

Common Heritage of Muslims: Abu'l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni and *Dhikr-i Qutbu's-Sālikīn*

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1. Introduction

Abu'l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni, who adopted and developed sufi conception of Bāyazīd Bistāmī, is known for his deep love for God, his love for humanity, sincere devotion and strict ascetism. He lived in the Western Khorasan district of Iran in 352-425 AH (963-1033 AD). During his lifetime, he was admired by the great Sufis of the era such as Khwāja Abdullah Ensārī, Al-Qushayrī and Abu Sa'īd. After his death, he was respected by and deeply influenced the great Sufis Feriduddin Attār, Mawlāna Jalāl ad-Dīn Mohammad Rūmī and Abd ar-Rahmān Jāmī with his sayings on Sufism and his humble life.

From his lifetime to the present day, Kharaqāni has been highly revered by Muslim peoples and especially by Sufi circles spanning from Anatolia to the Indian continent. Kharaqāni has a prominent place in the written culture of the Islamic world and is a part of the common cultural heritage that brings Muslim peoples together.

Kharaqāni's mystical ideas and experience focus on *qabz* (distress), *huzn* (sadness), *ghaliba* (being overpowered), *mushahada* (observance), *fanaa* (annihilation) and *baqaa* (permanence). He argues that it is due to Allah's blessing and grace that Sufi finds truth in his journey and achieves the ultimate union rather than his own effort and appeal.

In his conception of Sufism, it is important to love and worship *Haqq* and to serve the humankind and all creatures. As a *javanmard* (gallant), Kharaqāni sustained his home and dervish lodge through

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his own manual labor, which must have been a practical implication of such belief.

Kharaqāni was illiterate and did not write any works. The *makāmat*-type works containing his sayings and deeds were compiled by his followers or loved ones after his death. One of these works is a small treatise of eight leaves called *Dhikr-i Qutbu's-Sālikīn* (*The Sayings of Pole of the Followers*). This collection, which contains some of Kharaqāni's words and deeds, is very important in that it contains some information about his family and life that has remained unknown until now. The original work was probably written at the end of the 6th century HA (12th century AD) and the remaining copy was published in 877 HA.

Abu'l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni is one of the most notable figures in Islamic history, especially in Sufism due to his interesting ideas, stimulating words and extraordinary lifestyle. His words and deeds were conveyed in Sufi monographs and the relevant works written at different times. From the 6th century (HA) onwards, independent compilations about him began to be written. The various manuscripts of these compilations are located in major libraries from Anatolia to the Indian continent.¹ The intensity of academic research on him in Muslim countries such as Turkey, Iran and Pakistan is a testament to the interest in and respect for him by Muslim nations throughout history regardless of ethnic and sectarian divides.

While the rich countries that supposedly pioneered the civilized world, and especially the so-called oil-rich Muslims, closed their doors to desperate and hungry refugees fleeing war from Syria, Palestine and Afghanistan due to ethnic, religious, sectarian discrimination, Kharaqāni, who lived a thousand years ago, wrote on the door of his lodge: "To whomever comes to this house, give him bread and don't ask his name; for all who are worthy of carrying souls in the judgement of Almighty Allah are worthy of eating bread at Abu'l-Hasan's table."²

¹ For details, Hasan Çiftçi, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani I - Hayatı ve Eserleri* (Sheikh Abu'l-Hasan-i Kharakani I - His Life and Works), (Ankara: Şehit Ebü'l Hasan Harakani Derneği, 2004), 155-165. Ahmed-i Munzevî, *Fihrist-i Mushtarak-i Nushahā-yi Hattî-yi Fārsî-yi Pākistān*. Volume III. (Lahore, 1988), 1749, 1750, 1789.

² Abdurrafi'-i Hakikat, *Nūru'l-ulūm Kitābî Yektâ ez 'Arif-i bî Hemtâ Sheikh Abu'l-Hasan-i Kharaqāni*, (Tehran, 1359 SH.), Introduction, 3.

With the emergence of nation states in the ancient Islamic geography that transcended continents, each ethnic group fought to divide up the deep and rich common heritage formed in 1,400 years by the efforts and contributions of Muslim thinkers and scholars, whereas the vast-hearted Kharaqāni, who strived to share the burdens of all people, said:

“From the gate of Turkistan to the gate of Damascus, if a person’s foot hits the stone, that foot is the foot of Bū’l-Hasan, and if there is a sorrow in any heart, it is the heart of Bū’l-Hasan.”³

Kharaqāni was appreciated by the most prominent Sufis in the history of Sufism both in his life and after his death. His grandeur and influence continue to this day as evident in him being included in the succession lines of several religious orders spreading all over the Islamic world.

This article focuses on life and Sufi conception of Abu’l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni and the treatise called *Dhikr-i Qutbu's-Sālikīn*, which contains his thoughts, words and deeds. The second part gives brief information about the life of Abu’l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni. In the third part, theoretical and social aspects of Kharaqāni’s conception of Sufism is examined. In the fourth part, brief information is given about *Dhikr-i Qutbu's-Sālikīn* and its versions. The study concludes with a section discussing Kharaqāni’s influence in the world of Sufism from his time to the present day.

2. Abu’l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni

Abu’l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni (Ali ibn Ahmad ibn Ja’far ibn Salmān al-Kharakāni) was born in Kharakān in 352 HA (963 AD) and died in the same place in 425 HA (1033 AD). Previously a county in Bastam, the town of Harakān is currently part of the Shahrud county of Semnan province of Iran (located in the area north of Tehran).⁴ Kharaqāni, who made his living from farming and livestock, has apparently never left his hometown. It has been thought that he received spiritual training from the famous Sufi Bāyezīd-i Bistāmī

³ Mohammed Rezā Shefi’i-yi Kedkenī, *Nivīšte ber Daryā: Ez Mirās-i ‘Irfāni-yi Abu’l-Hasan-i Kharaqāni*, (Tehran: Suhen, 1384 SH.), 280.

⁴ Al-Samanī, Abd Al Karīm Ibn Muhammad. *Kitāb Al-Ansāb*. Reproduced from the manuscript edited by D. S. Margoliouth. (Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1912), 195; Al-Hamevī, Yākūt b. Abdullah. *Mu’cemu’l-buldān II*, (Beirut, 1986), 360; Abdurrefi’ Hakikat, *Tārīh-i ‘Irfān ū ‘Arifān-i Īrān*, (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Kumis, 1372 SH.), 356-357.

(161-234 HA/777-848 AD or 188-261 HA /804-875 [?] AD) who lived long before him through *Uwaisi* transmission -the transmission of spiritual knowledge between two individuals without the need for physical interaction.

Kharaqāni adopted Bāyezīd's ideas both in his words and his behaviors, and like him, stood out for his gallantry, love for humans and compassion towards all creatures. Kharaqāni also benefited from Abu'l-Abbās Kassāb-i Amulī, who was illiterate as well but also had deep mystic knowledge. According to Sufi sources Abu'l-Abbās Kassāb once said: "This small marketplace of ours descends to Kharakān." meaning visits to his sheikhdom and by Sufis were to be made to Kharaqāni after his death.⁵

Kharaqāni was a highly respected figure among the contemporary famous Sufis such as Khwāja Abdullah Ensāri-yi Herawī (348-417 HA/959-1026 AD) and Abu Saīd-i Abu'l-Hayr (357-440 HA/967-1049 AD) and revered by the most famous Sufis that came after him, Feriduddīn Attār (d. 618 HA/1221 AD) Mawlāna Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī (b. 672 HA/1273 AD) Abd ar-Rahmān Jāmī (1414-1492).

