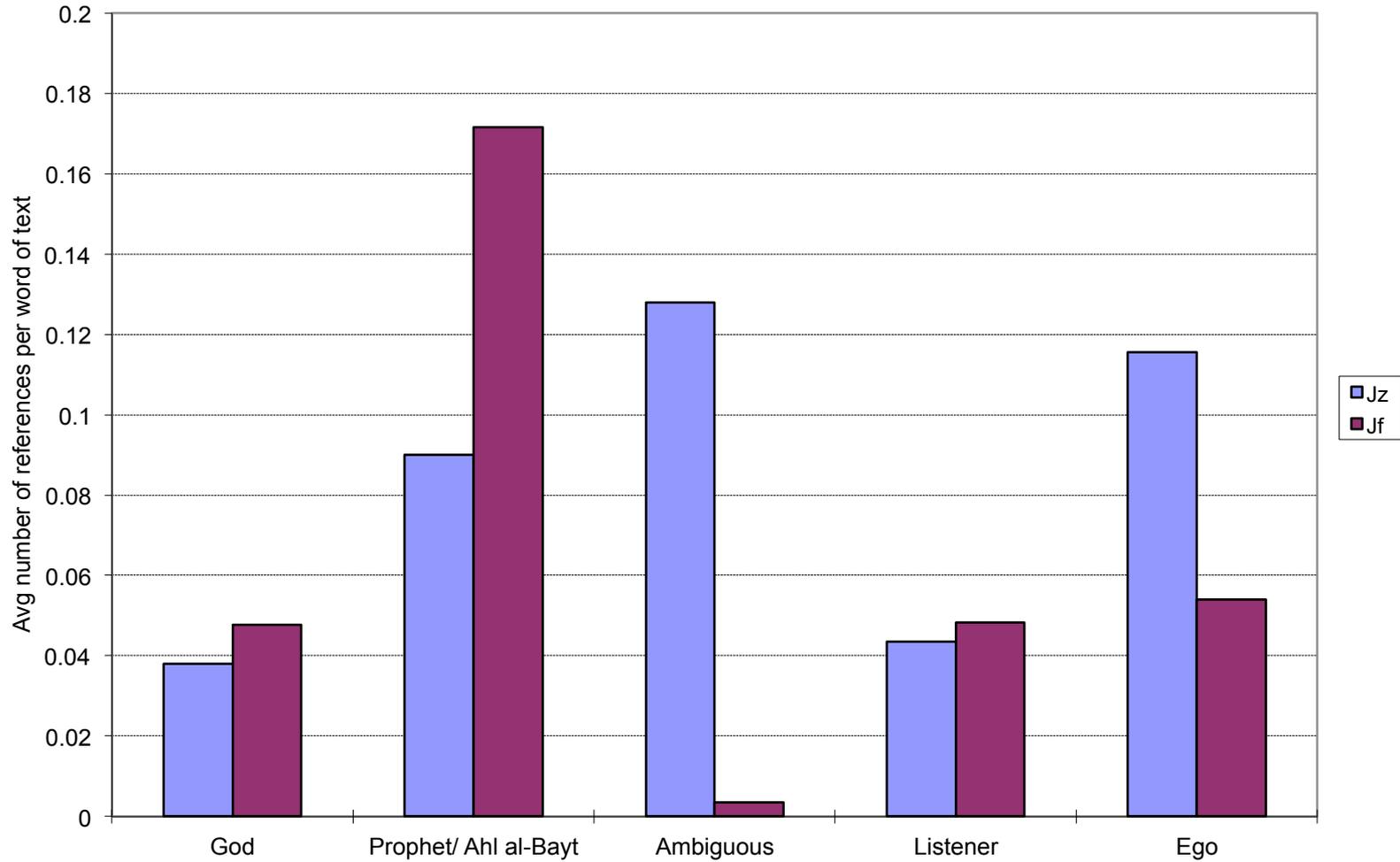
References to listeners and ego (densities)
(Graph 35)



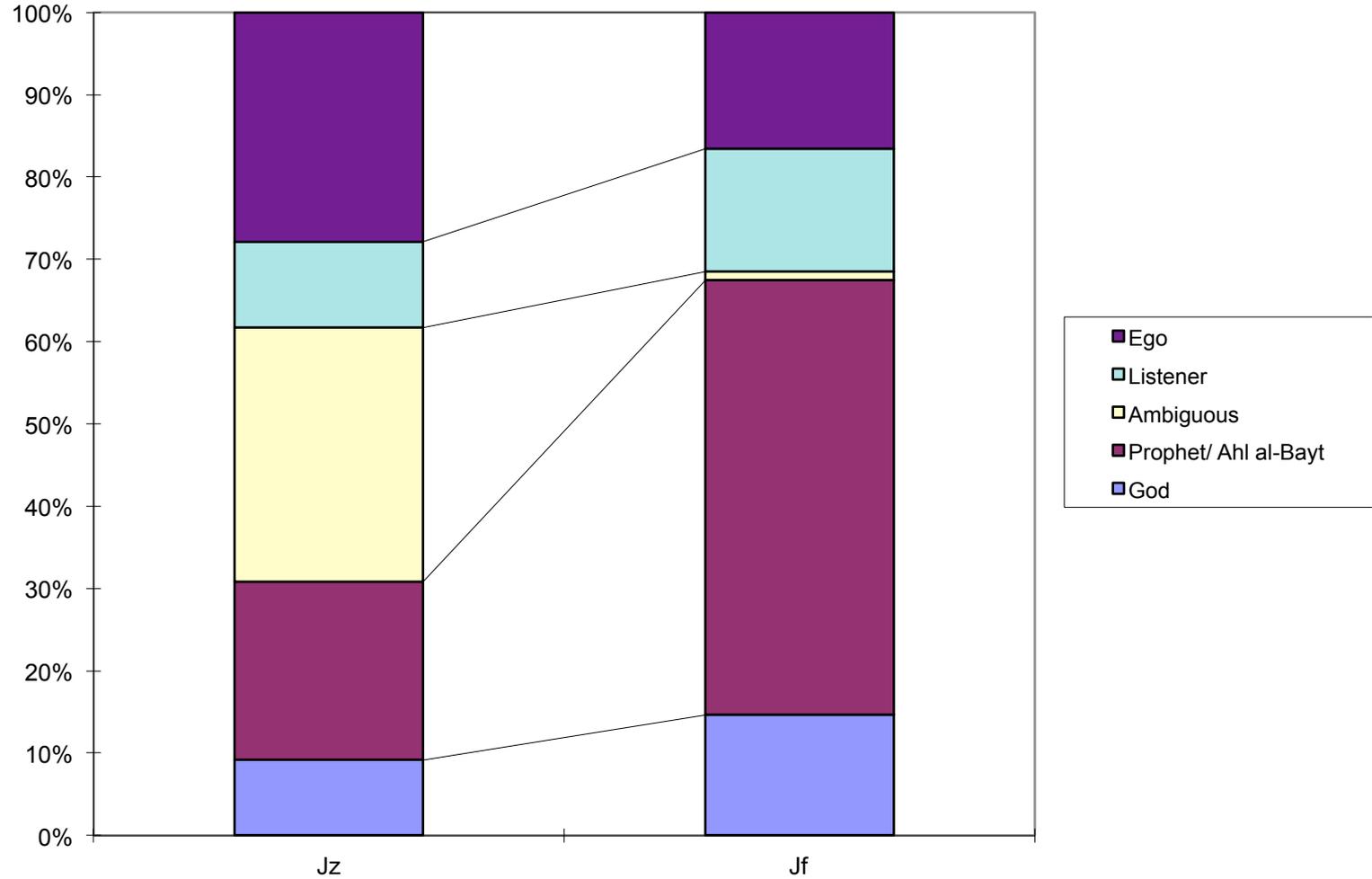
References to listeners and ego (%)
(Graph 36)



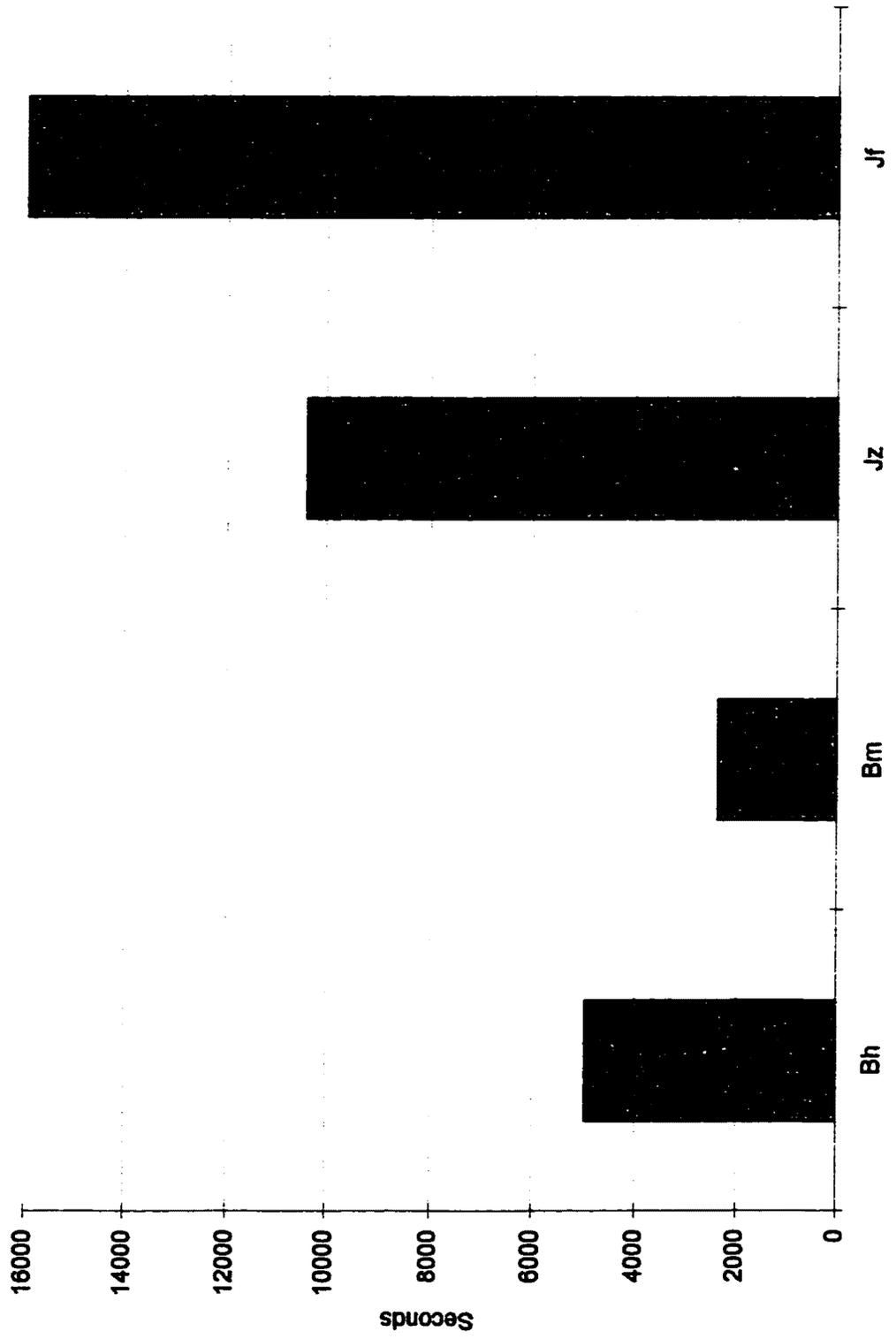
Total references to all entities (densities)
(Graph 37)



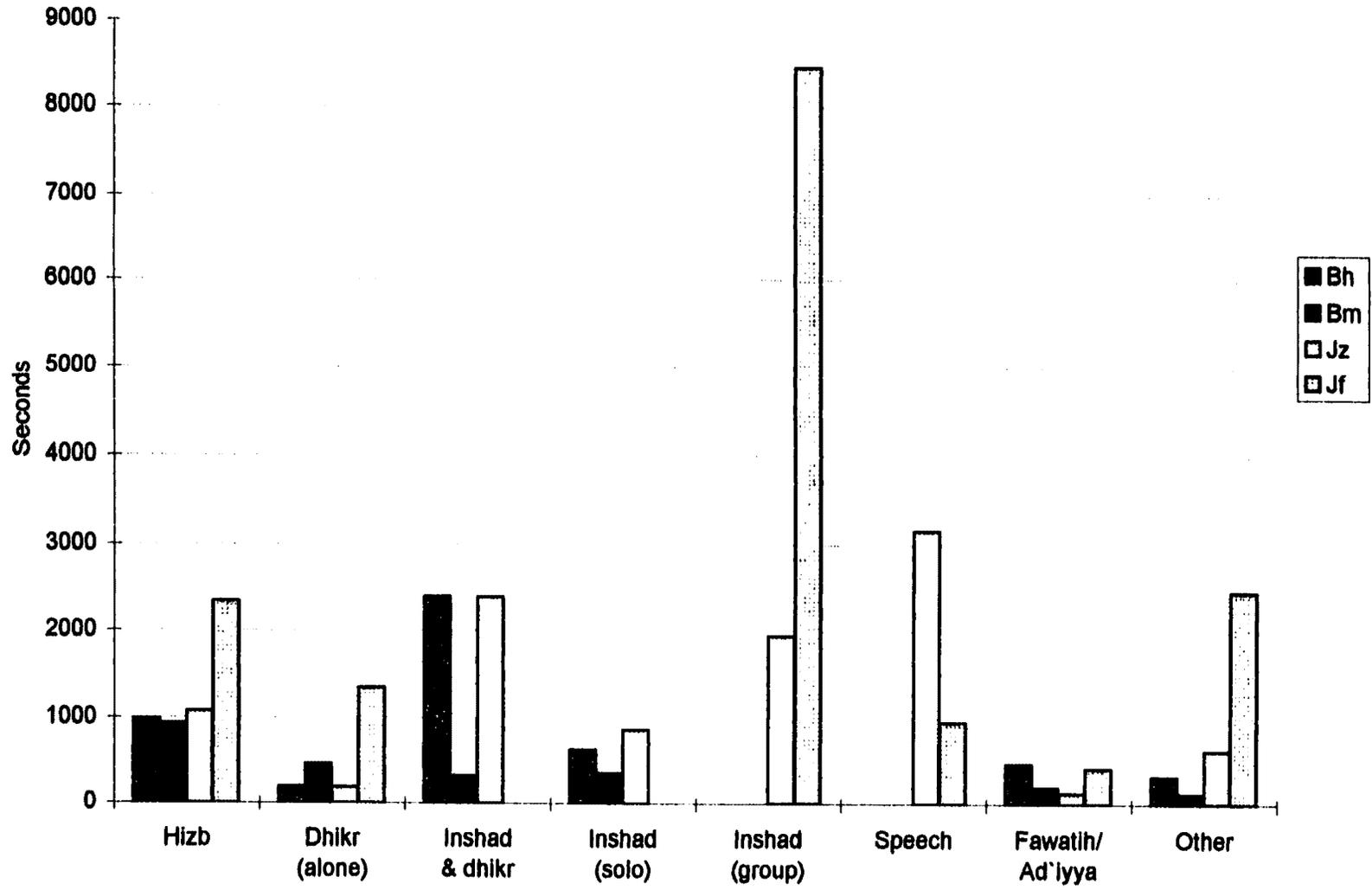
Total references to all entities (%)
(Graph 38)



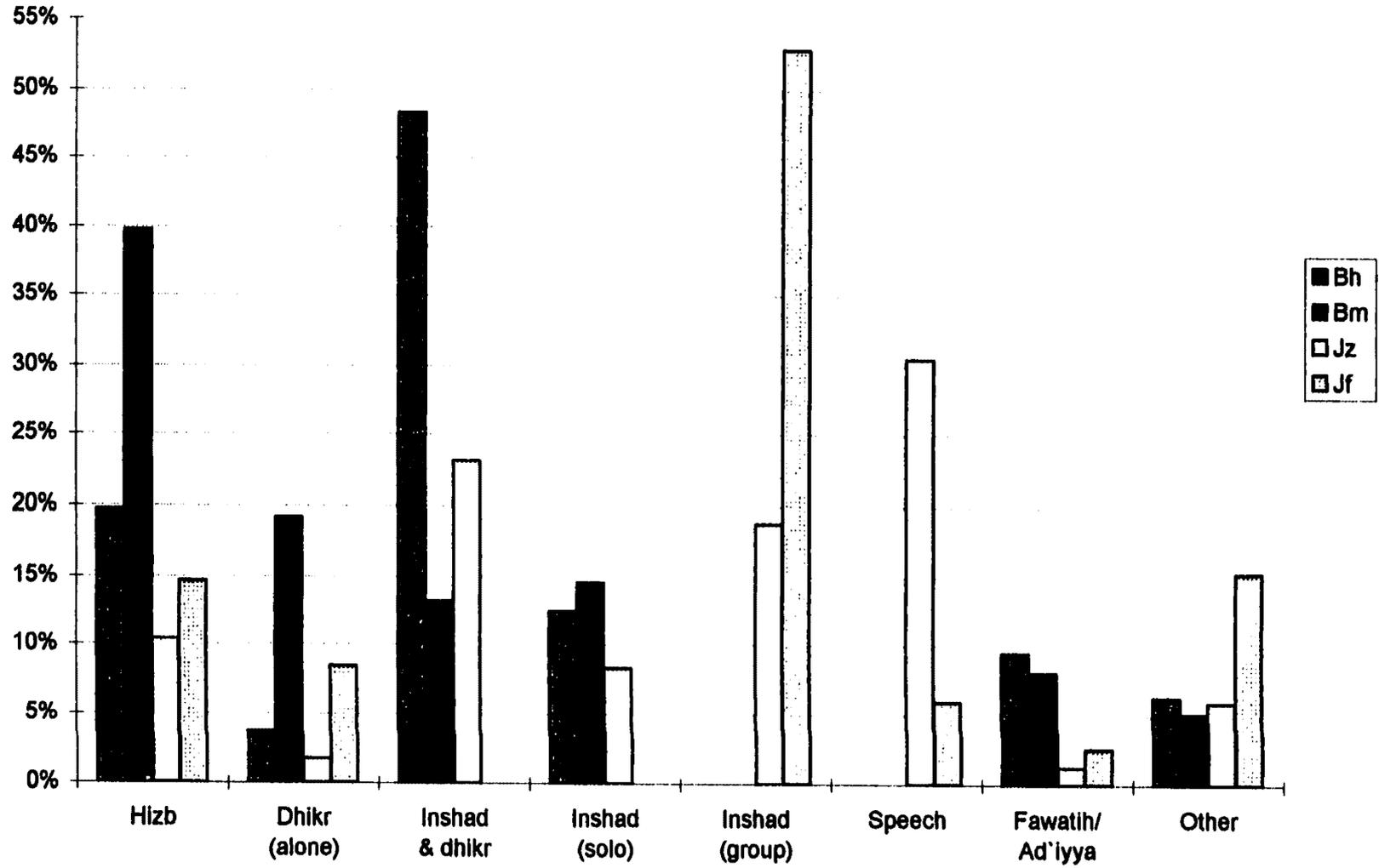
**Total performance time
(Graph 1)**



**Absolute aggregate durations of disjoint LP categories
(Graph 2)**

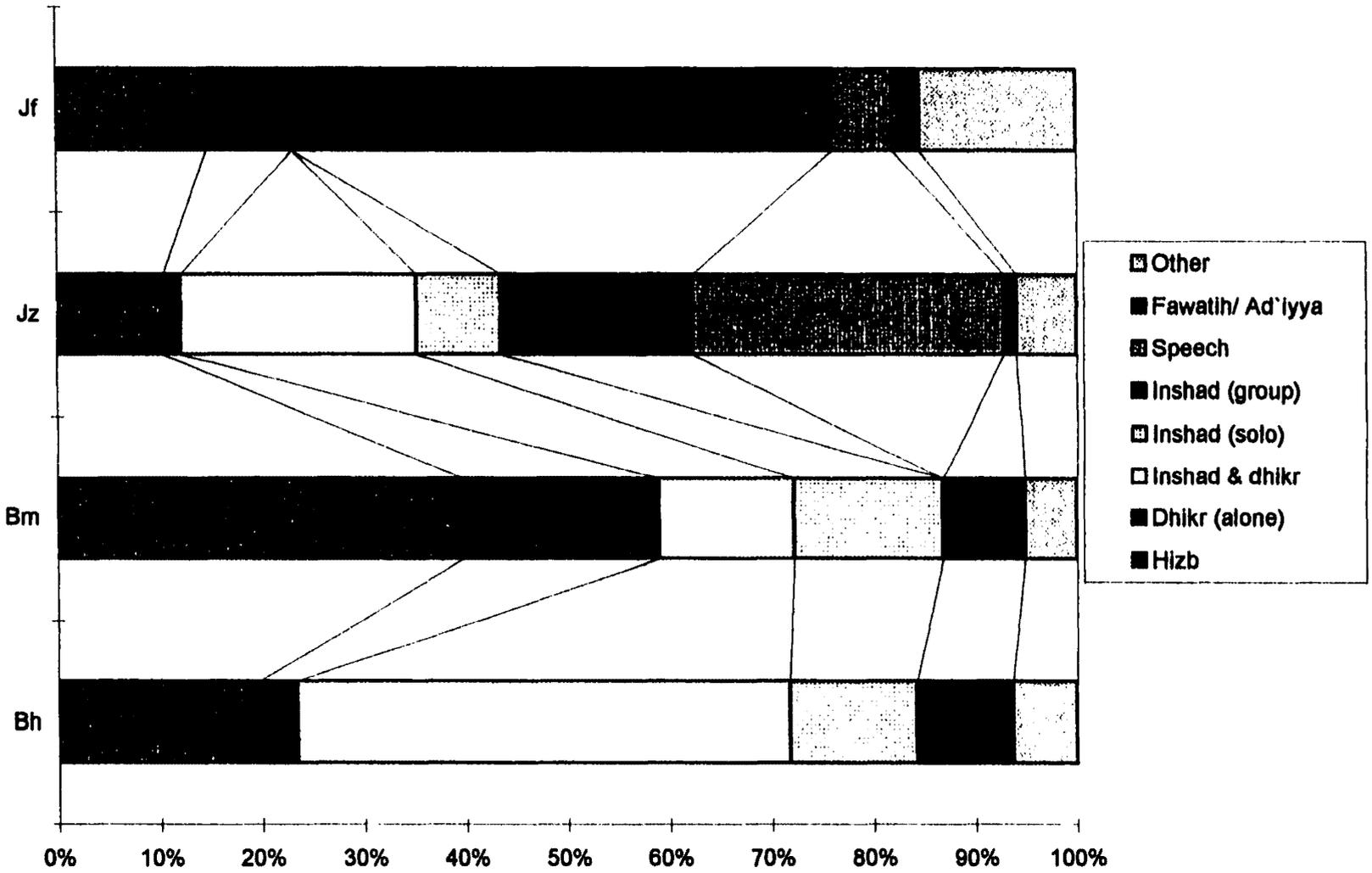


Relative aggregate durations of disjoint LP categories (I)
(Graph 3)

