



Sufi Authority in “Post-Modern” Muslim Societies

Irina R. Katkova

Saint Petersburg State University, Russian Federation

katkova_irina@yahoo.com

Abstract : *While the beginning of the 21st century demonstrated the emergence of various distinctive styles of Sufism, the existing studies of Sufi practice and discourse in various countries across the world illustrate how social modern forms and techniques are now among the conditions of possibility for a great many movements that are concerned to extend the Islamic tradition, traditions of practice and piety. Yet, modern scholarship represents relatively little known area of Sufi leadership tradition as well as the role of shaykh as a mediating agent in Muslim societies. Fulfilling this scientific gap, this paper is aimed at examining the ways in which we could better understand the role of Sufi shaykh and the production of their authorities in post-modern Muslim societies. In doing so, the paper gives ample emphasis on theoretical discussion about tradition in mystical Islam, and about the ways in which such tradition gives influence to the mediating role played by a Sufi shaykh in society, with a particular case study of the Naqshbandiyah tradition in West Sumatra, Indonesia. This paper reveals the important dimension of traditions of how Sufi shaykhs practice the ideal of Prophet as spiritual masters, within the regional form of Islam, or as mediating shaykhs today, that enable Muslims to pursue a spiritual path within the conflicting situations and pressure of modern life.*

Keywords : *Sufy Authority, Islamic Tradition, Mediating Shaykh, Mystical Islam.*

Abstrak : *Sementara awal abad ke-21 menunjukkan munculnya berbagai gaya khas tasawuf, studi-studi yang ada tentang praktik dan wacana sufi di berbagai wilayah menggambarkan bagaimana bentuk dan teknik sosial modern sekarang ini berada di antara kondisi yang mendukung munculnya gerakan-gerakan besar, yang berkonsern dalam perluasan*

tradisi Islam, dan tradisi-tradisi praktik, dan kesalehan. Namun, keilmuan modern menunjukkan kurangnya pengetahuan dalam bidang tradisi kepemimpinan sufi, sebagaimana dalam hal peran syekh sebagai agen perantara dalam masyarakat Muslim. Memenuhi kesenjangan ilmiah ini, makalah ini bertujuan untuk meneliti cara-cara di mana kita dapat lebih memahami peran syaikh sufi dan produksi otoritas mereka di masyarakat Muslim modern. Dengan demikian, makalah ini memberikan banyak penekanan pada diskusi teoretis tentang konsep tradisi dalam Islam tasawuf, dan tentang cara-cara di mana tradisi tersebut memberikan pengaruh pada peran mediasi yang dimainkan oleh seorang syaikh sufi di masyarakat, dengan studi kasus pada tradisi Naqshbandiyah di Sumatra Barat, Indonesia. Makalah ini mengungkapkan dimensi penting dari tradisi tentang bagaimana syekh sufi mempraktikkan cita-cita kenabian sebagai guru spiritual dalam Islam yang regional, atau sebagai seorang syekh perantara, yang membantu umat Islam menempuh jalan spiritual dalam situasi-situasi dan tekanan-tekanan yang rumit dari kehidupan modern saat ini.

Kata Kunci : *Otoritas Sufi, Tradisi Islam, Syaikh Perantara, Mistik Islam.*

A. Introduction

In the world scholarship today, much attention has been given to the global 'resurgence of religion', rejecting the former theories of modernization of the world. Serious emphasis is given to the Muslim world, especially to militant and political movements, the so-called 'fundamentalists.' Speaking about the end of the 'secularization theory', many scholars like Berger P.¹ and Stark (1999), write about the key role of 'fundamentalists' while such Islamic institutions like Sufi brotherhoods (*tariqah*) remains the core of Islamic social life in many regions of Muslim world. Hence, it is important to distinguish the role of *tariqah*-style organization on the background of a broad spectrum of Sufi movements from being the core of old-fashioned popular Islam, to being the serious vehicles of modern Islamic societies such as modern types of religious

