

# On Inayati Female Visions in Austria: Female Leadership in the Western Sufi Tradition

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In man We have shown Our nature benign;  
 in woman We have expressed Our art divine.  
 In man We have designed Our image;  
 in woman We have finished it (Inayat Khan 1993: 5).

## 1. Introduction

“I see as clear as daylight that the hour is coming when woman will lead humanity to a higher evolution.”<sup>1</sup> Revealed four years after his arrival in the West in 1910, this vision reflects the pioneering spirit of the first modern

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*Notes on Transliteration and Style:* The transliteration of Arabic and Persian terms and names follows the system used in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, third edition (Fleet et al. 2016). Modern personal names are rendered according to the most common usage without regard for the Arabic or Persian derivation of those names. Sanskrit terms are rendered according to the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration. All translations of Qur’anic verses are cited from *The Study Quran* (Nasr 2015).

<sup>1</sup> “There is no line of work or study which woman in the west does not undertake and does not accomplish as well as man. Even in social and political activities, in religion, in spiritual ideas she indeed excels man. The charitable organizations existing in different parts of the west are mostly supported by the women, and *I see as clear as daylight that the hour is coming when woman will lead humanity to a higher evolution*” (Inayat Khan 1979: 243, emphasis added; see also Figl 1993: 126. For a slightly different version, see Taj Inayat 1978: 124).

teacher of Sufism (Ar. *taṣawwuf*),<sup>2</sup> the esoteric tradition within Islam, in Europe and the United States. Over sixteen years of public teaching, the charismatic and polyglot Indian Muslim Hazrat Inayat Khan (1882–1927; Figure 1), known by the honorary title Pīr-o-Murshid (Great Master), initiated several hundred disciples (Ar. *murīds*), including four Western women to whom he gave the highest initiations and leadership roles in his community. At a time when Western women were barred from assuming public roles, especially in religious or spiritual leadership, he appointed them as *murshidas* or senior female teachers of Sufism and spiritual guides.<sup>3</sup> His first Western initiate (*murīd*) was Ada Martin (née Ginsberg; 1871–1947) in early 1912.<sup>4</sup> He gave her the Sufi name Rābi'a after the archetypal female ascetic of mediaeval Islam, the famous Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya (c. 713–801), who was acknowledged as a spiritual adept by her male counterparts and assumed roles equal to those of men. After her teacher's untimely death, Martin became his representative and designated successor in the United States (Meyer 2001: 411–412). Alongside her were two English *murshidas*: Sharīfa Lucy Goodenough (1876–1937), who from 1930 to 1936 also lectured on Sufism in a Western context in Vienna, and the former Theosophist Sophia Saintsbury-Green (d. 1939),<sup>5</sup> who was, for some years before the First World War, a resident of Vienna. Along them was the Dutch *murshida*, also a former Theosophist, Fazal Mai Egeling (1861–1939). These four *murshidas* were the “most fully authorized, most fully empowered initiates” of the order (Ar. *ṭarīqa*).<sup>6</sup> He did not appoint any men as *murshids* (senior male teachers).

When he brought his teachings to the West to develop globally Chishtī Sufi teachings, Inayat Khan initially taught standard Islamic Sufism but gradually responded to the new cultural context with “a creative and farsighted renewal of the Sufi tradition” (Zia Inayat Khan 2001: 321) by taking into account “the psychology of the time and the people to whom it was given” (ibid.: 320 and n192). In Europe he founded the Sufi Order in London in 1918,

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2 On the development of the conceptual framework of Sufism, which includes mysticism, see Karamustafa 2007: 249–269. For an excellent overview of the history of Western Sufism, see Sedgwick 2017.

3 In spite of the fact that Inayat Khan himself also reflected traditional gender roles that resonated with his own heritage of ideas and norms (see Hermansen 2009: 329–331), “his most important standard was inner evolution” (Keesing 1981: 170).

4 She was of Russian-Polish Jewish descent. Martin was a member of the Martinist Order. For an overview of Martinism, a form of speculative Freemasonry, see Var 2006.

5 Founded in 1874 by Helena P. Blavatsky (1831–1891) and Henry S. Olcott (1832–1907), the theosophical movement grew from a New York study group concerned with occult phenomena and eastern spirituality to an international organisation. An introduction to the movement can be found, for instance, in Ellwood 1979.

6 Pīr Zia in an interview with William Rory Dickson (2015: 247 n104).

and the Sufi Movement in Geneva in 1923. An innovative aspect of his Sufi mission was that he did not require his followers, who are said to have numbered in the thousands (according to Khwāja Ḥasan Nizāmī’s diary *Ruznāmcha* cited in Hermansen 2001: 351), to formally convert to Islam, a practice which continues to be upheld. His work has lived on as a spiritual influence in the Western world through his main successors, his eldest son Pīr Vilayat Inayat Khan (1916–2004; Figure 2) and, today, through his grandson Pīr Zia Inayat Khan (b. 1971; Figure 3).<sup>7</sup> The tradition of according women equal recognition in participation and leadership roles continues unabated. When asked about female Sufi leadership positions, Pīr Zia replied with a story attributed to Ḥaẓrat Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ (1238–1325), one of the most famous Sufis of South Asia, “whose very close friend was a woman saint named Bibi Fatima Sahm. They were asking him about her and about the spiritual potential of women. He said, ‘if a tiger leaps out at you from behind the bushes, do you ask if it’s a male or female?’” (Dickson 2015: 155).

This paper explores female leadership in the Inayati (cf. Ar. *‘ināyatī*, literally meaning ‘loving kindness’) tradition<sup>8</sup> by chiefly looking at some central practices and teachings of a Viennese *murshida*, Zumurrud Butta,<sup>9</sup> with a focus on the mystical experience of seeing in a vision<sup>10</sup> and practices which

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7 For an overview of the so-called ‘Neo-Sufism’ (implying a ‘new’ or innovative stage of development in the intellectual history of Sufism) of Inayat Khan and his successors, see Figl 1993: 94-134. An overall definition of the term is given by Sedgwick 2006: 846-849 and 2012: 198-214. Some scholars have questioned the concept of this appellation and voiced the opinion that the term should be “discarded or, at best, used with great caution” (O’Fahey and Radtke 1993: 87; for a continuation and ‘reconsideration’ of the discussion see, for instance, Voll 2008: 314-330). The members of the Inayatiyya themselves consider this term to be invalid as to the fact that their lineage of origin, the Chishtiyya, has a long tradition of eclecticism and hybridity historically providing creative encounters between different religious communities in the Indian Subcontinent due to its ‘universal message’ (Geaves 2000: 177, also 65-66, 164, 174; also, n20 below). It is of importance that in his most recent survey of the Western relationship with Sufism which also discusses Inayat Khan, the Sufi Movement, and the later Sufi Order International, Sedgwick (2017: 156-171, 231-233) chose to substitute the term ‘Neo-Sufism’ with ‘Western Sufism.’ On Sufism and the New Age, see Wilson 1998: 179-209.

8 In this paper we follow Talal Asad’s definition of a ‘tradition’ as “consist[ing] essentially of discourses that seek to instruct practitioners regarding the correct form and purpose of a given practice that, precisely because it is established, has a history” (Asad 1986: 14).

9 In keeping with Sufi tradition, in which members are referred to by their first names (sometimes together with their Sufi titles), Zumurrud Butta will henceforth be referred to by her first name.

10 On the discourse of visions as inherently personal “sensational forms of religious experiences,” and their history and traditions in religious contexts, see Mohr 2015: 578-585.

revolve around envisioning mental images<sup>11</sup> produced by the imagination. This is particularly valuable as Zumurrud is one of about ten worldwide spiritual leaders of the order who continues to follow the mystical path or way (Ar. *sulūk*) forged by the first *murshidas* in the West. It is our contention that we can make sense of the inherently fluid, mobile, and diverse Inayati tradition by focusing on the role of active spiritual leaders and teachers. These teachers provide the link between history, spiritual genealogy (Ar. *silsila*), and their (male and female) students, introducing their innovative teachings with the authority to adapt and assimilate them to a local context. The Inayatiyya we describe is particularly related to Vienna, Austria, as an important node within the worldwide network in terms of impact. Its Viennese manifestation exemplifies intercultural transfer and the transformation that occurs in the context of the steadily increasing globalisation of society.

Grounded in the scriptural tradition, the teachings revolve around Inayat Khan's universalistic yet multi-faceted mystical themes, which transcend religious boundaries and are informed by a gender-sensitive reading<sup>12</sup>—as will also be shown in the example of another senior female Sufi master of the Inayati tradition based in Vienna, Lisa Malin.<sup>13</sup> This paper endeavours to trace some of their teachings by invoking a wide range of concepts, values, references, and images, including Suhrawardī's Illuminationism, Ibn al-'Arabī's emanationist theology (Sedgwick 2017: 8), the 'School of Love'

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11 For a critical survey of the term 'image,' see Miles 1998: 160-172.

12 In exploring Inayati female leadership in Vienna and their response to 'gender' norms, our approach has been influenced by the theoretical literature both on gender (masculinity and femininity) and on gender roles. This includes the interdisciplinary approaches to 'women,' 'gender,' and 'religion' presented by Castelli and Rodman 2001 (see especially the line of thought in Castelli 2001: 3-25) and Sa'diyya Shaikh's (2015) landmark study on Ibn al-'Arabī, gender and sexuality (see also n11 below); also Saba Mahmood's anthropological study of an Egyptian women's piety movement (Mahmood 2005: 153-188, chapter 5 on 'Agency, Gender, and Embodiment'). We follow the definition of 'gender' given by the Religious Studies scholar Caroline Walker Bynum in the introduction to her edited book on gender and religion (1988: 7): "Sex is the term scholars use to designate the differences between men and women that can be attributed to biology. All human beings, whatever their sexual preference and cultural setting, have a sex. *Gender* is the term used to refer to those differences between male and female human beings that are created through psychological and social development within a familial, social, and cultural setting. All human beings have gender as well as sex, and this gender is culturally constructed. In other words, what people understand themselves to be qua male and female is learned and shaped within culture, and religious symbols are one of the ways in which such meanings are taught and appropriated." On gender in historical analysis, see Scott 1986: 1053-1075; Boyarin 1998: 117-135.

13 Cf. note 9 supra. Some members of the order, like Lisa Malin, choose not to adopt their Sufi names but are known by their given names.

(*madhhab-i'ishq*), questions of theology (Ar. *kalām*) and philosophy, and Sufi experiential knowing in the context of the divine, and prophetic texts of other major religions as instrument of inter- and intrafaith dialogue.

The ethnographic data generated for this paper draws upon fieldwork on the Inayatiyya conducted by Sara Kuehn in Vienna between 2010 and 2017, supported by several in-depth narrative and semi-structured interviews with Zumurrud Butta and Lisa Malin in 2016 and 2017. The paper combines emic ('insider') insights, focusing on the definitions and boundaries that the Viennese female teachers themselves apply to their teachings, as well as etic (i.e., scholarly) analysis, in order to assess the information from both subjective and objective perspectives (cf. Arweck and Stringer 2002).

Photographs depicting Inayat Khan as well as Pīr Vilayat and Pīr Zia Inayat Khan are ubiquitously present in the Inayatiyya (and its earlier manifestations)—and are to be found in publications and in the homes of many followers. As icons of the past and present, to paraphrase Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1993: 20-29), they serve as temporal and spatial anchors to help the followers avoid “getting lost in the labyrinth of memory.” While an ongoing interaction with the photographs ensures the continuous presence of Inayat Khan and his son and grandson for the followers, a prime focus of this paper will be on Inayati images and visual or visualising practices that are—emically speaking—perceived by the heart as the organ of spiritual visions rather than by the eye as the organ of physical vision.

## 2. The History of the Inayati Tradition

In this section we offer a brief outline of the historical background of the Inayati Sufi order before turning to a description of its female vision in Vienna. We then go on to discuss some of the order's teachings, especially with respect to their gender-inclusive understanding, in the context of the activities of female leaders in Vienna.<sup>14</sup> The impulse for Inayat Khan to follow these gender-egalitarian approaches<sup>15</sup> are said to have initially been nourished by

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14 In her pioneering studies, Marcia Hermansen (1996: 155-178; 2006: 28-48; 2004: 36-63; 2009: 326-338) has addressed the role of women in Western (especially North American) Sufi orders.

15 This study takes Sa'diyya Shaikh's concerns of spiritual equality between men and women and the associated social and ritual consequences as the frame of understanding. These are introduced by Shaikh in her monograph which presents Ibn al-'Arabī's innovative “religious anthropology” (in Shaikh's words), especially his understanding of human purpose and nature that can be translated into issues of gender and society as well as her reading of Ibn al-'Arabī's work in his own context and time and its gender-egalitarian

his close relationship with his mother, Khadija Bibi (1868–1902), the daughter of Sho‘le Khan Maulabakhsh (1833–1896), who was known as one of the greatest musicians and poets of his time. Related on her mother’s side to the female line of the ruler of the Kingdom of Mysore, Tipu Sultan (d. 1799), Khadija Bibi was well-educated for her time and spoke Arabic, Persian, and Urdu (Keesing 1981: 5). According to tradition, when she was expecting him, “she dreamt of all the great prophets” (ibid.). In the *Minqār-i Mūsīqār* (Minkar of Music), in which the then twenty-five-year-old Inayat Khan recorded some of his musical compositions, he addresses the divine spark in everyone and everything: “He was a man and took the form of a woman, he was a helpless child and an old man; God is the rich and the poor, in the friend and foe, everywhere, in all forms and formlessness” (Inayat Khan 2016: 8). Following the example set by his parents’ household, in which members of all faiths were “honoured alike” (Keesing 1981: 8), he had Hindus, Muslims, Parsis (Indian Zoroastrian), Christians, and Jews among his friends (ibid.: 38–39). Having lived as an ascetic for four years, during which he “was trained to serve God and humanity” (ibid.: 31), he allegedly met an old Sufi master in Nepal, a *Mahātmā* sitting in silent meditation whose inspiring glance charged him with exaltation. Later Inayat Khan is believed to have seen in a dream-vision a figure rising before him and a most beautiful face, which he understood as a sign that he should search for a spiritual guide (Ar. *murshid*). Later, in Hyderabad in 1903, he apparently encountered the man he had met in the visionary dream, Hazrat Shaykh Sayyid Muḥammad Abū Hāshim Madanī (d. 1907), who initiated Inayat Khan into the Nizāmī school of the Chishtī tradition. The traditional narrative relates that on his deathbed he issued Inayat Khan the following injunction: “Fare forth into the world, my child and harmonize the East and West with the harmony of thy music. Spread the wisdom of Sufism abroad, for to this end art thou gifted by Allāh, the most Merciful and Compassionate” (Inayat Khan 1979: 111).<sup>16</sup> Later, Inayat Khan met with the prominent Brahman guru Manik Prabhu (1817–1865), who is traditionally held to have deepened his understanding of the connection between Sufism’s doctrine of oneness of being (Ar. *wahdat al-wujūd*) and Shaṅkara’s (788–820) philosophy of Nondualism (San. *advaita vedānta*). Among his spiritual guides was also a woman dervish, who is believed to have transmitted her spiritual blessings upon Inayat Khan by beckoning him

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impulses (Shaikh 2015). For a historical overview of Sufism’s teachings on self and ‘gender,’ see Shaikh 2015: 35–60.

<sup>16</sup> Sedgwick (2017: 161) glosses these lines as “‘foundation myth’ of the Sufi Movement.”

to eat food from her mouth.<sup>17</sup> By following his life's mission to introduce and transmit Sufi thought and practice to the Western world, Inayat Khan was recognised, in the words of Henry Corbin, as *javānmard* (Pers.; *fatā* in Arabic) par excellence,<sup>18</sup> embodying the ideal of a spiritual chevalier who is characterised by generosity and courage (Corbin, "Introduction," in *Vilayat Inayat Khan* 1962: 5).