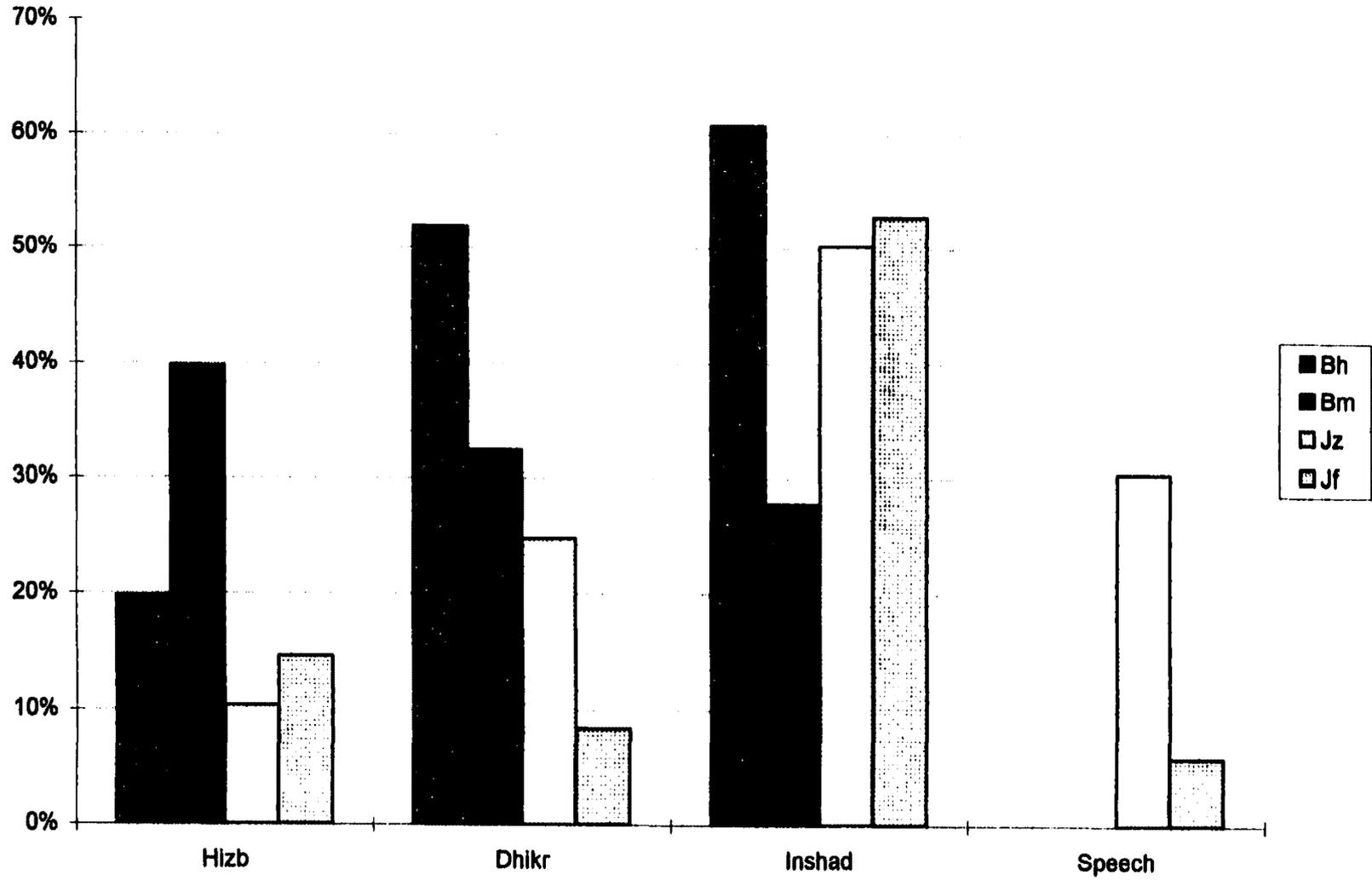


Relative aggregate durations of disjoint LP categories (II)
(Graph 4)

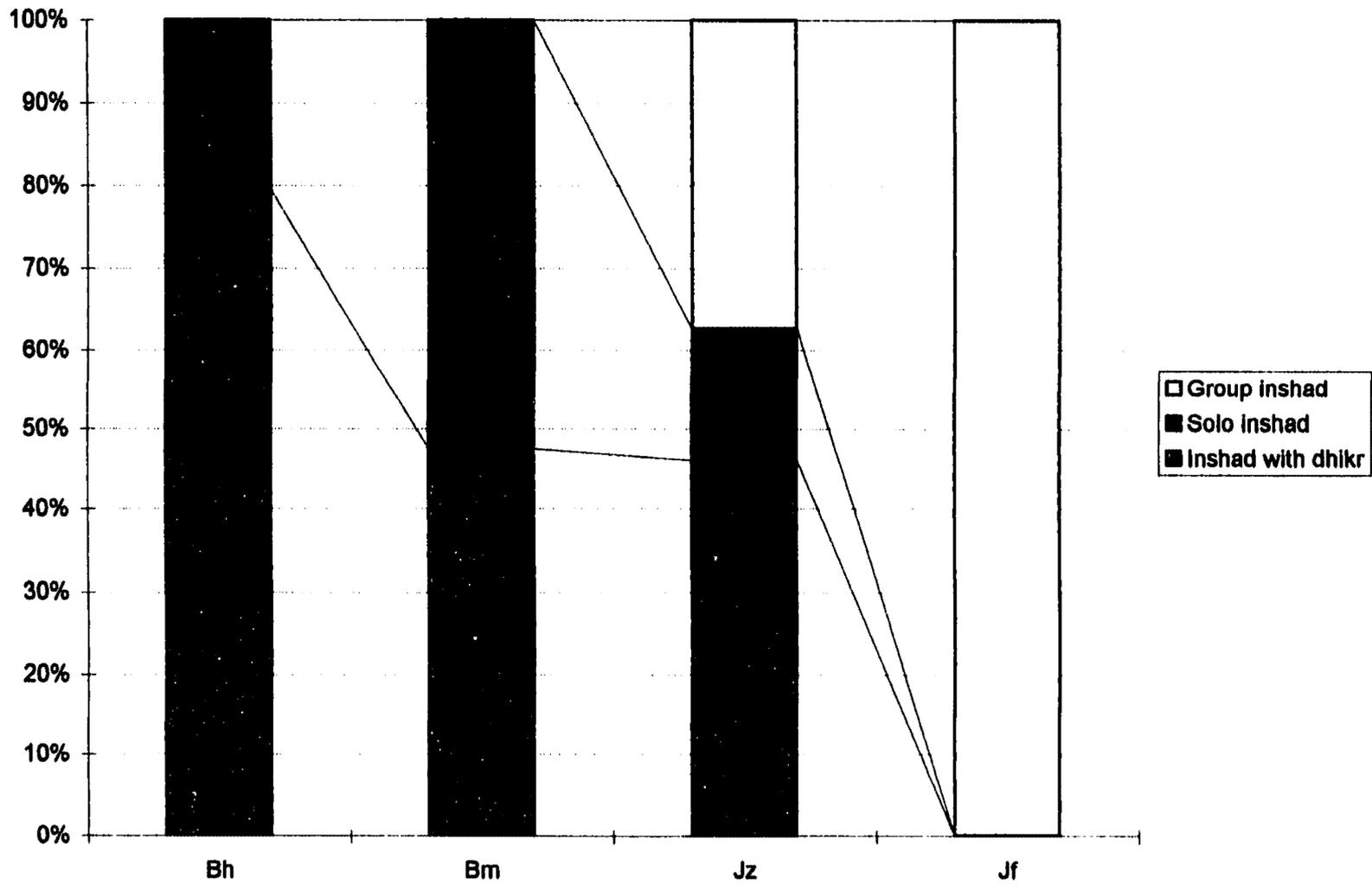
1234



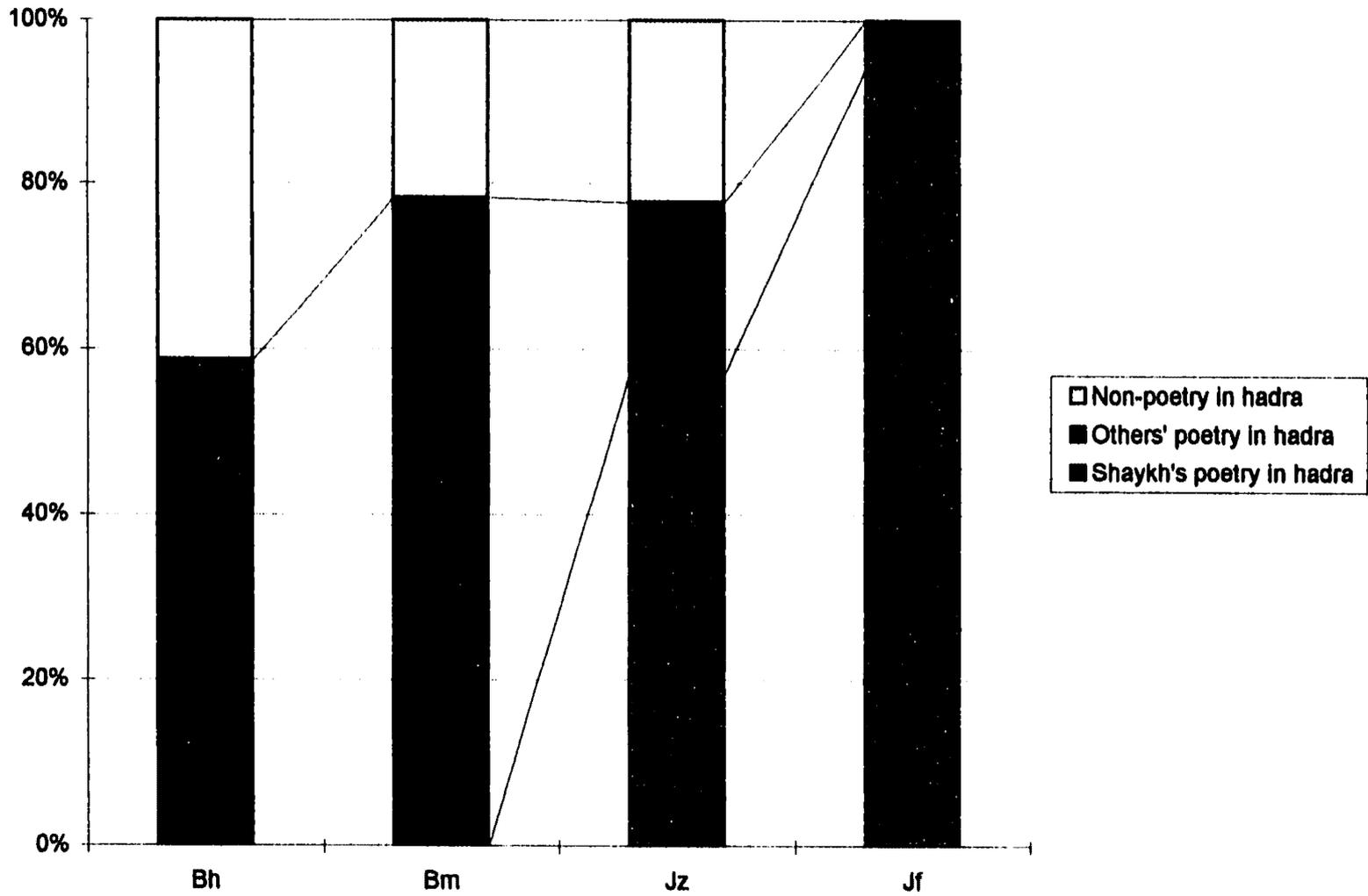
**Relative aggregate durations of overlapping LP categories
(Graph 5)**



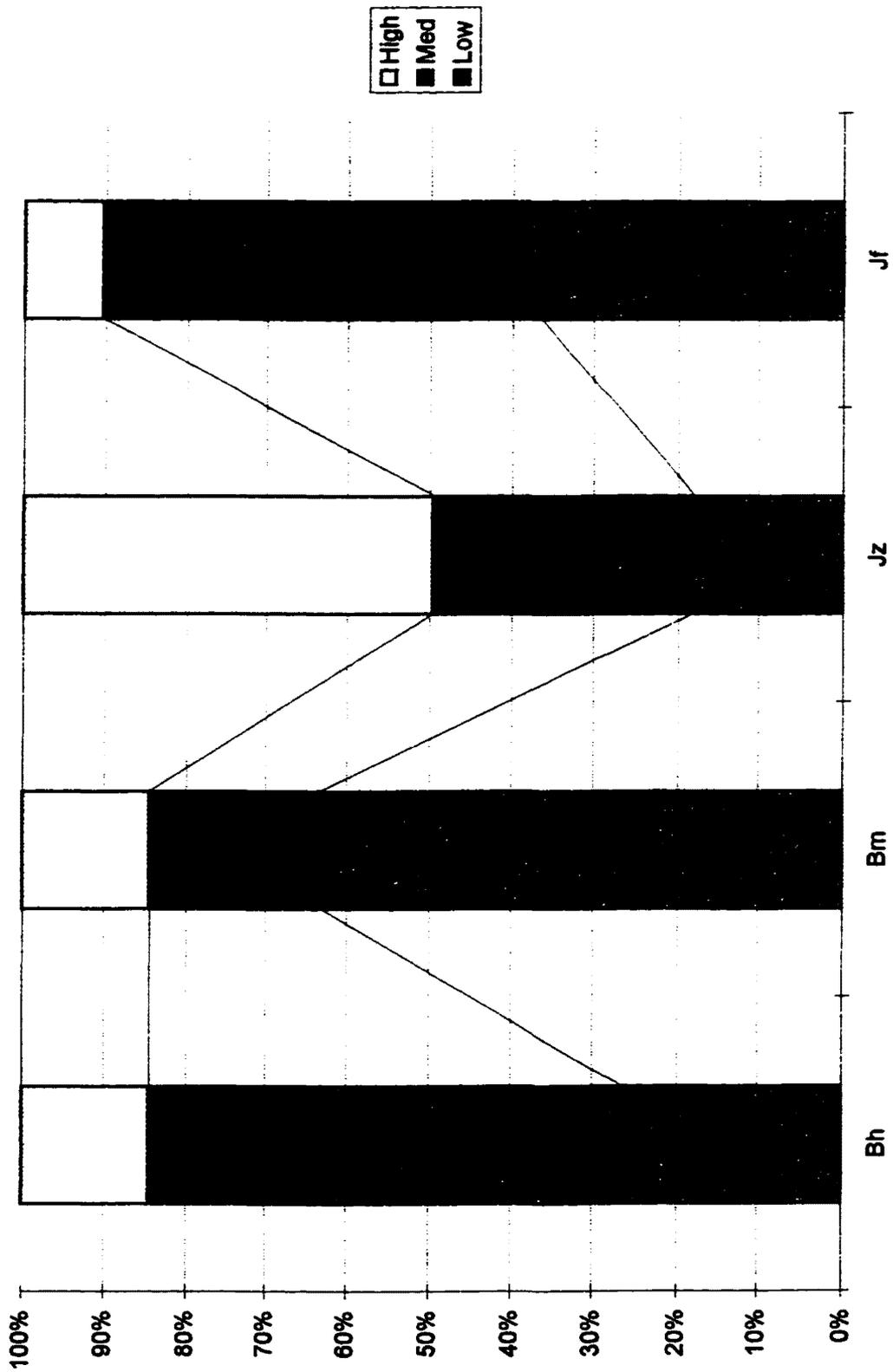
**Relative aggregate durations of Inshad categories
(Graph 6)**



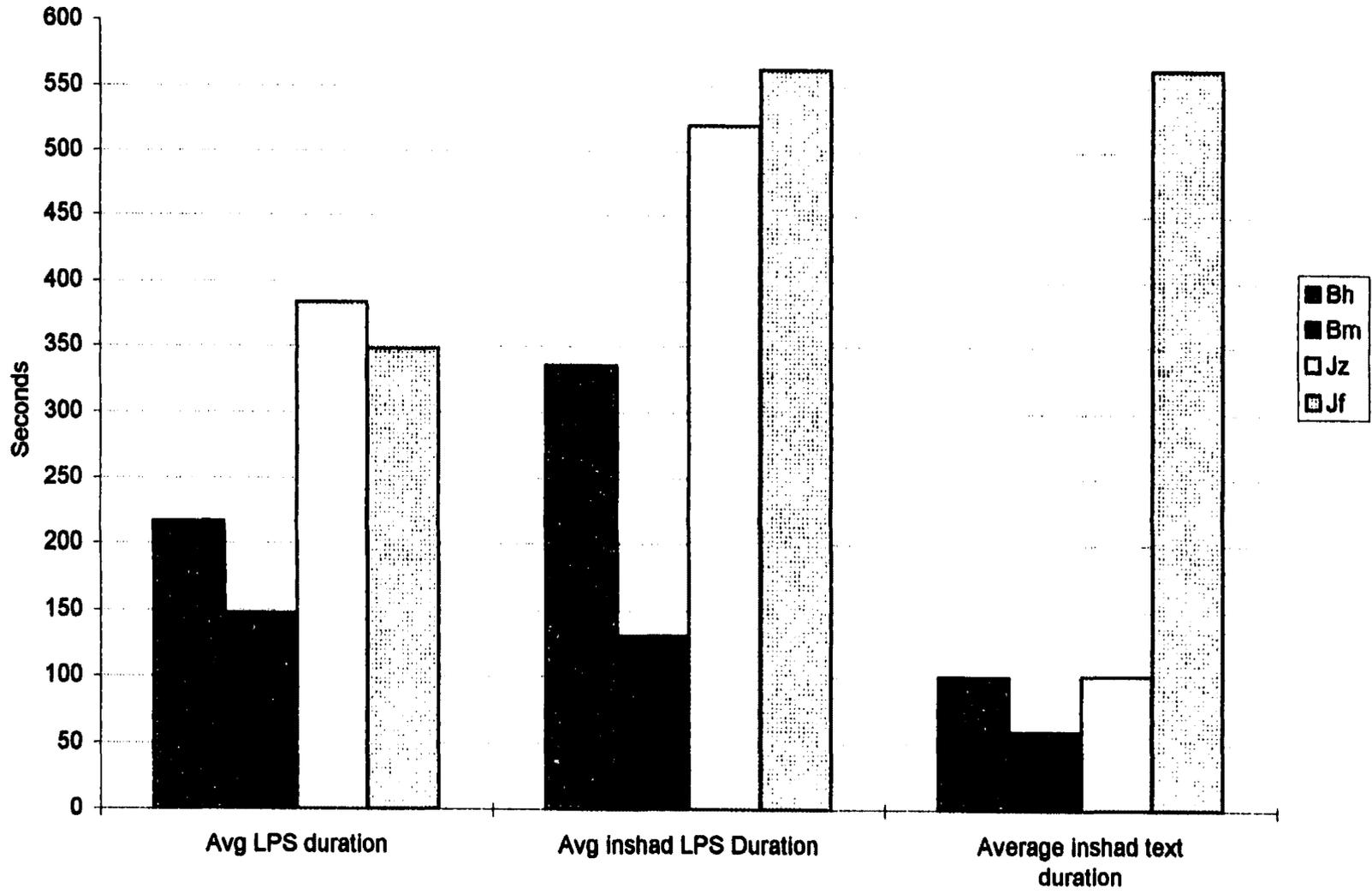
**Relative aggregate lengths of Inshad text types
(Graph 7)**