¹ Peter L. Berger, ed, *The Desecularization of the World Resurgent Religion and World Politics.* (Washington, 1999).

associations like *Yayasan Taskiya Sejati* in Jakarta² and *Gumushanevi* - branch of Khalidi related to Naqshbandiyah *tariqah* in Turkey.³

The beginning of the 21st century demonstrated the emergence of various distinctive styles of Sufism. So contemporary scholars underline the importance of creating a new analytical instrument for understanding the role of Sufi brotherhoods in the modern world. The post-materialism theory, promoted by J.O. Voll, reflects the new spiritual shift in contemporary society. Accordingly this theoretical framework gives the possibility for the scholars of Sufism to define some modes of Sufism as neither ‘traditional’ nor ‘modern’, and introduces the new term ‘post-modern’ *tariqah*. He distinguished three theoretical approaches: 1) folk Islam and pop culture; 2) *tariqah* and globalization, precisely the so-called ‘local’ forms of Islam and processes of globalization; 3) contemporary Sufism and ‘post-materialism’ which underline the contrast between ‘modern’ and ‘post-modern’. The ‘post-materialism’ theory reflects the new spiritual shift in contemporary society. J.O. Voll recommends that the current popularity of Sufism in its many forms, can better be understood in light of the growing literature on post-materialist values in late, or post-modernists societies.⁴

Besides, modern scholarship represents relatively little known area of Sufi leadership tradition as well as the role of *shaykh* as a mediating agent in Muslim societies. The Islamic society can be called charismatic as it embodies Muhammad’s authority, so the study reveals the important dimensions of traditions of how Sufi *shaykhs* practice the ideal of Prophet as spiritual masters, within the regional form of Islam, or as mediating *shaykhs* today that enable Muslims to pursue a spiritual path within the conflicting situations and pressure of modern life.

² Michael Laffan, “National Crisis and the Representation of Traditional Sufism in Indonesia: The Periodicals Salafy and Sufi,” in *Sufism and the Modern in Islam*, ed. Martin van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell (New York: I.B Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2013).

³ Brian Silverstein, “Sufism and Govern Mentality in the Late Ottoman Empire, Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East” vol. 29, no. 2 (2009): 171–85.

⁴ N Levtzion and John O. Voll, *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987).

Studying the local forms of Islam, one can notice the significance of scholarly approach of the outstanding scholar of Islamic Studies, Marshall Hodgson, who wrote that “the “cosmopolitan unity into which peoples entered in so many regions was maintained independently on the everyday culture, and on the level of the Perso-Arabic high culture; its standards affected and even increasingly modified the culture of everyday life, but that culture remained essentially Indic or European or another according to the region.”⁵ Fully developed as a result of its relationships between local cultural traditions and different outward influences, regional forms of existing Islam are self-sufficient as a rule. It is evident that only “local Islam” having absorbed all variety of regional religious traditions and closely connected with history and culture of the region, can correspond to the spiritual quest of people. The Islamic religious tradition, for all its diversity, has retained certain integrality. In Islamic context, ‘spirituality’ is for transcending the limits of natural order of foreseeable life or struggle toward some sort of ‘supernatural’ realm.

In the frame of this conception it is also interesting to mention M. Hodgson’s doctrine of studying Muslim culture as civilization which means above all a consciously cultivated human heritage – the artistic, philosophic, scientific life and all the imaginative activities among the more cultivated of the population. Besides, the arts and sciences, of Muslim Turks and Persians, or Muslims of Egypt, India or Indonesia, were interdependent and clearly distinct from those of lands outside the Muslim influence. In his work *The Venture of Islam* (1977) M. Hodgson writes: “A civilization in this sense will normally be defined by a continuity of lettered traditions: that is of literature in widest sense of the word, including religious and scientific literature. Hence our field, in studying the civilization associated with Muslims, will be delimited not by geography but rather by the lines of development of the high cultural traditions, wherever they lead us.”⁶ Moreover, he underlined that individuals and their ideas establish the pattern of civilization, and especially in the history of Muslim world. In this context studying the religious authorities could be the crucial point in Islamic, especially, Sufi studies.