Inayat Khan's particular lineage, the Chishtiyya,<sup>19</sup> is named after the town of Chisht, located along the Harīrūd River east of the city of Herat in present-day northern Afghanistan. Early Chishtī teachings reached the Indian subcontinent where the chain of transmission begins with the thirteenth-century mystic Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī (1142–1236) from Sīstān, an area of eastern Iran and southwestern Afghanistan. Following the Mongols onslaught, he probably arrived in Delhi as a refugee in the early thirteenth century.<sup>20</sup> The Chishtiyya, which developed into one of the largest and most important Sufi orders in the world, is heralded in Sufi historiography as the most open to cultural and religious exchange of all Sufi traditions.<sup>21</sup>

The 'renewed' Chishtī doctrinal and methodological approach (cf. Hermansen 2001: 349–350) that Inayat Khan transmitted to the West is known both for its constant negotiation with time-honoured Sufi traditions and its marked continual transformation as necessitated by local circumstances. It also provided him with an example of the initiation of non-Muslims into Sufism (Safi 2001: 264–265). Although it is said that the daughter of Khwāja

17 Taj Inayat 1978: 16. An ancient spiritual practice to bestow—via the saliva which is fraught with an intense metonymy encompassing both spiritual and physical efficacy—direct spiritual transmission upon a seeker.

18 For a discussion of the concept of *javānmard*, see Corbin's "introduction analytique" of the *Rasā'il-i-javānmardān* in *Vilayat Inayat Khan* 1962; for an English translation from the German by Zumurrud Butta see <https://www.amiscorbin.com/en/bibliography/vilayat-inayat-khan-preface/>; accessed November 15, 2017.

19 For an overview of the Chishti Sufi order in South Asia for the twelfth to the twenty-first century based primarily on the Chishti literary tradition, see Ernst and Lawrence 2002. Inayat Khan was affiliated with several other Sufi orders, of which special importance has been accorded to the Suhrawardiyya, Qādiriyya, and the Naqshbandiyya (Zia Inayat Khan 2001: 269 n7).

20 For a detailed emic account, see Zia Inayat Khan 2001: 269–270, 275–277.

21 See also note 7 supra. An often cited example of this spirit of tolerance is 'Abd al-Raḥman Chishtī's (d. 1683) application of the Sufi theory of the 'unity of religions' to the study of the Sanskrit *Bhagavadgītā* in his Persian translation of parts of this work in the *Mir'āt al-ḥaqā'iq* (Mirror of Realities). This Sufi philosophical treatise seeks to reconcile reflections on certain Hindu doctrines relating to Sufism, namely, expressions and symbols of the *bhakti* (devotional) poets, and *advaita vedānta*, or non-dualistic Hindu philosophy with the doctrines of the Sufi doctrine of oneness of being (Ar. *waḥdat al-wujūd*). Ernst 1996; Vassie 1999.

Mu‘in al-Dīn Chishtī, Bībī Hāfīz Jamāl, received *khilāfat* (succession to a Sufi master),<sup>22</sup> Inayat Khan’s holistic approach to initiating women as *khulafā’* (representatives, transmitters of tradition, Ar. sing. *khalīfa*) was novel in the Chishtī tradition—in which the traditional line of succession is through males, a rule adopted by many of the Sufi orders. And although he convinced some Chishtī *shaykhs*,<sup>23</sup> such as Khwāja Ḥasan Nizāmī (1878–1955) of the Ḥazrat Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’ Dargāh in India, that this was the appropriate line of conduct (Hermansen 2001: 343–344), it has not been widely adopted by the Chishtīs in South Asia.<sup>24</sup>

In spite of his gender-balanced vision for religious leadership Inayat Khan chose to follow the tradition of hereditary family succession, which is still widely practiced in the Chishtiyya community, and converted his ‘mystical power’ into a form of hereditary charisma.<sup>25</sup> In 1926, he designated his eldest son Vilayat Inayat Khan as his successor.<sup>26</sup> In the same year, he gave his wife, the American poetess Ameena Sharda Begum (born Ora Ray Baker; 1892–1949),<sup>27</sup> the initiation as *pīrānī* (feminine equivalent of *pīr*). In his autobiography, Inayat Khan (1979: 115–118) underscores the fact that without his wife’s help he would have never been able to bring his Sufi Message to the Western world.

Pīrzāde<sup>28</sup> Vilayat Inayat Khan was born to Inayat Khan and Ameena Begum in London in 1916. At the Sorbonne he studied Sufism with Louis Massignon (1883–1962), the pioneer of interfaith dialogue, and with Henry Corbin (1903–1978), the French philosopher of religion, and attended lectures on psychology given by the Welsh philosopher Henry Habberley Price (1899–1984) in Oxford. After the Second World War, he relates to have travelled throughout India and other countries seeking out “dervishes, Hindu yogis, and rishis [‘seers’ or ‘sages’] as well as Buddhist and Christian monks” (Vilayat Inayat Khan 1999: 67). A number of his father’s relatives and others had also laid claim to succession (Rawlinson 1998: 543–553; Sedgwick 2017:

22 Pīr Zia in an interview with William Rory Dickson (2015: 247 n104).

23 The titles of the spiritual masters—*shaykh* in Arabic, *pīr* in Persian—are used interchangeably.

24 Cf. Pīr Zia in an interview with William Rory Dickson (2015: 247 n104).

25 See Max Weber’s theory of hereditary charisma, as referred to the family group (Weber 1947: 54, 297; Weber 1972: 143–145).

26 [www.spiritualityandpractice.com/explorations/teachers/view/.../pir-vilayat-inayat-khan/](http://www.spiritualityandpractice.com/explorations/teachers/view/.../pir-vilayat-inayat-khan/); accessed July 15, 2017.

27 She was the half-sister of Pierre Arnold Bernard (1875–1955), a pioneering American yogi and philosopher who was known as ‘The Great Oom’; her paternal aunt was Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910), founder of Christian Science.

28 An honorary title, which means literally “born of a pīr, the custodian of a shrine and *ṭarīqa*,” that is, the child of a pīr (Arabic *shaykh*).



223-231, 233-235) but, in 1957, Pīr Vilayat felt that the time had come to revive the Sufi Order his father had chartered in London in 1915 and named it the Sufi Order in the West (later, Sufi Order International). Pīr Vilayat was not in disagreement with the other successors but felt that he had to dedicate himself to fulfil his late father's legacy. Towards that end he had received—on his emergence from a forty-day retreat—the authorisation to teach from Pīr Fakhr al-Dīn, the son of Abū Hāshim Madanī, his father's Chishtī *pīr*, an appointment that was later confirmed by Dīwān Saulat Ḥusayn Chishtī (d. 2002) in Ajmer, Rajasthan, a *khalīfa* (spiritual successor) of Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī.<sup>29</sup> His son, Zia Inayat Khan, later called the contribution of his father to his grandfather's legacy a “reconciliation of the hallowed tradition of Sufism with the contemporary spirit of egalitarianism and advances in science and technology” (Vilayat Inayat Khan 2000: ix).

Pīr Vilayat was marked by the tragic fate of his sister Noor-un-Nisa Inayat Khan (1914–1944; Figure 4), who had studied child psychology at the Sorbonne and music at the Paris Conservatory under Nadia Boulanger (1887–1979) before becoming an agent working for the British Special Operations Executive (SOE) during the Second World War. At the beginning of the war, Pīr Vilayat and his sister—as he related—discussed at length their participation in the conflict, asking themselves how, “in the face of the extermination of the Jews,” it was possible to “preach spiritual morality without actively participating in preventive action?” (Taj Inayat 1978: 51). They subsequently decided to follow the spiritual message of their father, Inayat Khan, and to conduct “spiritual idealism in action and not just in words” (*ibid.*). While her brother Vilayat served in the Royal British Navy, Noor-un-Nisa was, as an SOE agent, the first female radio operator to be sent from Britain into Nazi-occupied France to aid the French Resistance. Between July and October 1943, hers was the last remaining radio link with occupied France and she was the most wanted British agent left in Paris. She “refused to abandon what had become the most important and dangerous post in France and did excellent work.”<sup>30</sup> Eventually, she was betrayed and arrested. Due to her refusal to co-operate, she was tortured and killed at the Nazi concentration camp in Dachau on September 13, 1944.<sup>31</sup> Because of her courage she became one of the most decorated agents of the British SOE. France posthumously awarded her the Croix de Guerre with Gold Star and the United Kingdom awarded the George Cross, its highest civilian decoration given for gallantry and sacrifice.

29 <http://www.pirzia.org/pir-vilayat/>; accessed July 15, 2017.

30 *The London Gazette* (Supplement), April 5, 1949: 1703.

31 See also the 2014 BBC documentary *Enemy of the Reich: The Noor Inayat Khan Story*, a film about Noor-un-Nisa Inayat Khan; <http://www.pbs.org/program/enemy-reich/>; accessed July 15, 2017; Baus 2008.

For members of the Sufi Order and beyond, Noor-un-Nisa presents one of the clearest examples of the practice of *niswān* (Ar.; female spiritual chivalry), the female counterpart to *futuwwa* (Ar.; male spiritual chivalry), an ancient movement sometimes associated with Sufism which dates back at least to the ninth century CE. Significantly, she is likewise regarded as a *shahīda* (Ar. feminine equivalent of *shahīd*; literally ‘witness of the Faith,’ believer who shed her blood or gave her life for the faith, martyr).

Following his father’s example, Pīr Vilayat continued to practice the hereditary mode of succession and held a turban-tying (Pers. *dastār-bandī*) ceremony in Delhi, where he initiated his son Zia Inayat Khan to the rank of *pīr* and confirmed him as his spiritual successor (Ar. *sajjāda nīshīn*).<sup>32</sup> Inayat Khan’s grandson is the current *pīr* of the order. He received investiture in 2000 and also travelled widely to study with Sufi masters. He holds a B.A. from the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, followed by an M.A. and a Ph.D. in Religious Studies from Duke University. An observant Muslim and a scholar of Islam, Pīr Zia brings a renewed appreciation of the Indian Chishtī Sufi *silsila* (the initiatory ‘chain’ of transmission, an unbroken lineage of masters and disciples) from which the Inayati-Chishtī lineage stems (Zia Inayat Khan 2001: 267-321). The order traces its lineage from the Prophet Muḥammad through Sayyid Muḥammad Abū Hāshim Madanī to Inayat Khan. Members visit the saintly tombs (Ar. *ziyāra*) of Inayat Khan and Pīr Vilayat near the shrine of Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā’ (d. 1325) in Delhi and the tomb of the most important Indian saint, Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī, in Ajmer in Rajasthan.<sup>33</sup> Their *dargāhs* (Pers. ‘royal court,’ ‘palace,’ but here used in the sense of ‘tomb or shrine of a *pīr*’) are common holy sites for Muslims, Hindus, Parsis, Christians, and Jews.<sup>34</sup> Together with four other great saints of the Chishtiyya, Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī’s tomb is one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage in India, a visit to which is said to be worth the same as a pilgrimage to Mecca (Gaborieau, “Ziyāra. In Muslim India,” *EP*).

Pīr Vilayat had revived the generic name ‘The Sufi Order’ in 1968 (later renamed as the Sufi Order International). This was because no other Sufi orders (Ar. *ṭuruq*, sing. *ṭarīqa*; literally ‘ways’) were active in Western Europe or North America when Inayat Khan established his order in the West, so the order did not need to be characterised by a specific name. Later, however, the necessity arose after many other Sufi communities, such as the Naqshbandī

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<sup>32</sup> <http://www.pirzia.org/bio/>; accessed July 15, 2017.

<sup>33</sup> For a discussion of the shrine and cult of Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī in Ajmer, see Currie 1989.

<sup>34</sup> On the encounter and potential controversies of different forms of worship (of local Chishtī practice with rituals by the Universal Sufis) during the 2010 ‘urs ceremony in honour of Inayat Khan celebrated annually on February 5, see Stille and Scholz 2014.

or Qādirī orders and their branches, started to teach in the West. Hence, since 2016, the Sufi Order International has been known as the Inayati Order. In the Inayatiyya both women and men hold leadership positions.<sup>35</sup>

### 3. The Inayatiyya in Vienna

#### 3.1. Zumurrud Butta's Activities

The international activities of Zumurrud Butta profoundly enhanced the intellectual and spiritual life of the Sufi Order International<sup>36</sup> and, later, the Inayati Order<sup>37</sup> in Vienna, Austria.<sup>38</sup> She travels widely and teaches throughout Europe and the United States. The example of this teacher provides us with an unprecedented insight into the female vision of the Inayatiyya.

Zumurrud tells that as a child she was drawn to the inner path and mystical studies. In the late 1980s, she had an inner vision of a mystic who appeared to her in a series of visionary dreams (Ar. *tawajjuh*) in which she received instructions for spiritual practices. About a year later she realised that the mystic 'apparition' was apparently Inayat Khan. Several months after her inner sight of Inayat Khan, she attended a seminar with Pīr Vilayat in Vienna, who recognised her inner experience and became her living teacher.

Zumurrud was formally initiated in the lineage of Inayat Khan (Ar. *bay'at al-ḥaqīqa*, an oath of fealty to follow this particular spiritual path) and until his death attended Pīr Vilayat's retreats and seminars in Europe to learn from him. He recognised a kindred spirit and, during the last ten years of his life, she assisted him in many of his personal writings and his last book *In Search*

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35 For a discussion of the complex and enigmatic situation presented by the exercise of spiritual authority on the part of women in a contemporary Indian Chishtī context "at the intersection of discourse and practice," see the recent in-depth ethnographic study of Pemberton 2010. More recently, the subject of contemporary female religious identities in the context of the Qādiriyya Būdshīshīyya in Morocco has been studied by Dominguez Diaz 2015.

36 Founded in the early 1960s in Vienna, Austria.

37 Other Sufi communities in Vienna and Austria include, most significantly, the Naqshbandī, Qādirī, Khalwatī, and Ni'matullāhī orders and their schools.

38 There is no registration, membership, or membership fee for the followers of the Inayatiyya in Vienna or elsewhere. This makes it difficult to estimate their number in Vienna and Austria or any other country. However, based on our observation it may be conjectured that there are presently around 200-300 individuals partaking in the Inayatiyya offerings in Austria.

of the Hidden Treasure: A Conference of Sufis (Vilayat Inayat Khan 2003), which transmits his deep love for Sufi mysticism. Pīr Vilayat asked her to lead central Sufi practices, such as *dhikr* gatherings, and to establish a Sufi centre, appointing her as representative in Vienna in the mid-1990s. This entitled her to give Sufi classes and to guide female and male aspirants (*murīds*) in their spiritual practices so that they can develop their ‘inner guidance.’ This cultivation of piety, in terms of techniques of self-formation and self-transformation, involves the practice of *wazīfa* (Ar. pl. *wazā’if*, meditation on the Divine Qualities), creative imagination, and *dhikr*, the well-established Sufi practice of constantly recollecting God by repeating the divine names or religious formulae. This ritual performance implies both a vocal mention and a mental memory of the presence of God through recital both by the tongue and by commemoration in the heart (Q 13:28; 39:23; 57:16) and is often accompanied by repetitious and stylised symbolic bodily actions. In the process of ‘remembering’ (*dhikr*) and contemplating the qur’ānic words the mystic develops a deep and genuine insight that allows him or her to realise their meaning and implications. Zumurrud points out that the scriptural foundations for the practice of *dhikr* are the qur’ānic words “By recollecting God, hearts become peaceful” (Q 13:28) and “So remember me; I will remember you” (Q 2:152). A well-known Prophetic tradition (Ar. *ḥadīth*) says: “God has ninety-nine names; one who counts them will enter paradise” (*al-Maqṣad al-asna fī sharḥ ma’ānī asmā’ Allāh al-Ḥusnā*; al-Ghazālī 1980: 302). Another *ḥadīth*, transmitted by Abū Hurayra, states: “To God belong ninety-nine Names, a hundred less one; for He, the Odd Number (‘the Unique’) likes (to be designated by these enumerated Names) one by one; whosoever knows the ninety-nine Names, will enter paradise” (Akkach, “Beautiful Names of God,” *EP*). Inayati *murīds* follow the custom of repeating the names and meditating upon them, frequently with the help of the ninety-nine prayer beads (Ar. *tasbīḥ*).