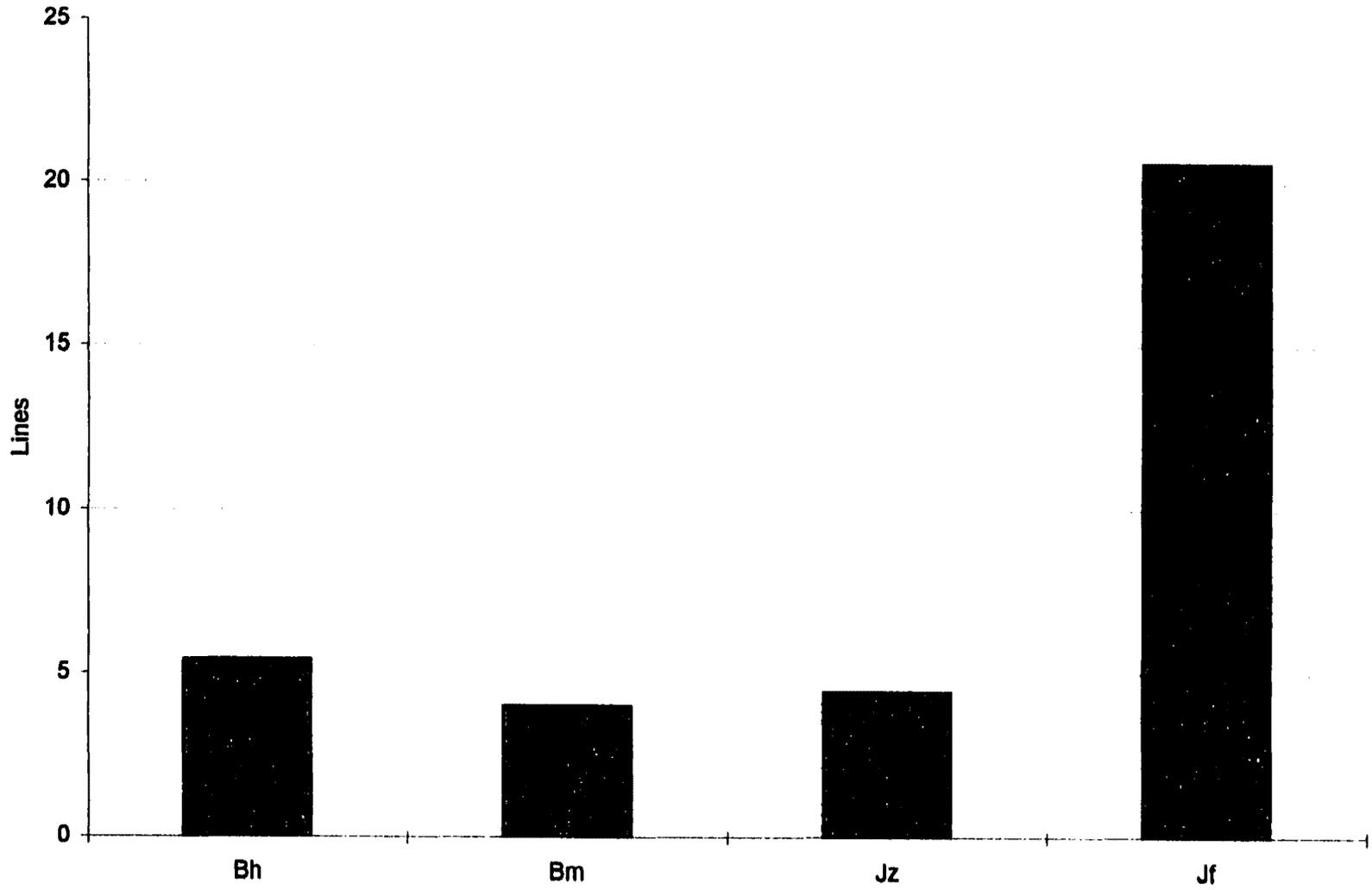
Relative aggregate durations of entropy levels
(Graph 8)



Average LPS durations
(Graph 9)

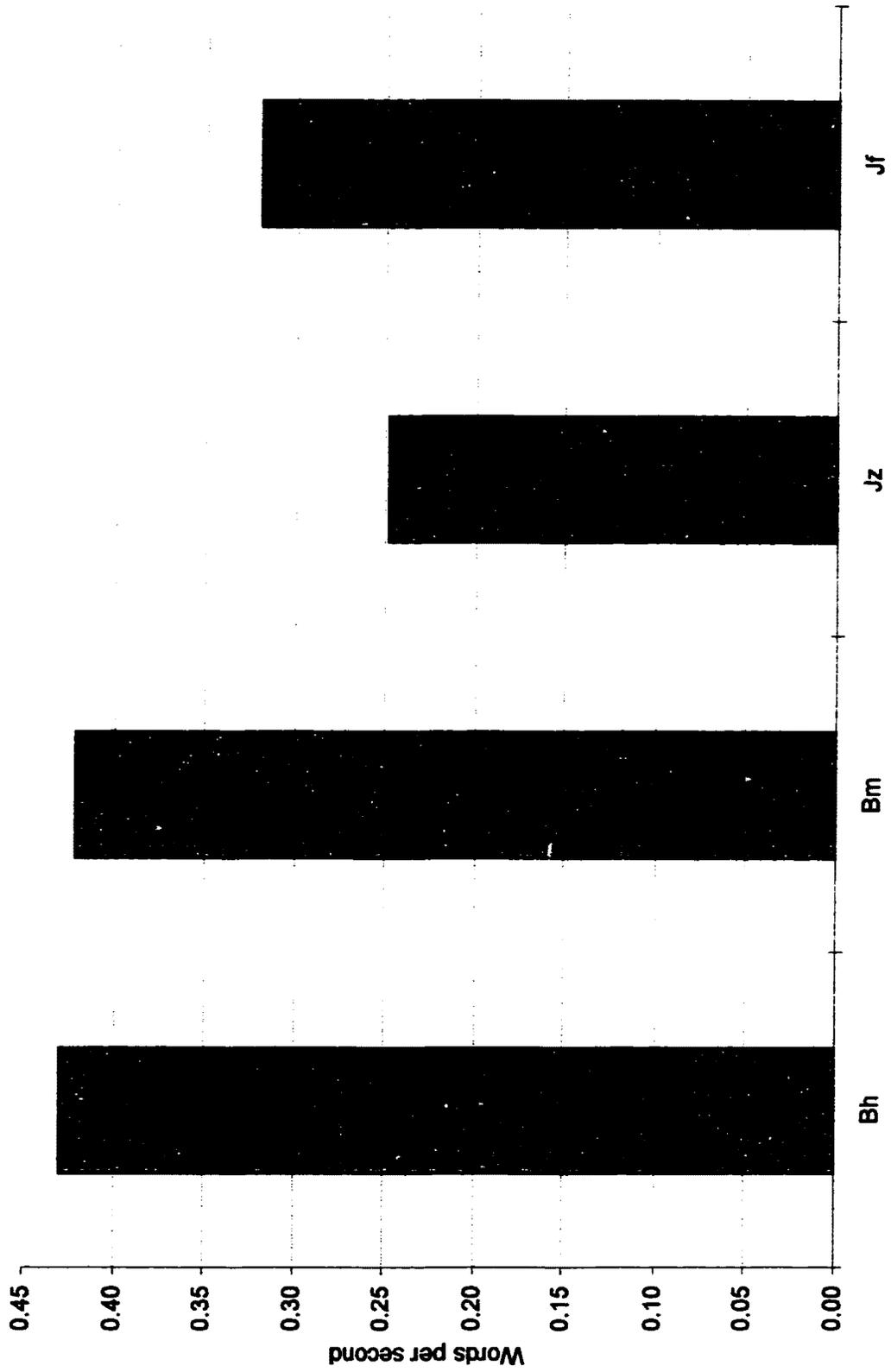


**Average poetic inshad text segment length
(Graph 10)**

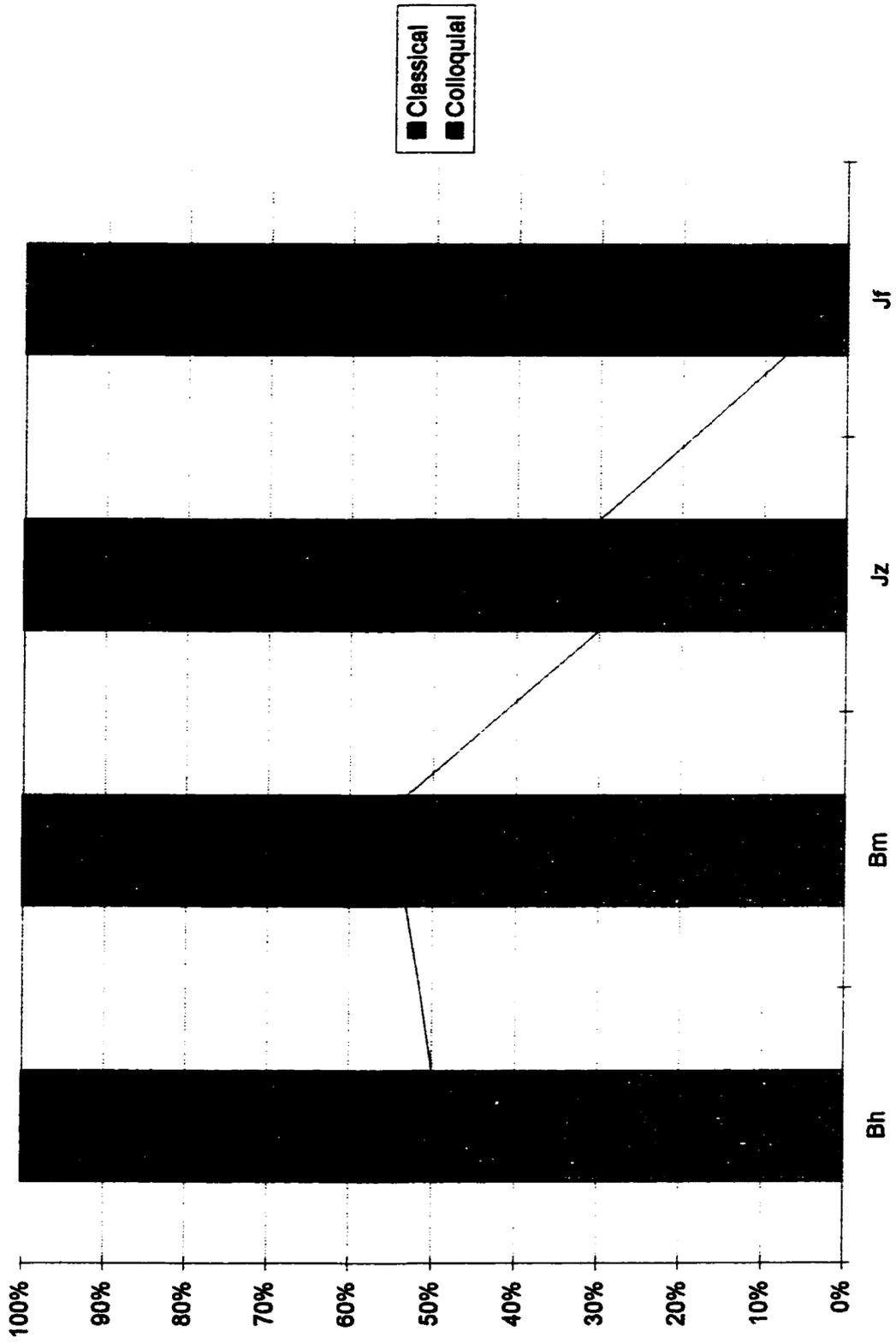


1240

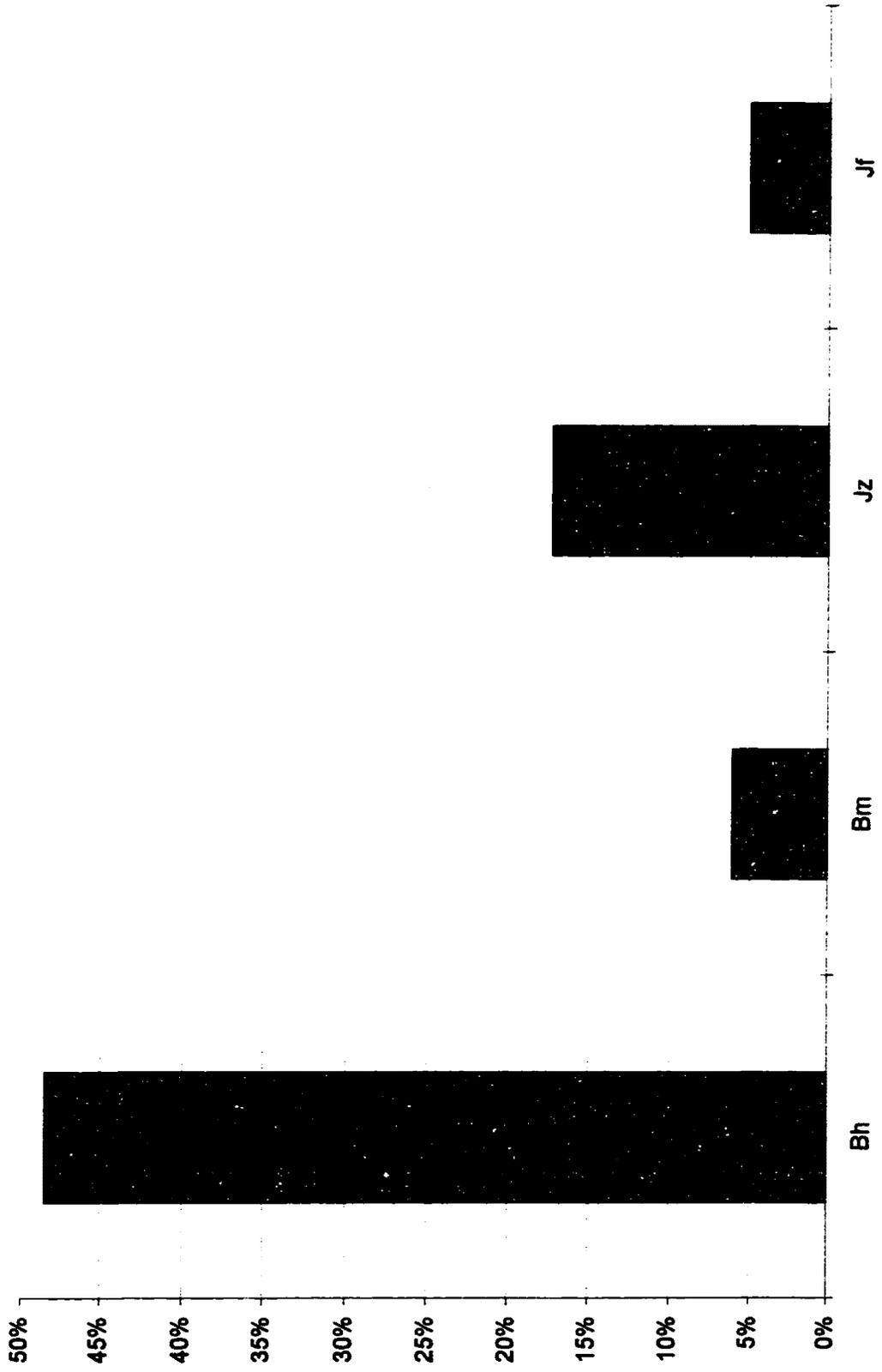
**Text rate in inshad LPSs
(Graph 11)**



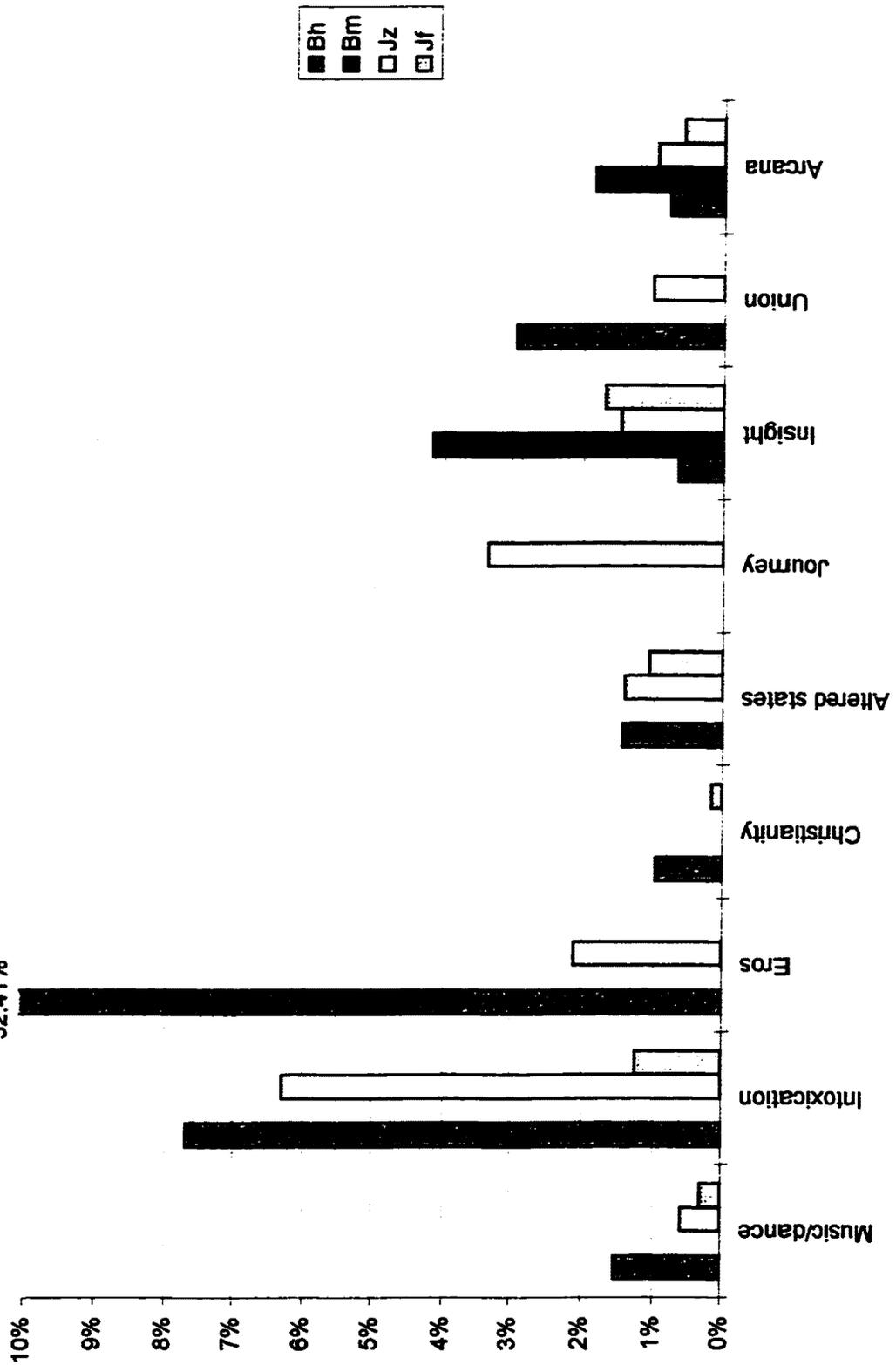
Inshad language level
(Graph 12)