⁵ Marshal G.S Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1974): 86–87.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 91–92.

The historical role of such major Islamic mystical brotherhoods like *Naqshbandiyah*, *Qadiriyyah*, *Shattariyyah* and *Shadhiliyyah* demonstrates their vitality and organic relationships with the social, spiritual and intellectual life within Muslim community during more than five centuries of Islamic era. For example, by the middle of the 19th century of approximately 260 weekly *dhikr* gatherings in Istanbul were listed in the Turkish *Tekkiye risalesi* (Ms Berlin, Or2792, ff 1-17). These brotherhoods played an important role in the politics and society of Islamdom that remains poorly understood. The recent scholarship proposed the idea that state and mystical brotherhoods worked in lockstep. Some scholars have argued that Sufi brotherhoods offered an outlet for those who could not find spiritual comfort in literalists’ readings of Islamic texts and rituals. Anthropological views on this theme, especially in the context of North Africa, have further argued that Sufi leaders provided a religious system which was flexible enough to mix with popular tradition and local custom among uneducated majorities also posited a distinction between urban- and rural-based mysticism that implicitly determined the inferiority of the latter.⁷ So his views have generated a considerable criticism within the field of anthropology recently.

The deligitimization of Sufism in the Middle East was accelerated by modern conditions, the appearance of reformist movement of *Mujaddids*, the ‘renewals’ of Islam and by the dominant power of the central state, but it was also rooted in a deep and pervasive conflict between Sufism, with its apotheosis of saints and demand for absolute obedience from disciples, and the characteristic of Middle Eastern and Islamic values of equality and autonomy. Contemporary anthropologist Lindholm, C. developed the theory of M. Weber⁸ dealing with so-called ‘exemplary’ and ‘emissary’ religions. According to his theory, virtuoso elites whose aspiration is attainment of self-loss in a mystical state of union which is encompassing, timeless, and unspeakable in popular understanding are the representatives of exemplary type of religion. The exemplary saint is a magical being; a God on earth granted special powers as a result of spiritual identification with supernatural. If exemplary mysticism is typically Asian, ethical emissary

⁷ Ernest Gellner, *Muslim Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

⁸ Max Weber, M., "The Social Psychology of the World's Religions". In *Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946).

prophecy is characteristic of the Middle East. Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrism and Islam are the great emissary religions each with its moral prophets. Lindholm, C. noticed that such situation contrasts with that of South and Southeast Asia where Sufism managed to maintain its positions and even gained strength.⁹ One can notice that in South East Asia Sufism still plays important role in political and social life. Turkey is another exception which does not fit the pattern of Sufi stagnation in modern times. Moreover, there is one more example of multi-formed Islam located in Mediterranean region. Egypt is more likely exemplary Asian kingship and it is therefore best understood as an extraordinary potent deviant case.

Thus, in studying mysticism two types of approaches can be distinguished: the anthropological approach which focused on one specific group elaborating theories on human thought and behavior, and the historical approach which focused on the development of Sufi intellectual and philosophical thought in the 'golden age'. Modern scholar in Sufi studies Curry, J. made an attempt to bridge this gap between anthropological and historical approaches in his work on Ottoman *Khalwatiyah*.¹⁰ Besides, Asad, T. in his article (1986) argued that social scientists and anthropologists should define Islam – like Muslims themselves do – as a discursive tradition.¹¹ As believed by him Islam is a tradition, so he operates the formulation of 'tradition' elaborated by Alasdair MacIntyre in his work on moral philosophy.¹²

B. The Continuity of Tradition

Regarding to Indonesian example, many scholars such as M. van Bruinessen, J.D. Howell, and M. Laffan, write about the spiritual shift of society in the 21st century and interest to the values proclaimed by *tasawwuf*

⁹ Charles Lindholm, *The Islamic Middle East: An Historical Anthropology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1996).