Pīr Vilayat also ordained Zumurrud as a *chirāg* (Pers.; literally, ‘lamp’), which entitles her to conduct a transreligious ceremony called the Universal Worship Service (*universeller Gottesdienst*) (Figl 1993: 125-127). Encompassed in a unifying religious paradigm, these ceremonies encourage the universalisation of religious knowledge. The services, in which passages from the scriptures of varied major religious traditions are read, are characterised by a respect for all belief systems. As part of the Universal Worship Services *chirāgs* are also entitled to perform services such as weddings (of couples who are married according to civil law), light baptisms, and funeral ceremonies. Originally intended as the Sufi Order’s public face, the Universal Worship Service expresses the ideal of honouring all religious traditions and takes place at different places in Vienna. Its worship service features candles for

each of the major traditions and one candle for all unnamed or unknown traditions, which “have held aloft the light of truth.”<sup>39</sup> At Pīr Vilayat’s request, Zumurrud soon took charge of training *chirāgs*.

The division of ‘apparent’ (Ar. *zāhir*) versus ‘hidden’ (Ar. *bāṭin*) truths available only to a limited number of initiates, a dichotomy central to Sufi ideology, is reflected in subdivisions within the order. Whereas the Universal Worship Service reaches out to the general public, the esoteric teachings of the Inayatiyya are preserved in the Esoteric School.<sup>40</sup> Together with Nigel Wali Hamilton (United Kingdom) and Saki Lee (Netherlands), Zumurrud is also one of three members of the European esoteric training committee, which oversees the training of guides and representatives of the order.

She closely co-operates with Pīr Zia and was instrumental in the founding of the Sulūk Academy of Sufi Studies in 2002 and in bringing the Sulūk Academy to Europe.<sup>41</sup> In Islamic mysticism, *sulūk* denotes methodical progress on the path, the process of ascension and advancement—psychical, ethical, and spiritual—which the Sufi ‘wayfarer’ (Ar. *sālik*) experiences in his or her pursuit of God. This accords well with the Sufi name she was given, ‘Zumurrud’ (literally, ‘the emerald’), known for its life-giving green colour, which is considered to be one of the most outstanding gems in early and later Islamic writings.<sup>42</sup> According to Inayat Khan, “an emerald encourages creative opening and forward movement in the human being. Speaking to the infinite power and divine knowledge that is hidden in our hearts, the emerald invokes our deepest desires to see and move beyond mundane perception, and to bring forth new worlds, both within and without” (Norton and Smith 2008: x).

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39 <http://www.sufiorderuk.org/activities-of-the-sufi-order/universal-worship/>; accessed October 27, 2017.

40 The ongoing practice to reserve esoteric knowledge only to senior followers (that is, to reveal esoteric teachings in correspondence with the spiritual development and the ‘stages’ [*maqāmāt*] of a *murīd* on the Sufi path) and to safeguard it from the uninitiated is criticised within the order. One of the outspoken critics and prominent advocate of reform of what is perceived to be too hierarchical is Shaykh al-Mashaykh Mahmood Khan (b. 1927), Inayat Khan’s nephew. In a meeting in September 2017, he described this categorisation to be an outdated vestige of the practice of the first *murshids* and *murshidas* of the order at the time when Inayat Khan introduced his teachings to the West, and a practice which Inayat Khan did not condone but tolerated and which should be revised.

41 *Sulūk* refers to the motif of the ‘journey,’ which mystics of different religious traditions have used to describe the various steps that must be taken to subdue one’s egotistic soul, leave illusory selfhood behind, and experience a unitive encounter with the divine.

42 Next to *yāqūt* (corundum) and *lu’lu’* (pearl), see al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Jamāhir fī ma’rifat al-Jamāhir*, 81, cited after al-Qaddūmi, “Yāqūt,” *EP*.

Zumurrud has been instrumental in designing the courses of the school, which offers spiritual study to cultivate meditative techniques and perspectives, emphasising breath, sacred sound, and light, grounded in the tradition of Sufism, especially as expressed through the teachings of Inayat Khan. Since the beginning she has been a regular teacher of the Sulūk Academy both in North America and in Europe. Pīr Zia initiated her first as a *shaykha* (spiritual master) and then as a *murshida*, a spiritual degree which, next to the *pīr*, fulfils the highest leadership function within the order. At about the same time he also ordained her as a *sirāj* (Ar., light) which entitles her to ordain other *chirāgs*. She serves as the first vice-president of the Universal Worship and is a member of the Message Council which consists of currently twelve senior teachers of the order who oversee and guide the order worldwide together with the *pīr*.

Making use of her excellent command of classical Arabic and wide reading of Islamic sources, Zumurrud uses not only the vibrational quality but also the visual form of the ‘words of God’ in her teachings, which is an important aspect of the experience of the names of God. The visual performance of the letters of the written Arabic of the Qur’ān thereby reflects an abstract representation of the attributes of God (Ar. *ṣifāt*). The form of the words is held to allow for a deeper reflection and meditation upon the dual meanings of their sounds and shapes. The oral and visual forms allow for an allegorical interpretation (Ar. *tafsīr*) that serves to extend the written form into the realm of direct sensual experience, as is elaborated below. In her teachings she uses intricate formulas based on God’s divine names and attributes, known by the epithet the ‘Most Beautiful Names’ (Ar. *al-asmā’ al-ḥuṣnā*), based on Inayat Khan and Pīr Vilayat as well as the Chishtī lineage, and the writings of the great Sufi theorist and visionary Ibn al-‘Arabī (1165–1240), known as Muḥyi ’l-Dīn (Reviver of Religion). She also discusses the practice of the names of God in medieval handbooks, such as the *Kitāb Shams al-ma‘ārif wa-laṭā’if al-‘awārif* (Book of the Sun of Knowledge and the Subtleties of Elevated Things) of the Arab author Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Būnī (d. 1225), a contemporary of Ibn al-‘Arabī.

Within the framework of the Inayati *ṭarīqa*, contemplative retreats ranging from between one and forty days are offered. Zumurrud guides *murīds* in group and solitary retreats worldwide (in Austria usually around thirty per year), the latter of which are often conducted in a separate place near her home. In periods of seclusion (Ar. sg. *khalwa*, pl. *khalawāt*) they fast, pray, and recite litanies, which are seen as an opportunity to engross themselves deeply into the spiritual practices that lead to psycho-spiritual transmutations. According to Pīr Zia, the developmental stages of the retreat involve coming to an understanding that to “momentarily take oneself out of the heady

intoxication of life is to observe that human existence is a fleeting passage between the mystery of birth and death. We cannot help being travelers. But we can choose the course we chart, and direct each footstep.”<sup>43</sup> Like other spiritual guides of the Inayatiyya, Zumurrud expresses her striving to transmit her teachings from “heart to heart rather than [from] mind to mind.”<sup>44</sup> The progress on the spiritual path is not brought about by reading or learning but—according to the teachings of Inayat Khan (2010: 396)—by unlearning, the first step of which is to understand things from different and even opposing perspectives. She says that the process of spiritual development can be compared to the tuning of an instrument. One can tune an instrument by bringing it into resonance with another instrument which is in tune. In the same way, disciples on the Sufi path bring themselves into resonance with their teacher. Inayat Khan often referred to the story of the great thirteenth-century mystic Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207–1273) whose *murshid* Shams-i Tabrīzī threw all books out of the window (Keesing 1981: 74, 149). In accordance with his teachings, Zumurrud underlines that, according to her experience as a *murīd*, in this process of successive stages of opening the heart and widening realisation<sup>45</sup> one can benefit profoundly from the guidance of someone who is more experienced on the path.

### 3.2. Lisa Malin’s Activities

An important component of the Inayatiyya is the Sufi Healing Order (*Heilorden*) which was established in 1925. It offers a group healing service (healing circle) that attends to healing at a distance through attunement and prayers, as well as special rituals involving purification, breathing patterns, and concentration. It encourages a deeper understanding of the spiritual aspect of healing and brings support to those who are engaged in healing. A primary focus is hereby the work with breath (following the maxim often heard in Inayati circles, “A Sufi is one who breathes well”),<sup>46</sup> through which it is intended to gain self-control, self-confidence, peacefulness, and intuition.<sup>47</sup> Since the early 1980s Lisa Malin (b. 1951) is the head of the Sufi Healing Order in Austria. Some time after becoming a disciple of Pīr Vilayat Inayat Khan, she relates to have had a dream encounter with Inayat Khan during

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43 <http://www.pirzia.org/the-esoteric-school/>; accessed July 15, 2017.

44 <http://www.pirzia.org/the-esoteric-school/>; accessed July 15, 2017.

45 Cf. Q 20:114: “O my Lord! advance me in knowledge.”

46 Cf. <https://wahiduddin.net/sufi/sufism.htm>; accessed May 10, 2018.

47 <http://www.pirzia.org/the-esoteric-school/>; accessed July 15, 2017.

which he entrusted her with a certain responsibility that remains a private matter. It is interesting that this threshold experience, which echoes Zুমurrud’s inner vision of Inayat Khan, is in line with some of the distinctive characteristics of Indo-Islamic Sufi shaykhs since the medieval period.<sup>48</sup>

For many years Lisa collaborated closely with Pír Vilayat. A psychotherapist and respiratory therapist, she also continues the research on ritual body postures and religious ecstatic trance of the American linguist and anthropologist Felicitas Goodman (1914–2005).<sup>49</sup> In her healing work Lisa uses methods that are inspired by ‘shamanic’ traditions,<sup>50</sup> which include body postures such as the healing (for instance, the bear spirit posture), the birthing, or the metamorphosis ‘shapeshifting’ posture (for instance, the tattooed jaguar posture). According to Lisa, these can enrich or complement her healing service in Austria within the Inayati tradition that she perceives as a spiritual service to humankind for which one cannot expect a certain outcome but which has been recognised by the beneficiaries as producing favourable results. It is noteworthy that she views her work in the Inayati Healing Order as becoming increasingly important in Viennese society today.

In addition to her healing service in Vienna, Pír Vilayat asked Lisa in 1994, nearly fifty years after the liberation of the Dachau concentration camp, to prepare a commemorative service for his sister Noor-un-Nisa. Responding to this request, she organised an international transreligious commemorative service, which took place in late November 1994 together with survivors of Dachau and other Nazi concentration camps. People from all over the world, as well as representatives of different religions and peace activists, participated in this service. This ceremony was the beginning of a peace march which lasted nine months.

To witness the fierce human suffering and ensuing trauma, a retreat was held at the selection platform of the former concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau. To become aware of the significance of the horrors of the place and—in the words of Lisa—“comprehending it in the body,” this retreat initiated a transformative process by including a sacrifice in the form of a daily fast (continuous abstinence from food and drink for six days with one break of the fast after three days). The fast was accompanied by ongoing chanting, drumming, and interreligious prayers creating a ‘virtual reality’ intended to transcend space and time and exceed the realm that is visible to the physical or mental eye. It was attended by members of the Inayati Sufi Order, nuns

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48 See Ernst and Lawrence 2002: 70-72.

49 See, for instance, Goodman 1986: 81-118 and Goodman 1999.

50 For a review of ‘shamanism’ and Transcultural Psychiatry in a study presented by Felicitas Goodman discussed in the context of approaches of other researchers, see Csordas 1985: 103-116.



and monks of the Nichiren-Buddhist movement Nipponzan Myōhōji, and international peace activists of different religious denominations. Next, they held a seventeen-day march from Auschwitz to Vienna via Poland and the Czech Republic in remembrance of the death march of fifty years ago. Against the perceived continuity of the multifaceted memory landscapes and with the intention of facilitating a shift of memories and meanings, the peace march continued on to Croatia, Bosnia, Israel, Iran, India, Cambodia, Thailand, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Japan. It culminated in the memorial services that marked the fiftieth anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Lisa also took part in a peace march from Jenin to Hebron (Palestine). Survivors of the Second World War and holders of other memories of extraordinary levels of inhumanity mentioned the importance of performing ceremonies to invest healing energies into places that hold suffering from the devastation of the past. This would allow the imprint of suffering to be released from these sites of memory and provides a repository for rebuilding individual and cultural identity (Das and Kleinman 2001: 1-30).

In the same year, many women were called by Lisa to gather at the former concentration camp Ravensbrück, the largest women's concentration camp within the German Reich and the site of the murder of some 92,000 women and children. Here Lisa led a comparable retreat including an international transreligious commemorative ceremony. During this retreat she conducted spiritual healing rites, at the end of which a female survivor, Ceija Stojka (1933–2013), an Austrian writer and member of the Roma minority, offered rose petals at the Schwedtsee, a lake which was adjacent to the concentration camp in which the ashes of the cremated women had been disposed of by the Nazis. In order to bridge the social and psychological aspects of remembering, Lawrence Kirmayer (1996: 175) has introduced the concept of “landscapes of memory” shaped by “the personal and social significance of specific memories” and drawn from meta-memory. Holocaust survivors experience often insurmountable emotional difficulties when talking about their traumas. However, the ritual showed that by focusing attention on the female testimonies and female experience of the concentration camps and the Holocaust, they could express their memory of the camps. These gendered expressions involved so-called ‘specifically female themes’ (e.g., maternity, pregnancy, sexual violence, or specific, gender-conditioned themes such as forced sterilisations—Roma, for instance, were sterilised as deviant ‘asocials’).<sup>51</sup> The ensuing transformative process is mirrored by a dream-vision referred to by Ceija in which she met all the beloved ones who were murdered at

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51 For a gendered reading of the memory of the Holocaust, see Bos 2003; Loew 2011.

Ravensbrück. In her dream they informed her that they were well. The next day at the final ceremony she lit two candles in front of the crematorium, next to the prison and the execution corridor, and with this she expressed her forgiveness of the two worst tormentors and began to dance (Malin 2016: 88-89), an “embodied self-process in ritual healing” (Csordas 1997: 74-164).

Lisa continued to organise retreats and transreligious commemorative ceremonies at the former Nazi concentration camp sites of Bergen-Belsen in 1996 and Lidice in 1997. Two years later, in Russia, a retreat and commemoration services were offered at Stalingrad, present-day Volgograd, in memory of the women who were the first to repopulate the site of the battle, living there in caves in the absence of any other suitable housing. At other sites where unparalleled killing took place she organised similar retreats and commemorative services, such as at the Steinhof clinic compound in Vienna in 2000, a site of Nazi medical crimes where 7,500 patients lost their lives (many more were sterilised and traumatised), and its children’s euthanasia centre, called *Am Spiegelgrund*, where physically or mentally disabled and socially disadvantaged children were imprisoned, abused, and often killed. She continues to engage in commemorative work at sites with a violent past with the aim of inscribing them with a redemptive, healing reinterpretation. In line with the teachings carried out by Zumurrud, as delineated below, Lisa aims to explore strategies of using Sufi rituals that are devoted to spiritual healing and recovery from physical and psychic traumas as a means of inter-faith and intrafaith dialogue.

### 3.3. Pilgrimage Activities

Both Zumurrud and Lisa undertake pilgrimages (Ar. *ziyāra*) to the *dargāhs* of Inayat Khan and Pīr Vilayat at Nizamuddin in Delhi and the pilgrimage centre of Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī in Ajmer in Rajasthan. There they attend the anniversaries of the death (Ar. *‘urs*, literally ‘marriage’ with God) of Inayat Khan, Pīr Vilayat, and other Chishtī saints and are closely connected to some local Sufis of the Chishtiyya. Lisa is also associated with Sufis of the Gudrī Shāhī, an order that is affiliated with the Chishtiyya and which is involved in the organisation of the ceremonial life, the institutions, and the pilgrims of the *dargāh* of Mu‘īn al-Dīn Chishtī in Ajmer, where Sufi devotional singing (Ar. *samā‘*) is performed by men and women.