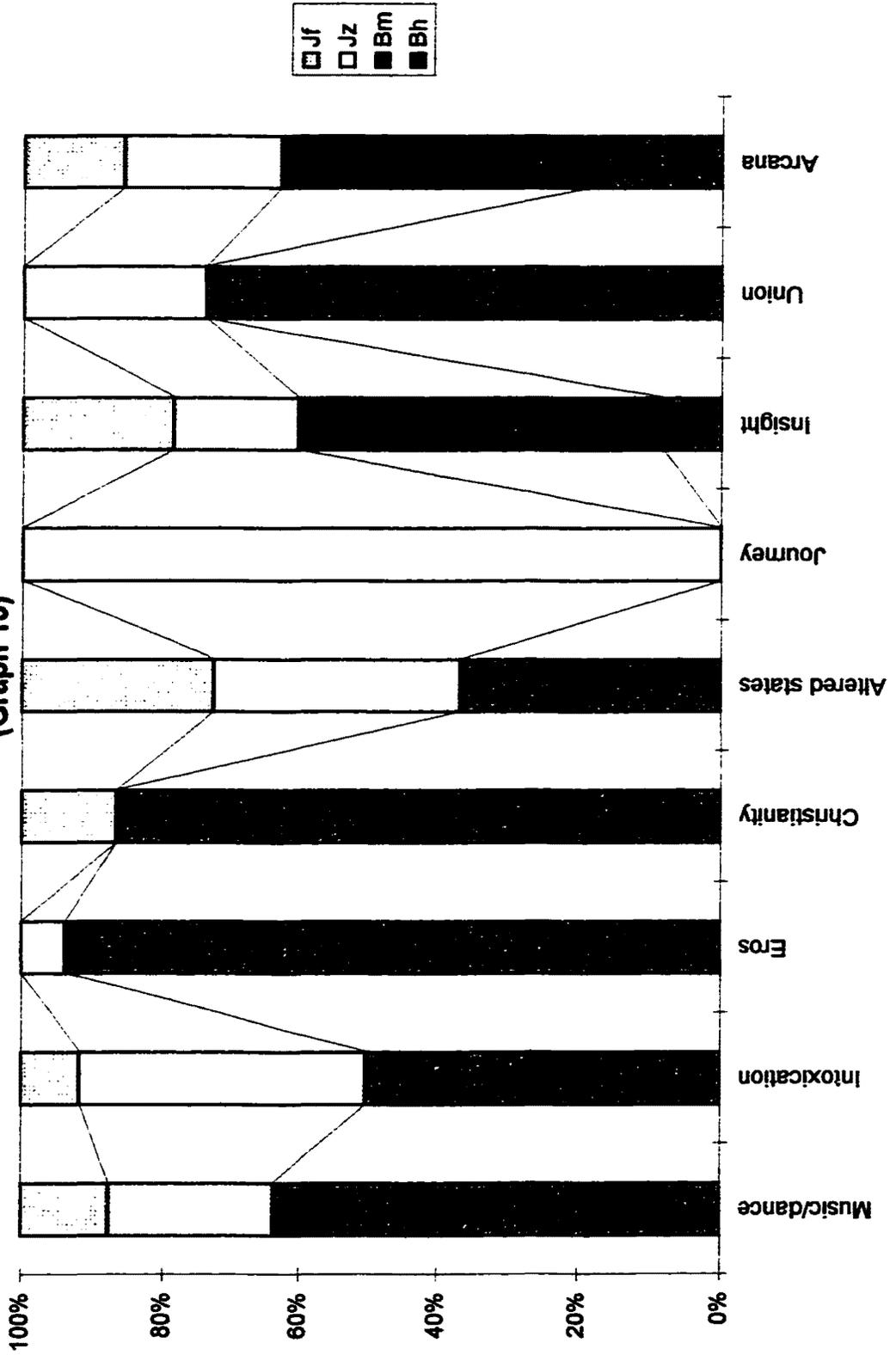
**Heterodox symbols: total absolute density
(Graph 13)**



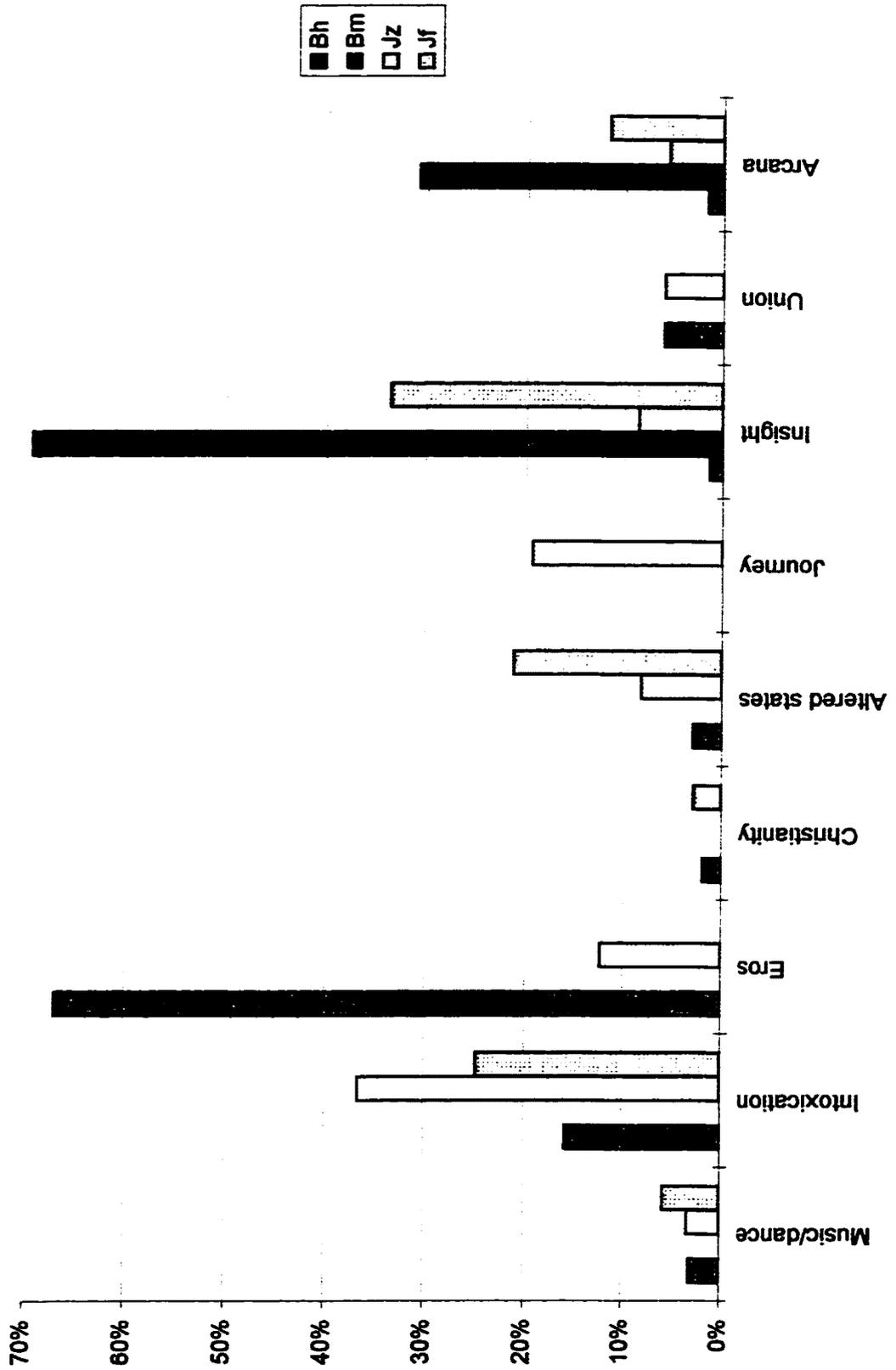
Heterodox symbols: absolute density by symbol
(Graph 14)



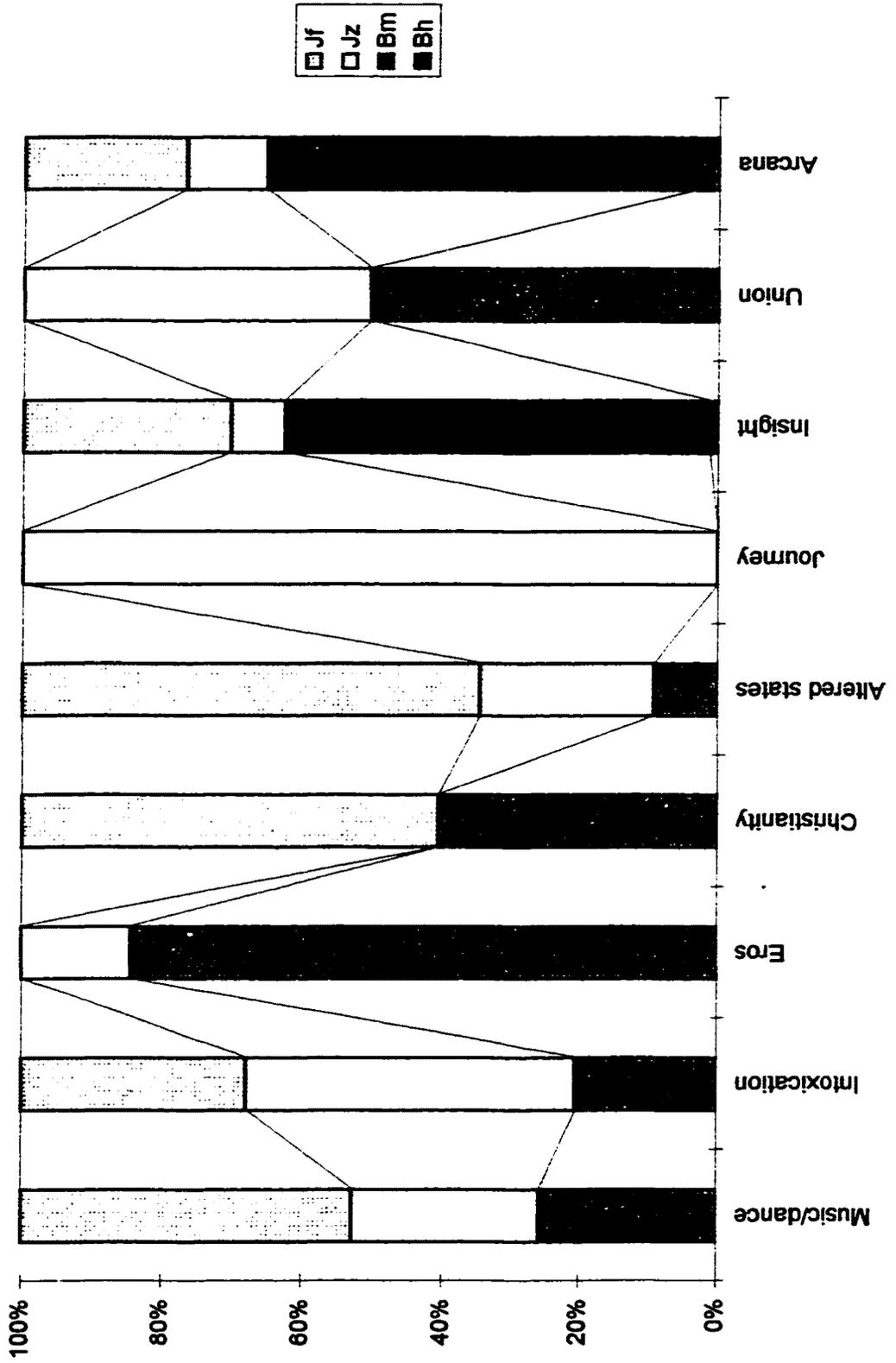
Heterodox symbols: absolute density by symbol
(normalized by category)
(Graph 15)



Heterodox symbols: relative density by symbol
(Graph 16)

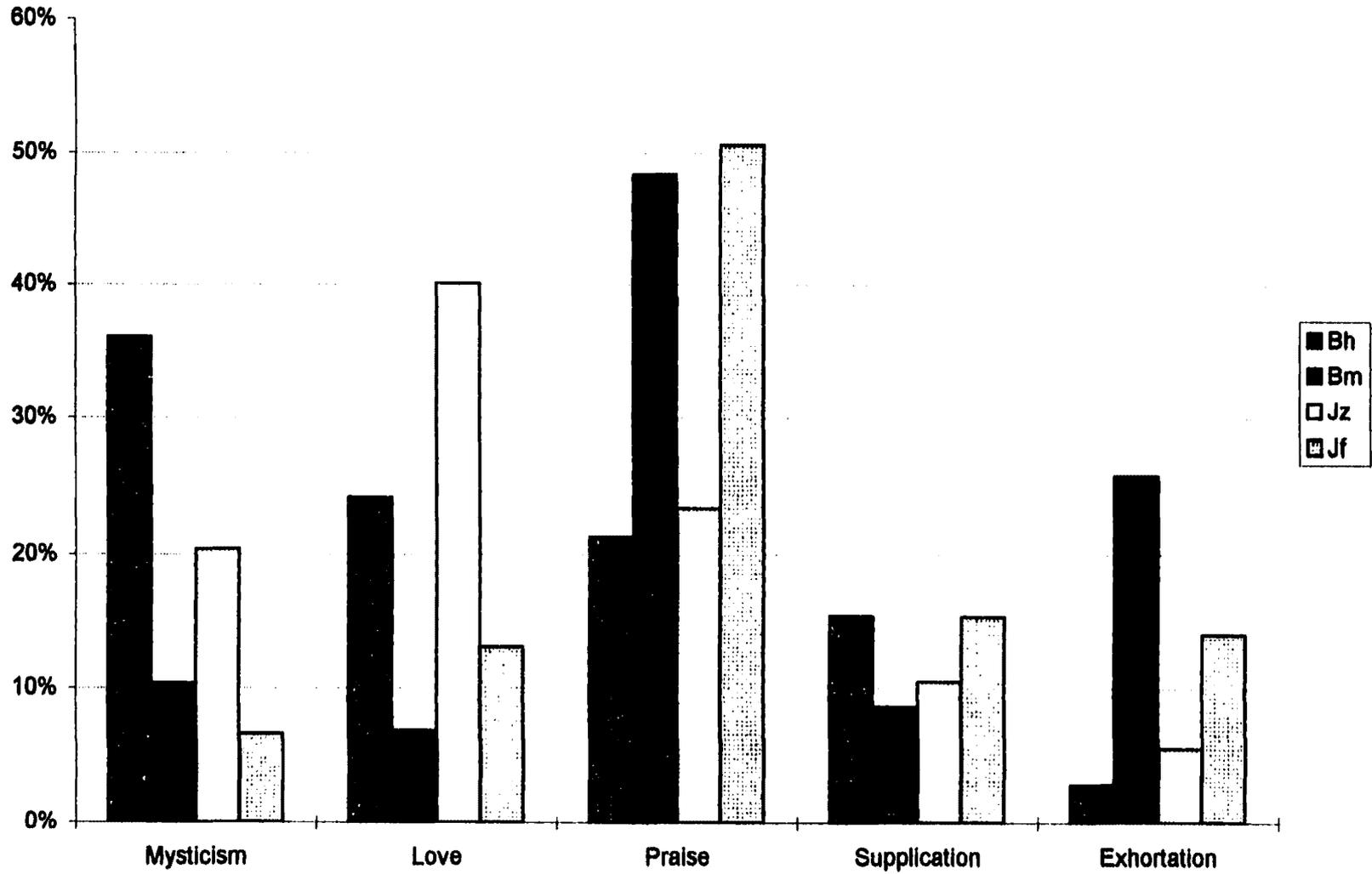


Heterodox symbols: relative density by symbol (normalized by category)
 (Graph 17)



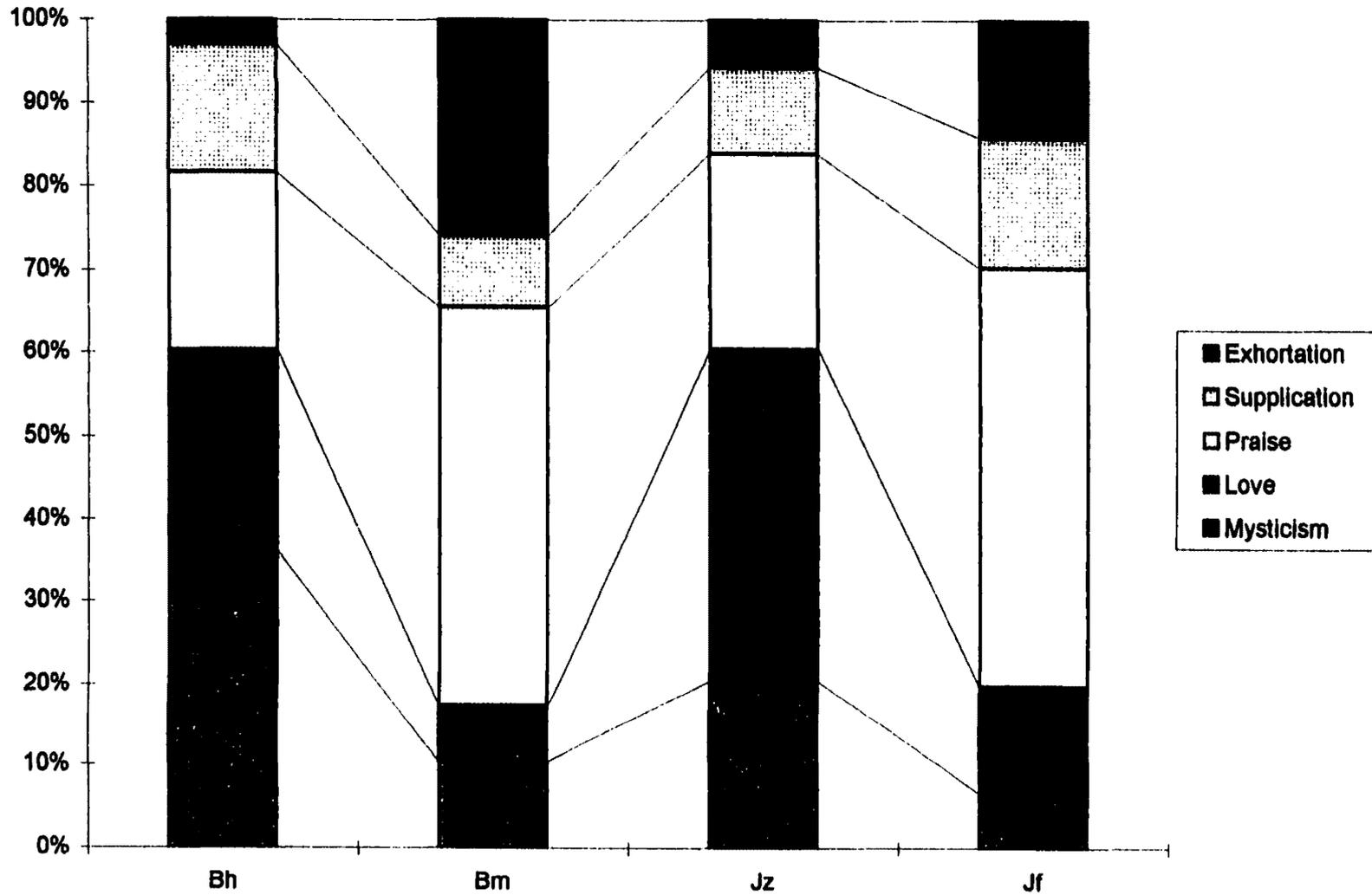
Usage of assertional themes, percentage of total lines (I)
(Graph 18)

1248

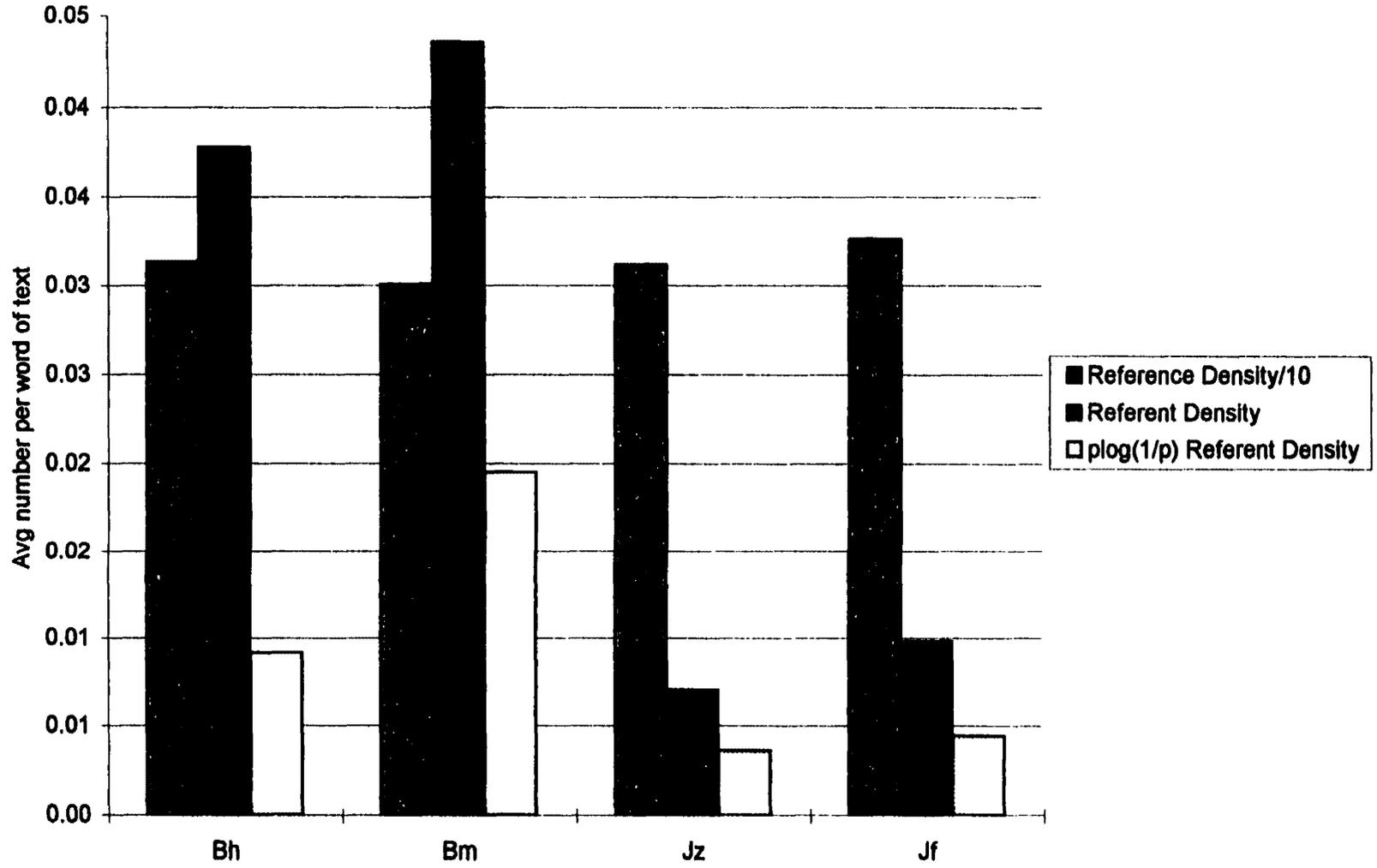


Usage of assertional themes, percentage of total lines (II)
(Graph 19)