Detailed and reliable information about Abu'l-Hasan's life and thoughts is almost nonexistent in ancient sources. The information about him contained in various *makāmat*, which include his words and deeds, contains several exaggerations and contradictions. The old sources who briefly addressed his life agree that Abu'l-Hasan came from a peasant and farming family. There is not much information about him because his family was from the lower classes. When he was a young man, he made a living by raising donkeys (renting animals), shepherding, carrying wood and farming.⁶

Al-Ansāb of Abu Saīd Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī (d. 562 HA/1167 AD), which contained little information about him, states:

Abu'l-Hasan had pure miracles and good deeds; he had defeated and controlled his *ego*; when he was working with the donkey and renting the donkey to carry goods, he started to live like this; he

⁵ Khwāja Abdullah-i Herawī, *Tabakātu's-sūfiyye*, ed. Abdulhay Habībī, (Kabul: 1341 SH.), 308; Abdurrahman Jāmī, *Nefehātu'l-uns min hazarāti'l-kuds*, ed. Mahdi-yi Tevhīdī Pūr. (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Kitābfurūshi-yi Mahmūdī, 1336 SH.) 298.

⁶ Al-Samanī, *Kitāb Al-Ansāb*, 195; Mullahzadah Mohammed Hānī, "Haraqāni." *Dānišnāme-i Jihāni-i Islam*, 1/6995, Accessed on 8 September 2019, <http://rch.ac.ir/article/Details?id=8518&&searchText>.

would say: 'I found God when I was busy with my donkey.' So when I was working with the donkey, I started to live like this, and it put me on the path of sufism...⁷

According to the sources and his own statements, Kharaqāni was an uneducated and illiterate sage. Kharaqāni was believed to have learned to read the *Quran* with the guidance of his spiritual elder Bāyezīd, whose grave he visited for years. According to sources like *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, *Dhikr-i Qutbu's-Sālikīn* and *Nūru'l-'ulūm*, Kharaqāni addressed Bāyezīd at his graveside and told him that he was illiterate:

The Sheikh would go to visit Bāyezīd's tomb for twelve years... After that time, a voice came from his shrine: "It's time for you to sit down." He said, "Bless me for I am an illiterate person; I don't know anything about sharia and I don't know how to read the *Quran*..." Kharaqāni says, "Twenty-seven days later, I learned to read the *Quran*. Whenever something came up that I couldn't solve, he'd send a Shafi scholar to teach me. Whatever the Almighty Haqq gave Abu'l-Hasan as knowledge, he gave it from his own knowledge and he was never beholden [to anyone else]."⁸

Contemporary portrayals of Kharaqāni as an Islamic jurist, interpreter or an hadithist does not have much scientific basis. His words, deeds and miracles that survived to the present day, were compiled by his disciples or sons in the style of *makamat* after his death.

3. Practical and Theoretical Aspects of Kharaqāni's Sufism Conception

3.1. Kharaqāni's Place in Sufism

Kharaqāni's influence in the world of sufism has been proverbial. The spiritual weight of Kharaqāni can be better understood if one is reminded of how much Abu Saīd-i Abu'l-Hayr (357-440 HA/967-

⁷ Al-Samanī's portrayal of Kharaqāni as a descendant of the Prophet and hence a *sayyid*, or a "martyr" is not accurate. *Kitāb Al-Ansāb*, 195.

⁸ Mohammed b. Munawwar, *Esrāru't-tawhīd fī makāmātī'ş-Sheikh Ebi's-Sa'īd*. Edited by Mohammed Reza Shafī'-yi Kedkenī. (Tehran: Muessese-i Intishārāt-i Āgāh, 1321 SH.) I, 47; II, 703; Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 204. For details on the subject, see Hasan Çiftci, "Şeyh Harakânî ile Şeyh Bāyezīd Arasındaki İlginç Mânevî İlişki." ("The Interesting Spiritual Relationship Between Sheikh Kharaqāni and Sheikh Bāyezīd.") *Nüsha Şarkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 11 (2003): 23-40.

1049 AD), Al-Qushayrī (376-465 HA/986-1072 AD) and Abdullah Ensāri-yi Herawī (481 HA/1089 AD) were drawn to and how deeply they respected him.⁹

In his work *Kashful-mahcūb*, one of the main sources of sufism, the famous Sufi writer al-Hujvīrī (Abu'l-Hasan Ali ibn Osman Jullābī d. 465 HA/1072 AD), states that his contemporary Abu'l-Hasan: “is the only imam, the noblest among the masters of the era... the greatest of the sheikhs... praised by all the *walis* [friends] of Allah in his time.”¹⁰

According to al-Hujvīrī, Al-Qushayrī, the famous scholar of the era with many disciples, visited Kharaqāni and disclosed that he was heavily influenced by him:

I heard from Master Abu'l-Kazim Al-Qushayrī (he said): “When I reached the province [village] of Harakān, my eloquence came to an end and I had nothing to say; so much so that I thought I'd been dismissed from being a friend of God.”¹¹

Abu Saīd, a contemporary Sufi traveler with many disciples, visited Abu'l-Hasan, whom he described as “a sea of meaning” in Harakān and portrayed the greatness of his station and the effect of his pull as follows: “I was a baked brick when I arrived in Harakān, I returned as a gem.”¹² A disciple who was present asked Abu Saīd why he did not speak during the visit: “O Sheikh, why did you keep silent?” He said: “One interlocutor from the same sea is enough.”¹³

Known as Pīr-i Herāt, the famous scholar and prophet of the era, Khwāja Abdullah Ensārī, described Kharaqāni as the *water of life* and admitted that he had found the truth through him. Summarizing Kharaqāni's uniqueness:

“I have many sheikhs in hadith, knowledge and sharia. However, in sufism and truth, my master is Sheikh Abu'l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni. How would I have known the truth if I hadn't

⁹ Kedkenī, *Nivīshṭe ber Daryā*, 103.

¹⁰ Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Osman Al-Hujvīrī, *Kashfu'l-mahcūb*, ed. Valentine A. Zhukovsky, intro. Kāsim-i Ensārī, (Tehran: Kitābhāne-i Tahūrī, 1358 SH./1979), 204.

¹¹ Al-Hujvīrī, *Kashfu'l-mahcūb*, 204-205. Although the subject of Al-Qushayrī's visit to Kharaqāni is considered doubtful (because Al-Qushayrī does not mention this topic in his work), this transfer from Al-Hujvīrī, who has been part of Al-Qushayrī's study circle, is very important. See Kedkenī, *Nivīshṭe ber Daryā*, 30-31.

¹² Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Atwilyā*, II, 206.