#### 4. Gender-sensitive Hermeneutics of Inayati Teaching Themes

Zumurrud combines Inayati teaching themes with specific reference to the Qur'ān and the scriptures of other major religious traditions and thereby underlines the essential message of gender equality. This gender-inclusive, or what might be called feminist, hermeneutics aims to provide confirmation of gender equality in the 'holy books.'<sup>52</sup> As qur'ānic examples, which clearly establish the essential equality of men and women, she mentions that "Indeed, the Muslim men and Muslim women, the believing men and believing women, the obedient men and obedient women, the truthful men and truthful women, the patient men and patient women, the humble men and humble women, the charitable men and charitable women, the fasting men and fasting women, the men who guard their private parts and the women who do so, and the men who remember God often and the women who remember [God often]", for whom "God has prepared forgiveness and a great reward" (Q 33:35). She also draws attention to Q 9:72, where we read that "God has promised the believers, males and females, gardens beneath which rivers flow, abiding therein forever, and fair dwellings in the Gardens of Eden." In addition, Zumurrud introduces a gender-specific or non-gendered understanding of God's divine names and attributes and includes in her instructions the stories of prophets, saints, and masters, as will be elucidated below. She draws attention to the mutuality of responsibilities of men and women, as stipulated, for instance, in the qur'ānic verse which declares that "The believers, male and female, are protectors of one another" (Q 9:71).

In her teachings Zumurrud underlines "the essential equality and interdependence of all human beings, which finds expression in the idea that all living things were created in pairs." Humans were created at the same moment in pairs (Ar. *zawjayn*) of male (Ar. *dhakar*) and female (Ar. *unthā*) (Q 4:1; 7:189; 35:11; 49:13; 51:49; 53:45; 76:39; 78:8; 92:3). For instance, the Chapter on Women, Sūra al-Nisā' (Q 4:1), states:

Oh mankind [humankind]! Reverence your guardian-lord, who created you from a single person, created, of like nature, his mate, and from two scattered [like seeds] countless men and women.

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<sup>52</sup> In many ways Zumurrud's teaching echoes approaches found in the work of exegetes such as the African-American scholar of Islam, Amina Wadud, in her work *Qur'ān and Woman* (Wadud 1999), the Pakistani-American theologian and Islamic feminist scholar of the Qur'ān, Riffat Hassan (1978: 2-4), and the Pakistani-American academic Asma Barlas (2002).

The creation in pairs, Zumurrud states, “indicates that beauty appears not only in an entity embodying beauty but essentially also in a relationship which reflects the divine attributes.” This is informed by Inayat Khan’s saying (1979: 281) that “Beauty is created from variety,” hence the creation in pairs facilitates an interplay which advances the manifestation of the divine qualities. She points out that while “the relationship of the human being with God is seen as one between perfect and imperfect being, the notion of pairs implies coequality, which is inferred by the creation from a single soul (*min nafsin wāhidat*).” At the same time, as Inayat Khan (1990a: 261) expounds, “there is a pair of opposites in all things, and in each there exists the spirit of the opposite: in man [the] quality of woman, in woman the spirit of man; in the sun the form of the moon, in the moon the light of the sun. The closer one approaches reality, the nearer one arrives to unity.” Significantly, as Zumurrud points out, some qur’ānic verses declare that God created human beings from a single soul (Ar. *naḥs*) to be the mate (Ar. *zawj*) of one another. She explains that the root of the Arabic term for ‘womb’ (Ar. sg. *raḥim*, *riḥm*, pl. *arḥam*), *r-h-m*, is also the root of *raḥmā*, meaning ‘compassion’ (Q 30:21; also defined as ‘mercy,’ ‘pity,’ or ‘tenderness’) as well as of the divine names *al-Raḥmān* and *al-Raḥīm*, the All-Merciful and All-Compassionate, each of which signals the feminine association of the divine quality of mercy. To this must be added a *ḥadīth*, transmitted by Abū Hurayra and ‘Ā’isha, which states: “The Compassionate (Ar. *al-Raḥmān*) created the womb (*al-raḥim*), and whoever maintains ties to it, God will maintain ties to him/her, and whoever cuts himself/herself off from it, God cuts Himself off from him/her” (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 8, bk. 73: n17 and 18, respectively).

Zumurrud stresses that the invocation *bi-smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīm(i)*, “In the name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate,” which recurs as the introductory formula of each chapter (Ar. *sūra*) of the Qur’ān,<sup>53</sup> carries special blessings and power. It repeats the two divine names *al-Raḥmān* and *al-Raḥīm*. In his monumental *Futūḥāt al-makkiyah* (Meccan Openings), Muḥyi ’l-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī, known among Sufis as *al-shaykh al-akbar* or the Supreme Master, one of the greatest Sufis of Islam, calls the creedal formula or *basmala* the “key to every *sūra*”; he emphasises the notion that God says that reciting the *basmala* is invoking and remembering God (*dhikr Allāh*).<sup>54</sup> God’s Mercy, an essential divine attribute, is all-inclusive and all-embracing, as stated in Q 7:156: “And My [God’s] Mercy encompasses all things” (*Wa raḥmatī wasi’at kulla shay’in*). *Al-Raḥmān*, the Compassionate, the title of

53 Except *sūra* 9 “Repentance” (*al-Tawbah*).

54 Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt* VIII 343; VII 274–5; cited after Graham, “Basmala,” *EQ*: 211.

*sūra* 55, is one of the divine names which is close to *Allāh* because it connotes the divine Loving-Mercy through which existence is brought forth. As Zumurrud elucidates, this suggests a connotation of *rahma* with a mother's love and understanding of *al-Rahmān* as the One whose unconditional love and caring affection is for all. She draws attention to the divine self-obligation to mercy in "your Lord has prescribed for Himself *rahma*" (Q 6:54), which expresses a unique and supreme rank among all the qualities that describe God and indicates an understanding of Mercy not only as one of the attributes but as an intrinsic divine quality. Considering this, she says, one can read the *basmala* in the sense of "in the name of God who is Mercy and merciful, compassionate," and she calls attention to the fact that the realisation of the meaning of the *basmala* is pivotal for the comprehension of the words of the Qur'ān. The *basmala* thus counts as an important Sufi practice, the repetition of which as a *dhikr* leads to a growing realisation of the meaning it contains. As Zumurrud points out, the purpose of bringing to awareness linguistic connotations is not to establish a feminist reading of sacred texts but serves to help both male and female seekers on the Sufi path to unlearn concepts that limit one's capability of grasping the divine message.

In this respect, in his teachings on male and female aspects of the highest name of God, *Allāh*,<sup>55</sup> Inayat Khan (1914: 56-57) emphasises that:

The Only Being is manifested throughout all planes of existence in two aspects, male and female, representing Nature's positive and negative forces. In the plane of consciousness there are two aspects, viz.: *waḥdat* (Ar.; consciousness) and *aḥadiyyat* (Ar.; eternal consciousness), so also, spirit and matter, night and day, signify the dual aspect on lower planes. In the mineral and vegetable kingdoms sex [gender] is in a state of evolution but the highest manifestation of male and female is man and woman.

As Zumurrud underlines, for Ibn al-'Arabī, among whose teachers are counted the female mystics Fāṭima bint ibn al-Muthannā and Shams bint Fuqarā', there is no level of spiritual realisation which women are incapable of attaining (Ibn al-'Arabī 1977: 142-146).<sup>56</sup> "Men and women have their share in every level, including the function of Pole (Ar. *quṭb*, that is, the spiritual guide)."<sup>57</sup>

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55 For a discussion of the highest name of God, see Anawati 1967: 7-58.

56 Of the fifteen disciples to whom he transmitted the *khirqā* (as symbol of embarking on the Sufi path, the mystic cloak represents the blessing of lineage), fourteen were women (Addas 1993: 146).

57 Ibn al-'Arabī, *Futūḥāt* III: 89, cited after Helminski 2003: 113; Lutfi 1985: 8. Cf. de Jong, "Quṭb: 2. In mysticism," *EP*.

Traditionally, in Inayat Khan's prayer of praise (Ar. *ṣalāt*), devotees address the "Master, Messiah, and Saviour of all Humanity" (Inayat Khan 1999: 80):

Allow us to recognize Thee in all Thy holy names and forms:  
as Rama, as Krishna, as Shiva, as Buddha,  
Let us know Thee as Abraham, as Solomon, as Zarathustra,  
as Moses, as Jesus, as Muḥammad, and in many other names  
and forms known and unknown to the world [...]  
O Messenger! Christ! Nabī [Prophet of God], the Rasūl of God.

However, at the initiative of the female *murshidas* of the order, this prayer is today often complemented with female spiritual figures and in this form is known as *ṣalawāt* (Ar.; praises):

Allow us to recognize Thee in all Thy holy names and forms:  
as Sītā, Rama, Rādḥāand Krishna, as Pārvaṭī, Shiva, Tara and Buddha,  
Let us know Thee as Sarah, Hagar and Abraham, as Deborah, Solomon,  
Anahita and Zarathustra,  
as Āsiya, Aaron, Miriam and Moses, as Mary, Jesus, Khadīja and  
Muḥammad,  
and in many other names and forms known and unknown to the world [...]  
O Messenger! Christ! Nabī [Prophet], the Rasūl [Messenger] of God.

This gender-inclusive understanding of ancient religious traditions is also evident in Inayat Khan's poetry, which draws on inspiration from dances and chants known as *qawwālī*, a South Asian genre of Sufi music. He writes, for instance:<sup>58</sup>

Mighty thy power, O Mohan [Krishna], Heart-compeller [name of  
Krishna],  
In changing aspects known and manifest,  
Thou as a man or as a woman comest,  
In earthly form of child or mother dressed.  
Praise be to Thee, O Maker and Unmaker,  
Creator and Destroyer; let my mind  
Be lost in Thee, that everywhere and ever,  
Thy holy vision shall Inayat find.

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<sup>58</sup> Inayat Khan and Duncan Westbrook 1915: 31, no. XXII (translated from the Hindi of Inayat Khan).

#### 4.1. Love and Annihilation

The great eighth-century Sufi saint Rābi‘a al-‘Adawiyya, after whom Inayat Khan’s first *murīd*, Ada Martin, was named, is credited as having been one of the first to transform Sufism into an ecstatic love mysticism, the doctrine of *kashf*, the inner ‘unveiling,’ to the lover of the Beatific Vision. In her doctrine of pure love (Ar. *‘ilm al-maḥabba*), she stressed the mutual and reciprocal nature of love between God and His servants as suggested in the Qur’ānic saying “He loves them and they love Him” (Q 5:54). She is regarded as the first to speak of love as being due to God alone. This realisation she expressed in short poems such as these oft cited verses (Smith 1928: 55):

O Beloved of hearts, I have none like unto Thee,  
Therefore have pity this day on the sinner  
Who comes to Thee.  
O my Hope and my Rest and my Delight,  
The heart can love none other than Thee.

Zumurrud points out that, similarly, the Iranian poet and mystic Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Irāqī (d. 1289) poetically transforms the words of the first half of the Muslim profession of faith (Ar. *shahāda*), *lā ilāha illā llāh* (there is no god but God) into *lā ilāha illā ‘ishq* (there is no deity save Love) (Schimmel 1975: 137).<sup>59</sup> She explains that, according to Inayat Khan (1914: 29), the most crucial principle of Sufism is

‘*ishq Allāh ma‘būd Allāh*’ (God is love, lover, and beloved). When *Āḥād* (Ar.; the Only Being) became conscious of his *Waḥdat* (Ar.; only existence) through his own consciousness, then his predisposition of love made him project himself to establish His dual aspect, that He might be able to love someone. This made Allah, the Lover, and manifestation, the Beloved; the next inversion makes the manifestation the Lover, and Allah the Beloved. This force of love has been working through several evolutions and involutions, which end in Man [human being], who is the ultimate aim of Allah. The dual aspect of Allah is significant in *dhāt* and *ṣifat* [*Allāh*], in spirit and matter, and in the mineral, vegetable, animal and human kingdoms, wherein two sexes, male and female, are clearly represented. The dual aspect of Allah is symbolised by each form of this wonderful world. This whole Universe, internally and externally is governed by the force of Love, which sometimes is the cause

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<sup>59</sup> Followers of the Inayati tradition translate the ritual formula of the *shahāda* (Ar.; witness to faith) as “There is no reality other than the One Reality. There is no real one other than the One Real.”

and sometimes the effect. The producer and product are one, and that one is nothing but Love.

The discourse is reflected in the well-known mystical topos of the moth which seeks the light of the candle and immolates itself in its flame, wherein the lover is not the candle (which stands for the beloved) but the moth. On a mystic interpretation, the candle, the Beloved, stands for God/Truth/Reality. We find an exchange between moth and candle in Inayat Khan's sayings *Vadan* or *Divine Symphony*:<sup>60</sup>

Moth: "I gave you my life."

Flame: "I allowed you to kiss me."

With these lines he indicates, as Zumurrud expounds, that "surrender in love leads to a complete transformation of the lover," as is expressed in a saying frequently quoted by the Sufis, which states that love is a fire and when it ignites the heart it burns away everything except the Beloved (*al-‘ishq nār idhā waqa ‘a fī l-qulūb aḥraqa mā siwā l-maḥbūb*). She notes that, according to Ibn al-‘Arabī, *‘ishq* comes from the same root as the word *‘ashiqā*, which means bindweed. This suggests that love twines around the lover until he or she sees nothing but the Beloved (*Futūḥāt al-makkiyah* ch. 178).

She explains that this transformation of the human being to become a "locus of manifestation" of the divine reality (Chittick 1989: 89) is conducted by the synergy of the two opposing and complementary principles of Beauty (Ar. *jamāl*) and Majesty (Ar. *jalāl*). She describes beauty as "the capacity of a limited form to point to a beautiful reality which is unlimited, without asserting a reality other than the unlimited reality which beauty serves as signifier of." Significantly, as she points out, Inayat Khan (1973: 55) understands both *jalāl* and *jamāl* as "the creative and the responsive forces." This double meaning of *jamāl* as beauty and responsivity is illustrated in a story by Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (*Mathnawī*, transl. Whinfield, 1:14) which is often quoted by Zumurrud in her teachings:

The Chinese and the Greeks disputed before the Sultan which of them were the better painters; and, in order to settle the dispute, the Sultan allotted to each a house to be painted by them. The Chinese procured all kinds of paints, and coloured their house in the most elaborate way. The Greeks, on the other hand, used no colours at all, but contented themselves with cleansing the walls of their house from all filth, and burnishing them till they were as clear and bright as the heavens. When the two houses were offered to the Sultan's inspection, that painted by the Chinese was much admired; but the Greek house

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60 [https://wahiduddin.net/mv2/say/vadan\\_tanas.htm](https://wahiduddin.net/mv2/say/vadan_tanas.htm); accessed October 27, 2017.



carried off the palm, as all the colours of the other house were reflected on its walls with an endless variety of shades and hues.

Zumurrud adds that although the divine attributes and names are often seen as having ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ connotations, associated respectively with ‘active’ and ‘receptive’ types, it is noteworthy that Ibn al-‘Arabī’s cosmology does not limit *jalālī* qualities to men or *jamālī* qualities to women but recognises them as forms of existence which “are not restricted to biological gender”—rather, they are the dynamic interactions between complementary modes which both women and men assume (cf. also Shaikh 2015: 123, 155-157, esp. 203-228). Both qualities are the property of the most *perfect* being, that is, God, hence Islamic texts speak of *kamāl* (perfection) in discussing *jamāl* and *jalāl*, which is often seen as a ‘gender complementarity’ of the divine attributes within the divine unity (Ar. *tawhīd*).<sup>61</sup> The *jamālī* qualities are seen to draw human beings towards God and His Mercy, creating closeness between them, whereas the *jalālī* qualities arouse fear in humans and put them at a distance from God.<sup>62</sup> They are also respectively seen as names of immanence and names of transcendence (Ibn al-‘Arabī 1989: 5-32). Yet finding God involves both dimensions—Beauty and Majesty.

As Lisa has observed, women-survivors and participants in her rituals possess not only the *jamālī* qualities (such as engendering empathy) that are traditionally ascribed to them but exhibit much courage and inner strength, qualities which are often seen as *jalālī* and which often subvert traditional dichotomies and classifications (active/passive and strong/weak qualities). They undergo revaluation and are, in turn, reconfigured into new, more nuanced, complementary gendered pairings of qualities (see also Malin 1994: 24-26).