1249

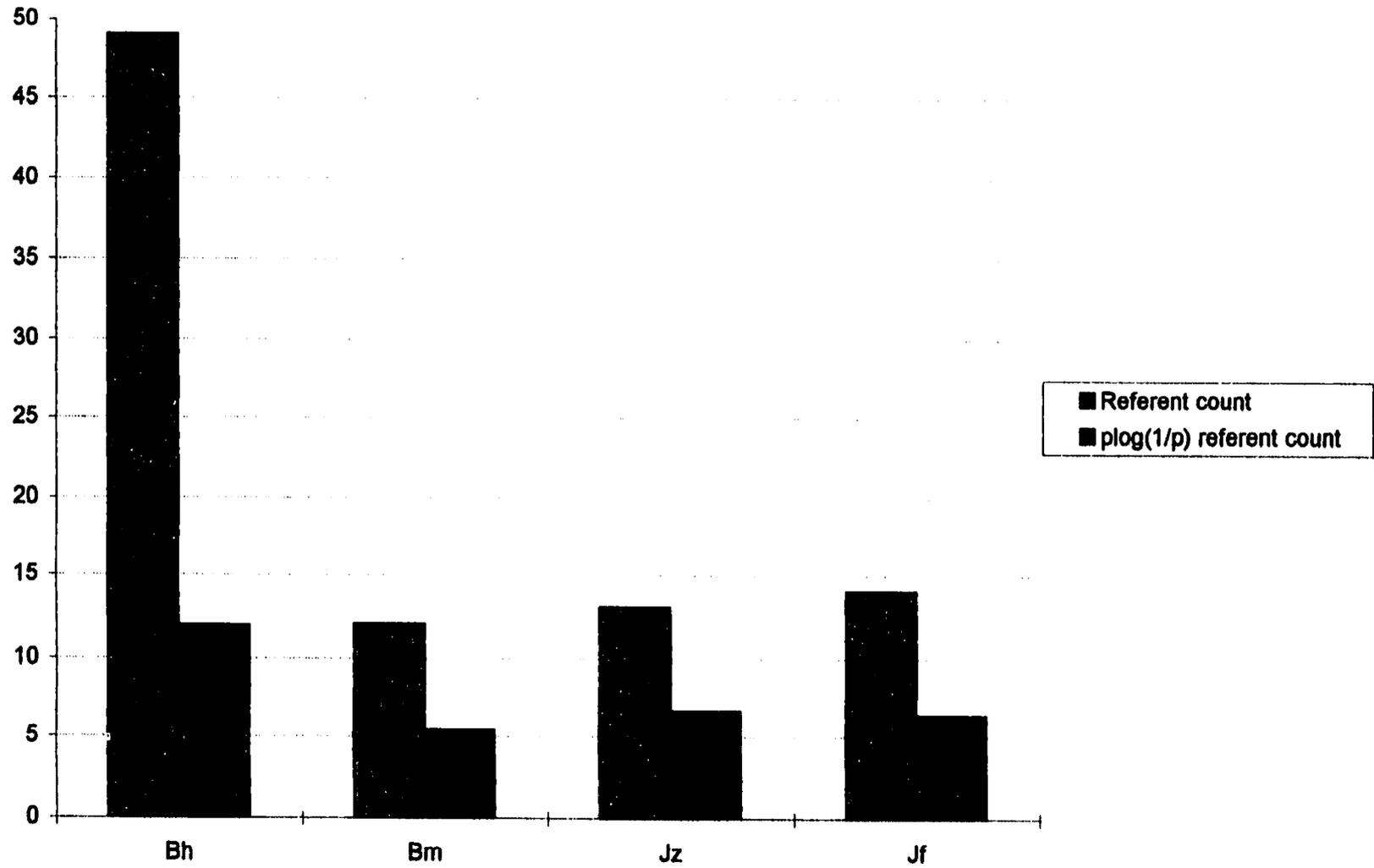


Reference and referent densities
(Graph 20)

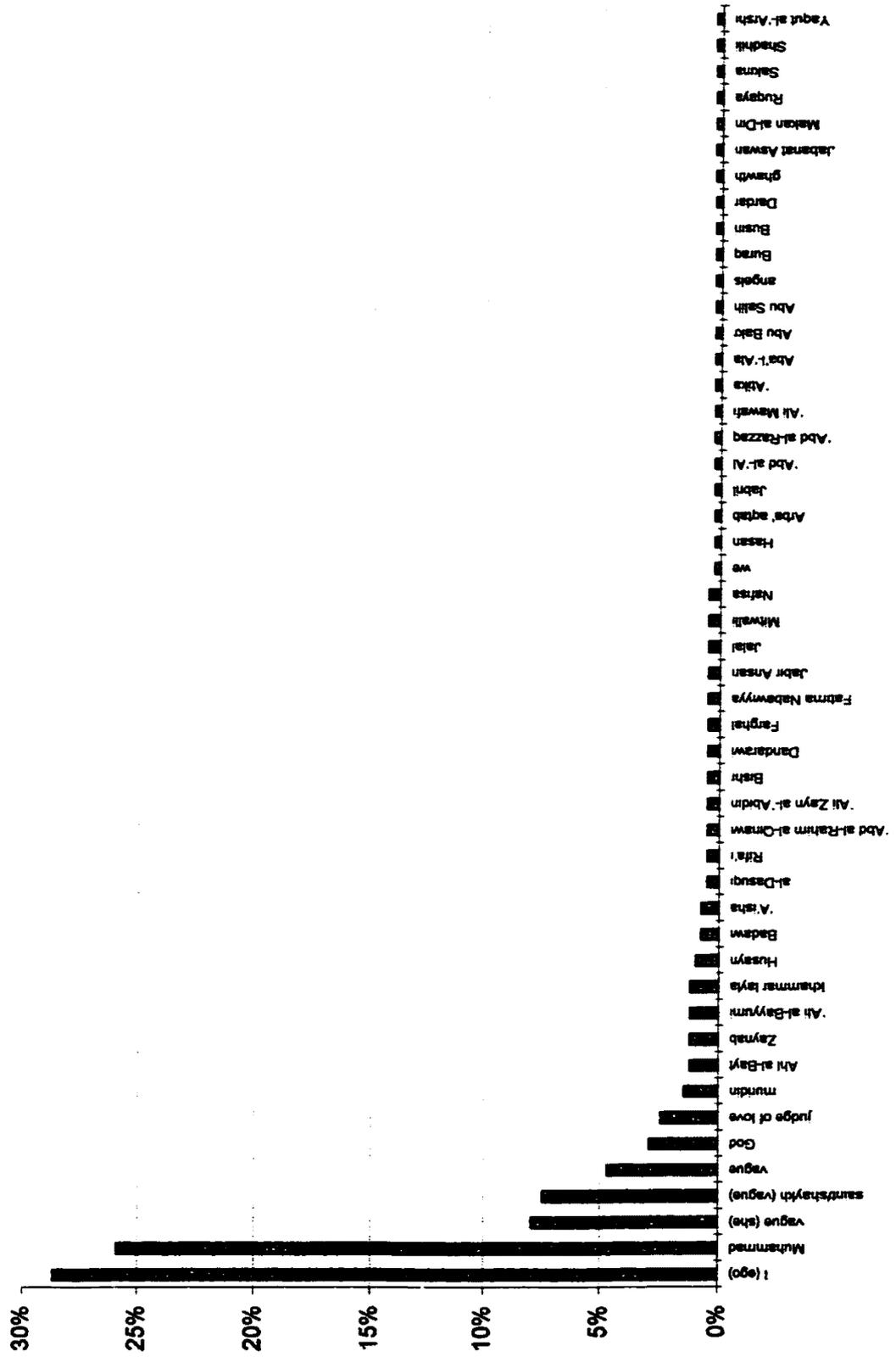


Referent counts
(Graph 21)

