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FROM BAKU TO CAIRO: HOW THE AZERBAIJAN-BORN KHALWATIYYA BECAME A GREAT EGYPTIAN SUFI ORDER

The tariqa Khalwatiyya founded by al-Sayyid Yahyâ al-Bâkûvî who has played an important role in the religious history of Egypt from its introduction into this country at the end of the XV century until today. The current shaykh of al-Azhar, Ahmad al-Tayyib, belongs to great Khalwatî shaykhs family of Upper Egypt demonstrates the lasting and deep-rooted influence of this tariqa in Egypt, especially among its Azharî establishment. The Khalwatiyya was introduced into Egypt in two stages, not only two and a half centuries apart, but also in ways that were very different. The first Khalwatîs to arrive in Egypt preceded and followed the Ottoman conquest of the country (1517); they were three disciples of Omar al-Rûshânî (d. 1486), one of Yahyâ al-Bakuvî's khalîfa who settled in Tabriz, either sent by their master to Egypt to spread the tariqa Khalwatiyya or to escape the Safavid invasion. The Khalwatiyya was then linked to the Turkish establishment of Cairo: this would not change until the arrival in the mid XVIII century of a Khalwatî Shaykh from Syria, Mustâfâ al-Bakrî (m. 1749). The initiation by al-Bakrî of an Egyptian scholar, Muhammad al-Hifnî (d. 1767), who would later become shaykh of al-Azhar University, set in motion a spectacular spread of the order among Egyptians throughout the country, with a stronghold along the Nile Valley. This expansion, that would continue far into the XIX century, was so unprecedented that historians of Sufism described it as a revival or renewal of the Khalwatiyya in the Arab world at a time when the order was starting to decline in the Balkans and Anatolia. It is in the context of the creation of a vast empire by the Ottomans that the Khalwatiyya, born in Azerbaijan, became a great Sufi order of the Islamic world and of Egypt in particular.

Key words: Khalwatiyya, Sayyid Yahyâ al-Bâkûvî, Mustâfâ al-Bakrî, Sufi, Islamic World.

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Бакуден Каирге дейін: Әзірбайжанның тумасы Халуатияның Египеттің ұлы сопылық тарикатқа айналуы

Тарика Халватия, Әл-Сайид Яхья әл-Бакуви негізін қалаған, ол XV ғасырдың аяғында осы елде пайда болғаннан бастап бүгінгі күнге дейін Египеттің діни тарихында маңызды рөл атқарды. Жоғарғы Египеттің Ұлы Халуати шейхтер отбасынан шыққан, қазіргі әл-Әзһар шейхы Ахмад әл-Тайиб, бұл Тарикаттың Египетте, әсіресе оның өзхаристік бағытына ұзақ және терең әсерін көрсетеді. Халуатия Мысырға тек екі жарым ғасыр уақыт айырмашылығына ие екі сатыда ғана емес, бір-бірінен мүлдем өзгеше екі жолмен енді. Мысырға келген алғашқы халуатилер бұл елдегі Османлы жаулап алуынан бұрын және кейін де келген (1517 ж.); олар Омар әл-Рушанидің үш шәкірті болды (1486 ж.), Табризге қоныстанған Яхья әл-Бакуви халифаларының бірі немесе мұғалімі Халуатия тарикатын тарату үшін Египетке жіберген немесе Сефевидтердің шабуылынан қашқан. Халуатия сол кезде Каирдің түркі бағытымен байланысты болды: бұл XVIII ғасырдың ортасында Сириялық халуати шейхы Мұстафа әл-Бакри (м. 1749) келгенге дейін өзгермейді. Мысырлық ғұлама Әл-Бакридің бастамасымен, кейіннен әл-Әзһар университетінің шейхы болған Мұхаммед әл-Хифни (1767 ж. қ.б.) бұл тәртіптің бүкіл ел аумағында Ніл аңғарының бойымен бекіністермен мысырлықтар арасында тиімді таралуына жол ашты. XIX ғасырға дейін жалғасқан мұндай экспансия бұрын-соңды болмағаны соншалық, сопылық тарихшылар оны Балқан мен Анадолыда тәртіп құлдырай бастаған кезде араб әлеміндегі халуатияның қайта жандануы немесе жанаруы деп сипаттады. Османлылардың орасан зор империясы құрылуы тұсында Әзірбайжаңда дүниеге келген Халуатия Ислам әлемі мен Египеттің ұлы сопылық тарикатқа айналды. Қолжазбада автор Яхья әл-Бакуви негізін қалаған Халуатия тарихына байланысты екі келеді сұраққа жауап беруге тырысады: белгілі бір тарихи контексте Халуатия керісінше құлдырап, тіпті жойылып бара жатқан басқа сопылық ағымдардың есебінен жиі өркендеп, кеңейе алғанын не түсіндіреді? XVIII ғасырдан бастап Египеттегі бұл тарикаттың жандануын қалай түсіндіреміз?