¹³ Al-Hujvīrī, *Kashfu'l-mahcūb*, 204-205.

seen him?" "He was illiterate, he could not say *al-hamdu lillāh* (he pronounced it as *al-hemdu lillāh*) but he was the master of time, *al-gawth*.¹⁴

"Abdullah was a desolate man; he went looking for the water of life; Suddenly, he arrived in sheikh Abu'l-Hasan Kharaqāni and found the source of life water; He drank so much that he ceased to exist. Because neither was he nor was Sheikh Kharaqāni. *Haqq* asked the people for omens of servitude, from Abu'l-Hasan the omens of Godliness¹⁵! If you know anything, *I was a covered secret; and its key was Sheikh Abu'l-Hassan Kharaqāni*."¹⁶

Not only his contemporaries, but also many Sufis who lived after him, appreciated him and spoke of him with deference. The famous Sufi writer and poet Ferīduddīn Attār (Abu Hāmid Mohammed d. 618 HA/ 1221 DA), featured him in great detail in his famous work. In his depiction, Kharaqāni was

"the sea of sadness, firmer than the mountain, the divine sun, the eternal heaven, the divine wonder, the *qutb* of the era... he was the sultan of the reigning sheikhs; the *qutb* of the *evtād* and the *abdāl*... someone with a close relationship to the Almighty God..."¹⁷

Great scholar Mawlāna Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī (670 HA/ 1271 AD) spoke extensively of Kharaqāni in his *Masnavī* and described him as "the *qutb* of the land" i.e., the most authoritative ruler of the spiritual world in Sufism.¹⁸ Abd-ur-rahman Jāmī (d. 898 HA/1492 AD), who quoted some of his sayings, also described Kharaqāni as follows: "He was the only one, *al-gawth*, and the *kiblah* of everyone in his own time."¹⁹

The respect and admiration Kharaqāni received from the great Sufis of his time and in the aftermath of his death has been transmitted from generation to generation through ages. He has been recognized

¹⁴ Herawī, *Tabakātu's-sufiyye*, 510. *Al-ghawth* (the helper) is the title given to the spiritual leader of all the earth-bound saints.

¹⁵ Herawī, *Tabakātu's-sufiyye*, 435.

¹⁶ Herawī, *Tabakātu's-sufiyye*, 436.

¹⁷ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 201.

¹⁸ Mawlānā, *Mesnevī*, trans. Adnan Karaismailoglu (Ankara: Akcag, 2008), VI, verse 2116.

¹⁹ Abdurrahman Jāmī, *Nefehātu'l-uns min hazarāti'l-kuds*, ed. Mahdi-yi Tevhīdī Pūr. (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Kitābfurūshi-yi Mahmūdī, 1336 SH.), 298.

everywhere in the Islamic world as one of “awliyāullāh” (friends of Allah).²⁰ He was also included in the spiritual genealogy of the leaders of some Sufi orders (Tayfūriyah, Naqshbandiyah, Shattāriyyah) that began to form and spread over continents after his death.²¹ In addition, like Sheikh Bāyezīd (who has seven tombs in different places) and some other guardians, the presence of multiple tombs in his name (two places in Iran and one in Kars, Turkey)²² indicates the spiritual influence among and the deep respect shown to him by the Muslim nations.²³

3.2. *Kharaqāni's Conception of Sufism in Social Life*

Kharaqāni's ideas resemble those of his contemporaries Khwāja Abdullah Ensārī and Abu Sa'īd and other famous Sufis in the Khorasani sufi circles, but his theoretical and practical understanding has some characteristics of his own, diverging from the common tradition among Sufis.

First of all, Kharaqāni neither had disciples nor was he a disciple to any master (sheikh). “I am surprised when these disciples say, ‘We went to the master.’ As you know I have never taken a master, because my master was Mubarak Allah, and I have respect for all pirs.” In another, he says, “I will not have disciples because I never had a claim; I only say “Allah!” and that's enough for me.”²⁴

Unlike other Sufis, he did not travel to find sheikhs or masters or to visit holy sites, either. There is no indication in reliable sources that he visited any sheikh or lodge other than Sheikh Abu'l-Abbās Kassāb in Amul or received training from a sheikh. He once said to Abu Sa'īd, who visited him in Kharakān:

²⁰ Kedkenī, *Nivishte ber Daryā*, 32.

²¹ Çiftçi, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 78.

²² As stated in the Ottoman sources, there was a tomb for Kharaqāni's name in Kars, which remains to this day. This tomb is more likely to belong to one of his descendants who continued his sufi tradition. One such individual was one of his grandchildren, Ali b. Ahmed B. Abu'l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni, who bare the same name. See Kedkenī, *Nivishte ber Daryā*, 87-90. This matter was handled in more detail elsewhere. Hasan Çiftçi, “Abu'l-Hasan-i Harakani der Menābi-i Osmāni”, Turkish Historical Society - Islamic Republic of Iran, 7th International Symposium on Turkey – Iranian Cultural Relations 16-19 May 2011 Mashhad Iran.

²³ Kedkenī, *Nivishte ber Daryā*, 32.

²⁴ See Çiftçi, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 66; Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Azaliyā*, II, 233, 242.

“Any devout would need two things at the beginning: for one, he must be on the road, and the second, he must take on a master. I’ve been thinking about it, and it’s been hard for me. Almighty Allah has given me such a blessing that whenever I was incapable of solving a matter, one of the scholars from the Shafi’i-yi Muttalibī sect would bring that subject before me and tell me about it.”²⁵

From his two sayings, it is understood that Kharaqāni preferred excursions in the realm of meaning, not in the physical world: “Bāyezīd said: ‘I am neither a resident nor a guest.’ I am the one who travels in His *singularity*.”

“Through walking, your feet, due to sitting, your whole body and from contemplation your heart must gather water and swell; whoever travels on earth, have blisters under his feet, and whoever travels in the sky, his heart blisters. When I travelled in the sky, my heart blistered.”²⁶

Accordingly, he was not genealogically linked to any Sufi order. His inclusion in the spiritual genealogy of various Sufi orders which emerged after his time, may be due to his reputation and spiritual weight in the world of Sufism and the veneration that the great Sufis had for him. In his opinion, “No one can become a man by wearing the cloak.” Indeed, to one man who wanted to wear the cloak, he was quoted as saying, “If you are not a man of this path, you cannot become one by wearing this cloak.”²⁷

Despite these statements, there are signs in the stories about him and his sayings indicating the presence of disciples in his lodge as well as him wearing the cloak. In his *Makalat*, Shams-i Tebrīzī suggests that Kharaqāni wore the cloak at the tomb of Bāyezīd, which he frequently visited.²⁸ Yet, this statement was intended to highlight Kharaqāni’s spiritual devotion to Bāyezīd, rather than to assert a traditional attachment between to the two. Although, Abdullah

²⁵ Abu Abdullāh Mohammed b. Abbās b. Osman b. Shafi’ī al-Hāshimī al-Qurayshī al-Muttalibī 150-203 HA (767-820 AD) is the founder of the Shafi’ī sect. See Mohammed b. Munawwar, *Esrāru’-t-tawhīd*, Volume I, 47 and Volume II, 703.

²⁶ Çiftci, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 147.

²⁷ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 237.

²⁸ “Hasan-i Kharaqāni became a disciple of him and wore a cardigan at his shrine.” Shams-i Tebrīzī, *Makālāt-i Shams-i Tebrīzī I-II*, ed. Muhammad Ali Muvahhīd, (Tehran, 1369 SH) I, 117.