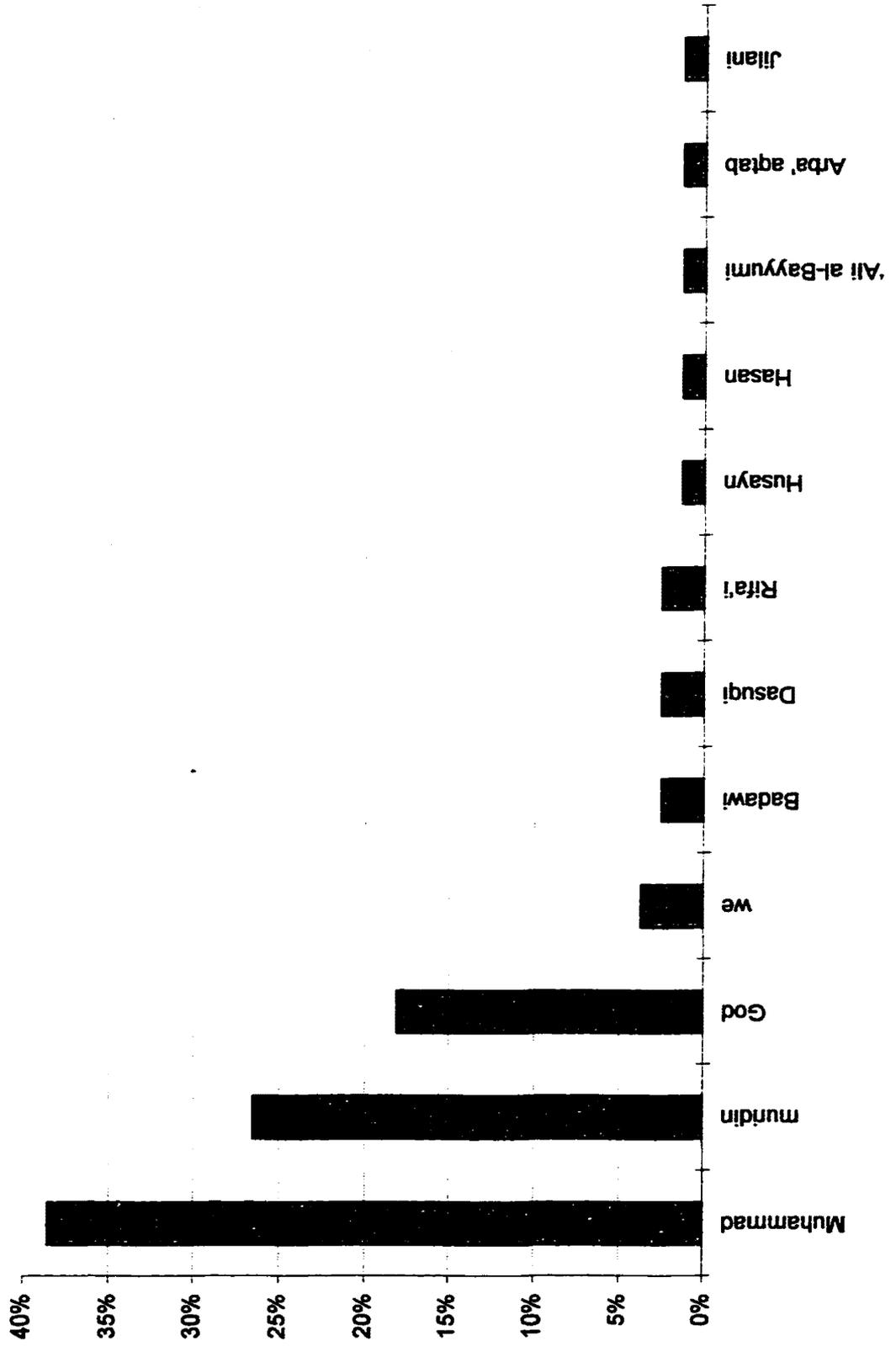
1251



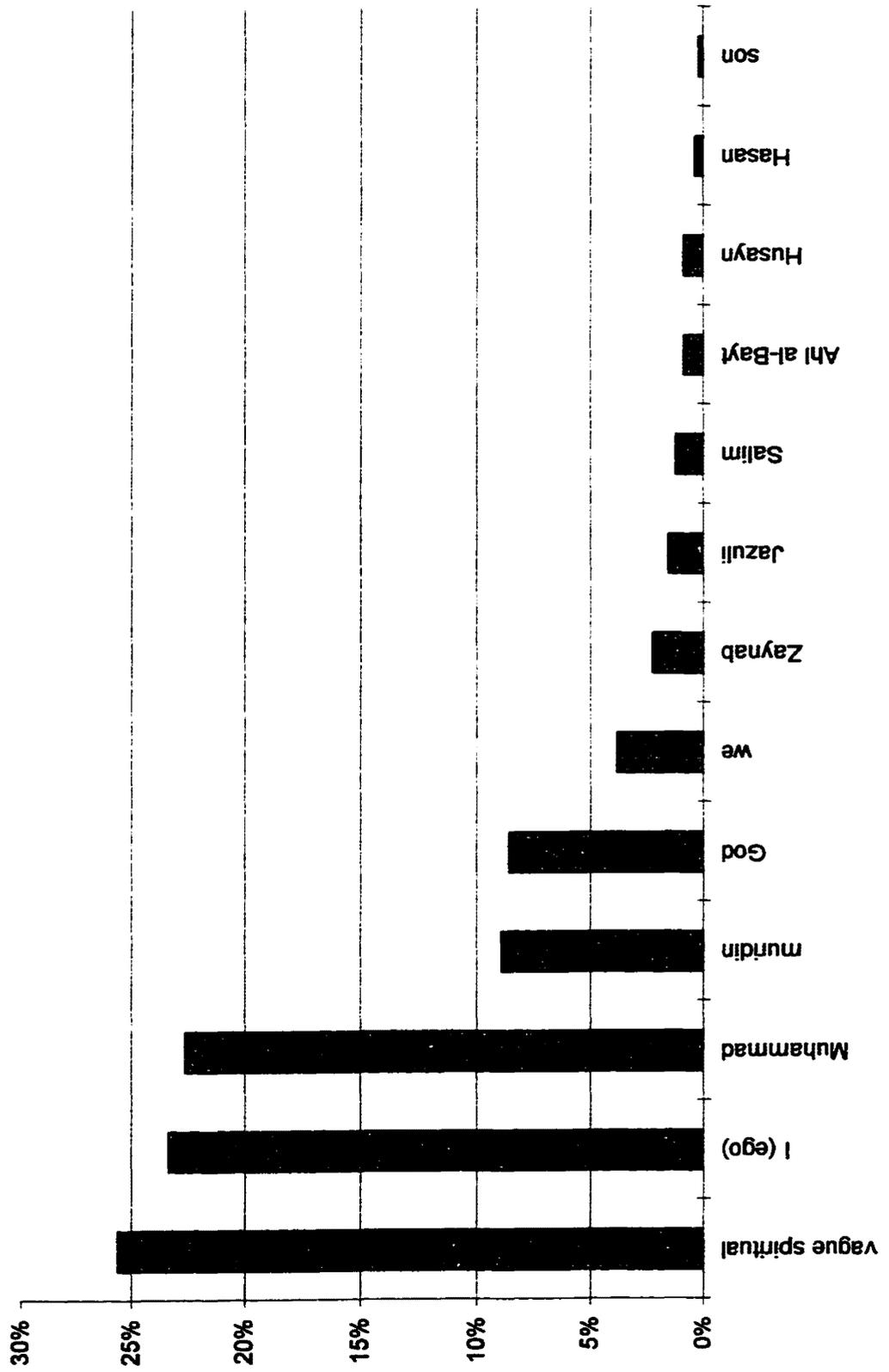
**Bh reference frequencies
(Graph 22)**



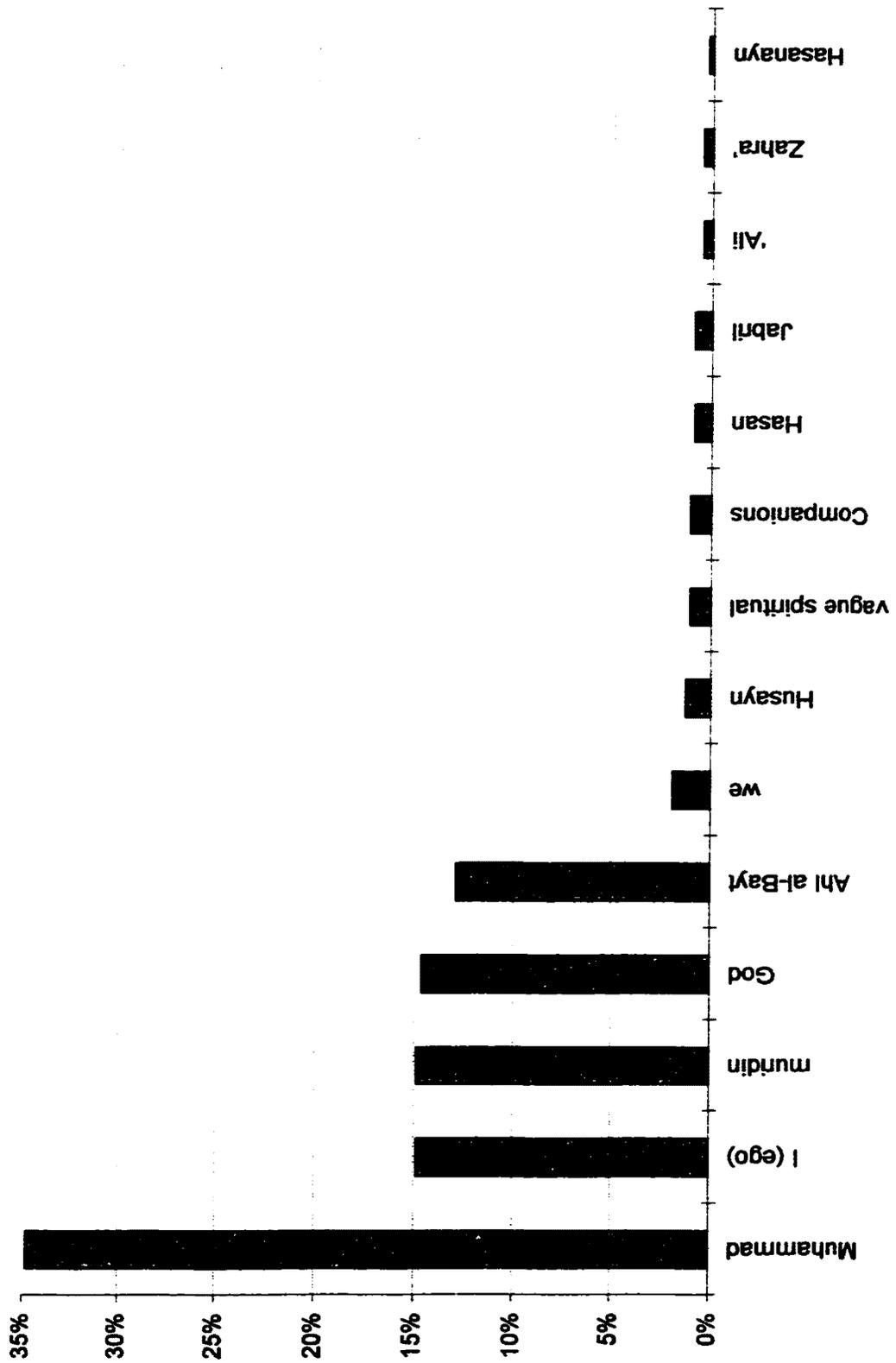
**Bm reference frequencies
(Graph 23)**



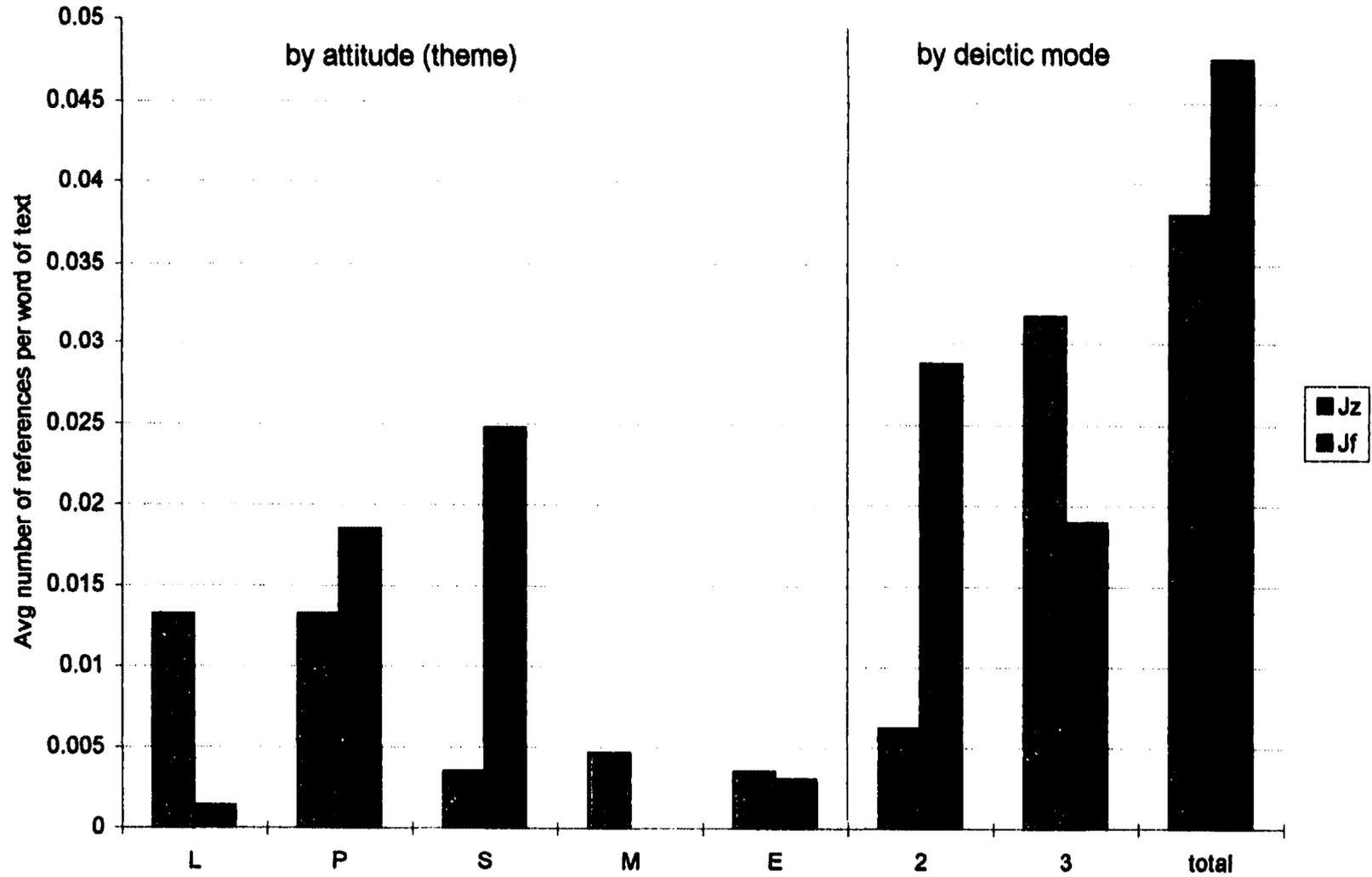
**Jz reference frequencies
(Graph 24)**



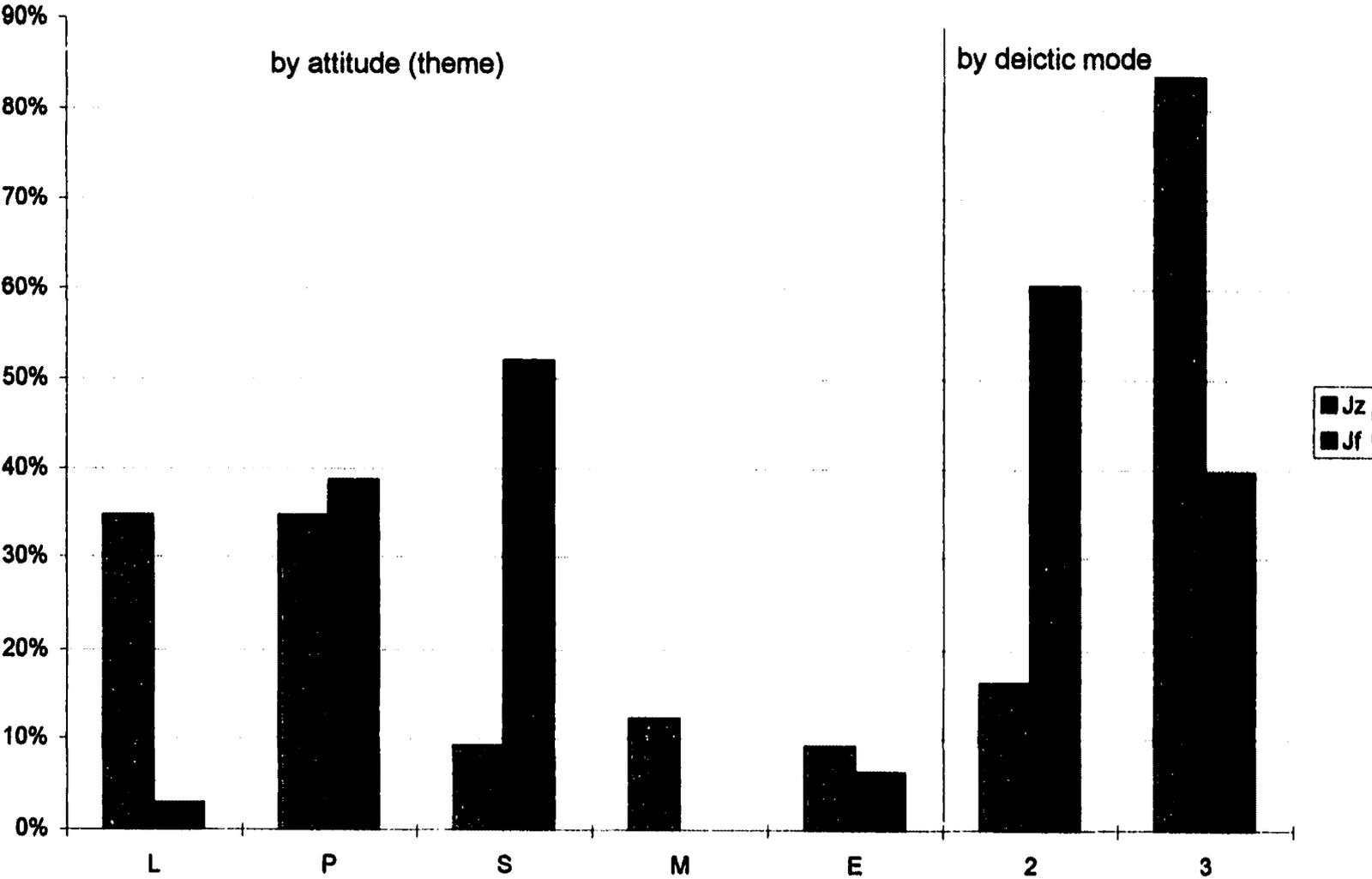
**Jf reference frequencies
(Graph 25)**



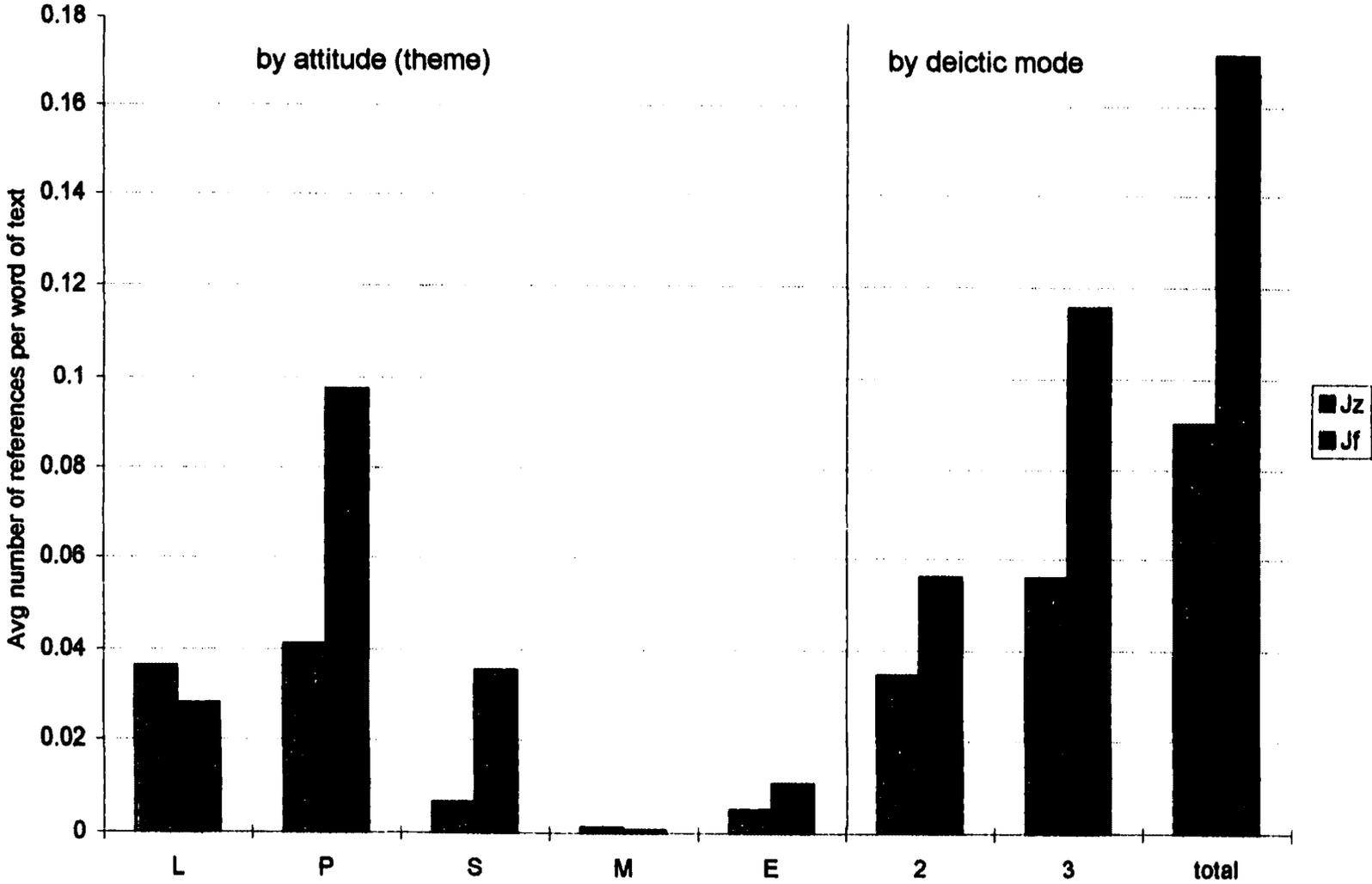
References to God (densities)
(Graph 26)



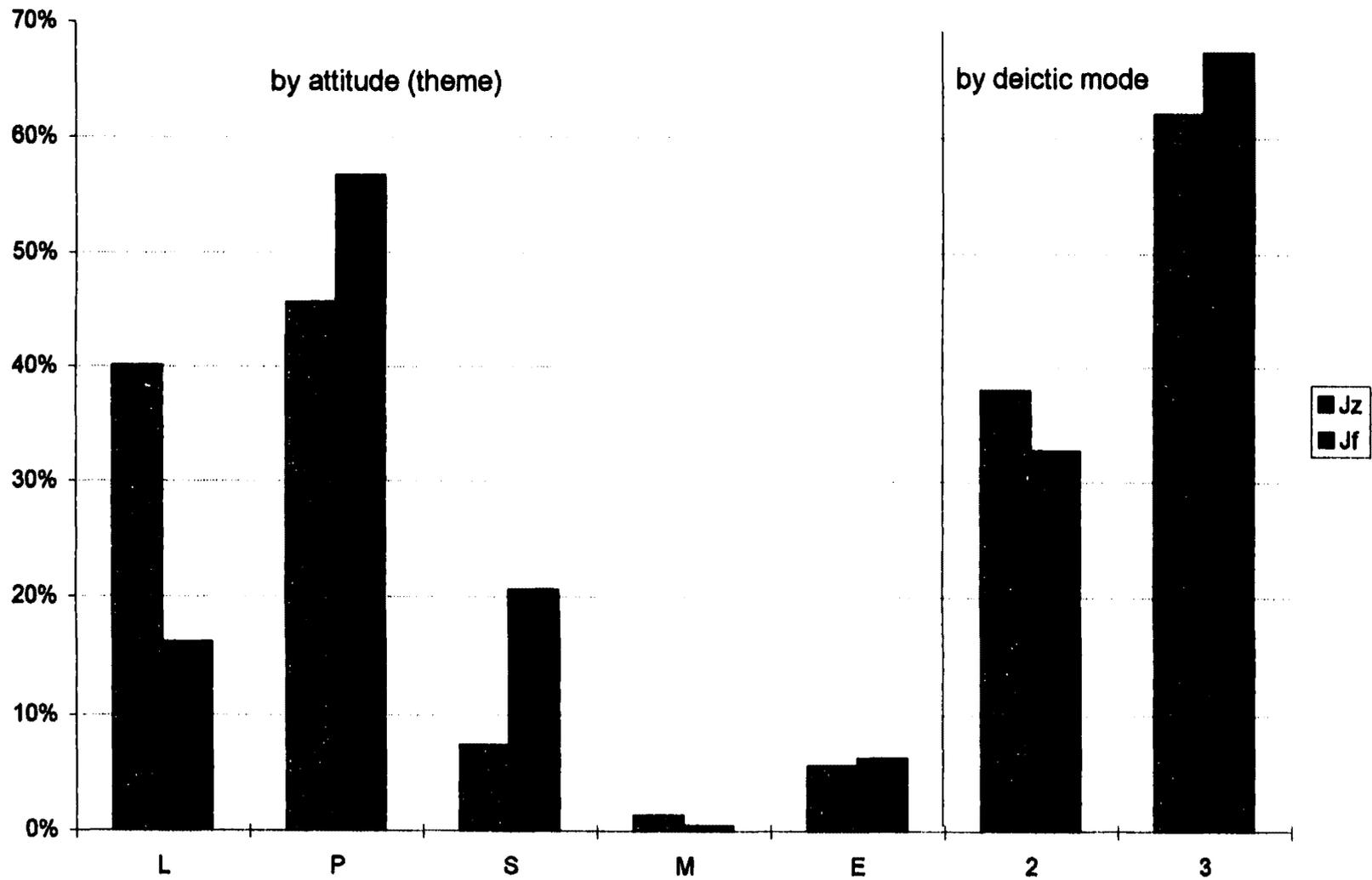
References to God (%)
(Graph 27)



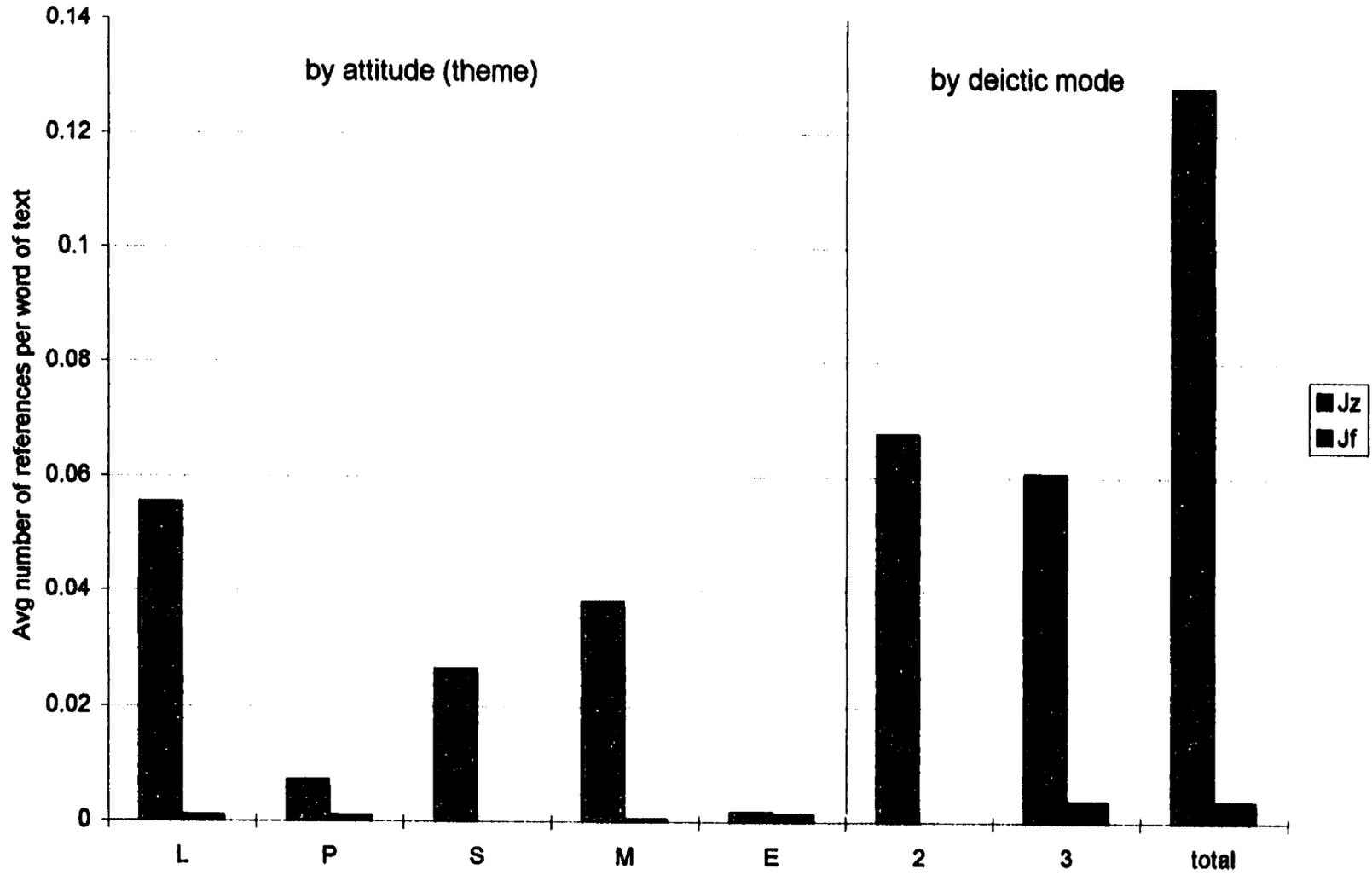
References to Prophet and Ahi al-Bayt (densities)
(Graph 28)



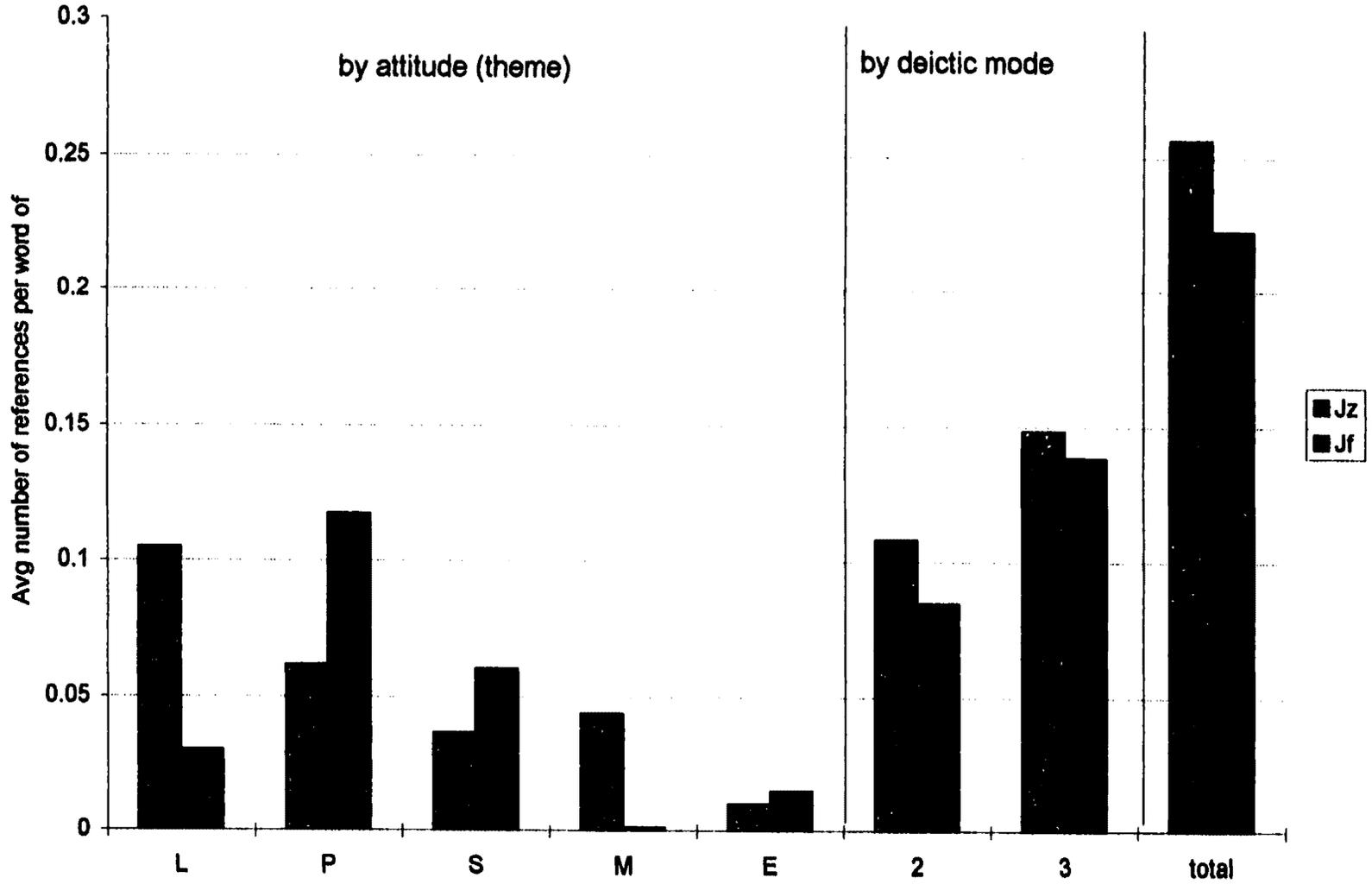
References to Prophet and Ahi al-Bayt (%)
(Graph 29)