Түйін сөздер: Халуатия, Сайид Яхья әл-Бакуви, Мұстафа әл-Бакри, сопы, Ислам әлемі.

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e-mail: rchihfaulks@gmail.com**От Баку до Каира: становление Халватия, основанного в Азербайджане, великим суфийским тарикатом Египта**

Тарикат Халватия, основанный ас-Сайидом Яхья аль-Бакуви, сыгравшим важную роль в религиозной истории Египта с момента его появления в этой стране в конце XV века и до наших дней. Нынешний шейх аль-Азхара, Ахмад ат-Тайиб, принадлежит к великой семье шейхов Халвати Верхнего Египта, демонстрирует прочное и глубоко укоренившееся влияние этого тариката в Египте, особенно среди его истецлишмента Азхари. Халватия была введена в Египет в два этапа, не только с разницей в два с половиной века, но и очень разными путями. Первые халваты, прибывшие в Египет, предшествовали османскому завоеванию страны и последовали за ним (1517); они были тремя учениками Омара аль-Рушани (д. 1486), один из халифов Яхьи аль-Бакуви, поселившихся в Тебризе, либо посланный своим хозяином в Египет для распространения тарика Халватия, либо спасающийся от вторжения Сефевидов. Халватийя тогда была связана с турецким основателем в Каире, и это не менялось до прибытия в середине XVIII века халватийского шейха из Сирии Мустафы аль-Бакри (м. 1749). По инициативе египетского ученого Аль-Бакри, впоследствии ставший шейхом университета Аль-Азхар Мухаммед аль-Хифни (1767 г. до н. э.), проложил путь к эффективному распространению этого тариката среди египтян укреплениями вдоль долины Нила на всей территории страны. Эта экспансия, которая продолжалась далеко в XIX веке, была настолько беспрецедентной, что историки суфизма описали ее как возрождение Халватии в арабском мире в то время, когда тарикат начал приходить в упадок на Балканах и в Анатолии. Именно в контексте создания османами огромной империи Халватийя, родившаяся в Азербайджане, стала великим суфийским тарикатом исламского мира и Египта в частности.

Ключевые слова: Халватия, Сайид Яхья аль-Бакуви, Мустафа аль-Бакри, суфии, исламский мир.

Introduction

The *tariqa* Khalwatiyya founded by al-Sayyid Yahyâ al-Bâkûvî is one of the great Sufi Orders of Egypt; it has played an important role in the religious history of this country from its introduction at the end of the XV century until today. The fact that the current Shaykh of the al-Azhar Mosque, Ahmad al-Tayyib, belongs to a family of great *khalwatî* shaykhs of Upper Egypt demonstrates the lasting and deep-rooted influence of this *tariqa* in Egypt, especially among its *azharî* establishment.

The Khalwatiyya was introduced into Egypt in two stages: these not only took place two and a half centuries apart, but also were also very different in scale and influence. The first *khalwatî*s arrived in Egypt in the last years of the Mamluk Rule (1250-1517) and just before the Ottoman conquest of the country in 1517; they were three disciples of ‘Umar al-Rûshânî (d. 1486), one of Yahyâ al-Bakuvî’s *skhalîfa* who had settled in Tabrîz. The Khalwatiyya was therefore linked to the Turkish establishment of Cairo. This would not change until the arrival in Egypt in the mid 18th century of a *khalwatî* shaykh from Syria, Mustâfâ al-Bakrî (m. 1749). The initiation into the Khalwatiyya by al-Bakrî of an Egyptian scholar, Muhammad al-Hifnî (d. 1767), who would

later become Shaykh of al-Azhar mosque, set in motion a spectacular expansion of the order among Egyptians throughout the country, with a stronghold along the Nile Valley. This expansion, that would continue long into the XIX century, was so unprecedented that historians of Sufism described it as a *revival* or *renewal* of the Khalwatiyya in the Arab world at a time when the order was starting to decline in the Balkans and Anatolia.