¹⁰ John J. Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the Ottoman Empire: The Rise of the Halveti Order, 1350-1650* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University press, 2010).

¹¹ Talal Asad, *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam*, Occasional Paper Series (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 1986).

¹² Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007).

Since the beginning of the 1970s, one can notice the new ‘Sufi resurgence’ and the increasing interest to *tasawwuf* among intellectuals of Indonesia, so the new institutional forms of Sufism appeared like, for example, *Yayasan Taskiya Sejati* as a forum for government officials, military officers and rich business people. In Indonesian cities, these new institutional forms engage cosmopolitan Muslims. Besides, it is evident that a new type of urban Muslim intellectuals and *shaykhs* appeared in the cities, while the ‘resurgence of Sufism gave the impetus to the rising interest of people to the living saints *kiyai* of Java among the contemporary Muslims in Indonesia. This quest of people to spiritual, or traditional values which are opposed to rationality, is evidently a challenge of society to the realities of contemporary world more and more disconnected with the past.

Tariqah as a form of Islamic tradition is able to recapture the consciousness of time and consequently the sense of belonging. It is commonly viewed that the temporal dimension of tradition is restoration of discontinuity. Moreover, the appearance of new forms of traditionally based organization demonstrates that in social dimension tradition can be a tool in order to justify socio-political structure. Therefore, in modern time when people are experiencing the breakdown of temporal continuity while Time is disappearing from the spirit of life and became a philosophical topic, we can witness the resurgence of Sufi mystical tradition in Islamic world. The core of tradition is the process of handing down, revealing itself in physical proximity and immediacy.¹³

Phenomenon of tradition in mystical Islam touches on the problems of transmission of spiritual knowledge on transnational level. In this context it is actual to determine the distinctive peculiarities of this tradition, especially regarding the sense of the secrecy of its initiation, embodiment charisma of *shaykh* and spiritual practices which regulate relationships between *shaykh* and his disciple (*rabita*). There are numerous theories among scholars concerning the origin of Sufi tradition and its role in the history of Muslim societies but in any case it is considered to be an atypical phenomena reformulating history to conform to a new concept of identity. *Silsilah* or the spiritual chain is the main instrument providing the continuity of Sufi tradition and transmission of knowledge. The history of

¹³Theodor W. Adorno, “On Tradition,” *Telos* Vol. 1992, no. 94 (1992): 75–82.

many Sufi *tariqahs* is identical with its chain of initiation reaching back to the Prophet Muhammad. The long spiritual life and continuity of this tradition may be regarded as strong evidence of the authenticity of its *silsilahs* which became means of tracing one's way back to the Prophet. Hence Sufism bears the seal of the Prophet disregarding the temporal distance.

C. The Mediating Shaykh

In this context, *shaykh* is the key figure of Sufi tradition as a spiritual leader embodying the ideal of the Prophet and mystical knowledge. *Shaykhs* as consummate mediators in society were able to integrate diverse, apparently conflicting aspects of human experience into coherent religious practice for large numbers of peoples over the centuries. Their early success in India, Central Asia and Turkey and later in the entire Islamic world indicates that their practice harmonized well with both the sociocultural milieu and the conceptual frameworks underpinning the Islamic worldview. They continued to maintain the delicate balance between social mediation and acting as transformative presences, veritable 'masters of heart.'