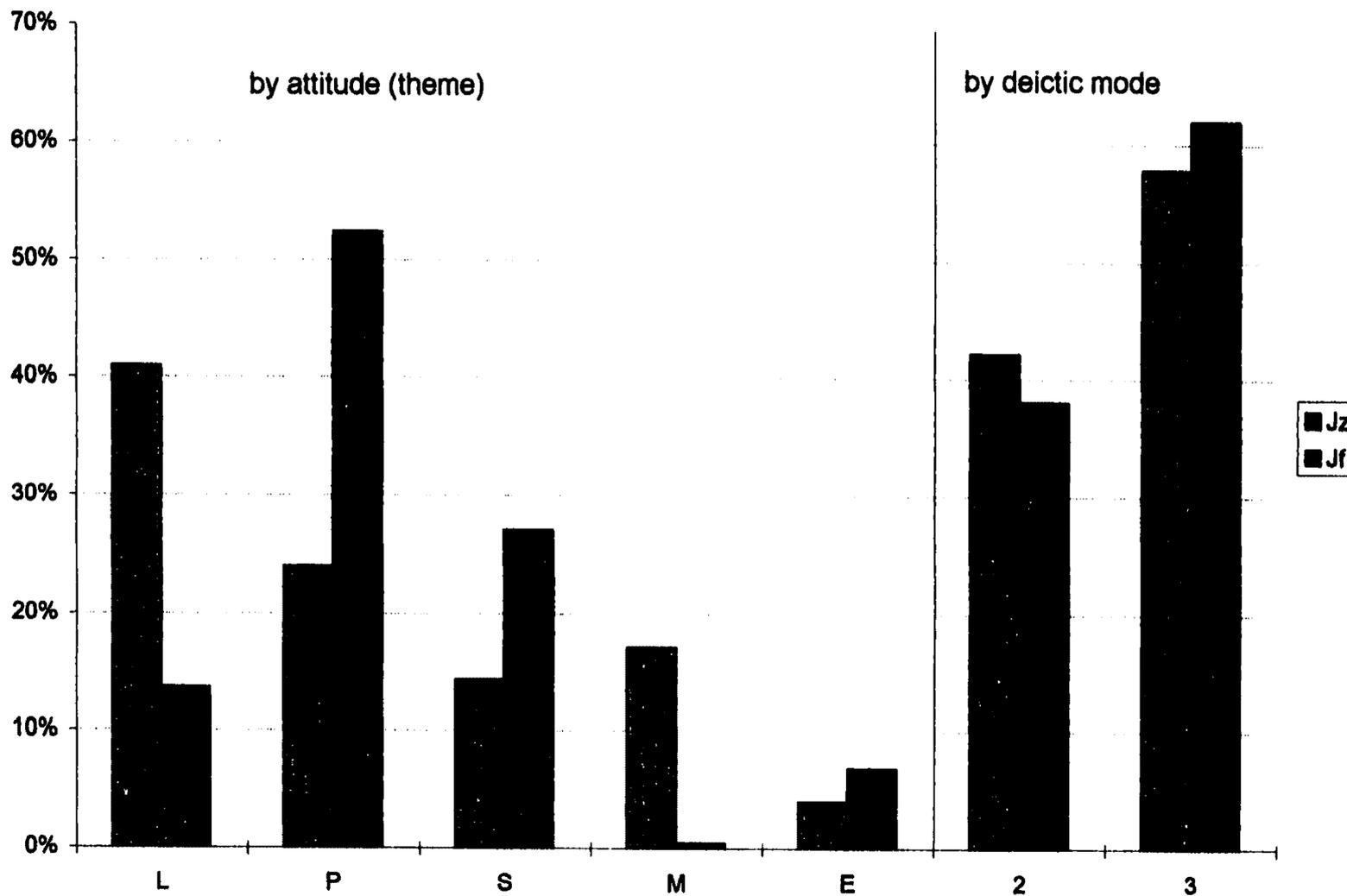
References to ambiguous entity (densities)
(Graph 30)



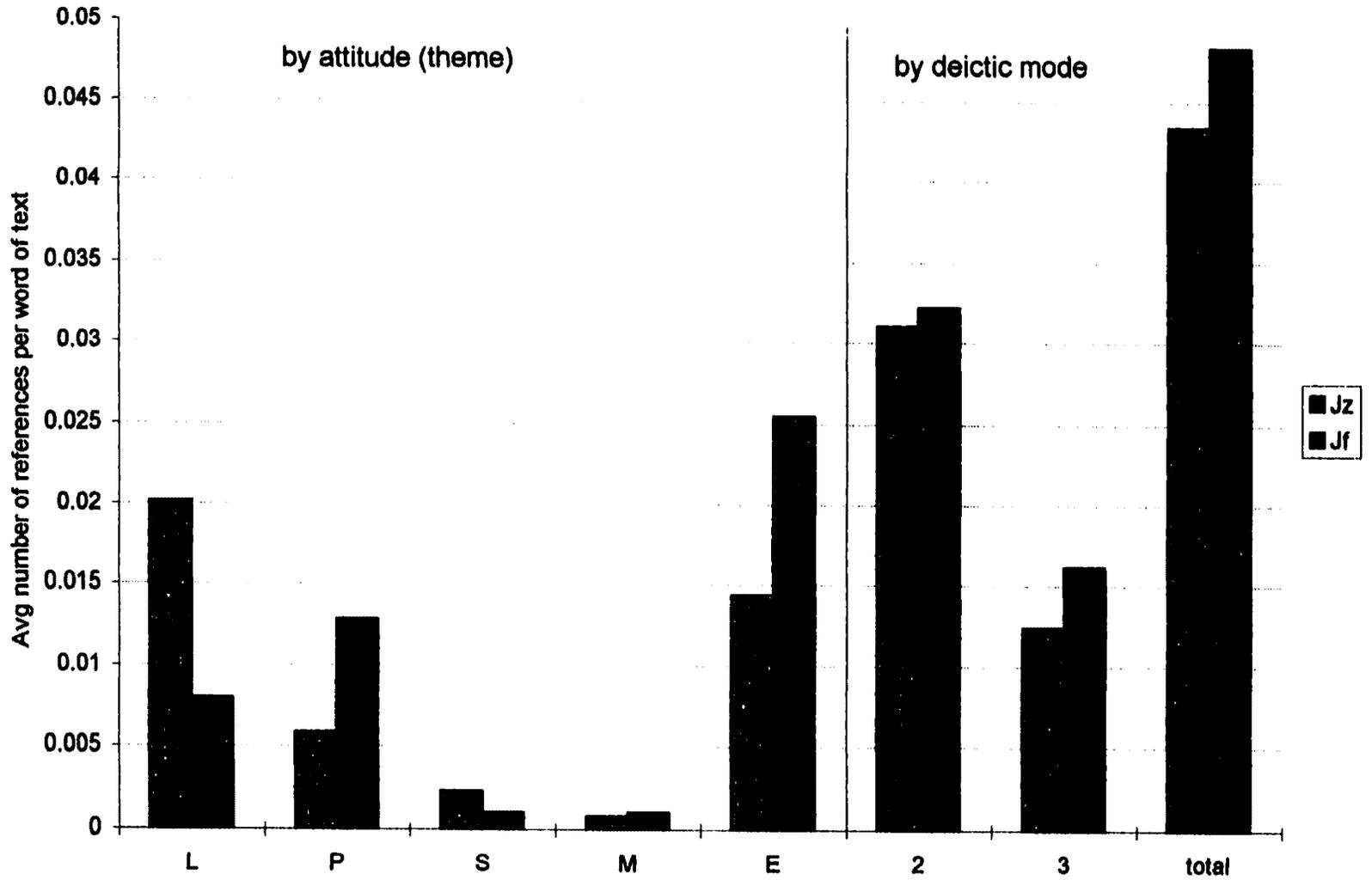
**Total references to all spiritual entities (densities)
(Graph 31)**



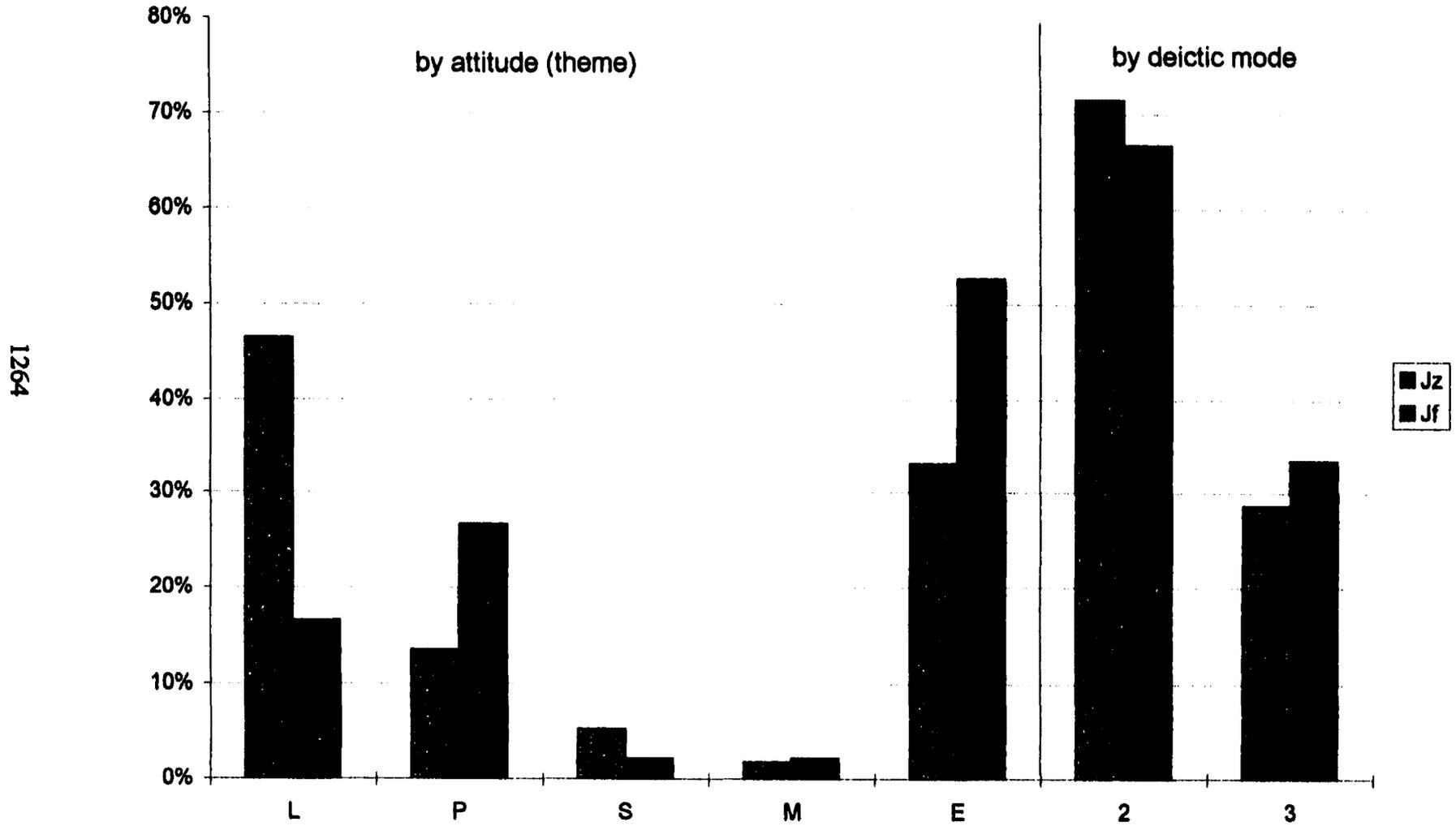
Total references to all spiritual entities (%)
(Graph 32)



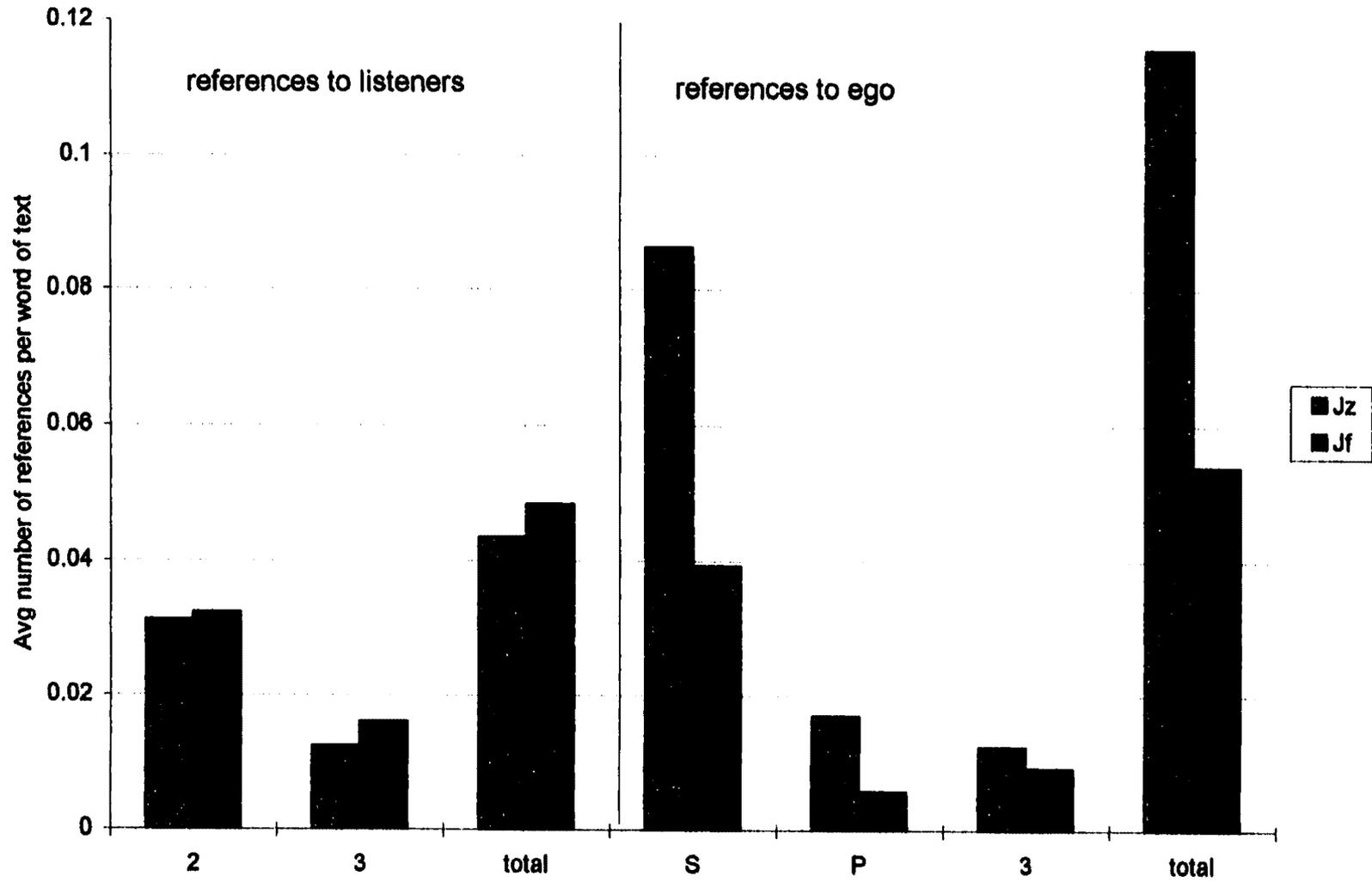
References to listeners (densities)
(Graph 33)



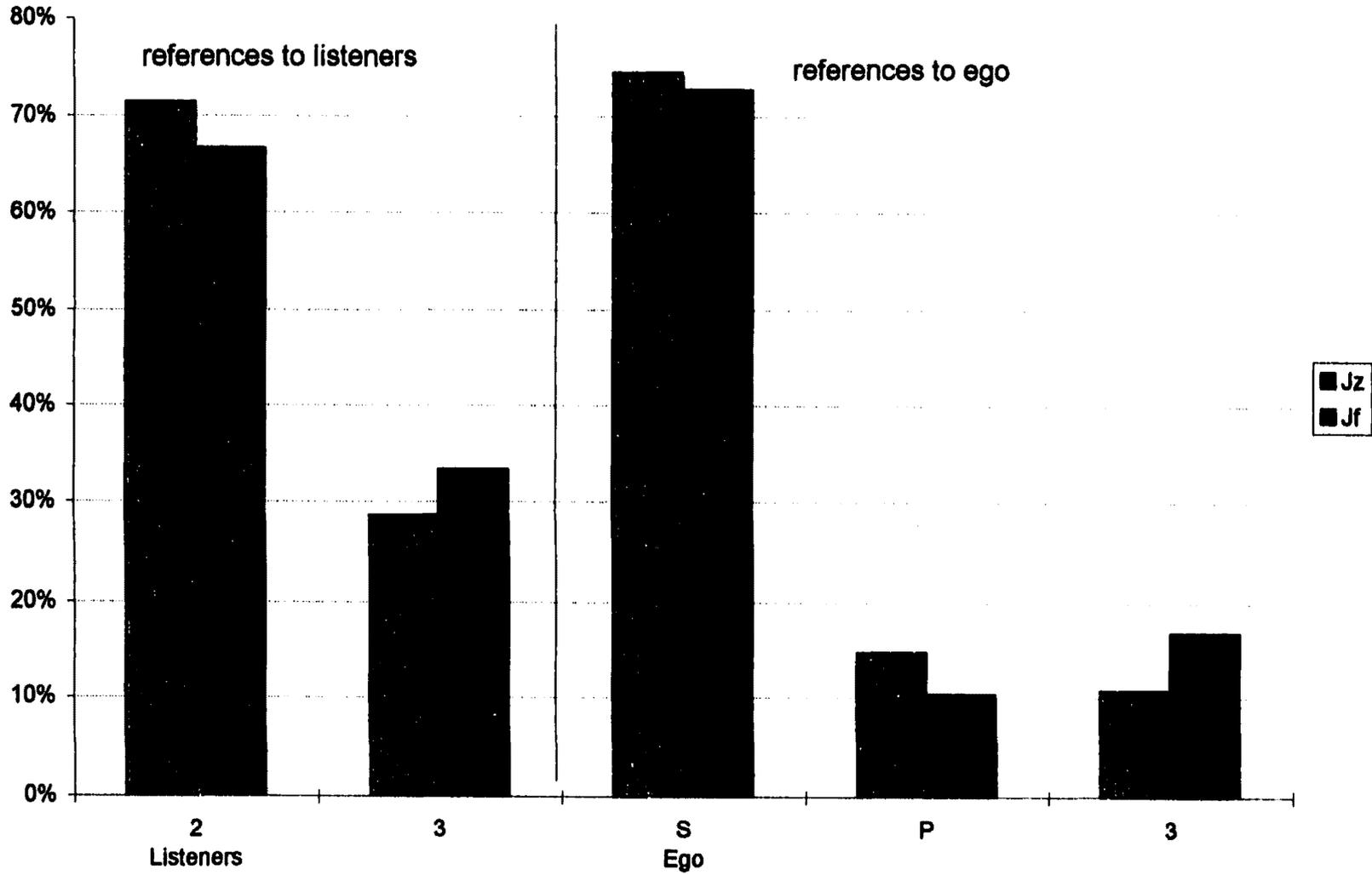
References to listeners (%)
(Graph 34)