Ensārī introduced himself as a disciple of Kharaqāni, there was no credible information that Kharaqāni had dressed any Sufis in cloak or appointed a caliph either. Ensārī's claim was most likely due his deep respect for him.

3.2.1. *Kharaqāni Has Governed Its Monopoly with Its Own Handiwork*

Between Hijrī 4th and 5th centuries, Abu'l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni's was apparently the only dervish lodge maintained by the owner's manual labor. Kharaqāni was a peasant and farmer who covered the expenses of both his own house and his lodge with the produce obtained from farming and his garden.²⁹ For him, in addition to knowledge and worship, working with "shovels and in fields" was the third way to reach Allah. He expected Sufis to have a vocation so that they could afford living on *halal* income.³⁰

"For three groups there is a way to Allah: through abstract knowledge (for the scholar), through cloak (for sufi), through the shovel and the hand (for working laborer); Otherwise, the idle ego will destroy man."³¹

"The gallant will not withdraw from work, unless the work withdraws from them."³²

Rather than being a place of training and ascetism for dervishes, his lodge was a modest caravanserai for passengers, a refuge for foreigners and the poor. He would benefit from the food and clothing that was prepared for the guests.³³ He said:

"I have not baked bread for 50 years except for the guests, and I have not allocated food for myself and we have benefited from the food (cooked for the guest). If they could make the whole world into a bite and put it in a guest's mouth, they would still not give them their due, and it is not much if they walk from East to West to visit someone for Allah."³⁴

²⁹ Kedkenī, *Nivishte ber Daryā*, 73.

³⁰ Mullahzadah, "Haraqānī", I, 6995.

³¹ See Çiftçi, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 39; Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 242.

³² Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 242.

³³ Mullahzadah, "Haraqānī", I, 6995.

³⁴ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 251-252.

As previously pointed out, at the door of his dervish lodge read:

“Whoever comes to this house, give him his bread, do not ask his name; for all who are worthy of carrying a soul in the judgement of Almighty Allah are also worthy of eating bread at Abu'l-Hasan's table.”³⁵

“O Allah, do not give death to the poor in my lodge for Abu'l-Hasan has no power to tolerate the death of the poor; [I can't stand] the announcement that ‘A poor man has died in Abu'l-Hasan's lodge!’”³⁶

From *Dhikr-i Qutbu-s Sālikīn* (page 17b), we learn that his dervish lodge and some of his personal belongings were preserved until 566 HA (1170 AD):

It has been told: Sheikh's -May Allah bless him- habit was this: At night, he would wear rugs and tie his neck, hands and feet with iron weights [shackles], and he would treat himself with a whip made of raw leather. This iron shackle, one shoe, a bag made of camel wool, a tablecloth, a dinner board, a handful [a piece] of turban and his Mushaf [Qur'an] was left behind. In 566, soldiers unknowingly looted...³⁷

As a rule, he would stay away from everything that was the property of the state and considered it a great deed to avoid meeting statesmen. “If you went a thousand leagues to avoid seeing statesmen, you'd made a good profit that day.”³⁸

3.3. *Kharaqāni's Theoretical Sufi Understanding*

Kharaqāni's understanding of practical and theoretical Sufiism is identical to that of Bāyezīd-i Bistāmī so much so that these two personalities are depicted as *one soul in two bodies*.³⁹ During the time of Kharaqāni, the Sufis who followed teachings of Bāyezīd were known as *Tayfūrī*. In Sufi circles, Kharaqāni, together with his contemporary Abu Abdullah-i Dāstānī (348-417 HA/959-1026 AD) were known as followers of the *Tayfūrīyah* sect, and therefore,

³⁵ Hakikat, *Nūru'l-ūlum*, Introduction, 3.

³⁶ Çiftci, *Şeyh Ebū'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 273.

³⁷ For details see Kedkenī, *Nivīshte ber Daryā*, 93-94.

³⁸ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 233.

³⁹ Kristiane Tortel, *Sheikh Abu'l-Hasan-i Kharaqāni: Zindegi, Ahvāl wa Ekvāl*, trans. Abdu'l-Mohammed Rūhbahshiyān. (Tehran: Nesr-i Merkez, 1378 SH), 14.

considered as heirs who would revive and protect the legacy of Bāyezīd.⁴⁰

The Sufi conception of Bāyezīd and therefore of the Tayfūriyah branch, was shaped around *temptation*-centered experiences such as *fanā-baqā* (annihilation-permanence), *wajd* (ecstasy),⁴¹ *shatah* (indiscretion),⁴² *malāmat* (reproach),⁴³ especially *ghaliba* (being overpowered)⁴⁴ and *sakr* (inebriation).⁴⁵

Kharaqānī's conception of Sufism also focuses mainly on states of *sakr*, *qabz*, *huzn*, *ghaliba*, *mushahada*, and on the effort to achieve the state of *fanā-baqā*. In Sufism, the concept of *fanā* was used in combination with the concept of *baqā*. According to Abu Saīd al-Harrāz (born in 277 HA/890 AD), who defined these two concepts for the first time, *fanā* refers to man's finitude due to his awareness

⁴⁰ Çiftçi, "Şeyh Harakānī ile Şeyh Bāyezīd," 21-38.

⁴¹ *Wajd* (Ecstasy): The state of joy and sadness that occurs in the follower as a result of intermittent flashes that God sends to his heart without his own effort or exertion; the state due to hearts' union with purity of remembrance; divine knowledge shaking the heart (As-Sarraj, Abu Nasr al-Tūsī. *Al-Luma'*, ed. A. Mahmud and A. Surūr (Egypt, 1380/1960), 418, Sayyid Ca'fer Sajjādī, *Ferheng-i Luġāt ve Istilāhāt ve Ta'bīrāt-i 'Irfānī*, (Tehran: Kitābhāne-i Tahūrī, 1350 SH.), 480-81; Kāsim-i Ganī, *Tārīh-i Tasavvuf der Irān*, (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Zuvvār, 1374 SH.), 651-657). "Ecstasy is born out of observing the majesty of Allah and manifestation of divine power in one's heart." Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, 53.

⁴² *Shatah*: Literally violent movement; in sufism, pretentious speech; words that disgusts very the tongue that utters and the ear that hears them; uttered in severe ecstatic state, words that seem heretical; claiming to be *Haqq* without divine permission. As-Sarraj, 422; Kāsim-i Ganī, 648-649.

⁴³ *Malāmat*: Condemnation, reproach. According to famous sufi Abu Hamdūn al-Kassār, the chief of the Malāmātī order, "*Malāmat* is the abandonment of peace." The Malāmātī sufis cut ties with people once they see Haqq so that they can endure His vastness, give up on the habits and comfort of daily life, and are condemned for their violations of the rules. They are known for their excessive effort to adhere to the rules of loyalty and purity, and for concealing their obedience, worship and good deeds from the public eye. See Sajjādī, 352.

⁴⁴ *Ghaliba*: Follower's experience of an unusual state in such a way that it is impossible to act in accordance with the circumstances or rules of decency. In this state, the follower sees the reasons behind everything, and it becomes impossible for him to adhere to principles of decency due to Haqq's overpowering greatness. Sajjādī, 350.