Justification of the choice of articles and goals and objectives

It is in the context of the creation of a vast empire by the Ottomans that the Khalwatiyya, born in Azerbaijan, became a great Sufi order of the Islamic world and of Egypt in particular. My article will attempt to answer two important questions linked to the history of the Khalwatiyya in Egypt: what explains the limited impact of the *tariqa* on Egyptian society in its first stage of expansion? How do we explain the renewal of this order in Egypt from the eighteenth century onwards?

Scientific research methodology

The research methodology is based the scientific methodology such as comparative analysis, obser-

vation, theoretical and historical methods were considered for the access of the paper purpose.

Main part

1. *The first wave: the conquest*

The Khalwatiyya was introduced into Egypt at the end of the XV century by three disciples of a Turkish *khalīfa* of Yahyâ al-Bâkûvî called ‘Umar al-Rushânî (d. 1486). He had settled in Tabrîz under the patronage of Uzun Hasan, the ruler of the AqQoyunlu dynasty (1378-1508). These three disciples were: Muhammad al-Demirdâsh (d. 1523-1524), born in Shirwân, Azerbaïdjan, Ibrâhîm Gulshenî (or Kulshânî, d. 1534) a Turk from Diyâr Bakir in Anatolia, and Shâhîn al-Khalwatî (d. 1547-48) (Trimingham, 1971).

Muhammad Demirdâsh and Shâhîn al-Khalwatî were Mamluks of Sultan QâytBây, who ruled Egypt between 1468-1496. They went to Tabrîz to be initiated by ‘Umar al-Rûshanî; this provides evidence of the far-reaching influence of this Sufi master. As for Ibrâhîm al-Gulshânî, he was living in Tabrîz near Shaykh Rûshânî, but the conquest of the city by Shâhîsmâ’îl in 1501 forced him into exile, like many other Sunni scholars and Sufis (Curry, 2005). For reasons of geographical proximity, many of the refugees from Iran and Azerbaijan who fled to the Middle East settled in Syria, but Gulshânî continued as far as Egypt and found a home there for himself and his family in Birkatak-Hâjj outside Cairo, with the help of his brother in the Path, al-Demirdâsh. Then Sultan Qânsûh al-Ghurî (1501-1516), the last great Mamluk sultan of Egypt, who had succeeded QaytBây, granted him living quarters at the Mu’ayyadiyya mosque near BâbZuwayla. After the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517, Gulshânî built *azâwiya* in the same quarter (Abouseif, 1988). Ibrâhîm al-Gulshânî, described in his hagiography (*Manâqib*) as a *malamî* and a poet influenced by Rûmî (as was his master ‘Umar al-Rûshânî, author of three Persian *Mathnawis*) (Bosworth, 2013), became popular among the soldiers of the Ottoman army (On Gulshânî, 2017).

Shâhîn al-Khalwatî lived in seclusion for decades in the Muqattam, a limestone plateau that borders the city of Cairo to the east and is considered in Islamic tradition to be a sacred mountain (Abû al-‘Amâyim, M, 2006). The Egyptian Sufi, ‘Abd al-Wahhâb al-Sha’rânî (d. 1565), a contemporary of Shâhîn al-Khalwatî, wrote that Ottoman emirs and viziers used to visit him there (Winter, 1982). As for Demirdâsh, he established his *zâwiya* in the north-

ern suburb of the city, in Khandaq al-Mawâlî (today ‘Abbâsiyya), where his teaching was influenced by the thinking of the Andalusian Sufi Ibn ‘Arabî (d. 1240), known as the greatest Master (Shaykh al-akbar). Heaven encouraged his disciples to study Ibn ‘Arabî’s writings. His master al-Rûshanî was also an apologist for the Shaykh al-akbar (Chodkiewicz, 2004). Sufis from Central Asia, Iran and Anatolia were more open to the thinking of Ibn ‘Arabî, while in Syria and Egypt during the entire medieval period and until the arrival of the Ottomans, a strong opposition to the Andalusian master was the rule among scholars (Knysh, 1998; Chodkiewicz, 2005).