According to Ibn al-‘Arabī, the perfect symmetry of *jamāl* and *jalāl* is attained in the ultimate goal of all Sufis, the annihilation of the self (Ar. *fanā*)

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61 Sa‘diyya Shaikh (2015: 208) describes *kamāl* as “the distinctive human capacity for refined Comprehensiveness.” Cf. Murata 1992: 69-74 and Shaikh’s review thereof (2015: 209-217).

62 Cf. the divine epithet *Dhū l-jalāl wa-l-ikrām* (The One who possesses Majesty and Bounty), as related in Q 55:27: “And there remains the Face (*wajh*) of thy Lord, Possessed of Majesty and Bounty.” The term *wajh* is here understood as a reference to God’s being and essence (cf. Q 2:115: “Wheresoever you turn, there is the Face of God. God is All-Encompassing. Knowing”; Q 28:88: “All things perish, save His Face”). An early doctrinal trinity, often regarded as the foundation of Sufi piety, expounded in the *ḥadīth* of Gabriel (Ar. *Jibrīl*) in which Islam is traditionally structured around *islām* (outward conformity), *īmān* (inward faith), *iḥsān* (doing what is beautiful)—which pertains to all human beings regardless of their gender—is reflected in another, more rarely used, divine epithet: *Dhū l-jamāl wa-l-iḥsān* (The One who possesses Beauty and makes Beautiful).

in the essence (Ar. *dhāt*) of the Absolute (the divine reality, *al-Haqq*). As Zumurrud adds, it is particularly significant that Ibn al-‘Arabī deduced that, since the Arabic term *dhāt* (divine essence) is feminine, it adds a feminine aspect for the inner life of the deity (cf. Shaikh 2015: 173-175, 219). In the dialogue between moth and candle, Inayat Khan shows that love is the state of *fanā’* and that, when divine beauty is fully revealed, an unveiling takes place and neither lover nor beloved remains, as will be discussed in what follows.

Love is a central concept of Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), as Inayat Khan (1978: 7) explains, for it is “the force called adhesion [which] keeps the particles of one kind of matter together. It is almost an aspect of love, atomic love. This shows that the love-force is in nature, *prakṛti*, described in the Hindu scripture *Bhagavadgītā* as the ‘primal motive force.’” He goes on to ask “[h]ow does this love-force get into nature?” The answer is that “[t]he love-force is the same as the life-force and this operates also through the breath in order to impregnate the dense matter.” Zumurrud remarks that this, in turn, is closely related to the observation of Ibn al-‘Arabī (along with other Sufi masters) that human existence is Divine Mercy (Ar. *rahmā*) and the Breath of the Compassionate (Ar. *nafas al-Rahmān*) is the universal substance through which all Creation (Ar. *khalq*, God as manifest in the cosmos) is brought into the world,<sup>63</sup> it is sustained, and through which it returns.<sup>64</sup>

In this context it has to be underlined that, for Inayat Khan (1963: 199), the practice of Sharī‘a, the rules and regulations governing the social conduct and ritual of Muslims, was a “law which is necessary for the generality to observe, in order to harmonize with one’s surroundings and with one’s self within.” Furthermore, he goes on to say that the Qur’ān and the *ḥadīth* warrant that the Sharī‘a is “meant to be subject to change, in order to suit the time and place.” He specifies that Sharī‘a “is where the God-ideal is impressed upon mankind as authority, as fear of God. This really means conscientiousness, not fear as is usually thought which establishes an even firmer gauge. If we love, we do not wish to displease; love does not force us to act, but it asks us to be conscientious and take care not to cause the least disharmony with the one whose happiness we want” (ibid.: 199-200.) In the tradition of the so-

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63 The root of the Arabic word for ‘breath’ (*nafas*), *n-f-s*, is also the root of the word *nafs*, meaning ‘self’ or ‘soul,’ which may be compared to the word ‘anima’ (soul) in English which is from the same root as ‘animate(d)’ or ‘animal.’ Cf. the comparative approach in Izutsu 1956: 39-49; also Murata 1992: 236-238.

64 Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt* II 313.24-25; III 429.4-16; cited after Nasr 2015 (commentary to Q 7:156): 460; cf. ibid. (commentary to Q 1:3): 7.

called *madhhab-i 'ishq* (School of Love or Path of Love),<sup>65</sup> he recognises the trappings of ‘established’ Islam, including its institutional and legal manifestations, as an essential step on the path of love. In the language of spiritual alchemy, the remembrance of God is described as an elixir that can turn the metal of the soul into pure gold. This is reflected, as Zumurrud notes, in the Inayati teachings of the iron, copper, silver, and golden rules:<sup>66</sup>

*Golden Rules*

My conscientious self:

Keep to your principles in prosperity as well as in adversity.

Be firm in faith through life’s tests and trials.

Guard the secrets of friends as your most sacred trust.

Observe constancy in love.

Break not your word of honour whatever may befall.

Meet the world with smiles in all conditions of life.

When you possess something, think of the one who does not possess it.

Uphold your honour at any cost.

Hold your ideal high in all circumstances.

Do not neglect those who depend upon you.

*Silver Rules*

My conscientious self:

Consider duty as sacred as religion.

Use tact on all occasions.

Place people rightly in your estimation.

Be no more to anyone than you are expected to be.

Have regard for the feelings of every soul.

Do not challenge anyone who is not your equal.

Do not make a show of your generosity.

Do not ask a favour of those who will not grant it you.

Meet your shortcomings with a sword of self-respect.

Let not your spirit be humbled in adversity.

*Copper Rules*

My conscientious self:

Consider your responsibility sacred.

Be polite to all.

Do nothing which will make your conscience feel guilty.

Extend your help willingly to those in need.

Do not look down upon the one who looks up to you.

Judge not another by your own law.

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65 For a discussion on the conceptualisation and practice of the school of “radical love” (*madhhab-i 'ishq*) in Sufism, see Ahmed 2016: 38-46.

66 <https://inayatiorder.org/?s=golden+rules>; accessed October 27, 2017.

Bear no malice against your worst enemy.  
 Influence no one to do wrong.  
 Be prejudiced against no one.  
 Prove trustworthy in all your dealings.

*Iron Rules*

My conscientious self:  
 Make no false claims.  
 Speak not against others in their absence.  
 Do not take advantage of a person's ignorance.  
 Do not boast of your good deeds.  
 Do not claim that which belongs to another.  
 Do not reproach others, making them firm in their faults.  
 Do not spare yourself in the work which you must accomplish.  
 Render your services faithfully to all who require them.  
 Seek not profit by putting someone in straits.  
 Harm no one for your own benefit.

Seyyed Omid Safi (2001: 237) moreover calls attention to the fact that

the differentiation between 'loveliness' and 'belovedness' has important theological implications. Whereas in His Essence (Ar. *dhāt*) God is invariably regarded as completely transcendent and independent of all creation, the Divine Attributes (Ar. *ṣifāt*) may be seen as reflective of God's relationship with Creation. The Attributes of Mercy and Compassion, for example, are meaningful insofar as they have a recipient. And 'The Lord' is only lordly in relation to a servant. From this perspective it can be said that creation is *needed* for God to realize the potential of his Attributes.

## 4.2. Beauty

As we have seen, beauty (*jamāl*) is one of the divine attributes, and the divine saying (*ḥadīth qudsī*) revealed to Muḥammad states: "I was a hidden treasure, and longed to be known. So I created the world in order that I may be known" (al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr al-Rāzī*: 28.188.). For He "made beautiful all that He created" (Q 32:7). This Inayat Khan relates to the key *ḥadīth*, which states: "God is beautiful and so He loves beauty" (*Inna Llāha jamīl yuḥibbu l-jamāl*) (Muslim, *Saḥīḥ Muslim*: 11.74; Aḥmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad*: V.120, V.121, V.149). Significantly, as Zumurrud explicates, Inayat Khan presents God in terms of the tri-unity of 'love, harmony, and beauty,' which is expressed in the most central Inayati invocation:

Toward the One<sup>67</sup>  
 the Perfection of Love, Harmony, and Beauty  
 the Only Being  
 United with all the Illuminated Souls  
 Who form the Embodiment of the Master,  
 the Spirit of Guidance.

“In reality God is beautiful, and the way to reach Him is also beautiful” (Inayat Khan 1990a: 113). God’s Names are described as the Most Beautiful (Ar. *al-ḥuṣnā*) that are said to be beautiful both to the ear and to the heart. This is encapsulated in the recitation of God’s divine names and attributes that are known by the epithet the Most Beautiful Names (*al-asmā’ al-ḥuṣnā*). This is because “unto God belong the Most Beautiful Names” (Q 7:180; cf. 17:110, 20:8, 59:24). This tradition is associated with rituals of recitation and remembrance of God (*dhikr*, Q 2:152, 200; 3:41; 7:205; 18:24; 33:41; 72:25). In her teachings Zumurrud shows that the meditated recitation of these names and the inherent ‘catharsis’ is one of the most central devotions of the mystic. In Q 17:110 the Prophet Muḥammad is similarly instructed to say: “Call upon God, or call upon the Compassionate. Whichever you call upon, to Him [understood to be gender-neutral] belong the Most Beautiful Names.”

As mentioned above, there are by traditional account ninety-nine names of God. In Sufism God and His Attributes are considered one. Sufi practitioners of *dhikr* also regularly ritually invoke and meditate on the divine names in Arabic under the instruction of the *murshid* with the goal of assuming ‘the traits of God’ or being ‘characterised by the character traits of God’ (*al-takhalluq bi-akhlāq Allāh*). This is done in order to constantly cultivate certain spiritual attitudes or virtues that imbue inner meaning to each and every facet of outward ethical conduct, or as an antidote to certain difficulties existing in the soul. Zumurrud notes that for Ibn al-‘Arabī the utterances ‘assuming the character traits of God’ (*al-takhalluq bi-akhlāq Allāh*) and ‘assuming the traits of God’s names’ (*al-takhalluq bi-asmā’ Allāh*) are synonymous, and they are the same as the path of spiritual transformation of the Sufīs (cf. Chittick 1989: 21-22, 283). Inayat Khan further explains that “a seeker after truth, a worshipper of God need only believe in one Father, and that is God. And not only believe, but know and be conscious of One, and inherit from that

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67 Cf. the chapter on Sincerity, Sūra al-Ikhlāṣ (Q 112) which states:  
 Say, “He, God, is One (*aḥad*),  
 God, the Eternally Sufficient unto Himself.  
 He begets not; Nor was He begotten  
 And none is like unto Him.”

perfect source, perfecting one's life with it; and it is that heritage, which is called divine."<sup>68</sup>

The process of taking on the divine traits (*takhalluq bi-akhlāq Allāh*) can be enhanced by expanding the imaginative consciousness through contemplating embodiments of a greater degree of perfection of the divine qualities than one has accomplished. Zumurrud points out that stories of the lives of prophets and great beings serve to stimulate imagination. It is, therefore, crucial to draw upon the stories of both male and female prophets and examples of perfection. One of the female examples she often uses is Āsiya, as the Pharaoh's wife (mentioned twice in the Qur'ān) is called in the commentaries and stories of the prophets.<sup>69</sup> One of the most hallowed women in Islamic tradition, Āsiya (whose name is a feminine term for a 'healer' or a 'physician') is represented as a paragon of virtue and a model for all believers (Q 66:11-12). She saved and protected the infant Moses on several occasions. According to several *ḥadīth* reports, the Prophet Muḥammad underscored the beneficent elements in her nature and ranked Āsiya among the most outstanding women of the world and as one of the four 'ladies of heaven' (along with Mary, mother of Jesus, Khadīja, Muḥammad's wife, and Fāṭima, his daughter) (for instance, Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*: 4:1886–1887, nos. 2430–2431; see also Stowasser 1994: 59-60). She is known as one who stood up for her faith and conviction even when being tortured to death, at which time she uttered the words "Oh Lord! Build for me a home with thee in the Garden, and save me from Pharaoh and his work, and save me from evil-doing folk" (Q 66:11). In the Bible, several women are explicitly named as prophetesses (Hebr. *nebiot*, fem. pl. of *nebiah*; Ar. *nabiyāt*, fem. pl. of *nabī*),<sup>70</sup> and, as Zumurrud emphasises, some Muslim theologians argued that Mary, as well as Sara and Āsiya, should be considered prophets because they received the word of God from angels or by divine inspiration.

In her teachings Zumurrud alludes to Inayat Khan's illustration of the first task of the seeker, that is, to light the candle within him- or herself. He does so with the story of Aladdin ('Alā' al-Dīn), the hero of the tale of the magic lamp found in the Arabian Nights, stating that it is with this light that he or she gains the knowledge within themselves (1990b: 82):

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<sup>68</sup> <http://www.hazrat-inayat-khan.org/php/views.php?h1=19&h2=10>; accessed October 27, 2017.

<sup>69</sup> She is cast in the same role as the 'daughter of Pharaoh' in the birth narrative of Moses in the Bible (Exodus/Shemot 2:5-10).

<sup>70</sup> For example, Miriam (Exodus/Shemot 15:20), Deborah (Judges/Shoftim 4:4), and Huldah (2 Kings/Melakhim 22:14).

The story of Aladdin illustrates this truth. Aladdin could only win the princess if he first obtained the lamp, which she desired. He goes out into the world but cannot find the lamp there, so he goes into the forest where he meets someone who is able to show him the way to reach it. But the man cannot himself give it to him, which means that emotion by itself does not suffice to bring it. Aladdin is told to go to a certain mountain and repeat certain words, which will cause the side of the mountain to open. He does this, and the mountain opens, but when he is within the cave he begins to suffocate because there is no air. Nevertheless, persevering, he penetrates farther into the mountain and in time he comes upon the lantern.

### 4.3. Art

“Art will become a religion because it gives an inherited faculty that man gets from the Divine Spirit which he expresses in his Art, whatever be his Art - Painting, Drawing, Music, Poetry, Sculpture, Architecture”  
(Inayat Khan 1990a: 114).

Inayat Khan describes this idea by using images that are loaded with resonances of Indian religious systems. He relates it to the tendency of the artist to be like the mythical migratory bird *haṃsa*, a wild goose or swan, symbol of the liberated *jīva* (San.; literally ‘living being’). The two syllables of *haṃsa* are said to be like the sound of the breath (San. *prāṇa*, a term etymologically related to *ātman*, ‘soul’ or ‘spirit,’ just like the Arabic *nafas* is related to *naḥs*, ‘soul’),<sup>71</sup> the vital manifestation of the spirit, going in and out, as the mantra *Haṃ-Sah*.<sup>72</sup> The rhythmic formula, when continually repeated, becomes indistinguishable from the famous Upanishadic utterance *so haṃ*, “I am He/She”—the realisation that there is no difference between oneself and the supreme truth. As form and figure of a verbal symbol, he draws on the *haṃsa* bird as a well-known image of the movement of the breath, and the spirit and the power inherent in such movements. Longing to return to its home, the bird is also known as “man of God who wanders in the state of a *haṃsa*” (cf. *The Bijak of Kabir*, 2002: *śabda* 34, n. 1). The poetic convention signifies the level of spiritual attainment which confers discrimination (San. *viveka*), symbolised by the *haṃsa*’s proverbial ability, described in the *Rgveda*, to separate the precious ritual potion *sōma* (or milk in later texts) from water when the two are mixed together. Inayat Khan (1990a: 115) goes on to explain that,

71 See note 62 supra.

72 *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* 15.78. The Sanskrit root *ham* (exhalation) ‘expel,’ ‘abandon,’ or ‘release,’ and *sa* (inhalation) meaning ‘to hold’ or ‘to be.’

just like the *ḥamsa*, “the Artist in life [has the] tendency [to separate] beauty in all its forms.”