⁴⁵ *Sakr/sukr*: Literally drunkenness; in Sufism, overcoming seen and unseen obstacles and turning to Haqq; change of one's nature and senses; state of losing oneself. When love and devotion reach their peak and dominate the human and biological senses, the person reaches a state of inebriation and wonder. Bewildered and amazed; the follower could not adhere to religion, reason, prudence, or consciousness, and disappears in the state of *fanā* or non-existence. See As-Sarraj, 416; Sajjādī, 266-268. "It is told that Bāyezīd, Shibli and other friends of God were in a state of constant temptation until the time of prayer, that they regain consciousness when the time of prayer comes, and that they return to temptation after their prayer." See Nicholson, 53.

of his own servitude, and *baqā* to his eternalness in observing the divine manifestations.⁴⁶

Kharaqāni's passionate speech in the manner of Holiness found in his sayings, can also be interpreted as manifestations of his state of *sakr*, *mushahada*, *fanā* and *baqā*.

Kharaqāni stipulates that reaching the goal in the way of Sufism requires worship, ascetism and suffering:

For the men of Allah, the challenge goes on for forty years: for the healing of the tongue, it is necessary to suffer for forty years; the hand improves in ten years; the eye improves in ten years; and in another ten years, the heart will be fine. Whoever travels like this for forty years, and remains loyal to his cause, one can hope that a voice will emerge from his throat in which there is no air (whim).⁴⁷

For the last 40 years, my *nafs* has been craving a sip of cool water or a sip of sour buttermilk, and I still haven't given it to him.⁴⁸

When it's night and people fall asleep, you put this body in shackles, hurtful rugs (torturous clothes) and leather whips, so that Allah the Almighty will pity this body and say, 'O my servant, what do you want from this body?' Say, 'God, I want you.' Then He will say, 'O my servant, let go of this helpless, I am yours.'⁴⁹

Harakanī's definition of dervishes is a depiction of the *sakr* and *fanā* state of the followers:

The sheikh -Allah bless him- asked a Sufi, 'Who do you call a *dervish*?' 'We call dervish the person who doesn't know the world,' he said. Sheikh: 'On the contrary, dervish is a person who has no thoughts [of his own], who does not speak even

⁴⁶ Mustafa Kara, "Fenā", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (Turkish Religious Foundation Encyclopedia of Islam)*. Volume XII, 333. *Fanā*, *baqā*: *Baqā* refers to state of good qualities settling in the soul and the servant's staying with this feeling, and *fanā* is the destruction of bad qualities within the soul. Another meaning of *fanā* is follower's lack of concern for the realm of property and dominion, that is, that he is consumed in Haqq's greatness and his observation of Him that he ceases to be able to see himself. It is this second meaning the Sufis use. As-Sarraġ, 416; Sajġādī, 102; Kāsim-i Ganī, 651-652.

⁴⁷ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 243. For overlapping ideas of Kharaqāni and Bāyezīd on this subject see Çiftci, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 225-226 and footnotes.

⁴⁸ Çiftci, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 268.

⁴⁹ Çiftci, "Şeyh Harakânî ile Şeyh Bāyezīd," 21-38.

though he speaks, who does not say even though he says it, who does not hear it even though he has heard it, who does not taste what he eats, who has no calmness and movement, who has no distress and no joy; That is the dervish.⁵⁰

Abdullāh Ensārī, a devotee of Kharaqāni, described the fact that he was finite in Kharaqāni and that the two of them were finite in Allah (the disciple's finiteness in master and the disciple and the master's finiteness in Haqq) as follows:

Abdullah was a deserted man; he went looking for the water of life; Suddenly, he arrived in sheikh Abu'l-Hasan Kharaqāni and found the source of life water; He drank so much that he ceased to exist. Because neither was he nor Sheikh Kharaqāni.⁵¹

The following statements of Kharaqāni, which is included in Jāmī's *Nefehātu'l-uns* also explain the state of *fanā* and *baqā*:

"Today I have been in a state for forty years [that] Haqq looks at my heart and sees no one but himself: 'There is nothing left of me but Allah, and only He resides in my heart.'⁵²

Kharaqāni's speech from a shroud of Godliness and his dialogues with God imply his state of *fanā* and *baqā*: "The Mighty and Glorious Allah asked the people for the omens of servitude, and from me, the omen of Godliness."⁵³

At first I already knew they trusted us with a burden; and when I went a little further, I realized that the throne was lighter than Allah's command, and then, as I went further, I realized that he had placed his own Godliness on us, and thankfully the burden is heavy."⁵⁴

They asked, 'What is the sign of servitude?' 'Where I am, there are signs of Godliness, not of servitude,' he said.⁵⁵

In some of his words, Kharaqāni stated his states of *fanā* and *baqā* as follows: "Sometimes, I am His Abu'l-Hasan, at other times He is my Abu'l-Hasan." Attār interprets this as follows: "When Abu'l-

⁵⁰ Çiftçi, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 197.

⁵¹ Herawī, *Mecmū'a-i Resā'il-i Fārsī*, 436.

⁵² Çiftçi, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 268; Kharaqāni, *Dhikr-i Qutbus-sālikīn*, v. 12b.

⁵³ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 212.

⁵⁴ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 217.

⁵⁵ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 250.

Hasan was in the state of *fanā* he would become His Abu'l-Hasan, and when he was in *baqā*, he would see everything as himself and whatever he saw would be Abu'l-Hasan."⁵⁶

They asked, "Where did you find Allah?" He said, "Where I don't see myself."⁵⁷

He also explained the question of seeing God as follows:

If anyone asks you; 'Can *fānī* (the servant) see the *Bāqī* (Allah)?' Tell them 'Today in this transient world, the *fānī* [transient] servant recognizes the permanent. Tomorrow, that recognizance will turn into divine light, and ultimately, in the house of permanence, with the light of *Bāqī*, he will see *Bāqī*."⁵⁸

Finally, he implies that he has reached the final stages of *fanā* and *baqā*:

I have abandoned everything but Haqq; Then, when I called out to myself, the answer came from Haqq; I realized that I was no longer a creature; I said 'Labbayk Allahumma Labbayk (Here, Allah, I am ready for your command)' I wore *ihram* and made pilgrimage; circumambulate in Oneness; Baytu'l-ma'mūr visited me; the Kaaba glorified me; and the angels praised me; I saw a light in Haqq's palace; When I arrived at Haqq's palace, there was nothing left of *me*.⁵⁹

3.3.1. *The Will of Allah Precedes the Will and Request of the Disciple*

In Kharaqāni's opinion, the knowledge about Haqq -*maerifatullah* in the words of the sufis, is God-given. In other words, it is obtained not by the effort of the mind, but by the grace of God. Therefore, religious experience transcends the boundaries of the mind, and as long as Haqq does not introduce himself, one's efforts to get to know him are futile endeavors.⁶⁰ "These people call for God day and night. Yet, whoever He wants, he will find Him."⁶¹

⁵⁶ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 225.

⁵⁷ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 207.

⁵⁸ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 246.

⁵⁹ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 218.

⁶⁰ Kedkenī, *Nivīshte ber Daryā*, 65.