So one can see that although these three Sufis had the same master, they were very different spiritual individuals and consequently their impact on Egyptian society was also very dissimilar, apart from the fact that it was generally limited to the Turkish and Persian milieux of Cairo. There are several possible explanations for this: one is the cultural and language barriers that existed between Turks and Arabs even though most learned Turkish and Persian Sufis could also write in Arabic. For example, Muhammad Demirdâsh is the author of two treatises in Arabic that develop the ideas of Ibn ‘Arabî on the Reality of Muhammad (*haqîqamuhammadiyya*) and the Unicity of being (*wahdat al-wujud*) (His *Risâla al-tawhîd* would be the subject of a commentary by Ahmad al-Dardîr, an Egyptian *khalwatî* of the eighteenth century to whom I shall return in the second part of this article. Another reason was the difference between Turks and Arabs when it came to religious and mystical culture. Turko-Persian sufism was open to diverse and complex influences, and its practices were not always well understood by Egyptian Sufis. When the Egyptian Sufi ‘Abd al-Wahhâb al-Sha’rânî, in his *Lata’if al-Minan*, attacked what he called the *ahl al-khalwa*, “People of seclusion”, he definitely meant the Khalwatî; he clearly disapproved of their individualistic and ascetic mysticism, that emphasized solitary retreat for periods of up to forty days of prayer and meditation, with the austere discipline demanded by fasting and silence. Sha’rânî warned his reader against the dangerous effects of too much fasting and of long periods of silence and seclusion from society.

The *zâwiya* of Demirdâsh and Gulshânî are still standing, and their *waqfiyya* (endowment deeds) have also survived. In the nineteenth century, Alî pasha Mubarak describes in his major work, *Al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyya al-Jadida* (Tawfiq’s New Plans, referring to Egypt’s ruler at the time), which provides a detailed, street-by-street description of Egypt’s

major cities and villages, the *zâwiya* Demirdashiyya and mentions fifty cells in which Sufis isolate themselves for a period of three days during the month of Sha'bân (Bannerth, 1964-66).

One final but not negligible reason for the limited influence of the Khalwatiyya among Egyptian Sufis is that when they arrived in Egypt the *khalwatīs* found there a religious landscape in which the Egyptian orders such as the Ahmadiyya of Ahmad al-Badawî (d. 1276), the Burhâmiyya of Ibrâhîm al-Disûqî (d. 1296) and the Rifâ'iyya, which came from Iraq, wove a dense network of *zâwiya*s that covered all of the Delta region, thanks especially to the attribution to them by the Mamluks, and then by the Ottomans, of agricultural lands that were not liable for land-taxes (the *rizzaqihbâsiyya*) (Mayeur-Jaouen, Michel, 2005). The Qâdiriyya had also been present in Egypt since medieval times.

It is against these well-established and much older Sufi orders prevailing in Egypt that in the eighteenth century the second wave of the Khalwatiyya would make headway and bring a real and lasting change that is described by historians as a religious and spiritual renewal (Martin, 1986). This renewal is a consequence of the integration of Egypt into the Ottoman Empire and of the contacts and cultural exchanges made in the heart of this vast empire, in its Arab provinces, between Sufis of Arab and Turco-Persian cultures.

2. *The second wave: the renewal*

The context of the renewal

The second wave of expansion of the Khalwatiyya in Egypt takes place in a very different historical context: Egypt is no longer in the period of turmoil brought upon by the collapse of the Mamluks and the conquest of the Ottomans. Two centuries have passed and the country is part of an empire that in its apogee stretched along the eastern Mediterranean from the Balkans to North Africa. Within this relatively united empire, commercial routes developed and were intensively exploited. The *Pax Ottomani-ca* guaranteed the security of the roads to Mecca and Madina: The Holy Cities remained crossroads for intellectual exchange, as they had been since the time of the Mamluks. Many other great Arab cities experienced rapid expansion during the Ottoman period, notably Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo, which, having become provincial cities in a vast empire, were now ideally placed on the highways of international commerce (Raymond, 1984). The fact that these three cities were required sojourns on the route of the pilgrimage also had cultural and religious consequences. The influence of Cairo spread through the

Maghreb, sub-saharan Africa, Syria and the Hijaz, while Damascus and Aleppo were oriented towards the turkophone regions of eastern Anatolia and Iraq, and as far as the frontier with Iran (Raymond, 1991). Thus Damascus became home to Iranian refugees during the seventeenth century, when the Ottoman Porte was at war with the Iran of the Safavids.