Recently published monograph by Arthur Buehler '*Sufi Heirs of the Prophet*'¹⁴ contributed much to the studying of Naqshbandiyah *tariqah* doctrine and organization as there he represented the classification and the role of different types of spiritual masters in the course of the brotherhood's history. In general, he distinguished three main types of *shaykhs*: teaching, directing and mediating. Although there had been also one more type - hereditary *shaykhs* and shrine caretakers whose primary function was mediatory and who were not known to have taught involved spiritual practices with transmission of spiritual energy. They are not mentioned in *Naqshbandiyah* literature.

At the present time, available sources do not have enough information for comparing different *shaykhs* and their practices as much of *Naqshbandiyah* literature written in different languages remains unexplored in the furthest corners of Muslim world. In general, the text-based, 'philological' approach has dominated in construction of Sufism until today,

¹⁴ Arthur F. Buehler, *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet. The Indian Naqshbandiyya and the Rise of Mediating Shaykh* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publisher Pvt. Ltd, 2015).

while one can see also the tendency to anthropological methods of studying modern Islamic societies. Precisely, it means studying the ‘performative’ embodiments of Sufism in everyday ritual activity as well as to studying meditative techniques.

However, such studies are heavily based on analyzing Sufi literary sources than field empirical investigations of living activity of *shaykhs* and their ritual practices. However, regarding to Sufi tradition in Indonesia, I would like to mention the necessity of serious attention of scholars towards studying of miracles of saints as scientific phenomenon. Every miracle story presupposes someone who is there to observe and who later tells the story. Thus, there is a sense in which the importance of the miracle lies in the interexchange between one person and another, the testimony that spreads the fame of the miraculous person. Recounting the miracle is an experience that is perhaps as important as miracle itself. The discussion of such scholarly approach to studying Sufism has already started by anthropologist Ernst Carl.¹⁵

The directing-*shaykh* as the heir of the Prophet Muhammad represents the living archetype of the Prophetic ideal. He instructs through example and personal contact, the teaching process involves conscious behavioral modification and unconscious modeling of one’s spiritual guide. A new kind of mediational Sufism, distinguished by Buehler, A., radically departed from the symbols and practices of directing-*shaykhs* and demonstrated a paradigm shift which fundamentally altered what earlier *Naqshbandis* conceived to be Sufism. Mediating-*shaykhs* used a different idiom and reformulated spiritual practice emphasizing love as a goal. Doubtless, mediational Sufism became a spiritual analog of the economic, social, and political reality of the present world. As such research classification has methodological pitfalls, so it is difficult to establish the existence of directing- *shaykhs* on the basis of scattered and incomplete sources and hardly possible to verify anything about deceased mediating-*shaykhs*.

Evidently, Naqshabandiyah tradition of Western Sumatra represents at least two bright personalities of mediating-*shaykhs* whose

¹⁵ Carl W. Ernst, *Shambhala Guide to Sufism* (Boston, Mass. [u.a.]: Shambhala, 2008), 69–70.

activity is not connected with any Sufi lodge, or spatial dimension, and henceforth with special *Naqshbandiyah* spiritual practices of directing disciples but both figures distinguished themselves as prolific writers. The first one was West Sumatran school teacher Haji Jalaluddin (d.1976) who wrote a series of textbooks on the doctrine and ritual practices of *Naqshbandiyah*. Since 1930s he was a member of Perti (*Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah*, Association of Islamic Education, a traditionalists *madrassa*-based, organization against reformist propaganda in West Sumatra), however unlike other *shaykhs* Haji Jalaluddin lacked *madrassa* education and passed through Dutch educational system which gave him modern knowledge of western type. It is noteworthy that Jalaluddin was the first *Naqshbandiyah shaykh* to instruct the disciples in the form of correspondence course. The second representative of meditational Sufism is Jalaluddin's son-in-law Kadirun Yahya, a university teacher, gifted with spiritual powers. As strong charismatic personality he attracted much audiences by his supernatural powers, metaphysical teaching of 'scientific' Sufism and empirical psychic science. He attended Dutch school rather than *surau* and in 1940s worked as a school teacher in West Sumatra, Bukittinggi. In his doctrine and practice he combined various spiritual traditions of Indonesia, namely it was syncretistic tradition of mystical-magical style although he emphasized his links with famous *shaykhs* belonging to *Naqshbandiyah silsilah*¹⁶.