⁶¹ Çiftci, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 221.

‘In all kinds of work, first there is a demand, then there is the discovery; except in one in which there is first a discovery and then a demand.’ And he said to the disciples, ‘You have swollen feet, yet the men reached their target without blistering their feet; He lets the feet of (unworthy) to be swollen, and the (worthy) men to sit at their target.’⁶²

Najm al-Din Rāzī also quotes Kharaqāni as saying:

It is not for the servant to come to Him; On the contrary, it is through the grace of the Causeless (Allah) and temptation of the Godliness on its own accord. Sheikh Abu’l-Hasan-i Kharaqāni - God bless his soul - says: ‘The path to the Glorious Almighty is two: one from the servant to Haqq, and one from the Haqq to the servant. The path from the Servant to Haqq is nothing but solid heresy, and the path from Haqq to the servant is clear guidance.’⁶³

Hujvīrī, Kharaqāni’s contemporary, conveys the same saying in more detail and in a more explanatory manner:

The way is two; one is the path of heresy, and the other is the path of guidance; one is the path from the servant to the Almighty, and the other is the path from Allah to the servant. The path of heresy is the path from the servant to Allah. And the path of guidance is the path from Allah to the servant. So whoever said, ‘I have reached Him,’ did not, and whoever said, ‘They have brought me.’ has reached Him. Because delivery depends on not being able to reach (happens only when you cannot reach), and not reaching depends on reaching. Allah knows best.⁶⁴

Therefore, according to him, almighty God first purifies and prepares his chosen servant with his grace and benevolence, and then creates a desire and a sense of pursuit in him to seek Haqq. Kharaqāni explains this belief with the following quote from Abu’l-Abbās Kassāb:

Sheikh Abu’l-Abbās Kassāb -Allah bless him- said: “When Allah wants to give grace to his servant, he wants to raise him to the rank of good servants; everything but Allah leaves his heart. (Then) the servant will be like a bewildered man, for his capital was taken back from him. For a few days he will be confused;

⁶² Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 229.

⁶³ Najm al-Din Rāzī, *Mirsādu’l-‘ibād*, ed. M. Emin Riyāhī (Tehran: 1374 SH), 250.

⁶⁴ Al-Hujvīrī, *Kashfu’l-mahcūb*, 204-205.

then a desire will emerge in him, he will say 'O God, I need you.' Him saying 'I need you' is proof that Allah (jalla jalāluhu) will say, 'O servant, you are mine.' The love of Allah (jalla jalāluhu) puts him in a position to love Allah."⁶⁵

I said, "O Allah! I've been nourishing your love for fifty years. Secretly He uttered, "I made friends with you before Adam. Whose friendship is more ancient?"⁶⁶

It is through the blessing of the path from Haqq to the servant that;

Allah (jalla jalāluhu) disciplines his friends with his own revelation by adorning them with his own cleanliness, raises them with his own knowledge, and grants them sultanate by taking them under his protection through his own sovereignty and power.⁶⁷

Therefore, Kharaqāni does not trust the mind's capability in recognizing, acquiring knowledge about (*maerifatullah*) or reaching Allah. His contemporary, the famous Sufi Abu Saïd, was one day preaching in the presence of Kharaqāni's son. He said:

If there is anyone who has completely purified himself from the time of the Prophet to present day, it is the father of this master. The scholars of the ummah have agreed that Allah must be sought through the mind. When Abu'l-Hasan looked at the mind, he found it blind (deficient/defective) for this purpose. So long as Allah does not grant prudence and show the way, it cannot see or know. We held the hand of many, [saved them] from the pride of reason and brought them to the right path.⁶⁸

However, Kharaqāni does not claim that the mind is completely useless:

One of the organs of the believer must always be engaged with God; Either he remembers Him with his heart, or he remembers Him with his tongue, or he sees Him through his eyes, or he is generous with his hand; either he visits people with his feet, he serves the believers with his body, or he believes in Him with

⁶⁵ Çiftci, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 246.

⁶⁶ Çiftci, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 219.

⁶⁷ Çiftci, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 218.

⁶⁸ Mohammed b. Munawwar, *Esrāru't-tawhīd fī makāmātī'sh-Sheikh Ebi's-Sa'īd*, ed. Mohammed Reza Shaffī'-yi Kedkenī. Volume I-II. (Tehran: Muessese-i Intishārāt-i Āgāh, 1321 SH), I, 219. For details, see: Kedkenī, *Nivīshte ber Daryā*, 65-68.

unshakeable faith, or he gains *knowledge of God* with reason, or he acts in purity, or he fears [the horror of] Last Judgment; I vouch for such a person, for as soon as he raises his head from the grave, he drags his shroud straight from the ground and goes straight to heaven.⁶⁹

3.3.2. “Sūfī is Uncreated”

The most well-known and controversial saying of Kharaqāni is his “The sufi is *gayr-ı mahlūk*.”⁷⁰ (not created). His remark, which implied that Sufi has no beginning or end much like the creator, was interpreted by some famous sufis. For example, his contemporary, the famous sufi Abu Saïd, interpreted his words as follows:

“The uncreated person is not the one whom Allah did not create, as you think. Allah creates one person and gives him all these (human) qualities. Then he removes those qualities from him again, making him as pure as if he had *not* created him (before) and not implicated him with all those qualities.” Sheikh continued: “This is what Kharaqāni meant when he said ‘the sufi is uncreated’⁷¹

All in all, it is not the personhood of the Sufi that undergoes *fanā*, but his qualities which merge with and end in the qualities of Haqq. More clearly, Allah removes human qualities from His servant whom he desires to bless with His grace and replaces them with divine qualities that are eternal. Thus, the servant to whom God has given grace and benevolence becomes as if he had never been created before because he carries divine qualities.

3.3.3. Purification Comes with Assuming All Creatures as Non-existent and the People as Dead

In the end, all these states of being indicate that it is necessary for the sufi/sālik’s to ignore his own self and everything but Allah, to kill his ego and live with Haqq. In Sufi circles, the famous saying (“Die before you die”) suggests a portrait in accordance:

⁶⁹ Çiftçi, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 215.

⁷⁰ Najm al-Din Rāzī (b. 654 HA/1254 AD), also known as Najm al-Din Dāya, wrote a short treatise called *Risāletu'l-’āsik il a'l-ma’shūk fī sherh-i kalimāti es-Sūfī gayr-u mahlūk min kalāmi ash-Sheikh Abū'l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni*. (For full text see Kedkeni, *Nivishte ber Daryā*, 439.)

⁷¹ Çiftçi, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 92.

Life is in death; observation is in death; purification is in death; finding *baqā* in *fanā* is also in death, and when Haqq is revealed, there is nothing left but Haqq.⁷²

Bāyezīd -Allah bless his beloved soul- said 'I did not see my own deeds as purified, unless I assume all mankind dead.'⁷³

In parallel with Bāyezīd's view, Kharaqāni expresses his own opinion as follows: "I did not see my own deeds as purified unless I saw myself as a lonely creature."