In these Arab provinces, the Ottomans carried on the policy of the Mamluks in building or supporting religious institutions by increasing the number of pious foundations (*waqf*) (Faroqhi, 2014; Veinstein, 2010). Thanks to this support, an institution such the al-Azhar mosque not only continued to attract scholars from across the Muslim world but was also able to provide teaching to an increasing number of Egyptian students coming from the countryside. At the end of the eighteenth century al-Azhar had 3000 students of which two thirds were Egyptian and one third foreigners (the first statistics appeared in the last quarter of the XIX century; for the year 1875, Heyworth-Dunne gives the figure of 11,095 students, of whom 1214 were foreign. There were 20,000 in 1907 and 87,000 at the beginning of the 1980s) (Raymond, 1999). Men travelled, as did their writings in the two great languages of Sufism, Arabic and Persian; Ottoman Turkish was also used. Arabic treatises were translated into Persian or even into Ottoman, and vice versa. It is in this context of easing exchanges and widening of horizons for Sufis that the second wave of the Khalwatiyya spread in Egypt through one man: Mustafâ al-Bakrî (El-Rouayheb, 2006).

Mustafâ al-Bakrî (1688-1749)

Mustafâ al-Bakrî was born in Damascus and initiated into the Khalwatiyya in his native city by a *khalwatî* master originally from Aleppo, 'Abd al-Latîf al-Halabî (d. 1709). Aleppo, the great city of northern Syria, lay at a crossroads between the major routes to Asia and was a meeting point for many Sufis from Anatolia, Azerbaijan, Iran and Central Asia. Thus Aleppo was a stepping-stone to the Arab world for spiritual traditions from the Persian and Turkish worlds. Al-Halabî was a disciple of Mustafâ al-Adirnawî, a *khalifa* of 'Alî QaraBâsh (m. 1685), whose teaching stemmed from the Turkish Khalwatiyya Sha'baniyya, which has been studied by J. Curry (Curry, 2010). Contrary to the Egyptians who were reluctant to leave their home country, the Syrian scholars were used to travelling abroad, mostly within the frontiers of the Empire. Mustafâ al-Bakrî is a good representative of that culture of travel: he went to Istanbul, al-Quds (today's Jerusalem), Mosul, Baghdad, Basrah, Mecca and Madina. He went

to Cairo for the first time in 1720-1721 where he initiated many disciples among the scholars of the city and where, according to the historian al-Jabartî, he designated Muhammad al-Hifnî, a scholar of al-Azhar mosque, his *khalîfa* in Egypt before returning to Jerusalem, Al-Bakrî died during his second trip to Cairo in 1749.

In 1757, eight years after the death of Al-Bakrî, Muhammad al-Hifnî was designated shaykh of what had under the Ottomans become the highest religious institution of Egypt, the mosque of al-Azhar. The position of Shaykh of al-Azhar was created by the Ottomans, probably around the end of the sixteenth century (Crecelius, 1969). In his position as professor and Shaykh of al-Azhar, al-Hifnî was able to initiate many of his students into the Khalwatiyya, and from then the Khalwatiyya became identified with al-Azhar: after al-Hifnî, nine shaykhs of al-Azhar belonged to the Khalwatiyya. Belonging to the Khalwatiyya for a student coming from the countryside was a way to be socially integrated into a sophisticated, educated and urbanised milieu of *azharî* scholars. The Khalwatiyya was also soon to become the Sufi order of the common people thanks to the missionary work of the students of al-Hifnî who were sent by their shaykh to different parts of the country to spread the Order, or who returned to their hometowns after having completed their studies and there occupied religious positions while at the same time gathering new followers into the Khalwatiyya.