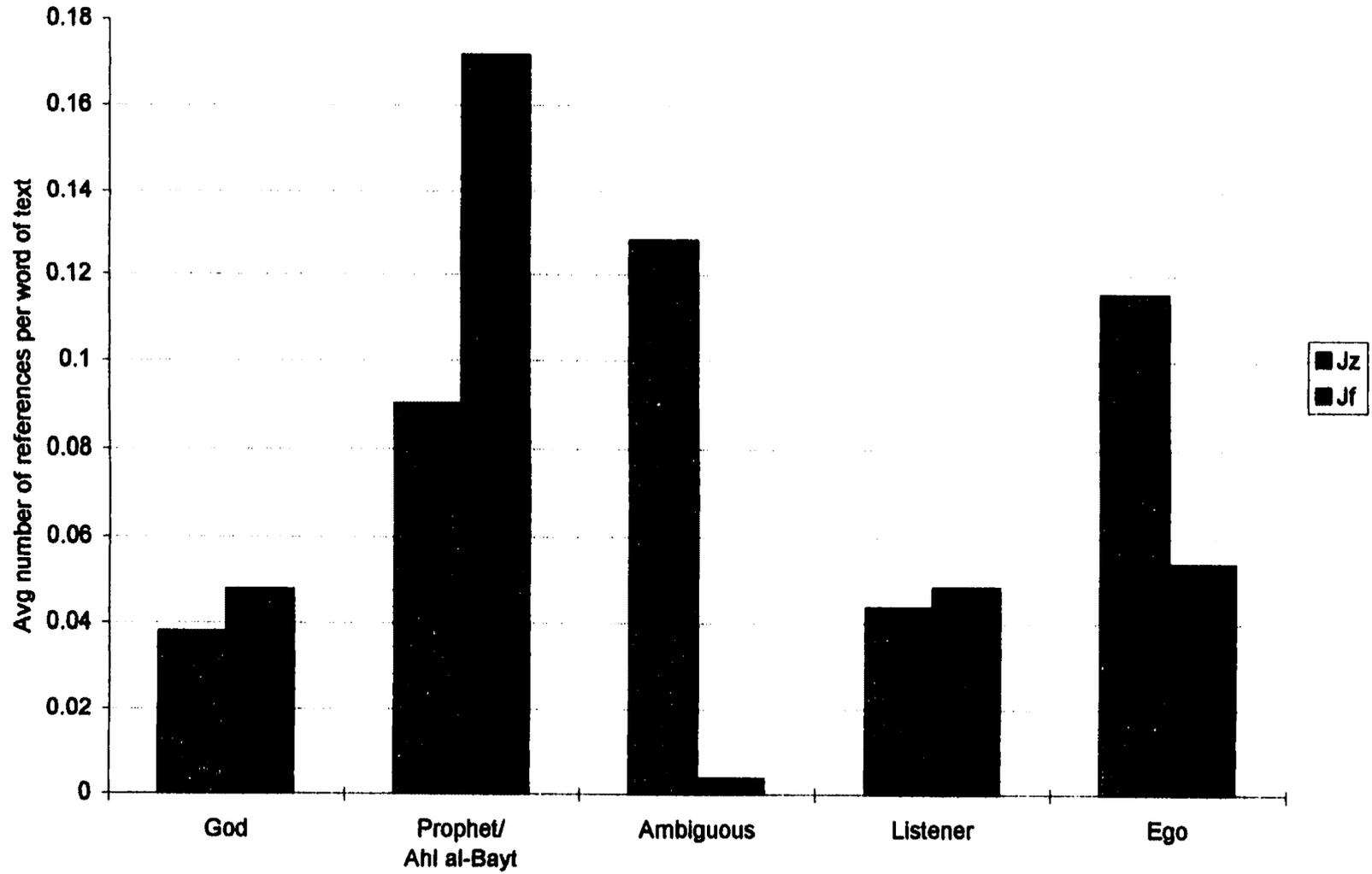
References to listeners and ego (densities)
(Graph 35)



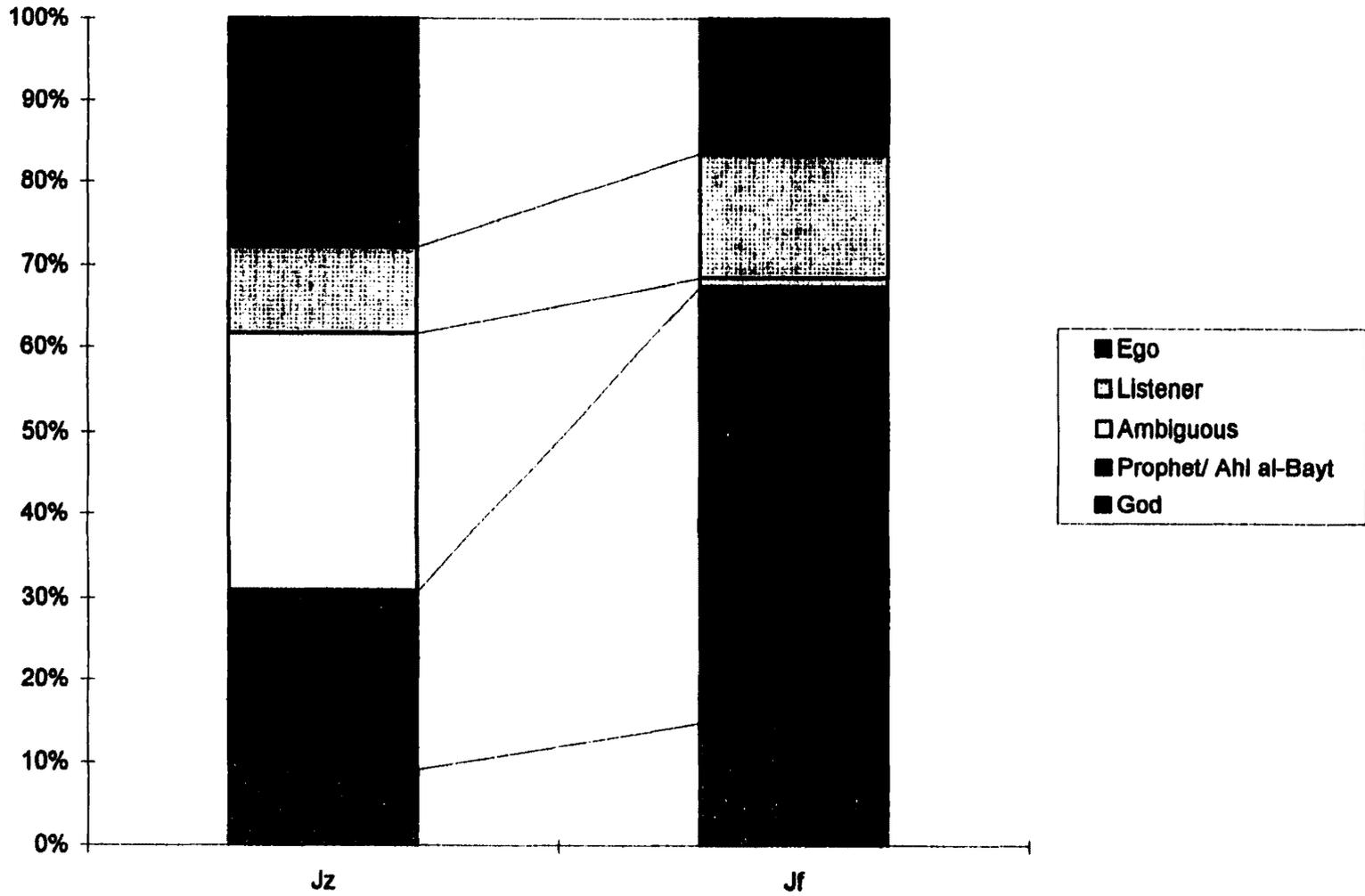
References to listeners and ego (%)
(Graph 36)



Total references to all entities (densities)
(Graph 37)



Total references to all entities (%)
(Graph 38)



Notes for Appendix (II)

¹ Here he is speaking of the awliya', saints; in particular the Ahl al-Bayt of the Baqi', near the Prophet's tomb.

² The original name of Madina was Yathrib; Muhammad emigrated there in the year 1 AH, even as he continued to receive Revelation.

³ 'Aba' is a type of cloak, signifying rank.

⁴ Meaning unclear.

⁵ The Qur'an.

⁶ Note that there is much repetition of words and rhymes in the original.

⁷ al-Imam 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, the Prophet's son-in-law and cousin.

⁸ The following lines illustrate the conventional model: to close with blessings on the Prophet, his family and companions, as well as a reference to the author, as a kind of signature. The closing lines are therefore significant as a prayer and acknowledgement of the author, though other lines may be skipped it is rare for the final lines to be omitted.

⁹ Another idiomatic device of this and other madih poets: to close with the opening hemistich.

¹⁰ I ended my journey.

¹¹ Cf. a Prophetic hadith: "I am the city of knowledge, and 'Ali is its gate".

¹² One of the names of Judgement Day (*yawm al-hashr*).

¹³ One of the names of Judgement Day (*yawm al-karb*).

¹⁴ Lines 14-17 praise the Qur'an.

¹⁵ This line and the following allude to one of the Prophet's miracles.

¹⁶ Site of the Prophet's tomb. in Madina.

¹⁷ Note that the same images are repeated from one qasida to the next.

¹⁸ Note the layers and indirection in prayer: He asks God to have Muhammad intercede with God.

¹⁹ A reference to Judgement Day (*mahfil*)

²⁰ One of the 99 Names of God (*al-Muhaymin*).

²¹ The Prophet.

²² Probably a reference to Muhammad's house in Madina. Note that with this line the author turns to address the Prophet directly.

²³ Fatima al-Zahra', daughter of the Prophet, wife of 'Ali, mother of Hasan and Husayn.

²⁴ This may be a reference to Muhammad's leading all the prophets in prayer at Jerusalem, before he ascended to God during the *isra' wa mi'raj*.

²⁵ The former appears in the printed diwan; the latter is frequently substituted for the former (often on a second repeat of the line) by the munshidin, as a means of distancing their voice from his. This substitution, which can occur wherever the founder's name appears (usually in the last few lines of the poem), will not be henceforth noted.

²⁶ Here the author alludes to visiting the Prophet in Madina.

²⁷ Meaning that the Prophet can save all on Judgement Day.

²⁸ The mountain to whose cave Muhammad used to retreat, and the site where the Qur'an was first revealed to him.

²⁹ Of God.

³⁰ This and the next two lines are allusions to Prophetic miracles described in the Sira (Prophetic biography).

³¹ Note again how he often quotes the beginning of the poem at the end, a kind of recursion.

³² A reference to the Prophet.

³³ Note the doctrinal importance of these statements: the efficacy of praise as a ritual act bringing spiritual benefits. The statement of this element of doctrine is itself an instance, i.e. a form of praise. This sentence can therefore be considered as both an assertion and as a ritual act.

³⁴ Note the doctrinal point: one praises also as a form of rewarded prayer.

³⁵ God. Hajj is the yearly pilgrimage; the sa'y (running between the two hillocks, Safa and Marwa) and standing on the plain of 'Arafa are important parts of the pilgrimage ritual (von Grunebaum 1988:30-32).

³⁶ Muhammad.

³⁷ Visit to the Prophet's tomb in Madina.

³⁸ The Prophet.

³⁹ The Prophet.

⁴⁰ This is a doctrinal point: Sufis quote the hadith that Muhammad (in the form of Light) was a prophet when Adam was still being formed, indeed the Prophetic Light was God's first creative act. The historical Muhammad, in bodily form, was the last (seal) of the prophets.

⁴¹ The next two lines recount a Prophetic miracle.

⁴² Another point of doctrine

⁴³ The Prophet.

⁴⁴ A reference to meeting the Prophet in a dream.

⁴⁵ The Prophet.

⁴⁶ God.

⁴⁷ Qur'an.

⁴⁸ The consecrated state required for *hajj* (the pilgrimage to Mecca): also the special garb worn during the pilgrimage (see von Grunebaum 1988:26).

⁴⁹ Of God.

⁵⁰ I.e. they were purified.

⁵¹ Due to their elevated state.

⁵² Here not the Prophet but rather the Prophet's disciple Sidi Ahmad bin Idris, from whose *silsila* comes the Ja'fariyya.

⁵³ The shaykh is said to have *kashf* (insight), and knows when his disciple has faltered in his spiritual discipline.

⁵⁴ Plural, i.e. the *Ahl al-Bayt*. The *qasida* is directed to this group, as well as the Prophet, throughout.

⁵⁵ I.e. children of the Prophet.

⁵⁶ A symbol of the Prophet.

⁵⁷ A rare political message. Enemies were always viewed as coming "from the north".

⁵⁸ The meaning seems to be an explanation of the previous line: the spirit is able to know and greet the tomb visitor, even though its body is no longer alive. This tenet is part of the Sufi world-view.

⁵⁹ An oblique reference to intoxication, to be sure ("saqi"), but nevertheless firmly connected with the entire metaphorical system of spiritual drunkenness.

⁶⁰ Note the emphasis on sobriety, firmly contradicting any possible critics of occasional metaphors of spiritual intoxication.

⁶¹ Interestingly, this description of the *hadra* (swaying, *tarab*) is far from what is practiced.

⁶² The Throne of God.

⁶³ With God, or the Prophet (ambiguity).

⁶⁴ Mecca.

⁶⁵ I.e. to become shaykh.

⁶⁶ A statement of doctrine, that praise of the Prophet is spiritually beneficial. This line in effect motivates the poem, as a kind of indirect prayer: by praising the Prophet, you'll obtain blessing and intercession.

⁶⁷ This line and the following three allude to Prophetic miracle.

⁶⁸ The second Caliph and companion of the Prophet.

⁶⁹ The reference is not clear.

⁷⁰ Reference to the *al-isra' wa'l-mi'raj*, during which the Prophet led the other prophets in prayer at the Dome of the Rock, in Quds (Jerusalem).

⁷¹ Request for rain, even as metaphor, is a literary reference to early Islam.

⁷² Speaking of a visit to the Prophet.

⁷³ To God.

⁷⁴ The weak fighter is depicted in literature as having a silent horse.

⁷⁵ In this line and the next he praises his own ancestry, the Ja'far. This is a traditional practice of Arabic poetry.

⁷⁶ Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 765), great-great-great-grandson of the Prophet, through the Imam al-Husayn, and ancestor of the Ja'fara.

⁷⁷ A descendent of the Prophet.

⁷⁸ An important doctrinal point shared by Sufis mentioned earlier: the Muhammadan Light was the first of creation.

⁷⁹ This line and the next allude to another Prophetic miracle.

⁸⁰ Note point of doctrine: Muhammad is an intermediary in both directions between God and man.

⁸¹ Meaning the end of life, or the end of the poem.

⁸² Site near the shrine of the Prophet, where a number of the Ahl al-Bayt are buried.

⁸³ A common appellation for the devil is *al-wiswas*, the whisperer.

⁸⁴ The referent here is vague.

⁸⁵ A circuitous version of the standard Islamic formula: may God bless the Prophet and grant him peace.

⁸⁶ The Prophet's tomb.

⁸⁷ The Prophet.

⁸⁸ The Prophet.

⁸⁹ A reference to the Prophet's access to the *'alim al-ghayb*, world of the unseen.

⁹⁰ Note reversal: asking God to have Muhammad give a glance.

⁹¹ I.e. when visiting the Prophet.

⁹² The "lineage" refers to Shaykh Salih's bloodline connection (*nisba*) to the Prophet via Ja'far al-Sadiq.

⁹³ This line and the following refer to a Prophetic miracle.

⁹⁴ Muhammad.

⁹⁵ Muhammad (*al-Muxtar*).

⁹⁶ Members of the tariqa use the word "jalsa", but say that it is equivalent to "hadra".

⁹⁷ A short passage from the Qur'an.

⁹⁸ Note the claims to originality, the break with the past.

⁹⁹ Note how assertions of newness are nevertheless combined with assertions of compliance with tradition and avoidance of innovation in the negative sense of *bid'a* (to which the word *mubtadi'a* is closely related).

¹⁰⁰ Note emphasis on social utility of the tariqa; I noted similar features of Ja'fariyya discourse.

¹⁰¹ This hizb is not included in the tariqa books, nor was it performed among the hadras I attended. There is a standard Shadhili hizb by this name; possibly this is what is referred to here.

¹⁰² The Qur'an is subdivided into sixty roughly equal hizbs. When applied to the Qur'an, the word "hizb" takes this meaning, not the Sufi one.

¹⁰³ I.e. Sidi Salim here quotes his father's words. Note the importance of continuity and training in the service of the social group (rather than for individual spiritual benefit only).

¹⁰⁴ This relatively horizontal, interactive format of the mudhakara, allowing participation, is central for the Jazuliyya; compare to the more formal didactic style of the Ja'fariyya.

¹⁰⁵ I.e. that that goal is observed.

¹⁰⁶ Here reference is to the weekly hadras held in public mosques.

¹⁰⁷ Although the Laws of the Tariqa's Madrasa are signed by Sidi Jabir, phrases which exalt or quote Sidi Jabir must be from Sidi Salim, and thus one senses the voice of Sidi Salim throughout. However, it is possible that only the introduction was written completely by Sidi Salim, while the remainder is taken from oral instructions of the founder. This confusion indicates how substitutable are the founder and his khalifa, unlike the Ja'fariyya where a clear vertical separation is at all times maintained.

¹⁰⁸ Note that dates are given in western format; in the Ja'fariyya all dates are always given in Islamic (*hijri*) format; these disparate usages represent but one means of asserting a break or continuity with tradition.

¹⁰⁹ Sidi Salim is quoting words of his father.

¹¹⁰ These lines are quoted from one of Sidi Jabir's qasidas, "Sa'iq al-Az'an" (al-Jazuli 1993b:120).

¹¹¹ I.e. the hadra is deserving of one's full attention.

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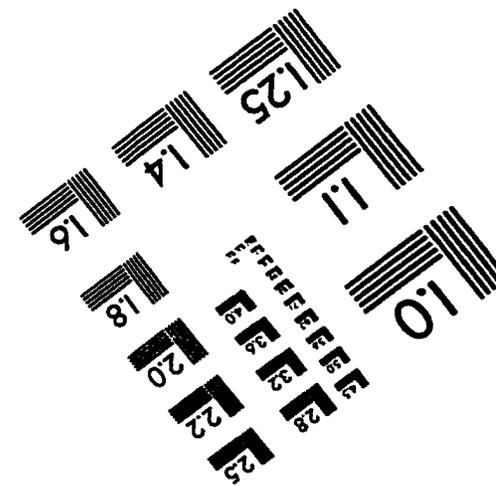
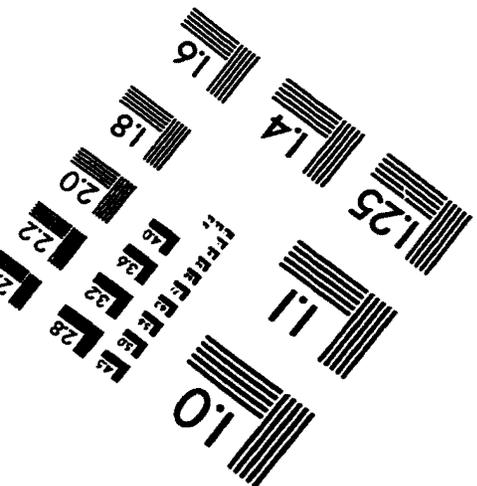
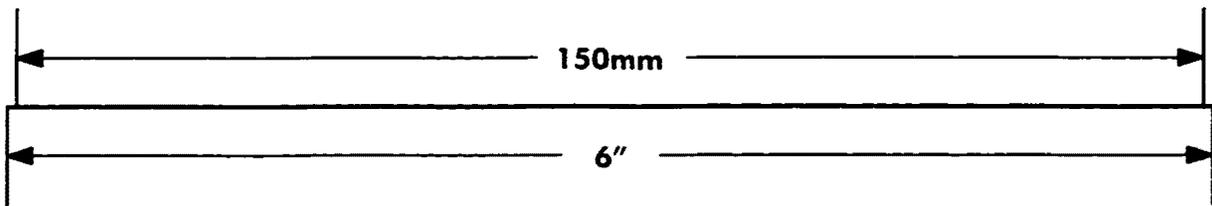
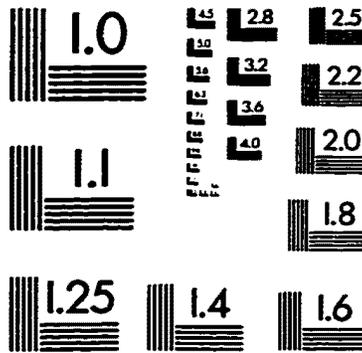
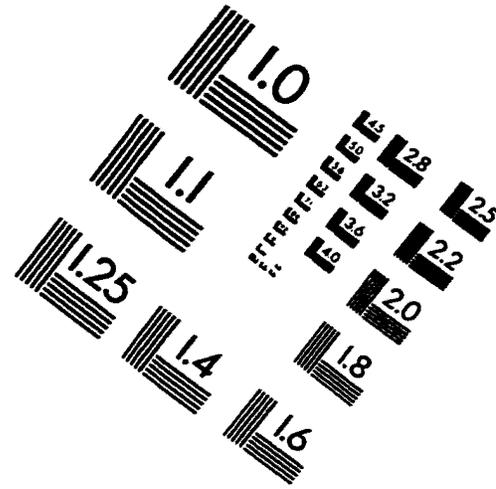
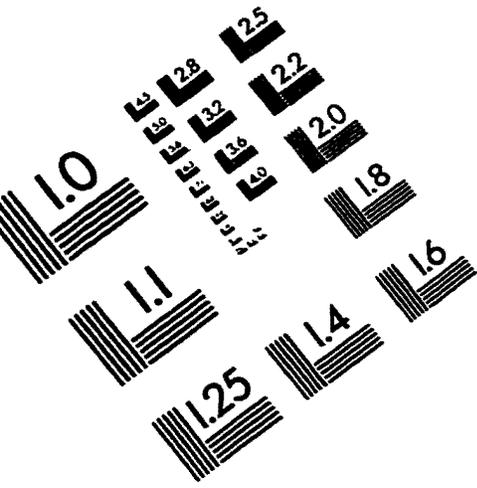
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