This allusion is further illustrated, as Zumurrud explains, by the tradition that the *ḥamsa* migrates for the rainy season to the sacred Lake Mānasa in the Himalayas, the true home of the soul, to which it flies from the toil of the mortal world to eat pearls. Mānasarovara or Mānasarodaka on Mount Kailash in Tibet symbolises the lake of consciousness (San. *manas* meaning ‘mind’ and ‘spirit’). On account of its spotless brilliance and rarity, the white colour of the visual symbol thus represents the purity of the soul or spirit (cf. *The Bijak of Kabir*, 2002: *śabda* 34, n. 1).

Inayat Khan (1990a: 117) asserts that “Art is beauty, Art is harmony, Art is balance, Art is life, and when Art has gone then life becomes devoid of beauty and that is what we have seen. All the lack of beauty that we find in the world today, in humanity, is a lack of Art.” It is significant that, rather than referring to the *ḥamsa* as Brahmā’s vehicle (San. *vāhana*), he mentions Sarasvatī, the Hindu goddess of knowledge, music, arts, wisdom, and learning. She is represented as holding a *vīṇā* (San.; string instrument) sitting on the *ḥamsa*, her *vāhana*:

It all shows beauty, and the religion and message of God has been the Divine Art, and by the Divine Art, truth was expressed that man may first become attracted to the beauty, and by attraction to the beauty he may ponder upon it, that he may be elevated to understand for himself the truth which is hidden in the Art. Not only religion, even mysticism, which is the inner kernel, and which Sufism represents, is an Art, an Art of unfolding a soul, an Art of expressing the divine virtue which is hidden in the heart of man (ibid.).

#### 4.4. Heart

Sufīs take the heart (Ar. *qalb*) to be the most important organ of the human being because it is the centre of one’s awareness and through which one can come to ‘see’ God. In her teachings Zumurrud also cites Inayat Khan’s interpretations of stories which symbolise and emphasise Muḥammad’s initiation, such as to the opening and purifying of the Prophet Muḥammad’s chest by the angels and the removal and splitting into two of his heart (Ar. *shaqq al-ṣadr*). In this classic story of ritual initiation, the angels Gabriel (Ar. *Jibrīl*) and Michael (Ar. *Mikā’īl*) “washed away the doubt, or polytheism, or pre-Islamic beliefs, or error, which was in his breast. Then they brought a golden basin full of faith and wisdom, and his breast and belly were filled with faith



and wisdom.”<sup>73</sup> Inayat Khan (1990a: 258) explains that “as long as the breast remains choked with anything, the heart remains closed. When the breast is clear of it, the heart is open. It is the open heart which can receive reflections from the divine spirit within.” Mended and placed back into the Prophet’s chest, his heart was fastened with the seal of prophecy.

Of importance is Inayat Khan’s interpretation of the Prophet Muḥammad’s Night Journey (Ar. *mi’rāj*) as a dream-vision, something he saw in his heart “which was an initiation to higher spheres” (1990a: 262). It was then that he was introduced to his divinely-sent mount, called al-Burāq, which in Islamic tradition is firmly attached to Muḥammad’s *mi’rāj*. The equine-bodied and human-headed Burāq was sent from heaven as attested by its wings, which according to Inayat Khan (ibid.: 263) “represent [the] mind, [while] the body of Burāq represents [the] human body, the head represents perfection. Also this is the picture of breath. Breath is Burāq, which reaches from the outer world to the inner world in a moment’s time.” The angel Gabriel, who accompanies the Prophet on his ascent to God, is thus said to represent reason (Ar. *‘aql*). The Prophet

saw on his way Adam, who smiled looking at one side, and shed tears looking at the other side. This shows human soul, when it develops in itself really human sentiment, it rejoices over the progress of humanity and sorrows over the degeneration of humanity. Burāq could not go any further, which means: breath takes as far as a certain distance in the mystical realisation, but then there comes a state when breath cannot accompany. When arrived near the destination, Gabriel also retired, which means reason cannot go any further than its limit. Then arrived the Prophet near that curtain which stands between human and divine, and called aloud the Name of God in saying, ‘None exists but Thee’, and the answer came: ‘True, true’. That was the final initiation, which dated the blooming of Muḥammad’s prophecy (ibid.: 263-264).

Inayat Khan goes on to discuss a third tradition, the so-called ‘testing of the cups’ in Jerusalem—a rite of Judeo-Christian heritage—in which the Prophet was offered a choice between two or three vessels, each containing a different liquid. According to Islamic tradition, he selected a cup of milk (or water) as the appropriate beverage and rejected the wine. The angel Gabriel confirms to him that this action reflects his natural disposition, the primordial nature with which all human beings were originally endowed, to embark on the correct path (Ar. *al-fiṭra*). Alluding to the sacred fountain al-Kawthar in Paradise as a fountain of wine, Inayat Khan offers an esoteric interpretation of the traditional account stating that the Prophet surely must

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<sup>73</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-rusul wa’l-mulūk*, vol. 6: 78; cf. al-Bal’ amī, *Tarjumat-i tārikh-i Ṭabarī* II: 441-443. See Birkeland 1955: 14; Peters 1994: 146; Rubin 1995: 62-64.

have chosen the cup of wine but that the Islamic authorities later changed the liquid to milk to keep the faithful ‘away from wine’ during their earthly existence. He (ibid.: 337-338) states that:

Wine is symbolical of [the] soul’s evolution. Wine comes from the annihilation of grapes; immortality comes from the annihilation of self. The bowl of poison which is known in many mystical cults, suggests also the idea of wine, but not a sweet one, a bitter wine. When self turns [into] something different [from] what it was before, it is like soul being born again. This is seen in the grape turning into wine. Grape, by turning into wine, lives; as a grape it would have been vanished in time, only by turning into wine, the grape loses its individuality, and yet not its life. The selfsame grape lives as wine, and the longer it lives, the better the wine becomes.

In another context Inayat Khan (ibid.: 515) employs the metaphor of the *Sāqī*, the cup-bearer, a mystic symbol of love, stating that

it is most appropriate that the glance of those whose secret is God, whose contemplation is the perfection of beauty, whose joy is endless in the realisation of everlasting life, from whose heart the spring of love is ever flowing, it is most appropriate that their glance should be symbolically called the bowl of [the] *Sāqī*, the bowl of the wine-giver.

Sufism has often been called ‘the religion of the heart,’ a tradition which is mirrored in the symbol of the Sufi Order, represented as a winged heart with crescent and a five-pointed star. Stressing the need to cultivate the heart, Inayat Khan structured his organisation with five activities, each representing the point of a five-pointed star. These include: 1) the Esoteric School; 2) the Sufi Healing Order; 3) Ziraat, a mystery school which helps participants to cultivate their mind and refine their ego using symbology drawn from agriculture; 4) the Universal Worship Service; and 5) Kinship (originally termed Brotherhood), which encourages the deepening of the heart through friendship. To this was added a sixth activity in 2017, the Knighthood of Purity, which “promotes the service-oriented, chivalric values” of Inayat Khan and of which Pīrzāde Noor-un-Nisa is patroness.<sup>74</sup> Inayat Khan further explains that the symbol of the order symbolises what happens to the heart when it uncovers its divine spirit and becomes receptive to the divine light, soars heavenward as is suggested by the rising wings. The crescent in the heart symbolises the heart’s ‘respondence.’ Likewise, the crescent represents the same spirit because it increases as it responds to the sun. The light which is

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<sup>74</sup> <https://inayatiorder.org/knighthood/>; accessed: September 26, 2018. The Norwegian Alia Arnesen is vice president of The Knighthood of Purity in Europe.

reflected in the crescent “is the light of the sun; as it gets more light with its increasing resplendence, so it becomes fuller with the light of the sun.” The star in the heart of the crescent represents ‘the divine ark,’ which is reflected in human heart as love, and which helps the crescent to reach its fullness (ibid.: 240).

As Zumurrud adds, the mirror is one of the most common analogies for the heart. In order to reflect the divine, the mirror of the heart must be polished and the rust which tarnishes it removed, which is to say that the heart must be refined and freed from agitation. Often cited in this context are the verses of Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273) in which, in keeping with the Sufi tradition which preceded him, he also refers to the heart as a mirror:<sup>75</sup>

Do you not know why your mirror does not reflect?  
Because the rust has not been removed from its face.

A Sufi tradition often referred to by Inayati teachers is that whenever human beings are in a state of forgetfulness about God, the mirror of the heart becomes rusty and is in need of polishing. Every human being has the potential for attaining gnostic knowledge. Through constant remembrance and invocation of God, the mirror of the heart is burnished. When the heart becomes polished the Reality (*al-ḥaqq*) stands before it. Inayat Khan stresses that although there are “differences in the methods and teachings of the schools of different religions, [...] all teachings meet in one thing, that is God-realization. He who has made God a reality, who can open his heart and communicate with his fellow-creatures and is aware of other worlds, becomes a greater human being” (Kessing 1981: 36). Zumurrud reminds us that, once the seeker frees his or her heart from the worldly shackles, according to Ibn al-‘Arabī, he or she will become conscious that “Divine Beauty is manifest in all creation” (Lutfī 1985: 14). The veil is lifted from before the eye of the heart and God is reflected in it without the barrier of the human ego. This polished heart is known in Sufism as the ‘eye of the heart’ (Ar. *‘ayn al-qalb*). When it has opened, it reflects God as He is to Himself, since He looks at Himself through the polished mirror and only sees Himself.

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<sup>75</sup> Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, transl. Nicholson, 1:34. For further references on the notion of the heart in the work of Rūmī, see Rustom 2008: 3-13.

#### 4.5. Vision

According to tradition, Inayat Khan's mother, Khadija Bibi, had visionary experiences before his birth, in which Christ appeared and healed her, or the Prophet Muḥammad appeared and blessed her, while on other occasions "she found herself in the midst of prophets and saints, as though they were taking care of her or receiving her, or were waiting for something coming or preparing for a time which they had foreknown" (Inayat Khan 1979: 33). In this way her son's spiritual presence (*tawajjuh*) was announced.

Likewise, tradition tells that in 1923, the *murshida* Fazal Mai Egeling "had a glorious vision of Murshid [Inayat Khan] as the Buddha. I saw him as he used to sit before us in the silence. At both sides of him there were the mureeds in the shape of long rays of light. Around and above Murshid was a splendid coloured light crowded with beautiful beings, who were radiating just as Murshid, and at his feet the whole humanity looking up at him. A big light came from above and shone upon the whole in different colours: golden, silvery and purple, at the bottom in a darker shade" (ibid.: 500). Like several other disciples, she beheld an inner vision of Inayat Khan in which he showed himself and practised sovereignty (Ar. *taṣarruf*), sometimes in the form of another religious leader—in this case in the form of the Buddha.

Similarly, Zumurrud and Lisa were especially sensitive and acted upon their experience of the effects of Inayat Khan's spiritual presence and received dream-visions of him. Zumurrud says that she had these visionary experiences before even knowing of him. In the dreams she received guidance and instructions for spiritual practices. He had passed away before she could become his disciple but she later became a disciple of his son and successor Pīr Vilayat and of his grandson Pīr Zia. In the inner alignment with Inayat Khan and closely following his and Pīr Vilayat's teachings and guidance, both Zumurrud and Lisa began to practice a meditation technique of Sufi contemplation (*tawajjuh*), which aims to raise the soul above both body and mind through deep concentration upon one's spiritual mentor during which his or her mental form, body or face, is evoked in the imagination. The main conceptual operator however is the *naẓar-i 'ināyatī* (glance of loving kindness), directed by Inayat Khan at the *murīds*. In the potentialities of the *murīds'* visionary experiences, it is his *naẓar* or gaze which is most avidly desired because it helps the *murīd* to better achieve the goal of what might be called his or her 'pilgrimage of insight,' which leads to a kind of self-transformation.

The Arabic word *tawajjuh* comes from *wajh*, or 'face,' which is often used to indicate the very essence of a thing, and means 'facing' or 'confrontation.' This visualisation of the master's form as a symbolic representation

of inner spiritual truths in Sufi practice is meant to deepen the relationship between master and disciple (*pīrī murīdī*). Through intense concentration undertaken in a dream or waking state, a transmission of spiritual energy or love (*tawajjuh*) is held to take place that creates an inner vision (Ar. *taṣawwur*), which entails a spiritual experience.<sup>76</sup> In the process of transmission, the spiritual mentor too concentrates upon the individual *murīd*'s heart and, thereby, accelerates the transformation of his or her inner 'stations' (Ar. sg. *maqām*; pl. *maqāmāt*) and 'states' (Ar. sg. *ḥāl*; pl. *aḥwāl*). Both stations and states are inner qualities that are attained on the path to mystical knowledge. In this reciprocal visual process the guide (*murshid(a)*) focuses their spiritual attention on the heart of the guided (*murīd*) while, absorbed in religious devotion, the latter continually visualises the face of the guiding master.<sup>77</sup>

Zumurrud stresses that these teachings are passed on through oral transmission in the form of person-to-person teaching and from 'heart to heart' to communicate their true secret. Only an intense concentration (*tawajjuh*) upon the master by fixating the inner gaze can lead to a true introduction to the deeper levels of Sufi teachings. Spiritual education involves listening to the *murshid(a)*'s teachings, observing his or her speech and his or her (silent) actions. The transformative process first involves the absorption of the master's image through the bodily senses until it becomes imprinted upon the practitioner's heart using the internal senses. Even if master and disciple do not share physical proximity during this visual transaction, the cultivation of the technique of *tawajjuh* facilitates an interior (Ar. *bāḥinī*) connection to the master that is likened to physical companionship (Ar. *ṣuḥbat*). This interaction through interior means can take place across a long distance and compress historical space, reflecting an ontological blurring of time and space.

As Zumurrud explains, the Sufi technique of *taṣawwur* conceptualises not only the outer form and representation but, more importantly, the quality of the *murshid(a)*'s gaze or *naẓar*, operations which are well-known in a South Asian context.<sup>78</sup> This enables the *murīd* to immerse him- or herself, by means

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76 The Chishtī tradition of visualising the shaykh (*taṣawwur-i shaykh*) was probably influenced by Hindu and Buddhist religious attitudes and mystic practices. This might have been affected through writings such as the *Bahr al-ḥayāt* (The Ocean of Life) and the *Jawāhir-i khamsa* (The Five Jewels) of Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwaliyār (1502–1562), considered to be the axial saint of his age, which popularised Yogic practices among the Muslim mystics.

77 On the practice of *taṣawwur-i shaykh* in a South Asian Naqshbandī Sufi context where it also developed into a method of initiation, see Meier 1994; Buehler 1998: 134–138.

78 For a discussion of other notions of vision, with their own associated modes of visibility, in a contemporary Hindu religious milieu, see, for instance, Babb 1981: 387–401. In South Asian religions these involve the potentialities of *dr̥ṣṭi* (San.; focused gaze) as a

of inner vision, in his or her master's essence, in effect sublimating (some aspects of) his or her substance, in order to receive blessings and direct spiritual attainment. Hence, as Zumurrud holds, irrespective of proximity, the profound psychological, emotional and behavioural bond (Ar. *rābiṭa*) of the disciple's heart with that of the teacher, with that of his or her master, is further strengthened through opening him- or herself up to a transformative process initiated through the *murshid(a)*'s knowledge and actions leading to a new way of seeing, and thus of knowing him- or herself. This is, essentially, a mapping of the teacher's essence onto an internal topography, where it becomes a force acting through the mind to achieve an effect.

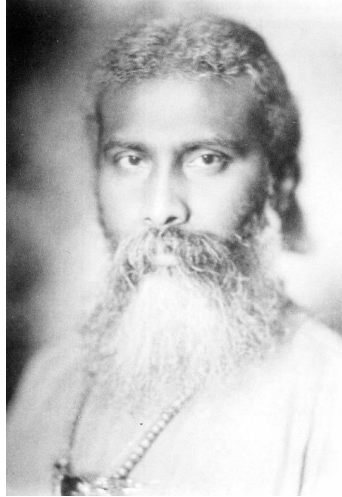


Figure 1: Hazrat Inayat Khan

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means for developing concentrated intention and of *darśana* (San.; theophany), the auspicious sight of a deity or a holy person.