According to al-Jabartî, al-Hifnî undertook missionary ventures and proselytism after being advised to do so by his master al-Bakrî: "From then on, he accepted the professions of many, conducted *dhikr* sessions by day and night, revitalised the sufi path after it had declined... His guiding influence reached throughout the country: in many villages of Egypt he had a deputy, a lieutenant and disciples invoking the name of God... People came to him from everywhere. At first, it was his practice to accept them only after seeking God's guidance, consultation, writing down of their names, and so forth. However, when the number of people coming to him and seeking admission became great, he informed his shaykh, Sayyid (al-Bakrî) al-Siddîqî of the matter and was given the following advice: "Do not prevent anyone, even a Christian, from receiving instruction from you, without any preconditions" (Philipp, 1994).

Mustafâ al-Bakrî's writings are in the Akbarian tradition of the Khalwatiyya; he does not bring anything new to that tradition, but the novelty of his

work lies in the fact that he spread this tradition through the Arab world and in the Arabic language through his numerous writings (F. de Jong, 1987). Most of these writings are Sufi handbooks on *suluk* and *adab* (the Sufi path, its culture and manners) intended to instruct an ever-increasing number of followers. These books would be copied or imitated by his disciples and by most *khalwatî* Sufis of the nineteenth century. He also composed prayers and invocations (*awrâd* and *ahzâb*) for the ritual of the *tarîqa* that were gathered in a collection that is still in use among the Khalwatis of Egypt (*Majmûaw-râdsayyidi Mustafâ al-Bakrî*). Mustafâ al-Bakrî made of the reading of Yahya al-Shirwânî's *wird al-Sattâr* the pivot of the *Khalwatî* ritual: This *wird* consists mostly of the recitation of the 'beautiful Names of God', beginning with: 'Yâ *Sattâr*, yâ *Sattâr*, yâ 'Azîz, yâ *Ghaffâr* (O Protector, O Protector, O Powerful One, O most Clement One)'. It should be read aloud by a single person while the audience is listening; this is held to be more beneficial than reciting in common. It equals silent *dhikr*, the *dhikr* of the heart. The external union on these occasions is believed to lead to internal union, which equals *mujâhada*, which should lead to *mushâhada*. In other words, al-Bakrî emphasises participation in the community (F. de Jong, 2013). 'Umar al-Shubrâwî, an important *Khalwatî* shaykh of the nineteenth century, wrote a commentary of the *wird al-Sattâr* intitled *Miftâh al-asrâr 'alâ wird al-Sattâr* (the key to the secrets of the *wird al-Sattâr*); it was printed in the margins of his book *Irshâd al-murîdîn fîma'rifât kalâm al-'ârîfîn*, which is a commentary of the prayer written by Mustafâ al-Bakrî, *wird al-Sahar* (Umar al-Shubrâwî, h1304).

Conclusion

The Syro-Egyptian wave of the Khalwatiyya was going to sweep across large parts of the Arab-speaking world due to the position of al-Azhar in the eighteenth and nineteenth century as an international center of religious learning. Cairo was a regional intellectual hub for scholars coming from Africa; each year the caravan to Mecca departing from Cairo gathered thirty to forty thousand pilgrims from the Maghreb and sub-saharan Africa, among them many scholars who would spend time studying at the al-Azhar mosque (Raymond, 1985). B. Radtke, who wrote an appraisal of Sufi literature in Arabic of the nineteenth century, wrote that the most influential writings in Arabic on Sufism during that period were by Sufis affiliated to the Khalwati-

yya (Radtke, 1996). Thus the impact of al-Bakrî's preaching in Cairo went beyond the frontiers of Egypt and spread to the Hijâz, Northern and Western Africa as well as Sudan. One of al-Bakrî's disciple in Cairo was the medinese Muhammad 'Abd al-Karîm al-Sammân (d. 1775); he founded his own order, the Sammâniyya, which spread to the Sudan and to Ethiopia, and from Mecca to Southeast Asia. Al-Sammân was also the shaykh of the North African Ahmad al-Tijânî (d. 1815) the order founded by whom, al-Tijâniyya, played a major role in the

history of North and West Africa. It was on his return from the pilgrimage to Mecca that the Algerian Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmân (d. 1793-1794) spent some time as a student at al-Azhar, where he was initiated into the Khalwatiyya by al-Hifnî: The Rahmaniyya would become the most important and influential Sufi Order in Algeria in the nineteenth century. This shows that Yahyâ al-Bakuvî's teaching had an impact that maybe himself would never have imagined, it shows how far and how long the Khalwatiyya travelled after he died.

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