Both of these examples of modern *shaykhs*, Jalaluddin and Kadirun Yahya, reveal the curiosity to the so-called "scientific Sufism" which has its origin in the early Islamic mystical tradition. The relationship between science and Islam is the key question for the definition of the role of Islam in modern world, precisely the role of preservation of traditions of natural science, or 'traditional science' in the modern world. Nasr, S.H. noted that chief point of difference between pre-modern and modern world is 'cosmological principle as 'privileged' place in space.¹⁷ The answer is hidden

¹⁶ Martin van Bruinessen, "After the Days of Abu Qubays: Indonesian Transformations of the Naqsyabadiyya-Khalidiyya," *Journal of the History of Sufism*, vol. 5, 2007: 225-51.

¹⁷ Seyeed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Science and Western Science – Common Heritage, Diverse Destinies*. In *'In Quest of the Sacred. The Modern World in the Light of Tradition'* Ed. S.H. Nasr and K. O'Brien (Oakton: The Foundation for Traditional Studies, 1994): 161-77.

in the ethics of monotheistic Islam concentrated on the power of will and consequently on Law. The development of law schools in Islam created the most favorable condition for experimental science. The outstanding Italian scholar Alessandro Bausani distinguished the difference of the attitude to natural science within Islam and Christianity, trying to demonstrate that Islam is a challenge to religion¹⁸.

The vision ascribed to the Hanafite is a conservative one, as it is intellectually anchored upon the oldest of the law schools and theological systems. In Muslim society Hanafite had a monopoly on educational system and religious knowledge, originated in Hellenistic traditional philosophy *falsafa*. In the 16th century Hellenistic *falsafa* was replaced by Near Eastern religious thought, or the basic instruction of *hikmah*, strikingly evidenced by the new Sufi metaphysics.¹⁹ Hence, the Shafi'i ideology became dominant in Muslim society in the course of the succeeding few centuries. The dominance of Shafi'i ideology means that mysticism and semi determinism, instead of rationality and free will, were more accessible to the general populace, in addition to the prevalence in society of a more human and emotional religious experience.

As Lloyd Ridgeon noticed ‘Sufism is perhaps the most difficult of the terms to define’.²⁰ In general, there are two types of definitions of Sufism: definition of Western scholarship and premodern Muslim definition.²¹ These two types reflect academic and theological discussions about Sufism which often merge and feed one another. In this aspect I can agree with the words of Alexander Knysh – “Scholars are not neutral observers: they always “take a stand within the world”²² deeply immersed as they are in its flow and flux and, as a consequence, eager to fashion the subject of their investigation,

¹⁸ A. Bausani, A., "Islam as an Essential Part of Western Culture" In *Studies on Islam* (Amsterdam and London: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1974): 19-36.

¹⁹ Richard W. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur: A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972): 28–46.

²⁰ Lloyd Ridgeon, “Introduction,” in *Sufis and Salafis in the Contemporary Age*, ed. Lloyd Ridgeon (London & New York: Bloomsbury, 2015).

²¹ For a classic example of premodern Muslim Muslim definitions, see Abu al-Qasim Al-Qushairy, *Al-Qushayri's Epistle On Sufism (Al-Risala al-Qushairiyya Fil Ilm al-Tasawwuf)*, trans. Alexander D. Knysh (UK: Garnet Publishing, 2007).