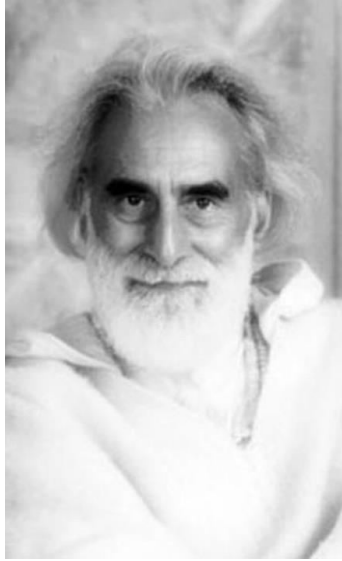


Figure 2: Pīr Vilayat Inayat Khan



Figure 13: Pīr Zia Inayat Khan

The technique, which is also much cultivated in the context of the South Asian Naqshbandī Sufi order (cf. Buehler 1998: 134-138), includes focusing on the image of the *murshid(a)* between the eyes. A further step involves visualising the *murshid(a)*'s face more and more frequently, and, just as in rituals of recollection of God (*dhikr*), to visualise it in front of the heart and in the heart. Next, the disciple imagines his or her face merging with that of his or her *murshid(a)*. This leads to a more advanced stage of the development of the *murīd* in the path of gnosis which involves the temporal mystical experience of complete effacement (*fanā*) of his or her own self (*nafs*) in the master, leading to the annihilation of imperfect attributes while contemplating attributes and qualities of God. These, in the words of Inayat Khan (1989a: 277), “are great and superior and kingly and noble, and which are divine, and which no one in the world, or those whom one has met on the way, possesses. The Sufis call these qualities *akhlāq Allāh*, which means the manner of God, or divine manner [...] it is that heritage, which is called divine.” Through this practice, the *murīd* acquires some of the spiritual realisations of the *murshid(a)* and develops an ampler selfhood, which ultimately leads him or her into the presence of the Prophet Muḥammad, as he or she sees the Prophet through his or her *murshid(a)*. It is followed by ‘annihilation in the Prophet’ (*fanā’ fī l-rasūl*). The assistance of the Prophet then allows the seeker to arrive at God, which finally leads to annihilation [in God] (*fanā’ fī llāh*) (cf. Buehler 1998: 100, 131-137; Schimmel 1976: 69-73).<sup>79</sup>

Since direct vision of divine Beauty is too intense for human beings to bear, Zumurrud adds, veils have the necessary function of helping human beings become gradually accustomed to the intensity of God’s light without being blinded, so as to see more light and beauty. This idea, as Zumurrud exemplifies, is also reflected in a *ḥadīth*, which states: “God has seventy veils of light and darkness; were He to lift them, the glories of His Face (*wajh*) would burn away everything the eyesight of His creatures perceives” (al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr al-Rāzī*: 1.27). This mitigating function is associated with the divine name *al-Raḥmān*, the All-Merciful, that is likened to the sunlight which illuminates the entire sky and, as Zumurrud points out, has an all-pervading, womb-like quality.

Being significant for the Inayatiyya context, Ibn al-‘Arabī relates a visionary dream citing the qur’ānic verse “It is He who forms you in the wombs [sg. *raḥim*, *riḥm*; pl. *arḥam*] as He will” (Q 3:6), associating this with the

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79 We must underline that this truncated account greatly simplifies what is actually a very complex process. We are focusing on vision as an aspect of this conception and as a result much has been left out.



imagination, which “is one of the wombs within which forms appear.”<sup>80</sup> In his thought, the creative imagination functions both as a prime agent and a liminal or interstitial space which he and other Sufis refer to with the Qur’ānic term *barzakh*. This intermediate world or isthmus, the world-in-between, is seen by the eyes of the ‘inner vision,’ which is accessible to human consciousness.<sup>81</sup> It is known by an intuitive comprehension of reality or even of something beyond that kind of reality. In its interstitial role, the imagination gives physical shape to spiritual things and renders physical those things that are spiritual. As a consequence of this process of two-way conversion, the ‘store house’ of the soul-as-imagination (Ar. *khizānat al-khayāl*) contains images from both the physical and spiritual realms. This understanding is central in the philosophy of Illumination (Ar. *ishrāq*) of Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (1154–1191), one “of the most *socially*-pervasive and consequential thought-paradigms in the history of societies of Muslims” (Ahmed 2016: 26).<sup>82</sup> Like Ibn al-‘Arabī’s emanationist theology, Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī’s Illuminationism served as a conceptual framework for much Sufi theology<sup>83</sup> and finds reflection in the instructions of the Inayatiyya.<sup>84</sup>

Suhrawardī claims to have been taught by Aristotle himself, who appeared to him one night in a dream-vision.<sup>85</sup> A dialogue began, in the course of which Suhrawardī asked the Greek master about ‘knowledge’ of the truth, to which question Aristotle replied that truth is ultimately found within one’s soul (or ego-self). He introduced to Suhrawardī the theory of ‘intuitive philosophy’ (Ar. *ilm al-ḥuḍūrī*), which, in the words of Pīr Zia, is “open to judgments of intuition” (Zia Inayat Khan 2000: 148). In Illuminationist terminology, ‘intuition’ (Ar. *dhawq*, literally ‘tasting’) relates to the apprehension of

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80 Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt* II: 428.8, cited after Murata 1992: 149.

81 Cf. Jamal Elias’ (2012: 230-235) discussion on Ibn al-‘Arabī and the Imagination.

82 Cf. Seyyid Hossein Nasr’s (1964: 7) reference to Suhrawardī as one of “three Muslim sages,” Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna or Ibn Sīnā; 980–1037), Suhrawardī, Muḥyi ’l-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī, who “each speaks for a perspective which has been lived, and a world view which has been contemplated by generations of sages and seers over the centuries [...] and they demonstrate in their totality a very significant part of Islamic intellectuality, revealing horizons which have determined the intellectual life of many of the great sages of Islam.”

83 See also Netton 2006 (chapter 6, ‘*Ishrāq* and *waḥda*: The Mystical Cosmos of Al-Suhrawardī and Ibn al-‘Arabī’): 256-320.

84 Mark Sedgwick (2017: 171) recently suggested that Inayat Khan’s “final view was emanationist universalism.”

85 Suhrawardī, *Kitāb al-Talwīḥāt* (Book of Intimations), in Suhrawardī 1945 (*Opera Metaphysica et Mystica* I, ed. Corbin): 70-74; Walbridge 2000: 225-229.

“suprasensible knowledge directly, without the mediation of reason or thought.”<sup>86</sup>

The Realm of the Imagination (or of Images) serves as the interior epistemological centre of human consciousness and is sometimes identified with the self (*nafs*), while in other contexts it is seen as its faculty. The idea that representations are known by the presence of the realms of symbols and typifications is known as the doctrine of the cosmic imaginal world (Ar. *‘ālam al-mithāl*), which, as confirmed by Inayat Khan’s nephew, Shaykh al-Mashaykh Mahmood Khan in a meeting on September 9, 2017 in Vienna, was relevant for Inayat Khan’s Sufi message and still has a bearing on Inayati teachings. The way to these realms is by the active imagination (Ar. *‘ālam al-khayāl*). Located somewhere between the immaterial and the material world, this world is one “through which and in which spirits become bodies and bodies become spirits.”<sup>87</sup> According to Suhrawardī, the soul, as a being of ‘light,’ has a previous existence in the angelic world and

upon entering the body [... it] is divided into two parts, one remaining in heaven and the other descending into the prison or ‘fort’ of the body. That is why the human soul is always unhappy in this world; it is actually searching for its other half, for its celestial ‘alter ego’, and will not gain ultimate felicity and happiness until it has become united with its angelic half and has regained its celestial abode.<sup>88</sup>

Once the seeker begins to free his or her heart from the imprisonment of physicality and desires, a progressive initiation into self-knowledge, knowledge can occur. It is a journey or pilgrimage, which takes place on an internal or spiritual plane, thereby transposing Suhrawardī’s mythological scheme into the seeker. The aim is to aid the soul in acquiring a receptive capacity that, in the course of the inner journey, will allow it to loosen the physical bonds of the material domain and begin to extricate itself from its mortal coil of earthly matter. In his writings Suhrawardī encourages the seeker to ‘abandon the world.’ He or she is invited to have a subjective experience, akin to a sensual experience, by meeting ‘imaginally’ all the external and internal sense faculties.<sup>89</sup> This leads to a synergy between imagination

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86 Suhrawardī 2004: [Suhrawardī’s Introduction], §2, also [Shahrazūrī’s Introduction], xl.

87 This definition was made by Mullā Ṣadrā’s student, Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī (d. 1091/1680) in his *Kalimāt maktūna* (Sayings Kept Secret), Tehran, n.d.: 70-72; trans. Corbin 1977: 177.

88 Nasr 1964: 73-74; cf. Suhrawardī 2004: part II.5.1, §230-236.

89 Relating to physical phenomena, the external senses comprise those of touch, taste, smell, hearing, and sight, while on the mental plane the internal “hidden senses” of

and memory, an imaginative upward journey<sup>90</sup> through a structured inner topography with a concomitant reception and perception of beauty. Accordingly, the seeker experiences tangible beauty when he/she is presented with a physical form through immediate, experiential, and non-discursive apprehension, which involves the ‘direct witnessing’ (Ar. *mushāhada*) of metaphysical truths.<sup>91</sup>

As the semblance of Aristotle in Suhrawardī’s above-described dream-vision says, “[y]our essence is (at once) self-knowledge, the self-knowing subject, and the self-known object.”<sup>92</sup> With reference to intuitive self-knowledge, Inayat Khan stated: “The mystic does not possess knowledge, for he is knowledge himself” (Inayat Khan 1989b: 407). The fundamental act of the ‘gnosis’ of the Self is an awakening which induces a state of reminiscence of its ‘beautiful’ origin before coming into this world. When all veils are lifted and removed, the illumination of the soul radiates onto the object of its vision (*ishrāq huḍūrī*). This leads to ‘knowledge by illumination and presence’ (*ilm ishrāqī huḍūrī*).

A famous Sufi quatrain states:<sup>93</sup>

If there were no love and no grief from love, who would have heard the many beautiful words spoken by you?

If there were no breeze to snatch away the tresses, who would have shown the lover the beloved’s cheeks?

The breeze the poet speaks of here is the breath that is ‘divine rapture in ecstasy’ (*jadhba-i rabbānī*), which surpasses the actions of all created beings.

imagination, memory, estimation, and representation analyse what the outer senses bring in. Cf. Webb 1982: 198.

90 Although the night journey and ascension (*mi‘rāj*) of the Prophet Muḥammad (see above) is not specifically alluded to in this context, it remains the prototype that Muslim visionary ascent is inevitably modelled on, providing “a continual subtext, evoked by subtle allusions to inspiration, vision of the divine, and the gaze of the contemplator” (Sells 1996: 47). Cf. Corbin 1977: xi, 86, 145, 282-283 n76, 318 n81.

91 Physical vision and *mushāhada* present the two complementary principles of knowledge in Suhrawardī’s *ishrāqī* philosophy. See Suhrawardī 2004: part I.3.4: §94.

92 In the *Kitāb al-Talwīḥāt* (Book of Intimations), Suhrawardī shows how the perception of the self is direct and non-mediated, concluding with the statement: “Know you are the perceiver of yourself and that is all, not by corresponding impression and not by a non-corresponding impression. Yourself is the intellect, intellector and the intellected.” Trans. Bylebyl 1976: 31.

93 Sometimes ascribed to the Persian poet Sa‘dī (1184–1292). Cf. Kaviani 1999: 423; see also Suhrawardī 1999: VI (“Treatise on the Reality of Love”, *al-Risāla fī ḥaqīqat al-ishq*), §23.

If it were not for this breeze, no one could attain this Presence or contemplate the Beauty of the Seigniorial Presence.<sup>94</sup> Using words that are loaded with resonances of the religious systems with which his audiences were familiar, Inayat Khan (1990a: 409-410) elucidates this further by explaining that

in the Sufi literature, which is known to the world as the Persian literature, there is much talk about the curls of the Beloved, and many have often wondered, “What does it mean?” Curl is a symbol of something which is curved and round. The curve denotes the twist in the thought of wisdom. Very often a straight word of truth hits the head harder than a hammer. That shows that truth alone is not sufficient, that truth must be made into wisdom, and what is wisdom? Wisdom is the twisted truth. As the raw food one cannot digest, and therefore it is cooked, although the raw food is more natural than cooked food, so the straight truth is more natural, but is not digestible; it wants to be made into wisdom. And why is it called Beloved’s curl? Because truth is of God, the Divine Beloved, the truth is God, and that twist given to His Own Being, which is truth, amplifies the divine beauty, as the curl is considered to be the sign of beauty. Then, what is not straight is a puzzle. So the wisdom is a puzzle to the ordinary mind. Besides, the curl hangs low down; so the heavenly beauty, which is wisdom, is manifested on earth, in other words, if someone wishes to see the beauty of the Heavenly Beloved, he may see it in wisdom. Wisdom is not traced in human beings, but even in the beasts and birds, in their affection, in their instinct. Very often it is most difficult for man to imitate fully the work of birds, which they do in weaving their nests, even as insects do wonderful work in preparing a little abode for themselves, which is beyond man’s art and skill. Besides this, if one were to study nature, after a keen observation and some contemplation upon it, he will find out that there is a perfect wisdom behind. Once man has thought over the subject, he can never deny, however materialistic he may be, the existence of God. Man’s individuality is proved by his wisdom and distinguished by comparison. The wisdom of God being perfect, is unintelligible to man. The glass of water cannot imagine how much water there is in the sea. If man would realise his limitation, he would never dare question the existence of God. The symbol of the curl also signifies something which is there, attractive and yet a puzzle, a riddle. One loves it, admires it, and yet one cannot fathom its length and breadth. It is that which is wisdom. Its surface is human, but its depth is divine.

## 5. Concluding Remarks

The examples of Zumurrud’s and Lisa’s female spiritual practice, leadership, and vision show how they negotiate cultural and religious norms in what Pīr

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94 As alluded to in a Sufi *ḥadīth* cited by Massignon 1929: 84.

Zia, the acting spiritual leader of the Inayatiyya, has termed a “hybrid Sufi order at the crossroads of modernity” (Zia Inayat Khan 2006; cf. Hermansen 1996: 155-178).<sup>95</sup> Anchored in South Asian Islamic Chishtī traditions and the teachings of Inayat Khan, the spirituality of Zumurrud and Lisa is transnational and transreligious, hence entering into a dialogue across geographical, cultural, linguistic, and religious divides. Following Inayat Khan’s example, they aim to serve as bridge-builders between cultures and religions. In this way, they illustrate one expression of this ‘hybridity’ in present-day Vienna within the worldwide context of the “first significant Western Sufi organisation” (Sedgwick 2017: 10), which is characterised by the fluid dynamics of different environments and circumstances but in which entanglements between Europe and South Asia are constitutive rather than marginal.

All told, this paper on Inayati visions of female teachers based in Vienna has focused on gender-sensitive hermeneutics and five interrelated principal topics of their discourse:

1. Beauty (*jamāl*)—like Majesty (*jalāl*)—is seen as one of God’s attributes that is both a creative and a responsive force. This gives it the capacity of responsiveness towards the divine qualities that the seeker concentrates upon. The perfect symmetry of Beauty (*jamāl*) and Majesty (*jalāl*) is attained in the ultimate goal of the annihilation (*fanā*) of the self in the essence (*dhāt*) of the divine reality (*al-Ḥaqq*). Importantly, as Ibn al-‘Arabī has shown, since the Arabic word *dhāt* is feminine, it adds a feminine aspect to the inner life of the deity.
2. God’s divine names and attributes, known by the epithet The Most Beautiful Names (*al-asmā’ al-ḥuṣnā*), are ritually invoked and meditated upon under the instruction of the *murshid* or spiritual guide with the aim of assuming ‘the traits of God’ or being ‘characterised by the character traits of God’ (*al-takhalluq bi-akhlāq Allāh*). This is a practice which, for Ibn al-‘Arabī, is synonymous with ‘assuming the traits of God’s names’ (*al-takhalluq bi-asmā’ Allāh*), and, in turn, the same as the path of spiritual transformation of the Sufīs.