As long as I saw that there was anyone besides Him, I did not see my deeds as purified; When I saw everything as Him, purification emerged. When I looked at His self-sufficiency, I did not perceive the deeds of all the people as valuable as a wing of a fly. I looked at His mercy, and I did not see all the people as much as a grain of millet. Can there be any mention of the existence of these two in such a place?"⁷⁴

3.3.4. *Qabz and Sadness*

One of the highlights of Kharaqāni's sayings is the state of *sadness* - "endūh" in his words- which is a heavy responsibility that God places on his distinguished servants, especially the *javanmardan*. In his *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, Attār opens the part on Kharaqāni by calling him "That sea of sadness..."

Attār also recorded the following interesting incident between him, a person of *qabz* and *sadness*, and Abu Saīd, a master of *bast* and *nash'a* (joy, refreshment) who visited Kharaqāni, giving a concrete example of the formation of these situations:

They said that Sheikh Abu Saīd wanted to pass his own *bast* to Sheikh Abu'l-Hasan and Sheikh Abu'l-Hasan his *qabz* to the other.⁷⁵ They embraced each other, transferring qualities. Abu Saīd was crying that night, putting his head on his knee. Abu'l-Hasan was shouting and dancing throughout the night. In the

⁷² Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 248.

⁷³ Çiftci, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 233.

⁷⁴ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 213,221.

⁷⁵ *Qabz* and *Bast*: *Qabz* refers to shortness of breath, anxiety; for the soul to be sad, troubled, distressed, and anxious, being inefficient and infertile in the mind and heart due to observing the *jalāli* (wrathful) manifestations of Allah; *Bast* is gaiety, joy, comfort and peace. The inspiration of the soul and heart, due to observing Allah's *jamāli* (benevolent) manifestations. Both *qabz* and *bast* occur when the follower transcends beyond the stages of *hawf* (fear of Allah) and *rajā* (hope). Sajjādī 155, 372-73.

morning, Abu'l-Hasan came and said, 'O Sheikh, give me back my sorrow, for I am happier with it.' So those qualifications went back to their owners.⁷⁶

Kharaqāni quotes Bāyezīd about the sadness:

Bāyezīd -Allah bless him- said: 'When your heart is sad, take it as a trophy; Because people only get somewhere with the abundance of sadness.'⁷⁷

Kharaqāni describes the sadness that other people cannot bear as a privilege and something with a happy ending that God entrusted to him:

The paths to Allah are numerous. The more servants there are, the more ways to Allah Almighty. I've seen peoples on every road I've ever been to. I said, "O God! Take me down a path where it's just me and you. Don't let the people there. He put a path of *sadness* in front of me and said, 'Sadness is a heavy burden, people cannot carry it.'⁷⁸

Haqq exclaimed: 'O my servant, if you come to me with sorrow, I will make you happy, and if you come in need, I will make you powerful (rich), and if you forsake what is yours, we will put water and air under your command.'⁷⁹

According to Kharaqāni, the share of other *javanmardan* in this world is sadness:

"Haqq has distributed the lot of the people; he reserved the sadness as a share for the *javanmardan*, and they accepted it."⁸⁰

He also partly explained the nature and the formation of the state of sadness as follows:

Plant the tree of sorrow; It is hoped that it will bear fruit, and you will sit down (below) and cry, and eventually you will reach such a state that they will ask you, 'Why are you crying?'

They asked him, "How do you achieve sadness?" He said, 'know that you must strive for purification in doing His deeds. The

⁷⁶ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 206.

⁷⁷ Çiftçi, *Şeyh Ebü'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 246.

⁷⁸ Kedkenî, *Nivishte ber Daryā*, 171.

⁷⁹ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 219.

⁸⁰ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 243.

more you try, the more you realize that you're not and cannot be fully cleansed; in the meantime, you will have His sadness. A hundred and twenty-four prophets came into and left this world, and they wanted to know Him in a manner worthy of Him. All pirs as well; But they could not know."⁸¹

"The prayer of the gallant is a sadness that does not fit into two worlds: that sadness comes from the fact that they want to recite Him but cannot mention him in a way that suits Him."⁸²

3.4. Humanism and Javanmardism

An important feature that distinguishes Kharaqāni from other Sufis is his continued universal understanding of compassion and love for God, all people and all beings. As the Russian orientalist Bertels points out, whereas the distinguishing qualities of most Sufis are finding themselves, seeking their selves, and to destroy their selves in the collective self, Kharaqāni's conception of Sufism does not consist of thinking about and focusing on one's own *nafs* (self). Kharaqāni is one of the few Sufis who proclaims universal (active) love and perceives his own purpose of being as being of service to humanity. A quote that Attār took into his own work is more illustartive than a few treatises that deal with the same subject.⁸³

The scholar wakes up in the morning and wants to expand his knowledge; Ascetic wants to increase his ascetism. Abu'l-Hasan wakes up in the morning and tries to make a brother's heart happy.⁸⁴

From the gates of Turkestan to the gates of Damascus, if a person's foot hits a stone, that foot is Bū'l-Hasan's foot, and if there is anguish in any heart, that is the heart of Bū'l-Hasan.⁸⁵

Haqq has given me such a notion so that I have thought about all that He has created: my work and my day were over. That notion turned into perception; into the hearing ear; turned into arrogance; it turned into love; turned into a heavy burden; with that notion, I grasped His unity and reached such a level that

⁸¹ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 249.

⁸² Çiftci, *Şeyh Ebū'l-Hasan-i Harakani*, 221.

⁸³ Yevgeny Eduardovich Bertels, *Sufism and Literary Sufism*, trans. Sīrūs-i İzedī. (Tehran: Emīr Kebīr, 1376 SH.), 32.

⁸⁴ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 223.

⁸⁵ Kedkenī, *Nivōshhte ber Daryā*, 280; Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 217.

the notion turned into divine wisdom; it has become the most righteous path and turned into a state of compassion for all people; I've never seen anyone more compassionate towards His people than I am. I said, 'I wish I had died instead of all the people, so that this people would not have to taste death. If only he had held me accountable for all the people, so that the people would not have to be held accountable in the Last Judgment. I wish he had punished me instead of all the people so that they would not have to see hell.'⁸⁶

And he said, 'If I were to left this world owing four hundred dirhams and my adversaries caught me in the Last Judgment because I did not pay, it would be easier for me than not fulfilling something that someone wants me to do.'⁸⁷

One of the most important characteristics of Kharaqāni's lore is his amalgamation of Sufism with his idiosyncratic conception of *javanmardism* (gallantry), which is different from the *futuwwa* (chivalry) of the Sufis, which began with the Caliph en-Nāsır (died 622 AD/1225 HA) or the social and political institution of *futuwwa*.⁸⁸

Kharaqāni introduces himself and his subjects as *javanmard* (gallant) or *javanmardān* (the gallants),⁸⁹ which is undoubtedly one of the most important concepts in his teachings. He has used the title of *javanmard* many times referring to the Sufis and dervishes achieving the final goal of sufism, i.e. *fanā-baqā*. According to his depictions, the *javanmardān* have a responsibility to both Haqq and the people. They are generous, compassionate and self-sacrificing; fellow sufferers of the people; and a have deep love and sincere devotion to Haqq. Being a *javanmard* includes the choice of other over oneself (altruism) and unlimited sacrifice.