²² Graham Harman, *Heidegger Explained: From Phenomenon to Thing* (Chicago and LaSalle, IP: Open Court, 2007), 29.

consciously or unconsciously, according to their own personal predilections.”²³

D. Conclusion

The study of Sufi practice and discourse illustrates how social modern forms and techniques are now among the conditions of possibility for a great many movements that are concerned to extend the Islamic tradition, traditions of practice and piety. In a broad historical sense, it is actual to put a question concerning the so-called mysticism ‘irrelevance’ in the face of modernity: is mysticism really an outdated intellectual trend, or does it still remains an alternative path to which Muslims can turn? My answer to this question is best summarized by the words about Sufism written by Arthur Arberry already eighty years ago but they remain still actual for modern scholarship. “If the world has to wait another eighty years before the whole story of Sufism can be finally and completely told, perhaps, it is not too much to hope that the generation which will produce it will be a generation of men and women released from the fear of war and want, a generation that has returned to the true understanding of spiritual values and to the application of mystical truths to everyday life.” [.]

References

- Adorno, Theodor W. “On Tradition.” *Telos* Vol. 1992, no. 94 (1992): 75–82.
- Al-Qushairy, Abu al-Qasim. *Al-Quhsayri’s Epistle On Sufism (Al-Risala al-Qushairiyya Fil Ilm al-Tasawwuf)*. Translated by Alexander D. Knysh. UK: Garnet Publishing, 2007.
- Asad, Talal. *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam*. Occasional Paper Series. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, 1986.

²³ Alexander Knysh, “Devinitions of Sufism as a Meeting Place of Eastern and Western ‘Creative Imaginations,’” in *Sufism East and West: Mystical Islam and Cross-Cultural Exchange in the World*, ed. Jamal Malik (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2019).

- Berger, P.L., ed. *The Desecularization of the World Resurgent Religion and World Politics*. Washington, 1999.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. . “ ‘After the Days of Abu Qubays: Indonesian Transformations of the Naqsyabadiyya-Khalidiyya.’” *Journal of the History of Sufism*, 2007.
- Buehler, Arthur F. *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet. The Indian Naqshbandiyya and the Rise of Mediating Shaykh*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publisher Pvt. Ltd, 2015.
- Bulliet, Richard W. *The Patricians of Nishapur: A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Curry, John J. *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the Ottoman Empire: The Rise of the Halveti Order, 1350-1650*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University press, 2010.
- Ernst, Carl W. *Shambhala Guide to Sufism*. Boston, Mass. [u.a.]: Shambhala, 2008.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Muslim Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Harman, Graham. *Heidegger Explained: From Phenomenon to Thing*. Chicago and LaSalle, IP: Open Court, 2007.
- Hodgson, Marshal G.S. *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1974.
- Knysh, Alexander. “Devinitions of Sufism as a Meeting Place of Eastern and Western ‘Creative Imaginations.’” In *Sufism East and West: Mystical Islam and Cross-Cultural Exchange in the World*, edited by Jamal Malik. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2019.
- Laffan, Michael. “National Crisis and the Representation of Traditional Sufism in Indonesia: The Periodicals Salafy and Sufi.” In *Sufism and the Modern in Islam*, edited by Martin van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell. New York: I.B Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2013.
- Levtzion, N, and John O. Voll. *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987.
- Lindholm, Charles. *The Islamic Middle East: An Historical Anthropology*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1996.
- Macintyre, Alasdair. *After Virtue*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007.

- Nasr, Seyyed Hossein. *Islamic Science and Western Science – Common Heritage, Diverse Destinies*. In *'In Quest of the Sacred. The Modern World in the Light of Tradition'* Ed. S.H. Nasr and K. O'Brien. Oakton: The Foundation for Traditional Studies, 1994.
- Ridgeon, Lloid. "Introduction." In *Sufis and Salafis in the Contemporary Age*, edited by Lloid Ridgeon. London & New York: Bloomsbury, 2015.
- Silverstein, B. "'Sufism and Govern Mentality in the Late Ottoman Empire', Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East" 29, no. 2 (2009).
- Weber, M. *The Social Psychology of the World's Religions*. In *'Essays in Sociology'*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.