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<sup>95</sup> In this context it is interesting to see the term ‘hybrid,’ pertaining to the meeting of elements from various sources that are mixed, as Charles Stewart (2014: 275) points out, in the sense that “all religions are composites at present and will continue to innovate and forge new hybrid forms in the future.”

3. Art: In the words of Inayat Khan, “Art is beauty, Art is harmony, Art is balance, Art is life.”
4. As the most important organ of the human being in Sufism, the heart is the organ through which the seeker can come to ‘see’ God. The Sufi ritualistic notion of practice of the polishing of the heart leads to the veil being lifted from before the ‘eye of the heart’ (*‘ayn al-qalb*).
5. Vision and intensely visual experiences, which occupy a significant mediating function for those aiming to progress further along the Inayati Sufi path. We have seen that Inayati followers deploy distinct South Asian Sufi notions of ‘envisioning’ based on the potentialities inherent in *tawajjuh* and *nazar* operating within the world of visionary experience. Undertaken in a dream or in a waking state, these visual practices operate as a particularly relevant means of interaction in a committed master-disciple relationship. They allow Sufis from different generations to interact across time and space even if historical time makes it impossible for them to communicate in the flesh.

The divine name *al-Raḥmān*, the All-Merciful, is likened to the sun light, which illuminates the entire sky, and has an all-pervading, womb-like quality. This may be associated with Ibn al-‘Arabī’s dream-vision in which he associates the Qur’ānic verse, “It is He who forms you in the wombs as He will” (Q 3:6), with the creative imagination “one of the wombs within which forms appear.”<sup>96</sup> This prime agent, an intermediate world seen by the eyes of the ‘inner vision,’ as Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī has shown, enables the ‘store house’ of the soul-as-imagination (*khizānat al-khayāl*) to contain images from both the physical and spiritual realms. He encourages the seeker to have a subjective experience by means of the active imagination (*‘ālam al-khiyāl*). When all veils are lifted and removed, the illumination of the soul radiates onto the object of its vision (*ishrāq ḥuḍūrī*) leading to ‘knowledge by illumination and presence’ (*ilm ishrāqī ḥuḍūrī*).

The path of mystical knowledge leads to an advanced stage of the development of the *murīd*, which involves the temporal mystical experience of complete effacement (*fanā*) of his or her own self (*nafs*) in the master, effectuating the annihilation of imperfect attributes while contemplating divine attributes and qualities (*akhlāq Allāh*), followed by ‘annihilation in the Prophet’ (*fanā’ fī l-rasūl*). The prophetic assistance allows the seeker to arrive at God leading to annihilation [in God] (*fanā’ [fī llāh]*). We have seen

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96 Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt* II: 428.8, cited after Murata 1992: 149.

that the Inayati female teachers in Vienna follow a spiritual path that crosses borders and, in so doing, they embrace an agenda of pluralism, feminism, and the unity of mystical experience as providing an insight into life-orientational attitudes, in which the contents rather than the form is accorded most importance. Reflecting a multiplicity, which is inherent in many Sufi teachings, this also shows a more nuanced and dynamic picture of Zumurrud's and Lisa's teachings and healing rituals, and the degree to which it remains rooted in Islam's spiritual heritage. Underscoring the discursively elusive dynamics of experiential knowing (reflecting the characteristic privileging of knowing-by-the-heart over knowing-by-the-mind), they are involved in the pioneering exegesis of women who reinterpret the manifold layers of meaning embedded in the qur'ānic text—that is in both its exoteric and its esoteric dimensions as confirmed by their own mystical experiences—with a particular gender sensitivity to language and implication. In this way their work aims to reflect the qur'ānic injunction “The believers, male and female, are protectors of one another (*awliyā*)” (Q 9:71), which means they are each other's mutual ‘friends’ and ‘allies’ (cf. Q 5:51; 8:72; 45:19). At one and the same time, it envisions a humanistic outlook in which both women and men have the same spiritual, moral, and social standing and authority, and in which they also share the same spiritual, moral, and social obligations.

### 5.1. Reconfirmation of Women's Spiritual Leadership in the Inayatiyya in 2018

Significantly, after this paper had been written, a further important gender-egalitarian sign in the Inayatiyya was given on February 5, 2018, by adding a female genealogical connection to the *silsila* of the Inayatiyya. On the occasion of the *'urs* ceremony in honour of Inayat Khan celebrated annually on February 5, Pīr Zia admitted the first woman to the Inayati *silsila*, his aunt Pīrzāde-Shahīda Noor-un-Nisa Inayat Khan. This is particularly striking considering that traditionally women are only alluded to as mothers, sisters, or wives of the masters of a *silsila* which, according to the Sufi Ruhaniat International Murid Manual of the Inayati Order, is “a living ancestral line, a chain of spiritually realized beings whose life and spirit constantly reveals the spirit of guidance to humanity.”<sup>97</sup> Prompted by the discovery of a play written by Noor-un-Nisa titled *Aede of the Ocean and Land*,<sup>98</sup> the Order claimed her as an “essential tradition-bearer of the Inayati Sufi Message.” The followers are

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97 Private communication with Lisa Malin.

98 The play will be published towards the end of 2018.

called upon to seek inspiration from the life of this *shahīda* (martyr) which is seen as “a real-life Jātaka tale,”<sup>99</sup> in allusion to the Buddha who in his previous lives is believed to have practiced the doctrine of highest compassion by sacrificing himself in order to call attention to the plight of the people in the world. Pīr Vilayat had already pronounced Noor-un-Nisa as “the first Sufi saint of the Sufi Order of the West.”<sup>100</sup> Pīr Zia’s path-breaking declaration to include Noor-un-Nisa’s name in the Inayati spiritual and genealogical lineage following the name of Inayat Khan and preceding the name of Pīr Vilayat is bound to open up new spaces for women’s spiritual leadership, moving yet a step closer to Inayat Khan’s vision of the ‘hour’ “when woman will lead humanity to a higher evolution.”<sup>101</sup>



Figure 4: Noor-un-Nisa Inayat Khan

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99 At the annual Inayati Zenith Camp in Switzerland, a week in summer 2018 was dedicated to Pīrzade-Shahīda Noor-un-Nisa and the topic of chivalry. See <http://www.pir-zia.org/2018/02/>; accessed: October 1, 2018).

100 Private communication with Lisa Malin.

101 See note 1 supra.



## List of Abbreviations

<i>EI</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , Second Edition (see H.A.R. Gibb et al. 1960–2009)
<i>EI</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , Third Edition (see Kate Fleet et al. 2016)
<i>EQ</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān</i> (see McAuliffe, Jane Dammen. 2001–2006)
SOE	Special Operations Executive

## Glossary

Abū Hurayra	أبو هريرة
Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Būnī	أحمد بن علي البوني
Āsiya	آسيا
Bībī Hāfīz Jamāl	بيبي حافظ جمال
Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī	فخر الدين عراقي
Fāṭima bint ibn al-Muthannā	فاطمة بنت ابن المثنى
Ḥaẓrat Ināyat Khān (Ḥaẓrat Inayat Khan)	حضرة عنايت خان
Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī	حضرة خواجه معين الدين چيشتي
Ḥaẓrat Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā'	حضرة نظام الدين اولياء
Ḥaẓrat Shaykh Sayyid Muḥammad Abū Hāshim Madanī	حضرة شيخ سيد محمد أبو هاشم مدني
Ibn al-'Arabī	ابن العربي
Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī	جلال الدين رومي
Jibrīl	جبريل
Khadija Bibi	خديجة بيبي
Khwāja Hasan Niẓāmī	خواجه حسن نظامي
Manik Prabhu	मणिक प्रभु
Mīkā'il	ميكائيل
Nichiren	日蓮
Muḥammad	محمد
Noor-un-Nisa Inayat Khan	نور النساء عنايت خان
Rābī'a al-'Adawiyya	رابعة العدوية
Shams bint Fuqarā'	شمس بنت فقراء
Shams-i Tabrīzī	شمس تبريزي
Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī	شهاب الدين سهروردي
Sho'le Khan Maulabakhsh	شعلة خان مولابكش
Vilayat Inayat Khan	ولاية عنايت خان
Zia Inayat Khan	ضياء عنايت خان
<i>Baḥr al-ḥayāt</i>	بحر الحياة
<i>Futūḥāt al-makkiyah</i>	فتوحات المكية
<i>Jawāhir-i khamṣa</i>	جواهر الخمسة
<i>Kitāb al-Taḥwīḥāt</i>	كتاب التلوينات
<i>Kitāb Shams al-ma'ārif wa-laṭā'if al-'awārif</i>	كتاب شمس المعارف ولطائف العوارف
<i>Minqār-i Mūsīqār</i>	منقار موسيقار
<i>al-Qur'ān</i>	القرآن
<i>Rgveda</i>	ऋग्वेद
<i>Ruznāmcha</i>	روزنامشا
advaita vedānta	अद्वैत वेदान्त
āḥād	أحاد
aḥadiyyat	أحدية

aḥwāl	أحوال
akhlāq Allāh	أخلاق الله
‘ālam al-khayāl	عالم الخيال
‘ālam al-mithāl	عالم المثال
Allāh	الله
‘aql	عقل
arḥam	ارحم
‘ashiqa	عشيق
al-asmā’ al-ḥuṣnā	الأسماء الحسنى
ātman	आत्मन्
awliyā’	أولياء
‘ayn al-qalb	عين القلب
barzakh	بَرْزَخ
basmala	بسملة
bāṭin	باطن
bāṭinī	باطني
bay‘at al-ḥaqīqa	بَيْعَةُ الْحَقِيقَةِ
bi-smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīm	بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
Burāq	براق
chirāḡ	چراغ
Chishtī	چیشتی
Chishtiyya	چیشتیة
dargāh	درفاه
darśana	दर्शन
dastār-bandī	دَسْتَار بِنْدِي
dhakar	ذکر
dhāt	ذات
dhawq	ذوق
dhikr	ذکر
dhikr Allāh	ذکر الله
dhū l-jalāl wa-l-ikrām	ذو الجلال والإكرام
dhū l-jamāl wa-l-iḥsān	ذو الجلال والإحسان
dr̥ṣṭi	درِشْتِي
fanā’	فَنَاء
fanā’ fi l-rasūl	فَنَاء فِي الرَّسُولِ
fanā’ fi llāh	فَنَاء فِي اللَّهِ
fatā	فتی
al-fiṭra	الفطرة
futuwwa	فُتُوَّة
Gudrī Shāhī	جدري شاهي
ḥadīth	حَدِيث
ḥadīth qudsī	حديث قدسي
ḥāl	حال
ḥaṃsa	حَس
al-ḥaqq	الْحَقّ

al-ḥuṣnā	الحسنى
iḥsān	إحسان
‘ilm al-ḥuḍūrī	علم الحضورى
‘ilm ishrāqī ḥuḍūrī	علم إشراقى حضورى
‘ilm al-maḥabba	علم المحبة
īmān	إيمان
‘ināyatī	عنايتى
inna Llāha jamīl yuḥibbu l-jamāl	إن الله جميلٌ يُحبُّ الجمال
‘ishq	عشق
‘ishq Allāh ma‘būd Allāh	عشق الله معبود الله
al-‘ishq nār idhā waqa‘a fī l-qulūb	العشق نار إذا وقع في القلوب أحرق ما سوى
aḥraqa mā siwā l-maḥbūb	المحبيب
ishrāq	إشراق
ishrāq ḥuḍūrī	إشراق حضورى
islām	إسلام
jadhba-i rabbānī	جذب الربانى
jalāl	جلال
jamāl	جمال
jawānmard	جوانمرد
jīva	जीव
kalām	كلام
kamāl	كمال
kashf	كشف
al-Kawthar	الكوثر
khalīfa	خليفة
khalawāt	خلوات
khalq	خلق
khalwa	خلوة
Khalwatī	خلوتى
khilāfat	خلافة
khirqa	خرقة
khizānat al-khayāl	خزانة الخيال
lā ilāha illā llāh	لا إله إلا الله
lā ilāha illā l-‘ishq	لا إله إلا العشق
lu’lu’	لؤلؤ
madhhab al-‘ishq	مذهب العشق
Mahātma	महात्मा
manas	मनस्
Mānasarovara	मानसरोवर
maqam	مقام
maqāmāt	مقامات
al-Maqṣad al-asnā fī sharḥ ma‘ānī asmā’	المقصد الأسنى في شرح معاني أسماء الله الحسنى
Allāh al-Ḥuṣnā	
min nafsin wāḥida	من نفس واحدة
mi‘rāj	معراج

murid	مُرِيد
murshid	مُرْشِد
murshida	مُرْشِدَة
mushāhada	مُشَاهَدَة
nabī	نَبِي
nabiyyāt	نَبِيَّة
nafas	نَفْس
nafas al-Rahmān	نَفْس الرَّحْمَن
nafs	نَفْس
Naqshbandī	نَقْشِبَنْدِي
naẓar	نَظَر
naẓar-i 'ināyatī	نَظَرِي عِنَايَتِي
nebiah	نَبِيَّات
nebiot	نَبِيَّات
Ni' matullāhī	نِعْمَة اللَّهِ
Nipponzan Myōhōji	本山妙法寺
niswān	نِسْوَان
Pīr	بِير
Pīrānī	بِيرَانِي
pīrī murīdī	بِيرِي مِيرِيدِي
Pīr-o-Murshid	بِير و مَرشِد
Pīrzāde	بِير زَادَة
prakṛti	پَرَكْرَتِي
Qādirī	قَادِرِي
qalb	قَلْب
qawwālī	قَوَّالِي
quṭb	قُطْب
rābiṭa	رَابِطَة
raḥim	رَحْم
al-Raḥīm	الرَّحِيم
raḥmā	رَحْمَة
al-Raḥmān	الرَّحْمَان
riḥm	رَحْم
sajjāda nīshīn	سَجْدَة نِيَشِين
ṣalāt	صَلَاة
ṣalawāt	صَلَوَات
sālik	سَالِك
samā'	سَمَاع
sāqī	سَائِي
shahada	شَهَادَة
shahīd	شَهِيد
shahīda	شَهِيدَة
shaqq al-ṣadr	شَقَّ الصَّدْر
sharī'a	شَرِيعَة
shaykh	شَيْخ

al-shaykh al-akbar	السَّيِّخُ الْأَكْبَرُ
shaykha	شَيْخَةٌ
ṣifāt	صِفَات
silsila	سِلْسِلَةٌ
sirāj	سِرَاج
so ham	सोऽहम्
sōma	सोम
suḥbat	صُحْبَةٌ
sulūk	سُلُوك
sūra	سُورَةٌ
tafsīr	تَفْسِير
al-takhalluq bi-akhlāq Allāh	التَّخَلُّقُ بِأَخْلَاقِ اللَّهِ
al-takhalluq bi-asmā' Allāh	التَّخَلُّقُ بِأَسْمَاءِ اللَّهِ
tarīqa	طَرِيقَةٌ
taṣarruf	تَصَرُّفٌ
taṣawwuf	تَصَوُّفٌ
taṣawwur	تَصَوُّورٌ
taṣawwur-i shaykh	تَصَوُّورُ شَيْخٍ
tasbīḥ	تَسْبِيحٌ
tawḥīd	تَوْحِيدٌ
tawajjuh	تَوْجُّهُ
ṭuruq	طُرُقٌ
unthā	أُنْثَى
'urs	عُرْسٌ
vāhana	वाहन
viveka	विवेक
waḥdat	وَحْدَةٌ
waḥdat al-wujūd	وَحْدَةُ الْوُجُودِ
wajh	وَجْهٌ
wa raḥmatī wasi'at kulla shay' in	وَرَحْمَتِي وَسِعَتْ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ
wazā'if	وِظَائِفٌ
wazīfa	وِظِيفَةٌ
yāqūt	يَاقُوت
zāhir	ظَاهِرٌ
zawj	زَوْجٌ
zawjayn	زَوْجَيْنِ
ziyāra	زِيَارَةٌ

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