They asked him: "How does *javanmard* know that he is one?" He said, "If Allah does a thousand favors for his brother, and one favor to him, he would take it and give it to his brother, thinking 'it must also be my brother's.'⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 215.

⁸⁷ Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 253.

⁸⁸ Kedkenī, *Nivishte ber Daryā*, 64.

⁸⁹ Kedkenī, *Nivishte ber Daryā*, 64.

⁹⁰ Kharaqāni, *Dhikr-i Qutbu's-sālikīn*, No 1489/15, leaf 20b.

Three springs feed the sea of *javanmard*: one is generosity, the second is compassion, and the third is to be independent of the people and to be in need of Haqq.⁹¹ At the same time, "*Javanmard* is not to see [value of] one's own actions."⁹²

He said, "The food and wine of the *javanmards* is the love of Allah."⁹³

He said, "A *javanmard* cried *Āh!* last night, and the earth and the sky burned."⁹⁴

He said, "The wise find Allah with the light of their heart, and the companions with the light of the facts, and the *javanmardān* with the light of examination (clear sight)."

He said, 'A *javanmard* came to the Sahara [desert], looked at it, turned around and said: 'I don't fit in here. Because He's Me.'⁹⁵

"Everyone catches the fish in the sea, while the *javanmard* catch the fish on land; the others drive the plow on land, this bunch drives it at sea."⁹⁶

"I have seen some people who were busy interpreting the Qur'an, the *javanmardān*, on the other hand, are busy interpreting their own selves."⁹⁷

4. *Dhikr-i Qutbu's-Sālikīn*

One of the works containing several episodes of Abu'l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni 's life, a number of his sayings and some of his deeds and miracles is the treatise called *Dhikr-i Qutbu's-Sālikīn*, written in the style of *makāmat*. *Makāmat* refers to those works in which a writer compiles words, miracles, deeds, memories or life events of a famous personality or a sufi.

This work about Kharaqāni named *Dhikr-i Qutbu's-Sālikīn-i Abu'l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni* (*Abu'l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni 's The Sayings of the Pole of the Followers*) was found within a manuscript alongside treatises by Khwāja Abdullah Ensārī Herawī and sayings, deeds and life

91 Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 235.

92 Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 238.

93 Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 240.

94 Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 220.

95 Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 232, 233.

96 Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 247.

97 Attār, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā*, II, 249.

events of famous Sufis such as Bāyezīd-i Bistāmī, Abu Saīd Abu'l-Hayr and Ahmed-i Jām Jendepil.⁹⁸

Located in the Murad Mullah Library (registration no. 1489/15), the manuscript is written in 9th century *nastaliq* calligraphy with each page consisting of 17 lines. In the relevant part of the volume, there are also several independent accounts of the lives and deeds of these famous Sufis who were contemporary to Kharaqāni or lived around his time:

1. *Dhikr-i Sultānu'l-'Arifin Abu Yezīd* kuddise sirruhu (vr. 1b-11a).
2. *Dhikr-i Qutbu's-Sālikin Abu'l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni* kuddise sirru (vr. 11b-27a).
3. *Dhikr-i Sultān Abu Sa'īd bin Abu'l-Hayr* kuddise sirruhu (vr. 27b-43a).
4. *Dhikr-i Sheikhou'l-Islam Ahmed-i Jām* kuddise sirruhu (vr. 43b-58a).

In this part of the volume, the date of copying was only found at the end of the part about Abu Sa'īd. The scribe wrote: "Praise be to Allah, it is completed at the end of the month of Shevval in 877." Since the part about Kharaqāni (*Dhikr-i Qutbu's-Sālikin*) is written in the same calligraphy and style, it is highly probable that it was also copied around same time.⁹⁹

As Kedkenī points out, the treatise is written in the eastern district of Khorasan because in the original text, the clerk used the letter (ﻻ) (yā') and diacritic kasrah interchangeably in several parts.

In some places, he recorded the word *xāsten* (meaning to get up, to stand up, etc.) as *xuvāsten* (meaning to want, to desire etc.).

The treatise has the characteristics of the language of the Qumis region. It contains some words and terms unique to that period that are not used in today's Persian, and geographical names of some places from the Harakān district.

The work contains the names of people from Kharaqāni's family; his wife, some children or grandchildren. Other sources mentioning

⁹⁸ The manuscript in Murad Mullah Library can be found in both microfilm and printed form. Hakikat, *Meqāmāt-i Sheikh Abu'l-Hasan al-Kharaqāni: Numūne-i Hattī-yi 'Irfāni-yi Kam-i Sheshum-i Hijrī* (Tehran: 1383 hs., 15-45). There is also a version edited and redacted by Kedkenī. Kedkenī, *Nivishte ber Daryā*, 101-102.

⁹⁹ Kedkenī, *Nivishte ber Daryā*, 103.

him does not contain this information. As such, the treatise is very important in terms of allowing us to identify his lineage.¹⁰⁰

It is understood that this manuscript was reviewed by the clerk after it was copied because some words and phrases that appear to be missing in the main text have been added to the edges of the page in the same calligraphic style. There are very few of them. In general, there are very few spelling errors. The shortcomings and faint parts in writing are retrieved from other texts related to Kharaqāni.¹⁰¹

The manuscript was originally written at the end of the 6th HA/12nd AD century, and extant copy is produced around the year 877.¹⁰² It contains about 130 sayings of Kharaqāni, stories about him, and his deeds which are included in *Nūru'l'ulūm*, *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyā* and other sources.¹⁰³

5. Conclusion

Kharaqāni lived a thousand years ago and yet his fame transcended the continents due to widespread interest in his mystical daily life and extraordinary words. Although Kharaqāni was illiterate, he has become a symbol of gallantry and humanism with his discourse and behaviors in social life. He affected many believers and even non-believers with his succinct sayings. He stands out as an exemplary personality and was always respected for supporting his own family and dervish lodge through his own manual labor.

Some of his sayings which pushed religious boundaries, caused controversy in the Sufi circles in the historical period after him and kept many writers, especially the Sufi authors, busy.

An important feature that distinguishes Kharaqāni from other Sufis is his continuous universal understanding of compassion and love for God, all people and all beings. While the most Sufis think of their own selves, his aim was to share and relieve the troubles and problems of everyone and every being.

¹⁰⁰ The author or the clerk who wrote *Dhikr-i Qutbu's-Sālikīn* records the name of one of Kharaqāni's sons as Sheikh-ud-din Mohammed Sunnī and his wife as as Meybetī. The author quotes Sunnī directly in several parts of the work. Kharaqāni, *Dhikr-i Qutbu's-sālikīn*, leaf 15a-16b.

¹⁰¹ Kedkenī, *Nivīshte ber Daryā*, 103.

¹⁰² Tortel, *Sheikh Abu'l-Hasan-i Kharaqāni*, 242.

¹⁰³ Kedkenī, *Nivīshte ber Daryā*, 103.

For these reasons, Kharaqāni is highly respected among the Muslim peoples of Iran, Turkey and India, especially in the mystical circles. Consequently, scientific studies about Kharaqāni continue to expand. This common heritage of both Islam and humanity, who has not discriminated with respect to language, race, sect and religion and provided unrequited service to humanity, can provide the opportunity to bring the peoples of Islam together on the basis of shared values.

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